INTERNATIONAL AND GLOBAL QUESTIONS FROM LATIN AMERICAN THOUGHT

THEORIES, SCHOOLS AND NETWORKS, CONCEPTS, DOCTRINES, FIGURES

Eduardo Devés
Silvia T. Álvarez,
Carlos Federico Domínguez Avila
(eds.)

Ariadna ediciones

CLACSO

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International and global questions from Latin American thought. Theories, Schools and Networks, Concepts, Doctrines, Figures (Buenos Aires:/Santiago CLACSO/ Ariadna, September 2026).

ISBN 978-956-430-018-4 Doi: https://doi.org/10.26448/ae9789564300184.201

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Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales - Conselho Latino-americano de Ciências Sociais - Latin American Council of Social Sciences
Estados Unidos 1168 | C1023AAB Buenos Aires City | Argentina
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Note to the english edition

Eduardo Devés, Silvia T. Álvarez, Carlos Domínguez-Avila

The translation of this volume into English—originally published in Spanish in 2024 by Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales/Ariadna Ediciones—seeks to make a significant part of Latin American eidetic production on international and global issues available to English-speaking academic communities.

More than a simple expansion of readership, this initiative forms part of an effort to reposition a body of intellectual elaborations that have often remained in marginal positions within broader circuits of knowledge production and legitimation. In this sense, it entails a displacement toward a new space of circulation in which the text becomes exposed to different regimes of intelligibility, validation, and interpretation.

In addition to broadening access to other peripheral or semi-peripheral communities in Asia, Africa, Oceania, and even Europe, the initiative seeks to identify and build points of encounter capable of fostering the configuration of an autonomous mode of thought, able to engage in dialogue across the peripheries. In this regard, the aspiration is to become part of a plurality of forms of knowledge that, particularly since the second half of the twentieth century, have sought to render visible diverse perspectives from which reality may be explained and/or transformed. At the same time, the project aims to contribute to

debates between these forms of knowledge production and Western-centric traditions.

These considerations are likewise consistent with the work promoted by Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales and by the intellectual networks in which we, as editors of this volume, participate. Gradually, the range of those contributing to these initiatives has expanded, seeking to recognize and value forms of thought emerging from multiple contexts, with the aim of fostering processes of eidetic innovation capable of enriching collective intellectual work.

From this perspective, the present edition is conceived as part of a process aimed at rendering visible a heterogeneous and historically situated corpus of thought, developed largely since the second half of the twentieth century in response to the specific forms of Latin America's international insertion. We seek to emphasize that Latin American thought on international and global issues is characterized by the coexistence of diverse traditions, open debates, and intellectual trajectories reflecting the plurality of experiences through which the region has problematized its place in the world.

Within this horizon, the work also aspires to contribute to the construction of knowledge networks linking universities, scientific institutions, and diverse social actors, including social movements, women's collectives, Indigenous peoples, and environmental organizations. The aim is to generate spaces of dialogue in which new situated readings of the world may emerge, capable of challenging dominant meanings surrounding the international and the global.

From this perspective, the book may be read as a cartography in motion. It brings together theories, schools of thought, intellectual networks, concepts, doctrines, and figures that do not constitute a unified system, but rather a heterogeneous constellation traversed by discontinuities, reinterpretations, and ongoing

debates. By offering a theoretical-conceptual map rooted in Latin American experiences, the volume seeks to facilitate processes of self-understanding in the Global South from Latin America, enabling our societies to interrogate the world from their own historical trajectories rather than operating exclusively as receivers of analytical frameworks produced in hegemonic centers.

The decision to translate the volume also introduces an additional reflexive dimension. Every translation entails operations of selection, adjustment, and rearticulation that, even while seeking to preserve meanings, inevitably transform them. In this case, we hope that the translation will shape the ways in which the text becomes inscribed within broader academic debates, where asymmetries in the production of knowledge continue to operate, often in less visible ways.

In this sense, the book may also be understood as a vehicle of articulation. Its circulation in the English language reopens a previous trajectory under new conditions. As it enters into dialogue with other traditions, the contents gathered here may generate resonances, tensions, or reinterpretations that exceed the frameworks within which they were originally produced. In this process, the translation seeks to strengthen the possibility of rethinking the ways in which knowledge about the international and the global is produced, legitimized, and transformed.

Prologue

I have written this Foreword in an attempt to provide a projection of the concerns that the editors, like others before them, have had regarding Latin American intellectual production on international affairs and international relations, its compilation and dissemination.

In the Latin American international relations academy and also among some US authors, there is a debate about the existence or not, and the originality, if any, of the production of Latin American thought on international affairs. Although this debate is mainly about the development of theories, the discussion extends to broader issues, including methodologies, conception of the world and the configuration of a world system fragmented into geographic spaces where developed states exist, versus another, much broader geographic space in which undeveloped states are present. This division, which from the first formulations of Prebisch and Latin American structuralism was identified as centre and periphery, was updated as the process of internal transformation of states showed that underdevelopment was not a homogenous condition, and new categories emerged, incorporated into the first development/underdevelopment and North/South categories, to highlight the transformations in this part of the world system. Thus the categories of semi-periphery and in-

termediate states were born, to finally arrive at the category that is most widely used today, both in Latin America and among internationalists in the United States, Canada, Great Britain, France, Germany and others. This is the term global south. From an international approach, which considers the existence of autonomous and original thought in diverse academic communities and societies around the world, and without entering into a discussion about which authors should be considered in each interpretation, it is worth noting the work edited by William R. Thompson, which focuses on the theoretical production of international relations throughout the world, and the work of Adam Watson, which traces international thought from its civilisational origins, with a historical analytical look, from a Euro-centric standpoint. Both works highlight the existence of thinking about international affairs beyond the Anglo-Saxon and European tradition. Much of the position adopted by those who consider Latin American intellectual production to be non-existent, both in foreign academies and in our own academies, is influenced by the realist prejudice that international affairs are a question of power, and that since our region is characterised by a great weakness in this sense, this has led to a non-existent or weak reflection on the nature of international relations; furthermore, it makes no sense to engage in our own theoretical reflection on these issues. Kenneth Waltz has been influential in this regard. His assertion that it would be absurd to construct a theory of international relations based on countries such as Malaysia and Costa Rica confirms the relatively marginal place that the rest of the world has occupied in this discipline, for, as the American author suggests, 'a general theory of international politics must necessarily be based on the great powers'.

The preoccupation with ideas in international affairs and the formulation of state public policy directed at the international arena, whether through foreign policy or international relations

in general - involving economic, trade, financial, security, cultural, health and technological issues, among others - that reflect the interest and attention of societies and their actors, often pits these two positions against each other. The existence of analytical thinking originating in regional academic reflection that does not follow the lines of thought and theoretical formulations produced outside Latin America, mainly those originating in US thinking. This is a vast production, which has been compiled and analysed by Bernal-Meza and more recently by Devés and Álvarez. For their part, Álvarez, Deciancio, Molano Cruz and Cristian Ovando published a volume in 2021 that updated the reflection on previous contributions - EPI, Dependencia, Autonomía - and provided the perspective of authors on new themes and agendas: Andean political thought, border spaces, feminism, social movements, regionalism and security.

This affirmation of a vast amount of reflection has recently been discussed by authors such as Álvarez et al.. for whom the discipline of international relations, which also involves foreign policy, has been characterised in the region by little theoretical and conceptual debate; a statement that also coincides, in the case of Chile, with Artaza and Ross and Heine and Aguirre. Basically, it is a debate about whether the elaboration of ideas about the world and its affairs is also part of the intellectual subordination of thinkers in our countries.

Ideas, as a generic term, are where images of the world, perceptions of others and evaluations of their interests come together. They determine to a large extent what policy makers and decision makers have as a basis for orienting strategies, discussing agendas, defining policies and articulating links with other actors, on behalf of society and the state. Ideas, which are beliefs held by individuals, serve decision-makers as roadmaps for defining the role that they, as a ruling class and a country, aspire to play in the world. They are ultimately what will determine how

decision-makers will guide their policy. Theory, as the broadest level of abstraction, is not simply a map of how to conduct and inform decision-making, but how we interpret the world and our role there. The Canadian theorist Robert Cox pointed out that theory is always constructed for someone and for some purpose; that all theories have their own perspective and that they result from a certain position in time and space, specifically a political and social time and space, because the world is seen from a definable point of view in terms of nation or social class, of domination and subordination and of power, both increasing and decreasing. Amado Cervo is part of a group of Latin American academics and theoreticians who, although not numerous, have encouraged a debate, with international projection, on the inappropriateness of using the theory formulated in the US academy to approach the study of our international relations and the need to elaborate a regional instrument for understanding them, based on the conditions derived from the historical-structural characteristics of Latin America's international insertion. He shares critical arguments on the validity of mainly Anglo-Saxon theories on international affairs to interpret the reality of international relations in our region and its global insertion. Through his works -especially Inserção Internacional. Formação dos conceitos brasileiros - Cervo favours the elaboration and re-elaboration of Latin American concepts; that is, those elaborated by the intelligence of our region. His interpretation suggests that foreign theories generate distrust because their epistemic-ethical roots are related to the specific interests of the particular societies in which they have been formulated, and he called for foreign theories to be replaced by our own concepts that reflect and are an abstraction of the historical reality of our countries. He confronted theories and concepts through the hypothesis that both have different roles in the field of international relations studies; asserting that the universal explanatory scope of theories is forged against concepts,

which have national or regional roots and are based on them. Cervo rejected the idea that these concepts have a global explanatory scope, because they are an abstraction of the regional and national reality itself. Therefore, in our international studies, he suggested reducing the role of theories and increasing the role of concepts. In his opinion, these would be much more explanatory and interpretative of national, regional and international reality because they express the diversity of interests, values, action strategies and objectives that different societies convey when they project themselves internationally, through foreign policy, diplomatic behaviour and the movement of non-governmental actors, in pursuit of economic development and the social welfare of their own citizens. Conversely, foreign theories convey the interests, values and strategies for international action of the societies in which they are elaborated and project worldviews that are functional to those interests. However, the theoretical approach to political economy, based on the thinking of Raúl Prebisch, which gave rise to Latin American structuralism, did have an aspiration to constitute an interpretation of global scope, and it certainly does, because the configuration modelled under the centre-periphery concepts can only be explained if we consider the world as a totality. It is there that both analytical categories representing parts of the world, segmented by development and underdevelopment, exist and confront each other.

In order to affirm the existence of such an intellectual production, it was necessary to have a systematisation of Latin American reflection, something that only came about with the work of Raúl Bernal-Meza in 2005.

The book in this foreword is the most up-to-date effort, generated in the region, to account for the reflection produced in Latin America on international affairs. It follows in the tradition of earlier works, such as those by Bernal-Meza and Eduardo Devés, although the latter is more a study of ideas in general, address-

ing many fields of Latin American thought beyond international affairs and placing them in the context of the development and evolution of our social sciences. Edited by Eduardo Devés, Silvia Álvarez and Federico Domínguez, with a previous shorter version edited by Eduardo Devés and Silvia Álvarez, this book has the virtue of bringing together, in a single volume, Latin American contributions to the interpretation of international and world affairs, bringing them together for analysis in 'Theories', 'Schools of Thought and Intellectual Networks', 'Concepts', 'Doctrines' and 'Figures' or personalities recognised for their contributions in one of these categories. The thematic areas of international affairs addressed, through the interpretation of a significant number of authors from Latin America and the Caribbean, show the richness of the formulation and elaboration of ideas on the problems of international and global issues, seen and presented from the perspective of the thinkers mentioned. It is a systematisation that contributes to a great effort: to make known to the region and the world the production of indigenous thinking on international issues. In itself, this effort would not have been necessary if there were no intellectual production on which to reflect. This book demonstrates the existence of an original body of thought of its own.

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Presentation

This collective work aims to serve as a guide for those interested in Latin American thought on international and global issues. Through a review of the main theories, schools, networks, concepts, doctrines and figures, it seeks to incorporate, in addition to the approaches of diplomacy and international relations, perspectives on international and global issues, as well as the various axes that cross them, including law, economics, political economy or the cultural dimension. State and non-state agents, governmental actors, the market and civil society will be relevant as objects and subjects of the political dynamics analyzed. In other words, it is a matter of highlighting diverse perspectives that contribute to thinking the world in its spatialities, forms of relationship, hegemonic or alternative projects, as well as intervening actors.

The plots of the international and the global cross the proposed route. It is true that the state dimension is present throughout its development, from theories to figures, either because they point out the centrality of the state, legitimizing in some sense the unavoidable existence of a system that has been historically analyzed and acted on in a Westphalian key, or because they identify their false centrality and postulate other spatialities and forms of power of a systemic nature. In this sense, international relations, as interstate relations, dominate the analyses. However,

international affairs are also present to the extent that themes and agendas that cross state boundaries are addressed, as well as international studies since approaches in research and teaching also take place, as well as the assessment of varied aspects of political life and international dynamics. Finally, global questions are those that, in part, refer to themes common to humanity and, in part, also to the ways of interpreting the structure, functioning, modes of relationships and the nature of the forces that cross the world international system and that allow it to be analyzed from a larger unit, such as the world system, the modern colonial world system or the specificities of Latin American history, beyond the Westphalian perspective, facilitating South American and South-South self-understanding in the international and global sphere.

The chronological framework is centered between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 21st, largely because it represents the period of construction, formation and consolidation of sovereign states, independent of colonial empires, and it is since then that these states have sought to identify their problems, challenges and forms of international insertion, from which doctrinal and theoretical-conceptual maps are configured. However, the different entries of this work go back to a history of more than 15,000 years when tribes, chiefdoms, city-states and empires interacted throughout the hemisphere. In this sense, anthropological and archaeological research has allowed us to understand more and better the patterns of cooperation and conflict, balance of power, system reason, hegemony and anarchy, and many other events. Specifically in the case of the Mayan civilization it has been possible - by virtue of a fairly sophisticated writing system - to know the founding, rise and decline of dynasties, which resemble what was identified in other socio-political experiences. Matrixes of contemporary thinking on international and world affairs are also present in this story.

Based on the above, it is about complementing the existing information and manuals, where, "normally", what was developed in Latin America is almost ignored. It is therefore very common that those who present the history of the discipline of international studies, those who present theories on globalization and those who teach classes on the various ways of thinking about the world do not analyze or even mention Latin American authors and works. What is pointed out is all the more important and challenging when such contributions do become recognizable in numerous developments in intellectual environments, such as those of China or India, and in other places where new reflections on this type of problems are pointed out and developed.

The set of entries presented here is intended to be a contribution, especially for those studying a degree or postgraduate degree; for those people who work in research and teaching; as well as for those who are involved in international-world-global work, be it diplomacy, paradiplomacy or the management of the immense number of state and non-state entities or organizations that act in the transnational sphere. In fact, studies on the region's thought have developed throughout history, notably in recent decades, showing previously unknown facets and potentialities.

A key idea that inspires this work is that this knowledge must be known, used and capitalized, and this must be done without pretending that because it originated in our intellectual ecosystems it is correct, adequate or shared, but it does deserve to be problematized, and that it must also be connected to the knowledge developed in other regions with conditions similar to those of Latin America.

It is essential that our students --- and, more broadly, anyone operating in international and global contexts --- understand and recognise the issues raised by Latin American thought through its theories, schools of thought, concepts and doctrines, and identify the most important intellectual figures in the formulation of

these ideas.. This work aspires, for this reason, to motivate the study of the eidetic trajectories themselves in various sub-regions of Latin America, in order to make an account of what has been thought there, among other reasons because there is a "reserve" or a "heritage" of intellectual production not fully revealed, something like a large number of unknown species in our intellectual ecosystems.

The "invisibilization" of theories, schools, networks, concepts, doctrines and figures is closely associated with the historical centrality of a supposedly universal and rational "knowledge" and "practice" of a Eurocentric matrix, projected in the American matrix and synthesized, finally, in a "Western-centric" perspective that observes reality, questions it and resolves it in light of problems of spaces and times typical of these readings.

Consequently, we have sought to read the trajectory of Latin American thought from the question of international and global problems, trying to capitalize on everything done, trying to synthesize it, exposing formulations that, although they have not necessarily been traditionally read from the perspective of international analyses. and global, have potentialities that allow us to draw inspiration when forming a corpus capable of enriching the collection that contributes to the development of philosophical, epistemological and epistemic categorical constructions. The eidetic heritage of the region is enormously greater than what is known and especially what those who deal with international and world affairs know, often trained in other trajectories of thought and with their backs to how much we have thought 'from us' because "this thinking" has not been labeled with the notion "Latin American thought" in international and global issues. This work shows part of this heritage.

The aim is to contribute to this same genre of thought continuing to develop, in dialogue with what has already been developed; contribute to rethinking curricula and imagining formulas aimed

at responding to the specificities of spaces, times and needs of our people; contribute to using and recovering, from state and non-state agents responsible for decision-making, the existing analytical tools to describe, explain and interrogate the world based on our own readings.

From the proposed objectives, this work is organized on the basis of five sections: Theories, Schools and Networks, Concepts, Doctrines and Figures. This organization aims to distinguish the nature of the contributions of Latin American thought by the scientific academic community, those who contributed to its configuration and realization, as well as those who starred in political history in the field of ideas and influenced political action. .

Theories and Theoretical Approaches

This first part aims to give an account of the theories that have been developed in Latin American intellectual ecosystems to analyze, interpret and explain international and/or global problems. Some are properly conventional theories on international relations - although critical of the traditional ones formulated in the "center" - configured to think about the world, such as "Peripheral Realism", "Latin American Structuralism" or "Dependency Theory". Others, critical of the exercise of political, economic, social and cultural power of a Eurocentric West, analyze reality from geo-cultural spheres, with the relationships between peoples and ethnic groups taking center stage, such as "Decolonial Studies". Finally, there are those that are developed from the observation of history, experience or logical reasoning, such as "Founding Insubordination".

Schools of thought and Networks

Schools of thought and Networks are presented here as lines of work in the field of research that, located in the university, the state, a sub-region or the global field, share, for more than one generation, worldviews, ideologies, paradigms, theories and/or methodological conceptions. In general, these are recent schools, with just a few decades of existence, such as the "Brasília School" or the "Rosarian School of International Relations"; but also those that are looking for precedents that give them consistency, such as the "Mexican School of International Relations" or the "Brazil Great Power School"; and, finally, others with a long history, such as the "Central American Unionist School", which dates back to the beginning of the 20th century. These Schools of thought are described and articulated on the basis of the fundamental notions that compose them, identifying their references and historical itineraries.

Networks, for their part, are considered forms of academic, social and/or political articulation that present themselves and/or contribute to the construction of their own field of ideas in the key of international/global thought. They are focused, and only as cases, in the International Relations Network of Latin America (RIAL) and in the "Transnational alterglobalizing social networks."

Concepts

Without a doubt, the concepts that stand out in this work are, in some cases reviewed and redefined from Latin American thought and, in others, put in dialogue with other concepts such as those of "center-periphery" or "nationalism-colonyage." These have been imagined to characterize, define or understand some specific factor in the relationship between Latin America and the world.

Some of these are articulated with others in clusters that tend to constitute theories of greater scope; others, however, maintain a certain independence, and have sometimes been recovered by various schools of thought. There are also those concepts that, based on those created by indigenous peoples, are presented as expressions of new relationships between society and nature, such as "Sumak Kawsay-Suma Qamaña". Finally, new concepts are also created or constructed that seek to explain the historical paths of the region, such as "Dependency", or imagine new stories such as utopias or regional projects, among them, the "Great Homeland". Each of these concepts has been developed in this work taking as reference its definition, its production context, origins, contributions to its epistemic constitution and interpretations about its meanings and contributions.

Doctrines

Doctrines constitute models or principles of foreign and international policy, generally presented by jurists, rulers, diplomats or political leaders aimed at explaining and unraveling the correct implementation of the law or providing answers to controversial issues that do not find legal bases for their resolution and that concern to challenges inherent to states, civil society and/or international organizations. In this way, they are distinguished by the centrality that the argument takes on to defend some interpretation or legal solution, rather than by its interpretation itself. The doctrines, from a political point of view, are also presented as road maps for their formulators because they account for a particular problem that requires a specific response, the place from where it is formulated and its relationship with the region, the international system. and the world in general. Furthermore, the doctrines guide concepts regarding politics, democratic life, law

or modalities of international insertion and configure, through the articulation between them, itineraries in the construction of a regional identity and autonomy itself.

Thus, the doctrines become part of the culture of these areas and are intended to serve as a reference and usefulness in case of disputes, which does not imply that they are unanimously shared criteria. In the region, doctrines have been specifically oriented towards the preservation of peace between peoples, such as the "Saavedra Lamas Doctrine"; the affirmation of sovereignty and self-determination; the legal equality of states, such as the "Doctrine of the Third Position"; the defense of democracy, such as the "Betancourt Doctrine"; and, frequently from the point of view of the weak and peripheral to the great powers, the safeguarding of territorial integrity, such as "Calvo" or "Drago" doctrines.

In this way, doctrines, from the beginning of the 20th century, expressed legal and political readings from which Latin America as a region sought to define its place in the international concert in terms of possible dialogues based on rules game between equals, where state sovereignty, the regional dimension, international cooperation and insertion are strongly linked. In the presentation of the doctrines, the emphasis is placed on their definition, the specific situation in which they were formulated, the way in which they were constituted, the casuistry that has specified or modified them, and a useful bibliography for students.

Figures who have contributed to think about international and world affairs

Finally, more than a hundred key figures are presented. This is not a list of researchers or teachers who work on international issues or who teach courses on them, but, specifically, of those who have made theoretical or conceptual contributions to address inter-

national or world affairs. The selection has been made taking into account three procedures: the opinion of experts in these matters, the bibliographic search and the need to account for those who have developed and shaped theories, schools, concepts and doctrines. Only a brief information (fields of specialization, keywords, most relevant works and bibliographical references) is included with the purpose of guiding those interested in these figures. On numerous occasions, they have other existential and professional dimensions than those relevant to this volume, reflected in specific works that, for the purposes of this book, have been left aside.

Those of us who edited this volume would like to thank the excellent reception of this initiative given by the people who have contributed with their respective entries, the editing team, particularly Aldana Clemente, Andrés Figueroa Jiménez, Carlos Sebastián Ciccone, Cristina Oyarzo Varela, Lourdes Ramos Irazoqui, Leonardo del Río, María Valentina Riganti, as well as CLACSO and Ariadna Ediciones.

Finally, we believe it is necessary to highlight again that this work results from a collective and coordinated effort of researchers from different countries, with training in diverse disciplines of the social sciences and humanities, who have contributed to "show" epistemological, theoretical and methodological perspectives as well. diverse and to problematize the interpretations, importance and relevance of contributions made from Latin American thought as a whole.

In conclusion, it is necessary to say that, after this second edition, those of us who edited this collective work agree that it is a project that will continue to be developed.

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PART I:
THEORIES AND THEORETICAL APPROACHES

Dependence

Alejandro Simonoff

Since the end of World War II, thinkers in the region began to determine that underdevelopment was the main problem to be taken into account in Latin America. In line with this, in the '60s, Dependency Theory analyzed the Center-Periphery relationship beyond economic issues, which had characterized the Economic Commission for Latin America (CEPAL) to address it by adding to other levels such as political, social, ideological and cultural.

Although there was a diversity of positions, this School believed that the developmental cycle had generated new problems related to the way in which foreign capital influenced the creation of national, dependent and conservative bourgeoisies. For this reason, the key to break this element of dependency would be popular mobilization in order to incorporate the masses, who had historically been marginalized in the history of Latin America, into the political game.

Its originality was "in showing the articulation between social classes and, especially, between the fractions of the dominant classes and also the role of the State in the process of internationalization of capital" (Torres Novoa, 1979: 77).

According to Theotonio dos Santos, we can list the common elements as follows: 1) development is closely linked to industrial expansion in developed countries; 2) development is part of a

universal process; 3) development cannot be considered the first condition of an evolutionary process; and 4) Dependency is not only an external phenomenon, but also manifests itself internally in countries in the social, economic and political spheres (dos Santos, 2002: 23). The fourth point is the one that clearly differs from the proposals of CEPAL.

These common aspects were not taken univocally, since this School adopted various forms, which we can summarize in three versions: one neo-Marxist, another structuralist and, finally, a critique within the thought of CEPAL (Kay, 1998: 103). The first of them was represented, among others, by André Gunder Frank and his Theory of Underdevelopment. He linked "the center-periphery relationship to the interior of the States, explaining how the governments/elites were functional to the foreignization of lands, trade, etc." (Rascovan, 2013: 29). Its critics considered the development-underdevelopment relationship as inherent to capitalism and, therefore, we would find ourselves facing an unchangeable situation for the Third World. This was rejected by its members, who maintained that "capitalist development" occurred fully, although in a dependent and unequal manner (Correa Prado, 2013: 113). Here we could also locate Theotonio dos Santos, Ruy Marini and Samir Amin from the South, but also Immanuel Wallerstein and Giovanni Arrighi, among other authors in the central world. This current excluded CEPAL thought as a source, and inscribed the New Left in that role (Ruy Marini, in Correa Prado, 2013: 100-101).

For its critics, this version became a discouraging and nihilistic option, as Juan Carlos Puig pointed out: "... There is no doubt that such asymmetries exist; What it is about is overcoming them through strategic maneuvers that are based on an accurate political diagnosis" (Puig, 1984: 49).

The second current was concentrated in the figure of Fernando Henrique Cardoso. For him, dependency was conceived as the re-

sult of internal and external class relations, although recognizing the existence of an associated capitalist development. He developed the concept of semi-periphery that characterized some political units that have a certain level of industrialization of non-durable consumer goods and are technologically less advanced than developed countries. They exercise their domination over the semi-periphery and the periphery, either through force, when necessary, or through alliances with the local bourgeoisies dependent on the world market... The semi-periphery (expresses the possibility of promotion in the system) contributes to moderating the relations between Center and Periphery (Pontes Nogueira and Messari, 2005: 125).

In the '60s, Cardoso showed both the "weakness" of the national bourgeoisie due to "its willingness to become a junior partner of international capital" and the historical limit of the national developmental project (dos Santos, 2002: 34). This was due to the fact that the national bourgeoisies of the periphery served the interests of the propagation of foreign capital, which generated an economic system dependent and subordinate to it and that the increase in their income related to export/import did not translate into the development of the rest of the social fabric. But in the middle of the '70s, "...Cardoso accepted the irreversibility of dependent development and the possibility of making it compatible with representative democracy. From there, according to Cardoso, the democratic task would become a central objective against an authoritarian State..." (dos Santos, 2002: 34-35).

Therefore, around 1980, Cardoso readjusted his thinking to a more tenuous version that proposed a cooperative character and not a break with the center for the development of an associated capitalism. And from here, this author maintained that an erroneous reading was made of his work with Enzo Faletto, *Development and Dependence in Latin America* (1969), since the meaning of the notion of associated capitalism was not understood and he

emphasized "the idea of dependency as an impediment to development" (Cardoso, 2012: 31). This change in position of the former Brazilian President was explained by two reasons: the influence of neoliberalism on his thinking, and assistance to a period of revaluation of democracy as a political system, both in the region and in Eastern Europe.

Faced with this surprising turn, some analysts maintained that this change and the enthronement of Cardoso as the founder of this theory had the objective of both ignoring and deforming the contributions of Marxism to the current, and constructing a "single discourse" on the issue of dependency (Correa Prado, 2013: 101).

Finally, there were those who proposed reforms to CEPAL's thinking, such as Osvaldo Sunkel and Celso Furtado. They emphasized the internal variables that maintain underdevelopment. In the case of the work of the first, *Transnational capitalism and national disintegration in Latin America* (1972), where the high convergence between the sectors integrated into the world economy was proposed, whether they were from the central and peripheral countries, and the lack of complementarity of the non-integrated sectors at the extremes of the system (Sunkel, 1972).

For Furtado, the fundamental issues to take into account were: the theory of unequal growth between center and periphery due to the protection of the technology of the former; the thesis of the deterioration of the terms of trade that destroys the paradigm of competitive advantages; the replacement of structural unemployment with underemployment due to scarce production resources available; technological backwardness, due to its late affiliation to industrialization, and; the insufficiency of the internal market and the capacities necessary for economic growth (Alves Cepeda, 2008, 56-58).

Dependency theories have their strengths and weaknesses, but as Bruno Bologna pointed out:

> They were a valid attempt in academic circles to seek Latin American responses to the problem of underdevelopment in the region and to try to find strategies for improvement according to the margins of permissibility of international society, for the achievement of endogenous developments (Bologna, 1987: 251).

Connections

Theories and theoretical approaches: Latin American structuralism

Schools of thought and Networks: New World Group School

Concepts: Heterodox autonomy, Deterioration in the terms of exchange, Knowledge and theories about regional integration in Latin America

Figures: Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Helio Jaguaribe, Juan Carlos Puig, Mario Rapoport, Miryam Colacrai, Osvaldo Sunkel, Raúl Bernal-Meza, Ruy Mauro Marini, Theotonio dos Santos

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Decolonial approach to international studies

Juliane Rodrigues-Teixeira

The "Decolonial Approach" is inspired by the philosophy of liberation, postcolonial thought, Latin American and Caribbean debates on modernity and postmodernity, subaltern studies, post-developmental criticism, Dependency Theory and the World-System of Immanuel Wallerstein (Icaza, 2016). Originating towards the end of the '90s of the 20th century, it has among its most prominent representatives Aníbal Quijano, Walter Mignolo, Enrique Dussel, Edgardo Lander, Arturo Escobar, Catherine Walsh, Santiago Castro-Gómez, Ramón Grosfoguel, who make up the Modernity/Coloniality group as an epistemological, theoretical and political movement that proposes to contribute to criticism in the Social Sciences, highlighting the role of Latin America in the world and the structures that make up global coloniality.

These intellectuals problematize the power relations originated by colonialism, as a political and economic relationship between the metropolis and a dominated people, and observe that they continue today through the coloniality of power that structures the international system. They maintain that coloniality goes beyond the duration of colonialism as a historical period, understanding the continuation of colonial forms of domination in power struc-

tures in the contemporary international system through the coloniality of economic and political power; and by the coloniality of being, of gender and the coloniality of knowledge that operate at a global level (Grosfoguel, 2010).

The concept of coloniality of power, the basis of decolonial production introduced by Aníbal Quijano, was extended to other spheres of analysis, formulating the global matrix of power that acts through the articulation of the coloniality of power, being, knowledge, among others. This would constitute the colonial matrix of power as a complex structure that operates at various levels, with various forms of control, domination and oppression constructed by the modern/colonial world (Mignolo, 2017).

Globalization would be the culmination of a process begun in the formation of America along with the constitution of modern/colonial Eurocentric capitalism as a new world pattern of power. It highlights the notion "race" as a fundamental axis in the formation of the new world pattern of power, making it the basis for the construction of power, hegemony and world domination of Europe by classifying the world population based on this category, generating differences and hierarchies (Quijano, 2000).

The coloniality of knowledge is also highlighted, a concept that addresses the imposition of Eurocentrism as a hegemonic knowledge perspective based on the development needs of capitalism at a global level, marginalizing other knowledge, such as that produced in Latin America, for example (Quijano, 2000). Assumptions such as the colonial difference and the geopolitics of knowledge developed by Walter Mignolo, propose an "other paradigm" by questioning the hegemonic epistemic criteria in the production of knowledge. It criticizes Eurocentric knowledge, highlighting that knowledge is historical and situated constructions, both geo-politically - depending on the locus of enunciation - and body-politically - depending on the subjectivity of the subjects who construct this knowledge - (Mignolo, 2017). It proposes the

construction of a non-Eurocentric knowledge elaborated from the colonial legacies present in Latin America as an other paradigm conditioned by the colonial difference (Restrepo and Rojas, 2010).

The coloniality of being refers to the experience of subalternized subjects, it implies the ontological dimension of the encounter between conquerors and colonized, of the "relational" character in the construction of subjectivity. It is about lived experience. The coloniality of being refers, then, to the lived experience of colonization and its impact on language. Consequently, the coloniality of being must account for the experience lived by colonized, subalternized subjects (Quintana, 2008).

The term "decolonial turn" proposed by Maldonado-Torres puts colonialism and its consequences at the center of the debate. It synthesizes the main conceptualizations of the Modernity/Coloniality group associated with the resistance movement that problematizes and proposes alternatives to the logic of hegemonic modernity/coloniality (Ballestrin, 2013).

The Decolonial Approach in International Studies criticizes the theories of eurocentric modernity that present a specific way of thinking and seeing the international, conditioning the elaboration of knowledge in the discipline that maintains and reproduces the relations and hierarchies of power in the international system. It problematizes hegemonic epistemological and ontological assumptions and the geopolitics of knowledge by highlighting renegade elements based on counterhegemonic visions of international reality (Galindo Rodríguez, 2013).

Decolonial thought examines contemporary relations of power, hierarchies, domination and subordination that are articulated through local and global discourses and practices, addressing processes of knowledge generation and topics such as identities, cultures, races, ethnicities, genders, evidencing that coloniality of power explains the structures of the modern world system and the colonial power relations present in the international arena. It

investigates who produces knowledge and for what purpose, highlighting the mechanisms of the coloniality of knowledge in the discipline (Icaza, 2016).

Thus, it offers variables for understanding international reality through "other paradigms", pointing out the network of domination over people that transcends the economic and political sphere addressed by traditional approaches, visualizing domination from other areas, such as from the scientific knowledge that legitimizes the production of colonizing logic among nations (Martins Pinheiro Rosa, 2017).

Through the introduction of new perspectives regarding the origin of modernity from the conquest of America, and the intersection of variables such as power and race, decolonial thought makes visible the normally hidden side of modernity in international studies - or even problematizes modernity, given the few reflections on this term - such as the genocide of indigenous populations with the arrival of Europeans, the exploitation of their labor force and the usurpation of their territories, topics rarely addressed in the discipline but that they allow us to analyze and explain some contemporary international problems (Icaza, 2016). Thus, colonialism becomes an important historical period for the understanding of current international power structures.

This approach points to the construction and imposition of an epistemological matrix capable of articulating the power matrix associated with classification based on race, influencing the production of knowledge and the epistemic domination of the Global North in the discipline (Fonseca and Jerrems, 2012). Meanwhile, it aims to redefine some traditional concepts, making them more suitable to explain the particularities of some realities and events in the Global South (Martins Pinheiro Rosa, 2017). Among these concepts is that of the nation-state, problematized from the construction of plurinational states in Latin America, such as in Ecuador and Bolivia, for example.

Thus, it introduces other knowledge, questioning ethnocentrism in international studies. It seeks to pluralize the discipline by expanding the centrality of the Global South in the production of knowledge by recovering epistemological postulates and knowledge silenced by the coloniality of power, being and knowledge. Furthermore, it proposes other models of political action in local and global contexts, attributing importance to marginalized actors and groups in the configurations of the global order and in the agenda of the discipline, as is the case of social movements, for example (Fonseca and Jerrems, 2012).

It can be considered an "other paradigm" capable of expanding horizons, contributing to the construction of ontological and epistemological plurality by breaking with the universalism that predominates in international studies (Blaney and Tickner, 2017). Precisely, Cristina Yumie Aoki Inoue and Arlene Tickner (2016) propose the introduction of voices and debates that introduce reformulations in the ontological, epistemological, methodological and theoretical fields of the *mainstream,* suggesting new study agendas that complement the understanding of the international world, pluralizing the discipline. They question the possibility of thinking about the international that transcends the state-centric paradigm, pointing out the emergence of the Global South and postcolonial and decolonial approaches that point to the pluriverse, contributing to the construction of international studies of a more global and plural nature.

In this same sense, David Blaney and Arlene Tickner (2017) propose that decolonial postulates break with the logic of the singular world constructed by modern eurocentric science that ignores the existence of other worlds and their political relationships. They evidence the coexistence of other economic, political, social, historical and multiple knowledge practices, attributing importance to the existence of other realities in the international arena.

In this way, from the decolonial perspective, the actors and countries of the Global South have the capacity, not only political, but also epistemic, to produce knowledge, question the international order and propose alternatives. It is linked to epistemic justice by seeking to break with the hierarchies and exclusions present in the dominant ways of thinking and representing the world, making visible and integrating historically marginalized knowledge in International Studies.

Connections

Theories and Theoretical Approaches: Dependency
Concepts: Coloniality of power, Plurinational State, Geopolitics of knowledge, Sumak Kawsay-Suma Qamaña
Figures: Arlene Tickner, Aníbal Quijano, Arturo Escobar, Cristina Yumie Aoki Inoue, Edgardo Lander, Enrique Domingo Dussel Ambrosini, Ramón Grosfoguel, Santiago Castro-Gomez, Walter Mignolo

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Latin American Structuralism

Raul Bernal-Meza

"Latin American Structuralism" has its origins in the first theoretical formulations of Raúl Prebisch. Based on his contributions, that of some of his main collaborators in the Economic Commission for Latin America (CEPAL) and other thinkers, outside of it, its authors converged in a tradition of thought, understood as a complex of descriptive, interpretative, analytical and prospective, which has identified a scientific community of economists, sociologists and internationalists of different nationalities.

From my point of view, its extraordinary value is that it became the only philosophy of history formulated from the Global South, which explains how and why the world system generated within itself an axis of fracture between the north and the south, whose binary division explains development and underdevelopment to this day (Bernal-Meza, 2005). The beginning is in the reflections on the economy and international relations, of a systemic, structural and historical nature, to understand the causes of the underdevelopment of backward societies, which were modeled by Prebisch in the "center-periphery" morphology. As Aldo Ferrer (2005) pointed out, the Center-Periphery model emerged at a time of emptiness in the hegemonic thinking of the centers, when the crisis that enveloped them during the 1930s demolished the neoclassical vision and installed, in its place, the keynesian

paradigm. It is this, thanks to the role assigned to the State in generating economic development, that legitimizes Latin American structuralist thought.

The starting point is the formulation of what would later be the Theory of Development, a historical-structural method to interpret the causes of underdevelopment, the reasons for its continuous reproduction and the self-centered proposals to overcome it. The construction process has three stages: the first, whose axis of analysis is the role that technology plays in economic development; the second, which pays attention to the role played by the social structures of our countries in the permanent reproduction of underdevelopment; and the third, whose concern has been to explain the evolution of historical capitalism in the phase of "globalization" and its consequences and conditions for undeveloped societies. In this way, the tradition of thought of Latin American Structuralism has been able to give Latin American knowledge four levels of analysis, which go from diagnosis to prospective: the level of systemic theory, which is the most abstract, aimed at understanding and explaining the contemporary conditions of capitalism; the level of structural diagnosis, which explains the fact that even though peripheral countries are diverse in their geographical, demographic, urbanization, product and industry conditions, they are characterized by the common element of being producers and exporters of raw materials and *commodities* and that characterizes its specialization in the global economy; the level of criticism of conventional or dominant economic thought, recovering the concept of economic surplus, which allows us to understand the role of technical progress, structural heterogeneity and differences in productivity and, consequently, explain the appropriation and distribution of wealth at the global level, between countries and within them; finally, the level of prescription on the economic policies necessary for socioeconomic development, with proposals for economic policies, industrialization

and economic cooperation, both within the region, through integration, and towards the outside, through common actions and proposals, within the framework of multilateral negotiations. As Faletto (1996) pointed out, although CEPAL dealt with economic thought, it investigated the role of the State in development strategy. After promoting the analysis of those structural factors that characterized the specificity of the problems of the Latin American countries, he sought his own answers, avoiding the mechanical translation of existing theories on development to the region.

In retrospect, the concern about the role that technology plays in the development/underdevelopment fragmentation acquires extraordinary significance in the present, given the reproduction of a new cycle of dependency and Center-Periphery relations between our region and China, since it is, precisely, the differential in technical-scientific development that once again specializes Latin America as an exporter of primary products - agricultural, mining and energy - and importer of goods intensive in capital and technology (Bernal-Meza and Xing, 2020).

The first stage of the tradition of cepalian thought, that of the original formulations of Prebisch and Furtado, focused on a historical, cumulative product of knowledge applied to the production of goods and services: technology. The role of technology had been left aside by history scholars, for whom culture was the structural explanation for the development of Western societies in the North and the backwardness of the rest of the world. The backwardness of the periphery was a consequence of differences in cultural evolution: a logical interpretation from the perspective of the world as a fragmented entity into independent and autonomous parts. To this interpretation, Structuralism opposed the interpretation that the backwardness of the periphery was the consequence of the dynamics of the world system, which permanently consolidated the historical hegemony of the central countries and that, as

Sunkel and Tomassini would point out, development and underdevelopment were the two sides of the same currency: there could not be development in some parts, without underdevelopment in others.

The main -unsolved- problem of Latin America is precisely how to achieve development. That is why it is so important to return to the sources of structuralist thought. Prebisch's starting point was the analysis of the world economic system and the questioning of the classical and neoclassical theory of international trade. The international division of labor, based on specialization, was not the source of any comparative advantage, but rather the matrix of the permanent reproduction of underdevelopment, through the appropriation of the fruits of technical progress. It was - simply and extraordinarily - the discovery of the role that technology played in the accumulation of wealth through unequal exchange. The empirical data that supported the Center-Periphery model were derived from the verification of considerable inequality between producers and exporters of manufactured goods, on the one hand, and producers and exporters of primary goods on the other. The technical progress initiated in the centers, since the capitalist revolution and its greatest fruit, the industrial revolution, did not spread to other regions of the world, but was concentrated in its center, stimulating continuous and permanent technological innovations linked to development, which turned to the production of goods and services, generating a constant deterioration in commercial exchange for those productions that did not have that essential component of innovation and development.

Furtado was the second original interpretation. Sustained in the previous one, the concern for the role of technology in the historical process of configuration of a global economic system continued. Furtado analyzed the role of technical progress and the control of technology in the historical configuration of the dual structure of development-underdevelopment, which allowed us

to explain development as a global, that is, systemic process. He was the first structuralist author who based his reflection on history: on the phenomenon of development from a historical point of view, as a consequence of the rapid spread of new forms of production, from a limited number of centers radiating innovations. technological centers located in Western Europe, from which a process was generated that led to the creation of an economic system with a planetary dimension, considering "underdevelopment" as a creation of "development." For Furtado, the relationships that were established between these two types of societies involved forms of dependency that tended to be self-perpetuating (Bernal-Meza, 2005: 93).

Neoclassical, liberal and neoliberal criticism has wrongly blamed CEPAL and Structuralism for the failure of import-substituting industrialization, since the progress that Latin American countries achieved thanks to State intervention in improving living conditions and development of our peoples were due to the application of those ideas. But this topic serves to value the contribution of the "dependency" approaches, born under the protection of cepalian thought, because it helps us to understand today, just as it was fifty years ago, why we have not developed; why substitute industrialization failed and why we have not applied ourselves to a political path that ends underdevelopment. Neither CEPAL nor Structuralism had the decision on the public policies to follow in their hands. The historical responsibility has been that of our ruling classes who bequeathed us underdevelopment and keep us in it. The relationships that in the past united the small groups of internal economic power with the large external economic groups, associated in the same objective - the continuity of a dual structure that benefited both segments - was responsible for this failure, as is the responsible for the relative backwardness in which our societies currently remain. The thought of "dependency", born from the concern for the social

aspects of underdevelopment, which José Medina Echavarría (1973) formulated at CEPAL, introducing Sociology into the cepalian reflection of the 1950s, has allowed us to understand how social, national structures and transnational, reproduce the conditions that make possible the dual development-underdevelopment fracture.

The dynamics of capitalism, with its extraordinary force supported by the constant search for the return of capital, has resulted in the permanent and constant search for productivity. Subsequently, the transformations of historical capitalism, as a consequence of the change in the world order - of the Cold War, global hegemony and the uncertain future of liberal multilateralism - induced new generations of structuralists, known colloquially as neostructuralists, to deal with its impact on peripheral societies in what I have called the "globalization-globalization" phase (Bernal-Meza, 2005).

Connections

Theories and theoretical approaches: Dependency, Latin American neostructuralism

Schools of thought and Networks: School of Brasilia, Rosarian School of International Relations

Concepts: Center-Periphery, Outward-inward development, Deterioration in the terms of exchange, Heterogeneous distribution of science and technology, Latin American thinking on international and global issues, Knowledge and theories on regional integration in Latin America

Figures: Aldo Ferrer, Aníbal Pinto Santa Cruz, Celso Furtado, Luciano Tomassini, Osvaldo Sunkel, Raúl Prebisch

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Founding Insubordination

Marcelo Gullo

Understanding that a theory in the field of Social Sciences can be defined as an organized set of ideas that explain a phenomenon, deduced from the observation of history, experience or logical reasoning, the Theory of "Founding Insubordination" considers that all successful emancipatory processes, that all processes of real construction of sovereignty and that all development processes that achieved positive results were the result of an "insubordination" against the ideological order established by the dominant power, plus an adequate state impulse that allows the tangible and intangible elements of power of a state to become an act. This theory finds its antecedent and its root in the thoughts and reflections developed by the Uruguayan sociologist Alberto Methol Ferré in his essay entitled *Uruguay as a problem* (1967) and by the Brazilian political scientist Helio Jaguaribe in his work *Desarrollo economico y Desarrollo politico* (1964). Specifically, the Theory of Founding Insubordination It was formulated, for the first time, by Marcelo Gullo in his work entitled *La Insubordinación Fundante: Brief History of the Construction of the Power of Nations* (2008) and then deepened in his following books, including *Insubordination and Development: The Keys to success and failure of nations* (2012).

It is necessary to clarify that the full understanding of the Theory of Founding Insubordination requires, as a necessary condi-

tion, to explain that the first power that built an ideological order destined to inhibit the construction of the national power of the other states and inhibit the development of the other nations was Great Britain. He did so through preaching the theory of the international division of labor and free trade. Therefore, the construction of national power and economic development was, from then on, linked to the rejection of the international division of labor and free trade. One of the most striking but, at the same time, most ignored issues in the history of international politics and economics, refers to the fact that, after its industrialization, Great Britain began to act with deliberate duplicity. One thing was what it had actually done -and was doing- in terms of economic policy to industrialize and progress industrially and another was that, ideologically, it propagated, with Adam Smith and other spokespersons, something similar to what United States, the European Union, Japan, South Korea and China do.

Great Britain presented itself to the world as the "homeland of free trade", as the "cradle of state non-intervention in the economy" when, in reality, it had been, in historical terms, the homeland of economic protectionism and state interventionism. One of the clearest examples of economic protectionism and state interventionism was, without a doubt, the Navigation Act approved by the English Parliament in 1651, which allowed goods to be imported into England on english ships that were under english command and on which, in addition, three quarters of its crew were English sailors. It also established that only goods could be imported into England from the places of origin. Through the Navigation Act, the english naval industry received an enormous state boost. English merchants forced to supply themselves at their own expense gave a boost to shipbuilding so important that the English navy soon became the first in the world (Gullo, 2012).

The british elite was the first leading elite conscious of how it had built its national power, conscious that industry was power,

conscious that only industrialization could guarantee economic independence and political sovereignty. It is for this reason that it was proposed, as a political objective, that the other states would not be able to industrialize. The study of the history of the english economy shows that British industrialization, incipient since the Elizabethan Renaissance and strongly developed since the end of the 18th century with the Industrial Revolution, had, as a fundamental condition, the strict protectionism of the domestic market and the convenient aid of the state to the industrialization process. Elizabeth I promoted the english national economy by protecting the kingdom's nascent industry. Until then, England sold its abundant wool production mainly to Holland, where it was then processed. Isabel, through a skillful promotion policy, managed to attract to England the Dutch weaving technicians expelled by Philip II of the Netherlands. These, once installed in England and supported and protected by the state, began to develop a textile industry that became one of the main pillars of the English economy. Isabel developed the internal market for the nascent industry by establishing minimum wages, issuing various laws protecting peasants, and providing work for the poor. During the 45 years of his reign, England enjoyed extraordinary economic prosperity. It is possible to affirm that England experienced its first industrial revolution between 1540 and 1640:

> characterized by investments in new industries such as mining, metallurgy, breweries, sugar refining, soap, alum, glass and salt manufacturing. The rise of coal extraction began in the reign of Isabel and from there to the revolution of 1688 its production increased by 1,500%; goes from 170,000 to 2,500.00 tons. Level that France only reached in 1834 (Trías, 1976: 6).

Having obtained the good results of this policy for itself, Great Britain strove to uphold, for others, the principles of free trade

and the free action of the market, condemning any state intervention as counterproductive. Something similar to what the United States began to do after 1945.

Great Britain, by giving the principles of free trade and the free operation of the market the appearance of universal scientific principles of economics, succeeded in persuading (ideologically subordinating) the other nations of their origin for a long time, which thus passively became a market for British industrial products and remained mere producers of raw materials. In this way, ideological subordination - in the nations that accepted the postulates of free trade as a universal scientific principle - became the first link in the chain that tied them down and condemned them to endemic underdevelopment and political subordination, even if they managed to maintain the formal attributes of sovereignty.

From then on, for a strategy carried out for the purposes of the construction of real sovereignty (any attempt to overcome underdevelopment and economic dependence), undertaken by any political unit subject to British ideological subordination, to be successful, it had to start, necessarily, of the execution of a "Founding Insubordination", that is, of the implementation of an ideological insubordination, consisting of the rejection of the ideology of domination spread by Great Britain whose hard core, we insist, was made up of free trade. and the non-intervention of the state in the economy. This ideological insubordination had to be complemented with the application of an adequate state impulse (economic protectionism, public investments, covered or covert state subsidies), which would launch the industrialization process. It was, certainly, thanks to the realization of their respective founding insubordinations that the United States, Germany and Japan, in the course of the 19th century, as much as China or South Korea, during the 20th century, managed to build their non-formal real sovereignty, overcome underdevelopment, industrialize and become effectively autonomous countries.

During the 19th century, the incorporation of all Latin American countries, governed by a local oligarchy allied to British interests, into the international economy as simple suppliers of raw materials and importers of industrialized products, without making any industrializing effort, explains, better than no other conceptual development, the backwardness and underdevelopment of the Latin American states (even with momentary "apparent" booms in their economies), that they missed the "train of history" in this way. When some of these same countries, such as Argentina or Brazil, during the course of the 20th century, decided to make up for lost time, trying to carry out their respective founding insubordinations, they collided with the opposition of the United States (which had later become having been for almost 100 years the bastion of economic protectionism, champions of free trade) and of the old local oligarchies that used the Armed Forces to abort or truncate said processes of founding insubordination. In the period that has passed since the 21st century, tragedy became comedy because the widespread corruption of the Latin American political class meant that the region only gave birth to grotesque simulations of insubordination processes that ended in the most complete frustration.

Connections

Theories and Theoretical Approaches: Dependency
Schools of thought and Networks: Autonomy and Rosarian School of International Relations,
Rosarian School of International Relations
Concepts: Heterodox autonomy, Relational autonomy
Figures: Alberto Methol Ferré, Helio Jaguaribe

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Latin American Neostructuralism

Lincoln Bizzozero

By "Latin American Neostructuralism" we must understand an explanatory paradigm of the evolution of the capitalist system in its phase of globalization/globalization with the consequent conditions for Latin America as a subsystem of the periphery, which takes up and gives continuity to the tradition of Latin American thought known as Structuralism (Bizzozero, 2020). It is linked to Latin American Structuralism and directs in a new direction a set of analytical theories that sought to contextualize the evolution of Latin American countries, their position in the international system, their insertion in the world system and the problems of development from different perspectives. disciplinary approaches that included contributions from economists, sociologists and internationalists (Bernal-Meza, 2020).

Neostructuralism emerged as an alternative response to a-historical approaches to globalization and single thinking, which advocated a linear interpretation of history and the path forward for regions and countries (Tomassini, 1990, 1991; Bernal-Meza , 1994). The contributions of Latin American internationalists in this current of thought were located at different levels: the macro-systemic in the debates on the origins and scope of globalization; in that of the role of the State, regionalism and development and in that referring to foreign policies and international insertion.

One of the fundamental contributions of different authors to Latin American thought on globalization was to identify it as a phase of capitalism and not as a natural consequence of a technological leap that catapulted the international system of States into a "global village" where national spaces and regional were liquefied (Ferrer, 1997; Rapoport, 1997; Saraiva, 1997). In that sense, Aldo Ferrer's works on the history of globalization located it with the beginning of the discovery of new territorial spaces in Latin America, which formed the first world economic order starting in the 15th century (Ferrer, 1996, 2000). This historical location of the origins of globalization with the emergence of a world economic order and the acceleration in the phase that began in the nineties of the 20th century is what makes possible the analytical understanding of the continuity of the Center-Periphery axis and its consequences on the development and foreign policies of countries. One of the reference works, which analyzes the evolution of a Latin American country, from its peripheral position, in the different phases of capitalist globalization, is the work of Mario Rapoport in which he systematizes the moments of Argentina's international insertion. since 1880 in the world system (Rapoport, 2000). In those first years of the single thought and the guidelines of the Washington Consensus, some Latin American thinkers, including Aldo Ferrer and Mario Rapoport, Raúl Bernal-Meza and Gustavo Masera, sought to systematize the neostructuralist interpretive perspective. To do this, they took political economy in their analyzes and included international insertion as an analytical reference to understand foreign policy and the responses from the periphery (Bernal-Meza and Masera, 2005).

A reference work on the evolution of Latin American thought and the theoretical contributions to the understanding of international relations, which includes Neostructuralism, is that of Bernal-Meza (Bernal-Meza, 2005). In this work, this author analyzes the theoretical contributions of Structuralism and links them in

continuity with the neostructuralist evolution. In addition, it reflects on the different levels (macro, regionalism and foreign policy) including in each of these levels the contributions of Latin American thinkers. Although Bernal-Meza's theoretical and analytical frameworks coincide with other authors regarding globalization as a stage of capitalism, he distinguishes two concepts that have been used interchangeably as globalization and globalization. He considers globalization as the current stage of capitalism and in this he agrees with other systemic-structural authors such as Imanuel Wallerstein, who does not have a neostructuralist approach, while he considers globalization in its ideological component in which ideas about the single path and the directionality of policies (Bernal-Meza, 1996; Wallerstein, 1996). The differentiation between the world/global system and the international system is key in analyzes from the periphery and above all helps to visualize the position of countries and also of regions historically, spatially and in the evolution of foreign policies and relations (Bernal -Meza, 2000; Bizzozero, 2012).

A central theme in the neostructuralist current of thought concerns the role of the State in this stage of capitalism, for the purposes of defining possible development strategies based on international scenarios, the priorities of the different actors and the institutional and social organization. -cultural of the countries (Sunkel, 1990, 1994). The role of the State was central in the '90s of the last century in the face of the recommendations of the Washington Consensus that influenced the neoliberal policies of that time. Some Latin American thinkers grouped in the School of Brasilia, without starting from Neostructuralism, made pertinent contributions on the role of the State in the international/regional system by questioning the unrestricted link between the unique thought of globalization and the "normal State" as the possible in the parameters of Latin American globalization/regionalization (Bernal-Meza and Álvarez, 2020; Cervo, 2000, 2001).

The issue of the role of the State and public policies is closely linked to that of foreign policies and to regionalism as a way for international insertion, development and regional cooperation (Bernal-Meza, 2005). Problematizing foreign policy and presenting its different priorities and instruments was an exercise that began to be carried out more systematically since the 1980s through some thinkers who problematized different topics such as autonomy, international insertion and links with powers, especially the United States. Several authors made their contributions in this direction, even when they did not fit into that explanatory paradigm (Muñoz and Tulchin, 1984; Paradiso, 1993; Moniz Bandeira, 2003; Albuquerque, 1996). The analyzes from Neostructuralism emphasized a view from historical processes, regional scenarios, the Latin American/South American subsystem and an approach from political economy to highlight the options for international insertion and the conditions in development (Bernal-Meza, 2000; Cervo and Rapoport, 1998; Bizzozero, 2011).

There are conceptual similarities, approaches and objects of analysis between different thinkers, even if they do not come from Neostructuralism, whether historians, sociologists, economists or from international studies, on the foreign policy of Latin American countries, especially referring to the position of the countries. , autonomous options and regional development possibilities (Puig, 1989; Russell and Tokatlian, 2002; Rojas Aravena, 1997; Vigevani and Cepaluni, 2007). These analyzes have more recently led to a deepening of the link between the global/international context, the foreign policies of the countries and Latin American/South American regionalism (Bernal-Meza and Bizzozero, 2014; Briceño Ruiz, 2013; Vigevani and Ramanzini Jr., 2014; Serbin, Martínez and Ramanzini Jr., 2012). Foreign policy studies have a realistic emphasis from the position of the countries, which for Latin American countries is the Latin American periphery (Bernal-Meza, 2013; Bizzozero, 2008, 2010). The approach-

es from Neostructuralism contextualize Latin American/South American regionalism historically, but also in its component of insertion in the world economic order and with this they differ in their approach from studies more focused on comparative dynamics with other integration processes, especially the European (Bernal-Meza, 2009; Briceño Ruiz, 2018).

Recent studies that analyze the evolution of regionalism point out the importance of ideological debate and ideas about foreign and development policies (Bizzozero, 2020a). These debates cross macro-politics in Latin America with the passage from the Washington Consensus to the Beijing Consensus and the subsequent dangerous regional deconstruction; meso-politics with the repercussions on foreign and development policies with the role of Latin America in the international/world system and the relationship with the environment and natural resources; to reach micro-politics with geopolitical conditions and the interests and ideas of economic and social actors (Bernal-Meza and Xing, 2020; Bernal-Meza, 2020; Mellado and Cienfuegos Mateo, 2018; Riggirozi and Tussie, 2018; Pose and Bizzozero, 2019).

Connections

Theories and theoretical approaches: Dependency, Latin American structuralism

Schools and Networks: School of Brasilia

Concepts: Globalization/Worldization, Latin American regionalisms, Knowledge and theories about regional integration in Latin America, Latin American system

Figures: Aldo Ferrer, Amado Luiz Cervo, Andrés Serbin, Diana Tussie, José Briceño Ruiz, María Pía Riggirozzi, Mario Rapoport, Raúl Bernal-Meza

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Peripheral Realism

Carlos Escudé

"Peripheral Realism" (PR) draws on political realism. Its terminology is similar to that of the Prebisch-CEPAL paradigm, whose central category it borrows. And it is inspired by a "Thucydidean" awareness of the consequences of power asymmetries in relations between States. As the Canadian Robert Close argued, "it is an attempt to make realism more realistic" (2009) by contributing to the enterprise of stripping away the structure of the world order. It is not a theory that comes attached to any particular school of economic thought. PR can complement developmentalism, neoliberalism or Chinese communism. By the way, as Xú Shìchéng pointed out, Deng Xiăoping's thinking was very similar to him (2010).

To build theory of International Relations, in addition to adequate knowledge of the world, one needs to know what questions to ask, and this may have been one of the successes of RP. An elementary comparison of the foreign policies of two peripheral States with antithetical behaviors can bring us very close to the discovery of the invisible structures of international power.

Let's take Chile and Iran as cases. The actions of the Persians suppose that the world order is a jungle without rules, where it is legitimate to promote one's interests through any means, including terrorism. These interests are defined by the theocratic

leadership of the regime. Its policy is based on the premise that all States are equally sovereign, and that it is unacceptable that some have the right to possess weapons of mass destruction and others do not.

In contrast, chilean behavior is based on the implicit assumption that in the interstate order there are written and unwritten rules, and that, although we may not like it, the most powerful States have a preponderant role in establishing those rules. Quietly, he recognizes that Chile should not aspire to develop the weapons available to the oligopoly of the powerful, because if it tries, the government will probably fail and its people will suffer serious sanctions. Without words, chilean behavior recognizes that the fact that the United States sometimes arms and finances insurgent organizations abroad does not enable Chile to follow its example. Quite the opposite of Iran, which helps finance Hamas in Palestine and Hezbollah in Lebanon.

The Iranian model, which is also that of North Korea and that of all the so-called "pariah states", leads to enormous costs that are inevitably paid by the citizens of those peripheral countries that rebel against the system. The Chilean model, on the other hand, is shared by all "responsible" states in terms of foreign and security policies - they are responsible as long as their foreign policies do not unnecessarily increase the suffering of their people. Among them I include most of the Latin American countries and all of those in Western Europe.

Note that, for decades, Europeans have been waging a diplomatic dispute with the United States to keep their defense spending low, which means accepting Washington's guardian role. Since the end of the Second World War, Europe has been knowingly abdicating its military power, because it perceives it as too expensive for its people. And the United States objects because it does not want to pay more than it already pays for the defense of Europe.

These reflections reveal the limits of the "international freedom of maneuver" of all States, even the most powerful. They reveal the conditioning to which the exercise of sovereignty is almost always subject. Only with the imposition of a totalitarian regime can a country's international room for maneuver be "unlimited."

This iron law of Political Science is confirmed even in the case of the most powerful superpower. Since the Vietnam War, American popular consensus has led to the elimination of mandatory military service. That imposes severe limits on the United States' deployment of ground troops. While in World War II they mobilized between eleven and sixteen million soldiers, currently they cannot deploy a million abroad. For this reason, in 2011 they withdrew from Iraq, and since then they have continued to withdraw from distant theaters of war.

If any american government wanted to conquer the Persian Gulf, it would have to impose a levy contrary to its current laws. Since changing that legislation is politically impossible within democracy, Washington could not conquer that region without devolving towards a dictatorship. And for the even more onerous goal of waging a preventive war against Russia or China, it would have to become a despotism that arbitrarily disposed of the lives and property of its own citizens.

This principle can be formalized in the following equation, stated in my books from 1995 and 1997 (1995: 34; 1997: 17): [Unlimited 'freedom' of a State vis-à-vis the world] ≡ [absolute internal tyranny]. This "equation of metapolitical balance" is a universal law, valid for all States. But it is resignified, depending on whether you look at it from the periphery or from the center of world power.

The very validity of this equation stratifies the States in a hierarchical order, and that is what is relevant from the perspective of the periphery: the weaker a country is, the lower the threshold of

external autonomy from which the freedom of citizens must necessarily decrease.

France, for example, was able to intervene in Libya in 2011 without imposing unacceptable taxes and levies on the Gauls. But that is its limit. It could not have the military presence that the United States routinely deploys in the Middle East without oppressing its own people. Due to the differences in power and wealth between the two, what the White House can do in a democracy, for the Elysée would only be possible in a dictatorship.

Going down the scale, it is only because its people are gagged that Iran has a nuclear program. Its underdevelopment is such that it lacks the resources to refine much of its own oil: it depends on imported gasoline. Its people (who are moderate) would never vote for a nuclear program of very high political and economic cost. The regime can indulge in challenging the West because it is dictatorial.

Even further down the totem pole of States, North Korea can exercise its "sovereign right" to have an atomic bomb because it subjects its people to the most extreme totalitarianism. Only in this way can a very poor country concentrate its scarce resources on the development and production of such an expensive weapon, facing harsh international sanctions. In order to thunder that its country is as sovereign as the United States, the Pyongyang regime reduces its people to extreme poverty.

In short, it is an undeniable fact that to expand a State's external margin of maneuver it is necessary to invest large human and material resources, and that the poorer a country is, the smaller this margin of maneuver will be, unless the State submits its population to exactions that demand increasing degrees of authoritarianism.

As a consequence, as long as it is made up of materially and demographically unequal States, the international order can never be democratic or egalitarian: this is a logical impossibility. It could

only be egalitarian if there were a cosmopolitan world regime with a single supranational state, governed by a "one citizen, one vote" system. Without that framework, it is inevitable that the world-system will be imperfect and incipiently hierarchical.

In truth, not even legally do States have the same rights: the Charter of the United Nations establishes the legal inequality of States. The permanent members of the Security Council have the power to help shape the rules of the game, while the vast majority is forced to behave according to the rules established by that oligopoly. And there is also a third category of States that, without having the power to contribute to establishing these rules, rebel against them, paying very high costs that are passed on to their inhabitants. In other words, three types of States interact in the interstate order: 1) Norm-makers, 2) Norm-takers, and 3) Rebels.

This is the "structure" of the interstate order: it is not an "anarchy," as Kenneth Waltz postulated, but a proto-hierarchy (1979). And this simple theorem is the foundation stone of PR that, with nuances (and whether its rulers recognize it or not), characterizes the foreign policies of almost all Latin American countries.

This theorem reveals that weak states that challenge the order tend to lose, because the exactions they must impose on their societies to continue competing with the powerful increase to infinity. Iran will surely lose. North Korea, too. Iraq has already lost, as in its time, saving the distance, Argentina lost in 1982, which waged war on Great Britain.

It should not be assumed, however, that the international order is crystallized. The best examples of that not being the case are Germany and Japan. Devastated after the Second World War, turned into a periphery, they accepted the political rules established by the victors. But they worked and defended their commercial interests so hard that today, for the good of their people, they are economic superpowers. And if they wanted to, they would be able to become great military powers.

This, and not sterile rebellion, is the path to success for states like Argentina, Brazil, Italy, Australia and many others. There are few exceptions, such as China and India, whose colossal domestic markets give them more room to maneuver to challenge the great powers in the sphere of international security. But for the vast majority of States the path to success is that of Canada. Furthermore, it is a path that saves costs for citizens.

In sum, RP demonstrates logically and empirically that, although superpowers interact under conditions of anarchy, the world order as a whole is hierarchical. According to Stephanie Neuman, Douglas Lemke and Ira Straus, PR constitutes a long-overdue correction to Realist Theory of International Relations (Lemke, 2002; Neuman, 2009). However, it was overlooked by the best-known versions of realism, because this correction is more relevant for the periphery than for the center.

And it is very difficult to impose ideas from the periphery. Due to the structural reasons studied by Arlene Tickner, also in academia there is a "center" and a "periphery," and the "power" to correct theory is exercised mainly by academics at the center (Tickner, 2013).

As Thucydides said, the strong do what they can and the weak suffer what they must.

Connections

Theories and Theoretical Approaches: Latin American Structuralism, Theories of Power Construction
Schools of thought and Networks: Brazil Great Power School
Concepts: Double asymmetry, Center-Periphery
Doctrines: Respice Polum Doctrine
Figures: Arlene Tickner, Carlos Escudé, Raúl Prebisch, Samuel Pinheiro Guimarães

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Theories of Construction of Power

Carlos Eduardo Vidigal

Thinking about 'Theories of the Construction of Power' requires an effort to recognise the plurality of world conceptions, values and concepts, to identify in authors who did not set out to theorise the possible presence of an implicit theoretical framework in their work and to overcome prejudices rooted in the human sciences (at least in Brazil), such as belittling theories produced by local internationalists. Strictly speaking, there is no 'theory of the construction of power' in Brazilian historiography in International Relations - at least to our knowledge. However, it is possible to identify several authors, commonly presented as interpreters of Brazil (Santiago, 2000; Botelho y Schwarcz, 2009; Pericás y Secco, 2014), who, linked to the context in which they were written and in the dialogue established with other intellectuals, have formed true theories of international relations.

This essay is restricted to the most recent period of Brazilian history, from the 1930s to the present day, as revisiting the diplomatic and political thinking of the previous period would go beyond the limits and recommendations of the project of this work. The emphasis is therefore on the period of developmentalism (1930-1989) and the recent phase of economic globalisation, based on the conceptions of authors who served governments with different ideological political profiles and no less relevant axiological differences.

The changes that took place in Latin America in the 1930s and 1940s led to profound questions about the international position of the region's countries. In the case of Brazil, as Maria Regina Soares de Lima (1992) observed, reflections on international relations gained density in the 1950s and 1960s, and we can identify the three theoretical matrices that shaped intellectual production at the time: dependentist, geopolitical and realist. We prefer to rearrange these matrices around four authors and debates from those decades: Celso Furtado's theory of development; Hélio Jaguaribe's theory of autonomy; and Golbery do Couto e Silva's geopolitical thinking.

We would add Celso Amorim's conceptions as an example of more recent contributions to 'globalised Brazil'.

The developmentalist strand acquired mature contours in the context of the second post-war period, in the midst of the construction of a new world order hegemonised by the United States - at least in what was called the West - and, in Latin America, the debate on socio-economic development, with a decisive contribution from CEPAL. As Devés noted, CEPAL was not just a technical effort to provide Latin American countries with effective concepts and instruments, through state planning, industrialisation, an emphasis on the role of technology as a source of power, or a certain economic protectionism. In fact, CEPAL formulated a comprehensive concept of development, a proposal for economic modernisation linked to social and cultural dimensions (Devés Valdés, 2000: 303-04).

Celso Furtado based his thinking on a vision of international relations strongly influenced by three aspects: long-standing economic history; world geopolitics under US hegemony; and the imbrications between international politics and domestic political and socio-economic processes. The problem of foreign capital took centre stage in his theoretical-methodological formulations, since what until then had meant 'foreign ownership of assets ex-

isting in the country' had become 'the control by foreign groups of part of the decision-making system that commands economic activity' (Furtado, 1973: 180). To counteract international constraints, the government should prioritise policies in favour of capital accumulation and the improvement of national technologies, promote regional integration and diversify the country's commercial and financial ties. Underdevelopment was linked to complex relations of domination-dependence between peoples, requiring research into power systems and their historical and cultural roots (Bernal-Meza, 2013: 94). By focusing on the need for a carefully planned industrialisation project, without neglecting the socio-political and cultural dimensions, and with a concern for improving the living conditions of the country's poorest populations, Furtado embraced a theoretical perspective that could be called 'social-developmentalist'. The desired result of this project would put the country in a position to compete with the strongest economies, which brings his theory closer to that of 'construction of power'.

Under the government of Juscelino Kubitschek, who appointed Furtado to the presidency of Sudene, the country's industrialisation accelerated and the ideology of development played an important role, with the ISEB standing out (Benevides, (2022 [1976]: 241). The ISEB's Hélio Jaguaribe (1958) actively participated in the effort to provide the country with a development ideology, through an autonomous policy on the international stage. He conceived of development in a broad sense, in which international relations took centre stage. In order to achieve autonomy, Latin American countries had to carefully assess 'international permissibility', i.e. the degree of freedom of action possible in a given situation, and act in harmony with the construction of 'national viability', conceived as a critical minimum of human and natural resources, factors that could vary over time (Briceño Ruiz, 2015: 390). In his view, Brazil should promote the integration of

South America, based on an understanding with Argentina; act alongside the other underdeveloped countries in the search for resources; and consider the possibility of neutralism in the context of the Cold War (Jaguaribe, 1958: 243). He considered that in the event of a third world war - a not unreasonable hypothesis at the time - the fate of each country would depend on the position it had previously taken. In this case, neutralism was the most advisable, as it would not involve the country in a war in anticipation and in the interests that were foreign to it. The exercise of national power and the defence of its own interests, as the great powers did, were at the basis of his theory of autonomy, which was, so to speak, a power policy, in the sense used by Martin Wight (2002). The political tensions of the early 1960s and the 1964 coup d'état made it impossible to adopt neutralism.

With the advent of the 1964 coup, the military dictatorship embraced alignment with Washington's policies and Cold War values and reoriented relations with its South American neighbours. Despite a certain retreat from 1967 onwards, the geopolitical concept prevailed in the country's international relations, based to a large extent on Golbery's writings. For him, Brazil had permanent objectives such as 'safeguarding' our independence, maintaining a democratic lifestyle, consolidating the unity of the 'national group' (principles of social justice and Christian morality), maintaining the territorial status quo in South America (against revisionist tendencies or the formation of blocs), among others (Couto e Silva, 1967: 70-71). As Eugénio Vargas Garcia observes:

The "construction of power", to use Geraldo Lesbat Cavagnari's expression, became a constant concern in the minds of the military, in the expectation that the rise of Brazil to higher levels of the international hierarchy of power is seen as a corollary to the expansion of the attributions of military power in the defense of national interests along borders. A realistic notion of power,

highlighted, had deep roots in the nationalism of the military and was not in any way an exclusive device of the magnum opuses of geopolitics, even though it is frequent with the ease of those texts (1997: 29-30).

The military regime saw Brazil as a Catholic and Western (capitalist) country, whose culture and history were tributaries of Europe and the United States, considering the foreign policy of the previous period as susceptible to influences from Soviet and Cuban communism. Unlike Furtado and Jaguaribe, Golbery put the defence of the Western world ahead of industrialist and developmentalist policies, although he admitted to them. His ideas gained greater influence when General Médici's government launched the slogan of 'Brazil as a power', a condition that was believed to be achievable in a few years. During the process of 'political opening', led by Generals Geisel and Golbery, industrialist and somewhat autonomous policies - such as the Military Employment Material Export Programme (Pnemem) - were preserved.

The redemocratization marks an inflection in the country's economic and foreign policy, perceptible in the passage of the government of José Sarney for Fernando Collor. According to Collor, Itamar Franco and Fernando Henrique Cardoso, foreign policy was subordinated to the country's economic opening and deregulation, limiting any autonomous claims to international forums, which were exercised timidly. Cervo characterized Cardoso's foreign policy, mainly in his first term, as the policy of a subservient, destructive and regressive State (Bueno and Cervo, 2015: 489). Only as the advent of the governments of Lula and Dilma Rousseff would it be possible to identify the meaningless purposes of the construction of power, based on the politics of Celso Amorim, self-titled active and haughty politics.

The policy initiated by Lula and Amorim promoted a return to some aspects of the ideas of Furtado and Jaguaribe, as well as

the principles of the Independent Foreign Policy (PEI) that preceded the dictatorial period. The new orientation was based on diversifying the country's international ties, proactively participating in international forums, promoting integration within Mercosur and South America, and building regional negotiating mechanisms such as IBSA (India, Brazil and South Africa) and BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa). For Amorim, the country's new diplomatic attitude was clear in the search for an alternative to the impasse that the so-called P5+1 group had reached in negotiations with Tehran over its nuclear programme, in the establishment of a new pattern of relations with countries in the Middle East, and in the WTO Doha round negotiations in Cancún, in which a group of developing countries organised themselves to put pressure on the world's main economies to end agricultural subsidies and EU and US trade barriers (Amorim, 2015). Another highlight was the policy of integrating South America, which led to the creation of Casa, later Unasur, and Celac, with relations with Buenos Aires as the starting point (Amorim, 2022), emulating what Jaguaribe had been advocating as early as 1958.

Returning to the question of building power, it is possible to say that some aspects of Brazilian foreign policy under the PT governments pointed in this direction: a certain developmentalist bias, support for the internationalisation of Brazilian companies, participation in the BRICS, the integrationist advances made in South America, etc. On another occasion (Vidigal, 2010), we suggested - with a hint of irony - that foreign policy under the Lula governments could be considered that of a cordial power. It would be an assertive policy in the face of some international issues and controversies, but it would not alter what was essential in the insertion of a semi-peripheral country.

In short, the four theories presented here, even in the midst of substantive differences, reveal the existence of a common sub-

strate. Since the breaking of the colonial link with Portugal, exponents of Brazilian thought have discussed the nation and the state, national identity, progress and development, generally pointing to the idea of a power in the making. Whether it's social-developmentalist, liberal-developmentalist, geopolitical or cordial power, it's reasonable to think that power-building theories are an alternative for understanding Brazil and its international insertion.

Connections

Theories and Theoretical Approaches: Dependency, Latin American Structuralism
Thinking schools and Networks: Brazil Great Power School
Concepts: Autonomy, Heterodox Autonomy, Relational Autonomy, Latin American Regionalisms
Doctrines: Doctrine of the Third Position
Figures: Carlos Escudé, Celso Amorim, Celso Furtado, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Golbery do Couto e Silva, Helio Jaguaribe, José Briceño Ruiz, María Regina de Soares Lima, Raúl Bernal-Meza

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PART II:
SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT AND NETWORKS

Autonomy and Rosarian School of International Relations

Gladys T. Lechini, Carolina Martínez

In 2022, the "Rosarian School of International Relations" turned 100 years old, the result of the efforts of teachers and researchers who, throughout this century of existence, understood from Rosario (as a departure port city for much of the agricultural production national) the importance of proposing a broad insertion of the country and the region in an international scenario where the central countries determined the rules of the game. Among the ideas that were circulating around Argentina's place in the world, the awareness of knowing ourselves on the periphery, but with conditions to act in the world, was fertilizing the concept of "Autonomy" conceived by Professor Juan Carlos Puig, in the middle of the 20th century.

A lawyer by profession, a specialist in International Law, Puig completed his training with studies in Consular Law and Diplomacy, at the then headquarters of the National University of the Litoral (UNL) in Rosario. There he held the position of professor and director of the School of Political Sciences dependent on the Faculty of Law, at the recently created National University of Rosario in 1968. And it was precisely thanks to Puig that on October 3, 1973, the Faculty of Science was born. Politics and Inter-

national Relations. In addition to contributing to the institutional strengthening of International Relations in Rosario, Puig took care of giving them life and content, becoming one of the main references in Latin America, giving his seal to the Rosario thinking of the discipline.

By then, the countries and academics of our Latin American region (who had maintained a preeminently legal perspective to defend their interests from a position of vulnerability, resorting to international law) began to consider new political options that would allow them to circumvent dependence on the centers of world power, basically of the North American hegemonic power, and aim for better international insertion in accordance with their aspirations. The concern revolved around the conditions and possibilities to conduct its foreign policies autonomously and consistent with its national interest. Although this discussion was already established alongside the theory of development and dependency, these years were characterized by a much stronger debate around Autonomy, with Juan Carlos Puig as the driving axis (1980, 1984a, 1984b).

In the '70s Puig moved to Buenos Aires where he created the Center for Argentine International Studies (CEINAR), traveling periodically to Rosario to continue teaching, until he was named Minister of Foreign Affairs of the brief government of Héctor Cámpora, a position since which tried to apply its theoretical concepts. Despite his exile in Venezuela, he continued to contribute to the development of the discipline until his early death.

In Puig's academic and institutional legacy, the idea of situated knowledge becomes relevant. The author always took into consideration the international context of the Cold War and at the same time his immediate environment. Hence the importance of highlighting the place from where he began his academic production, Rosario, a port city with very strong impetus since the beginning of the 20th century, since at that time, the city had

its own identity, as described by the Rosario-based historian Miguel De Marco (2013).

A group of academics grouped around Bruno Bologna would follow in his footsteps, both at the Faculty and at the Center for Studies in International Relations of Rosario (CERIR). In this way, several generations of students began to form, becoming teachers and researchers, who continued their legacy, consolidating one of the most prominent and most continuous groups in the study of international phenomena in Argentina and Latin America. The development of a critical mass of academic production was reflected in the appearance of various publications where the concern for the insertion of Argentina and a Latin Americanist perspective can be seen, linked to the theoretical-epistemological environment that entails the autonomist perception bequeathed by Puig.

The work of teachers and researchers, many of whom belong to the National Scientific and Technical Research Council (CONICET), have built the identity of the Rosarian School of RRII, producing situated knowledge, as Puig did, interpreting the world from a Latin American perspective. with potentialities and vulnerabilities, contrasting the interests and needs of the South with the imperatives of the north and the *mainstream,* maintaining Puig's imprint.

Along with the multiple works on Argentine foreign policy, Rosario has also addressed the foreign policies of other countries in the region (Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Bolivia) and the world, beyond the proposals conditioned by financing from the north. , focusing on various geographic and thematic areas. Even though studies on Latin America and Mercosur stand out, as it is our region of immediate insertion, there was an early interest in studying the phenomena that occurred in "more distant regions" for the interests of the Palacio San Martín, such as Asia, Africa and the Middle East, showing the need to know the actors of the South, also relevant for the design of more profitable international insertion strategies.

Regarding the topics addressed in the published works, the following can be mentioned: cooperation and integration, international development cooperation, South-South cooperation, Latin American and European regional integration, environment, international security and defense, energy governance, extractivism, emerging powers, global governance, comparative foreign policies, Mercosur, international political economy, international trade and development, international finance, sovereign debts, green finance, reconfiguration of Global Governance, among others.

Likewise, the prolific creation of groups and study programs within the Faculty reflects the variety of topics investigated by the Rosario academic community. In this sense, there is the South-South Relations and Cooperation Program (PRECSUR) that includes the Program of Studies on Brazil (PEAB), Program of Studies on Latin America and Africa (PEALA), Middle East Studies Group (GEMO) and Study Group on India and Southeast Asia (GEIRSA) and the study groups on: Malvinas, the European Union, Russia, China, Geopolitics of the Caucasus and Asia Minor, Argentine Foreign Policy, Security and Defense in South America, Negotiations International Business, International Finance, International Migration, Integration and Regional Cooperation in Latin America.

In the majority of Rosario's production, the "Puiguiana" imprint is perceived, both in proposing the ways of insertion of Argentina, and from its conception of Autonomy, rescuing and valuing its concepts and analysis and updating, when considered necessary, the *themes* to new South-South contexts and approaches to explain current processes. In some cases, the concept of Autonomy is used to characterize certain foreign policies of peripheral, semi-peripheral countries or the now called Global South, taking the concept for granted, and in other cases there are works that address the concept in question in depth.

It is worth mentioning that the majority of the teacher-researchers at the Rosarian School explicitly or implicitly refer to the need to defend autonomous positions in contexts of domestic and systemic vulnerability. As an example, we will detail some significant references that do not exhaust the important local production.

Among the most relevant research linked to Puig's concepts, the works of Miryam Colacrai (2009, 2019) stand out, who rescues the centrality of the concept of Autonomy to analyze the policies of peripheral states. Likewise, it considers it necessary for the epistemic community to legitimize expanded definitions of Autonomy and, therefore, proposes to renew the concept and link it to integration as a regional identity construction to face the challenges of globalization, which allows it to assign Autonomy a content regional focusing on certain domestic components that should be taken into account to rethink Foreign Policy in a regional key.

For her part, Gladys Lechini (2009, 2014, 2020) takes Autonomy as a central concept in her studies of South-South Cooperation, understanding it as a political tool for countries with vulnerabilities to obtain greater joint negotiating power, in defense of their interests. and in this way acquire greater decisional autonomy, to face and solve common problems.

Anabella Busso (2016, 2019) in her works dedicated to the analysis of Argentine foreign policy and Latin American states, addresses the issues of international insertion and Autonomy.

María Elena Lorenzini, from the Theory of IR, analyzes and revisits the autonomist thought of Juan Carlos Puig, as an expression of the so-called "Theories of the South", providing its practical implementation in certain foreign policies and highlighting the importance of building knowledge from the peripheral centers (Lorenzini and Pereyra Doval, 2013; Lorenzini and Simonoff, 2019; Lorenzini, 2021).

Carla Morasso (2016, 2018) takes up in her research the concepts of Autonomy of Puig, Russel and Tokatlián, in her analyzes of Argentine Foreign Policy as a public policy to understand the changes in the links with African countries, the development of South-South Cooperation and action strategies within the framework of the Malvinas Question.

Along with the transformations that occurred in the international system, as a result of the international financial crisis of 2008, Clarisa Giaccaglia (2009) reflects on what is the best autonomous strategy that the governments of Argentina and Brazil are trying to carry out within the framework of the negotiations of the Doha Round of the World Trade Organization.

Julieta Zelicovich (2018, 2022), in her works on trade policy and trade negotiations, highlights the importance of Autonomy in the foreign policy guidelines of the countries of the Global South, particularly Argentina, understanding it as a certain capacity for action and decision by the State, especially regarding the preservation of the policy space referred to the development model.

José Fernández Alonso (2017, 2018), from international finance, analyzes the issue of sovereign debts, and in particular the Argentine case, as conditions for the development of a country and the concept of gaining Autonomy through debt reduction external. In this way, it is considered important that peripheral countries can propose an autonomous position against the impositions of the "North" in different multilateral credit organizations, where their condition of asymmetry is respected.

Emilse Calderón (2018, 2022) takes the concept of Autonomy as a reference to analyze how defense policy, during the governments of Néstor Kirchner and Cristina Fernández, affected the country's international insertion in the strategic-military sphere.

Ornella Fabani (2015), in her Doctoral Thesis and subsequent articles, alludes to Puig's conceptualization to characterize Argentine Foreign Policy in the face of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

Javier Orso, from the Chair of History of Latin American International Relations, echoing the postulates of Autonomy and South-South thought, provides a bibliographic spectrum that transcends the theories and views of the mainstream in the treatment of the themes and *bibliography* of the matter.

With some examples we intend to reflect the prolific production minted in Rosario, which in turn was disseminated through publications in Latin America and the rest of the world. These academics also taught classes at other universities in the country (Buenos Aires, Córdoba, Entre Ríos, La Plata, La Rioja, Santa Fe, to name a few) and abroad, especially in Latin America (Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico), enabling the dissemination of the ideology of the Rosarian School of IR.

As a final reflection, it can be stated that the legacy of Juan Carlos Puig is relevant in the consolidation of the discipline and especially for the construction of the thought and ideology of the Rosarian School of International Relations, becoming one of its greatest legacies.

Throughout this paper, we have briefly outlined the influence of Puig's academic work and the concepts he has developed on the work of teachers and researchers in Rosario, who apply these concepts and theories in a reflective and context-specific manner, moving beyond passing trends or impositions from the North.

Looking at international affairs from a peripheral insertion, with a local, regional and global perspective is a habit that Juan Carlos Puig left us, who, knowing in depth the logic and thinking of mainstream academics, was able to articulate his analyzes and strategies from *a* perspective South, thinking about designing more autonomous foreign policies that allow joining efforts in pursuit of a more just and equitable international order for all.

Connections

Theories and theoretical approaches: Dependency, Latin American structuralism, Latin American neostructuralism
Schools and Networks: Rosarian School of International Relations
Concepts: Autonomy, Heterodox Autonomy, Relational Autonomy
Doctrines: Doctrine of the Third Position
Figures: Alfredo Bruno Bologna, Juan Carlos Puig, Gladys T. Lechini, Miryam Colacrai

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Brazil Great Power School[1]

Eduardo Devés

It is a school of thought that has been developing in Brazil, at least since the mid-20th century, whose basic arguments are: the country is becoming and must become a great world power. Those who have constituted this school of thought are, among others: Golbery do Couto e Silva, Mario Travassos, Samuel Pinheiro Guimarães, José Luis Fiori, Luiz Alberto Moniz Bandeira, Guilherme Sandoval Góes and Nelson Jobim .

To achieve this formulation, a series of propositions are linked together that seem almost common sense, although seen as a whole they reveal their true dimension:

- First proposition: We are a people that is in an oppressed or marginalized condition, in relation to our possibilities;
- Second: It is about defending ourselves from those who oppress-marginalize us;
- Third: To defend ourselves we must be stronger;
- Fourth: To be strong we must join other peripheral states;

1 Presented here is a r elaboration and synthesis of a conference by Devés, E. (2016) *Dangerous parallels: Japan in Asia, Brazil in Africa: Pan-Asianism and Lusotropicalism of great powers. An intellectual agenda* [XIV Congress of Philosophy] Catholic University of Paraná in 2016 .

- Fifth: Brazil has greater capacity than others to move towards emancipation;

- Sixth: Brazil must lead the team;

- Seventh: The other Latin American states must assume Brazil's leadership in this process, if they wish to emancipate themselves.

Below, some of the keys that allow us to detect the development of an imperial-expansionist thought are developed, trying to show that the aforementioned propositions are satisfied by the approaches of the intellectuality grouped in the "Brazil Great Power School." These can be divided into those that are properly eidetic and those that are evident in practices, although they have not been explained theoretically.

Among the properly eidetic keys are:

- The key to the dimensions (territorial, demographic, natural resources) as well as the consideration of other powers of this condition. Alberto Moniz Bandeira (2008: 2) has highlighted:

> Not without reason, in 1976, when questioned, in the House Foreign Affairs Committee, the United States had elevated Brazil to the status of a world power, for three of the two countries agreed to a consultation agreement, Henry Kissinger, then Secretary of State In the administration of President Gerald Ford (1974-1977), he replied: "(...) This agreement does not make Brazil a world power. Brazil has a population of 100 million, vast economic resources, a very rapid rate of economic development. "Brazil is becoming a world power, and it does not need our approval to become one, and it is our obligation in the conduct of foreign policy to deal with the realities that exist." According to Kissinger, Brazil via its relationship with the United States is similar to two twin pillars, fitting the organization of Latin America, while the United States has the same task, in North America, two companies working in harmony, through frequent exchange, and articulating their common purposes.

- The key to exceptionality, the primacy of ethnicity and culture in the construction of a glorious past. Gilberto Freyre (1960: 69) argued that Portugal had begun in the XV century "a new type of civilization", due to its character of expansion "singularly symbiotic with the union of Europe as a tropic. These elements will have to establish or inspire a new civilization" (Pinto, 2009: 150).

- The key to international leadership claims. Pinheiro Guimaraes maintained: "The issue of leadership is complex. No country simply proclaims itself a leader and expects the others to follow. The reality is the opposite. Other countries call upon and ask to be led" (2013: 257). A few years earlier, in 2008, ministers Nelson Jobim and Roberto Mangabeira Unger in a joint document proposed: "Brazil will rise to the forefront of the world without exercising hegemony or domination" (cited in Zibechi, 2012: 108). Even earlier, Golbery do C. Silva had maintained: for Brazil to have international influence and leadership in South America, it must be 1) sufficiently articulated internally; 2) effectively integrated; 3) expanded in its extensive territory, and must 4) manifest control over its borders. Once this is achieved, the country will be able to express its international leadership (Romero Gallardo, et al., 2012: 243).

- The key to your primacy and/or leadership for the good of all. Gilberto Freyre; "Opportunities are opening up for today's Brazil to lead less developed tropical nations" (cited in Pinto, 2009: 157). For his part, Guilherme Góes, at the time coordinator of the Division of Geopolitical Affairs and International Relations of the Higher School of War, maintained that to avoid the geopolitical subordination of the region, "benign Brazilian leadership in South America" was necessary. (cited in Zibechi, 2012: 263-264).

- The key to the expansion or expansion of your living space, to defend your safety. Góes himself, in defending this "benign Brazilian leadership in South America," pointed out that this turns the region into "a vital space for the international strengthening of

Brazil" and its multipolar insertion in various fronts of international cooperation (cited in Zibechi, 2012: 264).

- The key to the justification of military investment and even arms production. Samuel Pinheiro Guimarães defended investment in the military industry:

> When you invest in the defense industry, you are investing in the steel industry, in telecommunications, in information technology, in glass, in tires, in all those industries linked to and that are generating contracts and taxes. A military department is similar to a department with any economic activity, it employs people, pays salaries, generates demand (2013: 257).

Nelson Jobim, for his part, proposed "approving a law that would guarantee military investment in perpetuity, something similar to what happens in Chile, where a part of copper exports are integrated into the military budget. In Brazil the same could be legislated in relation to oil" (cited in Zibechi, 2012: 120).

- The key to power over other regions. Jobim himself, referring to Africa, stated: "the modernization of the armed forces is closely linked to the role that the country will play in the next two decades, in which it will go from being a regional power to a great global power. We could have a more intense action not only in the South American environment, but also in West Africa and in points of the globe where vital Brazilian interests were at stake" (cited in Zibechi, 2012: 120) [2].

2 For their part, in a collective work on relations between Africa and Brazil, José Luis Fiori, Raphael Padula and María Claudia Vater faced this issue around the question of the conditions to plan some "type of national influence, leadership project" or power." Fiori J.L. (2013) *Strategic dime nsões do desenvolvimento brasileiro [v olume 3] Brazil, Latin America and*

And, among the (complementary) keys that are not properly eidetic, we find:

- The key to the creation of institutions and alliances to promote imperial-expansionist ideas. Samuel Pinheiro Guimarães, José Luis Fiori, María Claudia Vater, Raphael Padula shaped the Centro de Altos Estudos Brasil Século XXI. This must be understood in conjunction with an alliance between intellectuals, soldiers, businessmen and state officials. "The current president of the Odebrecht business group, one of the most important in Brazil, recognized the debt of the business community with the strategic legacy of the Higher War School (ESG) in statements to the newspaper of the ESG Graduate Association: "The dissemination in its courses of the State Planning Doctrine of the ESG has been effectively contributing to the national development process" (ADESG, Revista *da Associaçâo dos Diplomados da Escola Superior de Guerra,* 2011: 20, cited in Zibechi, 2012: 185) .

Whether we want it or not, the ideas of the Brazil Great Power School supported by José Luis Fiori, Golbery Silva, Pinheiro Guimarães, Moniz Bandeira, Gilberto Freyre, Nelson Jobim, Gilherme Góes, and even those that allude to a logistical state are being articulated in something like a Machiavellian "imperial-realism" coherent with the paradigm shared by Hans Morgenthau and Raymond Aron, by Friederich Ratzel and Rudolph Kjellen, by Alfred T. Mahan, Halford Mackinder, Nicholas Spykman and Karl Haushofer (García, 1997: 29) .

In other words, a semi-conscious operation of eidetic engineering was accumulating, processing and combining elements from diverse origins: with much of the ESG, some of Lusotropicalism, with some features that come from the trajectory of Itamaraty and

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Africa: geopolitical convergences and integration strategies. Brasilia: Center for Higher Studies of Brazil Século XXI .

the Baron of Río Branco , and perhaps from the Instituto Superior de Estudos Brasileiros (ISEB) and the International Relations program at the University of Brasilia. In this way, a discourse is constituted that could enthuse many of those who make up the Brazilian elite, a discourse that would be capable of becoming a national project.

Connections

Theories and theoretical approaches: Theories of Power Construction
Schools of thought and Networks: School of Brasilia
Concepts: Logistics state, Large peripheral states
Figures: Giberto Freyre, Golbery do Couto e Silva, José Luis Fiori, Luiz Alberto Moniz Bandeira, Mario Travassos, Osiris Guillermo Villegas, Samuel Pinheiro Guimarães

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School of Brasilia

Raúl Bernal-Meza, Silvia T. Álvarez

The "School of Brasilia" emerged during the 1970s at the University of the same name, initially in the Department of History and currently in the Department of International Relations. The identification of this School of thought, its academic framework and its name correspond to Professor Raúl Bernal-Meza, who recognized, in the work of his researchers, important contributions to the modernization of studies on the History of international relations aimed at overcoming traditional diplomatic history and develop a new political, social and cultural perspective, from a systemic approach, based on a renewal of the hermeneutical and methodological universe (Bernal-Meza, 2005: 295; 2006: 227, 2009: 155).

Among its members, in whom a critical view of the influence of theories foreign to Latin America and economic liberalism dominates, are, in the first generation, Amado Luiz Cervo -founding reference-, Luiz Alberto Moniz Bandeira, Estevão Chaves de Rezende Martins, Jose Flávio Saraiva and Wolfgan Döpcke; while Antônio Carlos Lessa, Norma Brenda dos Santos and Alcides Costa Vaz make up the second generation. Although in both the centrality of Brazil as an object of study dominates, the first generation, as founder, makes its main contributions to the revision of history through a long-term analysis and proceeds to a critical

approach to the Center's theories, to establish the centrality of the concepts from the value that their historicity gives them. For its part, the second generation advances in studies that focus on research linked to the global reorganization produced since the '90s and the place of emerging countries in that scenario, adding to the dimensions already considered on foreign policy and development, others such as security and the environment, in light of the complexity of state and international actors that act in networks of power at times when Brazil is consolidating itself as a regional power.

For the School of Brasilia, every political reality is the result of a given spatiality and temporality and, therefore, history takes on a singular role in the analysis of foreign policy. Considers that, to address history, it is necessary to overcome the perspective of analysis offered by Diplomatic History, which is questioned for constituting a mere description of isolated facts analyzed in a legal-political key; and employ arguments from the chancelleries themselves through a perspective restricted to the states, crossed, in turn, by nationalist readings, from which results the absence of explanations about the facts or processes studied (Cervo, 1994: 12-13).

From such criticisms, the School of Brasilia, influenced by the Annales, the contributions to the History of International Relations founded by Pierre Renouvin and Jean Baptiste Duroselle, and the English School, proposes an approach to historical processes of a political, social, economic and cultural in which past and present are in necessary communication. For Moniz Bandeira:

> It is difficult to understand the foreign policy and international relations of a country without situating them in their concrete historicity, in their mediate connections, in their essential conditions and in their continuous mutation. The past – not the dead past but the living one – constitutes the real substance of the present, which is nothing more than a permanent becoming (2004: 32).

In the words of José Flávio Saravia, "without history, the critical capacity for understanding the international conditions that surround the current moment dies" (2008). This resulting becoming is also a time always traveled by a worldview or worldviews that are crossed by philosophical assumptions (Martins, 2016: 276).

The review of history and its own centrality is associated with the problem of recognizing the hermeneutical and methodological instruments necessary for the study of Latin American foreign policy. From such a reading, this School is recognized from its questioning of the dominant theories of international relations, those framed in the canons of Modernity - coming from Europe and, mainly, the United States - which are considered limited in the fields explanatory, normative and decisional and characterized by their partiality and subjectivity, to the extent that they are carriers of their own interests, ideas - or ideologies - and worldviews (Cervo, 2013: 154) and, therefore, they are also expressions of power politics. In this sense, the reflectivist approaches are reviewed and positively valued, especially the constructivist approach, which highlights the false universality of those theories and gives relevance to intersubjective relationships, images and identities. In this line, concepts become relevant, as social constructions capable of offering the appropriate analytical instruments to study reality (Cervo, 2008a: 10).

From this perspective, the importance of differentiating the roles of theories and concepts in the framework of International Relations is emphasized (Cervo, 2008a; 2008b), opting for the latter. Concepts begin to have a leading role because they are considered social constructions that replace theories, although they have functions equivalent to them. They are explanatory and evaluative, they represent a worldview in a given space and time and, therefore, respond to the reality of a specific country or region in a specific time frame (Cervo, 2008a: 13).

In this way, the School of Brasilia replaces the method of deduction, typical of the dominant theories of International Relations, with the historical method of induction, which is based on the study of reality, specific spaces and times, with their corresponding configurations social. History is presented, then, as a "field of empirical observation, the laboratory of experiences. "From this reality, we move towards abstract elaborations represented by concepts (Cervo, 2013: 156; 2004: 181). Thus, "This line of argument suggests reducing the function of theories and elevating the role of concepts, either in the sense of producing understanding or in supporting decision-making processes in international relations" (Cervo, 2013: 150).

In the study of history in dialogue with International Relations, although the state continues to be the central object of analysis, along with it a diversity of actors is presented, from multilateral organizations to the variety present in civil society (Vaz, 2003) or collective forces, such as identity (Bitencourtt and Vaz, 2017). The studies are approached in light of systemic, regional and global approaches. As Saraiva (2008: 21) points out, "without the study of the formation and expansion of the liberal world in the 19th century and its crisis in the period of instability that marked several decades of the 20th century, an understanding of the current moment of International Relations".

In the investigations, Brazil's bilateral relations (United States, Germany, Italy, Argentina, Portugal, etc.) and regional/global relations (the La Plata Basin, Latin America, Africa, Asia) take center stage. These approaches contributed to reviewing Brazil's international insertion since the end of the 19th century and, particularly, since the 1930s, and allowed foreign policy to be observed as a permanent instrument in the search for national development by political elites. of the country, from which they would demonstrate that, after the debate between free traders and nationalists, the development made possible certain patterns

of continuity verified in the external conduct of the country since the '30s (Saraiva, 2001: 54 cited in Bernal-Meza, 2005: 295-206). As Eduardo Devés points out (2013: 56)

> By framing its analyzes in the systemic and subsystemic (hemispheric) axes and in relation to the hegemonic cycles, foreign policy and bilateral relations achieve a comprehensive logic that allows them to be considered in their full dimension. Hence his perspective was that of the triangular relationship Brazil-Latin America-United States. This perspective is what allows us to sustain long-range historical hypotheses, an analysis of the movement of subsystemic characteristics and in its relationship with the external center and bilateral relations achieve a comprehensive logic of the problem addressed.

In summary, the School of Brasilia proposes a dialogue between International Relations and history, where the latter constitutes the fundamental methodological basis, through induction, for the construction of concepts that enable the understanding and explanation of reality in a state key, regional and systemic, considering the multiplicity of actors involved in political processes, crossed by social, economic and cultural dimensions.

Connections

Theories and theoretical approaches: Theories of Power Construction

Schools of thought and Networks: Brazil Great Power School, Socioeconomic and Historical School of International Relations

Concepts: Latin American thought on international and global issues, Latin American system

Figures: Amado Luiz Cervo, Antônio Carlos Lessa, Estevão Chaves de Rezende Martins, José Rolland Flávio Sombra Saraiva, Luiz Alberto Moniz Bandeira, Raúl Bernal-Meza

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Mexican School of International Relations

Alfonso Sánchez Mugica

The "Mexican School of International Relations" (EMdeRRII) referes to the set of authors and academic groups that, since the mid-20th century, have developed theoretically, methodologically and thematically the discipline of International Relations in Mexico, resulting in a proposal of indigenous, with diverse influences in the academic and professional fields, as well as in the public space.

We consider that three characteristics, which have been consolidated over time, distinguish the EMdeRRII: its historical development, its disciplinary character and, above all, its mexicanness.

The history of EMdeRRII can date back to 1951, when the term "International Relations" was introduced in Mexico within the university educational offering of *Mexico City College*, later Universidad de las Américas; while at the then National School of Political and Social Sciences of the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM) the Bachelor of Diplomatic Sciences began, focused mainly on the training of members of the foreign service. Around 1960, the Center for International Studies of the College of Mexico (CEI) was created. But 1967 would be a key year, as various initiatives took place that show that the initial impulse was

bearing fruit and that a more vigorous stage was beginning. As a result of an academic reform, the name of the Bachelor of Diplomatic Sciences was changed to International Relations, which would, from then on, be the Faculty of Political and Social Sciences (FCPyS) that would also begin to include postgraduate courses in International Relations. This reform opened the discipline to studies in a scientific manner, with greater theoretical solidity; expanded his field of research to regional studies; developed sociological and political approaches; and formed the field of formal research, starting from master's and doctoral studies. That same year, Modesto Seara Vázquez organized an Institute that, in 1982, would become the Mexican Association of International Studies (AMEI), which since that date has been organizing an annual congress, a reference for the discipline in the country. In 1970, with the creation of the Center for International Relations (CRI) of the Faculty of Political and Social Sciences, the dynamic between research and teaching at UNAM was consolidated. Finally, the diplomatic vein was separated more clearly, when, in 1974, the Matías Romero Institute of Diplomatic Studies (IMR) of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was founded.

This gradual push of the discipline became stronger from the '80s and '90s, especially through the university educational offer, which came to include many universities in the country, such as the University of Guadalajara, the Technological Institute of Studies Superiors of Monterrey, the Colegio de la Frontera Norte, the Autonomous Technological Institute of Mexico (ITAM) and the Center for Economic Research and Teaching (CIDE), among others. It is then that the reference to a Mexican school appears for the first time, although referring only to the study of foreign policy. This interest intensified thanks to the long negotiation process and, in 1994, the ratification of the North American Free Trade Agreement. In this way, the professional field was expanded in options and volume, and many of the efforts were aimed at the study

of international economics, due to the mexican openness to free trade and globalization, which have marked national economic policy in recent years.

Thus, the EMdeRRII is nourished by a strong institutional base, which represents the participation of universities from all over the country that teach the Bachelor's Degree in International Relations, and various postgraduate courses related to international issues; as well as specialized magazines, including the *International Forum* of the College of Mexico and the magazine *International Relations* of the UNAM, national conferences, such as the annual one of the Mexican Association of International Studies (AMEI), and a broad theoretical discussion of the discipline carried out carried out in multiple forums and promoted through different networks of specialists. In recent years, books have appeared on the Mexican perspective of theories of international relations or on this discipline and the visions from Latin America, in addition to there being a very broad professional sphere, which has been demanding greater depth on various aspects of the labor practice in Mexico. More recently, civil organizations and foundations have joined, such as the Mexican Council of International Affairs (COMEXI), which reflect the widespread interest in international issues, and which direct their objectives to greater dissemination and discussion of these issues in the country.

The EMdeRRII bases its Mexican particularity on the country's odd geographical location, both for its dual regional membership to Latin America and North America (and even the Caribbean), as well as for the issues to which Mexico's own foreign policy is sensitive, and about which he has developed substantial contributions: Latin America, the United States, migration, disarmament, diplomatic asylum, consular protection, subnational international relations, human rights, international cooperation for development and global responsibility, among others. But it is also based on an original theoretical and methodological produc-

tion, in which names such as Graciela Arroyo Pichardo stand out, who, after pioneering addressing the methodological problems of the discipline, spent her last years reflecting on complex thinking, offering initiatives to international relations. Héctor Cuadra and José Luis Orozco Alcántar also stand out, the latter being the best connoisseur of American political thought in Mexico. Regarding Marxist interpretations we find the analyzes of Ileana Cid Capetillo, Víctor Batta and Roberto Peña, and in the links between history and international relations we find the work of David Sarquís - all of them from the FCPyS - Seara Vázquez, Mario Ojeda, Jorge G. Castañeda and Olga Pellicer Silva have developed studies on international politics and intergovernmental organizations and also on the United States. Regarding foreign policy, we should highlight the work of Jessica de Alba, Rafael Velázquez Flores and Jorge Schiavon, the latter also interested in the international relations of subnational governments, along with a broad network of researchers from across the country. Studies of world regions have reinforced the disciplinary character; Although it should be noted that in Latin America and the United States - the regions of belonging - other types of interdisciplinary experiences have been developed since Latin American studies are approached from Philosophy and Cultural Studies, while the United States has been studied. from different Social Sciences, mainly Economics, Geopolitics and Demography, but the other regions were integrated into International Relations from the intuition of various specialists. The research on socialist countries was promoted by Graciela Arroyo, while that of Western Europe, by Rosa María Piñón. Héctor Cuadra, from the Center for Economic and Social Studies of the Third World, introduced studies on Africa and shared interest in Asia with Alfredo Romero. While María de Lourdes Sierra Kobeh has been the main expert in studies on the Middle East. These regions have strengthened their knowledge at the Center for Asian and African Studies of the College of Mexico and at the Uni-

versity of Colima, with their doctorate in transpacific relations. Alfredo Romero and Marco Almazán St. Hill have contributed to the development of the idea of non-ethnocentric thinking in International Relations from Mexico and other peripheries.

Discussing the Mexicanness of International Relations means having resolved the epistemological problem of scientific and methodological nationalism, a topic that has been highly debated and that has been reactivated in the context of the celebrations of the official centenary of International Relations in 2019. In that sense, We observe that in Mexico it has been discussed since the late '90s, first the existence and, later, the elements that characterize this EMdeRRII. Some have seen a continuity between the analyzes made by the disciples of Mario Ojeda at the College of Mexico and the current expressions of this School. However, it has also been observed that they did not transcend and the sequence with the legal conception of the explorations carried out by Mexican diplomats was lost, especially in the 20th century. The study of foreign policy has become marginal with respect to other emerging themes, while the disciplinary reaffirmation that currently exists, with theoretical bases more restricted to International Relations, leaves legal and political approaches in the background. In that sense, the emergence of an interesting current that calls itself the History of International Relations is observed, which rescues the central themes of Mexico's foreign policy.

The current analyzes in the EMdeRRII ask what is the projection of the theoretical contribution of this academic experience, given that various studies of the discipline in Latin America warn of the prevalence of two opposite trends: on the one hand, the preexistence of a universal science , which would not have native elements; and, on the other, the existence of an ontologically different thought. These analyzes also coincide in pointing out that, with regard to the teaching of International Relations, the reproduction of this universal science and the teaching of the main the-

orists of the dominant thought centers is found more clearly, as a kind of Anglo-Saxon canon, in Latin American schools. On the contrary, they find in the production of knowledge, based on local research, evidence of their own thinking that is different from the dominant science.

In the Mexican case, most likely what can reinforce the distinctive character of a particular school - but which still constitutes pending work - is to delve deeper into the very vast production of Mexican politicians, academics and diplomats who, even before independence. They observed the peculiar situation in the world of New Spain and then Mexico, seeing this production as sources of study and as particular analytical proposals. There are many names, such as Lucas Alamán, Ignacio Luis Vallarta, Matías Romero, Benito Juárez, Isidro Fabela, Luis Cabrera, Alfonso García Robles, Gerardo Estrada, Antonio Gómez Robledo in the 20th century, and intellectuals such as Alfonso Reyes, Octavio Paz or Jaime Torres Bodet, who also had important diplomatic assignments. The interesting thing about these authors and their works lies not only in their political or diplomatic experience, but in the theoretical, political, legal, or even philosophical sources from which they established connections between the situation and actions of Mexico with international contexts geopolitical and global issues that they had to face. These sources can constitute the basis for the construction of a more original Mexican international thought.

Connections

Theories and Theoretical Approaches: Dependency
Concepts: Latin American thought on international and global issues, Latin American Third Worldism
Doctrines: Estrada Doctrine

Figures: Graciela Arroyo Pichardo, Ileana Cid Capetillo, Jaime Torres Bodet, José Luis Orozco Alcántar, Mario Ojeda, Olga Pellicer Silva, Rafael Velázquez Flores

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New World Group School[3]

Eduardo Devés, Fernando Estenssoro Saavedra

It is a school of thought that deals with international political economy, established in the English-speaking Caribbean starting in the '60s of the 20th century. Some of its main figures were Lloyd Best, Norman Girvan, Walter Rodney and Alister McIntyre.

In the thought of the English-speaking Caribbean, lines of work on international and global affairs have been developed aimed at formulating their own criteria, in tension with the main currents of the discipline, and assuming as fundamental criteria: the historical specificity and the small dimension of the economies and states, proposing as a fundamental task forms of joint action between states and territories, which would offer better possibilities (Sankatsing, 1989). A line of reflection can be noted that comes from the '60s to the first decade of the 21st century, where a genre of international thought developed on the basis of the expanded model of plantation economy and the concepts that make up it, particularly small size and dependence, and from where proposals

3 An aspect of the article by Devés, E. and Estenssoro, F. (2018) Thinking about international affairs in the English-speaking Caribbean is reworked here. The New World Group and its heritage, *Revista Diretios Humanos e Democracia,* 4 (7) 24-46.

for solutions arise to obtain greater levels of autonomy, appealing, particularly to notions of coordinated foreign policies on the part of the Caribbean states.

The "New World Group" articulated its proposals based on three premises: that correct knowledge and a relevant intellectual task are necessary, that there is a correlation between epistemic factors and psycho-social factors, and that dependency is associated with the small size of the economies and their balkanization.

By the way, accentuations and even divergences are detected, although there is clarity and awareness regarding the central elements. This is a scheme obtained from Works by about ten figures who have had an impact on these topics, with Norman Girvan being the one who makes the greatest number of contributions, over the decades and across the topics. In this sense, international work is not conceptualized as a way to obtain power, hegemony or achieve strategic balances but, on the one hand, as a defense against multinational companies and, on the other, as a possibility of optimizing the forms of insertion into the world space, as well as directly improving the economy and/or services and/or the living conditions of the populations.

The notion of "plantation economy" is one of the most original and with the greatest projections in the thought of the English-speaking Caribbean. Developed to describe and explain the underdevelopment of the region, it was always understood as part of a theoretical framework that conceived this type of economy and society as part of an international system, taking into account natural factors - dimensions, geographical location, resources - and human factors, both historical and present. The definition of a "plantation economy" was formulated by Lloyd Best and Karin Levitt in 1968: "The frustrations of the industrialization program in the Caribbean can only be understood in light of the legacy that the territories have inherited from their common plantation history" (cited in Girvan, 2008: 21). All Caribbean economies are in the same boat.

> Therefore, the theory of plantation economy remains as relevant in the era of globalization as it was in the stage of decolonization when it emerged. It is clear that the plantation economy was the product of an earlier form of globalization; and current globalization is the most recent stage in the evolution of the metropolitan economy (Girvan, 2008: 21).

The New World Group, *roughly* coinciding with the approach of the "plantation economy" and the subsequent criticism of "industrialization by invitation" developed by the Caribbean Nobel Prize winner William Arthur Lewis, presented the ideas in terms of dependency, anti-imperialism and socialism. That is to say, they showed a clear influence of the economic-social sciences generated at that time in the Southern Cone of Latin America (Devés, 2003).

In the task of systematizing the thinking on international issues of the English-speaking Caribbean and the New World Group Those proposals are formulated that point to forms of joint action by the Caribbean states. These derive from the notions "plantation economy, small size and dependency", taking into account the premises presented, the need for correct-relevant knowledge, the need to develop appropriate categories to understand the specificity of these realities in the international arena and dependency, as conditions that must be considered in international politics.

- Union of the weak for defense. An initial proposal, which has then tended to disappear, at least in this formulation of the young Girvan (1973; 1975), led to thinking mainly about terms of a kind of union of poor countries to impose conditions to the powerful. This proposal was clearly emphasized when success was perceived in the actions of the Organization of Exporting Countries of Petroleum (OPEC).

- Greater Caribbean Cooperation. According to Girvan, a cooperation zone can be defined "as a group of countries that share

a common space and a derived common interest, which agree to cooperate" (2006: 20).

- Production-integration or integration to improve economic production (2006: 207). Denis Benn and Kenneth Hall argued that "the production-integration concept represents a development paradigm" (2006: 16).

- Political union to constitute a nation-state like Denmark or Switzerland. William Demas proposed the creation of a political union in response to historical needs and conditions. The cultural-historical condition was that the people of the English-speaking Caribbean were a nation divided into several jurisdictions and it was a matter of overcoming small size, especially to conduct a better foreign policy and achieve good governance. To deal first with the economic size we need to constitute a state of reasonable size like Denmark or Switzerland (1987: 83).

- Cultural unity, the Common Market and identity. Alister McIntyre has highlighted the relationship between integration and identity, which implies "turning from the Common Market towards the larger dimensions of the Community", because it is useful to remember that "the idea of integration has been highlighted not only by issues related to economic development, but also with the cultural and psychological objectives of affirming a Caribbean identity" (1987: 19).

- Ideology for integration. Ian Boxill highlighted that if the regional integration system was to be developed and sustained, it was necessary to guide it from "an ideology that promotes regionalism." Such an ideology had to be developed to build an economic and political system that sustained regionalism and, simultaneously, disseminated the ideas and values of integration (1993: 29).

Connections

Theories and Theoretical Approaches: Dependency
Concepts: Autonomy, Heterodox autonomy
Figures: Lloyd Best, Norman Girvan, Walter Rodney, William Arthur Lewis

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Pan-Africanist School of The Caribbean[4]

Eduardo Devés

The "Pan-Africanist School" has its origins around 1900 in the work of the Trinidadian Silvester Williams, who formulated Pan-Africanism as a vindication of the rights and promotion of the advancement of blacks throughout the world. Successive revisions gradually shaped this school of thought, which included figures such as the Caribbean thinkers Marcus Garvey, from Jamaica, and George Padmore and Cyril Lionel Robert James, both from what is now Trinidad and Tobago, and would later be joined by African-American thinkers such as William Edward Burghardt Du Bois and Alain Locke, and sub-Saharan Africans such as Kwame Nkrumah from Ghana, amongst many others. To better study the trajectory of this school, it will be divided into three "generations" (the fourth generation, formulated by Nkrumah in the '60s, cannot be discussed for the purposes of this presentation).

Summarizing, it can be noted that Pan-Africanist thought evolved to the extent that it accumulated approaches that were be-

4 Aspects of the book *El pensamiento africano sudsahariano* (2011) are taken up and reworked here.

coming sedimented. This is precisely what gives it the status of a school of thought over the decades (Hensbroek 1999; Devés, 2011).

- First generation Pan-Africanism, formulated around 1900 by the Trinidadian Henry Silvester Williams, was structured on the basis of the principle of defending the black people of the world from all forms of abuse and exploitation. In 1900, in London, Williams organized the first Pan-African Congress. With this he aimed to generate a "pan-black" consciousness or solidarity, beyond colonial and continental borders, as well as to protest against the grabbing of indigenous common lands by Europeans in Africa. That same year, Williams and a Ghanaian who had lived in the USA for about a decade, Francis Zaccheus Santiago Peregrino, moved to South Africa to promote their ideas. Williams traveled connecting with native peoples, while continuing to try to think about the connections between black people located in various places in the world and increase the ties of solidarity between them: knowledge, understanding, education (cited in Prah 2002: 8).

- Second generation Pan-Africanism, formulated around 1920 by Markus Garvey and WEB Du Bois, consisted of articulating the blacks of the world with the objective of obtaining equal rights. This version of Pan-Africanism, often understood as Pan-Blackism, was developed in the post-World War I period by Du Bois and Garvey, with similarities and strong differences. In the Pan-African congresses of those years, topics such as safeguarding the interests of the indigenous people of Africa were addressed in the social, educational, economic and political spheres. For example, it was pointed out in the 1919 congress: it will be the right of every indigenous child to learn to read and write in their own language and in that of the mandatory nation; The state will also educate the greatest possible number of indigenous people in higher technical education. The Garveiano movement, with immense impact in the USA, the Caribbean, some regions of South America, Europe and Africa, exalted the capacity, difference and rights of

black people, as well as the need to deploy autonomously in Africa, according to their own criteria, expelling the whites from the continent (Lewis, 1988).

- Third generation Pan-Africanism proposed the independence of African peoples from colonial tutelage. Those who formulated this version were mainly George Padmore and Kwame Nkrumah, during the 1940s, reaching its crystallization at the Manchester Pan-African Congress in 1945. This was inspired, in addition to previous Pan-Africanism, by the blackism of Marcus Garvey, by the theorizations of others. African and Afro-descendant thinkers such as Alain Locke and Cyril Lionel Robert James, in socialist doctrines and in some thinkers who had theorized (and practiced) liberation struggles such as Mahatma Gandhi. The main ideologue of these approaches was the Trinidadian living in England, George Padmore.

Padmore's Pan-Africanism should be considered an inspiration for the struggle of the national liberation movements of Asia and subscribes to Gandhi's line of non-violence, as a means to achieve self-determination and equality (1956: 18). This pan-Africanism, Padmore argued, aims at the independence of the colonial regions of Africa and the Caribbean. In this task, young leaders must build on the ideological foundations of Du Bois, developing means and techniques adapted to African traditions and circumstances, while at the same time they must develop a social philosophy that, integrating and improving the people, realizes the transition from tribal forms to modern industrial states (1956: 19). He thought that African nationalism faced problems and challenges such as resolving its own communal and tribal conflicts, organizing democratic governments, preventing being involved in the Cold War, building a democratic socialism, tolerating all minorities who wish to live in Africa on their own. of equality with Africans, and create the federation of African peoples towards the constitution of the United States of Africa (1956: 21-22).

Connections

Schools of thought and Networks: Brazil Great Power School, New World Group School
Concepts: Lusotropicalism
Figures: George Padmore, Walter Rodney

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Rosarian School of International Relations

Gladys T. Lechini

The background of the "Rosarian School of International Relations" dates back to the beginning of the 20th century, almost parallel to the creation of the Chair of International Politics in Aberyswyth, Wales, in 1919, although the curricular orientations have been different. In line with the role that Rosario was acquiring at the turn of the century, with its port as an outlet for agricultural exports from a large part of the humid pampas of Argentina, the need arose to train officials specialized in issues linked to international trade and law consular, to address the issues that were arising with the growth of the region and its internationalization.

In 1919, based in Rosario, the Faculty of Economic, Commercial and Political Sciences was created, dependent on the National University of the Litoral. This Faculty was formally inaugurated in 1922, but it had already been operating with the curriculum of the Bachelor's Degree for the Diplomatic Service and Consular Service since 1920. Thus, international studies began in the port city, with a commercial imprint and therefore linked to economic science studies. With the passing of the years and the influence of legal studies in Latin America, the Bachelor's Degree in Politi-

cal and Diplomatic Sciences at the aforementioned university was created in 1954, with a strong legal bias.

When the National University of Rosario was created in 1968, international studies were transferred to the recently created Faculty of Law (1967), on which the School of Political Sciences would depend, under the direction of Dr. Juan Carlos Puig. It was precisely with Puig who, in 1973, created the Faculty of Political Science and International Relations, leaving the international aspects anchored to Political Science. In this context, it is worth noting that in 1988 a group of faculty from the Faculty created the Rosario Center for Studies in International Relations (CERIR), led by Dr. Alfredo Bruno Bologna, its first Executive Director and disciple of Puig, establishing itself in the architect of Rosario's prolific production.

Thus began a crossover between the International Relations teachers of the Faculty and those of CERIR, since an important group of academics is located in both institutions. In this way, one of the most prominent centers with greater continuity in the study of international phenomena in Argentina and Latin America was consolidated.

Finally, in 1994 within the Faculty of Political Science and International Relations, the School of International Relations was established, reaching the most relevant point in the process of autonomization and institutionalization of international studies in Rosario.

Regarding postgraduate studies, in 1996 its first cohort began the Master's Degree in Integration and International Cooperation and in 2005 the Doctorate in International Relations (Lechini and Rojo, 2019).

Without discarding previous contributions, it is worth noting that Puig's imprint was fundamental in making a mark on Rosario thought. A teacher and researcher, in the '70s Puig also developed intense activity in Buenos Aires, where he created the Center for

Argentine International Studies (CEINAR). His contributions began with his articles linked to international law in the Journal of International Law and Diplomatic Sciences of Rosario and, later, with topics related to the international insertion of the countries of the region and the conditions to reduce their vulnerability.

In the 1970s, one of the issues that the countries of the region questioned were the conditions and possibilities to conduct their foreign policies autonomously and consistent with their national interest. Although this discussion was already established alongside the theory of development and dependency, these years were characterized by a much stronger debate around autonomy. The central concern revolved around the means to reverse the peripheral situation and become "subjects" and not "objects" of international relations (Colacrai, 2009), based on foreign policies less dependent on the national interests of the hegemonic power. With this concern, Puig (1980; 1984a; 1984b) coined the theory of autonomy, proposing a local perspective different from that suggested by northern academics, and in line with some new Latin American trends forged in light of growing inequalities and questions regarding the international insertion of the region. Thus, he managed to establish a balance between internal factors and contextual variables, from a systemic perspective, making significant theoretical-methodological contributions to the understanding of foreign policy and the context in which decisions were made.

In this sense, despite not having known each other, Juan Carlos Puig in Argentina and Helio Jaguaribe, in Brazil, showed a strong harmony as thinkers of the time who led the "doctrinal school on Latin American autonomy" and, consequently, the study of the situation of Latin America in the international system, considering the regional context as part of the strategy that the Latin American states had to carry out. Puig disbelieved in "pragmatic alignment" as the only option and instead recognized the capacity of weaker countries to alter the course of power flows in regimes

in various areas and, in this way, generate limitations for the most relevant actors and powerful. Even when he did not talk about South-South cooperation, the idea underlay the proposal to "add autonomy" to achieve greater negotiating power and modify the rules of the game that were detrimental to them.

Puig's legacy was collected in Rosario by Bruno Bologna, when he conceived CERIR in the '80s. With the participation of teachers from the Faculty of Political Science and International Relations, who, in turn, were scholarship holders or researchers from the National Scientific and Technical Research Council (CONICET), a critical mass of academic production began to develop that was reflected in the appearance of the *Argentine Foreign Policy Notebooks* (since 1986), individually produced books and a collective work of relevance and continuity, such as the *Follow-up of Argentine Foreign Policy*, a publication started in 1994 that already has six volumes. In his imprint one can see the concern for the peripheral insertion of Argentina and a Latin Americanist perspective, linked to the theoretical-epistemological environment that entails the autonomist perception bequeathed by Puig.

Through the monitoring of Argentine foreign policy, changes at the level of the international system and relations with the countries of the subregion, mainly Brazil, are discussed. In this context, and linked to individual scholarships or group projects financed by CONICET and the Secretariat of Science and Technology of the National University of La Plata (SECYT), specialists in geographical and thematic areas began to stand out: Argentine and Malvinas foreign policy, Latin America, Southern Common Market (Mercosur), Chile, Bolivia, Brazil, United States, European Union, Africa, Antarctica, Middle East and China, Asia, Cooperation and Integration, Environment, Economy and International Trade and Development. Thus two generations of CONICET researchers must be mentioned. A first wave composed by (in alphabetical order) Alfredo Bruno Bologna, Anabella Busso,

Miryam Colacrai, Gladys Lechini, Roberto Miranda, Eduardo Oviedo and Graciela Zubelzu and, a second, composed by Pilar Bueno, Emilse Calderón, Natalia Ceppi, José Fernández Alonso, Clarisa Giaccaglia, María Elena Lorenzini, María Gisela Pereyra Doval and Julieta Zelicovich. Also worth mentioning in this line of work are the research teachers Esteban Actis, Sabrina Benedetto, Julieta Cortes, Carla Morasso, Rubén Paredes, Patricia Rojo and Pedro Romero.

Consequently, special attention is observed in the so-called theoretical approaches of the South, starting from realities, problems and challenges faced by peripheral countries and placing into discussion those classic realist principles that always predicted the position of attached units to the weakest countries, which seemed to form an irreversible rule (Colacrai, 2009). In this regard, the South-South Relations and Cooperation Program (PRECSUR) should be noted, one of the first study groups that emerged in the aforementioned Faculty in 2008 (PRECSUR, 2020) with a clearly autonomist orientation.

The lines of research reflect the identity of the Rosario School. In each of the work areas, the regional imprint and the study of emerging or developing countries that respond to the logic of peripheral insertion prevail. Even at the risk of seeming *demodé* when other topics were the *mainstream issues*, work has continued in harmony with the autonomist ideology bequeathed by Puig, which was rescued with the new century, together with the debate on development, changes in order, emergencies and South-South cooperation.

Connections

Concepts: Autonomy, Heterodox Autonomy, Development
Doctrines: Doctrine of the Third Position

Figures: Alfredo Bruno Bologna, Helio Jaguaribe, Gladys T. Lechini, Juan Carlos Puig, Miryam Colacrai

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Socioeconomic and Historical School of International Relations

Mario Rapoport, María Cecilia Míguez

The "Socioeconomic and Historical School of International Relations" (ESEHRI) tries to overcome the existence of a traditional history based almost exclusively on the study of interstate relations or organizations made up of national states, that is, on diplomatic history. The international politics of states is, for this school, only one part of the history of international relations and the current world with the trends towards globalization, regional integrations and blocs, the instantaneous circulation of information, the homogenization of cultural values, offers an increasingly rich and varied object of study.

At the beginning of the '80s, more precisely with the end of the military dictatorship and the return of democracy in Argentina, a significant change occurred in international studies in Argentine universities and especially in the largest of them, the University of Buenos Aires (UBA). In 1984, the Research Institute of Economic and Social History was created and its director, Professor Mario Rapoport, who had a degree in Political Economy from that Faculty and a PhD in History from the Sorbonne in Paris, was appointed.

In his doctoral thesis published in those years in Argentina, *Great Britain, the United States and the Argentine ruling classes, 1940-*

1945, the historical analysis of a crucial stage in Argentine history is carried out and the policies of Washington and London towards the Argentine governments in those years, based on extensive documentation obtained in the archives of the three countries. For Luiz Alberto Moniz Bandeira, this book presents a different and renewed look at the international history of Argentina. It is also a touchstone of the Socioeconomic and Historical School of International Relations, ESEHRI, (also known as the Socio-Historical School of International Relations), because it contributed to giving rise to a series of works, with approaches that deepen this vision and they expand it thematically. A first group of researchers, economists, sociologists and historians dedicated to the study of international relations such as Andrés Musacchio, Eduardo Madrid, Ricardo Vicente, Claudio Spiguel, Rubén Laufer, Jorge Carrizo, Emilce Tirre, Noemí Brenta, Lidia Knecher, Carlos Bulcourf was continued on the other hand, by younger researchers who delved into the subject from different perspectives, such as María Cecilia Míguez, Leandro Morgenfeld, Agustín Crivelli, Ricardo Lazzari, Julián Kan, Sebastián Guiñazu, María Florencia del Pino, among others. The creation of a Master's Degree in Economic History and economic policies with a strong emphasis on international relations contributed to this. Most of the researchers completed master's degrees and doctorates at the University of Buenos Aires and other universities, and several joined the research career of the National Council of Science and Technology (CONICET). The academic journal *Ciclos en la historia, la Economía y la Sociedad* was also created, where articles and works from the ESEHRI were published.

This line of thought was also shaped by common work and projects by two groups of researchers from other universities in the country united by an agreement between the UBA and CONICET, one of them from Mendoza headed by Cristian Buchrucker and another from Rosario headed by Beatriz Figallo, Liliana Brezzo and

Miguel Ángel de Marco. ESEHRI also maintained close relationships with researchers from the National University of Córdoba such as Edmundo Heredia and Delia del Pilar Otero and from the National University of the Center of the Province of Buenos Aires , such as Raúl Bernal-Meza and Víctor Sukup. At the international level, he established links with researchers from the University of Paris, Grenoble, Montreal, London, and several North American, Chilean, Uruguayan, and especially Brazilian universities. Strong links were established between ESHERI researchers with the School of Brasilia, headed by Amado Luiz Cervo, Luiz Alberto Moniz Bandeira and José Flavio Sombra Saravia.

The initial question that the members of the ESEHRI asked themselves is whether the history of international relations is an identifiable branch among the historical sciences with peculiar characteristics and properties in relation to other disciplines derived from it. As a French historian points out, "l'histoire ne se découpe pas en lamelles", that is, it cannot be divided into pieces; There is, however, a problem of perspective. Depending on how you look at a landscape from one observation point or another, they are not the same objects that can be distinguished, but almost all of them will be seen. This is how we talk about political, economic, social, military, electoral history, etc. None can be studied without reference to the others. The history of international relations is in this sense a branch of historical sciences, but what is it about? What are the contents that make it up? Do they have limitations in historical time? To what extent does it cover other disciplines contained in them? What are its links with theories of international relations? How are short- and long-term phenomena reflected in them?

Among the members of the ESEHRI, there was a special interest in contemporary history and the influence of various currents, such as those related to CEPAL theories, structuralist ideas and the influence of the French school that addresses the role of groups of

pressure and the effectiveness of "deep forces" in shaping international relations. Also the new developments of Anglo-Saxon currents in international studies, especially around decision-making mechanisms and the analysis of so-called bureaucratic policies. The center of the issue was always placed on the autonomy-dependence dichotomy or, in other words, on the possible margins of autonomy of the peripheral countries.

Thus, with that impulse, the field of study was outlined, strengthening it and giving a multidisciplinary and critical form to the old framework of diplomatic history. The incentive offered by the experience and questions raised by Mercosur and, in general, the regional integration processes and their vicissitudes, gave rise among the members of this school to a profusion of studies and research on the relations of the countries of the region, from the common colonial origin to the present, with important empirical and interpretive advances, particularly for relations between Argentina and Brazil and joint books by historians of the Southern Cone. A range of works was focused on the comparative analysis of the historical nature of Mercosur and other integration processes, such as the European one, providing approaches and content that allowed us to avoid the mechanical transfer of concepts typical of a political or economic essay of a restrictive nature, as well as question the "globalist" visions that focused on integration processes as mere "by-products" of globalization. Others focused primarily on the study of Argentina's relations with key countries for its foreign policy, such as the United States, Great Britain, Brazil, the former Soviet Union and more recently the Republic of China, or preferred to examine the interaction processes between foreign policy and internal, regional integration, cross-border problems, and the question of the Malvinas Islands, covering different periods.

Some works have given rise to interesting controversies, such as the one analyzed especially by the Brazilian historian Nerina

Sarthou between Mario Rapoport and Carlos Escudé, regarding the publication of two books based on North American, British and Argentine archives on the Second World War and the post-war period. Both discuss Argentine foreign policy in relation to this phenomenon and the contradictory lines of the policies of the great powers in this regard. For Sarthou, this debate was considered a "trigger" in terms of the subsequent expansion of the study of international politics in the country. Rapoport adopts a methodology that disaggregates the different "national interests within the State: the link between the Argentine ruling class, the different social and economic sectors (...) the political parties and the armed forces (...)" (Sarthou, 2012: 307). It questions the classic realist assumption of the "rational actor", by highlighting the coexistence within the Argentine leadership of different interests and opposing attitudes with respect to the other two actors of the triangle (Anglo-Argentine-North American) . It follows a similar methodology for the study of the policies of the United States and Great Britain.

An important question it raises is the relationship between domestic policies (and not merely bureaucratic policies) and international affairs, examining the way in which the objectives of states originated not only from the geopolitical position of the actors, but from the interaction of internal political forces and their economic and social interests or the way in which statesmen, even when they appear to act for the world scene, also want their actions abroad to achieve certain internal objectives.

Escudé considers Argentine confrontationism with the United States and the boycott of this country towards Argentina as a central point to explain the subsequent decline of the country, which he places in the period of peak of the industrialization process with the advent of Peronism. It sticks to previous assumptions and exemplifies them with historical events. His "theory" of peripheral realism, which he deduced from the historical data of

his first book, is based on a methodology that leads him to recreate Melian's dialogue in Thucydides: the strong do what they can, the weak what they must.

Those of Rapoport and Escudé are two different historical responses to the problem of dependency. Rapoport continues to consider the search for margins of autonomy as a central element in the foreign policy of Latin American countries and, of course, Argentina, but he also holds the local ruling classes responsible for the degrees of dependence. Escudé, on the other hand, points out that in the face of pressure from the great powers, being realistic means setting the pace required by them to minimize the risk of retaliation that would make us more dependent.

From all this, it is concluded that when historically examining the role of States in the world system, it is necessary to investigate the link between external and internal policies, the interference of sectors and interests of one country in the formulation of the policies of others, and the phenomena of dependence and interdependence in bilateral and multilateral relations. In particular, we must know the interaction of these States with transnational actors, political, military or economic, governmental or private, with regional entities, with multinational corporations, with international financial entities and organizations. The ESEHRI raises the value of autonomy in the history of the country's foreign policy and regional integration as a substantive part of that autonomy.

Regarding the relationship between theory and history, ESEHRI researchers understand that all theory is based on history and that it is possible through the observation of events to establish certain regularities, rules or recipes that allow the makers of the politics perceive reality more clearly and make better decisions.

Connections

Theories and theoretical approaches: Dependency, Peripheral realism

Schools of thought and Networks: School of Brasilia, Brazil Great Power School

Concepts: Autonomy, Center-Periphery, Latin American thought on international and global issues

Figures: Amado Luiz Cervo, Carlos Escudé, Luiz Alberto Moniz Bandeira, Mario Rapoport

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Central American Unionist School[5]

Eduardo Devés

The appearance of the "Central American Unionist School" can be dated to the last years of the 19th century, with the work of Salvador Mendieta, although this appeals to a much earlier beginning, a few years after Independence from the Spanish Empire, within the framework of the struggles to keep the Captaincy of Guatemala united (Antillón, 1996). It is around 1900 when unionism unfolds as a thought that aims to reunite what had already been dispersed and whose separation had been consolidated for decades. It should be noted that unionist internationalist thought showed connections with the essay in a variety of intersections, which involved ethnic and cultural issues, education and society (Lascaris, 1982; Devés, 2000).

In the trajectory of this School of thought, a first moment can be marked between 1900 and the '40s of the 20th century, where unionism is conceived as anti-interventionism and/or anti-imperialism. The most important figure in this formulation was the Nicaraguan Salvador Mendieta, who also developed concerted

5 The article by Devés , E. (2016) International topics in Central America's thought and agenda, 1900 - 2010: a framework in five moments is reworked here. *Universum* , July, 31 (1) 81-104 .

action through networks that connected numerous intellectuals and politicians. The Central American Unionist Party (founded in 1899), the Chair of Central American Studies and the interaction of these networks with post-revolutionary Mexico and there the nascent American Popular Revolutionary Alliance (APRA) were important in this.

The ideas on international issues became more expressive and insistent regarding the struggle of Augusto César Sandino in the second half of the '20s. Sandino himself, like those who supported his proposals, reiterated his denunciation of imperialism and its designs. It was about avoiding the colonization of Central America (CA), denouncing the Monroe Doctrine and insisting on the need for a Latin American conference that would take on these challenges. Sandino promised: "I will seek the abolition of the Monroe Doctrine, which I believe is unnecessary, since it is time for the tutelage over the Latin countries of the New Continent whose independence has already come of age to disappear" (quoted in Cuevas, 2008: 203).

In the mid-1930s, Mendieta returned to these issues in his work *Around the American Unionist Problem*, criticizing US intervention in Nicaragua while arguing in favor of the union of the isthmus. For him, unity would mean strength for CA, since separatism was synonymous with final collapse before imperialism (1934: II, 436). He thought that unionism open to the world was opposed to the blind localism of the separatists, the "ruin for the region" (1934: II, 421-437). Appealing to the action of the Central American Unionist Party, Mendieta proposed the creation of a National Constituent Assembly, which would suppress the governments and organize the nation federatively, aspiring for the Central American Federation to become a bastion of democracy, of the unity of the Hispanic countries. -Portuguese speakers, of peace, tolerance and justice (1934: II, 452).

The second moment in the trajectory of this School of thought represents a small change within an important continuity, both in

the type of discourse and in the character of the institutionality. The Central American Democratic Union (UDC) operated as the key body in the development of thought during the period. Figures such as Vicente Sáenz, Rafael Heliodoro Valle, Mario Sancho, Carmen Lyra, Mauricio Magdaleno and Clemente Marroquín, among others, converged there. The key to the reasoning carried out by the UDC was the existence of a relationship between Central American unity and democracy, so that the development of democracy was assumed to be correlative to progress in continental unity or, at least, good relations between the countries. Dictatorship was opposed to democracy and this was almost synonymous with isolation, mistrust and disunity between nations.

The networks of unionism and in favor of democratization and the defense of the wealth of CA were expanding and strengthening while specifying objectives. Margarita Silva highlights that, within the framework of the Central American Unionist Party, three branches were established that "had in common a minimum program, inspired by the Atlantic Charter, the conquests of the Mexican Revolution and the Good Neighbor policy of President Franklin Roosevelt" and among its objectives were "the reunification of CA, the defense of freedom and democracy, the nationalization of public transportation services, electrical communications, irrigation and the establishment of insurance, rural savings banks and maritime and air navigation" (2014: 42).

Another initiative of these networks was the official publication of the UDC, *Centro América Libre.* Here it stands out: "that Vicente Sáenz, Rafael Heliodoro Valle, Mauricio Magdaleno, Alfonso Reyes and Clemente Marroquín, among others, collaborated regularly" (Chapa Bezanilla, 2008: 195). Particularly, Sáenz, Arévalo and others linked nationalism, anti-imperialism and Central American unity. For his part, Heliodoro Valle was characterized by emphasizing issues such as the unification of customs, the elimination of passports, the construction of communication

routes to facilitate commercial transactions and knowledge from people to people (Chapa Bezanilla, 2008: 196). Juan José Arévalo also maintained: "that the Central American federation would put an end to the all-powerful caudillos" and, for him, it was practically an axiom that the federation would favor democracy (1946: 68). Now, he stated:

> This Central American federation is not a myth, but a short-term possibility. All that remains is for the five presidents to meet to offer the people our resignation from any future presidency, to commit ourselves to giving absolute electoral freedom, in a word, to return this century-old Central American nation to America (1946: 197).

Vicente Sáenz complemented by pointing out the importance of peace between the five Central American States, helping each other (it must be remembered that Panama and Belize were not considered part of CA), studying and solving their own problems, until merging again into a single and free nationality, aware of their rights and duties, who could be a model of good sense, of true democracy and justice before the other countries of America and the world (1954: 48).

José Figueres echoed these ideas when assuming the presidency of Costa Rica. In Havana, during the Inter-American Conference on Democracy and Freedom in 1950, he stated: "Union seems impossible if it is considered in its political aspect and in a total form." But, Figueres highlighted: "there are less ambitious ties that can be strengthened: the union by geographical areas and within them, the union of certain aspects, such as the economy and education. Culture leads to union and the union of resources increases culture. Furthermore, both things together, union and culture, are the permanent remedy for our economic ills and for our political ills" (cited in Vargas, 1990: s/p).

Connections

Theories and Theoretical Approaches: Decolonial Approach to International Studies
Concepts: Autonomy, Integrationism
Doctrines: Betancourt Doctrine
Figures: Salvador Mendieta, Juan José Arévalo, Vicente Sáenz, Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre

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Latin American International Relations network (RIAL)

Lincoln Bizzozero

The "Latin American International Relations Network" (RIAL) is known as the Network that, between the late seventies and early eighties, was promoted by Luciano Tomassini from the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (CEPAL) in order to enable exchange and debates between researchers and academics of international relations, political scientists and social scientists who had Latin America as their object of analysis in its reference to the international system - Changes and insertion into the international system, theory, international politics and foreign policy - (Aranda Bustamante and Ovando Santana, 2014). The Program was created in 1977 in Buenos Aires at the University of Belgrano. The programme was established in 1977 in Buenos Aires at the University of Belgrano. The second meeting took place at Cândido Mendes University in Rio de Janeiro, attended by the president of El Colegio de México, Víctor Urquidi, and the vice-chancellor of the University of Los Andes, Fernando Cepeda; it was decided to appoint Enrique Iglesias, Porfirio Muñoz Ledo and Gabriel Valdés to the institution's Council as leading figures in the field of international relations (Tomassini, 1980).

RIAL had the support of CEPAL, but also with financing from different international institutions, to enable these exchanges between academics and researchers at a time when several South American countries were undergoing democratic transitions at the end of dictatorships based on national security (Tomassini et al., 1991).

RIAL generated the necessary foundations for a change in International Relations studies in Latin America, which meant the possibility of bringing together Latin American researchers who were trained abroad with others who systematized and created under difficult conditions under dictatorships, and analysts from developed countries. focused on the Latin American region (Deciancio and Molano Cruz, 2018; Bizzozero, 2019). Several of the analysts and thinkers collaborated in the democratic transitions and subsequent developments and with the foreign policies of the countries from different areas, whether from ministerial portfolios, embassies, at the political level, or from research centers and academia. . In this direction, the Network participated in regional coordination efforts and in cooperation projects with the Foreign Services of the countries (Tomassini, 1988; 1990).

RIAL was the area that expanded the disciplinary perspective, by not limiting the approaches only to power and states, by delving into autonomy and development and by including new approaches and themes in the international relations of Latin America such as interdependence, global agenda, the formation of foreign policy, the conditions of science and technology in the Latin American system, among others, as visualized in the first Yearbook published in 1985 (Tomassini, 1983; Maira, 1985; Wilhelmy, 1987; Ominami, 1986; Russell, 1991). The foreign policy of the countries, their conditions, the new realities and the possible autonomous responses aiming at development, were one of the central focuses that attracted the attention of researchers (Drekonja and Tokatlian, 1983; van Klaveren, 1984; Muñoz and Tulchin, 1984).

One of RIAL's achievements was the organization of work networks within its own framework. In this way, a Theory group was created, another on Foreign Policies and another on the International System and Latin America. The development of RIAL, its convening power and the fact that democratic transitions were taking place, made possible greater participation of Latin American analysts and researchers compared to what was an important presence in the beginnings of Europeans and Americans. At the beginning of the nineties, with the democratic transitions in Chile and Paraguay, the last meetings were held in Santiago (1991) and Asunción (1992). In them, the lines of continuity of other initiatives were prepared. RIAL laid the basis for regional projects and the formation of other networks between research centers and programs from different universities in the region and the world, based on the working relationships that were generated during those years.

Connections

Theories and theoretical approaches: Latin American structuralism
Schools of thought and Networks: Intellectual integration
Figures: Enrique Iglesias García, Luciano Tomassini

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Transnational alterglobalizing social networks

Silvia T. Álvarez

The concept of "Transnational social networks", since the end of the 20th century, has entered the field of thought in Latin America and the Caribbean on international and global issues to designate the forms of interaction and coordination (Mato, 2004: 68; Agudelo, 2010) that cross national borders and express proposals aimed at collaborating with established orders or reformulating them in an ideological arc that goes from conservative proposals to others of a progressive nature. The latter are articulated horizontally and represented in beams of communication/action where experiences of self-organization and struggles of an emancipatory nature are shared (Zárate Vidal, 2015: 69). This interaction is carried out, as a whole, through social movements that question neoliberal globalization at various levels - international credit organizations, forms of regional free trade association, extractivism - and raises new horizons of meaning, with their own conceptions of politics, economy, nature and development (Escobar, 2012 [2005]: 43). From such movements, result the concept of "Transnational alterglobalizing social networks".

As Arturo Escobar (2012 [2005]: 142) observes, in the face of the deterritorialization that derives from neoliberal globalization,

Networks create new "virtual" territories (Zárate Vidal, 2015: 69) and many of them can be considered as producers of identities based on place but transnationalized and producing glocalities, that is, cultural configurations that connect places with each other to create regional spaces and worlds.

The historical bases of the "Transnational alterglobalizing social networks" can be traced during the '60s (Zapata and Oliva, 2019), within the framework of the decolonization process, the consolidation of the Model United Nations, the emergence of the Third World and the resurgence of civil society. A first milestone, in terms of a continental identity construction, is the Second Meeting of Barbados (1977), mostly made up of intellectuals together with members of indigenous movements and organizations of America, which was focused on the analysis of the possibilities of alliances with others. diverse ethnic groups, classes and organizations of a national and international nature, and aimed at the fight against the historical oppression of indigenous and Afro-descendants (Málaga-Villegas, 2019; Zapata and Oliva, 2019). A second milestone is the Continental Campaign 500 Years of Indigenous, Black and Popular Resistance (1989-1992), convened by peasant-indigenous organizations of the Andean Region and the Landless Movement (MST) of Brazil, which represents a meeting of resistance and popular struggles demanding justice, respect and self-determination.

However, as Rovira Sancho (2012: 92) observes, it is since the end of the 1990s and the beginning of the 21st century that networks have become a model for emerging forms of politics in the context of the advancement of liberal democracies and a global capitalist scenario where information technologies dominate as forms of communication and exercise of power. Faced with the crisis of political representation and growing inequalities, we are witnessing the increase in collective action of a transnational nature led by non-state actors who act through networks character-

ized by informal relationships around shared interests (Boretto, 2021) and from where their relationship with states, non-governmental organizations together with the agendas and funds of multilateral organizations play different degrees of relevance (Korzeniewicz and Smith, 2004: 103; see Paz Herrera, 2016: 64).

A significant step forward in the development of these networks has been attributed to the uprising in Chiapas, Mexico (1994) (Rovira Sancho, 2014), which, according to Xóchitl Leyva Solano (2005: 281), has its roots in networks and demands for ethnic citizenship that emerged primarily in the late 1980s. This represents a protest against globalization and the implementation of the North American Free Trade Agreement, demanding justice for the indigenous peoples of Mexico. Of local origin, it constitutes the starting point for the formation of neo-Zapatista Indianist autonomist networks, made up of organized indigenous people (mostly outside the corporate system of the State party or on the margins of it) in nations, towns, fronts, tribes, councils, unions, municipalities, communities, coordinators, committees and forums (Leyva Solano, 2005: 283-284). In a broader sense, it becomes cross-border projections that inspire ties of global solidarity from different sociocultural spaces, and implies a relationship of reciprocity, an imbrication of local, national and global actors that does not erase ideological differences based on an "ecological" perception. " of the planet and its risks (Rovira Sancho, 2014: 45). In short, global solidarity means participating in Zapatismo's own struggle against racism, sexism, homophobia and an "order" that guarantees the rights of capital while oppressing the identities and cultures of the people (Olesen, 2004: 260) . . In other words, Rovira Sancho (2014: 39) points out that this movement "came into play with very different emphases in local contexts and exploded into multiple meanings in different geographical, social and political regimes in a process of differentiated appropriation that did not prevent the convergence in actions, demonstrations and

events through a common network capable of acting, generating states of opinion." Thus, from the media, the Internet and activism in general, we witness an "enthusiasm for the revolution" in the key of intersubjectivity (Rovira Sancho, 2017: 72; 2014: 42). In this way, a network movement is combined, on the one hand, of a political nature and, on the other, of a technological nature (Rovira Sancho, 2014, 2017).

Thus, according to Aguirre Rojas (2013: 7-8), the Chiapas uprising is presented as a symbolic reference for a new generation of social movements sustained in networks, geographically dispersed, diffuse, multi-thematic, intermittent and not formally organized. They are the networks of alterglobalization that will emerge in Seattle in 1999 and the pillar of the anti-systemic movement. These are articulated through periodic meetings, workshops, forums, assemblies or congresses, as ICTs and are presented as their privileged form of political relationship and instruments of their same dynamics. Among the social actors that stand out in their integration are, mainly, whether as collective or individual representation, indigenous peoples, Afro-descendants, farmers, artisanal fishermen, rural workers, women and young people. Some examples are the Community Living Culture Movement; the Alliance for Food Sovereignty; the cross-border Network for the Defense of Ancestral Territories; the Central American Black Organization; the Latin American Coordinator of Rural Organizations-La Vía Campesina; Friends of the Earth from Latin America and the Caribbean; the Coordinator of Indigenous Organizations of the Amazon Basin; the Andean Coordinator of Indigenous Organizations; the Network of Afro-Latin American, Afro-Caribbean and Diaspora Women; the Strategic Alliance of Afro-descendants, the Network of Indigenous Youth of Latin America and the Caribbean; the Indigenous Women's Network on Biodiversity in Latin America; the Afro-descendant Regional Articulation in Latin America and the Caribbean (ARAAC); the

Network of Afro-Latin American, Afro-Caribbean and Diaspora Women; and the Latin American Network of Women Defenders of Social and Environmental Rights

In terms of the particular contribution of Transnational alterglobalizing social networks to the field of thought in an international/global key, some preliminary considerations are worth making. In their character as articulated nodes, the main note is given by the transversality of their dynamics and, therefore, the interaction between the diversity of individual and collective actors that make them up, not always from the Latin American space itself. This generates a double consequence: on the one hand, the difficulty of discerning, in certain cases, the particular contribution from Latin America; and, on the other hand, the generation of translocal/transnational reactions that, from certain localized actions, can have derivations in terms of networks that socialize and show solidarity with a given movement and, in such a framework, generate new thinking. Taking these caveats into account and, at the same time, putting them into consideration, below are axes that aim to identify the contributions of the Networks as part of the contributions of Latin American thought. In other words, and based on the above, the Transnational alterglobalizing social networks that have been configured in Latin America since the '90s have been generators or expanders of Latin American thought and enhancers thereof in various ways:

- They contribute to the resignification of politics and intersubjective relations. Thus, for example, sovereignty is postulated as a structuring basis of the power of social actors to assert their rights over spaces and goods over which they intend to exercise autonomous protection without the interference of external power structures, mainly represented by the capitalism via multinationals; In this way, sovereignty over the territory, culture, science, technology, environment, language, knowledge, land, among others, becomes the main objective as an emancipatory

path. In the same sense, they promote the construction of the cultural dimension of states through the promotion of multiethnic, multicultural or plurinational communities. They propose new horizons of meaning, through the prominence given to humanity, dignity and respect for difference; or alternative conceptions of nature and development (see Escobar, 2012 [2005]: 159 et seq.), as well as activism that promotes environmental geopolitics and ecological feminism.

- They socialize or introduce new actors and categories of analysis through the consideration of other forms of identity that shape reality, beyond social classes. Thus, for example, indigenous people, peasants or people of African descent are presented as central. The latter are even a new category of analysis adopted in December 2000 at the Regional Conference of the Americas in Santiago, Chile (2000), which served as preparation for the Third World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, and Xenophobia and Related Forms of Intolerance in Durban (2001). The adoption of the term at said conference was aimed at recognizing the descendants of African people who arrived during the colonial era to the American continent as part of the slave trade, and who historically suffered discrimination and the denial of human rights. The concept of Afro-descendant thus refers to the populations descended from the African diaspora in the world (Lao Montes, 2009: 223 et seq.).

- They interact with theoretical currents, particularly decolonial approaches, which also take the experiences of transnational social networks in their emancipatory elaborations. The matrices of coloniality as the perpetuation of the domination of the Center over the Periphery, the North over the South, are expressed in the questioning of Western culture as the bearer of universal knowledge that ignores the plurality of cultures, knowledge and social practices. Thus, "Neo-Zapatismo, without intending it, is today one of the main decolonial references, the detachment from

the Euro-centered bases of power, the disengagement from the logic of modernity and another epistemic alternative" (Medellín Urquiaga and González González, 2013: 17-18). In other words, as Walter Mignolo (1997: 64) maintains: "theoretical revolutions do not occur only in the disciplinary or academic sphere, but in all levels of society [...] it is no longer a matter of thinking 'theories' that help us understand 'reality', but rather find the theory 'in' reality." From this statement, for the author, Zapatismo is presented as a theoretical revolution in terms of cultural shock and overcoming globalization in its homogenizing character to present itself as a universalization of border epistemology (the experience that Marcos calls "translation"), as a new way of thinking in the colonial horizon of modernity.

- They recognize the problems and goals from the history of the American continent itself in terms of ancestrality, in a trajectory that includes the itineraries of indigenous peoples, people of African descent, Europeans and Americans in general. Thus, the history of Ibero-American colonization, European and American imperialism, are connected and come into tension with the pre-Columbian cultural roots that are legitimized as they are represented in the original occupants of the territory, bearers of their own traditions and knowledge. In this way, a history prior to the nation state is also revealed, characterized by other cross-border relationships and actors that imply other worldviews (Ovando Santana and Álvarez Fuentes, 2021: 166).

From the above, Transnational alterglobalizing social networks are presented as horizontal forms of doing local-transnational politics in the face of common global problems and as creators/carriers/transmitters of alternative analytical scaffoldings in tension/dialogue with other ways of conceiving globality. Thus, from political praxis, they allow the knowledge of the West and Modernity to be problematized. By becoming transnational actors associated with alternative thoughts, they also contribute to new

theorizations in the field of International Relations in terms of critical review of the latter. In this sense, they also contribute to the consideration of the relevance that the transnational dimension that crosses them acquires in the contemporary world.

Connections

Theories and Theoretical Approaches: Decolonial Approach to International Studies

Concepts: Good living, Coloniality of power, South-South Cooperation, Ecodevelopment, Geopolitics of knowledge, Globalization/Worldwideization, Civil society in Latin American regionalism, Regional civil society, Sumak Kawsay-Suma Qamaña, South (global)

Figures: Arturo Escobar, Walter Mignolo

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PART III:
CONCEPTS

Double asymmetry

Cesar Ross Orellana

The notion of asymmetry comes from Geometry, and refers to the lack of exact correspondence, in the regular arrangement of the parts or points of a body or figure in relation to a center, an axis or a plane. This idea prevails in the same way in almost all other sciences that use the concept. In economics, especially in the monetary field, the category has been used to refer to the establishment of parities between currencies, where one of them is usually used as a reference. In the field of Political Science, the idea (more than the concept) has been used regarding the unequal concentration of power on both sides of a relationship, even considering that the contents of power have been in the process of reorganization, especially from the point of view of emphasis. In the field of International Relations, the concept acquires the same meaning as in Political Science, although with interesting details for this analysis. Power differences establish relations of domination and subordination, which international politics has incorporated into its analyzes for a long time.

I first discussed the "Double Asymmetry" category in an article published by *Foreign Affairs* in 2006 . From then on it has been developed and made more complex (Ross Orellana, 2005; 2009;

2012; 2020)[6], in addition to applying it to cases related to what I have called "downward asymmetry and upward asymmetry."

In the case of countries that we could call intermediate states (which are not hegemonic states nor are they extremely weak or failed states), Double Asymmetry consists of the simultaneous relationship that a country has, both with the main powers in the world, and with those whose relative power is clearly lower.

Regarding the first asymmetry, "upwards", it is worth pointing out that the bulk of the bibliography, especially that written from the South or the Periphery, maintains that the countries have had predominantly adverse or regressive relations, which was relatively consistent with the historical evidence until the end of the 1980s. However , after the collapse of the Cold War, the international scenario became much more dynamic and complex, with cases observed in which the result was exactly the opposite. In these cases, it could be stated that such interaction responded rather to a "virtuous asymmetry" [7], where a pragmatic (neorealist and/or neoliberal) relationship was established. In many cases,

6 Another author who has referred to this category of double asymmetry has been Bernal-Meza, R. (2016) Contemporary Latin American thinking on International Relations: theoretical, conceptual and methodological contributions. *Brazilian Journal of International Politics,* 59 (1) https://doi.org/10.1590/0034-7329201600105

7 I have coined the expression of virtuous asymmetry as a metaphor to describe the relationship between, at least, two actors whose power is asymmetric but who manage to establish a "variable sum" link, that is, one in which both manage to benefit . Ross Orellana, C. (2012) The Challenges of Chilean Foreign Policy. In M. Artaza and C. Ross Orellana. *Chile's Foreign Policy, 1990-2009: From isolation to global integration* , Santiago: RIL Editores USACH.

this asymmetric relationship has led to international recognition of the less powerful country, expressed mainly in the performance of its foreign policy, that is, its ability to meet its international objectives.

The second asymmetry, "downward asymmetry", which could also be called "regressive asymmetry" [8], describes a country that takes on the role of a strong actor and others act as weaker actors, which is fraught with aspects of greater difficulty, given that here Interdependence is complex, as it is subject to multiple variables and as it is filtered by an interpretation that usually exceeds the strictly political level. The same type of literature cited above has historically suggested that in this type of interaction, strong states tend to derive the greatest benefit, while weak states tend to assume the costs of the relationship. Historical evidence, however, shows that there have been many cases in which the opposite has occurred. Suffice it to mention the conflict between the United States and Vietnam.

The Double Asymmetry imposes a much more flexible international behavior and, by extension, much more pragmatic than that which may fit a state located at the top or at the bottom of the international hierarchy. The countries faced with this dilemma, which I have called intermediate states, are the vast majority in the world. However, they usually act in only one of these dimensions, which frequently affects the performance of their foreign policies.

8 It refers to that asymmetry that results in harm to the weakest actor, whose interaction results in a critical performance that, despite being subject to advances and setbacks, in the total sum always culminates in a setback.

Connections

Theories and theoretical approaches: Latin American structuralism
Schools of thought and Networks: Rosarian School of International Relations
Concepts: Center-Periphery, Intermediate States, Latin American thought on international and global issues
Figures: César Ross Orellana, Raúl Bernal-Meza

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Autonomy

Alejandro Simonoff

The appearance of the concept "Autonomy" was a cardinal fact in the institutionalization of the disciplinary field of International Relations of the Southern Cone. This was possible thanks to the contributions of the Economic Commission for Latin America (CEPAL) and the Dependency Theory.

The autonomists analyzed the existing asymmetries in the relationship between Latin America and the United States, their negative effects, but also the margins of maneuver that would allow the achievement of national objectives. These were defined by elites who disputed control of the state: this being their analysis variable. The ideology that supported it was nationalist and internal market, comparable to the populisms existing in the postwar period.

Clearly, this type of policies had a material base represented by the industrialization processes, which, as the CEPAL people understood, required the search for autonomous bases of development (dos Santos, 2002: 62).

For Juan Carlos Puig and Helio Jaguaribe, the main references of South American autonomism, the candidate countries for autonomy are not all peripheral countries, but those that have: autonomizing elites, in the case of the Argentine analyst; or certain economic and technical capabilities, in the case of the Brazilian,

does not extend to all peripheral countries, but rather to semi-peripheral ones.

This opening marks the field in which the autonomous theory is developed, in which Jaguaribe has several meeting points with Puig, where the peripheral version of the first and the heterodox version of the second are very similar, or the confluence in the criterion of national viability. In this regard, for Raúl Bernal-Meza (2013) the advancement of this criterion produces the transition from dependence to autonomy.

From what we have been explaining, Autonomy would be based on a combination of capabilities and will, however, our authors were not unaware of the fact that an international context was necessary that would allow it.

For this reason, for Helio Jaguaribe the general context was one of the enabling elements, called "international permissiveness":

> the extent to which, given the geopolitical situation of a country and its international relations, this country has the conditions to neutralize the risk coming from third countries endowed with sufficient capacity to exercise effective forms of coercion over it (Jaguaribe, 1969, cited in Bologna, 1987: 27).

This characterization of permissiveness, in classical terms, allows us to define Jaguaribian autonomy:

> Without ensuring the impregnability of their own territory, it is characterized by the fact that the owners have the means to impose severe penalties, material and moral, on a possible aggressor (Jaguaribe, 1979: 93).

Also has:

> a fairly wide margin of self-determination in the condition of its internal businesses and an appreciable capacity for independent international action (Jaguaribe, 1979: 93).

With a similar development, Juan Carlos Puig observed that it was necessary to understand the international system, where there are asymmetric conditions and a complex (and unstable) balance of power, created by a division of functions: "supreme distributors" (they make macro decisions and monitor compliance), "inferior distributors" (these are the governments that guarantee those decisions, but with some margins of maneuver and adjustments) and, the "recipiendaries" (the rest of the planet's population) (Puig, 1980: 145). .

The international regime was articulated according to the following criteria: the possession of weapons of mass destruction, inter-bloc impermeability, intra-bloc autonomy, strategic rupture, extra-bloc permeability and the prohibition of the use of force for medium and small powers. "Autonomization" is the increase in "freedom of action" on the part of junior coalition partners, where national actors adjust their intentions to an equation between the current level of Autonomy and its potential scope:

> The achievement of greater autonomy supposes a previous zero-sum strategic game, in which someone wins what another loses... the strategic maneuver that this [the former client] must put into motion will only be successful to the extent that the political diagnosis referring to the adversary [the dominant power] is correct and, as a consequence, mobilizes power resources that are sufficient to dominate the will of the opponent (Puig, 1984: I: 44).

In their work, four categories are distinguished that are defined by the role that the elites assign to their state project in the international system, either by not having their own project and,

therefore, being beholden to the great power (dependence paracolonial), for possessing one, even if it is dependent (rationalized dependence) or if it has an autonomist one (heterodox autonomist), or if it proposes one that leads to a strategic rupture (secessionist autonomy).

For both Puig and Jaguaribe the categories are not stable or permanent, but are subject to absolutely dynamic criteria. How was this possible in the world of the second post-war period of the 20th century? We find the answer in Dani Rodrik:

> The Bretton Woods-GATT regime allowed countries to dance to their own music as long as they removed a series of border restrictions on foreign trade and generally treated all their trading partners the same. They were allowed (indeed, encouraged) to maintain restrictions on capital flows, since the architects of the postwar economic order did not believe that free capital flows were compatible with national economic stability (2011: 222).

This international economic structure allowed, with its nuances, Argentina and Brazil to opt for their own model: developmentalism. This consisted of actions by states aimed at seeking resources to promote industrialization and thus overcome underdevelopment.

Therefore, for our authors, development was central. In the case of Jaguaribe, the executive order is constituted by the alternatives that the peripheral states candidates for autonomy must undertake, either because:

> They achieve satisfactory technical-business autonomy internally. Or b) compensatory, they manage to have favorable conditions in their relations with the imperial center, especially due to identifications of an ethnic-cultural order (Jaguaribe, 1973: 128).

For his part, Puig highlights that one of the aspects for achieving heterodox Autonomy is that "the internal development model may not coincide with the expectations of the metropolis" (1984: I: 68).

In the '80s, the democratic political agenda was concentrated on reintegration, firstly, leading to a shift in research from autonomy towards that concept and, secondly, prefiguring two critical lines of autonomism that marked a "new impulse disciplinary" that are exemplified in the controversy between Mario Rapoport (1984) and Carlos Escudé (1984) over the appearance of the latter's book, *La Declinación Argentina* (1983).

However, as we know, it was no coincidence that the discourses on the loss of Autonomy coincided with the abandonment of the Bretton Woods criteria, when:

> The Bretton Woods commitment was largely abandoned in the 1980s as the liberalization of capital flows gained speed and trade agreements began to reach beyond national borders (Rodrik, 2011: 223).

As globalization, or hyperglobalization - as this Turkish economist called it - advanced, Autonomy for peripheral countries seemed to be reduced. For this reason, many of Puig's disciples, such as Raúl Bernal-Meza, Miryam Colacrai and Luis Dallanegra Pedraza, thought about autonomy not in national but in regional terms. Furthermore, they moved away from some of the difficulties of Puigi's analyses, such as the divergence between the political regime and Autonomy, and affirmed the possibility of the existence of a cooperative strategy with the United States without altering the margins of maneuver.

Connections

Theories and theoretical approaches: Dependency, Latin American structuralism

Schools of thought and Networks: Autonomy and Rosarian School of International Relations, Rosarian School of International Relations

Concepts: Heterodox autonomy, Relational autonomy, Latin American regionalisms

Doctrines: Doctrine of the Third Position

Figures: Carlos Escudé, Helio Jaguaribe, Juan Carlos Puig, Mario Rapoport, Miryam Colacrai, Raúl Bernal-Meza

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Heterodox autonomy

Aldana Clemente

Concept coined and developed by Juan Carlos Puig, who defined "Heterodox Autonomy" as a key stage in the transition from dependency (paracolonial) to autonomy (secessionist).

Puig understood that it was necessary to "de-ideologize" the science of International Relations and establish "our own categories for capturing the phenomena that constitute its field of development" (Puig, 1984: 36). In this sense, the Dependency Theory and the work of Raúl Prebisch (1949) in the Economic Commission for Latin America (CEPAL) on the one hand, and the notion of "autonomous development" of the Brazilian Helio Jaguaribe (1964; 1979) on the other hand, another, allowed him to identify new possibilities for the region in autonomy.

The author's proposal started from recognizing the asymmetric conditions and the complex balance of power of the international system (Puig, 1980: 141). However, this did not imply removing the possibilities of autonomous and progressive action for the minor states in the face of the superpowers. On the contrary, the author recognized in these the possibility of altering or creating new regimes, from which to limit the most powerful actors. To generate such changes, Puig distinguished as central the mobilization of power resources and the role of the ruling elites or pressure groups that compete for control of the state,

since they are determinants of its actions and the path of its autonomy.

From the construction of this framework, the author developed a model in which he traced a path between two extremes, "Dependency-Autonomy", understanding that neither is found in its pure state, although it is possible to isolate theoretical gradations within the scale that It unites them (without implying a linear path). Within this model, he located the concept of heterodox Autonomy as one of the degrees of autonomy possible for Latin American foreign policy. His proposal indicated the existence of four levels between which the ruling elites of the minor states could choose. These included at one extreme of subordination "paracolonial dependence"; then, "national dependence" where, although the elites have a national project, they are dependent on the center; a third level, corresponding precisely to "Heterodox Autonomy"; and, finally, "Secessionist Autonomy", which represents, at the other extreme, the break with the hegemonic power (Puig, 1984: 74-79).

Heterodox Autonomy is proposed by Puig (1980: 152) as a desirable stage where "internal groups try to take full advantage of the weaknesses and errors of the center (or centers) of world power to which the country is attached. question". At this stage, although the leadership/strategic direction of the power is accepted and recognized, one can openly disagree with it on at least three issues: 1) in the internal development model that may or may not coincide with the expectations of the center ; 2) in international links that are not globally strategic and 3) in the demarcation between the national interest of the dominant power and the strategic interest of the bloc (Puig, 1984: 78). This is when the behavior of power groups or ruling elites becomes decisive, since they can operate either as facilitators or minimizers of the phenomenon of dependency. That is, if those in power manage to identify themselves as relatively independent from the center and with the capacity to set objectives, although they recognize vital issues in which they will

have to act in accordance with the power (such issues are marked by the power's predisposition to use all resources including force to obtain obedience) heterodox Autonomy is a fact. But if those in power act in a dysfunctional way (little commitment to the national interest) they will become elements of power transmission for the dominant sectors of the central countries.

Therefore, heterodox Autonomy depends on the role of the ruling groups and the role that, in turn, they assign to their state. Given that, although it implies for a peripheral country not to accept that political and strategic assessments are dogmatically imposed that only consult the self-interest of the hegemonic power (Puig, 1984, I: 78), it is the dominant group that must recognize and "know with reasonable accuracy the crucial point at which everyday interests become vital. This of course makes it possible to "press to the very limit of rupture: in short, it is about learning to ' *marcher sur le fil du rasoir* '" (Puig, 1980: 153).

For the author, an example of a heterodox Autonomy policy, in relation to the United States, was the "Third Position", a foreign policy formulation of the first Peronist governments in Argentina in the context of the end of the Second World War (1945- 1955). In this period, it was achieved that the "current margin" of autonomous decision of the state coincided with the "potential", that is, the national decision-making capacity with respect to the bloc was expanded to the maximum within the possibilities that the bipolar international system offered. In this way, although there were discrepancies with the United States, they:

> They did not respond to a generalized anti-American strategy, [...] but to the distinction between the American national interest, as leader of the Western community, and the self-interest of the United States, as the hegemonic power on the continent . Argentina supported the United States in the first case, but reserved its freedom of action in the second (Puig, 1980: 194).

However, beyond the framework in which the concept of heterodox Autonomy and the theoretical model on which it is based were conceived, it has proven to be central to the development and analysis of Latin American thought and its foreign policy from then until today. , as pointed out by the works of Alejandro Simonoff (2014), Raúl Bernal-Meza (2013), Bruno Bologna (2010), Roberto Miranda (2018), among others. The concept has also been taken up to be criticized by authors such as Carlos Escudé, considering it a cost of foreign policy (1992; 1995); branded as rigid and schematic, although "suggestive" to open a space for thought and action from the periphery according to Mario Rapoport (1990: 565); judged "weak" by focusing the analysis of foreign policy mainly on the relationship with the United States as a power (Rapoport and Spiguel, 2005; Míguez, 2018) and has been a reference point for new interpretations such as Roberto's "relational autonomy" Russell and Juan Gabriel Tokatlian (2010). Throughout all of them it has shown that, despite the changes in the international context, the analysis and practice of regional foreign policy maintain heterodox Autonomy as an indigenous and current contribution, both to reflect and to lead to. practice a viable path between dependency and autonomy.

Connections

Theories and theoretical approaches: Dependency, Latin American structuralism, Peripheral realism

Schools of thought and Networks: Autonomy and Rosarian School of International Relations, Rosarian School of International Relations

Concepts: Autonomy, Relational Autonomy, Center-Periphery

Doctrines: Doctrine of the Third Position

Figures: Alfredo Bruno Bologna, Carlos Escudé, Helio Jaguaribe,

Juan Carlos Puig, Juan Gabriel Tokatlian, Mario Rapoport, Raúl Bernal-Meza, Raúl Prebisch, Roberto Russell

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Relational autonomy

Roberto Russell, Juan Gabriel Tokatlian

"Relational Autonomy" is the capacity and willingness of a country to make decisions with others of its own free will and to jointly confront situations and processes that occur within and outside its borders. The notion is structured from contributions to the topic of autonomy that come from classical political theory, political sociology, gender studies, philosophical and social psychology and the theory of complex thought.

Relational Autonomy constitutes a profound re-significance of autonomy in matters of international relations with the aim of adapting this concept to the new circumstances of a world that is moving, full of contradictions and ups and downs, towards closer and more diffuse forms of relationship between internal and external, national and global.

From our perspective, the defense and increase of the degrees of autonomy of Latin American countries can no longer come from national or subregional policies of isolation, self-sufficiency or antagonism. Consequently, Relational Autonomy questions and rejects the main aspects that have distinguished the usual approaches to autonomy: its definition and practice in opposition to others; the fundamentally negative vision of the international system that leads to this definition and practice in reactive and confrontational terms; the centrality given to the state as an au-

tonomous actor; and the decoupling of the practice of autonomy from the type of political regime.

On the contrary, Relational Autonomy is framed and sustained by cooperative action with others; considers that the problems, challenges and opportunities presented by the world order require the governments of Latin America to implement active, responsible and committed policies in favor of greater global equity, security and governance; and maintains that democracy is a requirement for the state to act in close connection with the individuals, groups and the national community it represents.

Thus, autonomy is no longer defined by a country's ability to isolate itself and control external processes and events, but by its competence to participate and influence effectively in world affairs, especially in international organizations and regimes and in mechanisms for consultation and cooperation that also constitutes the indispensable institutional support for the exercise of relational Autonomy. The first geographical space for its exercise includes Latin America, mainly the countries of South America.

Relational Autonomy requires from the autonomous agent a new way of seeing the world and being in it, which prioritizes aptitude, commitment, responsibility and trust. To do this, a progressive change is required in the position of the subject of autonomy, leading to the constitution of what Alexander Wendt has called "collective identities", in which the Self and the Other form a "plural subject" and a single "cognitive region".

Relational Autonomy is not an idealistic vision of world affairs, although we do not hide the normative ambitions that underlie it. Rather, it recognizes the relationships of domination and subordination and the practices of power politics while constituting the most effective strategy to reduce power asymmetries and counteract these practices.

Finally, Relational Autonomy has a strong democratic component; It is based on civic identities in contrast to sectarian and

exclusive national identities; implies a pattern of activity that is based on the growing participation and influence of national societies in decisions on international issues; and requires the transfer of sovereignty space that can only be carried out through democracy.

The transition towards Relational Autonomy will not be easy and, as in the case of individual autonomy, it must be learned and encouraged on an ongoing basis. We recognize that it is a proposal for international conduct that will not be easy to put into practice. However, we believe that it will find its time, perhaps more out of necessity than out of conviction. Our reflection fundamentally aims to provide elements to win the intellectual argument in favor of another way of conceiving and seeking the autonomy of the countries of Latin America.

This situation constitutes, perhaps, an opportunity to explore our perspective on Relational Autonomy. Ilan Kelman (2011), one of the greatest scholars of *disaster diplomacy* , points out that this type of diplomacy aims to reduce the impact of natural calamities and those generated by man; argues that disasters can induce international cooperation and, therefore, improve ties between nations.

Connections

Theories and theoretical approaches: Latin American structuralism

Schools of thought and Networks: Autonomy and Rosarian School of International Relations, Rosarian School of International Relations

Concepts: Autonomy, heterodox autonomy

Figures: Juan Carlos Puig, Juan Gabriel Tokatlian, Roberto Russell

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Center - Periphery

Eduardo Devés

It is a notion developed by Raúl Prebisch to understand the relations of economic and political power at a global level, within the framework of which the underdevelopment of Latin America and other peripheral regions was explained. This relational notion, with an initial very economic meaning, has subsequently been projected towards international and global dynamics. It has inspired approaches in various fields, political studies, thought and culture studies, science and technology studies and international studies in general. In this way, it has become one of the notions of Latin American origin that has had the most impact, employment and reworking at a global level, if not the one that has had the most.

Ricardo Bielschowsky has summarized this issue by pointing out that the opposition between Center and Periphery served, in the first place:

> to affirm that the aforementioned structure determined a specific pattern of insertion in the world economy as a "periphery", producer of goods and services with a little dynamic international demand, importer of goods and services with a rapidly expanding internal demand and assimilator of patterns of consumption and technologies appropriate for the center but often inadequate for the availability of resources and the income level of the periphery

> (1998: 15). [AND, secondly] led to the idea that the peripheral socioeconomic structure determines a singular way of industrializing, introducing technical progress and growing, as well as a peculiar way of absorbing labor force and distribute income (1998: 16).

For this reason, Bielschowsky concluded, interpreting Prebisch, "it was not a question of comparing peripheral underdevelopment with historical past of the central economies, as Walt Rostow (1956) wanted, but of identify the unique historical unfoldings of specificity of their experiences" (1998: 16). This notion also carries the idea that, since these relationships are perverse, it is decisive to break the Center-Periphery dialectic, through a structural change that modifies the character of the economic relationship, which, moreover, contaminates other areas of reality. To reverse this situation, Prebisch proposed at the national level a project of Import Substitution Industrialization and at the global level a New International Economic Order (Rosales, 1988).

The main heterodox legacy against the ideas of classical CEPALism was the dependency thinking that, especially radicalizing the interpretation of the international politics of developed economies, has led CEPALism towards a theory of imperialism. The introduction of the category "dependency" made it possible to more directly connect economic issues to political ones in numerous states of the global South, expressing this in spaces such as the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) and the Third World Forum. . This has had various subvariants, the Southern Cone being the best known, although also the Caribbean one of the New World Group, and even with reworkings in several other intellectual ecosystems around the world. Among the latter, the most recognized has been that of Immanuel Wallerstein on the world system.

Theotonio dos Santos (2002: 33), giving a historical account, has highlighted that although Prebisch had already spoken about

this in the '50s, it would be in the '70s that he perfected this thesis "under the influence of the debate on dependency." Theotonio dos Santos maintained that dependentism "sought to refine that scheme by reviewing the theory of imperialism since its formation, with Hilferding, Rosa Luxemburg, Hobson, Lenin and Bukharin," and that André Gunder Frank in 1991 called "attention to that search for analysis of the world system that was designed especially in the early 1970s with Amin (1974), Frank (1978; 1980; 1981), dos Santos (1970; 1978)" and that gained strength "with the work of Immanuel Wallerstein (1974; 1980; 1989), who developed the tradition of Fernand Braudel (1979)."

Dependentism, in André G. Frank's version, elaborated the notion of metropolis-satellites that sought to improve (and deny) the Center-Periphery formulation. Claudio Katz (2016) has summarized Frank's position, noting that:

> located the origin of the center-periphery relationship in the subordinate integration of the region to world capitalism in the 16th century. He pointed out that in this chain of global accumulation, a metropolitan center (Europe) subjects the peripheral satellites (Latin America), through the mediation of certain countries (Spain, Portugal), which in turn become satellites of the dominant power (Great Britain). Within Latin America, this same circuit connects the peripheral satellite (Chile) with the main colonial satellite (Peru), which in turn is managed by the extra-regional metropolis (Spain or England). This chain of submissions is recreated along with the hierarchical confiscation of surpluses.

In the field of international studies, Juan Carlos Puig, Raúl Bernal-Meza, Samuel Pihheiro Guimarães, among others, have taken up and/or developed Prebischian ideas. Puig partially embraced the CEPAL and dependency discourse, reworking some notions and trying to develop it within the framework of thinking about

international relations. In this framework, his desire to classify the types of autonomy must be understood: para-colonial, national, secessionist and heterodox (Simonoff, 2014). For this classification, Puig (1980) uses notions such as center, peripheral state, peripheral country, dependent state and metropolis. Raúl Bernal-Meza (2005), for his part, has abundantly collected the direct and indirect Prebischian inheritance through neo-Cepalism and dependentism. This category has transcended from international economic relations to issues such as foreign policy with the notion "Peripheral Realism" developed by Carlos Escudé, who, without explicitly embracing the CEPAL eidetic trajectory, aims to interpret the peripheral condition of many nation-states.

In the studies of thought and culture, the Center-Periphery notion has also operated, although in this case normally stripped of the problem of power, so important in its most proper conceptualization. In this area, more than inequality it is about the difference.

Latin American cultural studies have reworked the notion particularly to understand the most significant features of what has been called a "peripheral Modernity." Beatriz Sarlo (1988: 28) coined the notion "Peripheral Modernity" in a study on Buenos Aires 1920 and 1930 where she noted that:

> The semantic density of the period weaves contradictory elements that do not end up unifying into a hegemonic line. Argentine culture as a mixed culture, where defensive and residual elements coexist alongside renewal programs; cultural traits of the Creole formation at the same time as a huge process of importing goods. discourses and symbolic practices.

This notion was partially reworked by José Joaquín Brunner (2001: 253-254), who highlighted that it has been developed:

> a conception of modernity that, under the sign of a "peripheral modernity", operates on the basis of very marked "imaginaries of what is proper"; imaginaries possible to invoke through some of the dichotomies of the Latin American "identity discourse" of the last two centuries: civilization/barbarism, modernization/modernism, dependence/self-determination, national/global, democracy/authoritarianism.

A similar conceptual reworking has also occurred in the field of studies of ideas. There, the existence of a pattern of "peripheral thinking" has been shown (Devés, 2017: 2020) that marks a good part of the work of the intellectuals of Africa, Asia, Latin America and Eastern Europe during the last centuries and as a reaction to European expansion, where Prebisch's notion is not considered in terms of the world economy and not even strictly in terms of the relations between geo-cultural poles, but rather as the introjection of a dilemma present in the intellectualities of the peripheries. These very frequently organize their thinking in relation to the models of the center, whether as fascination or rejection, playing on the dilemma "centralitarianism" (being like the center) and "identitarianism" (being-ourselves).

Connections

Theories and theoretical approaches: Dependency, Latin American structuralism, peripheral realism
Schools of thought and Networks: New World Group School
Concepts: Autonomy, Heterodox Autonomy, Peripheral Modernity
Doctrines: Doctrine of the Third Position
Figures: Aldo Ferrer, Aníbal Pinto Santa Cruz, Carlos Escudé, Celso Furtado, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, José Joaquín

Brunner, Juan Carlos Puig, Raúl Bernal-Meza, Raúl Prebisch, Samuel Pinheiro Guimarães, Theotonio dos Santos

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Democratic clause

Carlos Federico Dominguez Avila

The interpretive analysis of the quality of democracy is one of the central problems of contemporary Latin American thought. This includes, among many other specific issues, the mechanism called: "Democratic clause", as well as its conceptual and empirical ramifications. In this regard, it is important to take into consideration that the presumably existing correlations between the political regime and the international insertion of societies and sovereign states are, jointly, a topic that has been widely discussed by researchers assigned to different currents of political-social and internationalist thought, including to many intellectuals on the continent (Bobbio, 2001).

The argument supported here suggests that, in the context of contemporary academic and intellectual debate, the notion of Democratic clause appears at the intersection of crucial concepts of Latin American thought, such as Peace, Democracy, Development and International Security. At the same time, in an era of global autocratization, the available evidence suggests that the set of main thinkers, intellectuals and specialists on this topic (that is, the participants of that epistemic community) agree on the understanding that the promotion and Perfecting the democratic regimes predominant in the majority of the States in the region is an extremely important asset. Such consensus in the think-

ing applied to the problem of the quality of democracy includes both its unfolding within the aforementioned countries, as well as with regard to their international insertion, especially when it comes to the participation and permanence of such States. in certain regional integration processes and multilateral organizations (Keane, 2018).

It is known that the very concept of Democracy has been the subject of intense deliberation among thinkers, authorities and other related actors. Some ambiguity persists in the processual, substantial and results dimensions that are part of a broad and qualified conceptualization of the topic. That is one of the reasons why Robert Dahl (2016) proposed the adoption of the expression "polyarchy" to refer in a more operational and objective way to the regimes commonly called democratic, representative, pluralistic and participatory. Keep in mind that in a democratic regime certain internationally recognized dimensions should be clearly observed, such as the rule of law, accountability (electoral and inter-institutional), political participation, political competition, responsiveness, freedom, and solidarity/equality. These dimensions are usually considered by the most important and recognized research institutes on the quality of democracy in the world, especially by entities such as Varieties of Democracy, the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance or the Latinobarómetro (2021).

In this flexible and constantly evolving context, the predominant Latin American thought currently highlights that the notion of Democratic clause points out that the existence and functioning of democratically oriented regimes is a fundamental element in the international insertion of certain societies and sovereign States, especially when it comes to participation in regional integration processes. Such democratic condition affects in different ways the formulation and implementation of foreign policy, and the future of bilateral and multilateral relations. Conversely, the breakdown

of the democratic order or a serious erosion of the regime could eventually provoke sanctions from the international community, even with the suspension of the participation of a certain State in regional integration processes and/or multilateral forums.

Note that the operation and application of Democratic clauses is closely linked to the democratization of societies and their States, in general, and to greater transparency and responsibility of foreign policy makers, increasingly evaluated by their fellow citizens, by actors political-social, by public opinion, by civil society, by the Legislature and other similar actors (Domínguez and Monsiváis, 2020). In this sense, it is understandable that, according to the Ushuaia Protocol of 1998, signed by the governments of Mercosur, Chile and Bolivia, the following was stated: "The full validity of democratic institutions is an essential condition for the development of democratic processes. of integration between the States Parties to this Protocol" (art. 1).

Starting in the '90s, the issue of the Democratic clause became a common topic in joint bilateral or multilateral declarations, as well as in certain regional integration processes (Trindade, 2021). Thus, most of the regional integration processes promoted by Latin American countries in the last thirty years placed a Democratic clause among their essential norms. In general, an attempt was made to go beyond the merely economic-commercial, and emphasize equally relevant political-social aspects (Tickner, 2000). Along these lines, the Southern Common Market (Mercosur), the Central American Integration System (SICA), the Pacific Alliance, the Andean Integration System, the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC), the Ibero-American Conferences, or The Caribbean Community (CARICOM), to name a few of them, sought to introduce this mechanism, with varying degrees of success in the explicit linking of the maintenance of the democratic order with the proper functioning of regional integration. In short, the Democratic clause has become a necessary

requirement to guarantee the participation and permanence of a State in certain processes of regional integration, dialogue, consultation and agreement at the highest political-diplomatic level.

At the hemispheric level, there was also some progress in this matter, mainly in the context of the Organization of American States (OAS), an organization that includes most of the countries of the continent. The approval of the so-called Inter-American Democratic Charter, in September 2001, was an important milestone in this process of expansion and improvement of hemispheric relations from the perspective of the quality of democracy that actually exists in the majority of societies and States of the continent, as well as with regard to the future of Latin American thought on international issues. According to article 19 of said Charter:

> The breakdown of the democratic order or an alteration of the constitutional order that seriously affects the democratic order in a Member State constitutes, as long as it persists, an insurmountable obstacle to the participation of its government in the sessions of the General Assembly, the Meeting of Consultation, the Councils of the Organization and the specialized conferences, commissions, working groups and other bodies of the Organization (Inter-American Democratic Charter, 2001, art. 19).

In retrospect, because they deal with a crucial problem for contemporary Latin American thought, these Democratic clauses are important and deserve to be accompanied in some detail by civil societies, national authorities and the international community (De la Fuente, Kneuer and Morlino, 2020). It is worth emphasizing that, from the perspective of sovereignty, self-determination, independence and freedom, the aforementioned Democratic clauses must be protected for exceptional situations (ruptures, serious cases of erosion of the regime), and should not be subject

to abuse by certain governments. to obtain excessive, spurious or protectionist geoeconomic advantages (V-Dem Institute, 2023).

Thus, in their analysis criteria such as gradualism, institutional filters, flexibility, criminal liability of certain agents, and eventually the securitization of the specific case can be considered. All this without forgetting that the process of improving the quality of democracy is a task in progress in all countries (even those with established democracies). In other words, *a priori,* no power could feel definitively superior to the others on this issue (Haggard and Kaufman, 2021).

In conclusion, even recognizing the persistence of some ambiguity and contradiction within the topic, the Democratic clause is an important mechanism in the construction of a region of peace, democracy, development and security (Przeworski, 2016). By placing democracy as an essential requirement for participation and permanence in some integration processes and regional forums, this mechanism seeks to influence the improvement of political-social systems, the formulation and implementation of foreign policy and the so-called their international identity (Pereyra Doval, 2015).

Connections

Theories and theoretical approaches: Dependency, Decolonial approach to international studies, Latin American structuralism, Founding insubordination, Peripheral realism

Schools of thought and Networks: School of Brasilia, New World Group School, Latin American International Relations Network (RIAL)

Concepts: Plurinational State, International identity, Open integration, Subregional integration, Integrationism, Multilateralism, Latin American thought on international issues, Regional civil society

Doctrines: Betancourt Doctrine, Castañeda Doctrine, Rodríguez Larreta Doctrine

Figures: Arlene Tickner, Celso Lafer, Cristina Eguizabal, José Luis Fiori, Juan Gabriel Tokatlian, Luciano Tomassini, Raúl Bernal-Meza, Rómulo Betancourt, Walter Mignolo

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Coloniality of power

Silvia T. Álvarez, Marina P. Verdini Aguilar

The "Coloniality of power" is a concept created by the Peruvian sociologist Aníbal Quijano that refers to a constitutive element of the pattern of global domination typical of the modern/capitalist world-system, originating with European colonialism at the beginning of the 16th century from the conquest and colonization of America and which continues to the present. It is based on the imposition of a racial/ethnic classification of the population that is expressed in all levels, areas and dimensions, material and subjective, of daily existence and on a social scale.

The context of its emergence is given by the redemocratization process that occurred in the West and Latin America, towards the '90s, with the end of the Cold War and the fall of the USSR, which opens the way to a stage marked by a globalization of neoliberal character and which is presented as the threshold of the "end of history". However, in light of the above, the continent is experiencing an increase in protests involving a diversity of social actors through the emergence of various forms of resistance to neoliberalism (Seoane and Taddei, 2009). Along these lines, Aníbal Quijano's approach represents a categorical rearmament that accompanies these resistances.

In the elaboration of the concept of Coloniality of power, four central influences can be observed. On the one hand, Marxism and

Latin American Structuralism, the first from the understanding of the matrix of power based on the material relations of production of capitalism and the second from the analysis of this matrix based on the notion of structural dependence that explains the subordination of the periphery to the center. On the other hand, the cultural contributions of Latin American thought through José Carlos Mariátegui on the nature of the relations between the West and Latin America, in particular the originality of the historical process of Latin American social formations within the framework of the imperialist capitalist order (Quijano, 2014 [1979]): 397) associated with a regionalist and indigenist vision (425 et seq.); as well as the linguistic and cultural subversion project of José María Arguedas (2014 [1984]: 694) through which the heterogeneity of power and its connection with social liberation and the identity question is raised (Quijano, 2014 [1990]: 738-39).

Although the theoretical bases of the Coloniality of power in Quijano can be traced back to the '60s (1968), its first formulations were proposed in the '80s and, fundamentally, in the '90s. In 1991 the article *Coloniality and Modernity/Rationality* was published , which Quijano recognized as a starting point, and in 1998 Coloniality *of power, culture and knowledge in Latin America* , in which "unlike the previous one the term appears 'coloniality of power' and not in a marginal way since a large part of the article is dedicated to establishing the basic features that would characterize it" (Restrepo and Rojas, 2010: 98).

While Quijano, at first, refers to the Coloniality of power as a concept, a neologism that contains "implications" (2000; 1993: 50), over time he grants it the status of a concept with theoretical propositions until reaching present it as a theory (2011: 77-78). Thus, the original concept of Coloniality of power becomes inscribed in "the theory of Coloniality of Power, or Coloniality of Global Power, and of Eurocentrism or Coloniality/Modernity/Eurocentred, as its specific historical horizon of meaning" (Quija-

no, 2011 : 77; see Quintero, 2010; Segato, 2014: 175 et seq.; Soto Acosta, 2012: 49 et seq.).

For Quijano, "power seems to have been, throughout known history, not only a phenomenon of all long-term social existences, but [...] the main motivation of the collective historical behavior of the species" (2011: 86). More precisely, it considers it a space and network of social relations of exploitation/domination/conflict articulated around the dispute for control of the following areas of social existence: 1) work and its products; 2) "nature" and its production resources; 3) sex, its products and the reproduction of the species; 4) subjectivity and its material and intersubjective products, including knowledge; 5) authority and its instruments, coercion in particular, to ensure the reproduction of that pattern of social relations and regulate its changes (Quijano, 2000b: 345).

Therefore, power must be analyzed within the framework of a pattern (understood as a structure composed of a diversity of elements crossed by different forms of relationships). From this reading, the origin of its elements, its form and character are discontinuous, heterogeneous, contradictory and conflictive in and through space and time (Quijano, 2000b: 347 et seq.).

The contemporary world power pattern originates with the constitution of America and Europe, in 1492 (1992: 11). It is then that capitalism becomes global and Eurocentric, while modernity and coloniality, concepts that are reciprocally required for understanding the pattern of power, are constitutive axes (Quijano, 2000b: 342).

Capitalism is global, due to its geographical scope, and also due to the articulation of each of the areas of social existence with institutions in charge of its control, in an interdependent relationship at different levels. Thus, in the control of work, its resources and its products, is the capitalist company; in the control of sex, its resources and products, the bourgeois family; in the control of authority, its resources and products, the nation-state; and in the control of intersubjectivity, Eurocentrism (Quijano, 2000a).

Capitalism is also Eurocentric in nature because it is imposed and expands from Europe through a worldview that proposes a cultural superiority through the control of intersubjectivity over dominated spaces and is expressed in modernity/coloniality whose significance is ahistorical. , as it is conceived as a natural phenomenon beyond spaces and times (Quijano, 1992: 11, 2000b: 342-343).

Although Quijano recognizes the positivity of modernity in its emancipatory aspiration, as freedom and equality of populations, he questions it as the instrumentalization of reason by power and generator of a paradigm of knowledge based on measurement, quantification and objectivity, which in practice prevents any emancipatory path and creates a coloniality that must be destroyed (1992: 19-20).

The Coloniality of power is understood, then, as one of the constitutive and specific elements of the world pattern of capitalist power (Quijano, 2000b: 342). It is based on a racial/ethnic classification of the world's population that operates across all spheres, material and subjective, of everyday life and on a social scale. Thus, "Europeans" or whites" and "non-Europeans" ("Indians", "blacks", etc.) and "mestizos", are presented as scientific and objective categories (1992: 12), that serve as reference points for the distribution of power relations. In this sense, for Quijano, the three central institutions of capitalist power already mentioned - the company, the nation-state and the bourgeois family -, which organized the basic social, cultural and political relations at work, in the State and in family, are constituted in direct relationship with the needs of the pattern of power founded on coloniality (1992: 12, 2014 [1997]: 612-614). A world organized in a colonial center and a colonial periphery would then be presented, in terms of coloniality (Quijano, 2000b: 376).

From these assumptions, through modernity/coloniality a 'historical' perspective of dual character is presented: linear and

evolutionary. On the one hand, the idea of a humanity that starts from a state of nature to reach progress. On the other hand, and in direct relation, the conception that there are inferior and superior beings, irrational and rational, primitive and civilized, traditional and modern (Quijano, 2000a). It is in this worldview that modernity can only be understood associated with coloniality.

For Quijano, through the review of history, the matrices of historical-structural dependence can be discovered and the foundations for the decoloniality of power can be laid. This implies, "Firstly, epistemological decolonization to give way to a new intercultural communication, to an exchange of experiences and meanings, as the basis of an other rationality that can claim, with legitimacy, some universality" (1991: 19- 20).

At this point, it is worth highlighting the existing consensus around the recognition of Aníbal Quijano as the creator of the neologism Coloniality of power (2014: 13). However, it should also be noted that, for some authors, such a neologism lacks originality. In this sense, Ramón Grosfoguel observes that the Coloniality of Power is part of the extensive path of continental decolonizing thought and that it finds antecedents in the history of Islamic, Asian, indigenous or black critical thought and in authors such as William Du Bois and Frantz Fanon. Therefore, "It is not a new idea, nor original from Quijano. What happens is that Quijano provides a new way of naming this articulation between race and other power relations, which is what he calls the "coloniality of power" (Grosfoguel, 2013: 43-44). Similarly, Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui maintains that Quijano does not account for the work carried out by authors such as Pablo González Casanova who elaborates the concept of "internal colonialism" (Rivera Cusicanqui, 2010: 66-67, see Grosfoguel, 2013: 46).

The truth is that the Coloniality of power constitutes "the epistemic core that [reveals] more accurately the intimate structuring of typically modern power" (Blanco, 2016: 10) and contributes to

laying the foundations of the Modernity-Coloniality approach, whose trajectory expresses different eidetic and ethical-political guidelines (Verdini Aguilar and Sánchez, 2022). In this sense, Enrique Dussel, Arturo Escobar, Santiago Castro-Gómez, Ramón Grosfoguel, Edgardo Lander, Maria Lugones, Nelson Maldonado Torres, Walter Mignolo. Zulma Palermo, Rita Segato, Boaventura de Sousa Santos and Catherine Walsh, among others, who, together, have contributed to problematizing the Coloniality of power as a matrix that contains the coloniality of being (ontological dimension of coloniality represented by the violation of sense of human otherness), the coloniality of knowledge (epistemic dimension of coloniality represented by the Eurocentrism given by the project of modernity) and the coloniality of gender (intersectional dimension of race, class, gender and sex).

As an example, the approach to these forms of coloniality finds new formulations in Santiago Castro-Gómez and María Lugones. Castro Gómez recognizes that the Coloniality of power, the coloniality of knowledge and the coloniality of being are three axes of coloniality that originate with European colonialism in the 16th century, although, from then on, they follow different itineraries. Therefore, although articulated with each other, and in a genealogical reading, they would not only be

> "derivations" of a "last instance" of an economic-political nature that would be the coloniality of power", would not respond to a single "world pattern of power", as Quijano proposes from his macro-sociological reading, since this "prevents understanding the modus operandi of colonial legacies in Latin America (Castro Gómez, 2012: 219).

On the other hand, for Lugones, the Coloniality of power allows us to understand that racialization and capitalist exploitation are inseparable and constitutive axes of the capitalist system of

power that was deployed with the colonization of the American continent. However, according to Lugones, Quijano shows gender as constituted 'by' and constituting 'the' Coloniality of power and proposes a patriarchal and heterosexual reading inscribed in a framework of capitalist, Eurocentric and global analysis that "veils the ways in which Colonized, non-white women were subordinated and disempowered" (2008: 78-82). Thus,

> Unlike colonization, the coloniality of gender is still with us; It is what lies at the intersection of gender/class/race as central constructs of the power system of the capitalist world. Thinking about the coloniality of gender allows us to think about historical beings who are only understood as oppressed in a simplistic and unilateral world (Lugones, 2011: 109).

From the above, with the notion Coloniality of power, a field of studies opens up that contributes to problematizing the exercise of power at levels internal to states, interstate and transnational through a new matrix of knowledge from the Social Sciences in key criticism of modernity. In its approach, the state, Center-Periphery relations and the world are interpreted within a framework of relational analysis aimed at discovering the nature and exercise of power. The geographies of power intervene in it; the past as an explanatory factor of the multiple hierarchies of power; alterity in social relations; the consequent imaginaries that configure power relations; and the diversity of worlds that make up political systems. Thus, the Coloniality of power contributes to the revision of the paradigms of the international system framed in statist, structuralist or world society readings. It is presented, then, as a way to address global international relations and global history in its plural sense (Álvarez, 2022) through the relevance of spatiality, temporality, subjectivity and culture. The challenge it poses is to 'recognise' and 'put into practice' emancipatory

struggles in North-South dependency relations and South-South cooperation/dialogue/coordination.

Connections

Theories and theoretical approaches: Dependency, Decolonial approach to international studies, Latin American structuralism

Schools of thought and Networks: Transnational alterglobalizing social networks

Concepts: Autonomy, Center-Periphery, South-South Cooperation, Geopolitics of knowledge, Sumak Kawsay-Suma Qamaña, South (global)

Figures: Aníbal Quijano, Arturo Escobar, Edgardo Lander, Enrique Domingo Dussel Ambrosini, Frantz Fanon, Ramón Grosfoguel, Raúl Haya de la Torre, Raúl Prebisch, Santiago Castro-Gómez, Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui, Walter Mignolo

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American continentalism

Andrés Rivarola Puntigliano

The American continental projection took its first steps in the geographical delineation of Amerigo Vespucci (1454-1512), which would become visible on a planetary plane with Martin Waldseemüller's world map of 1507. The *mundus novus* was a geopolitical reality, called *America* in honor to Vespucci. It is Spain that takes the initial steps towards a continental geopolitical perception of this *mundus*. One reason behind the Spanish "continental look" was due to the need to protect the new geopolitical system from the advances of rival powers (European and indigenous). To the south, they sought to secure the silver finds in Potosí in 1545, which led to the colonization of the Río de la Plata and the subsequent creation of the Viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata, in 1776. The same thing happened to the north, with the purpose of defending the silver of Zacatecas and the strategic Viceroyalty of New Spain, across the borders to Texas, Florida and the province of California. In the case of Portugal, its territorial reach, until the mid-16th century, reached the South American Atlantic coast. The situation changed with the integration of the Spanish and Portuguese crowns through the Iberian Union, in 1580. Under the reign of Philip II (1527-1598), the Iberian possessions, then united, created a state with continental American projection. Spanish America opened to Portuguese trade, also producing a great

stimulus for further migration across the old borders. This was the beginning of the Brazilian *drang nach westen*, which formed a geopolitical trend that would mark the process towards a Brazilian nation-state in a framework of South American continental expansion (Pandiá Calógeras, 1998: 155-159). A difference between Portugal and Spain was that, for Portugal, the "continental" framework of action was South America, while, for Spain, it was the American continent.

Despite the crisis of the Iberian empires, at the end of the 18th century and during the independence process, the American continental notion was maintained, but it was transformed since it went from being a geopolitical dimension to having an identity, national meaning. It must be taken into account that, despite the decline, the Spanish Empire had every intention of maintaining its American territory. This reached its maximum territorial extension in 1783, when Spain acquired Louisiana and recovered Florida, turning the Caribbean into a Spanish *mare nostrum.* The objective was to avoid conflicts with the Portuguese, trying to replace the obsolete Treaty of Tordesillas with the treaties of Madrid (in 1750) and San Ildefonso (in 1777). This meant the creation of new institutional tools for dialogue and peaceful coexistence in the South American subcontinent. It could be said that there is here a continuation of the spirit of the Iberian Union that was maintained even when the Spanish Empire began its terminal crisis at the beginning of the 19th century. One of the plans was to counteract the Republican advance, as well as the growing British regional influence, within the framework of a kind of Iberian union, but in the form of a (sub-continental) South American kingdom (de Carvalho, 1959: 54).

The plan failed, and the initiative passed to the British Empire, which proposed to the United States of America (USA) a new continental doctrine that prohibited new European acquisitions in American territory. The United States refused and did so on its

own, in 1823, through President James Monroe, in what would be known as the Monroe Doctrine. But even before this, the United States introduced the continental dimension into its institutions and geopolitical visions. For example, in its constituent assembly, called the "Continental Congress", in 1776. The continental expansionist *leitmotif* then became the cornerstone of the construction of a state that adopted a peculiar name. 'United States' signaled the integration of separate states and "America", the geopolitical *lebensraum and "manifest destiny" for the enlargement, enrichment and strengthening of the Union (Burnett, 1941: 223).*

With regard to Latin American continentalism, one of the best-known antecedents was Francisco de Miranda (1750-1816) who in 1806 proclaimed the union of the "peoples of the Colombian continent", proposing a "continental congress" in the isthmus of Panama (Bohórquez Morán, 2006: 355). Simón Bolívar (1783-1830) echoed this proposal, calling on the new states that became independent from the Spanish Empire to form a league, in what he called the "Amphictyonic Congress", held in Panama in 1826. The cornerstone of These initiatives were the idea that the American continent was a unique and autonomous part of the international system, different from Europe. Despite deep disagreements with Miranda, Bolívar shared the concern for maintaining the union after independence. He was well aware of the European ambitions to control the new nations and the expansionary desire of the United States. The Bolivarian project was framed in a global vision, proposing that the new continental order would lay the foundations of a system that, in the long run, would encompass all countries of the world. Although the Congress was not successful, it became a heritage and inspiration for later integrationist initiatives. Finally, continentalism is also present in Brazil. After independence, in 1822, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the new government of the Empire of Brazil, José Bonifácio, proposed a project of American "continental solidarity" for commercial pro-

motion and mutual defense (de la Reza, 2012: 78). Although Brazil did not participate in the Spanish-American connection initiatives, the transition to the republic, starting in 1889, opened the door to new regional and continental projections, where we will see the reappearance of the South American dimension.

Despite Bolívar's failure in Panama, a kind of Spanish-American continentalist instinct survived. For example, when the republics faced aggression from European powers and the United States. Two attempts to join forces were the first American Congress in Lima, 1847, and the second, in Chile, 1864. In the second half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, a movement that took up the Bolivarian proposal gained strength. Personalities such as José Martí (1853-1895), José Enrique Rodó (1871-1917) or Manuel Ugarte (1875-1951) are often mentioned as political and intellectual inspirations. But with regard to the "continental" dimension, I will refer especially to the Argentine intellectual Manuel Ugarte. He was a prolific and influential writer in the explicit promotion of Latin American continentalism as a political agenda, and he is the one who spread the concept 'Great Homeland' referring to Latin America. As Ugarte stated, what had hurt Latin Americans the most was their own notion of nationality, failing to understand that those of the Latin American motherland were above the interests of the group. Along these lines, he defined "continental consciousness" as "continental patriotism" (Ugarte, 1978 [1922]:18-21). A difference with previous thinkers was that Ugarte's national-continental scope included Brazil, given that; "Brazil is part of Latin America and its destiny as a nation is inseparable from the rest of the continent" (Ugarte, 1978: 25).

Another "continentalist", a contemporary of Ugarte, was the Peruvian Francisco García Calderón (1883-1953), who followed a similar path, writing about Latin democracies and the creation of a "continent", which would be based on common values (democracies), an (American) race and a *zollvereing* (customs union),

which would ensure industrialization. Ugarte was on the same line in terms of economic policy, but he was ahead of others by clearly formulating the need to create a new state: the United States of the South. The common denominator among all of them was to see Latin America as a "fractional nationalism" that only through (re)unification could ensure progress, and confront the great powers. There was a strong connection with Bolívar's ideals, but adding a nationalism of continental aspiration: "Latin Americanism." The same proposals emerged from several Latin American countries, both politically, economically and literary. Such is the case of Rufino Blanco Fonbona in Venezuela or the call for "continental nationalism" by the Chilean Joaquín Edwards Bello (1925).

The case of Brazil was different from that of Hispanic Americans since it managed to remain united throughout the independence process. There, continentalism was linked to the priority of keeping its vast territory united, seeking a geopolitical projection that guaranteed progress and autonomy. Brazil has probably been the Latin American country where "geographic consciousness" was most institutionalized among elites around the state. Its continentalism (South American and Americanist) has roots in the Portuguese Empire, but was continued under the leadership of the Minister of Foreign Affairs José Maria da Silva Paranhos Júnior, known as the Baron do Rio Branco (1845-1912). Under his leadership, Brazil continued the Americanist alignment by supporting the US initiative for a Pan-American union. At the same time, it consolidated the South American geopolitical priority within the framework of an alignment in what was known as the ABC; an alliance between Chile, Argentina and Brazil. In the 1920s, the Brazilian Geopolitical School began to develop, which recommends the internal consolidation of the national space, with a more direct emphasis on "continentalism", from Brazilian strategic projections (Travassos, 1947 [1935]). This was later linked to a geopolitical perspective of the Brazilian governments, between the

1930s and 1950s, where there was strong support for proposals for the consolidation of the Latin American space.

The continentalist vision has a new impulse towards the middle of the 20th century, linked to ideas linked to "development", industrialization and autonomy. We must mention here the relevance of the Peruvian Victor Raúl Haya de la Torre (1946: 8) and the Aprismo Continental Program of 1939, from which the "continental motto" of "democratic inter-Americanism without empire" is promoted. The continentalist approach was also expressed in Mexico, where the geographer Jorge A. Vivó Escoto, returning to Bolívar's original approach, called for the creation of a Latin American state in the form of a confederation (Vivó Escoto, 1943). This integrationist vision will become part of Mexican foreign policy, harmonizing between "developmentalism" and a geopolitics of integration. This connects to the American south, where there is a strong continentalist imprint from Argentina, under the leadership of Juan Domingo Perón (1895-1974). Since his first two presidencies (1946-1955), he maintained a foreign policy with a "continentalist" direction, oriented towards the objective of creating a United States of South America (Perón, 2008 [1982]). Perón understood that Argentine development depended on greater integration with Chile and the Andean countries, and a rapprochement with Brazil in what he called the "second ABC."

In the economic dimension, there are antecedents in the pioneering thought of the Argentine Alejandro Bunge and his proposal for a 'southern customs union'. Subsequently, we have the proposals connecting integration and industrialization, by Raúl Prebisch and the Economic Commission for Latin America (CEPAL). In this line, we must mention the contribution of the Chilean Felipe Herrera (1922-1996), first president of the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), for whom, in the era of continental states, the fragmented Latin American nation had to unite to be sovereign. (Herrera,1964: 36). His contribution was

a convergence between the geopolitical continentalist approach, modern political economy and the development-oriented vision; arguing that integration was a political-economic phenomenon, both in its objectives and in its procedures.

The advance of continental visions from Latin America occurred in parallel with those coming from the United States. Pan-Americanism returned with force during the "good neighbor" policy of President Delano Roosevelt (1933-1945), where ideas of "hemispheric solidarity" and common identity were promoted (Hanke, 1964). In 1948, Pan-Americanism was reinvented in the Organization of American States (OAS) and in Brazil in the 1950s, the proposal of a Pan-American Operation (OPA) was proposed to finance the development of Latin American countries. A little later there is a new American continental initiative, the "Alliance of Progress", led by the government of President John F. Kennedy (1961-1963) to promote elements related to development and democracy. The subsequent transformation into the National Security Doctrine moves away from the integration approach, in favor of the hegemonic dimension in the Monroe Doctrine. The anti-imperialist dimension of "Latin Americanism" gained strength here, which some sought to transform into a "continental" alternative to imperialism and capitalism.

With the end of the period of authoritarian governments in Latin America, Pan-Americanism reinvented itself again in the '90s, in the US proposal to create a Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA), launched by President George HW Bush (1989). -1993) in his Initiative for the Americas (1990). It was a new attempt to return to the continental initiative, this time proposing a free trade agreement. This time an organized response emerges from Latin America (Methol Ferré, 2013), with the creation of the Southern Common Market (Mercosur), in 1991. At the same time, continentalism is dimensioned from South America, as well as a North American continental dimension, through of

the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), of 1994 (Mexico, United States and Canada). This incorporates Mexico into the North American continental space, creating a barrier for Latin American "continentalism" whose continental geopolitical strength passes into South American integration. The key step in this regard was taken in the creation of the Union of Southern Nations (UNASUR). Despite the Mexican distancing, the Latin American dimension does not disappear, which was reinvented in the creation of the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC), in 2010.

American "continentalism" is a project with a geopolitical vision and even a national dimension, with roots in the colonial period. Since then it has developed in different aspects: the American continental, the American and South American sub-continental, and the Latin American regional. At times these aspects can be conflictive, and at other times synergies can emerge. What is clear is that continentalism has been and continues to be a force to be taken into account, and that its ups and downs have to do with a complex relationship between internal forces of the continent and the fluctuations of the global system, the cornerstone of These initiatives were the idea that the American continent was a unique and autonomous part of the international system, different from Europe..

Connections

Theories and theoretical approaches: Latin American structuralism
Schools of thought and Networks: Brazil Great Power School
Concepts: Latin American regionalisms, Great Homeland
Doctrines: Doctrine of the Third Position
Figures: Alfredo Methol Ferré, Felipe Herrera, Manuel Ugarte, Raúl Prebisch, Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre

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South-South Cooperation

Fabricio Pereira da Silva

"South-South Cooperation" can be defined as a cooperative association of countries called "Global Sotuh", aiming at the development and obtaining of greater political space in the international system and greater autonomy in relation to the "Global North" (Lechini, 2009). Some authors exclude private investments and commercial relations from these relations (restricting the concept to the political sphere), considering that market agents cannot be considered cooperative (Leite, 2012). Others also emphasize that neither party obtains greater advantages, so that a relationship can be characterized as South-South Cooperation. In this case, there should be no asymmetry between the parties in this case, as in North/South relations: "solidarity, absence of conditionalities, horizontality and respect for sovereignty are based on some of the two principles demanded by this new form of cooperation" (Echart, 2016: 9).

As practices characterized internally from the modality derived:

> of a wide range of modalities in sectoral terms (technical, economic, political) and geometric terms (bilateral, trilateral, regional, multilateral). However, the concepts used to define South-South Cooperation are still vague, as the frameworks used to interpret

> them suffer from excessive normativism (...) and reductionism (Leite, 2012: 34).

Furthermore, the concept can be understood as a collective construction of intellectuals, political teams and diplomatic corps of the Global South, to the extent that it is difficult to point to a precise authorship and origin. To understand the emergence of the concept, it is necessary to look at other notions from which it derives, such as 'International Development Cooperation' (and 'International Development Assistance') and the very idea of a 'Global South' as opposed to a 'Global North'.

The beginnings of International Development Co-operation can be traced back to US President Harry Truman's inauguration speech in 1949, in which he made solving the problems of 'underdeveloped areas' one of his government's goals. This introduced the notion of 'underdevelopment' into the international arena, and the thesis that underdeveloped countries could become developed (they could be understood as 'developing' countries). International Development Cooperation can be understood as a policy of the 'developed' capitalist countries to keep the 'underdeveloped' in the capitalist orbit, in a context of advancing capitalism/socialism polarisation during the Cold War. Initially, this set of relationships was called 'assistance'. It wasn't until the late 1950s that the term 'co-operation' began to be used to describe them.

The first formulations around 'co-operation' between 'developing' countries themselves emerged as a counterpoint or complement to co-operation between 'developed' and 'developing' countries. The 1955 Afro-Asian Conference (the 'Bandung Conference') introduced the notion in its final declaration, advocating the 'stimulation of mutual interests and co-operation' among its signatories (Amin, 2015; Santos, 2017). Finally, the founding of the Non-Aligned Movement in 1961 contributed to the expansion of the debate between the 'developing' countries, now defined as

'non-aligned' to the two superpowers, the United States of America (USA) and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). The movement's Third Conference (held in Lusaka in 1970) took on the concept of collective *self-reliance* as a goal for the countries of the bloc, transposing the notion of *self-reliance* formulated by Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere into the international arena. Likewise, the movement drew on the formulations of the Cepaline and dependentist schools, adopting the notions of 'centre' and 'periphery' and dependency - a thesis that would continue to inform much of the formulation around South-South Cooperation to this day. The assumption that justifies this type of co-operation is still 'that developing countries can and should co-operate in order to solve their own political, economic and social problems on the basis of shared identities (former colonies, economic status, historical experience, etc.), common efforts, interdependence and reciprocity' (Milani, 2012: 227).

This process constituted a new identity: that of a 'Third World', bringing together countries that had in common their colonial past, their characterisation as 'underdeveloped' or 'developing', and their claim to autonomy from a capitalist 'First World' and a socialist 'Second World'. Pressure from this bloc in the United Nations General Assembly (numerically majority) led to various initiatives to promote cooperation between 'developing' countries within the United Nations Organisation throughout the '70s. This effort culminated in the creation of the Special Unit for Technical Cooperation among Developing Countries and the organisation of the United Nations Conference on Technical Cooperation among Developing Countries (Buenos Aires, 1978), which drew up the Buenos Aires Plan of Action to define and guide these activities on the basis of reciprocity and horizontality

It was in this context that the term 'South-South Co-operation' began to be developed and circulate in the international relations epistemic community. The first written reference to the

concept, by Argentinian economist Graciela Chichilnisky, can be traced back to 1978. In the following years, the term gained prominence, progressively replacing the notion of 'co-operation between developing countries'. Key to this was the adoption of the idea of a 'Global South' as a concept to encompass or overcome the notions of 'underdevelopment', 'Third World', 'non-alignment' and 'periphery'. Also contributing to its expansion was the strengthening of its conceptual counterpart, the idea of a 'Global North'. It was in this context that the term 'South-South Co-operation' began to be developed and circulate in the international relations epistemic community. The first written reference to the concept, by Argentinian economist Graciela Chichilnisky, can be traced back to 1978. In the following years, the term gained prominence, progressively replacing the notion of 'co-operation between developing countries'. Key to this was the adoption of the idea of a 'Global South' as a concept to encompass or overcome the notions of 'underdevelopment', 'Third World', 'non-alignment' and 'periphery'. Also contributing to its expansion was the strengthening of its conceptual counterpart, the idea of a 'Global North'. There were two important moments in this process. For the notion of 'North', the founding in 1977 of the Independent Commission for International Development Affairs (the so-called 'Brandt Commission'), and the publication of its first report in 1980 - which advocated overcoming North/South inequalities. For the idea of the 'South', we the establishment of the South Commission (chaired by Nyerere) in 1987, and the publication of its report in 1990 with the collaboration of the most important intellectuals critical of the South (explicitly adopting the concept of South-South Cooperation).

It's curious to note that while the concept was gaining ground, its practice was considerably restricted, in a context of advancing neoliberalism and the overcoming of the socialism/capitalism bipolarity. It was only in the early 2000s that there was a significant

revival of the concept and its practices (Kabunda, 2011). This was driven by the revival of intellectual debate in the South around new development strategies, the democratisation of the international system and 'progressive' projects and their governments. Thus, 'the term has gained strength in the epistemic community of international development co-operation in recent years' (Pino, 2014: 57). However, the notion seems to have lost some of its original radical content (of autonomy, self-sufficiency, the search for alternative projects to capitalism), focusing in recent years on the increase in South-South trade flows and the power strategies of the so-called 'emerging countries'.

Connections

Theories and Theoretical Approaches: Latin American Structuralism, Dependency, Decolonial Approach to International Studies

Thinking schools and Networks: Brazil Great Power School

Concepts: Center-Periphery, Heterogeneous distribution of science and technology, Latin American Third Worldism

Doctrines: Doctrine of the Third Position

Figures: Aldo Ferrer, Celso Furtado, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Gladys T. Lechini, Luiz Alberto Moniz Bandeira, Raúl Prebisch, Samuel Pinheiro Guimarães, Theotonio dos Santos, Walter Rodney

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Bioceanic corridors

Cristián Garay Vera

The "Bioceanic Corridors" are land connections that link the coasts of the two Oceans of South America, interrelating both the intermediate regions and the states. They are also mediators of the flow of people and goods and re-locate the centers of integration around the coasts and adjacent valleys, crossing vast areas of the Andes Mountains and the jungle zone. In this last sense, they go beyond the narrow concept of land roads, since they imply the facilitation of traffic and consequently require interstate cooperation at various levels.

They can be part of the renewal of integrationist approaches, and linked to the conception of open regionalism of the Economic Commission for Latin America (CEPAL). They are part of the new agenda established in the Initiative for the Integration of Regional Infrastructure in South America (IIRSA); the Southern Common Market (MERCOSUR) (Garay 2003); the Infrastructure and Planning Council (COSIPLAN) of the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR); and the commitments of the Pacific Alliance signed for 2016 during the temporary presidency of Chile. To this end, the commitment to the need for a regional presence is ratified, aiming at regional integration, economic-social development and competitiveness, with the participation of universities, the private sector and local populations.

The first reference to the Bioceanic Corridors is made in the Complementary Agreement between Chile and MERCOSUR of June 1996. There, presidents Patricio Aylwin and Carlos Menem incorporated a clause by which the commitment to promote the development and employment of physical infrastructure, especially bioceanic connections. However, the concept of bi-oceanic Corridors was already present in the Latin American Integration Association (ALADI) in 1992, through the agreements "Interregional Transport Corridors", inserted in the conception of the "Fundamental Transport Network of Conosur, the Multimodal Transport and Interregional Transport Corridors. Later, in 1995, in Arica, Brazil and Chile they promoted the constitution of the Multilateral Working Group of Bioceanic Corridors, which brought together seven countries: Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay, Chile, Bolivia and Peru (Riffo Rosas, s/f).

The Bioceanic Corridors, with an approximate extension of 3,000 kilometers from coast to coast, make it possible to overcome technical communication difficulties and connect interior sectors. Through them, people transit and goods are exchanged, but, in addition, values are transmitted and populations previously isolated and located in a purely national environment are brought into contact. Likewise, they integrate Mediterranean micro zones traditionally not connected with sufficient strength either with national centers or with international circuits (Bernal-Meza, 2000). This is the case of sectors in Bolivia and Paraguay. Due to their horizontal layout, they allow circuits that connect on one side to Brazil and Argentina and, on the other, to the countries of the Andean area.

By the way, this is not a proposal based on the relativization of the role of states, associated with the crisis of sovereignty, so in vogue in the '90s, but on the activation of non-governmental networks. Without the states it is not possible to make the network that is proposed transversally between ocean and ocean a reality,

intercommunicating not only micro-zones but also constituting macro-zones that cover two or more countries. The state-civil society dialectical component is essential for the Bioceanic Corridors, since they integrate micro-zones within the states and configure broader integrations between states. This intensifies communications within South America and promotes comprehensive development of the committed actors. The Corridors are also complemented by schemes that include deposit facilities and free zones (Declaration of Asunción, 2015); integrated customs and common procedures among the states of the region; progressive replacement of military agents with police and customs agents; and deepening freedom for the movement of people. The Bioceanic Corridors are the physical expression of integration in the "post-1990" scenario. They reflect the new trends of opening the region to the world, the insufficiency of exclusively national approaches, and the synergy contained in the increase in the exchange and flow of people between the various countries of the region.

Among the contextual aspects that allow us to conceive the Bioceanic Corridors are the end of the Cold War; the disappearance or mitigation of conflict hypotheses; the convergence between Brazil and Argentina; and the creation of more flexible integration proposals. Currently, this approach has been projected over time as a logbook of the region and thus, in 2015, the Asunción Declaration underlined "the convenience of gradually advancing through a policy of 'convergence in diversity', which is expressed even for the physical rapprochement between the countries of the Pacific and the Atlantic, the Pacific Alliance and Mercosur" (Declaration of Asunción 2015).

Connections

Concepts: Open integration, Subregional integration, Integrationism, Latin American regionalisms
Figures: Diana Tussie, Lincoln Bizzozero, Raúl Bernal-Meza

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Latin american integrationist culture

Pablo Guadarrama González

The "Latin American integrationist culture" is made up of all those ideas and actions that facilitate links between the peoples of a region that contribute to the development of their identity ties; to the exchange of their resources; and the promotion/articulation of efforts aimed at that end through appropriate public policies. The concept of Integrationist Culture necessarily articulates many others, among which we can mention "Integrationism" (Bogado, 2020), "Regional Integration" (War-Borges, 1991; Briceño Ruiz, 2018), "Integrationist Thought" (Briceño Ruiz, 2019) or "Intellectual Integration" which "aims to express a process by which academies and intellectuals of various nationalities come together to carry out joint activities, in order to enhance regional intellectual work" (Devés, 2020: 135).

The Latin American integrationist Culture has been characterized by a progressive, non-linear, zigzagging process, even with regressive periods; but, evolutionary and favorable to the formation of a practical humanism, which consists of a position of active, militant and risky commitment to the defense of the dignity of certain human groups. For this reason, it has faced various historical forms of alienation, influenced by those tendencies aimed at fragmentation, promoted by colonialism, first, and by the new imperial powers, later, interested in atomizing any form of union

of the Latin American peoples. . Faced with this, then, the integrationist Culture has developed in a process through which the fight for human rights and the achievement of higher forms of democratic life were consolidated.

Various factors limited the development of an integrationist culture: Eurocentrism, ethnic diversity, the imprint of international migrations, deficiencies in public policies in general and cultural/educational policies in particular, the interruptions of democratic regimes, border conflicts, nationalisms, among others. However, in a secular historical itinerary framed in the progressive advance of communications, the exchange of goods and resources, internal migration processes and literacy, common cultural factors stand out that have favored the integrationist process, among them:

- the popular imagination of admiration towards the cultural expressions of the native peoples;

- the culture of resistance from the independence processes to the most recent social protests "connected" by solidarity towards the struggles that are understood to be shared;

- the participation of indigenous, African and Creole people in the independence armies;

- language communication between Spanish and Portuguese;

- the miscegenation of the majority of the population;

- the predominance of Catholicism, syncretized with aboriginal and African religions;

- the existence of republican political systems;

- the fight against various forms of imperialism associated with the common defense of human rights, including peace and solidarity in the name of the rights of peoples and a shared nature across state borders .

The aforementioned features have been built throughout history and have had references in Latin American intellectuals who have sought to show or promote an integrationist Culture. This

Culture was born in the Enlightenment, crystallized in the independence process and began a process of consolidation from the beginning of republican life - which with periods of boom at the beginning of the 20th century, as well as later lethargy - was revitalized at the end of the century. and beginning of the 21st century. In this sense, it has been, at the same time, a product and producer of processes aimed at the formation of the identity of the people and their counterhegemonic struggles.

Since the Enlightenment, in the 18th century, Francisco Javier Clavijero, Eugenio de Santa Cruz, Juan Pablo Viscardo and Francisco de Miranda, contributed to recognizing the initial formation of the regional and national identity of the Latin American peoples, especially its indigenous components. In this precursory process, the figure of Miranda stands out, who stood out for being a man of political ideas and action, who proposed integration in a spatial dimension that went from the south of the Mississippi to the southern confines of the region and who pointed out the need to overcome geographical (he was one of the first intellectuals to include Brazil), economic and cultural barriers.

Heroes of independence, in the first half of the 19th century, such as Simón Bolívar, José de San Martín, Bernardo O'Higgins, José Gervasio Artigas, Miguel Hidalgo and José María Morelos, imbued with a practical humanism, articulated the fight for independence with the achievement of greater social justice, which would be achieved especially with the abolition of slavery and the union of these peoples. In that way,

> The space of relationship that unites people by affinity and brotherhood is what drives the force of integration of Latin America and transmits the thought of unity of destiny that the great men of independence and the thinkers for the future of these bequeathed. towns (Ocampo, 1991:10).

Among all of them, Bolívar stands out in his contribution to the integrationist Culture by recognizing the importance of the internal order, the cultural unity of the people beyond their differences of color, as well as the progressive equality of the different social actors, all of which had to promote peace, freedom and justice, drivers, in turn, of any integrationist policy.

Since the second half of the 19th century, with the expansionist policy of the United States of America on the American continent, a strong anti-imperialist reaction developed among intellectuals such as Justo Arosemena, Francisco Bilbao, José Martí, Enrique José Varona, Eugenio María de Hostos, José Emeterio Betances, Pedro Henríquez Ureña, Manuel Ugarte, José Ingenieros, Augusto César Sandino, José Carlos Mariátegui, Antenor Orrego, whose work contributed considerably to the consolidation of Latin American identity and integrationist culture. As an example, we stop at some of these references.

Firstly, it is worth making a special consideration about José Martí since, regardless of the fact that the idea of " our America " already existed prior to his famous essay of the same name, it would then acquire its greatest significance through the projection of an ideal Latin American and anti-imperialist associated with the cultivation of cultural identity and the integration of our American peoples. Their emancipatory proposals aimed at achieving a second and definitive independence in relation to the new forms of imperial domination that besieged them, were essentially based on promoting a better knowledge of the history of these peoples, but, fundamentally, on a greater knowledge of the independence struggles, their achievements and setbacks, given the attitude of the conservative oligarchies that had settled in them, even maintaining the degrading institution of slavery.

For its part, anti-imperialism would take on new dimensions when socialist and Marxist discourse entered the Latin American scene. In this context, Mariátegui would insist on the need to

know and disseminate the values of the culture that he called *Indo-Ibero-American,* through the fight against an imperialism whose essence was socioeconomic and was represented by capitalism. In other words, unity would not be found in the bourgeois order that condemned division and petty nationalisms. The future of Latin America, as a whole, was socialism.

need to defend themselves, should be opposed. For this reason, it promoted the union of the Latin American peoples as an urgent necessity in the face of the danger of new interventions by neocolonial powers. In his opinion, consequently, the first political task was to defend our sovereignty.

Although the origin and evolution of the name Latin America has been controversial, everything indicates that it began to be known in France since 1836, from that name by Michel Chevalier, who also distinguished it as Catholic from the Anglo-Saxon and Protestant of the North. But, given the conflictivity of its name regardless of whether that of Latin America had been strengthened, its use would gain strength two decades later, when the Colombian José María Torres Caicedo and the Chilean Francisco Bilbao promoted an intellectual movement of Latin Americans residing in that country, in favor of promoting the unity of these peoples and the exaltation of their cultural values. Even the official use of the term would be achieved much later, after the creation of the Organization of American States (OAS) in 1948, when the United Nations promoted the formation of the Economic Commission for Latin America (CEPAL).

Along with these intellectuals, Justo Arosemena, Eugenio Hostos, Félix Varela, Cecilio del Valle, José Samper should also be mentioned, who would lead the integrationist Culture along the path of the Great Homeland, together with the desire to achieve regional integrations of a Central American and Andean nature, or Antillean or even a Latin American citizenship, as proposed by Augusto Sandino. This, inspired by the thought of Simón Bolívar,

sent the manifesto of March 20, 1929, entitled "Plan for the realization of Bolívar's supreme dream", to the Latin American rulers, which would later become one of the most important antecedents of the Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America (ALBA) and the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR).

With positivism, at the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century, authors such as Enrique José Varona, José Ingenieros, Justo Sierra, Juan Enrique Lagarrigue, José González Prada and César Zumeta had expressed their interest in promoting the industry, increasing intraregional communication , from the development of river, maritime navigation and land transportation and, in this sense, contributed to the development of the Latin American integrationist Culture. Thus, for example, Ingenieros pointed out the importance of the technological dimension by specifying that it was necessary to increase technical culture of men, training them for the functions they had to perform in society. Production, a source of common well-being, would be more fruitful when the producers themselves could organize it, multiplying their benefit in collective performance. To achieve this, it was advisable to educate the habits of cooperation in men, in guilds, in communes, in towns, in humanity. And this proposal was aimed, fundamentally, at the Latin American republics, which in their cooperation process, had to be integrated into the economic context as an inalienable part of the Latin American Confederation or Supranational Union.

Unfortunately, sometimes the work of the promoters of the Integrationist Culture is underestimated as "just 'background' or a kind of 'protohistory' of Latin American integration" (Briceño Ruiz, 2018: 146), without fairly valuing their significant contributions, not only of ideas, but also of praxis in favor of integrationist culture. In this sense, the revaluation of the protagonism of the intellectuals that, from various instances, promotes links of communication and identification between the Latin American peoples is central.

Connections

Concepts: American continentalism, intellectual integration, Integrationism, Great Homeland, Latin American thought on international and global issues, Latin American regionalisms

Figures: Alberto Methol Ferré, Enrique Iglesias García, Felipe Herrera, Francisco Bilbao, José Antonio Ocampo, José Briceño Ruiz, Manuel Ugarte, Raúl Prebisch, Víctor Haya de la Torre

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Development outwards - inside

Carlos Federico Dominguez Avila

From the perspective of the comprehensive analysis of Latin American development, reference to strategies called: "outward", "inward" and, more recently, "from within" is relatively common. In general terms, such development strategies imply the convergence of determinations and guidelines of socioeconomic actors, the formulation and implementation of peculiar public policies and, eventually, the theorization and rationalization of the initiatives of the public sector, the private sector and external capital, as well as the style of international insertion. All of this, moreover, in the context of the capitalist relations of production and consumption, predominant in Latin America since the time of independence, in the first half of the 19th century.

The outward development strategy was predominant between 1880 and 1930. At that time, states and political elites accepted the logic and policies inspired by classical economic theory. Nineteenth-century liberal thought exalted the predominance of private property and the market economy, as well as the maintenance of small, passive and supposedly neutral states. The outward development strategy was also based on the theory of comparative advantages. Created by David Ricardo, John Stuart Mill and Alfred Marshall, the Theory of Comparative Advantage or Specialization recommended that economies exchange through international

trade those goods (primary or manufactured) for which they had better production conditions within their countries. borders. It was argued that, in the long term, there would be a gradual convergence of wages, technologies, prices and other types of remuneration of the factors of production (Bulmer-Thomas, 1998).

In the case of Latin American countries, the outward development strategy recommended specialization in the export of primary goods (food, minerals, raw materials), and in the import of manufactured goods from the central economies of capitalism. It is worth adding that Latin American political elites proactively accepted the condition of peripheral and subordinate partners in this virtual international division of labor. Likewise, it seems pertinent to highlight that during the period in question it was possible to identify at least two ideal types of international linkage and insertion: 1) economies with national control of the productive system and 2) enclave economies (Cardoso and Faletto, 2010).

It should be added that both the external development strategy, as well as its internal counterparts, carried powerful political-social repercussions. In this sense, a comprehensive analysis of development demands examining the relationships between state and society, the processes of social differentiation, the struggles for emancipation, the management of the structural dualism of economies, and institutional instability. In other words, the comprehensive analysis of development presupposes interdisciplinary and comparative work. Hence, this dual concept of "Development outward-inward" ended up establishing consistent and sophisticated epistemological connections and chains with many other theories, concepts, doctrines, ideas, authors, works and debates (many of them present in specific sections of this manual of Latin American thought).

It is known that the capitalist crisis of 1929 and the Second World War required a strategic shift in the main Latin American economies, giving rise since then to the so-called inward develop-

ment. In operational terms, this shift in the development strategy resulted in consistent theoretical and political support for import substitution industrialization, tariff protectionism, state planning, regional integration, and the expansion of the public sector, including with the creation of numerous public companies, as well as the expansion of public education, health and social development systems. All this in contrast to the pillars of neoclassical orthodoxy and the theory of comparative advantages (Love, 1998).

Note that, even before the creation of the Economic Commission for Latin America (CEPAL) in 1948, the economic doctrines favorable to the industrialization of peripheral countries had a certain resonance, especially in Eastern European countries, with emphasis on the works published by Mihail Manoilescu. Something similar can be considered about the influence of John Maynard Keynes and his theory of market failures. These contributions to economic theory and development policies were finally welcomed and deepened by the founders of CEPAL structuralist thought, with emphasis on the life and work of Raúl Prebisch, Celso Furtado and their successors. The very terms of development inward, outward and from within began to be popularized and disseminated in CEPAL publications practically since its foundation (CEPAL, 1998).

The inward development strategy prevailed between 1930 and 1980. During that period it was possible to perceive particular styles of formulation and implementation of public policies, changes and continuities in political regimes (national-developmental, populist, authoritarian, democratic) and a social differentiation even more significant. There were important advances in the field of social development, as well as economic dynamism greater than that observed in the period of outward development. Meanwhile, import substitution industrialization and related policies began to show signs of exhaustion during the 1970s. We now know that the necessary adjustment of the development strategy

inwards ended up being overlapped and replaced by a massive, unsustainable and not always well used external debt process.

In the same way that the 1929 crisis resulted in the exhaustion of the outward development strategy, the Latin American external debt crisis (which erupted with the declaration of the Mexican debt moratorium in 1982) signaled the exhaustion of the inward development strategy (World Bank, 1993). Indeed, the 1980s were quite difficult for most Latin American countries, especially in macroeconomic terms. In compensation, it was possible to perceive important advances in the field of democratic transition and consolidation in almost all the countries of the region. Here is a new paradigmatic crisis in the comprehensive analysis of Latin American development.

Thus, starting in the 1990s, some researchers of Latin American development strategy began to suggest the existence of an emerging model, called from within (Sunkel, 1991). Fundamentally, this development strategy from within presupposes the maintenance of macroeconomic and microeconomic balances, with a proactive international insertion, with a logistical-regulatory state, with promotion of human development, and in an environment with a firm orientation favorable to the elevation of quality of democracy (Ramos, 1993).

Although this concept of development from within has not been fully accepted in academic circles (particularly among researchers with a neoliberal and neo-Marxist orientation), we believe that it is a good analytical alternative to examine the future of the subject in question. Beyond a simple and unilateral liberalization and deregulation of markets, the development strategy from within recommends the recomposition of state regulation and mediation capacities, as well as the use and valorization of science, innovation and technology. Here are the conditions of possibility to continue a renewed comprehensive analysis of Latin American development for the first half of the 21st century, including its repercussions in terms of international insertion.

Connections

Theories and theoretical approaches: Dependency, Latin American structuralism

Schools of thought and Networks: School of Brasilia

Concepts: Autonomy, Center-Periphery, South-South Cooperation , Deterioration in the terms of exchange, Heterogeneous distribution of science and technology, Logistical state, Subregional integration, Latin American thinking on international and global issues, Production-Integration

Doctrines: Doctrine of the Third Position

Figures: Amado Luiz Cervo, Celso Furtado, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Helio Jaguaribe, Luiz Alberto Moniz Bandeira, Osvaldo Sunkel, Raúl Prebisch, Samuel Pinheiro Guimarães, Theotonio dos Santos, William Arthur Lewis

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Denationalization

Maria Elena Lorenzini

For six decades, Helio Jaguaribe's most prominent ideas in the academic debate are related to his concern for the dependence that characterizes - to different degrees - Latin American countries; the legitimizing role of the elites; the possible ways to achieve better levels of development -economic, political, social, cultural-; the necessary search for greater degrees of autonomy and its implementation; and the importance of building integration projects to reduce dependency and improve their international insertion. His works were pioneers in the study of the growing process of economic transnationalization and its implications for Latin America.

In his work *Dependency and Autonomy in Latin America*, Jaguaribe (1969) takes up part of the diagnosis of the situation made by the developmentalists and reworks it, identifying the structural tendencies that generate Latin American problems - stagnation, marginality and denationalization - to advance, then, in the construction of its Autonomous Model of Development and Integration in Latin America (MADIAL).

The stratified vision of the international scenario, proposed by Jaguaribe, projects an image in which it visualizes a group of developed countries -North or Center- and a group of dependent countries -South, periphery or Third World- (Jaguaribe, 1988).

In this direction, it presents a set of coherent and ordered ideas whose merit consists of being a critical perspective on the studies of the moment, instead of uncritically 'consuming' the approaches of the so-called mainstream of the Theory of International *Relations*. Thus, it offers a conscientious reflection, qualified as thought situated, in this case, from the south and for the south.

The structural trends that mark the condition of dependence in Latin America are: stagnation, marginality and denationalization. In general terms, "Denationalization" represents the loss of control by the state of various sectors considered strategic for development. According to the author, the phenomenon takes place in at least three senses:

1) Denationalization in the strategic sectors of the economy: it is explained by the growing weight of multinational companies and foreign capital in the region. These processes tend to weaken the large national industry (Jaguaribe, 1969; 1988). Furthermore, multinational companies, whose subsidiaries are located in Latin America, promote market integration processes to promote the expansion of consumption of their own products. This form of regional integration is at the antipodes of the spirit with which integration was thought and founded since the Latin American Free Trade Association in the '60s. The Denationalization of the strategic sectors of the Latin American economies worries Jaguaribe because it warns that foreign capital is buying and co-opting national or mixed private companies. This situation implies a loss of control of the political and economic forces of the countries by local businessmen and regional states. Likewise, it states that the decisions made by companies controlled by external capital will be guided by the interests of the centers, which undermines regional projects that seek to achieve higher and better degrees of endogenous development and autonomy.

2) Denationalization in culture due to scientific and technological dependence: Jaguaribe (1969) considers that in Latin America

the conditions for autonomous scientific and technological development were not met. This lack expresses one of the most important structural causes of regional underdevelopment. He adds that the conditions that promote the emergence of visions and ideas that lead to a scientific analysis of the world have been weak and that the institutional conditions did not exist to stimulate and foster it (Jaguaribe, 1969; 1988). Consequently, the countries of the region have imported technologies, a fact that has impacted the growing deficit for payment of patents, formulas and capital equipment to multinational companies whose headquarters are located in the center. Furthermore, he estimates that a good part of young Latin Americans have sought to complete their training in foreign universities that provided them with the *know-how* and status that they did not find in the universities of their own countries. The problem lies in the fact that when these young people return to their countries of origin, they become transmission belts for the acquired knowledge instead of promoting the constitution of national research centers that can develop endogenous technologies (Jaguaribe, 1969). This process influences the formation of the elites, their characteristics and behavior. Jaguaribe estimates that this type of elite will defend selfish interests - consistent with the interests of multinational companies and with the way of thinking of the centers - and will try to maintain the situation of dependence of their countries both out of conviction and out of utilitarianism.

3) Political-military denationalization taking into account the anti-communist character of the Latin American Armed Forces: it is well-known that until the mid-1980s, Latin American countries experienced coups d'état, military and civil-military, and their fates. They were led by authoritarian governments exercised by the Armed Forces accompanied or not, as the case may be, by conservative civilian political sectors. In this context, Jaguaribe maintains that there was a harmony of ideas - anti-communist,

linked to the National Security Doctrine - between the civil-military and military elites that governed the region and the hemispheric hegemonic power.

The Denationalization process occurred as a consequence of the training and updating that the Latin American Armed Forces carried out at the School of the Americas. The Armed Forces appropriated political power to defend their countries from the communist threat, avoid a second Cuba and preserve the conservative and Western values promoted by the United States. Thus, we were witnessing a process in which the Latin American Armed Forces assimilated the ideology and interests of the North American defense system and sought to guarantee the supply of weapons and spare parts for weapons from the United States (Jaguaribe, 1969). According to the author, the process of ideological formation and the supply of military supplies constituted the main factors that influenced the characteristics of the Latin American elites, which exhibited a greater common denominator with the centers - the United States - than with their respective societies whose destinations were to lead. The Latin American elites were not functional to development projects and search for greater margins of maneuver to improve levels of development. On the contrary, they contributed to perpetuating the situation of dependency and its condition of periphery, feeding the circular causal relationship of stagnation-marginality-denationalization and rationalizing dependency (Jaguaribe, 1969).

Connections

Theories and theoretical approaches: Dependency, Latin American structuralism

Concepts: Center-Periphery, Outward-inside development, Latin American Third Worldism

Doctrines: Doctrine of the Third Position
Figures: Cândido Mendes de Almeida, Celso Furtado, Helio Jaguaribe, Juan Carlos Puig, Raúl Prebisch

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Deterioration in the terms of the exchange

Carlos Federico Dominguez Avila

With deep structuralist roots, the concept of "Deterioration in the terms of trade" refers to the growing and persistent devaluation of raw material exports made by developing countries, compared to the long-term evolution of the prices of imported manufactures. from developed countries. From the perspective of development economics, the Deterioration of the terms of trade is one of the most important concepts generated by the applied Social Sciences of Latin America - particularly with regard to the theory of international trade and empirical studies on trade policy.

The concept of Deterioration in the terms of exchange was presented almost simultaneously by Raúl Prebisch (1949) and by Hans Singer (1950) - hence it is also often called the Prebisch-Singer thesis. For the authors, the theoretical and empirical evidence on trade between developed and developing countries accumulated between 1880 and 1940 indicated that there was a tendency unfavorable to developing countries in the distribution of the benefits of trade with industrialized partners.

Basically, the prices of products exported by developing countries - in general, raw materials or *commodities* - tended to fall or fluctuate more rapidly when compared to the prices of manufac-

tured products. Consequently, the production and export of high and increasing quantities of raw materials would be necessary to cover the import of the same quantity of industrialized or high-tech products. In the opinion of Prebisch, Singer and other structuralist authors, this happened fundamentally because industrialized economies were more efficient and capable of retaining a larger part of the profits thanks to their predominance in the management of progress and technological innovation [9].

Consequently, a low income elasticity of demand for primary products exported by developing countries (food, minerals) was equivalent to the high income elasticity of imported manufactured products, affecting the formation and determination of relative prices. of these products in the international market. This difference in income elasticity would put pressure on production costs, and keep wages relatively low in developing countries.

In broader terms, the Prebisch-Singer thesis implied a questioning of the main models of international trade and the theory of comparative advantages, since the gains derived from trade between developed and developing countries would end up being appropriated, disproportionately, by the industrialized and technologically more advanced economies. In other words, the con-

9 A very similar understanding and even a precursor to the concept of Deterioration in the terms of trade was developed in the ' 20s and ' 30s by the Romanian economist Mihail Manoilescu. Indeed, the so-called "Manoilescu argument" also denounced the unequal trade between agricultural exports from the Balkan country and imports from central countries. In his opinion, this would justify advancing the industrialization of the Romanian economy and other Eastern European countries. It should be added that Manoilescu was widely read and disseminated by industrial associations in Ibero-American countries before the creation of the Economic Commission for Latin America (Love, 1998).

cept of Deterioration in the terms of trade did not accept that the international division of labor, specialization and free trade could lead to convergence and equalization of the remuneration of the factors of production.

In effect, Prebisch, Singer and their successors warned that the gains from trade between developing and developed countries were distributed unequally, which implied, among other effects, the non-convergence of the remuneration of labor in the center and in the periphery of the country. global capitalism. This result was opposite to what was predicted by distinguished classical economists such as David Ricardo, Thomas Malthus or John Stuart Mill, as well as by neoclassical economists specialized in the theory of international trade, such as Eli Heckscher, Bertil Ohlin and Paul Samuelson.

Thus, and from a structuralist perspective, it seems evident that some of the main neoclassical propositions of international trade were not sufficient to promote economic and social development in the periphery, because the profits generated in the exchange of goods and services were not distributed equitably. Additionally, these unequal exchanges could lead to an -inconvenient- relationship of dependence of developing economies in relation to the industrialized or central economies of capitalism (Cardoso and Faletto, 2010).

Starting in the 1950s, the Prebisch-Singer thesis on the Deterioration in the Terms of Trade had a great impact on the formulation and implementation of trade policy in many Latin American countries - mainly in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Mexico and Uruguay-. This concept was and continues to be used directly and indirectly to justify an active industrial policy, as well as in regional integration processes and in questioning the primary-ex-

port model [10]. Likewise, structuralist-CEPAL thinking frequently recommended to Latin American countries - even those with less relative development within the region - the formulation and implementation of policies aimed at modernizing and diversifying the export-import pattern. This productive transformation implied, whenever possible, adding a high and growing value to exports, with the purpose of capturing better income in the respective insertions in the competitive international market (Bulmer-Thomas, 1998).

It should be added that, in the first years of the 21st century, the Prebisch-Singer thesis maintains its theoretical validity and empirical verification. Indeed, seventy years after the original formulation, the concept of Deterioration in the terms of trade has once again been intensely debated by neostructuralist currents. Currently, there is growing concern about the impact of Latin American economic relations with China and other Asian countries, about the future of Latin American semi-industrialized economies (Brazil, Mexico, Argentina), about technological and industrial innovation policies, or about the possible correlations between primary products and low, medium and high technology manufactured products - that is, between products with different technological contents -, among other converging issues (Silva et al., 2016).

In summary, the Prebisch-Singer thesis on the Deterioration in the terms of trade reminds us that it continues to be highly risky to increase dependence on the export of primary products and the import of medium and high technology manufacturing. In this sense, it seems clear that the acceleration of economic growth

10 It should be added that the Prebisch-Singer thesis on the Deterioration in the terms of trade was questioned by neoclassical economists such as Jacob Viner, Gottfried Haberler or Gerald M. Meier.

and comprehensive development in the long term must include an effort to value and incorporate technology into exported products, as well as monitoring non-traditional markets, persisting in regional integration, encouraging raising productivity, and maintaining active industrial policies.

Connections

Theories and theoretical approaches: Dependency, Latin American structuralism

Schools of thought and Networks: School of Brasilia

Concepts: Autonomy, Center-Periphery, South-South Cooperation, Outward-inside development, Heterogeneous distribution of science and technology, Logistical state, Subregional integration, Latin American thinking on international and global issues, Production-Integration

Doctrines: Doctrine of the Third Position

Figures: Amado Luiz Cervo, Celso Furtado, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Helio Jaguaribe, Luiz Alberto Moniz Bandeira, Osvaldo Sunkel, Raúl Prebisch, Samuel Pinheiro Guimarães, Theotonio dos Santos, William Arthur Lewis

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Heterogeneous distribution of science and technology

Christian Álvarez Rojas

The "Heterogeneous distribution of science and technology" (DHCT) is a problem addressed by Raúl Prebisch to explain the mechanisms of structural inequality, both between center and periphery and within it. In the first case, it contributes to inequality in production, leading to the deterioration of the terms of trade. In the second one, peripheral economies develop inherent disadvantages that condition the inefficient acquisition and use of the center's technologies. It is a fundamental part of CEPAL thinking along with concepts such as Development, Deterioration in the terms of trade and Import Substitution Industrialization.

The DHCT is an empirical verification of the present in which CEPAL begins its research, and results from a historical trajectory typical of capitalist development, which is why it is a key factor in the economic relations typical of colonial expansion and its postcolonial result. Raúl Prebisch (1963: 13) presents his proposal for Latin American development explaining that "[a]st of all, in capitalist evolution, technology was gradually introduced into the productive process, as the necessary capital was accumulated. On the other hand, developing countries have to assimilate already developed technology."

During the first stage of Prebisch's thinking, from the founding of CEPAL until the 1970s, DHCT addressed with greater emphasis the structural inequality between center and periphery, with the consequences that this disparity generates in the accumulation of capital. When the central countries had a per capita income comparable to that of the peripheries, the productive technique had less weight than it currently does within the productive scheme, requiring much less capital, both for investment and training, in relation to its inhabitants. The increase in productivity was a gradual process that allowed its surplus to be distributed evenly between the reproduction and innovation of technology, the increase in wages and savings, as well as the training of workers.

The peripheries, on the other hand, are forced to acquire the technology produced in the center under unfavorable exchange conditions, drastically limiting the generation and subsequent distribution of their surplus. In *Economic Study* of 1949, Raúl Prebisch concludes that: "the later modern technology arrives in a peripheral country, the more acute is the contrast between the meager amount of its income and the considerable magnitude of the capital necessary to rapidly increase that income" (cited in Pinto, 1990: 77). The introduction of technologies from the center, even considering the initial inequality that fosters them, is a necessary condition for the economic development of the periphery, subscribing to other dependency theses:

> A significant part of the Latin American 'internal periphery', of its productive activities and of the population that lives off of them, finds itself in a reality where -recalling an image already cited by Celso Furtado- 'the mere introduction of the wheel would mean progress considerable' (Pinto, 1990: 83).

This progress, however, cannot be assumed as a consequence of the laws of the market, but requires the guidance of the state to channel factors external to production.

In later works, starting in the 1960s, Prebisch focuses on the peripheral structural characteristics that contribute to underdevelopment, and what role the state should take to consolidate a fruitful transformation. The DHCT has, as already stated, its peripheral version: there is a minority of the population capable of accessing technical progress, whether through consumption, training or job occupation, and a majority that must occupy lagging positions and lower productivity. This inequality tends to remain and increase given that the privileged sector has few incentives to invest its surplus in general productive development, with access to the center's technology being generally a luxury consumption. The state, unable to collect a greater surplus, is at the same time forced to perform a distributive role through its expansion, generating a middle class that imitates the consumption of the upper class, and that through its greater power - unions, political representation - manages to influence policies that encourage consumption over long-term structural investments.

Technology, essential for global economic integration, thus presents potential drawbacks for peripheral nations. As Prebisch notes:

> [c]ertain forms of privilege prevail in Latin American countries that considerably weaken the incentive for technical progress in all its manifestations and, consequently, the use of the men of initiative and capacity that technology requires today (1963: 56).

The success of the application of science and technology exceeds the commercial dimension, as occurs with the demographic increase resulting from the decrease in mortality, especially infant mortality, generating new conditions for a market incapable of in-

corporating them, resulting in a heterogeneous distribution of the workforce, with an excessive percentage of workers employed in unproductive activities. The inclusion of technology ends up generating a cultural change that encourages conspicuous consumption, delaying investment in local scientific and technological development, capable of increasing the productivity and training of peripheral workers. As Prebisch expresses:

> [t]he Third World adopts the same technology of "innovative capitalism" of the centers, imitates their lifestyles and copies their institutions. The cultural manifestations of the centers, their ideas and their ideologies make their way incessantly to the periphery (cited in Sprout, 1992: 192).

Overcoming peripheral dependence on the center requires a structural transformation directed by the state, in which, along with a change in the conditions offered by the center (tariffs, taxation of transnationals), the resolution of the DHCT plays a crucial role. at a peripheral level. Firstly, it is advisable to reinforce industrialization, whose import substitution mechanism was not planned but only a response to the import deficit given the economic and war crises in the center. Industrialization requires the development of science and technology at the local level, including the promotion of trade through common markets within the peripheries. This process, in no case, confronts economic freedom or the presence of international capital, but rather admits the presence of factors that escape the rationality of the market and the price system. As the author clarifies:

> [t]he times when people from abroad came to do what Latin Americans did not know how to do have definitively ended. We need foreigners to help us develop our own aptitude, to do so by incorporating the entire mass of the population into development.

> Thus, the foreign company has to be a nucleus of technological irradiation, as it already is in some cases (1963: 65).

Finally, Raúl Prebisch considers that a less heterogeneous distribution of science and technology, through its economic impact, will directly contribute to the general well-being of the population. First, persuasive and cooperative implementation between the state and the private sector, with its resulting economic growth, will contribute to greater personal freedom of citizens, establishing a more democratic society. Secondly, and as an urgent task, greater productivity, now at the service of democratic societies, will make it possible to have science and technology to face the ecological crisis that Raúl Prebisch managed to warn, not only as an obstacle to achieving development, but already as a threat to our own survival.

Connections

Schools of thought and Networks: New World Group School
Concepts: Autonomy, Inside-out development, Deterioration in the terms of trade
Figures: Aníbal Pinto Santa Cruz, Celso Furtado, Oscar Varsavsky, Raúl Prebisch

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Ecodevelopment

Fernando Estenssoro Saavedra

The concept of "Ecodevelopment" was developed by the Polish economist, naturalized French and later Brazilian, Ignacy Sachs, at the beginning of the 70s of the 20th century. In this regard, he pointed out that social development in harmony with the environment was possible, for which it was necessary to understand that the environment was a dimension of development and, therefore, it had to be assimilated at all decision levels, which required rethink the dominant definitions of development until that moment and understand that the human sciences and natural sciences had to better capture the interaction between natural processes and social processes. He called this new perspective to understand development Ecodevelopment:

> Ecodevelopment is a style of development that insistently seeks in each ecoregion specific solutions to particular problems, taking into account ecological, but also cultural data, as well as immediate needs, but also long-term needs (Sachs, 1974). : 363).

Sachs proposed the concept of Ecodevelopment in direct criticism of the dominant positions that existed in the environmental debate of the First World when relating the issues of development and the global environmental crisis. The First World discussion

varied from a neo-Malthusian and apocalyptic pole, which postulated a radical criticism of industrialization and technical development, especially in the Third World, and which fed clearly anti-humanist ideologies, to another pole represented by those who proposed depositing the solution to the crisis environmental in the hands of multinational companies and the market. In direct confrontation with both positions, Sachs raised the need to reorient the concept of development within a humanistic and ecological perspective, that is, aware of its interdependence with nature. This also meant placing scientific-technical advance at the service of the protection of ecosystems, or eco-technique, in direct contrast to the logic of capitalist accumulation that hegemonized the concept of development and that alienated human beings, destroyed nature and poisoned the environment (Sachs, 1974: 364).

These ideas of Ignacy Sachs were very well received and "adopted" by important Latin American academics and professionals of the seventies linked to the Economic Commission for Latin America (CEPAL), the United Nations Environment Program (UNEP), the Council Latin American Institute of Social Sciences (CLACSO), the National Institute of Natural Resources of Colombia (INDERENA). Among them, we can mention Enrique Leff (who in 1975 created, with the support of the Mexican government, the Ecodevelopment Center of Mexico, following Sachs' postulates), Hilda Herzer, Margarita Marino de Botero, Iván Restrepo, Vicente Sánchez, Héctor Sejenovich, Jaime Hurtubia, Francisco Szekely, Francisco Mieres, Raúl Brañez and Augusto Ángel. All of them began to work on environmental and development problems based on this concept of Ecodevelopment. As Enrique Leff rightly stated, "the first proposals on eco-development found in Latin America a favorable territory for their promotion", in fact, "Ignacy Sachs himself considered Latin America the potentially most fertile region to host his proposals and during the years '70 traveled to several countries - mainly to Mexico and

Brazil, a country in which he had ties of second citizenship - to promote ecodevelopment" (Leff, 2009: 221- 222). For example, in 1978 Sánchez and Sejenovich pointed out:

> We consider ecodevelopment as a modality of economic development that postulates the use of resources to satisfy the needs of current and future generations of the population, by maximizing the functional efficiency of ecosystems in the long term, using appropriate technology. to this end and the full use of human potential, within an institutional scheme that allows the participation of the population in fundamental decisions (Sánchez and Sejenovich, 1987: 154).

The formal beginnings of the environmental debate on the international political agenda are marked with the call of the United Nations to the Conference on the State of the Human Environment, which was held in Stockholm in 1972. On this occasion, the nations of the world met to adopt an action plan aimed at ending the serious threat posed by the global environmental crisis. However, from the beginning an important disagreement arose between the highly developed and industrialized capitalist countries, then identified as the First World (and which, after the end of the Cold War, were identified as the global North) and the underdeveloped countries or Third World (which today are known as the Global South), regarding how to understand this environmental crisis and, therefore, what type of global public policies were necessary to overcome it. The Third World position indicated that it was the First World countries that had caused this crisis by assuming an enormous ecological debt with the rest of the planet, a product of their development and economic growth model, as well as their highly consumerist lifestyle. But, above all, they pointed out that the care and protection of the environment could not be separated from the problem of underdevelopment in which more than two-

thirds of humanity lived, as the First World countries claimed. In this sense, for the Third World, environment and development were two sides of the same coin. The interesting thing is that, in the positions of the Third World, the contribution of Latin Americans was central and decisive. And, shortly after the Stockholm '72 Conference ended, Latin Americans united this idea of environment and development under the concept of Ecodevelopment. (Estenssoro, 2020: 2019).

The promotion of Ecodevelopment in Latin America had its peak between 1972 and 1982, that is, "between the Stockholm Conference on the Human Environment and the financial crisis in Latin America" (Leff, 1998: 167). But, from 1984 onwards this concept will be displaced. In this sense, it is worth remembering that, in 1983, the UN created the World Commission on Environment and Development, directed by the Norwegian Gro Harlem Brundtland, aimed at reaching an agreement between First World and Third World countries regarding divergences regarding of how to understand and overcome the global environmental crisis, and that in 1987 published the famous report *Our Common Future* . In this commission, the Latin American representatives, faced with the need to unite the issue of environment and development, defended the concept of Ecodevelopment, however, the pressures of the First World imposed the concept of sustainable development, and which in Spanish was translated *interchangeably* as sustainable or sustainable development (Estenssoro, 2019). In this way, as Leff rightly stated, the discourse of sustainability displaced that of Ecodevelopment. and left him imprisoned in "the games of power for the appropriation of nature and the governability of the world" (1998: 169).

In summary, Ecodevelopment was a vanguard concept that united the ideas of environment and development, defended and deepened in Latin America and the Caribbean, when the international environmental political debate was in its beginnings. Fur-

thermore, with this concept, this region of the world refuted the First World theses that blamed demographic growth for the global environmental crisis and that, absolutizing the physical limits of the earth, proposed stopping all types of development and economic growth, especially in the Third World. . For Latin Americans, these First World theses, applied in a world so unequal in terms of wealth, quality of life, opportunities for human development and political power, condemned the peoples of the Third World or global South to remain underdeveloped as an eternal periphery. subject to central powers.

Connections

Theories and Theoretical Approaches: Decolonial Approach to International Studies

Concepts: Center-Periphery, South-South Cooperation, Outward-inside development, Open integration, Sumak Kawsay-Suma Qamaña, Latin American Third Worldism, South (global)

Figures: Enrique Leff, Fernando Estenssoro Saavedra

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Modern continental state

Laura Lucía Bogado Bordazar

The concept of "modern continental State" was redefined for the Latin American region by the Uruguayan Alberto Methol Ferré, whom we reference with the autonomist and developmentalist thinking of the Economic Commission for Latin America (CEPAL) and we stand out for his attachment to the ideas of integrationism. Latin American. In his work he formulated a multidimensional proposal, through which he analyzed the world scenario of the last decades of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century, based on a certain historical revisionism. To do this, he worked on issues of classical geopolitics (based on authors such as: Friedrich Ratzel, Hans Weigert, Karl Haushofer, Halford Mackinder and Carl Schmitt, among others) that allowed him to represent the idea of the reconstruction of the "Great Homeland" (Podetti , 2013) associated with the modern continental State.

The concept of the modern continental State is one of the central ideas that Methol Ferré developed to support the need for South American regional integration, first, and then Latin America, and he emphasized the Southern Common Market (MERCOSUR) as the founding axis of such integration. , considering it as the only possible alternative to form the "Great Homeland" and achieve - in this way - the autonomy of the central powers (Methol Ferré, 2013).

In such a way that, to define the modern Latin American continental State, Methol Ferré starts from the idea of the birth of the first modern continental States: the United States and Russia, who silently burst in - in Ratzel's terms - into European international politics and were generating their own areas of influence in the surrounding regions; strategy that allowed them to project themselves as continental States. The United States has projected itself into Latin America since ancient times. That is, its "beyond" the North American Nation State (in terms of Hans Weigert, cited in Methol Ferré, 2013), was always Latin America. We remember that in the years 1889-1890 the First Pan-American Conference was held, which suggested the idea of the hemispheric construction of Latin America. That is, an entire continent linked to a central State: the United States of America. However, the emergence of this last country in Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines dynamited the hemispheric project, while new currents of thought appeared (the so-called "Generation of 900"), spread throughout Latin America that made that hypothesis rethink. . The new paradigm was focused on the unity of Latin America, but on a continental (no longer hemispheric) scale. In this way, a new era opens where the "Great Homeland" is rethought (Methol Ferré, 2013).

In summary, from the set of reflections that the author made about geopolitics and the large world regions, the concept of a modern Latin American continental State emerges, based on the construction of a regional integration project where all the States of Latin America are linked. . The foundation of this union would be cooperation, the linking of markets and the construction of interrelated societies, with common social policies (education, culture, free movement of people and health, among others) (Methol Ferré, 2013, cited in Bogado Bordazar, 2014).

With a vision from the South, for Methol Ferré the first circle of the modern Latin American continental State is the union of South America, to then project itself towards all of Latin America. And

as a complement, it emphasizes the idea that small (dependent) states have no possibility of being protagonists in history and on the world stage. Therefore, this would be the fate of the majority of the States of Latin America, unless the "second independence" of the region begins, thus continuing with the deepening of the modern Latin American continental State. This deepening, to which the author refers in several of his works, was initiated with the cultural convergence of MERCOSUR (a process that he qualifies as "strategic success"), and previously with the Argentine-Brazilian alliance, which symbolizes the starting point. of the Portuguese-Spanish American rapport in South America (Methol Ferré, 1994) and the true center of internal power of the bloc. MERCOSUR is then "the ordering horizon of Latin American integration" capable of constituting a community from separate entities.

In closing, the concept of "Regional Integration" in Methol Ferré's postulates was closely linked to the geopolitical concept of the modern Latin American continental State, since its formation necessarily required forming strategic alliances that expand the scope of influence and transcend the scheme of nation-states. This will be possible if we think about the common good of the region as a whole, integrating the countries of Latin America into a general regional logic, as opposed to individual logic. The challenge is to achieve the difficult transition from private goods to superior regional common goods (Methol Ferré, 2002) with the ultimate objective of developing peoples through the Latin American union in the search for a common destiny.

Connections

Theories and Theoretical Approaches: Dependency
Schools of thought and Networks: Central American Unionist School

Concepts: American continentalism, Integrationism, Subregional integration, Latin American regionalisms, Latin American system, Great Homeland

Figures: Alberto Methol Ferré, Felipe Herrera, Luciano Tomassini, Manuel Ugarte

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Intermediate States

Cesar Ross Orellana

This concept is offered as an alternative to the standard classification of countries, almost exclusively focusing the analysis on the power variable. In my opinion, for most states, as important or more important than power is the performance they achieve in the place where they reside, which usually corresponds to a position located between a higher level (hegemonic state) and a lower level (weak state), which forces them to develop capacities for dialogue and intermediation.

Consequently, almost any state that does not have the superpower or weak state hierarchy[11] could be classified as an "Intermediate state" (IS). These can cohabit successfully and/or unsuccessfully in the middle of the two levels located at the extremes, depending on their capacity to interact in a scheme that I have called double asymmetry, and which is immanent to their existence between the two levels mentioned.

The success and/or failure of the IS depends, mainly, on their international policy option and this is directly related to the role that I have defined here in three categories: "submissive", "rebel" and/or "pragmatic". These roles, in turn, determine the degree of success they can achieve.

11 I am not referring to so-called "failed states."

However, being located in an intermediate position, in a context where transformations are associated with changes in the rules of the game, forces the IS to develop a very dynamic international policy, the success of which depends less on its power and more on its ability to anticipate and adapt to these changes, in order to renounce as little as possible the principles that the country has defined as fundamental. On a political level, this makes it easier for IS to defend its interests, maximizing the effectiveness of its negotiation and interference resources, and relativizing the place it occupies in the international power hierarchy in its favor.

Therefore, the foreign policy of the IS must be capable of expressing the permanent principles and interests of the country, beyond the current situation. The way to do this is through the development of stable policies, inspired by permanent principles, and organizations capable of executing these policies in a flexible manner.

The main threat to this type of approach comes from the pre-existing institutional framework that usually defends inertia by conceiving, and sometimes genuinely, that their corporate interests are directly related to the strategies and tactics associated with those policies that they must execute, which leads them to condition their action to said interests.

In a post-Cold War context, the dynamism of the world has been driven by the overwhelming force of economic globalization whose consequence has been, as could be predicted, the change of rules and the acceleration of the cracks that underlay the bases of the traditional powers. Competition has replaced alliances and, of course, the always neglected cooperation proposals. The very rules of the neoliberal model ended up condemning the leader of the initiative (the United States), which has not succumbed to its former enemy (Russia), but rather to the Asian powers (Japan, China and South Korea). They put their industrial efficiency in the path of the American company that lost vigor and creativi-

ty in its once key sectors (automotive, electronics and household appliances), surviving successfully almost exclusively in the computer innovation sector, a stronghold that is challenged by the increasingly powerful Chinese innovation in devices, programs and networks.

The order of the Cold War was broken, which, according to some authors, was not replaced by another equivalent, but that premise that Paul Kennedy launched in 1987 may no longer be valid. In the post-Cold War, the development of a new order was created and/or accelerated, as Susan Strange pointed out in the mid-1990s, characterized no longer by strong and weak states, but by "abolic" and "cunning." also assimilated to slow and fast.

The exception is in the states located at the extremes of the hierarchy (upper and lower), which tend to perpetuate their position, basically because their accumulations of power determine their roles as dominant and weak players, respectively.

On this basis, and from an empirical observation, I propose the existence of three types of EI: "submissive", "rebellious" and "pragmatic".

The "submissive EI" assumes this characteristic out of anomie and/or by choice. In the first case, this policy is assumed due to a lack of options. In the second, because it constitutes part of a survival strategy, where the absence of opposition and/or resistance increases its opportunities to avoid punishment from a stronger dominant or contradictory actor. Understood in this way, this policy can be classified as "minimalist realism", as it aspires to the minimum: "survive". For this reason, the foreign policy objectives of the submissive IS focus on the *status quo*, without risking, without losing or gaining positions.

To practice this policy, a pragmatic diplomatic style is used. Correlatively, the agenda of this policy is focused on its adaptation or framing to the dominant themes. Thus, the international strategy of this type of IS usually opts for mimicry and invisibility.

The results that are usually obtained from this exercise could be classified as "zero sum", which, focused on the well-known metaphor of the chess board (Brzezinski, 1997), would correspond to the type of performance that would be assigned to the pawn.

The "rebel IS" assumes this characteristic passively and/or actively. Passive rebellion is exercised when it does not adhere to a position, but without taking direct actions against the dominant state to weaken its position. On the contrary, active rebellion is exercised when direct actions are taken against the position of the strongest dominant or contradictor.

The principles that usually guide the rebel IS are linked to the defense and preservation of its national "dignity and identity" at any price, which would allow us to classify this type of state as "maximalist and/or constructivist idealist", where the leadership The policy is in opposition to the dominant pattern of dependence (*path dependence*) and, in this sense, is usually characterized by voluntarism. For this reason, its objectives are usually associated with the search for balance, which for this type of state, is related to criteria of equality and equity, which are expressed in criticism of the asymmetry in the international distribution of power and search for imposition of Westphalian principles.

To execute this policy, diplomatic styles of an ideological nature are usually used, adjusted to the identity of each state and focused on eidetic orientations not subject to relativism of any kind. In tune with these identities, the rebel IS tends to resist the agenda of the strongest dominant or contradictory state, and tends to push its own agenda.

Consistent with this policy, its international strategy usually opts for "confrontation and search for horizontal alliances" (with states of equal or similar power) and/or with other dominant powers, which can tip the balance of power distribution towards their interests, even if only momentarily.

The relatively predictable consequence of this policy results in a "random zero-sum" outcome. Focusing on the chessboard metaphor, this type of state would assume the role of "nano-King", a leadership with great ambitions combined with very reduced capabilities and, therefore, with very few possibilities to achieve its objectives.

The "pragmatic EI" expresses this characteristic passively and/or actively. In the first case, it can respond both to its own socio-cultural identity, whose explanation usually lies in its historical behavior, and to a political option prepared *expressly* , for example, as a way to gain time to organize its subsequent action. The second case constitutes a deliberate transactional policy.

In this type of state, foreign policy is usually based on the defense of certain "minimum principles", but not tradable. This allows to achieve the maximum, without denaturing the essence of your own identity and unifying convictions.

Pragmatic IS should be considered "neorealist, neoliberal or constructivist." These denominations are reaffirmed in response to their objectives, which tend to seek benefits at the lowest possible cost. To achieve this, the foreign policy of this type of state uses a diplomatic style, focused on the pragmatic.

For all of the above, it is very common for this type of state to select issues of its own interest, within the agenda of the dominant or strongest contradictory state. Therefore, their strategy is usually transactional, with frequent use of options such as *hedging* (López i Vidal, 2010) and *bandwagoning* (Schweller, 1994). The first concept alludes to a dual strategy, which on the one hand aims to optimize the benefits of interdependence, but, on the other hand, seeks to neutralize the dangers of relating to the dominant state and/or the strong adversary of the day. The second refers to gang movement in international relations, which occurs when a state aligns itself with a stronger, adversary power and admits that the stronger adversary, turned partner, wins (disproportion-

ately) in the loot they conquer. together. The idea of *bandwagoning* suggests that a weak state must align itself with a stronger dominant, contradictory or adversary , because in any case they can take what they want by force. The key here, as has been said colloquially, is to "ride the winning horse."

From this type of policy and strategy, results of the "variable sum" type are usually obtained, which, approached with the aforementioned metaphor of the chess board, would correspond to the role of bishop. In this sense, the probability that the pragmatic IS will obtain an advantage from each movement is very high and therefore this type of policy is committed to accumulating benefits in a permanent action (medium and long term) and not in lucky breaks (short term), which can achieve an objective at once, but without guaranteeing its survival and, consequently, without ensuring that there will be no setbacks in the future. The key to their performance and results lies in the fact that they are subject to what could be called a classic stochastic process, in which their behavior is not "deterministic", but is conditioned by both the predictable actions of the process and those of a random nature. Consequently, its results could not be advanced probabilistically because an uncertain dimension of results remains. Therefore, this process and performance can be classified as stochastic.

Connections

Theories and Theoretical Approaches: Peripheral Realism
Schools of thought and Networks: Brazil Great Power School
Concepts: Double asymmetry, Latin American thought on international and global issues

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Logistic State

Amado Luiz Cervo

The concepts of state manipulated by international relations literature in the 20th and 21st centuries are numerous: capitalist, socialist, imperialist, liberal, developmentist, neoliberal and others. "Logistic State" is a Latin American concept, developed from historical experiences, to designate a pattern of State conduct. This concept serves both as an analytical and explanatory category, a category derived from reflection on the conduct of the States, with the possibility of application for the understanding of any conduct observed in the world. It is a concept of universal scope, yet distant from Anglo-Saxon theories, which starts from intellectual formulation to illuminate reality. Logistic State starts from real, empirical, historical, regional and universal experiences, leading to the concept, to then descend to the real and give understanding and intelligibility.

Every State corresponds to a subproduct of society, sometimes, it is appropriated by class, group, ideology, bureaucracy, political party. This fact disturbs more, or less, the overlap between State and society, depending on the current paradigm. The concept of the Logistic State, as a by-product of society, raises its level of abstraction and is linked to the higher commands of international relations, which only exist in our understanding, among those who identify the values, security, interests, surviv-

al, defends, coexistence in the spirit of the peoples, pacifist or aggressive.

The essence of the concept of the logistical state lies in the state's own mode of conduct: far from the 'proprietary State' and the 'liberal State', to name two extremes, the logistical state prepares the ground, induces actions and strategies of conduct, internally and externally, and guarantees logistical support for the movement of the agents that the nation harbours. It promotes both the development and well-being of the nation and the international insertion of its dynamic segments. The Logistic State entrusts the dynamic segments of society, especially companies, capital and technologies, with responsibility for the international insertion of the country. That's where the logistical aspect lies, which we are analysing in greater depth. It also lies in the fact that the state knows how to reconcile the national interest and the values of national identity with the interests of different segments of society. The result of the logistical state model is harmony between state and society, between different objectives and the common good of all.

Are the United States and China examples of the applicability of the concept of the Logistic State? Certainly, US society has reached the highest level of development and well-being seen in the world, and its internal economic forces have spread beyond its borders. Chinese society is certainly following suit. These are two of the largest societies in the world.

Any State paradigm can harbour a certain degree of logistics, since the conduct of governments differs greatly. This happens regardless of the political regime, the economic system or the movement of international relations. There are governments that provide adequate means to guide and lead segments of society towards their internal and international goals; there are governments that provide meagre means. Latin America has never developed adequate policies to promote the invention and application of its own technologies, with which segments of society achieve a

level of systemic competitiveness. Its countries remain in the 20th and 21st centuries of development, without achieving the maturity reached by advanced societies. Their States exhibit a low level of logistical performance, with the exception of short periods in history. In this respect, Latin American States differ from other countries such as Germany, France, Italy, Japan, Russia, South Korea and others.

The applicability of the Logistical State is also assessed by the way in which states preserve the reciprocity of benefits in international relations. Some states allow themselves to be exploited, while others protect themselves through grouping and integration processes. A logistic state is one that is capable of reconciling the benefits of others with its own benefits, capable of establishing and maintaining real reciprocity in the movement of international forces. To a large extent, the reciprocity of benefits in international relations results from the good use of diplomatic action, which is intrinsic to wise diplomatic negotiation: we want what suits you, while at the same time promoting what suits us, that is the rule. Diplomatic negotiation opens up opportunities for the penetration of external inputs into internal development, as well as opportunities for the penetration of internal inputs into global development, which raises society's level of maturity.

Economic internationalisation and its most advanced stage, globalisation, are the result of the degree to which societies are open to the penetration of external inputs. Connections between societies are multiplying, opening up channels of penetration and exchange around the world. Everyone's interests flow through these channels. Once again, we realise how much diplomacy weighs, with its sense of timing, on maintaining reciprocity of benefits and on the expansion of the internal into the globalised world, in such a way that reciprocity extends not only to national development and well-being, but also to the movement of national agents in international relations.

It can be seen from the arguments developed in this text about the applicability of the concept of the Logistic State that management is the centrepiece of the reasoning. Government remains relevant to international relations at any time in history, and the quality of management determines gains and losses, imbalances and balances, development and backwardness, misery and the well-being of the people.

Connections

Theories and theoretical approaches: Latin American structuralism

Thinking schools and Networks: School of Brasilia, Brazil Great Power School

Concepts: Latin American thought on international and world issues, Latin American system, Southwest wind or the "Latin American thesis"

Figures: Celso Lafer, Helio Jaguaribe, Raúl Bernal-Meza, Samuel Pinheiro Guimarães

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Plurinational State

Cristina Oyarzo Varela

The concept "Plurinational State" points to an institutional innovation that politically and culturally articulates a diversity of nations within a unitary state on the basis of symmetrical relationships. Rethinking the state-nation binomial, it seeks to transform interethnic and intercultural relations and, simultaneously, the relations between the state and society.

The concept of plurinational State can be traced back to the 1980s. In Bolivia, the Political Thesis of the Single Trade Union Confederation of Peasant Workers of Bolivia (CSUTCB) appears explicitly in October 1983, as an annex to Oppressed *but not Defeated, struggles of the Aymara and Quechwa peasantry, 1900-1980* , by Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui (1984), widely disseminated work. This Thesis establishes that:

> We do not and will not accept any class reductionism that converts us only into "peasants," nor any ethnic reductionism that represents a confrontation of "Indians" against "whites." We are heirs of great civilizations. We are also heirs of a permanent fight against any form of exploitation and oppression. We want to be free in a society without organized exploitation or oppression in a plurinational State that develops our cultures and authentic forms of self-government (cited in Rivera Cusicanqui, 2010: 229).

With such statements the bases are established on which the first interpretation of the concept was consolidated. In Ecuador, within the framework of the indigenous uprising of June 1990, the notion appeared in a document of the Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador (CONAIE), an organization created in 1986. The text synthesized the demands of the movement in a 16-point agenda, one of which directly proposed the modification of article 1 of the Constitution, so that Ecuador could be declared a plurinational State (Cruz Rodríguez, 2012); and, along with the idea of plurinationality, it insisted on the issues of land ownership, cultural specificity, and political rights.

From these anchors the concept was acquiring density, incarnating in various aspects of the indigenous movement, in intellectuals and in non-governmental organizations. Even though it emerged in a primarily unionist tradition, espousing the intersection of ethnic and class issues, it did not remain fixed. The relevance of the discourses of liberal multiculturalism, with their respective injection of material resources from international organizations, activated interpretations that have allowed plurinationality to be compatible with forms of Latin American neoliberalism, with a certain degree of plasticity. Associated with the new Latin American constitutionalism, the concept was institutionalized in Ecuador in 2008 and in Bolivia in 2009. Today, the debate has been picked up in different parts of the continent, especially in those places where indigenous organizations have more strength.

The concept of plurinational State, as it has been understood until now, has legal, social-cultural and political dimensions. Starting from the critique of the monocultural, uni-national and centralist state, it attempts to confront the tensions between the idea of a homogeneous nation and its colonial heritage, proposing an alternative model through which to manage pluriculturality and plurinationality.

Various authors have worked on the concept dimensions. I will begin with those who try to transcend the local perspective, to think about a category of broader applicability in Latin America. Fernando Garcés (2013) suggests that the plurinational State is an alternative that is proposed within the framework of questions about the effectiveness and legitimacy of the concept of state, the concept of nation and the naturalized conjunction of both in Latin American republican history. It suggests that there was a process of mutual feedback between the CSUTCB and the Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador, CONAIE in its formation, specifying that the space where the most programmatic development was given to the idea was in the Educational Councils of Indigenous Peasant Peoples (CEPOs), in a work of specialists and leaders preparing for the application in the educational field. It states that it is a proposal that arises from indigenous peoples, which is based on the recognition of the existence of various nations in the territory, a model of political organization for decolonization, which guarantees the indigenous right to land and natural resources and that guarantees their direct political representation, among others.

Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2008; 2010), for his part, considers the plurinational State as an experimental state in a transition process. This would have the function of recognizing collective rights of peoples and other social groups, as a guarantee of the protection of individual rights, especially with regard to cultural identity and discrimination. However, it is not restricted to recognition policies, as it implies different ranges of self-government and autonomy, with specific levels of applicability, including modifications in institutionality, territorial reorganization, intercultural and participatory democracy, legal pluralism, among others.

Luis Tapia (2007), reflecting on the issue in Bolivia, points out that the possibility of establishing a plurinational State is linked to the crisis of the state. He stops at what he calls a crisis of correspon-

dence, meaning that there is a lack of correspondence between the configuration of the powers of the state and cultural diversity and its self-organization, which exercises political authority and is not recognized. For Tapia, in the 1980s, Bolivian civil society was reconfigured, thus emerging business associations and indigenous assemblies, which began to break the institutional surface at the beginning of 2000. This, together with the general crisis of the state, allowed the deployment of the concept. From their perspective, the material basis of the plurinational State is the local control of natural resources, that is, it refers to the political-economic dimension rooted in the debates of nationalism of 1952 and unionism and represents an articulation of various forms of authority and self-government.

Álvaro García Linera (2010) understands the plurinational State as the result of a new correlation of forces. It refers to the recognition of equal opportunities between peoples and diverse identities, as a way to confront discrimination. From a particularly cultural point of view, it proposes the revaluation of images and symbols of indigenous peoples, within the framework of the construction of a state nation. In his perspective, there is a Bolivian nationality, which is nourished by indigenous nationalities, which materializes in a state formation.

Garcés stops at the limits of García Linera's perspective, suggesting that it is restricted to the liberal conception of equal rights and opportunities, without proposing an alternative that goes further. It also questions whether it is transformed into a cultural rather than a political conception, very close to the multiculturalism of the 1990s, focused on recognition policies, but not on the dimension of debates over the exercise of power.

For Latin American thought on international and global issues, the concept presents different potentialities. Perhaps the most relevant thing is that it constitutes a situated response to the consequences of colonialism: being originally a proposal gener-

ated by indigenous peoples, it is nourished by the reflections and trajectories of anticolonial thought, in a pragmatic sense. It also represents a potential for para-diplomacy, since by rethinking the relationship between state and nation from plurinationality, it opens the possibility of materializing more direct relationships between political communities and non-state agents. One of the obstacles, in this case, is that in its institutional materialization, the plurinational State limited the scope of indigenous autonomies. Finally, in the international field of human rights it is having valuable applications, especially in terms of legal pluralism.

Connections

Theories and Theoretical Approaches: Decolonial Approach to International Studies

Concepts: Nationalism-colonyage, Latin American thought on international and global issues, Transnational alterglobalizing social networks, Regional civil society, Sumak Kawsay-Suma Qamaña

Figures: Álvaro García Linera, Carlos Montenegro, Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui

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World Social Forum

Eduardo Devés

The "World Social Forum" (WSF) and numerous intellectual figures who are closely articulated in its environment, has been a place of emergence for Latin American thinking on world affairs. There issues were developed such as: the accentuation of the "planetic" dimension over the "political" dimension; the tension between global forces: Davos World Economic Forum/neoliberalism and WSF/anti-neoliberalism; the plurality of agencies worldwide: social movements, economic organizations and nature; and, finally, the constitution of a global movement, alter-globalism and, perhaps, a kind of new global "Socialist International."

Under the motto "another world is possible", which would be followed to this day by periodic meetings on different continents, the WSF had its first meeting in Porto Alegre, Brazil, between January 25 and 30, 2001, created from the convergence of various initiatives. The *Charter of Principles* agreed upon by "the Committee of Brazilian entities that conceived and organized the first World Social Forum" (2013), had the objective of guiding the continuity of the initiative. There it is stated that it was conceived as

> an open meeting space to: intensify reflection, carry out a democratic debate of ideas, develop proposals, establish a free exchange of experiences and articulate effective actions by civil society enti-

> ties and movements that oppose neoliberalism and domination of the world by capital or by any form of imperialism and, also, committed to the construction of a planetary society oriented towards a fruitful relationship between human beings and between them and the Earth (FSM, 2013).

The WSF has put the global and globalization in particular as a big topic. Keep in mind, not the international, but the process of globalization itself, thinking about the phenomena in their global character, has even ruled out an international task in the strict sense, not paying particular attention to governments, international diplomacies and bureaucracies, and bureaucracies, and foreign policies as such. Based on these ideas and experiences, a set of theoretical elaborations have been carried out that can be considered part of Latin American thinking on global issues. Below are some of those that have aroused the greatest enthusiasm, which emerge in the thoughts of Latin American intellectual figures who have maintained extensive and prominent participation in the WSF and written about it. However, such theoretical elaborations do not come only from official documents of the WSF, since it has expressly defined itself as a meeting place and not as a confederation of social movements that issues statements.

- The accentuation of the planetary dimension over the "political" dimension. The WSF highlighted by its idealizers a global dimension, without neglecting the national and the local, always taking into account that the initiatives had to be projected towards the world. On the other hand, without giving up the programmatic aspect, this was not required, but above all it was a space for brainstorming, initiatives, and proposals (Whitaker, 2006a) in the hope that the convincing ones would last and multiply. . In that sense, he clearly leaned more towards a planning perspective than a political one (Devés, 2009; 2021), stipulating in point 3 that it is a "global" instance and that "all the events that take place as part

of this process will have an international dimension." In point 9, it adds that "party representations or military organizations should not participate in the Forum." On the other hand, being a social forum, not an interstate one, even the leaders of various States who attend do so personally and not as representatives of their States, therefore, there was never an "international" dimension in the strict sense. From this general perspective derive the observations that follow and are some contributions to thinking about the planet and overcoming neoliberalism, pollution, authoritarianism, racism and other scourges of "neoliberal globalization".

- The tension between global forces: Davos World Economic Forum/neoliberalism and WSF/anti-neoliberalism. From point 1 of the *Charter of Principles* , it is established that the WSF

> It is an open meeting space to: intensify reflection, carry out a democratic debate of ideas, develop proposals, establish a free exchange of experiences and articulate effective actions by civil society entities and movements that oppose neoliberalism (2013).

This is endorsed and reiterated and practically all current global reality appears as an expression of neoliberalism, *deus ex machina* of the existing world reality.

> By proclaiming that "another world is possible", the participants strive to achieve a globalization of solidarity that respects universal human rights and the environment, supported by democratic systems and institutions at the service of social justice, equality and the sovereignty of the peoples (Frei Betto, 2009).

As combat thought, the one formulated within the framework of the WSF, tends to present reality divided into two radically antagonistic positions: good and evil. In this way, global warming, patriarchy, losses of sovereignty, attacks against human rights,

corruption, racism, poverty and many other calamities are interpreted as effects of neoliberalism, while the FMS is its opponent.

In this way, according to Whitaker, "without allowing themselves to be directed by parties or governments, and denying violence as a method of political action," those who participate in the WSF "live an experience of a new political culture, horizontal, self-managed, without bosses or words of authority." order" (2006b). In other words, it is about sharing and even diluting power through the multiplication of decentralized initiatives. In point 10, the *Charter of Principles* states that it promotes the "practice of true and participatory democracy, egalitarian, supportive and peaceful relations between people, ethnic groups, genders and peoples, condemning all forms of domination or submission of a human being to another." This has been reiterated, although qualified, by Francisco Whitaker when affirming the need to dilute power, without forgetting the need for a necessary concentration to confront the system that dominates the world, therefore,

> If these Social Forums are truly 'open, horizontal spaces', with no one to 'run' them, in which diversity is respected and the emergence of new connections, alliances and networks is facilitated, we will be building the strength we need to take on the system that dominates the world (2015: 36).

- The plurality of agencies worldwide: social movements, economic organizations and nature. Article 5 of the *Charter of Principles* states that the WSF "brings together and articulates civil society entities and movements from all countries in the world" (2013) although, as an arena where they meet and not a confederation, it does not intend to be a representative body of global civil society.

Francisco Whitaker, for his part, highlights

> The WSF can show, beyond the fact that protest and resistance are necessary, although not sufficient to change the world, that changes are already underway, without waiting for complete models and ideals of society, proposed from above. All of this has also made evident a new logic of organization, which is spreading throughout the world today, different from that of pyramidal power, typical of governments and parties: that of networks, better adapted to the relationships between organizations in society. civil and means of its reinforcement (2006a: 18).

The plurality of agencies is accentuated by Raúl Zibechi, when referring to the confrontation at a global level, without putting the States first, in the Westphalian formula, but rather the existing tension between social movements and large economic and business entities (Zibechi, 2004).

Around the same, adding yet another agency, nature, Leonardo Boff argues that "the pandemic is a counterattack by Mother Earth against a type of humanity that continues to threaten and destroy her." Thus, "Covid-19 fell like lightning on neoliberal capitalism" (2020). Boff maintains this because

> This capitalist mode of production has deeply affected nature, it has advanced on the forests due to agribusiness, destroying part of the habitat of viruses. The Earth is a living super organism, which articulates the physical and the ecological to maintain its balance.

And he continues: "then the earth reacts: Zika, Ebola, chikungunya. It's a sign. Either humanity reacts or more lethal viruses will come, in a kind of war that we have no chance of winning. She can destroy us and move forward without human beings" (2020). And this means that "we are confronted with a mental crisis", in other words, it is because "our mind is contaminated by anthropocentrism. The human being is understood as the cen-

ter of everything and other beings have value only to the extent that they are suitable for use by the human being" (Boff, 2015). In fact, "the project of modernity advocates unlimited progress. But the Earth, as a planet with limited resources, does not support this unlimited project" (2015). The WSF "represents the inverse of the globalized system", because "the system and culture of capital are homicidal, 'biocidal', "ecocidal" and genocidal" (2015). Boff reinforces his proposal by arguing that "two Latin American countries, Bolivia and Ecuador, are at the forefront of the new paradigm that consists of giving centrality to life," which means understanding "all beings, including humans, as interdependent and therefore solidarity in the same destiny" (2015).

- The constitution of a global movement, alter-globalism and, perhaps, a kind of new global "Socialist International". In 2004, after the 4th WSF, Raúl Zibechi wrote: "This year it can be said that the Forum has gained coherence, words and actions have become closer," adding that "it is evident that the strength that the alter-globalization movement has acquired " and that "the world is changing rapidly and the elites have taken good note of it." This alter-globalization movement, Zibechi suggests, has been growing in a chaotic or disorderly manner, given this "stopping fear of chaos, of 'disorganization', is a good step. The International Committee had the courage to give it, and the results are healthy: they inspire more self-confidence in those of us who participate in the movement" (2005).

This could be projected into a new global "Socialist International" continuing the experience of the previous ones, although emerging primarily from the south. The conviction has been confirmed that the WSF has allowed us to better think about a great world opposition where two great forces, which are not national blocks, since they permeate nations and many other entities, but social classes and, more than that, economic organizations , eco-

nomic institutions, corporations that oppose each other at a global level and where one needs the other while the other would simply suffer from the one. These two forces would be represented by the Davos Economic Forum and the WSF. The WSF would represent a counterweight to the power of Davos and, hypothetically, its annihilator, to the extent that it surpassed its status as a simple forum to become "a global political actor." The WSF agency as a global coordinator of the "design of adequate strategies and tactics of anti-capitalist struggle" (Pedroy, 2012). There the WSF would be "an equivalent force" to Davos, which is not a forum "but an international of the imperial bourgeoisie" (Pedroy, 2012). Pedroy states that "if the WSF has any function to fulfill, it is precisely this: to facilitate popular organization, the awareness of the masses and the design of appropriate strategies and tactics of anti-capitalist struggle that must be coordinated on an international scale" (2012). Davos is not a forum but an international of the imperial bourgeoisie, for our part we need an equivalent force. Organizations of classes of interests, of economic and social groups at a global level (Pedroy, 2012).

Oscar González insists on this perspective since "We are facing a very serious multidimensional global crisis; Action is needed at a local, national and global scale, with adequate articulation between them. "The WSF is the ideal framework to promote this action" (González, 2020).

In summary, it can be stated that, around the WSF, a thinking about the global developed where notions such as the tension between global forces matured: Davos World Economic Forum-neoliberalism and WSF-anti-neoliberalism, the plurality of agencies and the constitution of a global movement: alterglobalism, all of this converging in the accentuation of the planetary dimension over the specifically "political" dimension.

Connections

Theories and Theoretical Approaches: Dependency, Decolonial Approach to International Studies
Concepts: South-South Cooperation, Ecodevelopment, Geobiohumanism, Transnational alterglobalizing social networks, Regional civil society, Sumak Kawsay-Suma Qamaña
Figures: Atilio Borón, Genésio Darci (Leonardo) Boff

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Geobiohumanism

Rocío Arroyo Belmonte

"Geobiohumanism", as an echo of decolonialism within critical Latin American studies, proposes rethinking from a multidimensionality the effects of dominant Western humanism, especially in International Relations. Said humanism, having a marked Eurocentric origin, is characterized by its rationalist style with aspirations to achieve secularity, where the individual - notably masculinized - emerges as the architect of his own destiny and morality. This Western humanism, of a highly abstract nature, is notably anthropocentric and is based on principles of ontological duality. The separation between materiality and intangibility, the body and the mind, the world of ideas and the sensible world are clear examples of these dualisms.

As a product of all of the above, there is the artificial division between the human being and nature as a rooted and symbiotic duality in the reproduction of the capitalist system, which usually justifies anthropocentric domination over the environment as a synonym for human progress or improvement. of being on the conditions of the environment. At the same time, Western humanism served as the constructive paradigm of the European national state, becoming the predominant unit of social and territorial organization.

Throughout the 20th century this model was exported to the rest of the world, absorbing, marginalizing or annihilating other

logics of understanding the relationship between humans and nature under the dual and divisive humanist scheme promoted by the State itself. Geopolitical struggles for territories, the division of the planet into sovereign borders and the "use" of natural resources as measures of state power are practices emanating from Western humanism that were the edifying pillars of the practice of international relations, as well as of its foundational and hegemonic theories.

This logic would reach its apex during the world wars, at which time the discipline of International Relations would emerge from the paradigms of political realism and idealism. Political realism argues for a competitive and anarchic essence of the human being as a starting point in understanding reality. From this theoretical current - which remains a hegemonic trend in world politics and international studies - nature is reduced to the "environment" that must be rationally and utilitarianly dominated through the appropriation of strategic resources, the expansion and defense of territories, the overcoming of geographical conditions for state prosperity, or the positioning in geostrategic points, regardless of the means implemented in any case (Morgenthau, 1948).

For its part, idealism, an apparent antagonistic paradigm of realism, essentially replicates the formula of the human being separated from nature. Although it assumes a virtuous condition of the individual that can be molded through diplomatic relations, moral values, normative agreements and international organizations (Zimmern, 1931), it perpetuates a dualistic logic since it places the individual as the center of its own ideas, denying the material dimension of nature. to turn it into an abstract.

In the highest aspirations of idealism to achieve peace and guarantee development, the anthropocentric character of Western humanism is reproduced and strengthened, despite an illusory incorporation of the abstraction of nature in its postulates. As an example is the definition of the United Nations Organization (UN,

1987) on sustainable development, which it understands as "the satisfaction of the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generations to satisfy their own needs" (ch. 2, parag. 1). That is, aspects such as human rights and sustainable development are evident as negotiations exclusively for and between individuals or, at most, those rights that the individual in his moral superiority decides to "grant" to nature.

Geobiohumanism then questions the state-centric model supported by Western humanism as the dominant paradigm of international relations and, therefore, its hegemonic theories. This critical path of building humanism then implies decentering the individual as a self-reference, to assume its interconnection with the planet (*geo*), recognize the dialogic, recursive and systemic interrelation that it maintains with nature and other forms of life (*bios*), and integrate the multidimensionality of social interactions between individuals and collectivities that share a common planetary organic and biological unity (*humanitas)* (Arroyo, 2021).

This conceptual proposal responds to the call of a long tradition of Latin American thinkers who, from critical humanism, liberation theology, political ecology or critical pedagogy, have evidenced the need to strengthen creative categories and practices specific to our historical context and space.

Although the roots of Latin American critical reflections on humanism can be traced back to the 19th century with such emblematic thinkers as José Martí, who claimed an emancipation of the human being from poverty and social hierarchies in favor of a collective identity (Martí, 1977), it is at the beginning of the 20th century that a humanist critique was consolidated from Latin America in search of overcoming the inherited positivist and colonial ideas. The need for a humanism that recognized the legacy of indigenous cultures to overcome the economic and political conditions of marginalization was then raised (Mariátegui, 1969) and an ethical and rational humanism was proposed, but also crit-

ical of unequal historical and material conditions. of the human being, in view of which he had to be revolutionary (Miró Quesada, 1969). This liberating humanism that recognizes differences would have to promote equality and solidarity, but not only in discourse, but through practice (Zea, 1976) and should even aspire to intellectual independence from Western humanism to truly overcome a culture of domination (Salazar Bondy, 1968).

At the start of the Cold War, the commitment to a practical rather than utopian humanism was outlined, channeled towards the defense of popular sectors, as well as liberation and ideological emancipation within the capitalist system (Dussel, 2001), that is, they aspired to a emerging humanism as a form of self-awareness and self-recognition of the subject in the prevailing material conditions (Roig, 1981).

All these musings on humanism from Latin America have distinctive features that nourish the proposal of Geobiohumanism. Guadarrama (2003) synthesizes some of these attributes as a critical humanism in constant feedback and adaptation to the prevailing historical conditions, in addition to the fact that instead of an ethical and moral foundation it aspires to the social transformation of the conditions of inequality and the elimination of segregation rooted in Latin American societies. When it proposes equality, it does not seek assimilation into social structures but rather an overcoming of those that prevent human beings from developing freely. Although Christian ethics has played an important role in the humanism of Latin American thought, its content cannot be reduced to that source, since there are also undeniable contributions from Western modernity. And, without a doubt, a criticism of the reification of man and the forms of alienation engendered by the capitalist system prevails, betting on education as a mechanism to prepare human beings for their emancipation.

By returning to these previous Latin American philosophical contributions, Geobiohumanism focuses particularly on the rela-

tionship between man and nature, presenting it as a multiple and non-dualistic relationship. From pre-Hispanic worldviews, the relationship between humans and nature is perceived as reciprocal, multidimensional and interdependent, which must be reflected in a concept of humanism projected from systemic perspectives such as complexity.

The need to decolonize thought through an "epistemic disobedience" that questions the rhetoric of modernity and the logic of coloniality (Mignolo, 2010), leads Geobiohumanism to scrutinize the artificial separation of man and nature that other Latin Americans already had been denounced as a form of domination that denies the complex relationships between culture and nature that occur in local practices, beyond a binary and asymmetric relationship (Escobar, 1999, 2014).

The search for alternative production and environmental orders as a way to truly encourage social movement projects has also already been addressed by Latin American political ecologists. Therefore, any search for an environmental sustainability model aimed at an alternative paradigm of production of economic rationality must incorporate the current cultural and technologically specific conditions under which local actors appropriate nature (Leff, 2012). Hence, Geobiohumanism is concerned with drawing attention to the multiplicity of relationships inherent to the development of the being in interrelation with the environment, its peers and other living beings.

And it is proven that living beings subsist through the continuous exchange and flow of components facilitated by their own system, autopoiesis. Living as a process of interactions, not only of information or communication, but of affects, emotions and feelings (Maturana and Varela, 2004). In this Geobiohumanism seen as a complex system, "biopraxis" is prioritized (Maturana and Varela, 1972) where the human being must direct his behavior towards continually transforming himself in logical coherence

and congruent with the transformations of the environment -his relationships with other fellow human beings and living beings- and with the transformations of the environment -nature and the shared planet Earth-.

Geobiohumanism recognizes that the anthropocentric humanist model nourishes the extractivist capitalist model that places the human being in a false superior and dominant position over the resources of nature, which exacerbates the civilizational crisis that puts at risk not only nature itself, but to the human being and the systems that form life on the planet (Dussel, 2016). In the same way, it is proposed to overcome the masculinized and segregating humanism that proposes the triumph of a certain type of man over nature, under the ideology of a white, adult, Western man who systematically excludes women and other racial groups, of different ages or ages. from different latitudes, which denies divergent worldviews and, on occasions, appropriates them (Bidaseca and Vázquez, 2011).

The proposal is to focus on the reconciliation of the artificial separation of the human being-nature, to establish it as an anti-anthropocentrist reaction based, coinciding with Leff (2012), on a reunion of the real and the symbolic, on the resignification of the world and nature. , in interrelationships between beings and a dialogue of knowledge, where the essence of being is reconfigured. More than bringing theory to praxis, it is about recognizing in theory the daily and habitual practices that show the multiple interrelationships between human beings with their environment, their fellow human beings and other forms of life. The challenge is to situate the human being in its multidimensionality and interconnectivity, to assume the "bio-psycho-socio-anthropo-historical" (Adame, 2008) or "bio-psycho-socio-spiritual" human quality (Pozzoli, 2017).

Concepts reflect paradigms, which is why humanism requires ceasing to be a centrist category in its own definition. Hence the

proposal of Geobiohumanism as a concept that reflects the interrelationships and multidimensionalities that have been exposed until now. Geo seeks to spatialize humanism and the diversity of social collectivities that, despite their disparities, maintain as a common point sharing a planet with other members of the human race and with other living beings. This implies that with *bio*, different biological capacities of other systems are recognized to coexist on Earth as a common home (Morin and Kern, 1993), that is, redefining the "non-human" to end the "system of properties that human beings attribute to beings" (Descola, 2012: 139). Humanitas takes us to the world of feelings and emotions guided by an ethical and moral system prevailing in the society of the moment, we talk about empathy, retribution, recognition, justice beyond the dualistic humanist sense of civilization vs barbarism. This ethical and moral system actually emanates from the biopraxis of the prevailing complex system, in this case, from the Latin American reality in specific historical places and moments.

Unlike a humanism that homologates diversity, Geobiohumanism recognizes and is nourished by it as it is part of the complex system that keeps it alive. The search for emancipation in this case surpasses a state or regional framework, which is artificial within a shared planet. Therefore, a more global than regional meaning is proposed so as not to fall into Latin American centrism. Although it is true that structural conditions imposed by the development of capitalism are shared regionally, the focus of attention must also be on the connections and interrelationships with other complex subsystems deployed throughout the globe.

Ultimately, the concept of Geobiohumanism seeks to establish new forms of representation and imagination, since true humanization begins with a practical, critical and emancipatory education (Freire, 2005). It is about thinking complexly about the "new humanism" under a transversal, transdisciplinary and three-dimensional paradigm, with a cognitive dimension (from

mechanism to complex and hyper-complex analytical models); an ethical-philosophical dimension (from anthropocentrism and biocentrism towards anthropoholism); and, a socio-cultural dimension (from competition and individualism to altruism and solidarity) (Baraona, Castro Guzmán and Muñoz, 2020).

Geobiohumanism, then, represents a contribution to critical Latin American studies, especially within the decolonial current, to denounce the roots of Western humanism in the theoretical foundations and state-centric practices of international relations, inviting the construction of new analytical categories according to the context. current.

Connections

Theories and theoretical approaches: Dependency, Decolonial approach to international studies

Concepts: Autonomy, Center-Periphery, Coloniality of power, Geopolitics of knowledge, Sumak Kawsay-Suma Qamaña

Figures: Arturo Escobar, Enrique Domingo Dussel Ambrosini, Walter Mignolo

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Geopolitics of knowledge

Fernando Estenssoro Saavedra

The "Geopolitics of knowledge" refers to the use of knowledge as a privileged "tool" of power by the centers in order to exercise control and domination over the peripheries, a phenomenon that began around 1450 with the same process of European expansion -conquest and colonization of the world-, and which has continued to the present. It continued once the formal expression of political colonization exercised by the centers came to an end with the wars and independence processes of the peripheries that, in the case of Latin America and the Caribbean, developed at the beginning of the 19th century. and, in the cases of Africa and Asia, they occurred after the end of the Second World War.

In this sense, the process of conquest and colonization of the world by the Europeans, or the West, was supported by the development of a rational-modern thought that determined their worldview, which, in addition, was imposed on the subject peoples and civilizations to the extent which was totally functional to its mastery process. Subsequent to the processes of political independence of the colonies, this geopolitics of knowledge, structured under the European rational paradigm, was even more decisive in continuing to exercise the hegemony of the centers over the peripheries and, by the way, the key to explaining the current predominance world of the West and its neoliberal capitalist model of

production that, after the end of the Cold War (1989-1991), will be known as *globalization*.

Already in 1992, Aníbal Quijano, in his essays on the *coloniality of power,* proposed that the

> cultural complex known as European rationality/modernity (...) was established as a universal paradigm of knowledge and relationship between humanity and the rest of the world" and, therefore, the concept of coloniality of power expressed this "European paradigm of rational knowledge (...) developed (...) as part of a power structure that implied European colonial domination over the rest of the world (1992: 14-16).

The deepening of the study of this phenomenon, in the case of Latin America and the Caribbean, gained momentum in the last decade of the 20th century, through a series of authors critical of the hegemony of Eurocentric or Westernocentric thought who, influenced by the debate epistemological modernity/postmodernity, they began to debate the issue of coloniality/postcoloniality. According to Catherine Walsh, Freya Schiwy and Santiago Castro-Gómez:

> The question of the power of knowledge and its links with the interests of capitalism and colonial history - the problem of the geopolitics of knowledge - is a topic that began to be discussed with great interest in Latin America at the end of the nineties (2002: 8).

Thus, this topic had been socialized in an important way to the extent that the impacts of neoliberal globalization were relevant aspects of the analysis of critical thinking.

For example, Enrique Lander points out that globalization was a phenomenon hegemonized by the Eurocentric and West-

ern worldview and that it expressed *the coloniality of knowledge*, that is, "the character of the knowledge of the social sciences and humanities that, in addition to being Eurocentric, is articulated with forms of colonial and neocolonial domination, and that plays a central role in the present imperial/neocolonial domination" (1999: 12). Therefore, the globalization process was characterized "by the hegemony of the liberal worldview that naturalizes its model of life not only as the only desirable one, but also as the only possible one" and resulted in a 'serious threat to the rich heritage of cultural resources' and knowledge of aboriginal peoples, peasants and other populations that have not yet been fully colonized by the West", as well as making it clear that the "Western civilization model" was unsustainable given that, among other aspects, it systematically undermined all potential alternative cultural sources" (1999: 28-29).

Likewise, it is necessary to point out that these authors collected and were indebted to an entire rich tradition of Latin American thought and discussion that, at least since the second half of the 20th century, sought a true liberation from the domination of the center (in the sense that the peoples of the region can truly build their own destiny free from the impositions and dictates of the global north). As Arturo Escobar summarizes, they were indebted to all the contributions of

> Liberation Theology since the sixties and seventies; the debates in Latin American philosophy and social science on notions such as philosophy of liberation and an autonomous social science (eg, Enrique Dussel, Rodolfo Kusch, Orlando Fals Borda, Pablo Gonzáles Casanova, Darcy Ribeiro); dependency theory; the debates in Latin America on modernity and postmodernity in the eighties, followed by discussions on hybridity in anthropology, communication and cultural studies in the nineties; and, in the United States, the Latin American group of subaltern studies (2003: 53).

In the same way, they collect the contributions of the so-called Gulbenkian Report of 1996, which after analyzing the incidence of Eurocentrism and capitalism in the construction of analytical models of the social sciences, pointed out the importance of opening this field, as well as that of the humanities to interdisciplinary studies:

> To the suggestion of the Gulbenkian report to open the social sciences towards interdisciplinary dialogue and cultural studies, was added the need to decolonize the hierarchical relationship between the subjects and objects of academic study, to question not only the perspectives and contexts of study but the methodologies themselves (...) In Latin America, this power [the hegemony of the center] is exercised, in part, through the coloniality of power, marking ethnic-racial differences as incommensurable. The modern/colonial burden of the social and human sciences, their immanent teleologies propose a single path of development that follows the European model and place alternative projects on time scales of backwardness to modernity. At the same time, the rationality, superiority and normality of certain groups of knowledge and the subalternity of others are established. The social sciences are constituted in this space of modern/colonial power, in the ideological knowledge generated by it and in the truths, methodologies and epistemological assumptions disembodied and decontextualized from the current Latin American reality (Walsh, Schiwy and Castro-Gómez, 2002 : 10-13).

However, the person who specifically begins to socialize the concept of Geopolitics of knowledge to synthesize these approaches is Walter Mignolo. Already in 1998, Mignolo points out that colonial/modern epistemology supported the belief that European culture was the culmination or arrival point of an ascending universal history. Therefore, the colonial and imperial expansion

understood as western expansion that began around 1450 was not only economic and religious, but also educational and intellectual. In this sense,

> educators, technology and theories and strong and sustainable knowledge were produced in Europe, first, and later in the United States. The knowledge produced in the colonies or in the areas regulated by imperial designs (...) was not considered part of the universal knowledge, produced by humanity" (2005: 9,10), and in 2000 he specified that "Latin America, It is actually part of the geopolitical process today described as modernity/coloniality (Mignolo, 2000: 127).

By this he meant, as he explained to Catherine Walsh:

> that 'Latin America' is a consequence and a product of the geopolitics of knowledge, that is, of the geopolitical knowledge manufactured and imposed by 'modernity', in its self-definition as modernity. In this sense, 'Latin America' was manufactured as something displaced from modernity, a displacement that Latin American intellectuals and statesmen assumed and strove to become 'modern' as if 'modernity' were a point of arrival and not the justification of the coloniality of power (as cited in Walsh, 2002: 18).

In summary, these approaches indicated that, firstly, in the current times of so-called neoliberal globalization, Latin America continued to be colonized, and therefore dominated by the center, through the hegemony of Eurocentric-Western-centric thought and, secondly, if the peoples and ethnic groups of the region really wanted to free themselves from this domination and build their own future, they had to become aware and study this reality in order to create a true decolonization of knowledge.

Likewise, these debates emphasized that the Geopolitics of knowledge of power (or the center) operated in the region through higher education institutions and universities that, particularly in the social sciences and humanities, mostly reproduced Western-centric epistemological perspectives and theories. mechanically and uncritically. In this way, they fulfilled a determining role to sustain and maintain control and dominance over the peripheries. Therefore, it was necessary to create our own knowledge, for which it was important, among other aspects, to recover and highlight the knowledge of the native peoples that had been persecuted, hidden and subalternized by the hegemony of Eurocentric thought:

> The current disciplinary structures of Latin American universities, with their bureaucratic division of knowledge (...) tend to accentuate the naturalization and scientificization of the worldview and the liberal/Western organization of the world, thus operating as effective instruments of intellectual colonialism (...) within of each discipline, students are socialized in the practice of a 'normal science' that deals with its part of reality and does not have to question the meaning of the whole (Lander, 2000: 43).

In this regard, Marcela Mollis, reflecting on how the Geopolitics of power operates in times of neoliberal globalization, will point out:

> Given that power relations are recreated within university institutions, our concern regarding the reflection that social sciences must raise is the following: to what extent are these new power relations compatible with the democratic values that characterized Latin American university institutions? (2006: 86).

In summary, these debates, which emphasize that the power and dominance of the center - today identified as the global North

- over the peripheries - in our case Latin America and the Caribbean - is maintained and reproduced, in an important way, by the hegemony of his Western-centric thought and epistemology. Furthermore, this hegemony finds in the academic institutions of the region a determining space for its viability. This phenomenon is what the concept of Geopolitics of knowledge seeks to express.

Finally, it should be added that, so far in this 21st century, the issue of "decolonizing thought", the need to generate one's own thought, the need to highlight and recover the thought and forms of knowledge of indigenous peoples, Afro- Americans and all thought subalterned by the hegemony of Eurocentrism, the criticism of how a formal university academic system operates controlled by guidelines and criteria of the global north (including the system of "scientific" publications and the classification of universities in rankings generated in *the* center); Among other aspects, it has been developing with increasing strength in the social sciences and humanities of the region and in conversations with the thinking of other peripheries (Africa and Asia) that make up the global South, as well as with critical academics and intellectuals from the global North, through the growing strengthening of academic networks.

Connections

Theories and Theoretical Approaches: Decolonial Studies in International Studies

Concepts: Coloniality of power, Geobiohumanism

Figures: Aníbal Quijano, Arturo Escobar, Enrique Domingo Dussel Ambrosini, Fernando Estenssoro Saavedra, Santiago Castro-Gómez, Walter Mignolo

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Globalization / Worldization

Mario Rapoport

At the end of the 1960s, Marshall McLuhan mentioned for the first time the "global village", the world transformed into a large globalized "village" or "community" through the new media and, in particular, television. In the following decade, the communications revolution, with the use of satellites and the appearance of computing, created audiovisual, interactive networks, databases, etc., which, multiplied by the spread of the Internet, allowed men "surf" oceans of information from one side of the globe to the other without leaving their computers. The world is transformed into a spectacle where "virtual" reality surpasses reality itself (McLuhan and Fiore, 1968). President Jimmy Carter's security advisor, Zbigniew Brzezinski (1970, 2005), in widely circulated books, preferred to speak of a "global city", whose meaning seemed to him more adapted to that of international society than that of "village", which It has more communal connotations. For him, the United States thus becomes the first global society in history. Brzezinski's concepts were more linked to the geopolitics of the "Cold War" than to a purely economic or technological meaning. Unlike North American society, the communist world was incapable of absorbing these new technologies (bureaucratic centralization created an irrationality in the use of resources that did not exist in capitalist economies, which would later con-

tradict the evolution of Chinese society). It is, however, academic journals linked to the world of business or administration such as the *Harvard Business Review* or authors from that discipline, such as Keiniche Ohmae (1985), who popularized the new meaning of the concept of globalization in the 1980s.

In Latin America, the Brazilian Octavio Ianni provides other definitions to address this issue: "global factory", "spaceship" or "new Babel" (Ianni, 1996). The Argentine economist Marta Bekerman points out that economic globalization can be understood as a growing interaction or interdependence between different nations through the expansion of the movement of goods and services. This process has been accelerated by the growing role of international organizations in investment and trade and by the impact of technological innovations. International trade and especially foreign direct investment and the notable increase in financial flows derived from its deregulation show a rate of expansion that far exceeds the growth of the world's gross product (Bekerman, 1995).

On the other hand, Raúl Bernal-Meza prefers to use the concept of "globalization" rather than globalization, like many European and peripheral theorists. The difference is that the first is broader, does not have the ideological connotations of the second and gives the vision of a world linked by a dominant mode of production, global capitalism. Accumulation exists as globalized accumulation in this current stage of expansion and crisis of capitalism, with the transnational corporation being the ordering and dominant actor of productive and financial activities (Bernal-Meza, 1994; 1997).

Although technological transformations are decisive factors for the formation of "global" markets (financial, commercial, productive and services) in a world dominated by market economies, this was accentuated from a geopolitical point of view when ideological barriers They fell with the collapse of the Soviet bloc and when Nation States began to look obsolete in the face of the advance of

globalization and the constitution of regional economic blocs. But the world crisis showed the fragility of the system, the globalization process began to crack, China emerged as a new world power and the hegemony of the United States was challenged.

Historically, the vision of a "globalized" world raises different dilemmas that we will try to synthesize.

The first question refers to the historical "depth" of the phenomenon. Is it a recent process, from the last 40 or 50 years, whose origin is found in the emergence of new technological and economic paradigms that irremediably drive the reunification of modern societies, or is it just a moment in a secular trend that has centuries of existence?

Since the 16th century, the articulation of a first world market or first world economic order with the rise of nascent capitalism were closely linked to the formation of European nations and the action of states under mercantilism, not to mention the conquest of America. and colonial expansion, something Immanuel Wallerstein called "world economy." From the middle of the 19th century until the First World War (under the sign of the gold standard and the "pax britannica"), the evolution of capitalism was characterized by the permanent action of states both within each country and within the international economic relations (colonialism, protectionism of emerging powers, imperialism). The novelty of the current period lies in the impulse given by a new type of globalized companies that rely on technologies and forms of organization that overcome the rigid Fordist paradigm and are located according to the competitiveness conditions of the various economic spaces. This produces a deterritorialization of capital (production of different parts in different countries or regions), a process that is carried out by eroding national spaces and with a certain autonomy from the action of the states.

The use of new technologies and forms of production organization is thus generalized in a scenario in which the export of capital

recreates, in parallel, traditional forms of production not only in peripheral countries, where low labor costs continue to have an impact. fundamental, but also in the central countries themselves, in which the flexibility of labor relations does not rest exclusively on the requirements of advanced techniques but also on the intensification of work rhythms and precarious forms of employment. All of this reformulates the international division of labor between the different regions of the world in a process that reinforces already existing asymmetries and the technological monopoly of developed countries.

To this approach must be added the predominance of financial capital that sustains capital movements worldwide and the oligopolistic structures of multinational companies. Thus, since the early '90s we have witnessed a true "international speculation economy," which has multiplied the importance of derivatives markets and the expansion of tax havens. The growing divorce between the values negotiated in the markets and the productive economic process has constituted what some authors call a "debt economy" and for others, such as Keynes, a "casino economy", in a permanent 'flight forward'. Financial instability has engendered a growing 'systemic risk', that is, a risk of almost permanent global instability (Rapoport, 1997). On the other hand, the consequences that globalization is generating in the social fabric and in the balance of natural resources for future generations leads to the marginalization of vast social sectors and endangers sustainable human development (Piketty, 2010).

In Latin America, Aldo Ferrer historically studied the globalization process in extensive and documented books. Ferrer adds to the fact of being a great economist and economic historian with a national thought, that of also being a great historian. From his analysis two principles are deduced that run through all of his work. Firstly, it warns that this process of globalization or globalization is not recent, it is more than five centuries old, and Latin

American development itself must be understood within its dynamics and lines of force. Secondly, it points out that each country has its own natural and human resources; different cultures, structures and institutions, which make up their national identities, whose degree of awareness and vigor determines the type of insertion, more or less successful, in the world economy and politics. With globalization, the main dilemma that the countries of our subcontinent must resolve lies, for him, in recognizing that the push for their development will not come through the short and narrow path of valuing natural resources, that is, from a primarization of their economies that plunged them into backwardness and made them totally dependent on world markets and, especially, on the great powers (Ferrer, 1997; 2012; 2013).

The possibilities presented by regionalization and regional integration processes as a response to the weakening of the periphery have been a hope for the countries of Latin America and do not respond only to the globalization process but to common histories. Edmundo Heredia points out that the region, as an idea of a singular common space, beyond nations, has to calibrate itself against the phenomenon of globalization. Regionalization places us in a different dimension of foreign policies that seek to defend national interests in their confrontation with others. Instead, it is a shared will to seek the improvement of regional conditions based on common spaces and overcoming the problems that impede their well-being (Heredia, 1997; Cervo and Rapoport, 2002).

Regarding the scope of the globalization process on the world of ideas, we must take into account that globalization is not only a process but also an ideology, neoliberalism (Bernal-Meza, 1996; Rapoport and Brenta, 2010). According to Grüner, neoliberal ideology is based on some principles that have already been refuted theoretically and by reality, such as the end of history, the end of great stories, the end of ideologies (Grüner, 1999). There is also an ideological homogenization, a unique way of seeing the world

and acting on it from different factors of power, international and national, and through the formidable role of audiovisual and computer media, which decisively influences the behavior of men and societies.

To place these questions again in a historical context, it would be appropriate to return, finally, to the world situation: have we emerged from a phase of human history of the rise and fall of various empires, with their aftermath of wars and tragic conflicts and Is it now moving towards the configuration of a "world government", as the first theorists of globalization suggested? Or, on the contrary, is it nothing more than a new order (or international disorder) with its web of complex and asymmetrical interdependencies, which does not spare the inhabitants of the world the existence of new or classic conflicts and wars between human communities of different types, including nation-states? Without a doubt, both from an economic and political point of view, these questions already have their answers. The repeated world crises, the war between Russia and Ukraine and the technological and commercial competition between the United States and China, attest to this (Moniz Bandeira, 2022).

Connections

Theories and theoretical approaches: Dependency, Latin American structuralism

Schools of thought and Networks: Brazil Great Power School, School of Brasilia, Socioeconomic and historical school of international relations, Latin American thought on international and world relations, South (global)

Concepts: Heterodox autonomy, Center-Periphery, Subregional integration

Figures: Aldo Ferrer, Amado Luiz Cervo, Luciano Tomassini, Luiz

Alberto Moniz Bandeira, Mario Rapoport, Octavio Ianni, Raúl Bernal-Meza, Raúl Prebisch

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International identity

Maria Elena Lorenzini

The concept "International identity" of a nation-state has been treated in a relevant way in Latin America by Celso Lafer. Lafer writes his most important work in this regard, *The International Identity of Brazil*, in the context of the 9/11 attacks of 2001, to which he assigns a impact on the future of international politics and Brazil's foreign policy.

Firstly, Lafer (2002) warns that identity is a problematic term because it must be distinguished from otherness, difference and equality. He defines identity "as a more or less ordered set of predicates through which the question is answered: who are you?" The answer to this question at the collective level is complex, a situation that is reflected in Lafer's own ambivalence when using, as if they were interchangeable, the concepts of "Identity" and "International Identity." Lafer begins his work referring to "Identity" but as the reading progresses, the references to International Identity are noticed without any clarification about the similarities and/or differences between both concepts. Another critical point is related to the breadth and degree of generalization of the concept of Identity. The attentive reader quickly notices that its elaboration is limited to the case of Brazil and, therefore, it is not a "generalizable" concept.

In his approach he draws on the contributions of Michelangelo Bovero to affirm that the process of identity construction is guid-

ed by a common interest. In this case, it is about the interests of the state and Brazilian society in the management of international affairs, a situation that arises in accordance with the concept of foreign policy proposed by Lafer (2002: 21): "translating internal needs into possibilities." "external relations to expand the power of control of a society over its destiny" taking into consideration that the differences between the domestic and the international are increasingly diffuse, as interdependence theorists had warned in the 1970s. He adds that one of the roles that corresponds to the state in the management of foreign policy is "intermediation" or articulation inwards -domestic policies- and outwards -foreign policy-. Thus, the state develops external intermediation based on "a vision of collective identity, of a we that points out specificities" among which are "geographical location in the world, historical experience, language code and culture, levels of development and social stratification" (Lafer, 2002: 23-24).

Furthermore, Lafer takes into account the deep forces, concept and methodology of approach to the study of changes and continuities in the behavior of actors, developed by Pierre Renouvin and Jean Baptiste Duroselle. Specifically, he highlights the importance of persistence factors in the identity configuration process since they function as a demarcation criterion that allows the vision and interests of an actor to be differentiated in terms compared to other actors.

The elements that Lafer puts into play in the definition are the self-perception of a collective actor such as the nation-state; the relationship between "I" and the "others"; the collective interests that the state seeks to achieve; and the persistence factors or lines of continuity in the historical trajectory of its foreign policies. In the aforementioned work, self-perception and persistence factors overlap since Lafer maintains that both are reflected in the vision of Brazil as an actor of continental dimensions - also known as a middle power -; in the role and diplomatic legacy of the Baron of

Rio Branco; in the stability and permanence of a key institution in the conduct of international affairs, such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and in the commitment to the creation of a normative framework through the exercise of multilateralism -as an instrument of participation in the elaboration of the norms and rules of the international order-.

On the relational level of identity, the neighboring states appear, as well as the configuration and delimitation of South America as the space of action that Brazil aspires to lead. Clearly, the process of constructing the identity of a state is carried out by differentiation from those diverse "others" that appear here as the contiguous states, the regional environment and the most powerful actors in the international system. And, it is on this basis that Lafer maintains that being "another West" is one of the elements that also shapes Brazil's International identity.

Regarding collective interests, the author places a strong emphasis on the issue of development, nationalism that began in 1930 with the processes of urbanization, continued with the search for industrialization, political re-democratization and diversification. of international political and economic relations -, the expansion of the margins of maneuver and the search for a "controlled" international insertion - through alliances of variable geometry in a world of indefinite polarities - (Lafer, 2002).

In short, for Lafer, Identity is what allows a state to define itself as an "us" distinguishable from the multiple "others." Likewise, it is what allows us to express a perception and a vision of the world in which such actors deploy all of their interactions. Now, the concept of Identity has been profusely debated, problematized and worked on by various currents, mostly reflectivist, in international relations theories.

Connections

Schools of thought and Networks: School of Brasilia, Brazil Great Power School
Concepts: Latin American system
Figures: Celso Lafer, Samuel Pinheiro Guimarães

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Imperialism

Carlos Eduardo Vidigal

One of the most intriguing effects of the recent process of globalization -and of its ideology, or neoliberalism- was the partial victory of the end of "Imperialism" and interpretations based on its obsolescence. For Atílio Borón, the existence of "an innocuous and harmless empire" has happened precisely when globalization produces a radical aggravation of its traditional traits, potentiating its genocidal and predatory nature (Borón, 2002, passim; 2020: 313). Rethinking imperialism requires reviewing intellectuals and works that, from the second half of the 19th century, sought to unravel the forces that instructed imperialism, its methods of action and forms of control. The Latin American thought takes its own path, formed by the processes of emancipation, in the affirmation of sovereignty and in its relations with British and North American imperialisms. However, it dialogued closely with European thought, mainly with Marxist aspects, in a process of mutual influence.

José Martí was one of the first Latin American intellectuals to identify the emerging problems of colonialism and imperialism and provide alternatives to confront them. In *Our America* emphasized the need of the Latin American people, native and "creoles", to realize their own society, their values and aspirations, to then affirm themselves as an independent nation: "the colony contin-

ued to live in the republic; and our America is being saved from its great errors [...] by the superior virtue, paid with necessary blood, of the republic that fights against the colony" (Martí, 1891). Each Latin American society should better understand its own history and its formative elements, "to prioritize the reason of all over the things of all and not the university reason of some over the country reason of others." Martí was pragmatic and realistic when it came to international politics. It advocates an international balance between the United States and other countries, like England, and Latin American countries, in relation to those who work in favor of reciprocal understanding and integration (Sarracino, 2015: 4). He kept this position until his death, in 1895, because he knew that if the armed resistance and attack by Spanish forces was factual, this endorsement was not valid for the American presence in the Caribbean. He also believed in the possibility of some type of composition with Washington, in the sense of asserting Cuba's independence, which revealed a certain optimism when compared to other Latin American intellectuals.

One of the most illustrative cases was that of Manuel Ugarte, for whom imperialism was shaped both by the British presence and by the relations between Latin American countries and the United States. It was not, however, about rejecting or sharing dialogue with the North American people. Ugarte admired the United States, but placed the legitimate defence of his nationality above any sympathies, and the north american, with his customary patriotism, could not be surprised that the Latin American was also patriotic. This was the banner that led him to visit several Latin American countries between 1910 and 1913, lecturing on the balkanisation of Latin America and the need to promote autonomy and regional integration in the face of imperialism. He conceived imperialism as a tendency that led strong people to want to dominate weak people, both from an economic and political or military point of view (Ugarte, 2014 [1922]: 143).

An important aspect of Ugarte's thinking was the link between the sovereignty of Latin American nations and political economy in its broadest sense, addressing, for example, Mexico's dependence on oil, or the effects of imperialist mechanisms on national industry, as was the case in Argentina. Trade with Europeans and Americans reinforced his conviction about the misunderstanding of the debate between protectionism and free trade, since in the region protectionism was applied to foreign industry and prohibitionism to national industry (Ugarte, 2010 [1924]: 163). Ugarte found elements that would permeate the regional debate on imperialism from the 1920s onwards: national independence, regional unity, democracy, industrialisation (development).

José Carlos Mariátegui warned that the economic condition of Latin American countries was that of semi-colonial countries and that as capitalism developed in each country, linked to imperialist forces, this character of their economies would be reinforced. He attached great importance to internal political conditions and the role played by the bourgeoisie: as long as imperialist policy managed to manipulate the sovereignty of these states, the national bourgeoisies would continue to collaborate with imperialist strategies. In his texts, Mariátegui stressed the need to understand the socio-economic formations of the region, the historical trajectory of the original populations, the presence of the Catholic Church, proletarianisation and the poverty of wages, etc. In this respect, 'the socialist doctrine is the only one that can give a modern, constructive meaning to the indigenous cause, which [...] counts on the will and discipline of a class that is now emerging in our historical process: the proletariat' (Mariátegui, 2005: 158). Although Mariátegui sought to learn about and incorporate the European Marxist debate into the Latin American political struggle, the influence of Marxism was often more diffuse.

Haya de la Torre proposed a 'dialectical negation' of Marxism, which did not mean a break with it, but rather its overcoming and

adaptation to Latin American socio-political, economic and cultural conditions. He saw US imperialism as a determining factor in the situation of dependence, poverty and misery in the region. Haya saw, alongside the negative aspect of imperialism, that of domination, another aspect, of a positive nature, in that it opened up spaces for progress and development. In this sense, through domestic politics, including winning a legislative majority, it would be possible to restrict the negative influence of international constraints and channel economic forces in favour of society. To do this, it was necessary to build a broad political front, including not only the labour movement, which was small in Peruvian society, but also indigenous and non-indigenous peasants, middle social sectors, the petty bourgeoisie and intellectuals. In this sense, the American People's Revolutionary Alliance (APRA), founded at the end of 1925, was the expression of Latin American social democracy and not of a communist or socialist party.

The struggle against imperialism, in favour of the economic and political emancipation of Latin American countries, permeated the works of Martí, Ugarte, Mariátegui, Haya de la Torre, among many others. Their concepts became essential references for intellectuals and political leaders who worked in defence of autonomy, regional integration and socio-economic development in the broadest sense. They would be joined after the Second World War by many other intellectuals who, under different theoretical and methodological inspirations, would present renewed criticisms of imperialism and its mechanisms of domination.

The war marked the consolidation of US hegemony in Latin America and its strengthening in Europe, in the midst of the process of building its global hegemony. The economic system set up in Bretton Woods, the political engineering of San Francisco and the rules applied to the Organisation of American States were among its main instruments. The creation of the Economic Commission for America (CEPAL), amid opposition from Washington,

represented one of the breakthroughs in the debate on issues relevant to Latin America, albeit within the framework of capitalism. Raúl Prebish innovated in his critique of neoclassical economic thinking, demonstrated the existence of two simultaneously antagonistic and complementary spheres in the world economy - centre and periphery - and identified the root of international disparities in trade relations between primary-exporting countries and industrialised countries (Love, 1998: 189). Celso Furtado considered the hegemony exercised by the United States, whose policies reinforced anachronistic power structures, to be a serious obstacle to the region's development and an essential element in overcoming poverty. In Latin America, development required regional integration and the recovery of the national state as the basic decision-making centre, without which the disarticulation of national economies would worsen (Furtado, 1973: 86). Furtadian political autonomy was in line with the interpretations of Juan Carlos Puig and Hélio Jaguaribe, as noted by Briceño Ruiz and Simonoff (2015).

On the Marxist side, we can mention, among other important contributions, the growing presence of Antonio Gramsci's thinking and the influence of the Cuban Revolution and Ernesto 'Che' Guevara on the debate on imperialism. Guevara, whose image rivalled that of Fidel Castro, Camilo Cienfuegos and other leaders of the Cuban Revolution, was one of the most committed to theorising and disseminating the revolutionary experience of the Caribbean country, directing special criticism at US imperialism. Imperialism's main fields of action were the three underdeveloped continents - Latin America, Asia and Africa - which, although they differed from one another, also comprised a unity, structured around the domination of the United States.

Latin America was a more or less homogenous group of countries and most of its territories were monopolised by US capital, an absolute supremacy. The US slogan 'We will not allow another

Cuba' showed that the path chosen by Fidel Castro, if applied to other countries, could create an unavoidable situation for Washington and allow the victory of socialism (Guevara, 1971). War and guerrilla warfare against the United States and its allies was the instrument for liberation, different to what Gramsci had advocated in the 1920s, when he sought a democratic path to socialism. Gramsci renewed the vocabulary of Latin American social scientists, introducing terms such as hegemony, historical bloc, organic intellectuals, organic crisis, passive revolution, war of positions, movement, civil society and political society. Imperialism was dealt with in his thinking under the concept of hegemony, conceived as a movement that affects the entire social construction of reality and recomposes the role of social subjects (Aricó, 2014: 112). The revolutionary struggle implied the fight against hegemony in all its dimensions: economic, social, political and cultural/ideological.

In the second half of the 20th century, it is worth highlighting the contributions of Theotonio dos Santos, Ruy Mauro Marini and Samuel Pinheiro Guimarães, the first two within the framework of Dependency Theory and the latter from a geopolitical perspective, with their emphasis on the place occupied and to be occupied by Brazil in the international system, in relation to the great powers.

Theotonio dos Santos observed that contemporary imperialism, under the influence of the United States and the large multinational corporations, went hand in hand with a new international division of labour, dissociated from a manufacturing centre and a periphery supplying raw materials. For Santos, an academic trend was advancing which sought to demonstrate that Latin America's fundamental problems (marginality, economic stagnation, the limits of development, the preservation of a backward agrarian structure, etc) were presented within the process of capitalist industrialisation. Thus, faced with the industrial growth of the region in the 1930s and the protectionist measures taken by

the governments of the time, imperialism turned to the manufacturing sector, integrated itself into the modern economy and came to dominate the industrial capitalist sector of these economies (1968). Imperialism and dependency then became two associated concepts.

For Ruy Mauro Marini, while the theory of imperialis explained the behaviour of the central powers, the theory of sub-imperialism alluded to the form that the dependent economy took when it reached the stage of monopolies and financial capital. In his interpretation, the latter explained the growth of the middle centres, such as Brazil, as a result of global capitalist expansion, which, by transferring capital, means of production and technology to the periphery, involuntarily provoked its relative development and the accumulation of economic capacities in the more industrialised centres, such as Brazil. In this way, the industrial bourgeoisie abandoned any development project in order to accept its subordination to the US bourgeoisie and undertake, in association with it, the expansion of the region and the conquest of new markets. The organiser of this process was the State, whose autonomy allowed it to bring together the representation of the dominant classes as a whole and strike a balance between the common interests within it. Ideological and doctrinal formulations, goals and projects, as well as the adoption of strategic and tactical lines of action, were fundamental to the State's role as organiser.

Therefore, the relations between the sub-imperial countries and the great international powers acquire relevance, as much as that through them, considered by Marini as antagonistic collaboration, constituted by simultaneous ties of collaboration, competition and conflict (Marini, 1977).

Pinheiro Guimarães, for his part, defends imperialism as the exercise of power, the ability of one State to impose itself on another through persuasion, pressure, threat or force, with the aim of modifying its behaviour, organisation or programme of action.

The ultimate aim is to increase the political and military power of the imperialist state and the economic well-being of its hegemonic elites. In his interpretation, this is a constitutive phenomenon of the process that began with the conquest of America; therefore, relations between the majority of states have never been democratic and a democratic world government is impossible, due not only to the enormous asymmetries between states, but also to the centuries-old policies of the great powers, aimed at subjugating the peripheral states, descendants of the former colonies. In short, the current asymmetries between States are the result of different material circumstances, their historical evolution and the actions of imperialist powers (Guimarães, 2013).

At the end of the 20th century, faced with the advance of neoliberal globalisation, the belief in a world without borders and the 'end of history', imperialism was revisited by various intellectuals and continues to be debated today. Authors such as Atilio Borón question the emergence of an Empire (Hardt and Negri, 2000), in which states lose their leading role to sustain the role of the great powers and their imperialist policies based on territorial control (2002). For Borón, in the early decades of the 21st century we are living through a very special moment in the history of imperialism, with contours that are only just being delineated, but whose general lines are already clearly distinguishable. An increasingly regressive capitalism in social, economic, political and cultural terms is willing to criminalise reformist social movements or protests, based on the primacy of force. Only a precise diagnosis of the structure and functioning of the international imperialist system, including the rise of Asian countries in recent decades, can provide elements for the actions of social movements, trade unions and social organisations of all kinds (Borón, 2020: 329).

Whether as a study of imperialism or hegemony, an auspicious path is to revisit Latin American classics such as those mentioned above. Has capitalism in its current phase surpassed and rendered

obsolete ideas such as the need for Latin American countries to get to know their own society, its values and aspirations; to promote autonomy and integration; to seek a majority in the legislature and to restrict international constraints? We don't think so. Whether in domestic or international politics, it is urgent to confront what Carlos Nelson Coutinho (2010: 30) called the hegemony of small politics, in favour of what Gramsci called 'big politics'. Overcoming partial and everyday issues (day-to-day politics, parliamentary politics focused on secondary issues, corridors, intrigues), in favour of issues linked to the subaltern classes, economic and social structures, and interstate conflicts. Understanding the structures of domination, hegemony, as mechanisms used by the dominant classes to articulate the different forms of social production for their own benefit and to contain the counter-hegemonic practices of the subaltern classes (Acanda, 2017: 135).

Latin American thought is essential for understanding imperialism as it has appeared in Latin American history and as it appears to us today. At the beginning of the 21st century, the debate on the subject must be revived in the face of the unlimited expansion of capitalism and its ideology, neoliberalism. The changes that have taken place since the last decades of the 20th century indicate the presence of not one, but a few historical forms of imperialism, which should be included in reflections on the new mechanisms of domination.

Connections

Theories and Theoretical Approaches: Dependence
Concepts: Autonomy, Center-Periphery, Great Homeland
Figures: Atilio Borón, Celso Furtado, Manuel Ugarte, Raúl Haya de la Torre, Raúl Prebish, Ruy Mauro Marini, Theotonio dos Santos

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Open integration

Silvia T. Álvarez

"Open integration" refers to a type of economic linkage strategy carried out by a country or economic region to facilitate the international exchange of goods or services and coordinate trade policies between regions. In a strict sense, it implies trade openness and customs liberalization, but it acquires different meanings depending on the conceptions of geographical axes of linkage, conception of the economy and the role of the state.

The concept of Open Integration is developed within the framework of a trajectory of thought that, towards the '90s, is distinguished by the perception of a global order governed by economic liberalism, technological production and democracy as shared universal values (Bernal -Meza, 2018: 18). In this context, the economy takes center stage, while the role of politics and the function of borders are relativized in a world that, on the one hand, is presented as a cooperative space and, on the other, as a space of confrontation between economic interests. conveyed through regional blocks with different modalities of cooperation and/or integration.

On the American continent, and under the influence of the hegemony acquired by the Washington Consensus, having as a background the economic cooperation between the Asia-Pacific countries since the 1950s (Briceño Ruiz, 2018: 71) and the discussions

which gave rise to the creation of the Asia Pacific Cooperation Forum (APEC) in 1989, Open Integration is configured through two models: on the one hand, the "Axis of open integration" (Briceño Ruiz, 2013), "New regionalism " (Bouzas, 2005) or "Open Regionalism" and, on the other, "the Open Regionalism of CEPAL" (Briceño Ruiz, 2013) also called "New Latin American Regionalism" (Bernal-Meza, 2005: 159) or associated with a "Strategic regionalism" (Briceño Ruiz, 2011: 19 et seq., Bizzozero, 2011: 34-35).

The "Axis of open integration" has its clearest realization in the Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). This Treaty (1992), promoted by the United States, constitutes a form of North-South integration and is presented as a free trade zone between this country, Canada and Mexico, whose objective is to promote the creation of a preferential commercial space (regulation of sectors such as intellectual property, government procurement, environmental standards and labor provisions related to trade), a preliminary step to global opening. It is characterized by its low degree of institutionality, given by flexible government mechanisms associated with the decoupling of public policies from the states and, therefore, issues related to social economic development are considered to fall within the dimension of internal politics (Mellado, 2013: 143).

Unlike the model corresponding to the "Open Integration Axis", the proposal of the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (CEPAL) is expressed in what it calls "Open Regionalism" and consists of customs unions with low levels of external protection whose purpose is to improve international competitiveness through Productive Transformation with Equity (TPE). As Juan A. Fuentes points out, in the early '90s, "a series of bilateral agreements and a new subregional agreement such as the Southern Common Market (MERCOSUR), mark the beginning of a new stage of integration" (1994: 89). of which other integration experiences will be part.

In principle, this Regionalism, which recognizes the influence of NAFTA, represents the overcoming of an era, the 1980s, which CEPAL described as a "lost decade" due to "the magnitude of the setback in terms of development" (1990: 11) and constitutes, fundamentally, a reworking of the principles proposed in its founding stage, mainly that of the '50s and '60s. At that time, based on the Theory of the deterioration of the terms of trade between the Center (producer of raw materials) and the Periphery (supplier of raw materials), Raúl Prebisch postulated that regional integration (Latin American common market) based on industrialization, had to lead to the overcoming of structural weaknesses and the limitation of national markets and, therefore, it was necessary to expand industrial planning on a regional scale to eliminate barriers to reciprocal trade, maintaining various levels of external protection (Prebisch, 1971: 92 et seq.; Deciancio, 2016: 98-99). Open Regionalism, in the reworking of such principles, takes up the centrality of industrialization associated with a productive transformation, but distances itself by proposing the replacement of a closed integration model with another of an open nature.

Among the theorists who influence the formulation of Open Regionalism, enrolled in Neostructuralism, are, among others, Ricardo French Davis, Nora Lustig, Sergio Bitar, Osvaldo Sunkel, Gustavo Zuleta and Fernando Fajnzylber Waissbluth, who was central in the relative proposal to development with equity (Briceño Ruiz, 2018: 74). The proposals of this Regionalism, for their part, are reflected, mainly, in various documents prepared by CEPAL, such as *Productive Transformation with Equity* (1990), *Sustainable development: productive transformation, equity and the environment* (1991) and *Open Regionalism* (1994).

For CEPAL, the difference between open regionalism, commercial opening and the non-discriminatory promotion of exports is given by integration agreements and reinforced by the geograph-

ical proximity and cultural affinity of the countries of the region (1994: 13). Although it is understood as a defense mechanism against the effects of possible protectionist pressures in extra-regional markets, it fundamentally consists of:

> a process of growing economic interdependence at the regional level, driven both by preferential integration agreements and by other policies in a context of openness and deregulation, with the aim of increasing the competitiveness of the countries of the region and of constituting, as far as possible, a foundation for a more open and transparent international economy (CEPAL, 1994: 8).

In this Regionalism, from the TPE, a conception of integration is proposed as a means of realizing a development model that simultaneously promotes growth and social equity (CEPAL, 1990: 11). This implies, on the one hand, the horizontal expansion of aggregate demand that means the integration of markets and, on the other, the vertical expansion of demand, derived from social integration within each country (CEPAL, 1994: 10). It is about "growing, improving income distribution, consolidating democratizing processes, acquiring greater autonomy, creating conditions that stop environmental deterioration and improving the quality of life of the entire population" (CEPAL, 1990: 11-14).

At the political level, integration, from such a proposal, means the realization of commitments directed

> to a gradual reduction of intraregional discrimination, to macroeconomic stabilization in each country, to the establishment of adequate payment and trade facilitation mechanisms, to the construction of infrastructure and to the harmonization or non-discriminatory application of trade norms, internal regulations and standards (CEPAL, 1994: 13).

Some authors maintain that Open Integration, under Open Regionalism (CEPAL), can be interpreted as an adaptive strategy to the new post-Cold War scenario and the globalization process, characterized by "liberal optimism" around wide-scale diffusion. global democracy and the free market, although this process would not be as harmonious as intended and would soon show its contradictions and limits (Sanahuja, 2016: 40). Other authors have valued the search to overcome integration models associated with an indiscriminate opening, uncritical of neoliberalism (Briceño Ruiz, 2001: 43). There are also analytical perspectives that have considered it a trade opening without preferences, making this the main objective, where regional integration would only be a consequence of that (Quintero Rizzuto and Prada Álvarez, 2019: 110). In similar terms, it has been argued that the proposal for productive transformation has been diluted in an interdependence driven basically by market signals derived from trade liberalization lacking a real proposal for integration (Guerra-Borges, 1999: 16). From other readings, the importance of the proposal for productive transformation with equity is recognized, although behind it the market was privileged over politics and the latter was emptied, expressed in the limited prominence of institutions and proposals. integration of a social, political or environmental nature (Gudynas, 2005: 1-3). It should be noted, finally, that this open Regionalism, even with a transformative proposal based on production with equity, would remain conditioned in the '90s by the neoliberal postulates that would dominate government policies, from where, moreover, the principles of state sovereignty took precedence. In this sense, although legal sovereignty was presented as the starting point of Open Integration, although legal sovereignty was presented as the starting point of Open Integration, in the assumption of a world between equals of a Kantian order, Westphalian sovereignty, from the political-legal field, would also condition the realization of such integration (Álvarez, 2012).

Connections

Theories and theoretical approaches: Latin American structuralism, Latin American neostructuralism

Concepts: Center-Periphery, Bioceanic corridors, Deterioration of the terms of trade, Subregional integration, Integrationism, Latin American regionalisms, Knowledge and theories on regional integration in Latin America

Figures: Fernando Fajnzylber Waissbluth, José Briceño Ruiz, Lincoln Bizzozero, Nora Lustig, Osvaldo Sunkel, Raúl Bernal-Meza, Raúl Prebisch

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Intellectual integration

Eduardo Devés

The concept "Intellectual Integration" aims to express a process by which academies and intellectuals of various nationalities come together to carry out joint activities, in order to enhance regional intellectual work, as well as contribute to other dimensions of integration or collaboration between their peoples. This notion must be distinguished from the homonymous one, coined in areas of education, pedagogy, psychology where it refers to the process of integration between the various tasks of the brain or intellect.

An antecedent of the notion is found in South American and Spanish thought with "Hispano-Americanism" defined as "a doctrine that tends to the spiritual union of all Latin American peoples, including those of Portuguese language" (Oroz, 1999: 379). At the beginning of the 1960s, the American Union Society was created, motivated by threats and attacks on the independence of the South American peoples. This instance of collaboration and integration generated a discourse and an organization regarding the region as a whole, becoming a milestone for being one of the first initiatives of a supranational intellectual movement and, by the way, the one that brought together people of greatest recognition. Writing in 1862, José V. Lastarria, Domingo Santa María, Álvaro Covarrubias and Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna, as editors of

the *Collection of Essays and Documents relating to the Union and Confederation of the Hispanic American Peoples* :

> We can assure, constituting ourselves an echo of the Union-American Society, that the present work is nothing more than a modest ovation that the latter makes to the common cause of the great Hispanic-Latin nationality of the New World, in the solemn moments when one of Our sister republics (Mexico) dispute with the foreigner their most holy and essential principles of existence (AAVV, 1862: 8).

A new version of the desire for intellectual integrationism can be seen, at the beginning of the 20th century, in the work of José Enrique Rodó (1957: 1386-1387) when he calls for the "firm spiritual unity" of our peoples. In 1913, Rodó wrote to the Colombian Juan Ignacio Gálvez, who had invited him to participate in a project for the articulation of intellectualities:

> Since I became aware of the plan conceived by you, with the purpose of contributing to the moral and intellectual rapprochement of our people, I have given you my determined support. The exchange of books and newspapers between our republics, scarce and irregular as it is, nevertheless constitutes the only bond of union that has not allowed the consciousness of their spiritual unity to be completely lost. You think -and you think well- that, without prejudice to stimulating and regularizing that means of communication, it is necessary to complement it with personal visits, with the habit of traveling from one town to another, among representative men; and this part of the program that you have presented to us constitutes, in my opinion, the most interesting and effective thing in it. I have always believed in the need for this way of direct knowledge, and for that reason, I have mainly enthusiastically applauded initiatives such as those of the International Student Con-

> gresses, which have given rise to cordial, frank, expansive communication, between those who will be in the future , a part of the thought and will of the peoples to whose firm spiritual unity we aspire (1957: 1386-1387).

During the '60s and '70s, the notion of cultural "Integration" appeared, although without giving it greater theoretical density, but rather as a continuation of economic and political integration. In fact, several regional international organizations pointed to initiatives based on this, such as the Organization of American States (OAS), the Andean Pact and more specifically the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) and the Andrés Bello Agreement (CAB), imagined for this purpose. The CAB, created in 1970 and reformed in 1990, has been defined as "an intergovernmental organization of educational, scientific, technological and cultural integration in the Ibero-American sphere", which "has as its mission the strengthening of integration processes and the configuration and development of a common cultural space" (cited in Fernández 2004: 32). Felipe Herrera, perhaps the most important promoter of integration in those years, emphasized the cultural dimension of this, on the one hand, part of the macro process and, on the other, the necessity for it to reach a successful conclusion. His reflections allude to the Bolivarian heritage as a plethora of figures from the first republican decades who would have marked a course, which the regional culture had to both recognize and continue. To this end, he considered it a decisive step on this path that education and culture assumed this hinted at and unfinished project (1969).

Since the last decades of the 20th century, cultural integration has been associated, in addition to the previous elements, with the "development of cultural industries." Néstor García Canclini (2001: s/p) has highlighted the need for legislation on cultural industries that can "articulate national measures with supranational agreements, especially in the circuits of countries with which

we have strategic sociocultural relations." This, taking into account that:

> The public and citizen spheres are now developed with a transnational horizon, supranational organizations (UNESCO, IDB, OAS, Andrés Bello Agreement, SELA, MERCOSUR) can play a decisive role so that commercial interactions are related to other social and cultural interactions. where the quality of life is managed and that are not reducible to the market, such as human rights, scientific and aesthetic innovation , social participation, the presentation of natural and social heritage, the claims of majorities and minorities (2000: 91).

Another line of thought, closer to intellectual integration itself, comes from those who operate in academic or scientific management, trying to conceive management on the part of the state apparatus as well as the academic, university and cultural networks and institutions themselves in a self-managed manner. Bernardo Subercaseaux highlights the importance of the intellectual and cultural integration of Latin America (1997) and argues that:

> The *boom* of Latin American narrative, whose fullest stage occurred between 1965 and 1972, is significant to the extent that a process of cultural industry is combined there with a process of identity and symbolic integration of the continent with the participation of the intellectual elite (2001: 280).

For their part, university associations and consortia (Montevideo Group) have also been formulating proposals that are related or converge in this university integration. In a similar line, the approaches that were articulated for the creation of the University for Latin American Integration (UNILA) should be placed. In 2008, it was stated:

> The Draft Law nº 2878/2008, currently being processed by the National Congress, establishes, among others, the following objectives for UNILA: -Train human resources with lucidity and competence to contribute to development and integration (...); -Characterize your attitude for the emphasis on academic exchange and solidarity cooperation (...); -Offer courses and develop research programs in areas of mutual interest in two Latin American countries (in) areas considered strategic for regional development and integration (2008: 1).

The notion of intellectual integration is also thought of at the level of the work of the intellectual common people, in the line of enabling the multiplication of "nano-initiatives" that emerge from the energy and creativity of people who formulate shared projects, meetings, publications and all intellectual networks where this integrationist intention is taken advantage of and enhanced (Devés, 2014; Devés and Lacoste, 2006), which allows the development of intellectual productive forces, as has partially happened for decades with the Arielista, APRA, CEPAL networks and, contemporary, the Latin American Council of Social Sciences (CLACSO).

Connections

Theories and theoretical approaches: Latin American structuralism

Schools of thought and Networks: Central American Unionist School

Concepts: Center-Periphery, Integrationist Culture, Integrationism

Figures: Felipe Herrera, Helgio Trindade, Leopoldo Zea, Néstor García Canclini

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Subregional integration

José Antonio González Pizarro

"Subregional integration" can be defined as the initiative of some countries to unify political and later political-economic visions, in a delimited territory of collaboration, in order to propose common actions for economic development and physical integration, through interdependence regulated by a *ad hoc* institutionality.

Subregional Integration constitutes a long-term process, since its proposals have a precedent in Simón Bolívar and the American congresses of the 19th century. In the 20th century it was a response to greater Latin American incorporation into the world scene, driven by the logic of the bipolar world and the Theory of Dependent Development. In this framework, the idea of a subregional market began to take shape in 1965 between presidents Eduardo Frei Montalva, of Chile and Carlos Lleras Restrepo, of Colombia. The Cartagena Agreement, in 1965, led to the creation, in 1969, of the Andean Pact. There was a need to work with six different governments, "to overcome great difficulties in this America of ours so full of suspicions, differences, and lack of technical capacity to often translate policy into results" (Frei et al., 1976: 4). Its objective was to create a broader market for the development of national economies, promoting an equitable and efficient distribution that compensated for some differences, for which mechanisms such as the "Sectoral Industrial Development

Programs" were established. It was an integration project based on "Closed Regionalism." Also, a minor integration was verified through the Interregional Business Group of the Central West of South America (GEICOS), created in 1975. A differential aspect was given by the introduction of "virtual regions", in Sergio Boisier's nomenclature, means flexibility in the generation of regional structures.

The changes brought about by the reordering of the world order -the disappearance of the socialist bloc, the reception of neoliberal thought and the globalization process- led to review integration projects. Since 1990, various projects have been verified -concretized- on the subregional community. Subregional integration involved different perspectives and purposes, depending on the sponsors of the initiative, while the actions defined the entity of South America more than the continental group, criticizing that they have not responded to the three challenges posed by Gian Luca Gardino, in 2010, in the context of "Relational Regionalism", such as: the link with the US, which has raised proposals ranging from the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), to bilateral free trade agreements (FTA); the role that Brazil assigned itself; and the fundamental one, what economic and development model was going to articulate this community.

Led by Venezuela, the Bolivarian Alternative for Our America (ALBA) was established in 2004, together with the People's Trade Treaty. Its objectives were made explicit by the president of Venezuela, Hugo Chávez, at the Third Summit of the Peoples of America (Mar del Plata, November 4, 2005): "We have a double task: bury the FTAA and the imperialist capitalist economic model, on the one hand, but on the other, it is our turn to be the midwives of [...] the new integration, the midwives of ALBA." The purpose of ALBA was to establish an exchange of goods and services that complement the different economies of its members, based on a cooperation scheme.

Other cases of subregional integration, although different in their motivations from the one previously mentioned, were the Southern Common Market (MERCOSUR) and the Andean Community of Nations (CAN). These initiatives pointed to integration models inspired by both "secessionist" and "relational" models of autonomy. Let us note that Central America has also sought its own integration, creating the Central American Integration System (SICA) in 1991, to give new impetus to the Organization of Central American States (ODECA).

The visions on integration models also distanced themselves due to different shortcomings. Carlos Malamud has noted that the continental inability to unify a single project is due to which entity South America or Latin America is integrated into, how nationalism and excessive presidentialism are overcome instead of privileging institutional instances. A no minor issue has been the passivity, if not the indifference of South American citizens and public opinion, in the face of these initiatives. The same is true in terms of the sectors benefiting from these projects, where an exclusion of the social majorities is perceived. One response to these problems came from the so-called Regional Financial Institutions, linked to progressive governments in the subcontinent, the Andean Development Corporation (CAF), and the La Plata Basin Fund (FONPLATA), examined by Eduardo Gudynas. It is worth highlighting the relevance of two institutions that operate throughout the continent: the Latin American Export Bank (BLADEX), established in 1978, and the Latin American Reserve Fund (FLAR), created in 1991.

The new initiatives aim to mark minor "relational" integrations, such as the Integration Zone of the Western Center of South America (ZICOSUR), created in 1997, which brings together southern Peru, northern Argentina and Chile, the western Brazilian strip, Uruguay and Paraguay, with commercial, tourist and cultural orientations; or larger, such as the Union of South Ameri-

can Nations (UNASUR), created in 2008, replacing the CAN. The objective of UNASUR is to build a space for cultural, economic, social and political integration, respecting the reality of each nation. Such purposes seek to eliminate socioeconomic inequality, achieve social inclusion, increase citizen participation, strengthen democracy, considering the sovereignty and independence of the states. The Pacific Alliance of 2011 also constituted an agglutination, once again, of government ideological changes, with Mexico, Colombia, Peru and Chile, which has been recognized as one of the most pragmatic and with concrete economic results.

Not only the changes on the world stage, with the new prominence of China, have affected integration projects, but also internal ones, beyond ideological ones. The economic capacity, demographic profiles, with discrepancies with objectives, rules and procedures in the formulations, have revealed relationships between the signatory countries that are observed not as complementary but as competitive inside and outside the alliances.

One of the largest proposals regarding physical integration has also had difficulties. In 2000, the Initiative for South American Regional Integration (IIRSA) was established, where Brazil made its potential felt, as well as in COSIPLAN (South American Infrastructure and Planning Council), in what has been called by CEPAL, "silent integration", a megaproject that covers 500 projects, from connectivity, energy and telecommunications. Under the direction of the IDB, the so-called "Axes of Integration and Development" would be set up in the subcontinental territory, defined as "multinational strips of territory where natural spaces, human settlements, productive zones and commercial flows are concentrated." It has been noted that this megaproject constitutes the readjustment of South America towards its greater participation in globalization, but from the location of raw material resources.

In an increasingly interconnected world, the lack of a project that can meet the expectations of economic and social develop-

ment, strengthening the identity imprint, and consider the challenges that threaten such horizons, such as change, has been felt in Latin America. climate, drought and pandemics.

Connections

Theories and theoretical approaches: Latin American structuralism

Schools of thought and Networks: Central American Unionist School

Concepts: Open integration, Integrationism, Latin American regionalisms, Latin American system

Figures: Felipe Herrera, Luciano Tomassini, José Antonio Ocampo, Sergio González Miranda

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Integrationism

Laura Lucía Bogado Bordazar

"Integrationism" is a current of thought that served as the basis, throughout history, for countless actions and policies that formed different regional entities, with their own diverse objectives, theoretical schemes and dynamics.

Integrationism in Latin America was linked from its origins to the idea of regionalism, which implies the meeting of a limited number of states linked geographically and with a high degree of interdependence between them. It can also be understood as a subsystem of the international system. This region is characterized by its geographical proximity, its economic and social interrelation and its homogeneity (in the case of Latin America it would be sharing a common history, similar language and customs, among others) (Oyarzún Serrano: 2008). To these characteristics could be added the interest of forming a common identity.

From this starting point, Integrationism is also based on the idea of cooperation, with a clear tendency towards the fusion of markets and the construction of interrelated societies, which develop common social policies (whether education, culture, free movement of people and health, among others).

In such a way that Integrationism is not limited to the economic variable, on the contrary, it is oriented towards the regulation of different aspects of the life of the region and the formation of

alliances and voluntary groupings of states. Likewise, we mention other actions that have been reflected in the design of integration processes, such as the coordination of strategies to face external challenges, that would mean, for example, the adoption of a regional position before multilateral forums and international organizations (Hurrell, 1995). .

As we said previously, Latin American Integrationism has gone through different historical stages, giving rise to the consolidation of several processes, which have followed different integration models, the product of both internal transformations in the region and international ones. In this context, we will take a brief tour of the different theories and approaches: 1) Developmentalist (or Structuralist), 2) Dependency, 3) Autonomist, 4) intergovernmentalist, 5) New Developmentalism and 6) Cooperation between states, which we will consider, following what Alejandro Simonoff (2015) stated, which are partial theories that focus on a specific region or phenomenon (Integration Theories).

Both the postulates of the Developmental Theory, as well as the later Dependency Theory, had their origins in the work of the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America (CEPAL) (from 1945 to 1989, approximately), for which integration was conceived as a procedure to accelerate economic development, in the form of a common market and with a basic tool that was based on the promotion of "import substitution industrialization (ISI)". The increase in trade would overcome some problems of industrialization and mitigate the external vulnerability of the region and the "center-periphery" dependency. For these theories, the intensification of inter-Latin American commercial traffic would allow us to reach the second phase in substitution industrialization, overcoming the obstacles surrounding small markets, lack of specialization and high production costs. The goals pursued were the diversification of exports and imports and the rational

development of Industrialization; Both would contribute to addressing the limitation in the influx of foreign investments (Prebisch, 1959) and ultimately the dependence on foreign countries. Without prejudice to the fact that there were several authors who took the CEPAL principles as valid to explain the origins of our Integrationism, the truth is that many of them were deepened and also questioned. The main exponents of developmentalism were: Raúl Prebisch, Celso Furtado, Andre Gunder Frank, Theotonio dos Santos, Fernando H. Cardoso, Edelberto Torres-Rivas and Samir Amin, among others. In the words of Luiz Bresser-Pereira (2006), both theories attributed regional underdevelopment not only to the backwardness produced by the commercial colonization of Latin America, but also to the interests of the imperial center that sought to ensure that developing countries dedicated themselves to producing only primary goods.

Continuing with the analysis of the foundations of Integrationism, it is worth mentioning briefly the postulates of Autonomism. The main exponents of this approach were the Argentine Juan Carlos Puig, the Brazilian Helio Jaguaribe and the Uruguayan Alberto Methol Ferré. The work of these authors was connected with the principles of Developmental and Dependency Theories and their postulates combined the concept of "autonomy" (from the dominant power) with the possibilities of international insertion and "margins of own decision." In this sense, we mention Puig's concept of "solidarity integration," which was considered an instrument of the region's autonomization process, through strategic alliances, bilateral and multilateral agreements and political cooperation (Simonoff, 2015; Briceño Ruiz, 2015). Jaguaribe proposed an autonomist model for the region starting from the strategic relationship between Argentina and Brazil until reaching a global social process that encompassed the economic, political and sociocultural aspects (Lorenzini, 2014), an idea that was shared by the three aforementioned authors.

However, at the beginning of the '90s, in the intellectual order, the theories and currents of thought that had developed during the previous decades were overshadowed by new "integrationist impulses," which, among other postulates, led to trade liberalization and restructuring of regional integration. In this context, the Southern Common Market (MERCOSUR) emerged in 1991 as an integration process that was located in the transition between the developmental model of the first stage of regional integration and the neoliberal model. Likewise, other existing integration processes were modified at this stage, such was the case of the Andean Community of Nations (CAN) and the Central American Common Market (CACM), which was renamed the Central American Integration System.

The new century opens with revisions of old integrationist theories that gave rise to New Developmentalism which, as a counterpart to neoliberal theories, places the question of the competitiveness of states at the center of the debate, moving from the old policy of industrialization to import substitution, to the discussion of comprehensive economic policies focused on the social and historical context. The objective is to achieve productive transformation with equity and the state begins to have a central role in the economy. The main beneficiary of development becomes society and the individual, an objective that is enhanced by promoting interrelation and integration with the States of the region. Cooperation is a substantial element in this theory (Merino, 2017). The concept of "autonomy" of the region is taken up, but it focuses fundamentally on South America. In this stage, the South American Union of Nations (UNASUR, 2008) was created and MERCOSUR redesigned its integration model towards a political-social paradigm.

In the approach of intergovernmentalism, the state participates in an integration process to maintain or increase its profits based on other competitors. In this scheme, the postulates referring to supranationality are rejected (defined as an integration

model where there are autonomous regional bodies that guarantee compliance with community law which is above the legal systems of the states, such as the case of the European Union) (Oyarzún Serrano, 2008) and, therefore, to the transfer of sovereignty. In general there is a level of regional institutionality but with a very low level of autonomy or without it at all. Regional institutions are conceived as mechanisms that facilitate the implementation of agreements, rather than as autonomous actors or as arenas of collective action (Malamud, 2011). It is worth highlighting then that Integrationism in Latin America has been identified -in terms of the institutional system- with this intergovernmental scheme, not recognizing (with exceptions), the possibility of creating supranational community institutions.

In summary, we have seen that in our region the concept of Integration has been presented as an indispensable tool (or means) for achieving a primary goal: the equitable development of the people and in its evolution it has been considered " regional community" as the indispensable focus of the project.

Connections

Theories and theoretical approaches: Dependency, Latin American structuralism

Concepts: Autonomy, Latin American regionalisms, Latin American system

Figures: Alberto Methol Ferré, Celso Furtado, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Helio Jaguaribe, Juan Carlos Puig, Raúl Prebisch, Theotonio dos Santos

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Lusotropicalism

Fabricio Pereira da Silva

"Lusotropicalism" was the concept developed by Brazilian anthropologist and sociologist Gilberto Freyre (1900-1987) to understand the civilization that was being formed in tropical areas colonized by the Portuguese [12]. For him, the specificity of the "Portuguese way of being in the world" (which derives from the "Brazilian way of being") would be a factor in guaranteeing the specificity of that civilization in the gestation of the tropics, marked by miscigenação and by "social and racial democracy." -which for Freyre was superior to modern political democracy-. Lusotropicalism should be constituted as a "subscience" dedicated to studying everything that is related to the space in which that new civilization would be constituted.

The "lusotropical civilization" in its formation derives its positive specificity from the tolerance and miscibility of its central element - or Portuguese -, which would allow the constitution of a transnational, multicultural and multiracial entity based on the hybridization of different people and cultures. In the context after the Second World War, the crisis of racist perspectives and the

12 Brazil, Angola, Moçambique, Guiné-Bissau, Cape Verde, São Tomé e Príncipe, Goa, Macau and Timor Leste.

strengthening of self-determination movements in the global periphery, or Lusotropicalism as the official ideology of the Portuguese Empire. If previous ideologies attempt to "justify imperial domination with reference to racial superiority and Portuguese civilization, the new ideology redefines the Portuguese presence as the natural result of the dynamics of mixing and hybridization, as quais eram possíveis thanks to the primordial and loud disposition of povo português" (Bartelson, 2016: 21).

In *Casa-grande & senzala* (1933), Freyre began to uncover the fact that the portuguese were diferente from othher europeans because of their hybridity of origin, a mixture of "branco", "semita" and "mouro". Strictly speaking, portuguese was not exactly european, but rather an element on the border between Europe and Africa, between West and East. Marked by its mixed and bicontinental origin, by its cultural plasticity and by its adaptability to more recent climates, it will demonstrate in brazilian colonization characteristics such as mobility, miscibility and tolerance with indigenous and black people, "mixing happily" with them and developing with them amorous relationships and filiais. Incapable of asserting itself due to a pretense of racial superiority, in this way it is linked to racism, to portuguese colonization due to defining characteristics to the expansion of catholicism and the portuguese language. Instead of antithetical polarizations, it produces balances, harmonies, conciliations - like on "casa-grande/senzala" day. Even though it is not devoid of some tension, a Portuguese (later Brazilian) education would constitute a superior relationship in comparison with an Anglo-Sax (and North American) one.

Therefore,

> Freyre praises the plasticidade, the versatility and the vocação dos portugueses para a miscigenação. On the contrary, in northern Europe, Portuguese people are devoid of racial pride, as their colonizing practice in tropical zones of the globe would attest, capable

> of creating an environment of cultural and ethnic interpenetration (Schneider, 2012: 76).

In this way, Freyre can be characterized as two "interpreters of Brazil" with a more positive view of the Iberian heritage (in opposition to Anglo-Sax influence), a defender of the preservation of values that for him were basilar in the constitution of "Brasilidade". If Brazil was a caldeirão of races and cultures (basically either Portuguese, or indigenous or black, more open to others that were mixed), it was only possible due to the miscibility of the Portuguese element. This was the active and constitutive agent of all that process: the creator of a new world in the tropics. It was also one of the first Brazilian intellectuals to defend the positive character of the mixture for Brazilian training, considering an enriching element, instead of a factor of "degeneration".

In the years following the publication of *Casa-grande & senzala*, Freyre sought to expand his plot from Brazil to all areas of Portuguese colonization, always occurring in tropical zones. Com isso, we have come to understand the formation of Brazil as part of a larger phenomenon, precisely Lusotropicalism. The characteristic traces of the colonization of Northeastern Brazilian sugarcane in the 16th century would be reproduced to a large extent in the Portuguese, African and Asian colonies of the 20th century. In *O mundo que o português criou* (1940), a set of conferences presented in England and Portugal in 1937, the author supported having a

> intimate unity, of sentiment, and external, of culture in its most evident and concrete forms, (...) consequently two processes and conditions of Portuguese colonization that in Asia as well as Brazil, on the Atlantic islands and a certain point in Africa , developing us honors the same essential qualities of cordiality and friendliness, characteristics of the Portuguese people (Freyre, 2010a: 25).

Between 1951 and 1952, he was invited to the New Portuguese State for a long trip to Portugal and its colonies, being in the Portuguese Guiné (Guiné-Bissau) region, in Cape Verde, Goa, São Tomé and Príncipe, Angola and Moçambique ("possíveis new Brazilians "). It is in this journey that the concept of Lusotropicalism was mentioned for the first time, and the result was the publication of the ethnographic journal *Aventura e rotina: suggestions for a journey in search of Portuguese constants of character and history* , and a meeting of conferences and speeches entitled *Um brasileiro em terras portuguesas* (both from 1953). Freyre considers that he has observed in the "Eurotropical areas" a "saudável deseuropeização in the ways of life, in the tastes of the palate, in the flexões of language and linguage, in the rhythms of walking" (Freyre, 2001: 26), characteristics that for the author deveriam be considered "lusotropicais". Freyre also proposed a new "subscience", which would be part of tropicology, to analyze and interpret the lusotropical area: a lusotropicologia. His studies, of a multidisciplinary nature, are specialized "in the analysis and interpretation of the Lusotropical set of culture: transnational set to which the author applies the area criterion" (Castelo, 2011: 269). Indeed, in the following years some chairs, courses and institutes dedicated to the subject were founded, in Portugal and not Brazil.

Finally, in *Portuguese Integration in the Tropics* (1958) and in *Luso in the Tropics* (1961), works published by the portuguese state, Freyre adopted a more openly political-programmatic profile, seeking to provide Lusotropicalism and Lusotropicology with functionality. It is explicit that it would be in development, through the "symbiose" of Portuguese with other people, a new civilization, a "third homem". Projecting its definitive constitution for the future, defending the necessities of political and intellectual action with this intuition, and approaching more openly the positions of António de Oliveira Salazar and the "Estado Novo" regime (1926-1974), contributing to the legitimacy do Portuguese Empire in

Africa and Asia (Bartelson, 2016). This included the defense of the "goodness" of portuguese colonization as justification for its preservation, in a context in which decolonization is advancing rapidly - and in which wars of freedom are being initiated in the Portuguese colonies in Africa. Following the decolonization of the "Portuguese Empire" in the 1970s, Freyre continued to insist on preserving the ties between the nations and "quasi-nations" of Lusitanian heritage. We also advance new attempts to expand our arguments, trying to bring the Lusitana heritage closer to the Hispanic heritage, defending the constitution of a Hispanotropicology and an Iberotropicology.

Freyre's reflections on the formation of Brazil strongly influenced the Brazilian view of itself, particularly the valorization of the mix and perception of having the country as a "social and racial democracy," gaining more explicit political uses during the Brazilian civil-military conflict. (1964-1985). On the other hand, it received increasing criticism from the black movement and institutionalized social sciences - in particular from the "Escola Paulista de Sociologia" -. In turn, the concept of Lusotropicalism was appropriated as the official ideology of salazarism starting in the 1950s, "contributing to the consolidation of self-image so that portuguese people are best seen: a tolerant, fraternal, plastic and ecumenical people" (Castelo, 2011: 273). This concept was also attracting growing criticism, on the part of two colonial freedom movements and intellectuals opposed to Salazarism, which fell into disuse after the Portuguese Cravos Revolution (1974) which overthrew the salazarist regime and accelerated independence in the area of Portuguese colonization. guesa .

As such, Freyre's theses will lose space in recent decades as official sources for the constituição identitária two sides of the Atlantic, also part of his academic appeal (Medina, 2000). However, the social and political imagination remains relevant, and it can be considered that it constitutes one of the sources of ideas such

as "Lusofonia" and of initiatives such as the Community of Portuguese Language Countries and the Ibero-American Conference of Chefs of State and of Governo.

Connections

Thinking schools and Networks: Brazil Great Power School
Concepts: Plurinational State, International Identity
Figures: Cândido Mendes de Almeida, Celso Lafer, Gilberto Freyre, Golbery do Couto e Silva

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Migration human development model of regional integration

Laura Lucía Bogado Bordazar

The "Model of migratory human development of regional integration", proposed for Mercosur, is based on the concept of "Model of migratory human development" elaborated by Lelio Mármora (2010) and understood as an instrument of migration policy of free movement, residence, return and justice for migrants, whose central axis is the recognition of the human rights of migrants, which will be capable of containing a response of migration governance, understood as: "the adjustment between social perceptions and demands about the causes, characteristics and effects of migratory movements and the possibilities and intentionality of States to respond to said demands within a framework of legitimacy and effectiveness" (Calcagno and Mármora, cited in Mármora, 2010).

Having stated this, in the case of the regional migratory human development model, which is part of a broader model, the social model of regional integration, the governance responses will have to be developed in a coordinated manner among all the sectors that make up the States of the bloc and all scientific disciplines, both thought of regionally. This implies, as a starting point, redefining the concept of border linked to the traditional nation-state (historically considered the natural unit of analysis in studies on

international migration) and accepting "transnationality" and "transculturality" as indispensable elements to think about the regional dynamics of the migration process, as well as generating a conception of regional citizenship.

Based on these ideas, there are several concepts that we must analyze to get closer to understanding the proposed model. Firstly, the state and the region must combine the rights and demands of two types of population: the native and the migrant, within the framework of the economic, social, cultural and political interaction in which these two populations move (Mármora, 2010). Secondly, in an integration process, borders are redefined since mobility is facilitated by geographical proximity, which promotes the existence of a "border of encounter" (Sassone, 2004), as opposed to a "barrier border." In this sense, the geographical space that makes up Mercosur has functioned in practice as a space of attraction for the circulation of people, especially due to openness policies and recognition of rights, through the approval of standards and the implementation of regional public policies that we will mention later.

Thirdly, transnationality implies that, regardless of their legal status, migrants can act as substantive or social citizens and demand, from the State where they are located, rights or assume privileges that, in principle, are exclusive to its citizens. Although the concept of the nation-state remains very important in migration studies, "social life is not confined to its limits." And therefore a lot of value must be given to social and religious movements, networks and exchanges of all kinds (objects, ideas, remittances, among others) (Levitt and Click Schiller, 2004) that can occur in a regional society. We can cite as an example the role of social groups gathered in the Mercosur Social Summits, which are considered as multi-participatory and wide-ranging spaces that favor dialogue between sectors and social movements among themselves and at the same time with decision-making bodies. of Mercosur.

Now, to achieve the adjustment between social perceptions and demands and the responses of the State (or the region in this case), it is necessary to have a deep knowledge "of the migrants' itineraries and identity experiences" (Trpin and Jardim, 2015), if the objective is to achieve the transculturality of the regional migration process. It is not enough to have knowledge about migratory flows and how migrants move, but also about their links with the society of origin and destination, interests, intentions and practices of the communities, among others. In this way, we will be able to return to the central axis of the proposed model, which is the recognition of the human rights of migrants in the intra-bloc regional space on equal terms with nationals, in order to achieve better integration/insertion in the regional space. Mercosur, in the Santiago Declaration on Migratory Principles, signed at the Extraordinary Meeting of Ministers of the Interior and Associated States in Santiago, Chile (2004), stated in its recitals two issues worth highlighting: a) "it recognizes that the cultural dimension of Migration is a valuable contribution to the transculturalization of peoples" and b) "recognizes that the important role of migrant workers is a valuable social capital that energizes and empowers the various economic and social sectors of the migratory host countries."

To complete the explanation of the model, it is important to define regional citizenship and the idea of human development. With respect to this last point, Mercosur has produced a conceptual framework based on development with freedoms, as a conception that must go beyond the accumulation of wealth and economic growth; implies the expansion of the freedoms necessary for subjects to make decisions regarding their lives and, therefore, requires the increase of individual capabilities, eliminating the main sources of deprivation of freedom: poverty, lack of economic opportunities, negligence and intolerance of public services, among others, eliminating the main sources of deprivation of lib-

erty: poverty, lack of economic opportunities, negligence and intolerance of public services, among others (Amartya Sen, 2000, cited in Instituto Social del Mercosur, 2012).

The very notion of development is reviewed and the idea that identifies it almost exclusively with economic growth is abandoned, to reconceptualize it from a comprehensive approach, which takes into account the development of the potential of all members of society, in order to achieve full realization of human needs with equity (Max Neef, 1986, cited in Instituto Social del Mercosur, 2012). When taking a look at the presidential statements and the regulations approved in Mercosur, between 2010 and 2017, we see how the idea of development proposed -at least theoretically- responds to this conceptual line. On the other hand, we mention that the bloc has adhered as a region to the objectives of the 2030 Agenda (Sustainable Development Goals-SDG) and therefore to the concept of "sustainable development" contained therein. The Mercosur states have furthermore committed themselves to make every effort to achieve this. It is necessary to highlight that the migration issue was explicitly integrated into the global development agenda for the first time; recognizing that: "all migrants, women, men and children form a vulnerable group that requires protection, and also recognizes them as agents of development" (IOM, 2018). As a summary, we rescue this idea that we have seen translated in different Mercosur declarations:

> The migration-SDG connection goes far beyond the implementation of migration policies and involves the integration of migration in different sectors of governance. By strengthening coherence between the Migration and Development agendas, migration policies can improve development outcomes, and development policies can improve migration outcomes (IOM, 2018).

Now, having expressed this, we ask ourselves what have been the main actions of Mercosur to implement the Migratory Human Development Model of Regional Integration? Since the first years of the 21st century, Mercosur has addressed the migration issue through the "development" paradigm. This has been possible by recognizing itself as a region that simultaneously receives and circulates intra-zone migrants and, at the same time, as a region of emigration, with the problems that this implies for national and regional development. Therefore, based on this reality, Mercosur had to assume a position regarding the issue.

Several years of debate elapsed before the region was able to abandon the 'securitisation' approach to the issue of borders and migration control, to adopt - in our view - the approach based on the perspective of 'human development for migration', which focused on the approval and promotion of international agreements that enshrine migrants' human rights, aimed at protection, free movement and active citizen participation (Mármora, 2010).

Thus, we take as a basis the migration model proposed in Mercosur and affirm that it was consolidated through the ratification of binding legal instruments (Residence Agreements for nationals of Mercosur and Expanded Mercosur, Recife Agreement, Strategic Social Action Plan -PEAS-, Mercosur Citizenship Statute, Multilateral Social Security Agreement, etc.); of political declarations and actions (Joint Declarations of Presidents; Action Plans; etc.) and the creation of specialized regional bodies (Social Institute of Mercosur; Institute of Public Policies of Human Rights of Mercosur; institutionalization of Meetings of Ministers of Social Development and Interior Authorities; Specialized Migration Forum, Sub Working Group No. 18 on Border Integration, among others). All of them contributed to structuring the space of free movement and residence that implied - as a starting point - the definition of the geographical axis (that is, the determination of the external borders of the region) and to consolidate the migratory human de-

velopment model of regional integration. Additionally, the criterion of "nationality" was assumed as a requirement to obtain the category of resident in any State of the block. This reaffirms the "deepening of the social and citizen dimension of the integration process, with a view to achieving sustainable development, with justice and social inclusion and to guarantee the nationals of the State parties and their families the enjoyment of the same rights and civil liberties , social, cultural and economic" (Mercosur Citizenship Statute). From this instrument (2010) the idea of "regional citizenship" begins to take shape.

In the elaboration of this concept, organized migrant communities have played an important role as social actors in the integration process, in a double sense: on the one hand, promoting new debates and actions in national organizations (example: ministries of social development, of education, labor, chancelleries and also at the parliamentary level), which were later transferred to the regional level, such as the Meeting of Ministers and Authorities of Social Development (RMADS), the Specialized Migration Forum (FEM), the Social Institute of Mercosur (ISM), to the Institute of Public Policies on Human Rights (IPPDH); to Parlasur or for its participation in the meetings of the Mercosur Social Summits, with the aim of making their claims visible and promoting the social institutions of the bloc.

By way of closing, we affirm that the concept of the Migratory Human Development Model of Regional Integration could mean a substantive contribution to contemporary Latin American thought since it integrates innovative criteria and practices for the discipline of regional integration and for the theoretical postulates that explain migrations . international, with its own regional vision. As we have described in previous pages, the different concepts that make up the Mercosur model in its evolution process have been fed back by similar proposals within the South American sphere; We refer to the postulates developed by the

South American Conferences on Migration and the Andean Plan for Human Development for Migrations (2009) of the Andean Community of Nations (CAN). In this sense, we have seen that the criterion of "regional citizenship" was one of the theoretical concepts developed in the South American Summits on Migration since the beginning of this political forum in 2000, meaning at the same time an important contribution to the consolidation of the Statute. of Mercosur citizenship. The debate on social protection policies and their impact on the construction of a new level of rights -social rights- and a new dimension of citizenship -community citizenship-, both linked to the political and civil dimensions, was put on the agenda. of democracy (Jaccoud, 2009). Something similar happened with the concept of human development, from which the social dimension of integration is assumed and the construction of a Mercosur regional identity with the particularities of the region begins.

In summary, the migratory human development model of regional integration implies recognizing that migrants organize their lives in spaces that transcend geopolitical borders, but at the same time maintain a dialectical relationship with the society of origin and destination. This model is based on the existence of intrinsic forces of attraction for Mercosur, which can range from: differences in economic development between States and regions; the actions generated from immigration attraction policies; the actions of migrant networks or Civil Society organizations that facilitate mobility, among others. But the fundamental thing about this development model is the recognition of the rights of migrants as the axis of the entire migration policy, where the region combines the rights and demands of two types of population: the native and the migrant, accepting the " transnationality" and "transculturality" as indispensable elements to think about the regional dynamics of the migration process and the construction of an "integrated regional society" (Bogado Bordazar, 2021).

Connections

Concepts: Latin American thought on international and global issues, Integrationism, Latin American system, Civil society regional, Civil society in Latin American regionalism, Latin American Third Worldism

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Peripheral modernity

Eduardo Devés

"Peripheral modernity" is a notion developed by Beatriz Sarlo (1988) to characterize the socio-cultural processes in Argentina in the first decades of the 20th century. Pointing to a definition of the phenomenon, she noted that:

> The semantic density of the period weaves contradictory elements that do not end up being unified in a hegemonic line (well, the Argentine culture of those decades must be assumed) as a culture of mixture, where defensive and residual elements coexist alongside the renewal programs; cultural features of Creole formation at the same time as a huge process of importing goods, discourses and symbolic practices (1988: s/p).

Continuing this reasoning, Judith Podlubne (2020) adds that it would be "an unfinished, imperfect modernity, stressed by backwardness, nostalgia for the past and conflicts around our national identity [and that, therefore] "evokes the 'the modernism of underdevelopment', which Marshall Berman uses to characterize the failed experiences of modernity in 19th-century Russia.

The notion of Peripheral Modernity derives, in a broad sense, from the CEPAL notion "Center-Periphery", although without dealing primarily with economics, sharing the explanatory frame-

work or the project that generated classical cepalism. To put it in technical terms, it can be included in an eidetic family that comes from cepalism, although it has received numerous additions that do not come from this trunk, but from the dependency branch, as well as from European eidetic trajectories such as Frankfurtism and postmodernism and work of Marshall Berman. Significant in this case is the way in which, from less conventional disciplines, conceptualizations are generated to think about macro spaces and processes that contribute to think about the international and the global.

This notion has been projected to think about the cultural reality of Latin America as a whole in its subordinate relationship with the centers, during the last centuries, a period they call "Modernity." It has been reworked by numerous figures, mainly from cultural studies, but also from other disciplines or areas, granting it a noticeably greater epistemic status than that originally given by its formulator (Devés, 2004). In this process of reworking - which frequently occurred in conversations about scholastic distinctions about modern, modernization, modernism, Modernity - "peripheral modernization" emerged from the normative discussion about the value of the modern and especially of Modernity understood as an expression of the Enlightenment, to define a heterodox fact marked by the peripheral condition and heterogeneity. In other words, in this framework the word "Modernity" understood as "peripheral" loses all normative character, since it could not be imagined, as it is presented, that the center could assume it as a model, except to get rid of its own concept and its normativity. Something like this is what Néstor García Canclini seems to point out vaguely and contradictorily when he states " there is not a single form of modernity, but several, unequal and sometimes contradictory" (1990: 235).

Ana Pizarro, very early, stated that "in Latin America 'Modernity' acquires its peripheral profile in the complexity of cultural flows that intersect, overlap, often remain isolated, develop in un-

equal terms, acquire a residual or emergent character, They disintegrate or remain, they mix" (1991: 25). This relative incoherence or heterogeneity, according to the patterns of the center, would be the most distinctive thing about the condition of peripheral Modernity, derived according to Ana Pizarro from the "peripheral condition" itself. This condition corresponds to

> the times of a continent where history has brought together, developed and articulated, socio-cultural forms typical of community systems - such as the minga or the mingaco -, feudal forms of relationships based on systems of exchange of work for royalties, such as the inquilinaje or the ejido, remnants of the colonial system, with cultural forms coming from the capitalist market of symbolic goods through information circuits, as well as in general with the products of the consumer society (1991: 31).

Ricardo Salas, for his part, proposes what he calls "a reflective effort to think about peripheral modernities" (1999: 1), pointing this notion to "the new socio-cultural processes that emerge in the Third World that integrate some aspects of the European-American modernity, but in different sociocultural contexts, often characterized by poverty and the growing exclusion of large sectors of the population" (1999: 3). Salas insists that "cultural modernity cannot be understood in this way, under the idea of a culture or a cultural substrate, but rather a cultural heterogeneity" (1999: 5). To reinforce this, he relies on a phrase by José Joaquín Brunner: "Cultural heterogeneity means something quite different than diverse cultures (subcultures) of ethnicities, classes, groups or regions, or a mere superposition of cultures, whether or not they have found a way of synthesize" (Brunner, 1988: 218).

José Joaquín Brunner develops this same idea of the heterogeneous character of culture in Latin America and eventually throughout the periphery, a few years later, by highlighting that:

> The processes of diffusion/adoption/adaptation of modernity in the periphery inevitably configure culturally hybrid constellations, a mixture of heterogeneous cultural elements, discontinuities and recycling, all phenomena that acquire their uniqueness exclusively within the socio-historical context in which they take place (2001: 248).

The Costa Rican Bernal Herrera takes a leap in the conceptual elaboration by maintaining: "The hypothesis that I will defend states that the Spanish-American colonial world is not only an integral part of the historical process called "modernity," but that it is within itself where it is launched. the first great modernizing wave" (2008: 1). In other words, he intentionally asks: "What if, against the dominant perspective, the Spanish-American colonial world was neither excluded nor a secondary participant in the emergence of modernity, but rather the founder of a less explored facet of modernity?" this, the peripheral?" (2008: 2). In fact, he argues:

> Spain and its overseas possessions were the main actors in the initial development and implementation of peripheral modernity, and without it metropolitan modernity would not have occurred. And if both are two sides of the same process, the peripheral precedes the metropolitan, unimaginable without the help of the peripheries (2008: 16).

For the author, however, the impact of America on Europe is not limited to economic effects, since:

> Every identity has a relational basis, and if one is only a metropolis compared to some peripheries, one is only modern compared to 'others' classified as pre-modern or non-modern, if not as mere savages or cannibals. One is a periphery not because one has cer-

> tain fixed characteristics, but because one has less of what the metropolises have more of, what they define at every moment as a requirement to be modern (2008: 16).

This new perspective, Herrera points out, also allows "reading metropolitan modernity from a peripheral perspective" (2008: 22).

Connections

Theories and theoretical approaches: Decolonial approach to international studies, Founding insubordination
Concepts: Center-Periphery
Doctrines: Drago Doctrine
Figures: Ana Pizarro, José Joaquín Brunner, Néstor García Canclini, Raúl Prebisch

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Multilateralism

Miryam Colacrai

A very basic concept of "Multilateralism" refers to the activities undertaken by more than two States, with the purpose of agreeing on policies aimed at facing, managing or providing a solution to a common problem. Anchored in this need to work in coordination with other States, as a general perspective, it can be said that with the emergence of the nation-state starting in the 16th century, a legal scheme that will give rise to International Law begins to be required.

Multilateralism is based on coordination and cooperation between the parties and does not imply the formation of a supranational authority that replaces the "sovereign States." Latin America throughout its modern history has given great relevance to Multilateralism as a legal framework and as a practice. Thus, Alberto van Klaveren points out:

> Latin America was one of the pillars of multilateralism in the past. The region proposed and developed its own international norms, established a set of regional organizations and contributed strongly to the development of the liberal order before and after World War II (van Klaveren, 2020: 3-4).

In that same direction, Ricardo Arredondo considers that:

> A substantial contribution to the development of multilateralism came from Latin America through the impulse fostered by Pan-Americanism, which made the norms that emerged in the region complement European principles and norms, which generated a reciprocal influence between the processes of international cooperation between both. continents at that time (Arredondo, 2020: 3).

This inclination towards Multilateralism is considered a fundamental aspect of Latin America's insertion into the world. Roberto Russell and Juan Tokatlian will emphasize that:

> The region has sought to limit interstate violence and promote international cooperation through multilateralism. This work and objective at the same time has largely to do with its relative position of power as a peripheral area of the international order, but also with an identity of a Grotian nature that has been strengthened over the years (Russell and Tokatlian, 2009: 226).

The preceding selection includes general references to Multilateralism by some Latin American authors. And, in all of them, the common denominator is the relevance that the region has assigned to it, in terms of joint action and contribution to the development of standards. That is, it has been understood as a legal framework and as praxis.

Multilateralism on a global scale has been affected by unilateral and protectionist positions and policies of some relevant international actors and by the nationalist and populist outbreaks deployed in different countries (Serbin, 2021). There is pessimism about the effectiveness of multilateral institutions and voices are emerging that point out their ineffectiveness in solving serious common problems. This kind of "multilateral fatigue" has stimulated the search for other less institutionalized paths and regional agreements have also proliferated.

An interesting perspective of analysis, provided by Latin American authors, attempts to clarify the variables that act in the creation, maintenance and weakness suffered by the various multilateral processes. In summary, it is expressed that:

> (...) "state power" is not the only form of power that affects multilateral practice. And, from a critical perspective of international political economy, they point out that multilateral organizations are also subject to economic and class power and multilateral arenas are frequently sites of struggle between the center and the periphery (Legler and Santa Cruz, 2011 : 1).

Faced with the crisis of Multilateralism on a global scale, a good number of Latin American authors consider that regional options can be, with their ups and downs, viable options. At the same time, they also recognize that the development of analytical frameworks to address "Latin American Multilateralism" is still insufficient. As Giacalone (2016) maintains, much more is necessary than the observation of some features of the agreements that are assumed to be multilateral, or the uncritical acceptance of the government narrative about them.

The concern about the deficit of Latin American Multilateralism has been pointed out in texts produced within the framework of the General Secretariat of FLACSO and the Regional Coordinator of Economic and Social Research (CRIES), which since 2010 have focused on this towards the 21st century, starting of the creation of ALBA (2004), UNASUR (2008) and CELAC (2010) trying to unravel differentiating aspects of the more traditional Latin American multilateralism schemes. A general and distinctive characteristic is that this type of multilateralism is defined by issues of identity, community and region. They share the characteristic of excluding the United States and Canada and seeking autonomy and unity with these northern neighbors, as a defining

element, while the case of ALBA promotes their collective identity and their particular notion of community more in terms of their ideological affinity, the so-called "socialism of the 21st century". The big question is whether we are facing new forms of cooperative interaction, whether more participation is ensured and whether democracy is promoted within it.

In the search for some pattern of Latin American Multilateralism, it is argued that in addition to being deeply defensive, it exhibits three main institutional characteristics: its presidential character, its function as a forum for dialogue and political agreement, and its institutional weakness (Legler and Santa Cruz, 2011). Likewise, "cumbrismo" or the diplomacy of summits of Heads of State and Ministers of Foreign Affairs is highlighted (Rojas Aravena, 2011; Serbin, 2011).

More recent productions continue to find the same deficits and find excess formality, lack of substantiality and effectiveness in Latin American multilateral consultation spaces. Although there is a recurrent inclination towards integration in the region, "the different efforts have been celebrated and commemorated as a new beginning", there are excesses of initiatives, all of which show similar features, in particular "the lack of political will, the pressures and sovereign interests, external interests to maintain fragmentation and, in the last period, the great politicization of agendas and the consequent political polarization" (Rojas Aravena, 2019: 127). Looking to the future and to overcome the noted deficits, the author returns to his proposal of "Cooperative Multilateralism" (2000) and reprofiles it, based on the following characteristics: being inclusive (although with state preponderance), open, legitimate, representative, responsible in its proposals and decisions and effective in its actions (Rojas Aravena, 2019: 132).

As a final summary, we can point out the confusion generated by the current crisis of Multilateralism. As Serbin (2021) crudely maintains:

It crosses the entire international system at a global, regional or transversal level, particularly under the impact of divergent narratives associated with both long-term national strategies and short-range reactive responses that the different informal groups or the different regional mechanisms do not achieve. articulate in the construction of consensus around global governance, despite threats such as those of the COVID-19 pandemic or the impact of climate change.

Connections

Theories and theoretical approaches: Latin American structuralism
Concepts: Autonomy, Latin American regionalisms
Figures: Andrés Serbin, Francisco Rojas Aravena, Juan Gabriel Toklatian, Mónica Hirst, Roberto Russell

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Nationalism - Coloniage

Eduardo Devés

The Bolivian essayist Carlos Montenegro formulated a tension between two forces that clashed in the region: "Nationalism" and "Colonialism." Through his homonymous work, published in 1944, Montenegro built his discourse on the basis of very marked polarities, where it is easy to orient oneself in the positive-negative relationship: nation-anti-nation, revolution-reaction, emancipation-domination, social justice -exploitation, native-foreign; and, above all, that which encompasses them and gives the title to the work: Nationalism-Colonialism.

In the tone of a manifesto and call to the Bolivian people, Carlos Montenegro in the introduction or "Filiation of this book", as he calls it, states that:

> We Bolivians cannot remain insensitive any longer to the action that, in a sense adverse to the destinies and interests of the Bolivian community, is projected by the historiography to which this book responds. We know exactly to what extent this serves the purposes of antipatriation (2016: 48).

Montenegro continues pointing out that it is necessary

> recognize in anti-Bolivian history a sense, perhaps the most dangerous, provocative of the economic and political forces that, together signifying the tendency of anti-homeland, cooperate consciously or passively with foreign imperialisms, opening for them the path of conquest. It is well understood that the country's self-denigration is equivalent to an invitation if not a call from abroad. In this self-denigration, the pretensions to supplant in one way or another the existential structure of Bolivia take root (2016: 48).

With another emphasis, the author says:

> from the powerful economic interest of the international plutocracy to the ridiculous and inferiorizing imitative desire of universalist ideologies, they base their efforts to dominate Bolivia on the fact that Bolivia, in the opinion of anti-Bolivianism, is vitally incapable of affirming its existence in itself and by herself (2016: 48).

Social groups and classes are associated with the two terms of these polarities: the oligarchy identified with colonialism, and all the others (the people) identified with the nation. Montenegro wants to reverse the version that the oligarchy has given about Bolivia, particularly through liberal historiography. In this way, identified with the Bolivian people, he elaborates a revisionist and alternative discourse that aims to rescue the vital impulse of nationality inhibited by the colonization of foreign ideas, affirming the strength and necessity of a native and autonomist thought.

By the way, the ideological work of the oligarchy cannot be understood, according to Montenegro, separated from other dimensions. In this way, he presents it as a mere native agent of colonial rule, the purpose of the denationalization of national wealth and the transfer of these to the economic authority of another State. Politically, this oligarchy imports models such as republicanism, thus making it impossible to conceive a specifically Bolivian des-

tiny for Bolivia; culturally, the oligarchy lives in the national territory but in the manner of a foreigner (2016: 120). In opposition to this, Montenegro seeks or warns of the creation of a collective will that represents/brings together all classes, temporarily fused by discontent. This will be carried out as a national revolution as it includes economic independence, sovereignty and the consolidation of Bolivian identity.

The concept of Colony has been taken up and developed by other Bolivian authors, modulating it rather as "anti-homeland" and especially as "anti-nation." Christian Jiménez Kanahuaty has highlighted that an important factor "for *Nationalism and Colony* to endure has to do with the very course of the discourse of revolutionary nationalism and the political theory that supports it", understanding Montenegro as a link within a trajectory of thought. Bolivian, which continues René Zavaleta Mercado, Sergio Almaraz Paz and Marcelo Quiroga Santa Cruz (2013). Luis Tapia Mealla, for his part, considers the nationalism/colonial dilemma as:

> axis that allows us to practice the reference to globality as a compound of past, present and future, which Carlos Montenegro proposed for Bolivian history. The facts acquire their profile depending on whether they affirm or deny one of these great trends in Bolivian history. On the one hand, there are the potentialities and forces of the nation and, on the other, the practices and subjects that perpetuate foreign domination or the direction of efforts and work towards external ends (2002: 44).

And it is taking this perspective into account, according to Tapia Mealla, that Zavaleta Mercado considered in 1956 that "in Carlos Montenegro the case of a philosophy of Bolivian history occurred for the first time" (cited in Tapia Mealla, 2002: 20).

Connections

Theories and Theoretical Approaches: Dependency
Schools of thought and Networks: Rosarian School of International Relations
Concepts: Autonomy, Heterodox Autonomy, Great Homeland
Figures: Carlos Montenegro, Manuel Ugarte, René Zavaleta Mercado, Rómulo Betancourt, Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre

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Great Homeland

Miguel Angel Barrios

The "Great Homeland" is a concept of geopolitical category created by the Argentine Manuel Baldomero Ugarte (1875-1951), one of the figures of the so-called "first Latin American anti-imperialist generation" of the early 20th century, composed of a constellation of young Latin Americans. , many of them exiled in Europe, at a time when Latin America was at the height of the "positivist" agro-mining exporting Republics, the result of which was a "new world order" and the political fragmentation of its States promoted by English diplomacy.

Ugarte's ideas must be understood in the scenario of a continent witnessing the Spanish-North American War (1898) that brings face to face the Hispanic imperial past and the projection of a new empire represented in the United States. Latin American intellectuals such as Manuel Ugarte, who is part of the generation of 1900 along with Enrique Rodó and Francisco García Calderón, participate in this scenario and the reflections on it (Barrios, 2007; García, 2014: 599), among others, and who They have in common the reflections on the continental possibilities of the Bolivarian ideal (Barrios, 2007).

Ugarte traveled through Europe, and lived in France, but his tours through the United States and Latin America were key to the configuration of his thinking (Hodge Dupré, 2013: 89). With

the purpose of knowing the political situation of the countries of the region, and becoming a participant observer of it, between 1911 and 1914 he made a continental tour of Latin America, which included Cuba, Santo Domingo, Mexico, Guatemala, San Salvador , Nicaragua, Costa Rica, United States, Panama, Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Chile, Uruguay, Argentina, Brazil, and Paraguay. It is in the middle of this tour that a work is born in which he lays the fundamental foundations of his conception of Great Homeland, *El Porvenir de la América. Spanish* (1910), in whose preface he states that:

> Our Superior Homeland is Spanish America, our final Nationality is the set of habits, memories, and preferences that stem from a common origin, obey the same conceptions and are articulated in the same language (Ugarte, 1910: XXI). A man cannot live outside the country except in a parenthesis. The full possession of the being is not recovered until it is once again in contact with its atmosphere and its landscapes: (…) The Homeland is for communities what the voice is for man, in its transcendent foundations (…) The Homeland will continue to be in this sense an instrument of independence and an indispensable condition for the integral development of man (Ugarte, 1910: XXI).

In this way, the Great Homeland would be represented by the "United States of the South". And, in this sense, his Latin American theory is based on the Hispanic American unionist thought of the liberators Simón Bolívar and José de San Martín and of thinkers such as the Chilean Francisco Bilbao and the Colombian José Torres Caicedo who propose continental unity as a Latin American ideal. Along these lines, at the end of the preface, Ugarte reinforces his idea by stating that "I am not referring to provincial fanaticism […] We are talking about deep demarcations such as those that divide the new world into two halves. To the North the

Anglo-Saxon spirit shines, to the South the Latin conception persists" (Ugarte, 1910: XXI).

The central proposals of the Great Homeland are summarized in a series of ideas that are presented as an invitation to the realization of a region imagined by Ugarte:

- Awareness of a geographical and cultural space superior to the national one, represented by Spanish and Brazilian America.

- Construction of a block that remakes the work of Spain and Portugal.

- Development of strategies or geopolitical paths by the States of Latin America, distinguishing the tutelary role that Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Mexico must play in the integration process.

- Defense of cultural unity in the face of the threat represented by the United States, an example of progress, but an imperialist bastion hidden in the preaching of Pan-Americanism

- Need for social legislation regulated by State intervention.

- Harmonization of the study plans of the Latin American countries, prioritizing common features regarding cultural unity.

The Great Homeland, for the above reasons, is a vocation for Integrationism and an aversion to imperialism, which is summarized in the rescue of the geopolitical space of the first unionism of the Liberators, that is, that of the Hispanic space, adding to it the Portuguese variant of America. . This had to be established in the United States of the South, through a State that had its uniqueness as its distinctive seal, thus anticipating the continentalist proposals of the popular national movements of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre and Juan Domingo Perón. His conception of the Great Homeland led him to conceive that if our States were not articulated in a great State, they would result in "historical impossibilities."

The conception of Homeland is presented for Ugarte as a path towards the realization of an independence that had not been achieved, since the independence of Europe, declared in the first

years of the 19th century, only represented a political liberation and therefore remained , a complete independence. It is a geopolitical category, an instrument of national sovereignty, which is why we can consider it as one of the first theorists of our International Relations.

Sovereignty, for Ugarte, is understood in terms of autonomy on the international stage; It had to be multidimensional, not just political. For this reason, he would insist that the time for the second independence had arrived. Hence he can also be recognized as the first theorist and activist of a Latin American liberationist realism. And in that sense, the Great Homeland, in addition to a geopolitical unit, would constitute a cultural unit of America in its Hispanic and Lusitanian variant, in antagonism with the Anglo-Saxon civilization of North America. In this way he concludes that:

> That is the superior patriotism that emanates from the current State of our continent. We proclaim ourselves Argentines, Uruguayans, or Chileans, but above all we are Spanish-speaking Americans, that is, parallel outbreaks of a revolution that feel united by fundamental similarities and understand to jointly defend their independence and their historical mission (Ugarte, 1910: XXI).

However, its originality deepens when it raises the "principle of the possibility of Homeland" within the category of Great Homeland. For Ugarte the "principle of possibility" does not constitute an abstraction, nor an ahistorical legal concept of sovereignty. "Nationality", like Law, is an abstraction if it is not supported by a volume and a force that guarantees its development. These are the component elements of a concrete "national power." In short, the possibility of a homeland for Ugarte was linked to economic independence, political autonomy, social development, and cultural emancipation. "The autonomy of Panama is a dream." Aren't

some of our visible Homelands historical impossibilities? What will be the fate of Spanish America if an alliance does not intervene to nullify its will? Isn't the secret of all victories in the union of the "Great Homeland"? He ends his preface by saying: "A people that questions and listens to itself is not far from triumphing" (Ugarte, 1910: XXI).

The geopolitical conception of the Great Homeland, in the sense explained, runs through the history of the ideas of Latin America in the 20th century and the figure of Ugarte, first unknown even in his own country, took on a continental dimension through the tensions that, In the course of history, they shaped continental and localist, liberal and nationalist projects, always rooted in the diverse influences exerted by forces closer to the ideals of Pan-Americanism or the Latin American identity.

Connections

Theories and theoretical approaches: Founding insubordination
Concepts: Autonomy, Center-Periphery, Integrationism, Nationalism-Colonialism
Doctrines: Betancourt Doctrine, Brum Doctrine
Figures: Manuel Ugarte, Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, Felipe Herrera, Alberto Methol Ferré

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Latin American thought on international and global issues

Eduardo Devés, Constanza Jorquera Mery

The notion of "Latin American Thought on International and Global Issues" (PIENSALIM) has been taking shape in the first decades of the 21st century, mainly in the interaction of works by Argentine, Brazilian and Chilean authors (Cervo, 2008; Bernal-Meza, 2005a; Devés, 2013), embracing a broad heritage of Latin American thought.

This formulation was preceded by expressions such as "Latin American thought" (Zea, 1976), "Latin American social and political thought" (Werz, 1995), "Latin American integrationist thought" (Devés, 2003) and others from disciplines or areas that were assuming the existence of an eidetic trajectory that constituted a heritage, as well as a symbolic territory to explore (Devés, 2000). A very important step was taken with the work *Latin America in the World. Latin American thought and the theory of international relations* of Raúl Bernal-Meza (2005a).

This same PIENSALIM Manual wants to contribute to the constitution of the notion. When dealing with this genre of thought, "sub-formulations" have appeared that refer to regions: "Central American thought on international issues" (Devés, 2016) and "Caribbean thought on international issues (Devés and Estensso-

ro, 2016), "Mexican School of Foreign Policy Analysis" (Gil-Villegas, 1989), "Brasília School" (Bernal-Meza, 2005a), "Rosario School" (Lechini and Rojo, 2019), for example, which refer to regions or cities where specific issues have been developed that contribute to this heritage. Notions such as "Latin American geopolitical thought" (Estenssoro, 2014), " Latin American structuralist thought" (Bernal-Meza, 2005b), "autonomist thought of Juan C. Puig and Helio Jaguaribe" (Briceño Ruiz and Simonoff, 2016) have been approached,"dependence" (Tickner, 2009), as well as other notions that are articulated when trying to make this PIENSALIM explicit.

In the region, the ideas that converge in PIENSALIM were developed without disciplinary differentiation, appearing in fields such as Historiography, Political Science, Law, Philosophy and, of course, International Studies. As it has expanded with the emergence of new topics and research agendas, it has acquired greater prominence and prevalence in the regional debate, leading through various aspects towards theoretical and conceptual issues, as well as giving rise to and imagining differentiated trajectories. Interest in these ideas about international and global issues is growing rapidly in the region.

PIENSALIM is established on the basis of numerous factors, among which should be noted:

1) The general trajectory of Latin American thought includes indigenous, European and African aspects, as well as the trajectory of a reception with origins from all parts of the world, although in very unequal proportions. This has simultaneously generated a process of diversification in disciplinary branches, which are seeking their own profiles. These processes imply a dialectic between those who 'think' and those who study thought, through which conceptualizations are developed that both organize the field and open new questions and challenges. The PIENSALIM must be understood in this game.

2) This trajectory of the specific field of international studies and globalization currently recognizes itself, and does so by capitalizing on a set of works and figures, with their schools and theories, that is, a kind of canon that the discipline itself has been developing, where something can be seen that can be called a "culture of South American international studies" (Cid Capetillo, 2008: 50).

3) The formulation of objectives around the need to achieve greater degrees of autonomy with respect to the great powers is an objective both at the level of ideas and in foreign policy, through strategies that confront underdevelopment and political and economic dependence of the region (Ovando and Aranda, 2013; Gullo, 2011; Puig, 1980; Bernal-Meza, 2005b; Colacrai, 1992; Tickner, 2002).

4) The existence of a thematic identity, where the repeated return to certain themes and topics forms a recognizable profile. In this way, issues-problems such as the following have been developed, very coherent with those of other peripheral regions: regional integration, the Center-Periphery relationship, dependency, regional peace, anti-interventionism, anti-imperialism and intra-regional conflicts. For her part, Arlene Tickner (2009: 34) has identified as the main themes of the study agenda on international affairs of the period: North-South relations and the role of the Third World, economic integration and regional cooperation, comparative analyzes of Foreign Policy, transnationalism and interdependence.

5) The development of one's own conceptualization. Raúl Bernal-Meza raises what is seen as a relevant need for a more accurate practice: a theoretical, methodological or conceptual framework must be developed to support foreign policies (2016: 3).

6) The discussion within this disciplinary field has shown increasing vitality and creativity, as can be seen in the first two decades of the 21st century, with the appearance of numerous publications, study programmes, networks and congresses, among

other manifestations, which are undoubtedly rooted in what was done in previous eras. In this framework, what was pointed out by Gil-Villegas (1989: 672) can be expanded and projected for the Mexican case:

> Within what is beginning to take shape as a kind of 'Mexican school of foreign policy analysis', made up of a series of internationalists who have had the same basic training, the same teachers and have read the same books, there is a tendency.

In conclusion, the configuration of PIENSALIM shows an identifiable trajectory as a result of theorizations of the Economic-Social Sciences, the Humanities and Law, being constituted from intellectual networks, whose figures frequently recognize each other. Common objectives are noted, for example, achieving autonomy in theorization-conceptualization as well as in the performance of societies and States at the international and global level. This would allow us to elaborate the specificities of PIENSALIM, as well as distinguish it from trajectories of internationalist thought in other regions of the world.

Connections

Theories and theoretical approaches: Latin American structuralism, Dependency

Schools of thought and Networks: Mexican School of International Relations, School of Brasilia, Rosarian School of International Relations

Concepts: Center-Periphery, Peripheral modernity

Figures: Alejandro Simonoff, Amado Luiz Cervo, Arlene Tickner, Fernando Estenssoro Saavedra, Gladys T. Lechini, Helio Jaguaribe, Ileana Cid Capetillo, Raúl Bernal-Meza

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Peripheral thinking

Claudio Coloma Rojas

The theory of "Peripheral Thinking" is an approach to the study of ideas in the Global South, which was formally presented by Eduardo Devés in the book *Peripheral Thinking. A global interpretive thesis* (2012). This work shows that intellectual production in Latin America, Asia and Africa has been characterized by the elaboration of ideas based on the presence of a world center, that is, the European/Western world.

The regionalization that Devés proposes within this center/periphery structure is not limited to differentiating the continents based on conventional Western geopolitics, but rather expands these limits through religious readings, social theories, political thoughts and ideologies, which the author articulated through intellectual cartographies that show the circulation of ideas between different regions of the world.

The theory consists of assuming that:

> [t]he most comprehensive way to understand the thinking that has emerged in peripheral regions during the last centuries - regions in general subjected to processes of invasion or colonization - consists of the dilemma of being-like-the-center *versus* being *-ourselves* . This problem has been raised by the Latin American, African and Asian intellectuals, as well as the Slavic, Balkan and Iberian intellectuals of this time (Devés, 2012: 17).

In this sense, it is important to highlight that the author also observes that there are intellectuals who think peripherally in places like Spain, Russia and Poland, especially in the 18th and 19th centuries.

In the aforementioned dilemma, both positions usually reject the material presence of the center, although some believe that to avoid such presence we must be as strong (advanced, civilized, developed) as the center, which we could only achieve by imitating its trajectory; while others think that the most appropriate path is to affirm one's own identities, especially if it is assumed that those who want to imitate the center frequently end up becoming its allies.

Devés defines imitative thinking as the centralized intellectual proposal, which seeks to be up to date with what is happening in the center and underestimates the aboriginal culture and its agents (indigenous people, peasants and workers). Also, it tends to underestimate the intellectual trajectory of its own history, especially in the case of great civilizations such as the Chinese, Japanese, Ottoman, and Slavic. The second is defined as the intellectual identity proposal. This assumes the difference with the center and seeks to deepen these differences. It brings Aboriginal culture to the forefront and is wary of the influence of the center because it would entail immeasurable dangers.

The theory is formulated on the basis of a dichotomous world structure (center and periphery), within which it is possible to identify eidetic similarities between those peripheral intellectuals who have thought about the future of their societies, once they have faced power (military, cultural, political and economic) of the European/Western world.

Devés affirms that a peripheral sensitivity appears when an intellectuality is "capable of looking beyond its own culture-society, awakening with a surprise or perplexity regarding what the center is: the power, the beauty, the difference of its productions"

(2017: 31). In turn, this state of perplexity is usually articulated with a feeling of inferiority expressed through two types of reactions: fascination or rejection. In short, peripheral sensitivity is articulated to the extent that an individual assumes his being as peripheral; that is, when he realizes that his society is no longer at the center of the world due to the existence of an "Other" who is more powerful.

Naturally, this center/periphery structural dichotomy is not original, there are several examples of this, especially in the Latin American dependency and Third World traditions (Devés, 2017: 27). More recently, we have liberalism that advocates the cosmopolitan nature of democracy and Human Rights, structuring the world between those who submit to a set of practices understood as universal and those who reject them as exogenous to their culture. However, unlike these approaches, Devés's contribution consists of showing how peripheral sensitivity appeared within this binary structure and became part of intellectual consciousness, then sedimented and even became an unconscious element of non-European/Western thought.

In this framework, Devés maintains that peripheral sensitivity has a descriptive character. Through this, a *light structuralism is articulated* whose borders become blurred with an equally loose type of post-structuralism. In practice, it is an approach that is not only less rigid than other forms of structuralism such as, for example, Latin American Structuralism, but also allows us to understand those structuralisms formulated in the peripheries.

To formulate peripheral sensitivity, Devés points to the philosophical works of the Mexican Leopoldo Zea and the Polish Eugeniusz Górski, who thought of themselves and their intellectual ecosystems as parts of peripheries, Iberian America and Eastern Europe, respectively. Górski, in particular, thought of Poland not only as an economic periphery of capitalism, which is close to economic structuralism, but also as a peripheral nation char-

acterized by elements such as cultural, philosophical and spiritual aspects.

Furthermore, to the extent that we assume that peripheral sensitivity has a non-rational or incommensurable character, we have that this notion constitutes a subjective problem that can be addressed from different approaches to psychology. Sensitivity can be associated with both emotion and enjoyment, thus opening the possibility of dialogue with authors as different as Paul Ekman and Jacques Lacan, or with poststructuralists such as Slavoj Žižek, Ernesto Laclau and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak.

Even though the type of identitarianism/centralitarianism division has already been articulated in other parts of the world, Devés makes at least three contributions through this peripheral dilemma to think about post-Western International Relations.

Firstly, the meaning that the center has had for the periphery is reinterpreted. The peripheral dilemma allows us to see in perspective, and dispassionately, the different political and ideological positions that have emerged in the periphery with respect to the center. This marks a difference from other traditional structural approaches that rely on more rigid divisions, such as oppressor/oppressed, or developed/underdeveloped. Thus, for example, unlike the theses of imperialism of Lenin [1916] (1963), the three worlds of Mao (Jiang, 2013), and the center/periphery structuralism of Raúl Prébisch (1988), this work is not a criticism of the western center but not praise either; It does not seek to reaffirm left-wing thinking, but neither does it seek to please the right.

Second, the center is also important for the development of empirical field work. To characterize the ideas and their origin, the theory is formulated on the study of peripheral intellectual networks. Hence, the empirical work of this work not only consisted of sources obtained from peripheral regions, but also from places in the center where peripheral intellectuals have tended to

coincide and articulate networks, such as the United Kingdom, France, the United States, and Germany.

In this framework, Devés pays special attention to the notions of "circulation of ideas" and "meeting points", to formulate a paradigm (in the most flexible sense of Thomas Kuhn's terminology) that he himself calls "eidetic studies". " (Devés and Kozel, 2018). This means that the center stops being the source of world knowledge, since it is redefined as a peripheral meeting point and eidetic circulation. Eidetic "circulation" constitutes a substantive difference with those Eurocentric approaches that rest on the principle of the "distribution" of ideas, such as constructivism à la Alexander Wendt (1999) or Cris Reus-Smith (1999).

The empirical fieldwork carried out in Latin America, Asia, Africa "and something else" also marks a substantive difference with works such as the thesis of the localization of ideas by Amitav Acharya (2009), who studies the agency to transform the Western ideas in Southeast Asian countries. Similarly, Chantal Mouffe (2013) proposes her agonistic approach to study the plurality of ideological articulations in the world. For example, individualistic Western democracy would be different from the collective democracy of East Asia. These works, despite sharing similar interests to those of Devés, are far from having the same scope of empirical verification. While Acharya studies Southeast Asia, Mouffe denounces the Eurocentrism of international relations, formulates the idea of a democratic pluriverse, and ends, paradoxically, studying Europe.

It should be added that this same feature also differentiates Devés' work from those authors who study the biases or subjectivities that the European/Western center has on the periphery, such as the orientalism of Edward Said (1985) and its application to International Relations made by John Hobson (2012). That is, for Devés, the object of study is the non-European/Western world, while for Said and Hobson it is the European/Western world.

A third contribution of Devés is to demonstrate that the peripheral dilemma is a necessary condition of the peripheral debates that we usually associate with other dichotomies such as machismo/feminism, black/white, Indian/mestizo, bourgeoisie/proletariat, countryside/city, democracy/authoritarianism. , among others. For Devés, all these identities are mediated by the peripheral dilemma. In this way, if we pushed the frontier of this "Devesian" structuralism a little and reinterpreted the peripheral dilemma as a political struggle, we could well associate it with the post-Marxist categories of antagonism and discourse (Laclau, 2014) and thus contribute to de-Westernizing the study of political struggles, expanding it to a broader range of topics that allows us to overcome traditional Eurocentric theses on international conflict and security. Likewise, a crucial point for Devés is to emphasize that the centralitarian proposal should not necessarily be associated with modernity because the periphery has also imitated elements of the center that are dissociated from European/Western modernity such as, for example, the conservative Catholic creed.

Finally, the theory of Peripheral Thought vindicates the capacity of the periphery to think by and for itself, this being a topic that has occupied a central place in Devés' extensive work. Let us remember that peripheral thinking is constituted from the interactions between the center and the periphery, in which the most outstanding feature is the heavy influence of the former on the latter. However, another point to highlight is that this work demonstrates that thought in Latin America, Africa, Asia and Eastern Europe is, above all, a sovereign phenomenon of the societies where it is formulated.

Without a doubt, peripheral thinking has contributed to de-Westernizing the study of ideas and social studies in general, inspiring an incipient -but growing- number of researchers who are daring to cross the mental borders of Eurocentrism, to enter

into the still little explored lands of South-South international relations. In particular, this theory has not only encouraged the development of research and publications on the thought of the Global South, but also the creation of academic networks between the peripheries. The premises of the dilemma, sensitivity, and peripheral intellectual proposals are useful elements for other researchers to explore the epistemological diversity of the Global South and the ontological destabilization of European paradigms. In short, peripheral thought represents fertile ground in which to sow the seeds of post-Western International Relations.

Connections

Theories and theoretical approaches: Latin American structuralism
Concepts: Center-Periphery, Peripheral modernity
Figures: Carlos Escudé, Leopoldo Zea

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Pentagonism

Jorge Rodríguez Beruff

"Pentagonism" is a concept developed by the intellectual and former president of the Dominican Republic Juan Bosch (1909-2001), in a book titled *Pentagonism, substitute for imperialism*. Bosch uses the concept to characterize the changes that had occurred in American domestic and foreign policy, although he also applies the concept to relations between the armed forces and civilian governments in underdeveloped countries. This influential text by Bosch was written in Spain during a period of exile as part of a cycle of works, including *Dominican Social Composition*, *From Christopher Columbus to Fidel Castro: the Caribbean Imperial Frontier, Thesis of the Dictatorship with popular support* and *Pentagonism, substitute for imperialism* - the latter would be translated into more than twelve languages, being one of the most widely distributed texts worldwide by a Caribbean and Latin American thinker. All of them mark a radicalization, post 1965, of the thought of Bosch, who had been a prominent member of the so-called democratic left and began to move towards the positions of radical anti-imperialism.

The immediate context of this text was the invasion of the Dominican Republic in 1965, by decision of US President Lyndon B. Johnson, through the so-called "Inter-American Peace Force" to liquidate the Constitutionalist Revolution that sought to return

Bosch to power. However, Bosch's reflection is located in a broader context: the Vietnam War; the emergence of national liberation movements; the radicalization of the Cuban Revolution and support for guerrilla movements; Che's campaign in Bolivia; the civil rights movement and against the Vietnam War; as well as the reforms known as the "Great Society " promoted by Johnson in the United States (Rodríguez Beruff, 2005; 2010).

Bosch's thought has as its intellectual background the work of Alfred A. Vagts (1937), who proposes that modern militarism consists of the militarization of civil society and not only the power of the military apparatus, as well as that of Harold Lasswell (1941), who maintains that the United States had become a "garrison state" to fight World War II, which was incompatible with a democratic society. Another important American thinker, whose work is very relevant at the time Bosch wrote *The Pentagonism,* was Charles Wright Mills, with his book *The Power Elite*. Mills stated in that book that "Alongside the corporate executives and the politicians, the generals and admirals -those uneasy cousins within the American elite- have gained and have been given increased power to make and to influence decisions of the grave consequence" (1956: 171). Bosch also took elements from the American political discussion on militarism, highlighting Dwight Eisenhower's statements on the military-industrial complex and Senator William J. Fulbright's (1966) criticism of imperialism and intervention in Vietnam in his book *The arrogance* of *power* (Rodriguez Beruff, 2005).

Marxism, Latin American nationalism and pacifist criticism of the militarization of US politics are currents of thought that come together in the concept of Pentagonism and criticism of US policy. *The Pentagonism* shows the knowledge that Bosch had about the anti-militarist thinking of the time, since it addresses topics that were the subject of intense debate in the late '60s and early '70s and that were discussed by other authors who published important works in that time. We can mention, for example, John Saxe Fernández,

Richard J. Barnet, Noam Chomsky, Adam Yarmolinsky, Dieter Senghaas, Seymour Melman (Rodríguez Beruff and Giusti, 2013).

The Cold War led to a permanent military organization, which constituted a break with the liberal tradition of the United States. Thus, what has occurred is a division of the fields of action since, while the military has become dominant in foreign policy, civilians have retained control of internal policy. From this reading, according to Bosch, imperialism, in its Leninist concept, was only valid until the Second World War. What has been in force since then is Pentagonism, the product of overdeveloped capitalism. It is no longer about the acquisition of territories or the export of surplus capital, what is sought is "access to the large economic resources that are mobilized for war" (2000: 38). Pentagonism replaces imperialism, so that power is concentrated in the Pentagon and in the permanent war economy. It is the combination of a mass society and the power of the Pentagon. Its subjective conditions are anti-communism and the exaltation of the cult of military heroes. The civilian population is controlled through public opinion manufactured by anti-communist propaganda. The United States inherits the influence of the old European empires, but no longer aspires to have colonies but to exercise power through dependent armies. When John F. Kennedy became president, in 1961, military power was already stronger than civilian power. The liberals were weakened and confined mainly to the universities. Americans had already understood in the 1960s that Pentagonism was at the center of the political system.

The invasion of the Dominican Republic in 1965 is an expression of the maturity of Pentagonism. By then, the Latin American armed forces have already been subordinated to the Pentagonism through various mechanisms such as military assistance, training and the sale of weapons.

For Bosch, civil society in the United States is "pentagonized" and, within it, the labor movement. In 1965, 70% of public opin-

ion supported the invasion of the Dominican Republic and, in 1967, something similar happened with the bombings of North Vietnam. In his perspective, "liberals have no possibility of showing power similar to that of the Pentagon", they have become "an exotic flower" (2000: 83). In this way, it is in Latin America and Vietnam where pentagonist power is exercised with greatest intensity and the Dominican Republic is the first country to fall under that power.

Pentagonism is not imposed in the United States through a military coup d'état but by "gradually replacing civil power..." (2000: 130). The reformist policies of Johnson's "Great Society" aim to achieve internal peace while Pentagonism is imposed and the war in Vietnam worsens. In Latin America, the armed forces will gradually impose themselves on their governments. It is an anticipation by Bosch of what would be the cycle of coups d'état in Latin America that led to the establishment of military national security regimes.

Connections

Schools of thought and Networks: New World Group School
Concepts: Autonomy, Nationalism-Colonialism
Doctrines: Drago Doctrine
Figures: Eric Williams, Juan Bosch, Norman Girvan

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Subnational international politics

Carolina Pesuto

The concept of "Subnational International Policy" is inserted in the lines of analysis opened by the works of Colacrai and Zubelzú (1994) on foreign relations of the Argentine provinces and then deepened by developments by Maira (2010) and Calvento (2016). The complexity and multiplicity of aspects that the phenomenon of sub-statehood in international relations has acquired in recent times merits a multidimensional approach.

The origins of the concept can be found in the research of Duchacek (1984) and Soldatos and Michelmann (1990), where the phenomenon is called "paradiplomacy", and it is the one that has achieved the greatest reach and diffusion. It is analyzed as an expression of the crisis of the State and the segmentation of foreign policy in central and industrialized countries with federal systems, highlighting the interrelation between the domestic and international political system.

The theories of liberalism and in particular complex interdependence are the major disciplinary perspectives that allow explaining the phenomenon of sub-statehood. They proposed the "transnationalist" or "globalist" vision of international reality, Keohane and Nye observed the international system as a matrix of complex interdependence (1988). These perspectives were enriched with contributions such as those of James Rosenau (1990) on the role of actors.

In Latin America, this concept was valued in the work of Luis Maira; and subnational international policy was taken up and defined by Calvento as that political decision and public tool of local governments, or non-central governments, that is responsible for promoting international insertion through a strategy and objectives aimed at taking advantage, articulately, of the opportunities of the context with the needs of the territory (2016).

This category is conceived as a transversal policy that contains the political will of the local government to act as an actor in international relations. The concept is deployed in two dimensions: on the one hand, international institutional relations, and, on the other, international positioning. In turn, each of these dimensions contains a set of unilateral, bilateral and multilateral tools. To analyze how subnational international policy is carried out, it must be considered its articulation with the notion of subnational international management, which refers to the set of mechanisms and capabilities through which said policy is managed and carried out, defined by Miryan Colacrai and Graciela Zubelzú. (2004) and taken up by Carlos Milani and Maria Clotilde M. Ribeiro (2010). Inside, the contents and resources of subnational international policy are broken down, including the use of territorial resources, the articulation of local actors and their leadership.

The Post-Cold War becomes the common denominator of systemic explanations of paradiplomacy. The new wave of regional integration agreements, the emergence of the so-called city-regions and even of global cities that were beginning to have an important international projection in themselves, were perceived as features that would deepen and reflect a world that is described as a global, polycentric village with perforated sovereignty in which territorial definitions will be reviewed, transforming intergovernmental ties and forms of international insertion.

The paradiplomacy, according to Noe Cornago, refers to international relations developed by the non-central governments of a

country -substate, regional or local- in order to promote their own interests (socioeconomic, cultural or environmental). Each substate entity projects itself through various modalities (permanent or *ad hoc*), carrying out diplomacy according to its scale or possibilities, considering the development of subnational international action within constitutional powers (1999-2010).

However, the use of the concept of paradiplomacy has been questioned due to its polysemic meaning as well as its lack of methodological precision. Maira and Calvento's studies adjusted the concept to observations of the phenomenon within the framework of Latin American thought. From this perspective, they make contributions to the concept by renaming it as Subnational international politics; considering that it better represents the particularities of the region in the sense of harmony and complementarity with agenda items, alliances and modalities of the subnational policies of non-central governments with the foreign policies of the States; giving a multidimensional meaning by including the development of the territories and the integration processes of the Latin American region as interesting variables in the analyses.

The lines of research that address the causes of the internationalization of subnational entities can be classified from a double perspective. On the one hand, some explanations emphasize the dynamics and structure of the international system, which could play as a dependent variable. On the other hand, analyzes and studies on foreign policy that emphasize the internal structures or factors that drive the international actions of subnational actors. The way in which subnational international politics has been addressed in the discipline responds to an effort to produce and systematize various contributions that have emerged in recent times, which is far from being conclusive but rather in continuous development.

The study of foreign policy as a level of analysis makes it possible to observe gradualities and study subtleties that reflect the

transformations in the internal political system and its impact internationally. It also allows analyzing the decision-making of the bureaucracy, traditions, leadership and adjustments between internal and external. Decentralization within the framework of democratic processes is considered a facilitator of the international actions of subnational entities. The cases studied for Mexico (Schiavon, 2010), Brazil (Vigevani and Prado, 2010) and Argentina (Colacrai and Zubelzú, 1994; Colacrai, 2010) provide explanations in this sense, enriching the analysis from Latin American thought on global issues.

Research that problematizes the internationalization of subnational governments as a local public policy emphasizes the existence of a stable strategy and institutional and formal instruments generated for this purpose within local governments. According to Salomón, only some subnational governments have a Subnational international policy in the sense that they deliberately develop a strategy aimed at achieving their objectives beyond borders and develop instruments and institutional structures to do so. The design and implementation of a policy in the sense of a plan, as opposed to a practice. Others, however, limit themselves to external action, contacting or linking with foreign entities but without the support of a preconceived foreign strategy, and with little coordination between different levels of government (2007).

The Mercosur implementation process produced formal instances of participation of subnational actors, such as the creation of Mercociudades in 1995; the Consultative Forum of Municipalities, Federated States, Provinces and Departments of Mercosur (FCCR) in operation since 2007 and later the Border Integration Group (GIT). The increase in the quality and quantity of studies on cross-border integration programs shows the richness of the topic. In this sense, a differentiated place will be taken by studies on regional integration processes as drivers of subnational international activity (Botto, 2013; Ventura and Garcia Fonseca, 2012).

The importance and relevance of a deep and critical look at the analysis of subnational international politics refers to the fact that, although it is anchored in subordination to the foreign policy design of the national State, it widens the links, modernizes the decision-making process of foreign policy and integrates a look at the development of the territories into the international context from the south.

Connections

Theories and theoretical approaches: South American regionalisms, Civil society in Latin American regionalism, Regional civil society
Schools of thought and Networks: Autonomy, Autonomy and Rosarian School of International Relations, Rosarian School of International Relations
Concepts: Open integration, Latin American regionalisms
Figures: Miryam Colacrai

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Production - Integration[13]

Eduardo Devés, Fernando Estenssoro Saavedra

The concept of "Production-Integration" was coined in the English-speaking Caribbean as a proposal for international political economy that aims to link investment in development and integration, that is, understanding the integration process not only as political and commercial agreements but mainly linked to productive issues, an aspect that would have particular importance for states. or small economies. This concept is part, moreover, of a trajectory of Latin American thought that has understood the problem of development as a substantial aspect, not only of its political economy, but also of its foreign and international policy.

Norman Girvan (2006: 8-9) has pointed out several steps in the process of establishing the concept, which contributes to clarifying its meaning. In the original formulation it was understood as "the organization of integrated regional industrial complexes from raw materials to finished products" (Girvan, 2006: 8). The next step is noted in a *UWI Integration Studies document* from 1967-1968, in which Brewster and Thomas stated that "the 'integra-

13 An aspect of our work (2016) International topics in Central America's thought and agenda, 1900-2010: A framework in five moments. *Universum*, July, 31 (1) 81-104, is reelaborated here.

tion of trade and production' as an alternative (or complement) to market-driven integration; and proposed the setting up of several such complexes" (2006: 9).

Later, Girvan himself and Georg Beckford wrote about "the rationalization of the regional banana and bauxite industries in which these would generate forward and backward linkage activities regionally." Such proposals were "a logical outgrowth of Demas's idea of 'structural transformation' as lying at the core of economic development, in which the growth of inter-industry linkages was a key element; and McIntyre's ideas of 'resource combination' and 'export substitution' in Caribbean economic integration." In short, the proposal pointed towards a form of "industrial programming and an active role of the state; with much of the new activity being oriented to the regional market. It was reflected in several provisions of the original Treaty of Chaguaramas and resulting projects."

What Girvan points out can be reinforced by insisting that this notion has been elaborated by various authors in the trajectory of thought, particularly in the Caribbean. Denis Benn and Kenneth Hall argued that "the production-integration concept represents a development paradigm that has been the subject of extensive theorization, both in the Caribbean and in the international community" (2006: XVI) and according to Richard Cato, it is "a strategic concept, which has fascinated academics and development agents" (2005: 207).

Cato (2005: 207) has traced the work on the subject to W. Demas, stating that "in fact in his seminal study of 1965", "Size (stature, bearing) and development" already referred to production integration as a topic relevant for the economic development of small countries. For their part, Benn and Hall (2006: XVI) added that this extensive theorization can be traced back to A. McIntyre's early formulations about 'combination of resources', which was subsequently constructed by Brewster and Thomas in

1967, *The dynamics of West Indian Economic Integration*, in which they pointed out that the integration of the West Indies should not be limited to the conditions that govern the exchange of goods, but should also include production (cited in Cato 2005: 207). This notion has continued to be valid over the decades because, more recently, "a team led by Professor N. Girvan prepared an extensive study on the subject in 1994, which includes theoretical and practical considerations for the promotion of production -integration" (Cato, 2005: 207). Later, Trevor Farrell published numerous studies on cross-border investment in the Caribbean, in which the issue of production-integration is very relevant (Benn and Hall, 2006: XVI).

Connections

Theories and Theoretical Approaches: Dependency
Schools of thought and Networks: New World Group
Concepts: Autonomy, Integration, Integrationism
Figures: Norman Girvan, William Arthur Lewis

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Latin American regionalisms

Lincoln Bizzozero

"Regionalism" in Latin American thought has been approached and defined from three perspectives: systemic, Political Economy and, finally, Foreign Policy. From a systemic approach, Regionalism is considered as a specific subsystem of the international system and, therefore, with certain capabilities and functions (Bernal-Meza, 2000; Bizzozero, 2004). From a Political Economy perspective, Regionalism is associated with a process of economic integration with specific political, economic and social objectives (Moneta and Quenan, 1994). And finally, from Foreign Policy, Regionalism is seen as a regional response of political and economic insertion into the world. These three approaches are relevant from Latin American thought and have given support to the fundamental axes of reflection on Regionalism. On the one hand, what concerns the participation of Latin America and its regional subsystems in the global/international system; secondly, regarding the link between Regionalism and economic, social and human development; and finally what concerns the geopolitical scope of the Latin American States and the priorities that they define in their external relations and in the issues of the international and regional agenda. One of the fundamental contributions of Latin American thought associated with Regionalism has consisted of locating regional processes in the international system, making

the concept more complex in its connection with development, locating identity roots associated with the common historical process and presenting regionalism as an instrument of foreign policy for the purposes of generating space for power and greater autonomy (Devés, 2003; Briceño Ruiz, Rivarola Puntigliano, et al., 2012).

The concept of Regionalism entered mainstream literature in the 1990s with the inclusion of the adjective "new" to indicate the difference with previous Regionalism and break with the current integrationist paradigm symbolized by the Economic Commission for Latin America (CEPAL) based on the ideas developed by Raúl Prebisch. Although Latin American thought on regional integration drew on other idealist thinkers, politicians and forgers (for the ideal of Latin American integration to be achieved), such as Felipe Herrera, Celso Furtado, Helio Jaguaribe, Aldo Ferrer, Eduardo Frei, Gustavo Lagos, among others, it is CEPAL that condensed the substratum of the regionalist thought of those decades.

The CEPAL doctrine of that period, which covered three decades, between the '50s and the end of the '80s, introduced some themes that were not taken into account by analysts from developed countries such as "Dependency", "Periphery", theory of the state from a peripheral Latin American perspective, inclusion of the social dimension in the concept of development, consideration of structural factors as conditioning factors in a process of regional integration and location of Latin America in the world system (Bernal-Meza, 2005).

Starting in the late 1980s, CEPAL prioritized the New Regionalism approach. This, with its paradigm of openness to the world, came together with the ideas and proposals of the Washington Consensus and the neoliberal recipe book and was identified as "open" (CEPAL, 1994). In addition to this ideological factor, three others that were at the base of the impulse to the New Latin American regionalism were: the continental impulse of the United

States, the regional cooperation process linked to the democratic transitions of the countries and the regional convergence on relevant international issues such as external debt and trade.

The geopolitical and geoeconomic configuration with a Southern Common Market (MERCOSUR) (1991) made up of Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay in South America and a Free Trade Agreement in North America (1994) made up of the United States, Canada and Mexico cracked Latin America and the ideology of a Latin American common market (Methol Ferré, 2009). The articulation of regional spaces with the world/international system and the modality and incidence of regional spaces in international governance were part of analyzes that occurred from the mid-1990s. Argentine-Brazilian cooperation and the pole of attraction of MERCOSUR as the driving force of South American/Latin American Regionalism was an axis of reflection that had interdisciplinary approaches.

The economic and social crisis at the beginning of the 21st century brought a questioning of the neoliberal model and with it also of open Regionalism with priorities focused on the market in what some analysts called post-liberal Regionalism and others even post-hegemonic Regionalism (Riggirozzi and Tussie, 2012; Serbin, Martínez, et al., 2012). From the very evolution of Latin American Regionalism, other authors highlighted its continental and social dimension, visualizing its strategic nature (Bizzozero, 2011; 2012; Briceño Ruiz, 2011).

Although the international context and the failure of the neoliberal model laid the foundations for a return of the State as the guiding axis of the process, progressive governments gave specific content to regionalism through the foreign policies of their countries. This stage was marked by the creation of the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR, 2008), the Bolivarian Alternative for the Peoples of Our America (ALBA, 2004) and geopolitical initiatives that marked a Venezuelan-Argentine axis as a balance

of Brazil's weight. The contributions of Latin American thought to Regionalism of this stage, which covered twenty years from the beginning of the 21st century, focused on three dimensions: the connection with international politics; the social dimension, which brought about a perspective of citizen participation; and regional cooperation together with the social and productive fabric in the analyzes and proposals. Brazil's entry into the BRICS group as a power factor provided bases for Regionalism to be viewed as a component of Brazil's international politics and to have the conditions dictated by geopolitics as a framework for reflection (Vigevani and Ramanzini Júnior, 2009).

The recent evolution of Latin American Regionalism is structured by strong ideological debates on the role of the State in the process, the Pacific option as a globalizing alternative to the Atlantic version of MERCOSUR, and the priorities and modalities of international insertion analyzed by geopolitical conditions and changes. in the interests and ideas of economic and social actors (Mellado and Cienfuegos Mateo, 2018; Riggirozzi and Tussie, 2018; Pose and Bizzozero, 2019). At the same time, there are other issues that have been incorporated by political and social transformations, such as the value of natural resources in their connection with regional food sovereignty and the social dimension through the participation of civil society and indigenous peoples, as well as the position and definitions of the regional options of Latin America in the construction of spaces (Ibero-American, Euro-Latin American, inter-American). These debates and the priority given to international insertion, the return of Latin America to the periphery in the decision-making spaces of the international system and regional geopolitics as a space of conflict/cooperation, are pointing out the parameters in which is being channeling Latin American thought on Regionalism in the present.

Connections

Theories and theoretical approaches: Latin American structuralism

Concepts: Center-Periphery, Open integration, Integrationism, Latin American system

Figures: Alberto Methol Ferré, Aldo Ferrer, Celso Furtado, Felipe Herrera, Helio Jaguaribe, José Briceño Ruiz, Raúl Bernal-Meza

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Republicanism

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The formation of an international order of free peoples is the core of republican thought applied to international and global issues, especially from the perspective of all Latin American countries. To begin with, it is known that the tradition of republican thought is very old. It has its origins in the writings of Marcus Tullius Cicero, in classical Rome (Holton, 2017). Through history, "Republicanism" experienced cycles of boom and bust. Since the 1970s, (neo)republican thought on the continent and the world is considered to be in a new phase of ascension (Bignotto, 2000; Pettit, 1999).

Briefly, internationalist and political-social republican thought revolves around six fundamental principles with transnational implications: the defense of the popular origin of power (opposition to tyranny and theocracy), the defense of the common good as the end of political life (public interest), the need to have clear mechanisms for limiting authority (good government), the defense of the active participation of citizens in their government (deliberationism), the defense of the freedom of citizens and governing bodies (freedom as non-domination), and the cultivation of civic virtues (patriotism). Likewise, numerous authors -including internationalists, diplomats, intellectuals and other specialists- have worked on the applications of such principles, especially

in the field of the development of international relations in Latin America (Gargarella, 2001; Pocock, 2008).

Note that republican language and thought even precede the Independence and the formation of modern Latin American States. Indeed, publications by Bartolomé de las Casas, in the 16th century, opened the way for an Ibero-American matrix, with elective affinities and specificities, when compared to other similar experiences (Quijano, 2015). During the 18th century, this Ibero-American matrix of republican thought was renewed and updated with Enlightenment and contractarian influences -especially Rousseau and Jeffersonian- (Fernández Sebastián, 2021; Skinner, 2004).

Latin American republican thought crystallized within the framework of the struggles for Independence and the birth of new countries, in the first decades of the 19th century. Indeed, with the partial exception of the Brazilian monarchical-imperial period and two brief Mexican experiments, the majority of Latin American States have been formally Republics since the nineteenth century. From a transnational perspective, all of this implies the emergence of written constitutions, civil rights, division of powers, anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism (opposition to autocratization, despotism or tyranny) and, more recently, democratization (democratic peace). These principles are fundamental even with regard to the study and research on the evolution of international identity and Latin American thought on global issues (Cardoso, 2008).

The elective affinities and correlations between Latin American thought on global issues, international identity and Republicanism can be appreciated in interstate guidelines of a constitutional nature, such as non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States, multilateralism, or the peaceful resolution of controversies. Those affinities and correlations also appear in other principles of international law typical of the 20th and 21st centu-

ries, which include respect for the sovereignty, freedom and territorial integrity of States, legal equality, South-South cooperation (regional integration), or the renunciation of the use of force in intraregional politics (Domènech, 2004).

Likewise, a diplomatic culture contrary to wars of conquest, imperialist aggression or supremacist rhetoric is also part of contemporary Latin American Republicanism. Similar weightings could be mentioned in relation to the establishment of parameters of mutual trust, collective security, regional consultation and agreement (including with extra-regional interlocutors), secularization (secularism of the State), and the growing participation of social and political actors in the formulation and implementation of foreign policy (transparency and paradiplomacy) (Onuf, 1998).

In retrospect, republican internationalist thought has inspired certain subregional doctrines since the 19th century, such as Sanmartianism, Bolivarism, Morenism, Morazanism, or Martianism (Sábato, 2018). During the first half of the 20th century, conceptual connections of (plebeian) republicanism could be identified with transnational intellectual currents close to feminism, indigenism (culturalism), municipalism/regionalism, mutualism/cooperativism -with certain varieties of unionism-, Decolonial approach, or with the Caribbean revolutionary thought of Frantz Fanon and successors (Lomné, 2009).

Since the second half of the 20th century, Latin American republican internationalist thought also seems to have elective affinities with Third World nationalism (Peronist Third Position), with developmentalism, reformism and modernization, with non-alignment against the hegemonic designs of imperialist powers, with anticolonialism, with Afro-Latinidad, with environmentalism and sustainability, and with intercivilizational dialogue (multiculturalism) (Rosler, 2016).

In the first years of the 21st century, Republicanism is also present in South-South cooperation, in the different processes of

regional integration (variable geometry), in the promotion of democracy and opposition to authoritarianism (Democratic clause), in Pan-Americanism and Ibero-Americanism, and in the constitution of a paradigmatic zone of peace, democracy and development (Ovejero, Martí and Gargarella, 2004).

In conclusion, from the perspective of thinking on international and global issues, the Republican concept is extremely important since before independence and the formation of the current Latin American States (Cardoso, 2008). Its traces and influences can be verified -directly and indirectly- in doctrines of international insertion, and in the predominant diplomatic culture. Ultimately, it is about listening to Republicanism in the international identity of the States, societies and individuals/collectivities of Latin America (Aguilar and Rojas, 2014). Certainly, new research will be able to delve deeper into this challenging topic, little known academically and even paradigmatic.

Connections

Theories and Theoretical Approaches: Dependency, Decolonial approach to international studies, Latin American structuralism, Founding insubordination, Peripheral realism

Schools of thought and Networks : School of Brasilia, New World Group School, Latin American International Relations Network (RIAL)

Concepts: Autonomy, South-South Cooperation, Heterogeneous distribution of science and technology, International identity, Subregional integration, Integrationism, Peripheral modernity, Multilateralism, Latin American thought on international issues, Latin American regionalisms, Regional civil society

Doctrines: Betancourt Doctrine, Calvo Doctrine, Drago Doctrine,

Estrada Doctrine, Juárez Doctrine, Third Position Doctrine, Tobar Doctrine

Figures: Amado Luiz Cervo, Celso Furtado, Frantz Fanon, Helio Jaguaribe, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Mario Rapoport, Néstor Garcia Canclini, Octavio Ianni, Paulo Fagundes Visentini, Raúl Bernal-Meza, Raúl Prebisch, Walter Mignolo

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Knowledge and theories about regional integration in Latin America

Jose Briceno Ruiz

Michel Foucault distinguishes between knowledge and science. For Foucault, "Knowledge" (*savoir*, in french) is defined as a "set of elements formed regularly by a discursive practice and that are indispensable for the constitution of a science, although they are not necessarily destined to give rise to it" (Foucault, 2008: 237). In this sense, Foucault distinguishes knowledge from knowledge (*connaissance* , in French), the latter understood as "positive knowledge" (economics or physics, for example) of a certain subject or discipline. This *connaissance* is expressed in theories. Knowledge, on the other hand, is "the formative discourse" that can make "positive knowledge" possible.

This work starts from the argument that the Latin American reflection on regional integration can be distinguished between what, on the one hand, is called in this work the "Integrationist Knowledge", which begins decades before the beginning of the independence struggle and, on the other hand , On the other hand, the "Theorization on regional integration" that begins to develop in the second half of the 20th century.

The first narrative of integrationist knowledge links regional unity with shared identity. This identity argument as an explan-

atory factor for regional unity was used by Juan Pablo Viscardo y Guzmán and Francisco de Miranda. It was taken up by heroes such as Juan Egaña or Simón Bolívar to justify the fight for independence, as expressed for example in the Charter of Jamaica, written in 1815. Regional unity is present throughout the document. First, the idea of the particularity of the people of Hispanic America is manifested through the identity argument, stating "We are a small human race" (Bolívar, 1991: 70-71[1815]). Bolívar doubted the viability of creating a single American republic, therefore, in the Charter he describes a Hispanic America of only six countries (Mexico, Central America, Colombia, Buenos Aires, Chile and Peru). However, Bolívar believed in the possibility of establishing meeting spaces between these countries to agree on common positions and resolve their differences. That was the idea of the Panama Congress, although its convocation was also based on the fear of external threats, such as the fear of reconquest action by Spain and the Holy Alliance. A second argument for regional unity thus emerged: joint action in the face of a threatening outside world.

During the years of the struggle for independence, no economic integration initiatives were properly proposed, except by José Cecilio del Valle, who in his proposal for an American congress included "an economic plan to enrich the countries" (Del Valle, 1982: 234 [1825]). However, in 1844, Juan Bautista Alberdi wrote a thesis in which he rescued the idea of regional unity, but this would no longer be to defend itself against external threats, but rather to achieve "the continental trade union", through "the abolition of the internal customs, whether provincial or national, leaving only the maritime or external customs standing" (Alberdi, 1844: 14). In 1862, Benedicto Medinaceli, in his work *Project for the confederation of Latin American republics, that is, a system of perpetual peace in the New World,* took up the idea of holding a regional congress, which although maintained the proposal of creating a

defensive alliance , also proposes an agreement on trade between the allied republics (Medinaceli, 1862).

The idea of unity to confront external threats is taken up in various texts starting in the 1850s, when american interventionism in Central America and the actions of European powers throughout the continent were perceived as threats to the existence of the countries that are already beginning to describe themselves as Latin American. Francisco Bilbao wrote *The Initiative for America in 1856. Idea of a General Congress of the Republics* , in which the proposal of a regional congress is taken up. In 1852, Bilbao published "America in danger", a text in which the element of external threat (the growing interventionism of the United States in Central America) is combined with the identity argument: the danger of the Latin race in the face of advance of the Saxon race. In this line of thought, which combines external threats and the identity factor, is the work of the members of the American Union Society, founded in Santiago in 1862, among whom Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna and Victoriano Lastarria stand out. At the end of the 19th century, José Martí would return to proposals in which threats against aggression and shared identity were the foundations of regional unity.

The predominance of Pan-Americanism during the first four decades of the 20th century did not prevent Latin American integrationist knowledge from continuing. In Argentina, regional unity to promote industrialization would be proposed by Alejandro Bunge in his proposal for the Southern Customs Union (Bunge, 1929). Manuel Ugarte would write prolifically about Latin American unity by questioning Pan-Americanism, to the point of defining the Pan American Office, created in 1889 at the Washington Conference, as "the outline and germ of a future Colonial Ministry" (Ugarte, 1920: 126). In Peru, Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, from his American Popular Revolutionary Alliance (APRA) party, would promote Indo-American unity.

Thus, since independence, a series of narratives, discourses and proposals on regional unity were developed and constituted "knowledge", in the Foucauldian sense of the term, on regional integration and cooperation in Latin America. The defense against external threats, the protection of sovereignty and the identity issue were crucial factors of these narratives in the 19th century, to which the economic issue would be added based on Bunge's proposals. It is valid to affirm that all this "knowledge" was a direct and necessary antecedent for the emergence of a Latin American theorization on regional integration and cooperation.

Latin America develops two theoretical schools to analyze regional integration and cooperation. One occurs in the field of economics and has as its intellectual center the Economic Commission for Latin America (CEPAL or, by its Spanish acronym, CEPAL) and as its central figure Raúl Prebisch, its first Executive Secretary. The other school is located in the field of International Relations: the School of Autonomy. Juan Carlos Puig in Argentina and Helio Jaguaribe in Brazil are its two main representatives, although later "autonomism" has undergone mutations and expansions in its conceptualizations and has spread beyond its Argentine-Brazilian core.

Within CEPAL, its own school of economic thought emerged that became known as "Latin American Structuralism." Based on the document *Latin American development and some of its main problems*, published in 1949 (Prebisch, 1949) and the Economic Study of Latin America of 1949, published in 1950, CEPAL, under the aegis of Prebisch, makes a detailed analysis of the economic delay of the Latin American region. It is based on the existence of problems that derive from the world economic structure that is asymmetric, formed by a center and a periphery, which means that, unlike what the classical theory of world trade proposed (comparative advantage), it does not Everyone gained equally in commercial exchanges. In the "Economic Study", CEPAL raises the controversial

argument of the deterioration of the terms of trade. Also, structural elements typical of Latin American countries, such as the weak organization of society, in particular the union movement, or the latifundist structure of land ownership, prevented the fruits of technical progress from spreading, as was happening in the Latin American countries. from the center (CEPAL, 1950).

CEPAL, and in particular Prebisch, take up the industrialist ideas of Alejando Bunge, who had been Prebisch's professor. Bunge wanted to follow the German model proposed by Federico List and promote a process of industrial development in which the creation of a customs union would play an important role. For Prebisch, Latin America could only stop being on the periphery of the world economy if it began a process of transforming its productive structures, which had to be similar to those of the central countries. This implies leaving dependence on raw materials and starting a process of industrial development that, due to the context of protectionism in the immediate years after the end of World War II, had to be industrialization with import substitution.

In this context, economic integration plays a central role. For Prebisch and CEPAL, integration was not essentially a mechanism to promote broad market liberalization but rather a means to contribute to the productive transformation of the region through industrialization. In this sense, integration was industrializing. It was seen as a factor that helped to solve a structural problem of the national industrialization processes of the time: that they were developing in sealed compartments and narrow markets, which did not allow them to achieve economies of scale and improve their competitiveness. This is the argument developed in the document *The Latin American Common Market* , which CEPAL published in 1959, in which the joint planning of industrial activities had a central role (CEPAL, 1959). These proposals influenced regional schemes such as the Central American Common Market, within which a Regime of Central American Integration Indus-

tries (RICI) was created, and the Andean Pact, which established the Sectoral Industrial Development Programs (PSDI) (see Guerra Borges, 1991). .

Thus, unlike classic theories of regional integration, such as Jacob Viner's approach to customs unions, integration in CEPAL is not a mechanism to simply promote free trade. In fact, Prebisch is a leader in the debate about whether these theories were applicable in developing countries. In Prebisch and CEPAL, integration is an instrument to promote economic development through industrialization. In other words, development and integration are two sides of the same coin. This makes his work an original contribution to the study of integration.

The second school, the autonomist one, is less known in the world and even in some Latin American countries. Puig and Jaguaribe share the vision that the world is not anarchic in the sense that there is no international hierarchy, as proposed by political realism in the theory of International Relations, but hierarchical. In Puig, this hierarchy is manifested in the existence of supreme distributors (the superpowers) and recipients (the peripheral countries) and in the middle of them are the intermediate distributors, like some European countries (Puig, 1980). Jaguaribe (1979), for his part, describes the existence of an inter-imperial order, where superpowers exercise general primacy, while countries such as China, Japan or regional schemes such as the European Union, exercise regional primacy. At the lowest part of the hierarchical order were the countries in a situation of dependency. However, in Puig and Jaguaribe the peripheral countries were not destined for permanent dependence. Many of them had the conditions to achieve autonomy. Thus, Jaguaribe (1979) placed autonomy as a space between regional primacy and dependence. Puig conceptualized autonomy as the maximum capacity for self-decision that one can possess, taking into account the conditions of real life (Puig, 1980).

In this context, regional integration and cooperation were mechanisms to promote regional autonomy. Although integration was not always autonomizing (Puig, 1986), it had the potential to be a component in a process of autonomization. Thus, integration was not just any instrument, but an essential element for achieving autonomy. Puig uses the category solidarity integration, which is based on alliances, on unions of states determined to achieve certain sectoral objectives, but also on shared values, among them, autonomy (Puig, 1986). Jaguaribe will return to these autonomist ideas to explain the development of the Southern Common Market (MERCOSUR) and the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR) (see Simonoff and Lorenzini, 2019).

This brief essay demonstrates that Latin America has a history of reflection on regional integration and cooperation. It was first presented in the form of an "integrationist Knowledge" in which regional unity was seen as an instrument for common defense against external threats and the identity factor was a crucial variable. Although the economic issue was not central, it was not absent either. The work of Miranda, Bolívar, Del Valle, Bilbao, Medinaceli, Martí, Ugarte, Bunge or Haya de la Torre can be included in this knowledge that allowed the creation of narratives about the factors that led Latin American countries to promote regional initiatives. They were not theories, but discourses, narratives that were later fundamental for Latin American theorizing on regional integration and cooperation.

This theorization began to develop in the middle of the 20th century, when CEPAL Structuralism and the School of Autonomy emerged. Both are linked to previous integrationist knowledge. The Structuralism of CEPAL, its idea of industrialization and its link with regional integration had already been the object of reflection by Alejandro Bunge. The idea of regional cooperation as a mechanism to confront external threats and negotiate with great powers has common points with the approaches of the School of

Autonomy. Finally, identity as an explanatory variable of regional unity processes continues to be valid in Latin America.

Connections

Theories and theoretical approaches: Dependency, Latin American Structuralism

Schools of Thought and Networks : Rosarian School of International Relations

Concepts: Autonomy, Center-Periphery, Integrationist culture, Deterioration in the terms of exchange, Intellectual integration, Subregional integration, Integrationism, Great Homeland, Latin American thought on international and global issues, Latin American regionalisms

Doctrines: Haya de la Torre Doctrine

Figures : Francisco Bilbao, Helio Jaguaribe, Juan Carlos Puig, Manuel Ugarte, Raúl Prebisch, Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre

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Hemispheric security

Camila de Macedo Braga, Rafael Duarte Villa

"Hemispheric security", the elongated field of international security, can be defined as the set of perceptions that States and social actors form about existential threats, as well as the set of practices and institutions that generate reactions and policies in the face of these threats, realities or powers, not the scope of a region. Regarding hemispheric security in the region of the Americas, during the years of the Cold War, the Organization of American States (OAS) has as its objectives to establish governance norms for the new problems of regional security

In that sense, for the OAS, since its creation, in 1945, collective security was one of its primary objectives. In view of this purpose, an institutional architecture of hemispheric security and defense was created over decades, involving various bodies and organizations, such as the Inter-American Defense Board (JID), of 1945, or the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance (TIAR), of 1947, or the Pact of Peaceful Resolution of Disputes, of 1948, the Inter-American Defense Board (JID), of 1945, and the Regional Conference for the Promotion of Confidence and Security Measures, of 1995 (Diamint, 2003).

Conceptually, the OAS was focused on the so-called "cooperative insurance", whose core consists of the production of confidence building measures (*CBMs*). The hemispheric security

system adopted confidence-building measures (CBMs) as a standard practice for security governance since the end of the Cold War. The OAS member countries submit annual reports on the practice of CBMs to the organization in accordance with resolution AG/RES. 2398/XXXVIII-O/08 (OAS, 2008). In addition to these measures, in Central America, after a period marked by violent civil wars, security problems were institutionalized in the Democratic Security Framework Treaty and in the Security Strategy of Central America during the first and second decade of 2000.

The hemispheric security system of the OAS is an attempt to conceptually modernize the organization at the beginning of this century. Reflection of this modernization emerges in the organization of the multidimensional security concept. In October 2003, a "Special Conference on Security" was held in Mexico by the OAS in order to expand and incorporate new, non-traditional approaches. "Our new conception of security in the hemisphere is multidimensional in scope, and includes traditional and new problems, concerns and other challenges to security in the States of the Hemisphere" (Diamint, 2003: 6).

As related to multidimensional security, concerns arise about organized crime and transnational illicit activities, especially about problems derived from drug trafficking, as well as those related to international terrorism. Between 1986 and 1988, it was established as the Inter-American Commission for the Control of Drug Abuse (CICAD) and the Hemispheric Anti-Drug Strategy. The OAS also responded to the press regarding the events of September 11, 2001, creating the Inter-American Convention against Terrorism and the Inter-American Committee against Terrorism (CICTE), in 2003.

In the last two decades, a strong question has arisen among some Latin American countries about certain components of the institutional architecture of security and hemispheric defense of

the OAS. As a result of this continuous questioning, in the first two decades of the 21st century, with the appearance of numerous publications, study programmes, networks and congresses, among other manifestations, which are undoubtedly rooted in what was done in previous eras, between the OAS and the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR) for South America. Some Latin American security researchers have argued that this complex and overlapping regime is an 'enigmatic phenomenon', since it is not clear why countries seek to form entirely new institutions in areas that fall within the competence of established institutions, such as the OAS (Weiffen, Wehner y Nolte, 2013: 372). Particularly when we observe that, from a functional point of view, UNASUR's security and defence structure is an organisation that reproduces roles similar to the OAS and, paradoxically, has the OAS as a model (Suarez et al., 2017).

The construction of South America as a region with its own set of rules and security regimes for conflict resolution became visible within UNASUR with the creation, in 2008, of the South American Defense Council (CDS), which represents the core of the defense cooperation regime (Falomir Lockhart, 2013). According to Saint-Pierre and Montoya (2014), the CDS is not intended to create a military alliance, the strategic priority of integration of defense industries is an adequate way to consolidate confidence and, simultaneously, achieve autonomy and security and defense self-sufficiency of the region.

In the first years of its creation, UNASUR and its new complex security structure achieved several events, for example the stabilization of the Bolivian conflict in 2008, and the mediation of the Colombia-Ecuador conflict in the same year for the OAS. More recently, however, this hybrid hemispheric security system has begun to show signs of stagnation. Even today, the future of these sub-regional mechanisms is uncertain and susceptible to changes in the region's political context.

The literature on hemispheric security produces two simplified approaches from a group of prominent researchers. On the one hand, researchers base their interpretations on the ancient sentiment of "imagined community" of a shared hemispheric community. According to this perspective, the regional security architecture should be understood as a set of stable and regular patterns of interactions, marked by conflict resolution and an emphasis on economic growth and development, and which has led to a 'long peace'. Kacowicz's (2005) argument about the 'long peace' is based on a legalistic approach to security and sovereignty in the region (see also Kacowicz and Mares, 2016). Kacowicz argues that the consolidation of regional peace was made possible by the emergence of a tradition of peaceful conflict resolution, based on the principle of uti possidetis ita possideratum, in other words, "whatever you have, you must preserve."

On the other hand, a second perspective suggests that remaining disputes over borders, militarized conflicts and the intensification of transnational conflicts contribute to the increase of interstate tensions and the pursuit of strategic balances between regional powers, giving rise to a regional security system qualified by David Mares (2012) as a "violent peace". This last analysis, with a focus on the balance of power, and violent actors not state, emphasizes how security order is conceived and maintained.

Researchers involved in this analysis, investigate the persistence of the security dilemma, the balance of power and the permanence of traditional geopolitical disputes (Battaglino, 2012; Schenoni, 2014). These authors emphasize the so-called "low intensity wars " that could generate new conflicts between States in the region. Mares (2012), challenging the argument that highlights Latin America as a "zone of peace", points to the various sources of tension present in the region, such as border disputes, illegal trade, drugs, or the power of organized crime and conflicts. on energy and natural resources. As Merke maintains,

> Latin America is a zone of peace in terms of the absence of war between States, Latin America [also] is a very violent zone in terms of the presence of criminal gangs, guerrillas, drug traffickers and youth violence, which turns into a region more violent on earth (2011: 15).

Furthermore, researchers who support this second approach also argue that secondary regional powers, such as Argentina, Chile, Colombia and Venezuela, adopt *hard* and *soft-balancing strategies* to counterbalance the predominance of Brazil in South America since the end of the Cold War (Flemes and Wehner, 2015), organizing their alliances to counterbalance the Brazilian primacy (Gómez-Mera, 2013).

More recently, based on empirical studies on security in South America, there is an alternative vision formulated by Villa et al. (2019; 2021) that questions the conventional understandings, based on security communities and strategic behaviors of the balance of power. These authors show that the evidence points to a hemispheric security dynamic that represents the emergence of a regional security mechanism characterized by overlapping, in behaviors and discourses, of a dual logic of traditional and soft balance of power (of political balance behaviors). and security community. The authors, in this way, contribute to the debate, presenting the concept of governance in hybrid security (*Hybrid Security Governance*) to discover and analyze mechanisms overposts of security governance in the practices and discourses of Latin American states. Functionally, while the diplomatic systems tend to make a commitment to a hemispheric security governance based on norms, institutions and practices of democracy, the military subsystems also make a commitment to a relationship based on nationalist discourses, war hypotheses and traditional geopolitical images. (Villa et at., 2019; Villa, 2017), thus forming hybrid structures in a complex hemispheric security system.

Connections

Theories and theoretical approaches: Dependency, Latin American structuralism
Schools of thought and Networks: International Relations Network of Latin America (RIAL)
Concepts: Latin American regionalisms, Latin American system

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Latin American system

Lincoln Bizzozero

In international studies approaches, the concept of "Latin American System" can refer to different things: the vision and contributions of Latin American thought to a discipline, a field of study or a specific problem or object of analysis; the conditions and options that arise from its structural position in the international system; and the capabilities and potential as a specific actor in the international system. Although the three meanings have links and it is not possible to isolate them for the understanding of Latin American history and process, the emphases of each one go through different channels for those who want to approach studies on Latin America. The three approaches have as a common basis the consideration of a Latin American specificity as a subsystem of the international system. This specificity is based on the common history, geography and cultural identity that provided bases for Latin American thinkers to generate contributions that were affirmed in decolonization, first, and later, as a frontier before the expansion of the United States.

In order to refer to the Latin American System, it is necessary that the notion "Latin America" be an identity reference for the regional space it encompasses, which includes ethnic and cultural diversity in the dialectical process of identity/modernization and in the relationship with the world (Ribeiro, 1982; Devés, 2000;

2005). To do this, it was necessary to transcend the colonial schism of the two worlds of the Iberian Peninsula, but also include the original populations, which led to different terminological options for the decolonized continent before arriving at the concept of Latin America (Zum Felde, 1943). The ideas about the specificity of Latin America with its values and principles that made possible the notion of a differentiated system, are found in the same process of decolonization and, subsequently, in thinkers and politicians who, since Rodó's Ariel (Rodó, 1967), provided elements that fed the Latin American thought of unity on anti-imperialist bases (Manuel Ugarte, Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, José Vasconcelos, José Carlos Mariátegui, Pedro Henríquez Ureña) (Devés, 2000).

The consideration of the Latin American System as a specific subsystem has three aspects that have fed it into International Studies: Law, Political Economy and International Relations. The first aspect that fed studies on the Philosophy of Law, legal systems and Latin American specificity predominated during the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th. The second had greater visibility between the '50s and '80s with the work of the Economic Commission for Latin America (CEPAL) and a new development paradigm; and the third became more evident from the '80s onwards and took on greater relevance when confronting the issues of autonomy and development with the new stage of globalization.

The three aspects locate the specificity of the Latin American System from the decolonization process even though there is a common thread to understand the Latin American complexity with the native populations and the component of conquest and exploitation (Galeano, 2004). Those who claim this specificity locate their beginnings in the thought of Bolívar and Andrés Bello and point out some principles and initiatives that were proposed in the Congress of Panama of 1826 (Bello, 1981; Bolívar, 1998; Sepúlveda, 1975). Among these principles is that of solidarity and, among

the proposals proclaimed that fed International Law from the Latin American System, are those of peacekeeping, collective security, reciprocal defense against the aggressor, guarantee of political independence and territorial integrity of states, and peaceful resolution of international controversies (Gros Espiell, 2001; Cançado Trindade, 2003). There is a line of continuity between these proposals and the Doctrines that emerged at the beginning of the 20th century (Calvo, Drago, Tobar, Estrada) in which the vindication of some principles is manifested (non-interference, peaceful settlement of disputes, equality of states) (Menezes, 2010). Subsequently, in Law of the Sea, it is the Latin American System that proposes innovations by linking marine resources with development and claiming those existing on the maritime platform of the states (García Amador, 1976; Paolillo, 1984). The contributions to the Latin American System in this century have focused on issues related to the international responsibility of transnational companies in their connection with human rights in essential goods such as water and health in the relations of the foreign investor with the state (Echaide, 2017); in foreign debt negotiations with concepts such as co-responsibility and contributions to guiding principles for its restructuring and in legal construction based on intercultural dialogue with the creation of the Plurinational State of Bolivia that includes indigenous justice and Living Well in its Constitution (Júnior, 2015; Attard Bellido, 2019).

Raúl Prebisch's work at CEPAL located Latin America as part of the periphery, but also as a specific space (Prebisch, 1949; 1963). Prebisch's contributions modified the current development paradigm by proposing its intrinsic link with structural dependence in relation to developed countries. In this way, the CEPAL doctrine of that time considered Latin America as a subsystem of the periphery with some specificities. Structuralism and the explanation of the factors of Latin American underdevelopment had contributions from other authors who placed Latin America in

the world system (Furtado, 1968; Sunkel and Paz, 1970). On the other hand, CEPAL's approaches were linked to International Relations analyses, questioning traditional Eurocentric paradigms (Cervo, 2001).

The contributions to Latin American thought from International Studies were channeled through the network of International Relations of Latin America (RIAL), which Luciano Tomassini promoted from CEPAL (Tomassini, 1980). Other original contributions to Latin American thought on International Relations were those of Helio Jaguaribe proposing "peripheral autonomy" in terms of forming a pole of the international system, Juan Carlos Puig linking autonomy with integration and Methol Ferré with his geopolitical perspective of continental States (Jaguaribe, 1979; Puig, 1987; Methol Ferré, 2009; Simonoff, 2014).

More recently, the systemic contributions to the analyzes of Latin America in the world/international system have been systematized by Bernal-Meza (2005). The most recent contributions have raised questions related to the emergence of a South American subsystem and its connection with autonomy and integration (Bizzozero, 2007; Vigevani and Ramanzini Júnior, 2013), to the consideration of the regional space as an actor in relations and cooperation international with the creation of the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC) (Rojas Aravena, 2011; 2012; Serbin, 2011), to the characterization of a theoretical framework, insertion into the world system and the link with development (Bernal -Meza, 2000; Bernal-Meza and Masera, 2005; Bizzozero, 2011) and in studies on Latin American regionalism in its articulation with the regions/world (Bizzozero, 2012; Riggirozzi and Tussie 2012; Serbin, 2019).

Connections

Theories and theoretical approaches: Decolonial approach to international studies, Latin American structuralism
Schools of thought and Networks: School of Brasilia, Rosarian School of International Relations
Concepts: Center-Periphery, Outward-Inward Development, Sumak Kawsay-Suma Qamaña
Doctrines: Calvo Doctrine, 200 nautical mile Doctrine, Estrada Doctrine, Tobar Doctrine
Figures: Alberto Methol Ferré, Amado Luiz Cervo, Antonio Augusto Cançado Trindade, Celso Furtado, Héctor Gros Espiell, Helio Jaguaribe, Juan Carlos Puig, Luciano Tomassini, Manuel Ugarte, Raúl Prebisch, Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre

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Civil society in Latin American regionalism

Lincoln Bizzozero

In studies on regionalism in Latin America, "Civil Society" has been considered from a systemic-structural analytical perspective; from another postmodern liberal, focused on its growing activism in regional processes seeking to generate spaces and increase its margin of power on some issues; and also in its specific historical-social component, as builders of the regional agenda and content in the social dimension of regionalism.

These three analytical axes for the consideration of Civil Society in regionalism by Latin American analysts have been conditioned, beyond the matrix of thought, by the international context and the evolution of the situation in relations with the United States, especially by the priorities of the regional agendas in Latin America and the definitions and scope of the regional actors. In this way, different moments and stages are identified in the consideration of Civil Society in recent Latin American regionalism: incipient and potentially revulsive in the '90s of the last century, although linked to the opening of markets and commercial issues (Jácome and Serbin, 1998; Franco and Di Filippo, 1999; Grinspun, Alvarenga and Shamsie, 1999; Podesta, Gómez Galán, Jácome and Grandi, 2000); questioner of the neoliberal model and generator

of new alternatives and possibilities in different regional initiatives in the first decade of this century, which will continue until the middle of the second decade (Garretón, 2001; Marleny Bustamante, 2002; Serbin, 2007; Grimson and Pereyra, 2008; Bidaseca and Rossi, 2008); and, more recently, subject to stagnation and even regression of regional processes that is also expressed in citizen participation, in a democratic deficit and in a decline of the regional political and social movement (Briceño Ruiz, Leal, Rocha Valencia and Serna Forcheri, 2019; Serbin, 2019). In this recent stage, the agenda becomes relevant as an analytical axis to visualize some issues in regionalism linked to civil society such as migration, borders, security, regional cooperation.

From a systemic-structural approach, the globalization process develops jointly with the regionalization process, creating political, economic, social and cultural consequences in the different regional subsystems (Bernal-Meza, 2000; Bizzozero, 2020). The location of these subsystems in the world system is what conditions the possibilities and responses of the states in the regional subsystems (Bernal-Meza and Masera, 2005). Regional civil society is a component of the movement and response of the states in the generation of regionalism in Latin America, so it will have its own specific contradictions that have been generated since the emergence of the Latin American Free Trade Association in the face of Pan-American impulses. from the United States (Bernal-Meza and Masera, 2008). From this perspective, the relevance of the actors is manifested politically, especially in the impact they generate on regionalism as a systemic response (Bernal-Meza, 1994).

Another analytical approach has been more focused on the capabilities, development and potential of generating an agenda of civil society in this new stage in the international system as a consequence of globalization, the limitations of the State and the potential development of other actors in a framework of redistribution of power. Domestic civil societies began to articulate

responses, mobilization and proposals at national, but also regional and international levels. Many of these mobilizations and activities were promoted by civil society organizations, which sometimes had international status with precise objectives and defined demands on environmental, regional, human rights and other issues (De Piero, 2005; García Delgado, 2005). From this perspective, regional civil society fulfills a hinge function between the international and national levels, with specific proposals referring to global public goods and greater participation and impact on decisions in a national democratic framework (Serbin, 2020).

In this approach, two thematic cores can be considered mainly. One of them has been more focused on the role of civil society in the face of the shortcomings of authoritarian and dictatorial States in Latin America, which generated new realities of financing international economic organizations and other international economic bodies in the face of the decline and lack of trust requirements by the state (Tussie, 1997). The other inserted issues from the global agenda into regional processes, among which are included the negotiations to finalize a Free Trade Agreement of the Americas (Tussie and Botto, 2003).

The questions about the FTAA and various issues linked to a model of regionalism were systematized and expressed by analysts who showed the importance of organized civil society in the end of this inter-American proposal and the linkage with UNASUR and other proposals, such as the Bolivarian Alternative for the Americas, which were taking shape towards the end of the first decade of the 21st century (Briceño Ruiz, 2012; Pereira, 2011; Rojas Aravena, 2006; Di Filippo, 2005).

With the fall of the curtain on the FTAA and also, at least one stage, on liberal regionalism, the analyzes on civil society reflected the changes brought about by post-hegemonic regionalism (Riggirozzi, 2012), the conditions of the political economy in the national-regional expression of the actors (Tussie and Trucco,

2010) and the autonomous perspectives reflecting the evolution of civil society (Riggirozzi and Tussie, 2018). With the end of the FTAA, geopolitical logic prevailed and civil societies had a more spatially defined expression: North and Central America on the one hand and South America on the other (Sandoval Palacios, 2002; Methol Ferré, 2004).

Regional civil society also has a specific approach based on the regional integration processes themselves and also as a builder of the regional agenda. From this approach, the specific role of civil society actors in promoting regionalism in Latin America is important, in the political-social issues that it prioritizes and that seeks to reflect in the regional agenda, in the articulation with the states and in the role and contents that it raises for the social dimension of regional processes that are ultimately models to be built (Bizzozero, 1999; 2005). In the same background of MERCOSUR, the importance that the Coordinator of Trade Union Centers of the Southern Cone (Vigevani, 1996; Portella de Castro and Wachendorfer, 1998). And during the process, which has been going on for thirty years, other territorial or sectoral actors became relevant, such as those linked to education, cooperativism, environmental organizations, the network of cities (Mercociudades) that with their identities generated their own initiatives and a new networked space with global projection (de Almeida, 1999; Sassen, 2007; Bizzozero, 2016). The expansion in the participation of other actors and their impact on the different regional processes in some cases had a global-regional-local round trip, as in the case of women, who were able to specify specific areas through United Nations Conferences . in the Andean area and MERCOSUR (Jelin, 2001).

This analytical perspective of linking Civil Society with the construction of a regional agenda is particularly relevant for MERCOSUR, in the face of "top-down" construction (Gajate, 2012) or the decline of some instances (Santos Carrillo, 2013), or

the priority given to bilateral relations by some cardinal countries in the orientation of Latin American regionalism such as Venezuela (Jácome, 2011).

The specificity of Civil Society in MERCOSUR regionalism is marked by the politicization of the actors, their participation and the demand of other actors to be included in the process, which generated an institutional spill-over (Hirst, 1992; Mellado and Ali, 2014). From this facet, civil society not only participated in regionalism but was also its builder, raising regional citizenship as one of the demands (Bizzozero, 2003). Another analytical approach of civil society in Mercosur regionalism concerns the decision-making proximity and the capacities of the actors to convey their claims to domestic and subregional bodies (Grandi and Bizzozero, 1997).

The scope and contents of the Social dimension of the regional agenda, the expansion in the number of actors and their participation and the link with regional social policies were part of the analysis that showed the new regional scenarios and the progress recorded (Perrotta and Vázquez, 2010; Mellado, 2011; Vázquez, 2019).

The regionalization of issues of education, health, migration, and security have transcended in recent decades what was previously limited to border issues that were channeled through regional cooperation. Although regional border cooperation continues, these issues have taken on a regional dimension, inserting themselves into the agenda of civil society and Latin American regionalism (Artola, 2017; Riggirozzi and Grugel, 2016). On the other hand, recent dynamics have reframed the Latin American space as such as an issue and positioned new actors as part of original multiculturalism, which promotes new perspectives such as the link between civil society and identity, culture, the nation and its expression in regional processes and regionalism (Flores Ortega and Álvarez de Flores, 2005; MAS and IPSP, 2014).

Connections

Schools of thought and Networks: Transnational alterglobalizing social networks

Concepts: World Social Forum, open integration, Latin American regionalisms, Latin American system, Civil society regional

Figures: Andrés Serbin, Diana Tussie, José Briceño Ruiz, Lincoln Bizzozero, María Pía Riggirozzi, Raúl Bernal-Meza

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Regional civil society

Andrés Serbin

The need to order and manage world affairs multilaterally, both in the economic and geopolitical spheres and in international politics, gave rise to the emergence of the concept of "global governance" (Sanahuja et al., 2013). On the other hand, its connection with the need to develop a universal and complex multilateralism gave rise to a growing incidence and participation of non-state actors in the international system (Serbin, 2013).

Consequently, a series of new actors have emerged in international dynamics, of a non-state nature, some of them generically grouped in the ambiguous category of "global or transnational civil society" (Smith and Weist, 2005: 612-622) due to its growing interaction and transnational linkage, and its complex impact on world politics. Within the framework of a variety of new terms coined such as "complex multilateralism" (O'Brien et al., 2000), "multi-level structures of global governance" or "network minimalism" (Nye and Donahue, 2000) that point out the development and growing projection of these non-state actors, the emergence of new spaces and spheres for their performance, and the dilution of the differences and borders between the domestic and international levels of politics, these emerged as important factors of the contemporary global and regional political dynamics.

The configuration of global governance revolved around the values promoted by the West under US global hegemony - the creation and consolidation of international institutions and norms in accordance with International Law, the promotion of Human Rights and democracy, and economic liberalization, within the framework of a Westphalian conception of an international system based on the interrelation between states, but with the eventual participation of other actors (Kissinger, 2017: 13; Serbin, 2013) - and opened important spaces for the global and regional involvement of civil society networks and organizations.

The concept of "civil society" - originally coined to characterize that part of society that was not part of the state - is an ambiguous and polysemic concept, depending on the conceptual assumptions with which it is handled. Fundamentally, it refers to voluntary non-profit associations that pursue the defense or promotion of a public good within the framework of the dynamics of the state-market-civil society triad. By extending this concept to the international arena, it was associated with the defense and promotion of global or regional public goods, in relation and dialogue with intergovernmental organizations and multinational corporations (Serbin, 2013).

Without elaborating on the genealogy or a detailed discussion of the various uses of this concept, we can point out that, among many other interpretations provided by the literature on the subject, Mary Kaldor (2005) offers a typology of five meanings for it: as *societas civilis*, or "zone of civility" based on the rule of law and the existence of a political community; as bourgeois society (*Bürgerlische Gesellshaft*), in the version of Wilhelm Hegel and Karl Marx, associated with the advent of a commercial society created by individuals who constituted the necessary condition for a civil society contrasted with the state; in the activist version, which implies the existence of a rule of law and a redistribution of power within the framework of a deepening of democracy and the ex-

pansion of the participation and autonomy of an active citizenry; in the neoliberal version, which refers to the associative life of a non-profit "third sector" that acts as a substitute or complement to many of the functions performed by a limited state; and in the postmodern version, which conceives of civil society as an arena of pluralism and contestation, and a source of both civility and incivility.

Each of these versions also refers to a broader vision of global civil society and configures, at the same time, normative and descriptive visions that, in the context of globalization, refer, in turn, to differentiated political projects. Although Kaldor assumes different aspects of the last three versions for his analysis of global civil society, she identifies more with the activist version that he characterizes in terms of its power of political emancipation, empowerment of individuals, and the broadening and deepening of democracy, a concept that is also associated with "regional civil society".

The perspective of a plural and diverse vision of global civil societies - which are deployed within the framework of the contestation to globalization in its different aspects - gives rise to a recognition of the distinctive elements of the political cultures that they carry and incorporate and to the fact that, beyond the horizontal interconnection that is developing in the framework of global civil society through the information revolution, the development of social networks and the accelerated flow of information and ideas, there is great heterogeneity and fragmentation that it enables the emergence, in turn, of regional civil societies, linked to the general dynamics of global civil society but that maintain and possess their own characteristics associated with the growing importance of regions as part of the new global dynamics. In other works, we have analyzed and conceptualized the development of a regional civil society in Latin America and the Caribbean that is characterized by a configuration of actors and agendas with their own

characteristics, with the additional component that their empowerment constitutes a fundamental element in development. and the effective deepening of regional integration processes in a democratic framework (Serbin, 2002).

However, it is necessary to take into account that, beyond their intrinsic and distinctive features, national civil societies in Latin America and the Caribbean and, especially, the different expressions of an emerging regional civil society are of late development and are still in their infancy. configuration process. In turn, the various crises that are going through the current transition of the international liberal system - which we have analyzed elsewhere (Serbin, 2018) - have been associated with the emergence of authoritarian regimes and structures - "illiberal" -, which have contributed to the restriction of civic spaces at both the national, regional and global levels. The current COVID 19 pandemic only accentuates and exacerbates these trends within the framework of the socioeconomic impacts it entails and the absence of multilateral responses at both a global and regional level, along with the emergence and consolidation of authoritarian regimes. and digital control and monitoring mechanisms for citizen activities.

In prospective, the effective participation and consequent empowerment of citizens, at the regional level, depend on the strengthening, in a democratic framework, of the institutional architecture of both the state and intergovernmental organizations, and the development and promotion of community organizations. civil society, overcoming its intrinsic weaknesses and shortcomings (Serbin, 2007). In this framework, it is evident that the greater the democratic institutionality, the greater the vigor and development of citizen organizations is generated, a fundamental watershed when defining the survival of the different integration schemes and initiatives if they aim to represent the demands and legitimate interests of their societies. However, the reconfiguration of the political map of the region and the very weakness of

citizen networks and organizations at the regional level - both in terms of strategies and agendas, capacities and financing for their development - show the persistence of "regionalitarian" regimes. (Serbin, 2004) that is difficult to reverse, deepening the absence of the already significantly absent organized citizenship in regional governance processes (Serbin, 2019).

As a final reflection, it is worth asking whether this absence will not be reinforced with the deployment of authoritarian and illiberal regimes at a global level and, eventually, at a regional level, and how this absence will impact in the future, both the consolidation of democracy in Latin America and the Caribbean, as the features that global and regional governance acquires and the role that civil society networks and organizations can play in them.

Connections

Schools of thought and Networks: Transnational alterglobalizing social networks
Concepts: Latin American regionalisms, Latin American system, Civil society in Latin American regionalism
Figures: Andrés Serbin, Lincoln Bizzozero

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Sumak kawsay- Suma qamaña

Fabricio Pereira da Silva

The concept of *Sumak kawsay* (in Quechua or Quichua) or *Suma qamaña* (in Aymara) was translated into Spanish respectively as *Buen Vivir* and *Vivir Bien*. *Sumak* can be understood as "harmony" or "plenitude", and *Kawsay* as "living" or "living together". *Suma qamaña* can mean "live in peace", "live together", lead a "sweet life", "raise the life of the world". Although it was not originally conceived to address International Relations and global issues, the concept was gaining space in this sense, and presents potentialities in this field. Its proponents will try to demonstrate their possibilities in at least three directions: in the construction of global relations that are less unequal, more cooperative and horizontalized; in a more holistic approach to environmental quests, integrating humanity and nature and formulating new human rights, such as water and a healthy environment; and in proposals around the defense of indigenous peoples, in contexts of experimentation with forms of plurinational states and legal pluralism.

Despite some records written in the 1990s, its emergence actually began in the 2000s, and its greatest expansion occurred from the second half of that decade (Altmann, 2019; Vanhulst et al., 2020). Two ideas are based on it: communalism in the relationship between people, based on reciprocity and equality; and a holistic conception of the humanity/nature relationship, surpassing

the idea of externality of home in the relationship to the environment and adding elements of intergenerational justice. We see this body of ideas assuming various meanings in Ecuador and Bolivia, the places of origin of this debate. It became a central element in the governments of Rafael Correa (2007-2017) and Evo Morales (2006-2019), being introduced in the constitutions promulgated respectively in 2008 and 2009. It expanded further throughout Latin America and to a certain extent globally, due to its critical potential for modernity and, in particular, neoliberalism.

The concept is hybridized with "Western" references, it appeals to modernist and socialist narratives and to post-modernist and decolonial narratives. This is evident when intellectuals more interested in the academic environment appropriate it, such as Alberto Acosta, Edgardo Lander, Eduardo Gudynas, Maristela Svampa and Boaventura de Sousa Santos. On the other hand, the concept seems more "original" when is prepared by Indianist intellectuals, Aymaras like Simón Yampara and Javier Medina or Quichuas like Luis Macas, Pablo Dávalos and Nina Pacari.

Generally, its defenders propose to overcome the extrativism that constitutes the basis of the primary economies of those countries, but there is no consensus about what should replace it. Some authors defend an "alternative development", a new development regime. Others seek to overcome the concept of development, either "não-desenvolvimento" or "pós-desenvolvimento". As these authors eventually propose a "post-capitalism", another debate that prevails is its connection with different versions of socialism. At times, a mix between capitalist elements in neo-developmentalism with other communalists is defended [14]. In more Indianist

14 As proposed by former Bolivian vice president Álvaro García Linera there is a need for "Andean-Amazonian capitalism" (2011) as a prior stage to "community socialism". This second notion gained primacy in

approaches, its impossibility of coexisting with capitalism, but also with socialism (as a paradigm developed by modernity) is emphasized, and its decolonizing potential is sought to be highlighted (Pereira da Silva, 2019).

Morales and his chancellor David Choquehuanca aim to assume some prominence in the international arena, proposing the reconfirmation of the rights of indigenous peoples, a more harmonious relationship between humanity and nature, and attempting to suggest a "Diplomacia do Viver Bem". Various Andean indigenous organizations also contribute to the advancement of these quests, through their paradiplomacy efforts, exploring the knowledge of *Sumak kawsay* and *Suma qamaña*. In this context, since 2008 the Bolivian government has defended internationally the "Ten Commandments to save the planet, humanity and life". For Choquehuanca, these were

> based on Living Well, on the experience of our peoples, on our vision of Mother Earth. The Ten Commandments are firstly: end, put an end to, eradicate the capitalist system. Second: renounce war. Third: a world without imperialism or colonialism. Fourth: water belongs to all living beings. Fifth: development of clean, nature-friendly energies. Sixth: respect for Mother Earth. Seventh: basic services as a human right. Eighth: consuming what is necessary, prioritising what we produce and consume locally. Ninth: promoting the diversity of cultures and economies. Tenth: Living Well (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2010: 16).

With all this, progress has been made in the international circulation of the concept. A compilation of international in-

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the author's most recent work (2016) , when he sought to provide a new type of socialism for the 21st century.

terventions and documents on the topic prepared by the Bolivian Chancellery can be found in the book *Vivir Bien: messages and documents on Vivir Bien 1995-2010*, published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. These initiatives will contribute to the approval by the General Assembly of the United Nations of the "Declaration of the United Nations on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples" (2007), and to the realization of the World Conference of the United Nations on Climate Change and the Rights of Mãe Terra (Cochabamba, April 19 to 22, 2010). Segundo Morales,

> Individualistic, selfish interest, attacks not only against the people, but also against the environment and Planet Earth. A way of Living Well, in equality and justice, in solidarity and reciprocity, in community and collectivity, is based on the defense of the environment, nature, life itself and all humanity. We are trying here to save humanity from two harms inflicted by an individualistic and extremely aggressive, racist and warmongering minority (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2010: 9-10).

The so-called "Yasuní-ITT Initiative", a proposal launched globally in 2007 by the Correa government based on the mobilization of environmental and indigenous movements, can also be associated with the international project of the concept. The idea was to keep the Yasuní National Park, an Amazonian biosphere reserve and territory of various nomadic indigenous groups, untouched, stopping exploring its oil potential. On the other hand, it is expected to obtain from the international community the goal of the value that the Ecuadorian government estimates it can attach to the exploration of those resources. However, the preliminary results are very much below the expected second government, leading to justify the suspension of the initiative in 2013 and the start of its oil exploration in 2016.

This case illustrates the difficulties of transposing a concept with original, community and holistic elements to the international arena. A body of ideas with strong critical and decolonizing potential is contradictory to the uneven and oppressive logics that hegemonize international relations. However, we must continue betting on the relevance of *Sumak kawsay - Suma qamaña* for international issues, in at least three directions. Firstly, as an input produced by Global South, it can contribute to the reduction of asymmetries and a more supportive relationship between people. Second, as it implies a holistic relationship between humanity and nature, it can inspire alternative and creative approaches in environmental debates. Thirdly, in association with the concept of plurinationality, we can inform new conceptions of states not based on the premise "a nation, a state and a territory", but in the plurality of identities and organizational forms not within the same political body - contributing additionally to imagine new forms of regional integration.

Connections

Theories and Theoretical Approaches: Decolonial Approach to International Studies

Concepts: Coloniality of power, South-South Cooperation, Ecodevelopment, Plurinational State, Latin American regionalisms

Figures: Álvaro García Linera, René Zavaleta Mercado, Simón Yampara Huarachi

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South (Global)

Elodie Brun

The expression "Global South" has become commonplace in the study of international relations, a fashion from which Latin American academia - defined by authors who work in the region or are originally from it - does not escape. The absence of a definition of the term in many of the works that mention it is problematic, because there is no consensus on what the (Global) South is or should be. "Sur" *tout court* usually refers to the expression forged by the Brandt Commission in 1980 (Independent Commission on International Development Problems), in its famous report *North-South: an agenda for survival* to describe the structural nature of inequalities between States. It was also a call to decenter the gaze from the logic of the Cold War. The short expression continues to be privileged in state-centric studies (Brun, 2022; Ojeda Medina, 2016).

In the *mainstream* - understood as a group of researchers who work from well-ranked universities at a global level, who use English as the main work tool - the expression Global South is claimed by critical and postcolonial authors, although its use has greatly expanded. beyond these perspectives to the detriment of some conceptual clarity (Haug, Braveboy-Wagner and Maihold, 2021). In Latin America, we find more reflections on the definition of South-South cooperation than on the (Global) South. However,

despite the fact that it is increasingly mentioned in Spanish and Portuguese, a certain lack of coherence can be observed, which has generated a series of situated efforts that begin to outline how the (Global) South is understood.

As a starting point, four consensuses that characterize this literature stand out. First, the South (Global) does not refer to a geographical entity, but to "a social imaginary" (Pereyra Doval, 2010). Second, it is essential to think about it from its constitutive heterogeneity; hence, for example, the criticism of the use of the adjective "global", misleading due to its homogenizing nature, in the book by Tahina Ojeda Medina (2016). Other researchers call for changing the expression to "Geopolitical South" to have a more situated reading that values the agency of the actors that comprise it (Milani and Kraychete, 2022). Third, the fact of reflecting on this concept is associated with the visibility of certain knowledge and discourses, particularly of actors who suffer from the asymmetries of the operating international order, "Western capitalist" according to Javier Surasky (2016). These asymmetries are multiple (economic, political, cultural, etc.) and tend to overlap. Finally, studying the Global South requires embracing transdisciplinarity in order to understand all its complexities (Levander and Mignolo, 2012).

Unlike the disputes that are observed between various epistemological and ontological approaches in the *mainstream*, in Latin America, the authors who study the concept of the Global South present more conciliatory positions. They underline the plural ontological character of the Global South, that is, its composition by governmental and societal actors, coming from the Global South and the Global North. The adjective "global" refers here to the consequences of globalization and the increase in transplanetary connections (Lechini, 2012). At the same time, they recognize that the state is the main actor, even from the perspective of the Global South. This preponderance is sometimes considered

problematic (Brun, 2018; Ferabolli, 2021), since it ties the fate of this Global South to the will of the rulers, who tend to change frequently and fight over the policy to be developed under this label of South (Global). Expectedly, this position is shared by authors who adopt the decolonial perspective, in resonance with the call for anti-hegemonic struggle present in their works (Surasky, 2016). There is also a proposal to think about the Global South in a relational way, not from places or actors, nor from the asymmetric dialectics with the counterparts of the Global North, but from the exchanges that compose it, that is, South-South relations (Ferabolli, 2021). Relational ontology also allows us to highlight the importance of the collective action of these actors, particularly in multilateral forums that serve as political leverage.

If we focus on state actors, the concept of the South may be sufficient. In any case, this must be understood in a multidimensional way. There are two elements that are often mentioned as fundamental characteristics of a Southern state. First, the colonial experience (Ferabolli, 2021; Lechini, 2012; Ojeda Medina, 2016), which could be expanded to include any experience of political domination (Brun, 2022), differentiates these actors in comparison with others that make up the international system. Second, the socio-economic component stands out, the definition of which is very varied. The authors refer to developing or peripheral countries (Ferabolli, 2021; Fernández and Moretti, 2020; Lechini, 2012; Santander Campos, 2016) or victims of capitalism (Ojeda Medina, 2016; Surasky, 2016). This dimension works in opposition to a developed North, along the lines of the North-South divide proposed by the Brandt Commission. What defines this gap varies over time, depending on developments in the global economy. Recently, the Latin American absence of the Fourth Industrial Revolution has constituted an illustration of the region's lag.

Furthermore, Latin American authors, or those who write from Latin America, insist on the need to give agency to actors

from the South based on this shared otherness (Lechini, 2012). If the (Global) South exists in itself, and not only as the mirror of an unattainable North, it needs to be reflected in its definition. Several proposals seek to respond to this challenge. Many, such as Citlali Ayala Martínez and Miguel Molina Alcántara (2014) and Roberto Goulart Menezes and Marina Bolfarine Caixeta (2020), rescue the political and ideological dimension of belonging to the South, while Javier Surasky (2016) calls for recovering what is hidden by the modernity and Guillermo Santander Campos (2016) refers to processes of positive identification, in the sense that it reveals the need of others to solve their own challenges. More recently, Silvia Ferabolli (2021) invites us to transcend our ontological lenses and go towards a relational approach to the (Global) South and Élodie Brun (2022) proposes considering the self-designation that actors make of themselves as a third dimension of belonging to the South. State actors can appropriate this label or reject it. In this sense, the South can constitute a political tool for non-dominant states in the international order. Several of these proposals recall the importance of cognitive factors in the political power of the (Global) South.

These factors lie at the heart of critical perspectives on the Global South. From Latin America, the decolonial perspective dominates among them. Less focused on territoriality, its representatives rather insist on the material and ideational logics of domination that operate in the world, marked by neocolonialism and neoliberal capitalism, and encourage forms of resistance from the academy (Jaramillo Marín and Vera Lugo, 2013; Surasky, 2016). That is why many of these authors dedicate themselves to the study of the construction of knowledge, its biases, and the need to develop our own knowledge from the Global South, coinciding with the claims of Boaventura dos Santos (2009). In this sense, Enrique Dussel (2014) calls for dialogue between "philosophies of the South." Marcos de Jesus Oliveira (2018) points out

the epistemological impositions of modern thought as sur-realism (*sul-realismo* in Portuguese). These authors assume a denouncing political position with the aim of provoking changes to the status quo. To do this, it is necessary to value the Global South and destroy the construction of it as a marginalized other, as imposed by the dominant political and academic centers (García, 2011; Miranda Delgado, 2019). Therefore, the Global South, understood as a deterritorialized political project of radical transformation, also extends to geographies of the Global North (presence of the Global South in the Global North and vice versa) (Jaramillo Marín and Vera Lugo, 2013; Rivera de la Rosa, 2014). The important thing is not to define who the Global South is, but to understand what it serves as a concept of emancipation, including thought, against global impositions (Levander and Mignolo, 2012). The majority recognizes the magnitude of the pending tasks to achieve this project of change, starting with the field of knowledge (Devés et al., 2022).

These critical positions entail logics of exclusion, in the sense that they only consider as actors from the Global South those who are linked to the project of radical transformation (Dussel, 2014; Rivera de la Rosa, 2014; Surasky, 2016). There emerge disagreements with other authors, for whom actors from the Global South also defend fundamental elements of the global system, such as capitalism (Brun, 2022; Ferabolli, 2021). Another reaction comes from academics who point out that the deterritorialized vision of the Global South leads to hiding the asymmetries between states that, however, are constitutive of the functioning of the world for all its components (Milani and Kraychete, 2022).

After all, the (Global) South, when studied from a Latin American perspective, represents another way of focusing on disadvantaged actors in a structurally unequal and asymmetric world, without neglecting their capacity for agency.

Connections

Theories and theoretical approaches: Dependency, Decolonial approach to international studies, Latin American structuralism

Schools of thought and Networks: Mexican School of International Relations

Concepts: Center-Periphery, South-South Cooperation, Globalization/Worldwideization, Integrationism, Peripheral Thought, Latin American Third Worldism

Figures: Enrique Domingo Dussel Ambrosini, Walter Mignolo

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Latin American Third World

German Alburquerque

The confirmation of a historical reality - the existence of a vast group of undeveloped peoples, who also occupied a common space on the world map - gave rise to the expression "Third World". Over time, those same reified peoples (turned into objects) assumed themselves as a subject, giving birth to "Third Worldism."

The concept of the Third World was born in Europe in the 1950s and shortly after reached Latin America (the first mention on the continent dates back to 1956, according to our studies). Specifying the emergence of Latin American Third Worldism is complex. We have even called proto-Third Worldism the elaborations related to the trend that did not explicitly use the expression "Third World" (Alburquerque, 2013a). Martín Bergel (2019) has gone further, locating the roots of Third Worldism in the first decades of the 20th century. With more certainty we propose that between the end of the '50s and the beginning of the '60s its first manifestations are seen. Over the last decade, Third Worldism expanded, incarnating in the Social Sciences, Politics, International Politics, Religion, Art and Philosophy. It is the golden age, the one where the most original and daring proposals were forged. In the seventies, Third Worldism lost political and ideological flight, settling in the technical territory of the Social Sciences.

In this text we treat Third Worldism as a sensitivity, exploring the various expressions in which it derived: ideology, politics, scientific paradigm. This sensitivity was determined by the notion that Latin America was part of the Third World and shared its identity and struggle. The historical situation did the same. It was the time of revolution, at a continental level, and of the anti-colonial struggle for liberation, at a global level. All accompanied by a revolution in the means of communication and transportation, which brought together the towns of the periphery that were once so far away. It was in this environment that Latin American intellectuals theorized about the Third World and founded indigenous Third Worldism.

As an ideology, Latin American Third Worldism was articulated around the following postulates: 1) the Third World designates a real unity, that of the disadvantaged peoples of Africa, Latin America, Asia and Oceania (Devés, 2012: 2) 2) between these peoples there must be close solidarity that allows them to acquire increasingly greater shares of power; 3) what defines the kinship of these countries is their economic underdevelopment and the colonial origin of their weakness; 4) although formally independent (or in the process of becoming independent), the peoples of the Third World suffer from the action of neocolonialism; 5) only concerted struggle can provide achievements: the comprehensive liberation of each nation must be accompanied by that of its peers; 6) a structural and revolutionary transformation is needed that cuts the pernicious links with imperialism in the bud; 7) the peoples of the Third World are subjects of their history, the construction of the future lies in their hands.

The ideological formulations of Latin American Third Worldism were articulated in national spaces and in the heat of local controversies, as happened in Argentina and Uruguay. In the first country, a group of Peronist Third Worldists and the "anti-Third Worldist" and Marxist Juan José Sebreli confronted each other.

This rejected the Third World as a "bourgeois myth", since it dissolved the class struggle in the national struggle for anti-imperialist liberation (Sebreli, 1975). The anticolonial revolution proposed by the Third Worldists, according to Sebreli, integrated the bourgeoisie into the revolutionary struggle; On the other hand, the class struggle was still in force, the only possible struggle, where the unity of the proletarian classes of the world was decisive. For their part, Amelia Podetti and Norberto Wilner (1969), who embraced Third Worldism from Peronism and "national socialism," postulated the indivisibility of the political and social struggle. The reality of the people of the Third World could not be faced only from a social point of view, since there was an urgent political battle to fight, that against imperial power.

In Uruguay the controversy arose around the Third Position. This, represented above all by the *Marcha* magazine group, was conceived as an alternative way to the polarization typical of the Cold War. In that picture, Third Worldism loomed as an accessory. Carlos Real de Azúa (1996) did not agree, and proposed that the Third Position was not just a position in International Politics, but that it should become the ideology of the Third World, the "narrative" that the people in struggle required to join and organize.

Although we conceive Third Worldism as a "soft" ideology, partly because a group of adherents was never formalized or organized, it did have direct and indirect political manifestations. An example of the former is the attempt by Brazilian Celso Brant (1987) to compete for the presidency of Brazil on behalf of a party that sought to mobilize the social masses of the Third World. The most important indirect expression, already at the level of international politics, was Non-Alignment. Between 1971 and 1983 there was a massive incorporation of Latin American countries into the Non-Aligned Movement. Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Nicaragua, Panama and Peru registered as full members of an organization that, born in 1961, responded to the

situation of the Cold War and the desire of many countries to stay out of that conflict. In other works we have postulated that such incorporation marked a turn in the continent's foreign policy, a turn that reflected the emergence of a new international paradigm, the Third World paradigm, assuming that the spread and influence of Third Worldism infected - at least - the policy elites that decided to join. The Movement, also creating the appropriate climate for that adhesion. Without Third Worldism, joining the Non-Aligned would have been more difficult, more strange, less justifiable.

Third Worldism, understood as a scientific paradigm, found a very powerful enunciation in the area of Social Sciences, and, thanks to exponents such as the Colombian Orlando Fals Borda (1973; Alburquerque 2013b) and the Argentine Pedro Negre Rigol (1975). it elevated its status as science of the future that was being undertaken in Third World countries. This meant a new and own social science, in accordance with the problems, challenges and needs of underdeveloped peoples, which, for the same reason, had to surpass that practiced in the First World, but which would also become a model. for this.

Third Worldism contributed to the development of new currents that reflected its way of seeing the world. It can be conjectured, for example, that Dependency Theory owes something to Third Worldism. The dependentistas thought about a divided world, they questioned development and underdevelopment, they offered universal diagnoses and prescriptions, but they spoke very little about the Third World. When they needed examples, they generally turned to Latin America. Consequently, a direct relationship between the two cannot be established, but it can be suggested that Dependentism emerged in a field fertile for Third World sensibility.

Thus, Third Worldism, although it declines to the point of almost disappearing, manages to project itself into other theories

that inherit its concern for peripheral peoples. Apart from Dependentism, this is also the case of decolonial Thought.

In summary, we maintain that Third Worldism was, in general, a sensitivity, a particular climate composed of interests, emotions, tastes, opinions and ideas favorable to the Third World in a broad sense. From this climate was derived, first, an ideology, a (dispersed) set of ideas that conceived the Third World as a subject that, grouping and identifying the Asian, African and Latin American peoples, would write its own history of integral emancipation. Secondly, Third Worldism germinated in political expressions, among which the most transcendent was Non-Alignment, an autonomist foreign policy option that advocated the unity of peripheral peoples and that was embraced by a vast sector of the continent. And ultimately, Third Worldism was condensed as a scientific paradigm, that is, as a particular way of knowing reality that was based on the conviction that the social scientists of the Third World, based on their work in the field, developed a science unique and original social.

Connections

Theories and Theoretical Approaches: Dependency, Decolonial Approach to International Studies, Peripheral Realism, Theories of Power Construction

Schools of thought and Networks: Brazil Great Power School

Concepts: Autonomy, Relational Autonomy, Center-Periphery, South-South Cooperation, Latin American thought on international and global issues, South (global)

Doctrines: Doctrine of the Third Position

Figures: Cândido Mendes de Almeida, Celso Furtado, Edgardo Mercado-Jarrín, Enrique Iglesias García, Frantz Fanon, Helio Jaguaribe, Juan Gabriel Tokatlian, Raúl Prebisch, Roberto Russell

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"Southwest Wind" or A Latin American thesis on the Cold War

Carlos Federico Dominguez Avila

A concept can be understood as a logical construction, established in accordance with a reference system and being part of it. It means an abstraction formed through the generalization of particular observations. In that sense, the so-called "Southwest Wind" is a logical construction that seeks to approach the macrophenomenon of the Cold War or East-West conflict - understood as a comprehensive framework - from a perspective based on documentary evidence and research on the insertion Latin American and Caribbean international at that time (Domínguez Avila, 2005).

The History of international relations during the second half of the 20th century is presented as one of the central events which was conventionally called the "Cold War." The notion of Cold War does not only refer to the competition, confrontation and tension between the superpowers and antagonistic social systems of the time, as is normally maintained. Indeed, beyond the direct and indirect clash of projects, ideologies and geopolitical ambitions of the Americans and the Soviets, the history of the Cold War was also expressed through: 1) conflicts within different societies -even within the Latin American societies-, 2) divergences between the

superpowers and other "allied" powers in their respective areas of influence -that is, West-West and East-East conflicts-, and 3) contradictions between the superpowers and developing nations, including the specific case of Latin America, which is the most interesting for the purposes of this study (Lowenthal and Treverton, 1996).

At the same time, both in theoretical and methodological terms, many researchers of the Cold War phenomenon in Latin America continue to find certain difficulties in approaching this problem-object in a consistent and coherent manner. Note, for example, that Latin American researchers specialized in the history of the Cold War often face the dilemma and dilemma of having to work based on theories, doctrines or traditions of foreign policy imported from the hegemonic centers. Access to primary sources - including public archives - is also another important challenge when producing scientific knowledge.

Paraphrasing Mao Zedong's famous metaphor, from 1957, about the existence and dialectical relationship between "two winds", one from the West and the other from the East, here we propose to advance in the theorization of a Latin American concept of the Cold War. Indeed, the notion of the "Southwest Wind" proposes advancing the construction of a Latin American thesis on the Cold War. It means, a more rigorous, relevant and historically verifiable theoretical-methodological approach for research on the Cold War in and from the Latin American continent.

Schematically, a Latin American thesis on the Cold War presupposes the existence of both a field of epistemic tension - made up of three concentric semicircles - and a regular number of traditions, doctrines or ideal types of politics and international insertion (Rouquié, 1997; Moniz Bandeira, 1997; Ayerbe, 2001; Cervo, 2001); being that some of these traditions, doctrines or ideal types of politics and international insertion, for meeting certain requirements and meeting some necessary qualities - among oth-

ers: having been formulated and implemented by democratically oriented governments, as well as having promoted progressive options, solidarity, nationalist and anti-interventionist - end up giving rise to what we have called the hard and irreducible core of the Southwest Wind or the Latin American thesis on the Cold War.

This hard and irreducible core of politics and international insertion also stands as a standard of measurability or minimum standard of comparison. Unless better interpreted, the core of a Latin American thesis of the Cold War is integrated by convergence, harmonization and elective affinities that can be abstracted from the following ideal types of politics and international insertion: the Peronist third way, the anti -Mexican interventionism, the independent Brazilian foreign policy of the Quadros-Goulart period, the Betancourt Doctrine, and Contadora's thesis on the Central American conflict (Cardoso and Faletto, 2010). Here is an analytical construct that stands at the heart of a Latin American thesis on the Cold War. And it is for that same reason that the aforementioned hard and irreducible core can - or should - be located in the center of the first concentric semicircle of the aforementioned epistemic tension field.

In addition to the hard and irreducible core of a Latin American Cold War thesis, in that same first semicircle of the field of epistemic tension, we can identify and locate other highly valuable and prestigious traditions, doctrines or ideal types of politics and international insertion. Here is the case of external policies such as: the Costa Rican liberal-democratic figuerismo, the Pan-American Operation of the government of Juscelino Kubitschek, the Allende political pluralism and the CEPAL regionalism. All of them present important contributions to the study of the Cold War on the continent.

In the second semicircle of the field of epistemic tension, other traditions, doctrines or ideal types of politics and international insertion can be located that are also important for the investi-

gation of the impact of the logic of the Cold War in Latin America, but that, in our opinion, fail to meet the aforementioned requirements. In general, this second set of political doctrines was formulated and implemented by governments and other authoritarian-oriented actors. Among these policies, we can mention the National Security Doctrine, the revolutionary focus thesis, the domino theory, or "responsible pragmatism."

And in the third semicircle of the field of epistemic tension we would have to identify the external policies advocated by great powers with ties and interests in the Latin American continent during the Cold War era, especially the American theory of the containment of communism, the Leninist theory . of imperialism, the Maoist theory of the three worlds, Gaullism, and/or Non-Alignment.

The analytical scheme presented here must be understood, it is worth emphasizing, within the framework of a field of epistemic tension in the Kuhnian sense of the term, that is, in a context of dialectical interaction between the ideal types of politics and international insertion mentioned. This implies, among other things, that the Southwest Wind or a Latin American thesis of the Cold War has a dynamic, evolutionary and even paradigmatic character. Likewise, this model accepts that new ideal types of politics and international insertion can be incorporated, disaggregated and/or redefined - even with regard to the hard and irreducible core itself, as long as such ideal types ascribe to the ethos and requirements *placed* . And perhaps most importantly, everything presented here must continue to be subjected to the rigor and validation of historiographical research, as well as to the contributions of related disciplines.

At a time when there is warning about the possible reactivation of a Cold War logic between the United States, China and Russia - with some implications on the Latin American continent -, we want to believe that the relaunching of this debate from a high-

er level comprehension is important, relevant and meaningful. Ultimately, it seems evident that it is about producing theoretical-methodological knowledge that effectively contributes to the construction of republics with high and growing democratic quality in the Latin American continent and, simultaneously, resisting the pressures and hegemonistic designs of great powers with ties and interests in our macro-region.

Connections

Theories and theoretical approaches: Latin American structuralism

Schools of thought and Networks: Autonomy and Rosarian School of International Relations, School of Brasilia, Mexican School of International Relations, Rosarian School of International Relations

Concepts: Autonomy, Center-Periphery, South-South Cooperation, Nationalism-Colonialism, Latin American thought on international and global issues, Latin American Third Worldism

Doctrines: Betancourt Doctrine, Third Position Doctrine

Figures: Amado Luiz Cervo, Helio Jaguaribe, Luis Alberto Moniz Bandeira, Raúl Prebisch

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PART IV:
DOCTRINES

Doctrine of the 200 maritime miles

Ivan Witker Barra

In Latin America there has been special interest, from the 1940s onwards, in subjecting the surrounding ocean waters to regulations, in order to protect their natural resources, a source of economic development for many states. At the end of that decade, numerous Latin American governments issued decrees related to such interest. However, the only document that makes a precise indication regarding the miles necessary to be regulated is the Declaration of the Chilean president, Gabriel González Videla (1946-1952). The statements of the Presidents of Peru and several Central American countries are later. Likewise, the Caribbean, African and Arab countries adhered to this idea well into the 1970s.

For this reason, it is considered that the two fundamental pillars in the discussion that led to the "200 Mile Doctrine" are, on the one hand, the aforementioned Chilean proclamation of June 23, 1947, claiming state sovereignty over the continental shelf. and adjacent seas up to 200 miles, and, on the other, the Santiago Declaration of 1952 signed by three countries, Chile, Peru and Ecuador (plus the presence of Colombia as an observer).

The Declaration of Gabriel González Videla was based on the international consensus of the time, which recognized each country the right to consider as national territory the entire extension of the epicontinental sea and the adjacent continental shelf, and

also that states had the obligation to protect and monitor the exploitation of its riches contained throughout the entire extent of its territory. The Chilean President started from the declarations made by the governments of the United States (1945), Mexico (1945) and Argentina (1946) that had proclaimed the sovereignty and rights of said states over the continental plain or base in order to conserve, protect and regulate the ownership of known natural wealth or that will be discovered in the future, essential for the well-being and progress of its people.

According to the Declaration, it was convenient for Chile to make a "similar proclamation" because the country's life is linked to the sea and its riches, such is the case of the coal mines, whose "work goes and will continue to go into the territory that is covered by waters", but also to its topography and limited Mediterranean extension.

For their part, and based on similar foundations, the states represented in Santiago de Chile would later make the following declaration:

> 1. The geological and biological factors that condition the existence, conservation and development of maritime fauna and flora in the waters that bathe the coasts of the declaring countries, make the former extension of the territorial sea and the contiguous zone insufficient for the conservation, development and use of those riches to which coastal countries are entitled. 2. As a consequence of these events, the Governments of Chile, Ecuador and Peru proclaim as a norm of their international maritime policy, the exclusive sovereignty and jurisdiction that corresponds to each of them over the sea that bathes the coasts of their respective countries, until a minimum distance of 200 nautical miles from the aforementioned coasts. 3. The exclusive jurisdiction and sovereignty over the indicated maritime zone also includes the exclusive sovereignty and jurisdiction over the soil and subsoil that corresponds to it.

These Latin American Declarations gave rise to the 200 Mile Doctrine, which is inserted in the notion of Exclusive Economic Zone, which became part of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), approved in Jamaica in 1982. .

In this sense, the interest refers not only to the 200 miles, but to the so-called Exclusive Economic Zone; the continental shelf; fishing rights; the exploitation of living and non-living resources of the ocean; the freedom of navigation; the delimitation of maritime spaces; the peaceful use of waters and subsoil, ocean floors, scientific exploration and research, high seas fishing, fishing for straddling and migrant species and countless other topics of high sensitivity for adjacent countries in particular. to the Pacific basin. These countries discovered in the aforementioned matters a community of purposes and interests that have attracted legal and political attention. This has been observed with special force since the end of the Second World War.

The United Nations (UN) has channeled this impulse through successive Conferences on the Rights of the Sea, which have given life to four specific Conventions: Convention on the Territorial Sea and Contiguous Zone (1964), Convention on the High Seas (1962), Convention on Continental Shelf (1964) and Convention on Fisheries and Conservation of Living Resources of the High Seas (1966). The UN then created the Committee for the Peaceful Uses of the Seabed and Ocean Floor Beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction (commonly called the Seabed Committee).

Connections

Concepts: Autonomy, Ecodevelopment
Doctrines: Calvo Doctrine, Drago Doctrine, *Utti Possidetis Iuris Doctrine*
Figures: Carlos Calvo, Carlos Estrada, Luis María Drago

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Betancourt Doctrine

Andrés Figueroa Jiménez

The "Betancourt Doctrine" consists of a perspective of international politics and foreign policy that was promoted by the President of Venezuela, Rómulo Betancourt, between 1959 and 1964. Its central idea is the political condemnation of governments lacking a democratic origin. Particularly, it is an approach that uses foreign policy as an instrument of protection for the democratic regimes of Latin America.

This Doctrine is articulated around the promotion of cooperation and alliances between democratic governments with the purpose of carrying out specific actions against *de facto governments*, linked to coups d'état or dictatorships in the region. Such actions are represented by the breaking of diplomatic relations, the suspension of all economic-technological cooperation and the expulsion of the regional and international legal community. They comprise a series of underlying criteria for action, among which stand out: first, the use of the legal institution of "recognition of governments" as an instrument for the defense of the Latin American democratic system; second, the specific request to the Organization of American States (OAS) to exclude dictatorial governments from its ranks (Betancourt, 1964; García Arias, 1969).

The previously stated criteria are based on particular considerations of politics and political theory developed by Rómulo Betan-

court, such as the following: 1) Non-democratic governments constitute entities that offend the dignity of America; 2) Non-democratic governments comprise structures not born from popular expression and from freely held elections as the only source of legitimate power; 3) Dictatorial governments imply architectures of non-respectable origin that are completely opposite to the content of article number 1 of the Bogotá Charter, in turn, the constitutive act of the OAS; 4) Dictatorial regimes, which do not respect Human Rights, which violate citizen freedoms and which carry out tyranny governments with totalitarian policies, must be subjected to a "cordon sanitaire" and be eradicated through collective peaceful action of the international legal community (Betancourt, 1964; 1969; Guerón, 1972).

For Betancourt, therefore, there is a direct relationship between democracy and international cooperation. It also assumes that a greater link between democratic states has two benefits for the region as a whole: first, a greater capacity for operation and protection of national economies and, second, greater regional maneuverability in the face of possible actions by the United States, considered "manipulative" and functional to their interests in their actions before dictatorial governments in Latin America (Mendoza Barrundia, 1978).

This Doctrine, in its genesis, is articulated as a national enhancer around a hemispheric scenario in which Venezuela pursues concrete understandings with the United States within diverse matters. An example is the signing of economic agreements between both countries around 1961 within the framework of the Alliance for Progress (Sant Roz, 2010).

The Betancourt perspective achieves its constitution as a Doctrine of Public International Law, based on pronouncements and guiding criteria of foreign policy and actions from the international legal level that are contained in public documents of the state of Venezuela. By way of illustration, two examples: one of

them is the telegram sent from the Presidency of Venezuela to the General Secretariat of the OAS, on August 22, 1960, which indicates that:

> The opportunity of the Inter-American Conference of Quito in 1961 should be used to articulate a specific declaration or treaty in which it is defined and specified that governments that have not been elected by the vote of the people and whose representative characters are not objectionable (Betancourt, 1964).

The second corresponds to the Telegram from the Government of Venezuela to the Presidency of Argentina, dated October 12 of the same year, in which it is stated that:

> Venezuela ratifies through my voice its decision not to maintain diplomatic or commercial relations with governments not legitimized by the vote of the people and to advocate in the OAS that usurpation regimes be excluded from the regional legal community. (Betancourt, 1964).

The Betancourt Doctrine and its instruments of non-recognition and rupture of relations, after 1964, were replaced by the so-called "Doctrine of ideological pluralism" practiced by the governments of Rafael Caldera (1969-1974) and Carlos Andrés Pérez (1974-1979).). Meanwhile, the successive socio-economic crises and chains of coups d'état in Latin America would end up diplomatically isolating Venezuela, the Doctrine would not be accepted as a norm by the OAS (García Arias, 1969).

In relation to the above, it is possible to maintain that the Betancourt perspective lacks casuistry that specifies or modifies it and that what is presented is a replacement of doctrine.

Connections

Schools of thought and Networks: Central American Unionist School
Concepts: Democratic clause, South-South Cooperation
Doctrines: Cárdenas Doctrine, Carranza Doctrine, Estrada Doctrine, Tobar Doctrine
Figures: Genaro Estrada, Rómulo Betancourt

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Brum Doctrine

Silvia T. Álvarez

The "Brum Doctrine" constitutes a proposal for the multilateralization of the Monroe Doctrine (Atkins, 2019) through the creation of a defensive alliance represented in an American League of Nations. It was prepared by Baltasar Brum, President of Uruguay (1919-1923), and presented for the first time in a conference he gave on April 21, 1920, at the University of Montevideo[15].

Brum's ideas were presented in a political scenario marked by the consequences of the First World War (1914-1918). The United States had entered it together with the Allies in 1917. A year later, its president, Woodrow Wilson, announced fourteen points aimed at laying the foundations for a New World Order that, after the end of hostilities, would have to be governed by the principles of International Law. Among them was the founding of a League of Nations that would become a reality in the Treaty of Versailles (1919), although the United States would never ultimately join it. At that time, the country was becoming the world's leading economic power, and in Latin America, it would soon displace the sec-

15 His ideas were also presented in newspapers: Baltasar Brum (1923) World Solidarity. *La Nación* , January 21, and Baltasar Brum (1923) The Association of American Countries. *The Day,* February 10 .

ular presence of Great Britain as the economic ally of its political elites.

Before the War, Latin America had been divided between neutrality and alignment. Uruguay, a country that since the late 19th century questioned the economic benefits of the secular association with Great Britain, and would come to be considered in the 1920s as one of the most pro-American Latin American countries (Turcatti, 1981), chose to locate itself in the camp of the Allies through the breaking of diplomatic relations with the central powers. Baltasar Brum, then Minister of Foreign Affairs (1916-1919), belonging to the Batllista ranks of the Colorado Party, justified the break in the name of continental solidarity (Shusman, 2014; Klein, 2017: 68). Shortly afterwards, already in the exercise of the presidency, upholding democratic and social ideals, he would continue this foreign policy orientation, through a positioning that promoted Pan-Americanism (Klein, 2017: 69 et seq.). In the formulation of his Doctrine, which generated a public debate at the time (Moreno Quintana, 1921), he started from a review of the history of the American continent, in which he recognized cultural affinities, common objectives of freedom and justice, collective achievements, but also disagreements resulting from conflicting interests based on their own national goals. In that sense, for the Uruguayan president, in the same way that a "policy [that] could have been unfair and harsh with some Latin countries" could be attributed to the United States, "other Latin American nations could formulate identical reproaches" (1920: 10).

If Brum had always understood that the participation of the United States was essential in American affairs, such conviction increased when he observed that, after his entry into the First World War, to which he attributed an early application of the Monroe Doctrine, he abandoned his policy of isolation. and, guided by idealism, he was committed to defending the rights of

all peoples, including the independence and territorial integrity of American countries. In this sense, for him:

> If the powerful nation of the North is willing to carry out a policy of justice and equality with its sisters in America, it would be our duty to contribute to its purposes, if only for the consideration that, often, the good manners of the weak contain the violent impulses of the strong (1920:10).

Consequently, he understood that Pan-Americanism, an expression of brotherhood and a just aspiration for the material and moral aggrandizement of all the peoples of America, would also contribute to achieving balance between Europe and the American continent. From this reading, for Brum, throughout history, the Monroe Doctrine had been the only permanent manifestation of such brotherhood, while similar ideas had also been expounded by heroes such as Gervasio Artigas. Its practical extension to the continent would represent an expression of foresight and would promote "peace and broad independence" for all its countries (1920: 15). He also considered that such a proposal was a logical consequence of the Treaty of Versailles, which seemed to put limits on the intervention of the League of Nations in American affairs, given that it recognized the validity of the Monroe Doctrine (article 21 of the Treaty), to which it was added that the existence of an American League of Nations would give greater interference by the American continent, as a region, in the League of Nations, given that the great powers dominated there to the detriment of the American states (1920: 17). Based on such ideas, which highlighted realistic readings -awareness of politics of interest and power- and idealistic readings -defense of the international law-, Brum synthesized his proposal into postulates that sought to reconcile the principle of state sovereignty with that of continental solidarity, and can be summarized as follows:

1) Judgment of internal acts of a state according to its own laws, except for diplomatic claims that may be admitted in cases of obvious denial of justice.

2) Recognition of nationality at birth to children of foreigners born in the American continent, unless, once they have reached the age of majority, they are in the state of origin and express their desire to opt for its nationality.

3) Uniform and common action of all American states in the face of extracontinental grievances against any of them.

4) Constitution of an American League, based on the equality of its members.

5) Submission to the arbitration judgment of the League of controversies between American states, in the event that they cannot be resolved by the parties.

6) Consideration by the American League of controversies between an American state, - only at its request - and the League of Nations (1920: 31-32).

The Uruguayan delegation presented the Brum proposal at the Fifth Conference of American States that was held in Santiago, Chile between March 25 and May 3, 1923. By then, Brum had assumed that the United States would not participate in the League of Nations, and interpreted that Article 21 implied a limitation on the security of the Americas. Neither the United States, which sought to reserve the application of the Monroe Doctrine, nor the Latin American states, which wanted the United States to ensure non-intervention in the internal affairs of their states before considering any possibility of collective security, gave their approval to the Uruguayan proposal (Atkins, 1997: 45).

Although the Brum Doctrine was never carried out, it can be considered one of the most important sources of doctrinal matters in defense of Pan-Americanism and a precedent for the inter-American system (Atkins, 1997: 45; 2019), but also an example of a stage that extended between the second half of the 19th

century and until the beginning of the 1930s in the 20th century, observed as the coexistence of positions that claimed, on the one hand, Latin American autonomy and identity (Drago, Tobar, Calvo, Carranza and Estrada) and, on the other, an alignment, "coupling or acquiescence" with Washington's policies (Russell and Tokatlian, 2013: 165 et seq.) from which a continentalist interpretation of the past and future of the region was fundamentally proposed.

Connections

Concepts: Autonomy, American continentalism, Integrationism, Hemispheric security, Latin American system

Doctrines: Calvo Doctrine, Carranza Doctrine, Drago Doctrine, Estrada Doctrine, Respice Polum Doctrine, Tobar Doctrine.

Figures: Juan Gabriel Tokatlian, Roberto Russell

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Calvo Doctrine

Silvia T. Álvarez, Eduardo Devés

The "Calvo Doctrine", as it was called after the formulation of the Argentine jurist Carlos Calvo, in his work *Theoretical and practical international law of Europe and America* (1868), indicates that resident foreigners, having suffered some harm in the host country, must resort its courts, avoiding invoking intervention, through diplomatic means or force, by their state of origin.

In a political scenario characterized by the advance of European imperialism and the formation of modern states in Latin America, the pretext for French intervention in Mexico would be given, being the trigger for the formulation of the Calvo Doctrine. In 1861, a Swiss banker made a loan to the government of President Miguel Miramón, guaranteed with national treasury bonds. The banker's bankruptcy and the cancellation of the operation by Miramón's successor, Benito Juárez, left the bonds worthless and without the possibility of collection by the banker's creditors, who resided in England, Spain and France. In response, the latter country decided to intervene in Mexican territory, which led to the creation of a government under its tutelage, known as the Second Empire (1865-1867).

Developed in times when international law was still in its infancy, while the principle of effective power of states prevailed, the Calvo Doctrine is based on a central element of the modern state:

sovereignty. On the one hand, it was about legal sovereignty -legal equality of states- and, on the other, Westphalian sovereignty -exclusion of external authorities in internal decision-making- and, derived from it, territorial integrity. In this sense, the Calvo Doctrine can be summarized in three postulates (Suñe, 2015: 195): 1) equality before the law of nationals and foreigners; 2) subjection of foreigners to national laws and judges; 3) abstention of foreign states from intervening in the property disputes of their nationals in third countries. Two central arguments put forward by Calvo in the formulation of his doctrine are: "The principle of compensation and diplomatic intervention in favor of foreigners, due to damages suffered in cases of civil war, has not been and is not admitted by no nation in Europe or America" and regarding that:

> The Governments of powerful nations, which exercise or impose this alleged right against relatively weak States, commit an abuse of power and force that nothing could justify and that is contrary to their own legislation, international practice and political convenience (Calvo, 1868).

The principle of non-intervention, which had already been formulated in the Monroe Doctrine against European interference, would be presented, in the Calvo Doctrine, as a guarantee of the independence achieved by the American states, and meant a "speech of non-intervention." with an Americanist perspective (Arias Ospina, 2013: 194). From Argentina, while the structure of an agro-export market linked mainly to Great Britain began to consolidate, in terms of the Puigian notion of national dependence, it would simultaneously seek to safeguard national interests against the force of the empire of the great European powers. (Puig, 1980).

As Francesco Tamburini (2002) points out, the general content of the Calvo Doctrine originates from the fact that there is

no particular space in his work where the doctrine is concretely formulated. This:

> It is formed indirectly, through a general reading of its statements, which have to be considered as a general whole. Furthermore, there are authors who believe that the essence of Calvo's philosophy lies in the epistolary exchange between him and another Argentine jurist, a hero of South American independence in the face of foreign intervention, Luis María Drago.

The result of the interpretation of other jurists on the Calvo Doctrine is the "Calvo clause", introduced in agreements between foreign citizens, with the purpose of forcing them to resort to local courts in case of disputes, renouncing diplomatic help from their own governments. In contractual terms, it legally recognized foreigners with the same rights as nationals (legal character); forced them to exhaust the resources of domestic jurisdiction (jurisdictional nature); and to renounce the request for diplomatic protection of his country in the event of any controversy (international nature). This last element can be considered "the foundation of non-intervention in America, moving from a diplomatic or political perspective (Wheaton), to a practice and dynamic within the legal relations of States with foreigners" (Arias Ospina, 2013: 197).

The Calvo Doctrine would influence the Drago and Estrada doctrines, but it would also have an important projection, throughout history, in the international, regional and state fields. Its content was included in different resolutions of the United Nations Assembly (Shea, 1955: 76-77), in Pan-American conferences, Latin American constitutions and documents emanating from specific controversies between states and multinational companies (Marichal, 2015: 730-731).

The advance of globalization and the endorsement of trade opening policies since the '90s has generated the liberalization of

the foreign investment regime through the granting of national treatment, the elimination of most of the restrictions on capital remittances and, finally, the study of new forms of peaceful solutions to differences through which new rules and forms of conflict resolution are established. The advance of bilateral investment treaties, the accession of most Latin American states to the Center for Settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSD), as well as the subscription to the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA), express the migration of powers from a state level to others of a supranational or international nature (Tamburini, 2002; Marichal, 2015: 731). However, such liberalization, linked to open integration, has also found its reverse in state policies that, within the framework of post-hegemonic regionalism and progressive governments, at the beginning of the 21st century, have claimed the exercise of state sovereignty in agreements with multinationals that recognize themselves as heirs of the principles upheld in the Calvo Doctrine (Marichal, 2015: 731). In this sense, the Calvo Doctrine can also be considered an expression of the defense of national autonomy within the framework of neoliberal globalization that began in the '90s.

Connections

Schools of thought and Networks: Autonomy and Rosarian School of International Relations, Rosarian School of International Relations

Concepts: Autonomy, Heterodox autonomy, Open integration, Latin American regionalisms

Doctrines: Cárdenas Doctrine, Drago Doctrine, Estrada Doctrine, Juárez Doctrine

Figures: Carlos Calvo, Genaro Estrada, Juan Carlos Puig, Luis María Drago

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Cárdenas Doctrine

Alfonso Sánchez Mugica

The "Cárdenas Doctrine" takes its name from a statement made by General Lázaro Cárdenas del Río (president of Mexico from 1934 to 1940), within the framework of the International Pro Peace Congress, held on September 10, 1938 in the Mexican capital. In the initial conference, recovered for the first time by the jurist Salvador Mendoza in 1939 - within the book *The Cárdenas Doctrine, Text, background, comments, the Monroe Doctrine, the Drago Doctrine, the Calvo Doctrine, the Cárdenas Doctrine* -, Cárdenas points out that:

> The individual who leaves his country to find in another what he lacks in his own, has the essential duty to accept all the circumstances, favorable or adverse, of the environment that welcomes him, and, for a compensatory concept, he must also enjoy all the prerogatives of the useful and respectable citizen of the society in which he lives (Cárdenas cited in Mendoza, 1939).

This declaration was made on March 18, within the framework of the nationalization of the oil industry, and centuries-old interference by Europe and the United States in Mexican territory. Its purpose was aimed at maintaining the non-extraterritoriality of nationality, in order to suppress all legal controversies arising from said nationalization.

It should be noted that the US government never particularly wanted to recognize the Calvo Doctrine as an international principle. However, during the 1930s this position became more adamant, precisely in the face of the nationalizations carried out by President Lázaro Cárdenas of the oil industry. Relations between the United States and Mexico had begun to have difficulties after the promulgation of the 1917 Constitution, especially due to its article 27, which recognized the original ownership of the Nation over natural resources, in addition to implicitly incorporating the Calvo clause as well. as well as the Carranza Doctrine enunciated in 1918. In those years, foreign companies owned 90% of Mexican oil resources and Mexico was the third largest oil producer in the world, after the United States and Russia. However, some time later, to obtain recognition from the United States, the government of General Álvaro Obregón, in 1923, signed the Treaties of Bucareli with the United States, through which Mexico suspended the application of Article 27, guaranteeing the rights of unlimited ownership to foreign individuals and American oil companies. But relations between both countries would reach their maximum level of conflict with the nationalizations of 1938, which only worsened the situation by restoring constitutional principles. In response to this, the powers turned against the Mexican government. Great Britain, for example, broke off diplomatic relations with Mexico and threatened to blockade the country.

For its part, the United States immediately began its claims. The Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, then created a formula that bore his name in which he established the conditions of compensation due to investors who had suffered the consequences of the nationalizations. Among them, it was required that they be immediate, proportional to the nationalized asset and in convertible currency, that is, in dollars, which went against the Mexican position that considered that compensation was the responsibility of the courts and laws of the Mexican Republic. This confrontation not only re-

mained a bilateral struggle, but was expressed that same year in Lima, during the celebration of the Eighth Pan American Conference. Later, US policy preferred to maintain its relations with Mexico, as it sought its support in the event of a possible world war, and it was clear that this country could supply its oil in the event of a war; So he preferred to have this resource instead of insisting on the defense of the companies that were victims of nationalization.

President Cárdenas's speech, which can properly be considered his Doctrine, adds to what has already been noted that

> [...] from the restriction of the use of citizenship as well as from the persistence of nationality imposed by the country of origin, the pitfalls are generated and the terms in which the absurd theory of foreignness is developed with all its bad consequences are implemented (...) Unprepared peoples receive them as foreigners, they hold them as such considerations that exceed the limits of respect and border on those of fear. For their part, the governments of origin promote and protect them as an advance of unexpected conquest and as the first step towards achieving an extension of their boundaries and their sovereignty. If this blindly imperialist theory that involves a deformation of a well-understood nationalism were disapproved by the nations and rejected particularly by each of the citizens, there would never be room for tense relations, nor claims, nor conflicts, nor to the discussion of subtleties, nor to the invention of pretexts to launch nations into sterile struggles.

Upon leaving the presidency of the Republic, General Lázaro Cárdenas was concerned about his doctrinal legacy, so he addressed a letter to the incoming President, General Manuel Ávila Camacho, in which he stated the following:

> Something very important and transcendental in the life of Mexico, for the men who assume power, is to ensure that in the mean-

> time there is no categorical declaration from the North American government in the sense that it abandons its theory of recognizing the nationality of origin of North Americans. who move to other countries, new investors from the neighboring nation should not be accepted here. If this important aspect is neglected, we will have to regret more undue claims and serious conflicts for Mexico. Although foreigners, according to our laws, are obliged to renounce all diplomatic protection, the truth is that the governments of North America have not respected this principle, which is the supreme law in our country, and therefore it is essential to have a prior declaration American government official. Our Foreign Ministry must continue working until we achieve absolute respect for the nation's sovereignty. If the citizen who succeeds me in the representation of power agrees with this principle, it will be appropriate to transmit it to his immediate successor.

When reading this declaration, and the implications derived from it, various aspects already contained in previous Latin American doctrines and ideas are relevant. Firstly, in part, the principles contained therein constitute an extension of the Calvo and Drago doctrines, by denying extraterritoriality on the American continent, although without developing this proposition. Secondly, as in the cases of the Juárez Doctrine, the Carranza Doctrine and the Calvo Doctrine, an attempt was made to end the privileged situation that foreigners had derived from the support of the powers for their claims against the Latin American governments. Finally, the Doctrine that resulted from the declaration was linked to the Cárdenas Doctrine and the Estrada Doctrine in reference to the conditions for the recognition of the governments of Mexico. In this way, an attempt was made to update the principle of non-intervention, so President Cárdenas' statement can be read in terms of anti-imperialism. Ultimately, the Doctrine contributes, on this basis, to the idea according to which nationals and

foreigners must be equal before the sovereignty of the country in which they are located.

Connections

Doctrines: Calvo Doctrine, Carranza Doctrine, Drago Doctrine, Estrada Doctrine, Juárez Doctrine
Figures: Lorenzo Meyer

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Carranza Doctrine

Alfonso Sánchez Mugica

The "Carranza Doctrine" is a declaration that establishes the guidelines of Mexican foreign policy. It maintains equality between states and disapproves of intervention in their internal affairs, even for the protection of nationals, since the laws of a country must be the same for all its inhabitants.

This Doctrine was developed after the end of the First World War, in a context marked by the consolidation of the United States as an economic power on the international level, the Mexican Revolution and the sanction of the Constitution of 1917. The latter had been the result of the social revolution, which recognized the original ownership of resources. Its implementation had to be carried out in a turbulent scenario, with active armed movements and the destruction of a large part of the country's infrastructure. Furthermore, President Venustiano Carranza (1917-1920) faced the interests of foreign businessmen who sought to preserve their power and capital in Mexico. The United States, through the so-called "Roosevelt Corollary" to the Monroe Doctrine, considered Latin America a space for its commercial interests and stated that it would intervene in the affairs of any country that threatened the rights or properties of its citizens. Thus, American companies and the government began to exert pressure on the Carranza government because they felt that the new Constitution (articles 27, 30 and 130)

affected their interests, they resorted to intimidation and initiated smear campaigns against the Mexican government, while the Oil companies, with the support of Secretary of State Robert Lansing, threatened armed intervention. Carranza then decided to protect national interests by declaring that diplomacy should not be used to pursue personal interests or exert pressure on weak countries.

In the *Report* of the Ministry of the Interior on the activities carried out in 1916, the guidelines that would constitute the so-called Carranza Doctrine were presented to the Sovereign Constituent Congress in three speeches delivered between November 1915 and January 1916. After the Mexican Revolution, the September 1, 1918, at the opening of sessions of the Chamber, Venustiano Carranza, now as constitutional president, spoke out against any type of intervention, demanding mutual respect for laws and institutions, based on equality of all nations, and demanded that Mexico be respected like any sovereign nation. This Doctrine, which responded to the attacks of the United States, and other powers, against the sovereignty and self-determination of Mexico, and which was in full accordance with the Political Constitution of the United Mexican States of 1917, says verbatim:

> That all countries are equal; They must mutually and scrupulously respect their Institutions, their Laws and their Sovereignty;
>
> That no country should intervene in any way and for any reason in the internal affairs of another. Everyone must submit strictly and without exceptions to the universal principle of non-intervention;
>
> That no individual should claim a better situation than that of the citizens of the country where they are going to settle, nor make their status as a foreigner a title of protection and privilege. Nationals and foreigners must be equal before the Sovereignty of the country in which they are located, and finally,

> That legislation must be uniform and equal as much as possible, without establishing distinctions based on nationality, except in relation to the exercise of Sovereignty (cited in Gaytán, 2018).

These guidelines implied revolutionary modifications to the international law prevailing at that time. Although they explicitly took up the Juárez Doctrine (1867), which demanded respect for the equality of states, non-intervention, respect for the self-determination of peoples and the prohibition of the threat and use of force, they are related to the Drago Doctrines (1902), which rejected the use of force by one state to collect debts from another, and the Calvo Doctrine (1896), which required foreigners to renounce the diplomatic protection of their government.

Respect for sovereignty and non-intervention constitute the pillars of the Carranza Doctrine, due to their indissoluble link, complementarity and interaction. Hence, any action by a state that does not respect the independence of another state in its own sphere implies an injury to its sovereignty and, at the same time, an intervention in its internal affairs. The regional community adopted the Carranza Doctrine in the Pan-American Conferences of Montevideo (1933) and Buenos Aires (1936) by enshrining the principle of non-intervention. Both the legal equality of states and respect for their sovereignty and non-intervention would be principles of international law enshrined in the *Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation among States* of 1970.

The 1918 declaration was recognized as the Carranza Doctrine in 1935, when Senator Ernesto Soto Reyes asked the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Emilio Portes Gil, to send him the texts referring to Mexican international doctrines to regulate the country's relations with the outside world. The answer was given by Isidro Fabela, who sent Secretary Portes Gil a memorandum in which he took up President Carranza's speech on September 1, 1918.

Carranza's legacy is fundamental in the history of Mexico's foreign policy. It inspired the Estrada Doctrine (1930), which opposes the recognition of governments as a form of pressure, and is enshrined in article 89 of the current Constitution, and is not limited to the defense of national interests, but is also enshrined equally to peace and the interests of humanity.

Connections

Schools of thought and Networks: Autonomy and Rosarian School of International Relations, Rosarian School of International Relations
Concepts: Autonomy, heterodox autonomy, intermediate states
Doctrines: Drago Doctrine, Estrada Doctrine, Juárez Doctrine
Figures: Carlos Calvo, Genaro Estrada, Luis María Drago

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Castañeda Doctrine

Alfonso Sánchez Mugica

The "Castañeda Doctrine" is a term used to refer mainly to Mexico's foreign policy during the presidency of Vicente Fox (2002-2006). Its name derives from the secretary of international relations during that period, Jorge Castañeda Gutman (2002-2003), who should not be confused with his father, the Mexican diplomat Jorge Castañeda y Álvarez de la Rosa, who also held the title of the Mexican Foreign Ministry from 1979 to 1982. This Doctrine refers to the prevalence of Human Rights and democracy as universal values that must be respected and promoted by all states in their internal order and in their international relations.

Fox appointed Castañeda as his Secretary (Minister) of Foreign Affairs at the beginning of his term. His election to the presidency marked the end of the hegemony of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) and the arrival of an opposition government to power, the National Action Party (PAN) and a coalition of other parties; Thus, the government's main interest was to set a new political course at different levels, including foreign policy. In that sense, Jorge Castañeda, who is also a renowned academic, broke with the foreign policy of the previous regime and promoted a new direction that would be characterized by greater openness to the international community and increased Mexican participation in international affairs. Its main approach was to include the

issues of democracy and Human Rights on Mexico's international agenda. In some way, an attempt was made to transfer to the international level the elements that characterized the arrival of the Fox government. The PRI regime had evaded condemning the violations of human and civil rights in Cuba or the Soviet Union, at the time, to avoid a international action in reciprocity that would require Mexico to respect those same rights. Therefore, Castañeda carried out some actions, such as extending the invitation to international groups in favor of Human Rights to establish themselves in Mexico, and supported the international demands and that of Cuban opponents on the island and in the United States in favor of Human Rights in Cuba. In this way, Mexico decided to support the resolution presented by the government of Uruguay in the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations Organization to review the situation in Cuba in April 2002. It was approved by 23 votes in favor and 21 against and 9 abstentions. The resolution L.30 "encourages the government of Cuba to adhere to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights," as well as the sending of a representative of the High Commissioner of the United Nations for Human Rights to Cuba.

Faced with this decision, and in the framework of a debate in public opinion, the Mexican left critically used the term "Castañeda Doctrine" to refer to what it considered the alignment of Mexico with the United States in terms of politics. abroad. Other observers considered that Mexico could not continue ignoring the problem of democratic deficit in Cuba and other countries, especially once Vicente Fox had promised a change in that sense, seeking coherence about what was happening in Mexico and its foreign policy. They also argued that this support for the Uruguayan initiative did not directly condemn Cuba, but rather made a series of recommendations to improve the Human Rights situation on the island. Likewise, it was denied that this decision had violated

the principle of non-intervention traditionally upheld by Mexico, because it was made within the framework of a multilateral organization of which Cuba is also a member. The Mexican vote, presented by the Chancellor himself in Geneva, argued that Mexico's international action was based on the recognition that Human Rights constitute absolute and universal values, and that it is the obligation of states, both individually and collectively, to ensure their protection.

In terms of Human Rights, three aspects were established. The first was the belief in the absolute and universal value of Human Rights, even above sovereignty. The second was the self-demand to do everything within Mexico's power so that these values were fully respected within the country, and finally, the third, compliance with Mexico's international obligations in matters of Human Rights. It was thus expected that these guidelines would help consolidate democratic change in Mexico. In this sense, various actions were carried out: in addition to the votes cast by Mexico in the cases of Cuba, Palestine, Chechnya and Iran, in the period of sessions of the UN Commission on Human Rights in 2002, the President appointed a special Ambassador for Human Rights and Democracy. The adoption of a resolution on indigenous peoples and another on the protection of migrants was promoted. At the Third Summit of the Americas, Mexico supported the signing of a Democratic clause; as well as supported the initiative of what would be the Democratic Charter of the Organization of American States (OAS).

This new policy of the Mexican State was a consequence of the so-called "democratic bonus" that President Vicente Fox had in the election of July 2, 2000, which brought him to power with more than 42.5% of the votes cast. But it was also the result of what was conceived as the development of a new international system oriented towards the establishment of norms and principles of universal jurisdiction, above national sovereignty, in a "new agenda", in which the issues of Human Rights and democ-

racy, gender and discrimination issues, environmental protection and the fight against organized crime and corruption. This agenda subsequently led to the proposal of the so-called right to humanitarian intervention, which began with the Brahimi Report on peacekeeping operations and would be consolidated with the Doctrine of the Responsibility to Protect presented by the Secretary General of the United Nations. Kofi Annan in 2005. At the national level, these ideas would represent a doctrinal confrontation between the foreign policy proposal of Castañeda and Fox with the principles of non-intervention enunciated in the Carranza Doctrine and specified in the Estrada Doctrine. Although they admitted that they were still current doctrines, and that they were inscribed in the constitutional text, they placed these universal principles above them, which was interpreted by many analysts as the abandonment of the traditional foreign policy emanating from the Mexican Revolution. Consequently, it can be concluded that the Castañeda Doctrine made Mexican foreign policy more complex by overlapping principles that contradicted each other.

Jorge Castañeda's foreign policy was more pragmatic and not only made reference to democracy and Human Rights. He also alluded to a question related to nationalism in the sense in which Castañeda himself spoke out, pointing out the fact that "nationalism and anti-Americanism are no longer viable in a globalized world," and that stopping being nationalists and defending the interests Sometimes it means opposing Washington and other times supporting it. Mexico was leaving behind the revolutionary nationalism that had characterized the regimes from the Mexican Revolution and was approaching an idea of a more complex country in which nationalist ideology gave way to the more complex concept of national interest.

The Castañeda Doctrine ended the isolation of Mexico, which had served to keep the country's doors closed and facilitate repression, political fraud and corruption. Other characteristics of this

change was the signing of the Global Agreement between Mexico and the European Union on July 1, 2000, which included the democracy and Human Rights clause. Likewise, the elimination of Mexico's drug certification process vis-à-vis the United States took place, the questioning of the death penalty applied to Mexicans in that country, as well as the creation of the Mexico Institute and the use of elements of public diplomacy and cultural.

Later in the Fox government, and after a series of controversies in foreign policy - such as Mexico's disagreement with Cuba and criticism from other Latin American countries, such as Argentina and Venezuela, for adopting a pro-American stance, as well as distancing itself from President Fox and other members of the cabinet -, without having achieved the immigration agreement that he proposed with the United States, Jorge Castañeda presented his resignation as Secretary of Foreign Affairs on January 14, 2003.

Some believe that the Castañeda Doctrine was relegated to oblivion, but the truth is that on June 10, 2011, a broad constitutional reform was published that sought to strengthen the system of recognition and protection of Human Rights in Mexico, which involved the modification of 11 constitutional articles. Some of these reforms have an international character, such as the incorporation of Human Rights in international treaties, the recognition of the right to a hearing for foreigners in the event of expulsion from the national territory by the President of the Republic, and the addition to section This can be interpreted as the constitutional incorporation of the Castañeda Doctrine.

Connections

Concepts: Democratic clause, Republicanism
Doctrines: Betancourt Doctrine, Carranza Doctrine, Díaz Ordaz Doctrine, Estrada Doctrine, Rodríguez Larreta Doctrine

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Doctrine of Active Non-Alignment

Gilberto C. Aranda Bustamante

The "Doctrine of Active Non-Alignment" (NAA) refers to the transformations of the current international system, even with characteristics that are not fully clear and precise, but in which an entropic bipolarism stands out, with two powers in conflict for hegemony: the United States, as a hegemonic State during a relevant part of the Post-Cold War, and China, as the rising State and challenger aspiring to the global scepter, while new actors and new coalitional dynamics and rivalries appear, complemented by various cooperation agendas. The above not only means leaving behind the unifocalism of the end and beginning of the millennium, but also displaces the expectations of multipolar rise, very popular inside and outside the region.

It is a doctrine that is based on the empirical verification of a certain practice, not completely delineated although identifiable, of the States of the region in order to balance their relations with Washington and Beijing, without leaning towards one or the other. From there it is deployed as a practical guide for future foreign policy action.

The statement of the Doctrine dates back to 2019, within the framework of the Puebla forum, when the former Minister of Economy (1990-1993) and former Chilean senator, Carlos Ominami (1994-2010), prescribed Non-Alignment for Latin Ameri-

ca as a route that, more than neutrality, would mean that Latin American governments direct their actions based on national interests, on an active sovereign exercise that relegates the objectives of the great powers to the background. In July 2020, in an article in Foreign Affairs Latin America, Ominami with Carlos Fortín and Jorge Heine tested the original thematic approach to "Active Non-Alignment". The three returned to the old idea that Latin American countries implement an independent foreign policy in connection with the autonomist tradition. The roots of the concept go back to Helio Jaguaribe and Juan Carlos Puig as more classic formulators. Among his contemporary exegetes stands out Juan Gabriel Tokatlian, who, together with Roberto Russell, developed at the beginning of the 21st century the concept of Relational Autonomy to explain the capacity of a State to act simultaneously and voluntarily independently and in cooperation with others, under of common interests (Russell and Tokatlian, 2002: 180). More recently, the same author presented "Equidistance Diplomacy" as a strategic proposal that, instead of assuming a "New Cold War," emphasizes that Sino-American competition and rivalry is crossed by interdependence, and that Latin America must follow a path of equivalent distances that allows it to build a regional identity and a global status.

Along the same lines, although closer to the story of the New Cold War,the compilation book *Active Non-Alignment and Latin America: A doctrine for the new century* appeared in November 2021, which concludes by conceptually modeling and linking the NAA Doctrine.

The NAA is directly inspired by Non-Alignment, born in turn from the bowels of a rigid bipolarism, whose founding milestone was the Bandung Conference in 1955, led by the Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, the Yugoslav Marshal, Josip Broz Tito and the Egyptian president, Gamal Abdel Nasser, aiming at the generation of a viable alternative to the Cold War through con-

sultation - originally Afro-Asian - behind the objective of greater levels of autonomy, not subordinated to the United States or the Soviet Union, which required not adhering to any of the military pacts. The following decade the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) was institutionalized at the Belgrade conference in 1961. From there the Latin American and Caribbean presence began, with Cuba participating in the delineation of anti-imperialist positions. The political accent was placed on non-intervention, sovereignty and peaceful coexistence of States that sought to have their own voice in the international arena.

However, the fading of the Cold War with the fall of the Berlin Wall followed by the disappearance of the Warsaw Pact and the collapse of the Soviet Union, implied the triumph of Washington that consolidated its supremacy at all levels, exporting its values and ideology. in the key of "End of History" (Fukuyama, 1992) through an exercise of uncontested unipolarism. Optimism was eroded by the attack on the Twin Towers on September 11, 2001, and was further shaken by the arrival of China in the World Trade Organization that same year. The process of expansion of global governance - until then in the image and likeness of the United States - was altered by the Chinese geoeconomic, and later geopolitical, emergence. The world's gravitational center migrated from the North Atlantic to the Asia-Pacific, additionally envisioning a new multipolarity (Zakaria, 2008), founded on a waning, although not defeated, United States, a China with alliances under construction without full consolidation, in addition to middle powers emerging, regional powers opposing each other and international organizations and non-state actors, companies and global digital platforms with increasing influence.

Globally, the relative decline of the US was felt when the first global financial and economic crisis of the millennium broke out, the bankruptcy of Lehman Brothers Bank in 2008, followed by a cascade of crises: the Arab Spring and its endless aftermath (Lib-

ya, Syria and Yemen), the European migration crises between 2015 and 2016, and the growth of the radical right in the West questioning the Post-Cold War consensus.

The concertation of various states that were not part of the western core of industrialized countries (G-7) took shape with the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) and as a result the emergence of the Global South, which groups non net winners of the latest globalization and among which is an increasingly marginal Latin America.

The question then is how the region should face the new global conditions in the midst of the undoubted Chinese rise; The NAA would be the response founded on the premise of a "New Cold War" between Washington and Moscow contending for world leadership. With the United States representing 24% of the world product and China reaching 19% in the item and with projections of surpassing the United States at the end of the current decade, the NNA aspires to become a doctrine and guide for action. According to Fortín, this Second Cold War in the making is qualitatively different from the one fought in the second part of the 20th century since the antinomian ideological models and the military deterrent factor are replaced by closed "competitions at the commercial, investment, technological and financial with geopolitical implications", complemented by the "establishment of rules for the governance of globalization" (Fortín, 2021: 241).

The initiatives follow one another: the Asian Investment and Infrastructure Bank (AIIB), the New Development Bank (NBD), and above all the Belt and Road, proposed by Beijing to enhance interactions in Eurasia -whose control of a single power that political scientist Brzezinski (1998) feared-, responded by Washington with the configuration of an Indo-Pacific security node under the aegis of the QUAD (United States, Japan, Australia and India). The ideology is presented subsidiarily, in the manner of the Wilsonian idealism of the expansion of liberal democracy, which continues

to be wielded by Washington, while China and its related states defend a type of order based on undisputed state sovereignty, which implies the non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States. The Westphalian premises and *realpolitik* regardless of principles and values considered culturally limited are re-floated in the midst of China's commercial onslaught, digital investments or infrastructure, it is contested from forums such as the G-7 in 2021 promoting its Building Back Better initiative World (B3W).

The corollary of this accelerated competition is the pressure on various spaces to decide for one of the parties. This is what happens with Latin America and the Caribbean under tension for alignment, a region that in the original Cold War was considered an area of influence of the United States, with the exceptions of Cuba and Nicaragua. The conditionality of US loans that links all loans to the non-acquisition of Chinese technology has as a correlation the progressive loss of global importance of Latin America and the Caribbean. The national and articulation capacities of the region look worn out, despite the "relaxation" of the power of the United States in the region was experienced early with the eviction of the Free Trade Area for the Americas (FTAA) in 2004, the option for other regional blocks - such as UNASUR and ALBA- were more temporary than permanent. The pandemic revealed the fragility of the region's coordinated action. While the European Union and the African Union jointly acquired a significant part of their vaccines, Latin America and the Caribbean did not even use the mechanisms provided for in their cooperation organizations.

This crisis of the so-called Latin American regionalisms can begin to be overcome through the systematic practice of the NNA, by giving it a specific identity that replicates the formula of the Third Position in order to change eclectic neutrality for a form of international insertion that observes interests nationals and independence in foreign decisions, and which had its political embodiment

in the concept of heterodox Autonomy (Puig, 1988). The course of NAA means the cultivation of an equivalent distance with respect to non-symmetrical powers, which applies a "variable geometry" according to the thematic repertoire. The conception of Human Rights and Democracy would identify a proxemics close to the United States, while on the issue of Trade and development it bets on a certain convergence with China. The above translates into its own political position that arises from the sovereign exercise of autonomy of action as the axis criterion of national/regional governance, constituted in turn in a sui generis response to the Chinese-American conflict *whose* main lines of fracture would be:

a. The link between global economic governance and national autonomy;

b. The role of the State, and state-owned companies in the sphere of international trade and services;

c. The relationship between foreign investments and technology transfer.

From the perspective of the NAA doctrine, such cleavages threaten to completely blur Latin America's role in world affairs, leaving it outside the redesign of geopolitics in the mid-21st century. The recipe requires first a functional integration into the national autonomy of the subregion and then with other states in Asia and Africa in the logic of "South-South" relations (Brum, 2018), typical of widely circulating multipolar schemes that respond better to the concept of the Global South than to the Third World, which, although it is still projected on decolonial critical thought (Bergel, 2019), does not receive the same attention today from political contingency.

The three authors propose that Active Non-Alignment is useful to guide the establishment of a regional agenda: 1) maintain an equidistant position of coordination between both powers in conflict on world issues; 2) strengthen regional bodies; 3) commit to multilateralism; 4) coordinate international economic gover-

nance; 5) reorient foreign policy and chancelleries; 6) redefine outdated notions of national security; 7) incorporate new international financial institutions; 8) draw up an action plan against climate change; 9) make a persistent effort to guarantee gender equity and balance in labor relations, and 10) establish a regional disease control center (Fortín, Heine and Ominami, 2020: 378).

Connections

Concepts: Autonomy, Heterodox Autonomy, Relational Autonomy, South-South Cooperation, South (Global)
Doctrines: Doctrine of the Third Position
Figures: Helio Jaguaribe, Juan Carlos Puig, Juan Gabriel Tokatlian, Roberto Russell

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Díaz Ordaz Doctrine

Andrés Figueroa Jiménez

The "Diaz Ordaz Doctrine" is made up of a set of foreign policy principles promoted by the government of Mexico from 1966 to 1970. These principles frame the international attitude of the State of Mexico and their content has been valued for carrying out actions in the field of international relations (Ortiz Ahlf, 2018).

The constituent axes of this Doctrine are the result of the evolutionary experience of the State of Mexico in the international arena. Thus, specialists in Public International Law have maintained that it implies a nuance of the Estrada Doctrine, formulated in 1930 and which, in turn, is defined by postulating that, in situations of recognition of governments, the State should not expressly pronounce itself, given which is assumed as an attack on the sovereignty of nations and as a critical attitude towards their internal affairs. Consequently, the government must limit itself to maintaining or breaking diplomatic relations without being involved in approving or disapproving governments that have arisen especially from political crises (Ortiz Ahlf, 2018).

The axes of the Díaz Ordaz Doctrine are: first, defense of ideological pluralism in international relations; second, respect for the decisions of other peoples; third, commitment to maintaining diplomatic recognition between states, regardless of the character

or orientation of the governments (Carrillo Flores, 1966). Specifically, it is defined as follows:

> Mexico considers that there should not be a lack of a bridge of communication between the nations of Latin America, and that for this purpose Mexico wants there to be a solution of continuity in its relations with the other Latin American states, whatever the character or orientation of their governments (Carrillo Flores, 1966: 246).

The content of this Doctrine implies a functional scheme for the treatment of problems with an essentially political nature through Public International Law that includes the recognition of States and governments in situations such as the occurrence of guerrillas, transitions from coups d'état and scenarios in which which exist at the same time two governments, the official one and the rebel or belligerent one (Ortiz Ahlf, 2018).

In this Doctrine, the question of the recognition of governments is resolved from neutrality and impartiality or, if you want, in a discretionary willingness on the part of the states to continue diplomatic relations, beyond the aspect of governments, and always by virtue of the adaptation of those relationships with fundamental national interests (Carrillo Flores, 1966; Torres, 2010; Ortiz Ahlf, 2018).

The origin of this Doctrine responds to a hemispheric scenario influenced by the Cold War. Thus, it constitutes a set of principles for international action in conflict situations such as, for example, the tension between the United States and Cuba and the campaign by the former to establish a commercial, economic and financial blockade on the latter in the 1960s (Ortíz Ahlf, 2018).

On the other hand, the principles developed by the Díaz Ordaz government achieve their constitution as a doctrine of Public International Law based on pronouncements, criteria, decisions and

foreign-political actions that will be valued for action on the international stage and that are contained in public state documents. As an example, the inauguration speech of President Díaz Ordaz on December 1, 1964 and the speech of the Secretary of Foreign Affairs Antonio Carrillo Flores, on April 15, 1969.

This Doctrine has operated from its principles in the following specific cases that have specified its operation: first, application within the conflict between the United States and Cuba. Here, the Doctrine is articulated from the position of the State of Mexico to maintain diplomatic relations with both governments and reduce possible enmities, by taking a position regarding conflicts that do not directly concern it (Torres, 2010; Ortiz Ahlf, 2018). Second, in relation to the United States military intervention in Vietnam. In this case, the position of the Mexican government consists of taking an independent attitude without altering bilateral relations with these countries (Torres, 2010).

Finally, this Doctrine should be considered as a mechanism that allows states a greater level of maneuverability on the international stage, by not taking a formal position in favor of one or another actor in conflict, without expecting their adequate development from them (Torres, 2010; Ortiz Ahlf, 2018).

Connections

Concepts: Integrationism
Doctrines: Cárdenas Doctrine, Carranza Doctrine, Drago Doctrine, Estrada Doctrine, Juárez Doctrine
Figures: Genaro Estrada

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Drago Doctrine

Ivan Witker Barra

The "Drago Doctrine" establishes that a creditor state cannot react with violence to a debtor state, that is, in the event of insolvency, it cannot resort to war, military occupation or bombing and, therefore, represents a condemnation "to the coercive collection of contractual debts." It was prepared by the Argentine jurist Luis María Drago, between 1902 and 1903, when he served as Minister of Foreign Affairs of Argentina under President Julio A. Roca.

To understand the breadth of this Doctrine, it is necessary to keep in mind two types of context in which the events described unfold.

One is the external context where, without a doubt, the situation of Venezuela and several Caribbean countries, subjected to ignominious situations by the great powers, were seen as an exceptional opportunity by the Argentine elite in order to install an issue on the international stage that would enjoy the sympathies of the entire region. The external context explains Argentina's desire and intention to embrace effective regional leadership, which would allow it an even greater projection. This point connects with the evident rivalry that the Argentine elite perceived in the rise of the United States to the level of a world power.

The second context is internal. Under the slogan of "Peace and Administration", President Roca guided Argentine destinies in an atmosphere of optimism during the turn of the century, based on the sustained growth of the economy and the exponential increase in immigration, issues that continued to rise in the following decades. Material progress permeated public life and the elite perceived an inevitable tendency towards new areas of influence and their transition to a major international player. Along these lines, the only pending issue was the complete normalization of relations with Chile, a clearly minor issue due to the dimensions and projections of both countries and, therefore, not susceptible to being seen in the external context. Turn-of-the-century Argentina had its mind set on colonizable territories, on large agricultural markets and on access to global sea routes.

In such contexts, it was Drago's turn to witness the blockade of Venezuela by British, German and Italian naval forces, which demanded payment of the foreign debt and which resulted in the bombing of Puerto Cabello, La Guaira and Maracaibo, on December 8, 1902, due to the refusal of the newly inaugurated Venezuelan president, Cipriano Castro, to pay the debt contracted by previous governments with European individuals.

Drago, alarmed by the implications of a European intervention on the continent, sent a note dated December 29 to the Argentine minister in the United States, Martín García Mérou -who had to communicate it to the US government-, in which he gave a detailed account of the Argentine position regarding the facts. Drago maintained in it, as a corollary of the Monroe Doctrine, that "the public debt (of an American state) cannot give rise to armed intervention, much less to the material occupation of the soil of the American nations by a European power " (Escudé and Cisneros, 2000).

Drago addressed his proposal to the State Department and all Latin American governments with the aim of having his proposal annexed as a corollary to the Monroe Doctrine. However, implicit

was the idea of going against the US guiding criteria promoted by President Theodore Roosevelt in order that his government would not support the failure to comply with international financial obligations. Roosevelt was in favor of interventions when there was internal disorder in certain countries. Hence then the importance of understanding the Drago Doctrine in the two indicated contexts.

Thanks to Drago's influence, an agreement signed in Washington was reached the following year. Venezuela recognized the debt and the European forces withdrew and it was established that loan operations and any contract between private parties with a sovereign state involved financial risks that had to be accepted by the private party and, therefore, cannot be collected by coercive means. The method and time of payment were part of the honor of a people and the characteristics of any credit.

The Drago Doctrine can be considered "an opening towards a multilateral policy based on the regional concept of the Western Hemisphere, an extension of the Monroe principles and the hopes of James Gillespie Blaine and Domingo Faustino Sarmiento in inter-American collaboration" (Escudé and Cisneros, 2000). It can also be understood as a legal shield aimed at protecting the independence and sovereignty of a state and even its dignity. Drago's final purpose was protection against the possibility of being subjected, through violent acts, to situations of international humiliation, as he perceived. For the above reasons, it is directly connected to the Calvo Doctrine in the sense that both are based on the legal equality of states and respect for their sovereignty, especially when they have contracted a debt.

The Drago Doctrine was examined at the First Inter-American Conference in Rio de Janeiro in 1906, at the Fourth Pan-American Conference in Buenos Aires in 1910, and at the Hague Conference in 1907. In the last one, Argentina was represented by Drago, and although he supported the main idea of his proposal, he included

the need for any dispute to be settled by ad hoc arbitration and, depending on the arbitrator's decision, armed action on the part of the creditor was accepted. This is the so-called Porter Convention, because of the name of the president of the Conference.

Connections

Concepts: Autonomy
Doctrines: Calvo Doctrine, Cárdenas Doctrine, Estrada Doctrine, Juárez Doctrine
Figures: Carlos Calvo, Carlos Estrada, Luis María Drago

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Estrada Doctrine

Alfonso Sánchez Mugica

The "Estrada Doctrine" is a Mexican formulation, enunciated in 1930, related to the application of the principles of legal equality of States, self-determination of peoples and non-intervention, which rejects the practice of recognizing governments for political reasons. In other words, it does not issue any qualification on the legitimacy of *de facto* governments emerged by political movements, in previously recognized states.

Its author, Genaro Estrada Félix, Secretary of Foreign Affairs of Mexico (1927-1932) during the presidency of Pascual Ortiz Rubio, wanted to call it "Mexican Doctrine." It was written and published by means of a communiqué on September 27, 1930, following the fact that five coups d'état had occurred that year in Latin America. His interest was to challenge a right that was exercised mainly to the detriment of the nations of Latin America, to use, by world powers, the recognition of governments as a means of political pressure to obtain concessions, advantages and privileges from the countries that suffered. political crises.

The statement from the Mexican Foreign Ministry is as follows:

> Due to the regime changes that have occurred in some South American countries, the Mexican government has had to, once

> again, decide to apply, for its part, the theory called "recognition" of Governments.
>
> It is a well-known fact that Mexico has suffered like few other countries, a few years ago, the consequences of this doctrine, which leaves it to the discretion of foreign governments to rule on the legitimacy or illegitimacy of another regime, resulting in situations in which the legal capacity or the national rise of governments or authorities seems to be subordinated to the opinion of outsiders.
>
> [...] After a very careful study on the matter, the government of Mexico has transmitted instructions to its ministers or chargé d'affaires in the countries affected by the recent political crises, letting them know that in Mexico it does not pronounce itself in the sense of granting recognition, because it considers that this is a degrading practice that, in addition to hurting the sovereignty of nations, places them in the event that their internal affairs can be qualified in any sense by other governments, who in fact assume an attitude of criticism, when deciding, favorably or unfavorably, on the legal capacity of foreign regimes. Consequently, the government of Mexico limits itself to maintaining or withdrawing, when it deems appropriate, its diplomatic agents and to continue accepting, when it also deems appropriate, similar diplomatic agents that the respective nations have accredited in Mexico, without qualifying, neither hastily nor *a posteriori* , the right that foreign nations have to accept, maintain or replace their governments or authorities (cited in Calderón Salazar, 1996: 917-918).

As can be seen, its explanation is not very clear and some consider that it has a circular argument, allowing an arbitrary exercise. However, the Estrada Doctrine is made explicit when it is placed in the same context and background as the Juárez Doctrine

and the Carranza Doctrine and is situated in the various legal debates that threatened the effective self-determination of Latin American governments. In that sense, it rejects the European and American doctrines of recognition of governments based on their democratic nature or compliance with international commitments. It also expresses itself against the obligation of recognition that the Tobar Doctrine supported. The American Institute of Comparative Law and Legislation, which reviewed it in 1930, declared that it strengthens the principle of non-intervention; it is a corollary of the legal equality of the States; makes unnecessary the difference between recognition of states and governments; allows the incorporation of States into intergovernmental organizations; and, above all, it avoids the abuses into which this practice had fallen, such as the Bucareli Treaties of 1923, in which the United States conditioned the recognition of Álvaro Obregón as president on guaranteeing property rights to Americans located in Mexico and their oil companies, in violation of the 1917 Constitution (Enríquez, 2020).

However, Leonel Pereznieto points out the contradiction between this Doctrine and the respect, protection and promotion of human rights, which have been established as a constitutional principle of foreign policy; since it allowed post-revolutionary governments to avoid being criticized for acts of violation of human rights, at the same time that Mexico was prevented from denouncing these same violations carried out by totalitarian regimes (2002: 122). In a globalized world, this Doctrine would find limitations due to adherence to human rights treaties. He considers that condemning a political regime for violating human rights does not go against the Estrada Doctrine because they are two different, but linked, issues. The internal political regime is respected, it is not judged, but a systematic violation of human rights is condemned.

It can be summarized in that Mexico does not believe that a declaration of recognition, nor its request, is necessary when State

recognition previously exists; since its legal basis is the continuity of the international personality of the states. It is followed up with the so-called Díaz Ordaz Doctrine or Thesis of Latin American Continuity. In its sense of non-intervention, the Estrada Doctrine is enshrined in the current Constitution, in its article 89, which establishes the recognition of such principle in the guidelines that Mexican foreign policy must observe.

Connections

Schools of thought and Networks: Mexican School of International Relations
Concepts: Latin American thought on international and global issues
Doctrines: Cárdenas Doctrine, Carranza Doctrine, Díaz Ordaz Doctrine, Juárez Doctrine, Tobar Doctrine
Figures: Genaro Estrada

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García Robles Doctrine

Alfonso Sánchez Mugica

The "García Robles Doctrine" refers to the defense of the universal principles of international "peace" and "security" through the peaceful resolution of disputes and the prohibition of the threat and use of force in international relations. These ideas were reflected in the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America of 1967, better known as the Treaty of Tlatelolco.

This Doctrine was developed by Alfonso García Robles (1910-1991), who was called *the father of the treaty*. It belonged to the Mexican diplomats trained in the ideological and political bases of the Mexican Revolution, based on the Carranza Doctrine that summarizes the main international ideals of Mexico, which states: "This set of principles profoundly modified the current concept of diplomacy. […] Diplomacy must ensure the general interests of civilization and the establishment of universal brotherhood." As an exponent of the so called juridicism, which characterized Mexican foreign policy, García Robles was convinced of the principles of Latin American integration and the values of international law. In 1982, he received, with the Swedish internationalist Alva Myrdal, the Nobel Peace Prize, for their perseverance in favor of disarmament and peace in the world. It has been considered that this award represented recognition of the Mexican effort in matters of peace and security.

The ideas of García Robles and the Treaty of Tlatelolco must be understood within the framework of the Cold War, a political and ideological confrontation that also revealed the military capacity of the United States and the Soviet Union and their devastating projections. Latin American countries feared the risk of a nuclear war in the region, after the Cuban revolution and the Soviet rocket crisis on the island in 1962, and therefore began negotiations for the region to be a space free of nuclear weapons. The president of Brazil, João Goulart (1961-1964), who promoted research and development of the peaceful use of nuclear energy, in 1962 presented a project for the denuclearization of the region to the XVI UN General Assembly. This initiative was cut short two years later, when Goulart was overthrown by a military coup. For his part, in 1963, the president of Mexico Adolfo López Mateos (1958-1964), whose administration was characterized by international activism, called on his counterparts from Bolivia, Brazil, Chile and Ecuador to sign a Declaration in which established the commitment not to manufacture, receive, store or test nuclear weapons or nuclear delivery devices, entrusting García Robles with the negotiations that would culminate on February 14, 1967 with the signing of said Treaty by 18 countries.

Its main objectives were to ensure the existence of a nuclear weapons-free zone, contribute to the international non-proliferation of such weapons and promote general and complete disarmament, by including additional protocols open to countries that had territories under their responsibility in the nuclear weapons zone, application of the Treaty and the five nuclear powers, permanent members of the UN Security Council. It came into force on April 25, 1969, making Latin America and the Caribbean the largest denuclearized populated zone in the world.

García Robles clearly pointed out the benefits of the Treaty of Tlatelolco:

> For the Latin American States that are already parties to the Treaty, as well as for those that become so, the regime of total military denuclearization established therein entails a double benefit: removing from their territories the danger of them becoming target of possible nuclear attacks, and avoid the waste of its resources, essential for the economic and social development of its people, in the production of nuclear weapons (García Robles, 1987: 21).

Its international impact translates into the existence of other nuclear weapons-free zones. After Tlatelolco, denuclearization was achieved in Africa in 1996 and in Southeast Asia in 1997. In Central Asia, the Agreement, signed in 2006, has not yet entered into force, which is why it remains a pending issue in the international order. It is observed that denuclearization is a goal to be achieved, an issue that worries and will continue to worry the world, in terms of a form of deterrence and prevention in order for nuclear weapons to be eliminated. In this panorama, the García Robles Doctrine comes to constitute the Latin American precedent in its definition and implementation.

Connections

Schools of thought and Networks: Mexican School of International Relations
Concepts: Latin American thought on international and global issues, Hemispheric Security
Doctrines: Carranza Doctrine, Saavedra Lamas Doctrine
Figures: Alfonso García Robles, Carlos Saavedra Lamas, Graciela Arroyo Pichardo

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Doctrine Haya De La Torre

Aldana Clemente

The "Haya de la Torre Doctrine" constitutes an emancipatory proposal in the face of a political, national and continental concern: the advance of imperialism in Latin America. It was prepared by Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre (1895-1979), Peruvian lawyer, politician and thinker, in the context of the first half of the 20th century.

The process through which Haya de la Torre shaped his thinking was initially marked by an active participation in the struggles and demands of students and workers in Peru, where he was arrested and deported in 1923. Exiled in Mexico, he received influences from the Revolution through its intellectuals (mainly Vasconcelos and his notion of Indo-America) but also the student body (Melgar Bao, 2003: 46). Later, he moved to Russia, where his close relations with Soviet leaders influenced the formation and formulation of his project, especially in the face of United States imperialism.

His thought and political vision were expressed and disseminated since December 1924 through the "American Popular Revolutionary Alliance" (APRA), which gave its name to "Aprism". In the elaboration of his doctrine, the following axes and central concepts stood out: the position against imperialism, Indo-Americanism, the unity of the continent and the relationship between

History and Space-time. These notions were precursors of a Latin American thought in international relations based on the analysis of regional reality, with its own criteria and concepts, without uncritical imports of European ideas.

In this sense, although Haya de la Torre started from a vision of the world that was supported by Marxist-socialist thought (from which he took the relevance of the economy as the basis of his analysis), it was adapted to the Latin American reality where the countries were not industrial and their economy was basically agrarian or agricultural-mining. From this identification, he maintained that imperialism, unlike the course followed in Europe as a higher phase of capitalism, fulfilled the role of the first inductor of capitalism in Latin America, which is why it represented its first phase (Haya de la Torre, 1936: 89).

Along these lines, he proposed a historical reading in accordance with "Indo-America", that is, based on the recognition of the dignity of the Indian and other ethnic groups and peoples that contributed to miscegenation as a cultural reality of Latin American identity, which had to be expressed through a continental movement. Indo-Americanism represented for Haya de la Torre "the revolutionary stage of our America and the synthesis of the opposition of opposites that drive the future of our history" (Haya de la Torre, 1942: 53). Based on this unity, he proposed confronting imperialism based on the search for a fair exchange of capital and raw materials between rich and poor countries, and a coordination of interests at the service of peace and development. Understanding that the true American and anti-imperialist revolution could only occur through a Popular Alliance (Haya de la Torre, 1926) or solidarity union of the Indo-American peoples that fought for "social justice" (Melgar Bao, 2018).

These ideas were deepened and radicalized in *For the Emancipation of Latin America* (1927), a work in which he defined five general points that would serve as a basis for each Latin American

country that decided to join this kind of regional "international" to confront imperialism (Bernal- Meza, 2014: 32): 1) anti-imperialist position towards the United States; 2) search for Latin American unity; 3) nationalization of lands and industries; 4) internationalization of the Panama Canal; and 5) solidarity of all the peoples and oppressed classes of the world.

However, starting in the 1930s, the concept of Indo-America and the relationship with US imperialism were redefined by the Peruvian politician in a context marked by the "good neighbor" policy promoted by the government of Theodore Roosevelt from the United States. (1933) and the rise and expansion of German fascism. In this sense, Haya de la Torre distinguished two imperialisms: democratic and totalitarian, which is why he modified the tone of denunciation and direct confrontation with Yankee imperialism to propose a common defense of sovereignty in the face of the dangers posed by the advance of totalitarian extracontinental powers. supposed (Clemente, 2020: 32). In this sense he stated: "our first political task is, consequently, the task of defending our sovereignty. In this work of defense no isolated country can obtain victory. If the danger is common, economic, with political projections, the defense has to also be common" (Haya de la Torre, 1936: 74). Along these lines, he proposed the creation of a great North-Indo-American Anti-Fascist Popular Front that meant excluding from each country that participates in that great democratic alliance the tyrants and the tyrannical methods that appear in them (Melgar Bao, 2004: 162). This strategic union had the objective of "[making] the defense stronger in case of aggression (...) by joining them for the common defense" (Haya de la Torre, 1942: 15). However, this alliance did not imply the abandonment of resistance to US imperialism and its capitals, which had to continue in the form of an economic-cultural opposition that included, for example, the services of its companies, mainly in the area of transportation and communications.

Subsequently, the originality of APRA thought and its postulates on Latin American anti-imperialism were reflected, from an approach typical of the philosophy of history and influenced by Einstein's Theory of Relativity, in the work Espacio-Tiempo-Historico . *Five essays and three dialogues* (1948). There Haya de la Torre recognized that historical laws did not have universal application since they are conditioned by the point of observation. Therefore, the history of the world seen from Europe could not be the same as the History seen from the Indo-American historical Space-time (Haya de la Torre 1948: 12). At the same time, the author refuted the division of universal history into ages as a European conception, invalid in Indo-America, arguing that the ancient cultures of the continent have no place in said Eurocentric division (Haya de la Torre 1948: 76-77). Therefore, his thesis of historical Space-Time was formed into a defense of the past of the societies of the Amerindian region.

In this sense, Haya de la Torre's proposal was a precursor of Latin American thought in international relations and represented a contribution by becoming a precedent for the interpretation and adaptation of ideas that emerged in the European reality of the 19th century to the Latin American reality of the 20th century. It constituted an original thought resulting from a historically, socially and culturally situated reflection, in accordance with a mestizo continent that, in a context of advancing imperialism, had to promote policies to overcome underdevelopment. From this worldview, Haya de la Torre developed political-economic strategies and even opted for the use of semantics and language in accordance with local reality and uniqueness when seeking to replace terms such as "race" or "Hispano-Americanism" with others such as "anti-imperialism" and "Indo-Americanism."

Although the Doctrine did not materialize as such, it can be considered one of the central sources in the trajectory of the Aprista party in Peru, but also in the formation of Latin American

parties and movements whose leaders demanded the construction of a Great Homeland, based on of an ideology that strove to establish relations of coexistence and not of submission to imperialism. Likewise, later, and in a context of the advance of neoliberalism, mainly from the new millennium, Haya de la Torre's ideas influenced, along with those of José Martí and Simón Bolívar, the constitution of UNASUR (2008) and CELAC (2010) both in its guiding principles and in the establishment of its objectives.

Connections

Schools of thought and Networks: Central American Unionist School

Concepts: Autonomy, Integration, Great Homeland, Latin American thought on international and global issues, Latin American regionalisms, Latin American system

Doctrines: Betancourt Doctrine, Drago Doctrine

Figures: Luis María Drago, Manuel Ugarte, Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre

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Juárez Doctrine

Alfonso Sánchez Mugica

The "Juárez Doctrine" is a declaration that supports the defense of the sovereignty and legal equality of states as a maxim of International Law, whose principles were expounded by Mexican President Benito Juárez after his return to power in 1864, once the French intervention in the country.

This Doctrine must be understood within the framework of the history of Mexico. During the 19th century, like other Latin American states, the country was shocked by the interference of great powers. In 1835, the Texas War began, led by Texan and Anglo Texan settlers, which resulted in the separation of this territory from the Mexican State. Between 1838 and 1839, the first French intervention took place, also called the "Cake War", which responded to the claims of French citizens against the Mexican government. Between 1846 and 1848, the war between Mexico and the United States took place due to the expansionist intentions of the latter country, which stripped Mexico of more than half of its territory. Finally, in 1861, France invaded Mexico and formed a Second Empire that would last until 1867, a period during which a civil war was fought between conservatives, who supported French intervention, and republicans, who claimed the legitimacy of President Benito Juárez in what would be a dispute over sovereignty (Galeana, 2010: 157 et seq.). Juárez, of indige-

nous Zapotec origin, had witnessed these interventions and the damages that Mexico had suffered due to the expansionist interests of the powers and had been, from the very beginning of the French occupation, one of the main defenders of the principle of non-intervention (Galeana, 2006: 122).

Once the French intervention in Mexico was concluded, which represented the longest occupation the country has ever gone through, the stage of the Restored Republic was inaugurated. Upon entering Mexico City, after four years of absence, on July 15 1867, Benito Juárez made a declaration to the Mexican people, a call for reconciliation, which expressed, on the one hand, the confirmation of a State that declared itself independent and sovereign and, on the other, the preaching of the purest liberalism:

> We have achieved the greatest good that we could desire by consummating national independence for the second time (...) Mexicans, let us now direct all our efforts to obtain and consolidate the benefits of peace. Under its auspices, the protection of laws and authorities for the rights of all inhabitants of the Republic will be effective. May the people and the government respect the rights of all. Between individuals, as between nations, respect for the rights of others is peace.

This approach was found in the Enlightenment thought of Immanuel Kant, who pointed out that perpetual peace was only possible if there was justice attached to respect for law. It dates back to the prophet Isaiah, when he established that "the work of justice will be peace", and represents the conception according to which the strength of the weak is found in the right. This expresses, in some way, that the greatest triumph that had been achieved by defeating the most powerful army of the time was of a moral nature, and the strength of Juárez's speech was derived from the

military triumph, which would allow him to freely decide the type of foreign relations to undertake.

From here various ideas emerge that should regulate Mexico's international relations. Daniel Cosío Villegas highlights from this manifesto and from the message that Juárez himself addressed to Congress when it resumed its sessions in 1867, the triumph of the republican model against the monarchical one, and that of national sovereignty. In this sense, it is worth highlighting Mexico's endorsement of continuing to respect the rights of foreigners at the same level as that of nationals, in the same way that it affirms compliance with international treaties and demands a similar response from the rest of the States regarding the basis, therefore, of justice, equality and reciprocity (Cosío Villegas, 1962: 531). But the Doctrine was also aimed at condemning the practice of recognizing governments that had not been recognized by their own states. As a result of the intervention, the Juarista foreign policy declared the non-subsistence of the treaties and conventions signed with the invading countries or those that had supported the Empire and established the conditions under which Mexico was willing to reestablish its relations with the outside world and that They consisted of ignorance of the treaties with the interventionist countries; the end of disadvantageous treaties for Mexico; and the resumption of relations with the countries that had participated in the armed intervention only at their request (Galeana, 2006: 121; Gaytán Guzmán, 2013: 49).

The Juárez Doctrine has become a symbol of the defense of sovereignty in Latin America. The right of self-determination of peoples and the equality of states were taken up by President Venustiano Carranza (1917-1920) in the Doctrine that bears his name. These principles influenced the Estrada Doctrine (1930) of non-recognition of governments; and, finally, they are enshrined in article 89 of the current Mexican Constitution.

Connections

Concepts: Autonomy
Doctrines: Calvo Doctrine, Carranza Doctrine, Drago Doctrine, Estrada Doctrine
Figures: Carlos Calvo, Genaro Estrada

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Respice Polum Doctrine

Isabel Clemente

The "*Respice Polum* Doctrine" (a Latin expression that means "look at the North Star") was developed by President of Colombia, Marco Fidel Suárez (1918-1921), as the basis of his foreign policy proposal towards the United States. This proposal had the objective of recomposing the binational relations broken since 1903, in the context of the separation of Panama from Colombia and the construction projects of the interoceanic canal that the Colombian State had advanced through a contract with the French company led by Ferdinand De Lesseps. The failure of this work (which culminated in the ruin of the French company and a serious financial crisis in France) had negative impacts on the Colombian economy. The position of the United States government, of public support for the separatist movement in Panama, backed by North American business sectors interested in the work of a new canal project, caused the Colombian decision to sever binational relations.

The *Respice Polum* Doctrine is part of the axis of North-South relations, one of the alternatives present in the discussion on foreign policy orientations in Latin America (Drekonja Kornat, 1982; Camacho Arango, 2010). Marco Fidel Suárez, a critic of United States policy towards Latin America and a convinced nationalist in his performance as a member of the Colombian Congress and as chancellor, in the new international context marked

by the end of the First World War and the new balance of power between Europe and the United States, proposed a shift in Colombia's position towards the United States with the "invitation" to "look to the North" and a course of action to recompose relations with the hemispheric power (Pardo and Tokatlian, 1989). A new bilateral treaty was the result of the President's pragmatism and the affirmation of a long-standing line in Colombia-United States bilateral relations. The response of the United States consolidated this orientation with the negotiation of the Urrutia-Thompson treaty, negotiated in 1914 and ratified by Colombia in 1921, by which the United States committed to actions to repair the loss of Panama, including the payment of compensation of 25 million dollars, transit rights through the Panama Canal and support for Colombia's rights in its differences with Nicaragua over the delimitation of marine and underwater areas in the Caribbean.

Connections

Concepts: Intermediate states
Doctrines: Brum Doctrine, Castañeda Doctrine
Figures: Marco Fidel Suárez

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Rodríguez Larreta Doctrine

Isabel Clemente

Prepared by the Uruguayan Foreign Minister Eduardo Rodríguez Larreta, this foreign policy proposal is part of the context of the beginning of the Cold War and the hemispheric alignment with the foreign policy of the United States (Trask, 2015). Rodríguez Larreta, Chancellor of Uruguay at the beginning of the presidency of Juan José de Amézaga (1943-1947), took office as Minister of Foreign Affairs on October 4, 1945. At the inauguration of his administration, he proposed adopting as a guiding principle of policy American international the "parallelism between democracy and peace" in the understanding that only the full validity of democracy could guarantee peace (Casal, 1997). According to this thesis, the recognition of this association should be an unavoidable norm of action of inter-American policy. On November 23, Rodríguez Larreta addressed a note to the Chancellors of the American Republics (Oddone, 2003) in which he presented this argument and added that this principle implied the international protection of human rights and collective action in defense thereof (Clemente, 2012). He affirmed that the principle of non-intervention could not be a protection for the violation of human rights and the hemispheric agreements approved at the inter-American conferences.

The response of the Latin American Foreign Ministries to the Uruguayan note was evasive in some cases and negative in others,

and the internal political debate, including the Chancellor's own party, culminated in the abandonment of that position, while a new focus on relations with Latin America (Langley, 1989: 222-225).

Connections

Concepts: Intermediate states
Doctrines: Betancourt Doctrine, Brum Doctrine, Carranza Doctrine, Díaz Ordaz Doctrine, Estrada Doctrine, Third Position Doctrine
Figures: Genaro Estrada

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Saavedra Lamas Doctrine

Silvia T. Álvarez, Eduardo Devés

This Doctrine, developed by the Argentine diplomat Carlos Saavedra Lamas, can be summarized in the non-recognition of territories obtained by force and, therefore, is linked to the principle of respect for sovereignty and collective efforts for international peace.

The political context in which Saavedra Lamas presented this Doctrine was given by the revisionism of states dissatisfied with the clauses of the Treaty of Versailles (1919) that was expressed in nationalism, militarism and territorial expansionism. Meanwhile, the United States was acquiring increasing economic influence in America where it would compete with the secular interests of Great Britain. Thus, in a scenario marked by the threat of war, the "Saavedra Lamas Doctrine" was presented as the "defense" of International Law but also as an expression of Latin American neutrality. In political terms, it would mean a position that implied leading the "American cause for law and peace," within which the United States would have no political influence.

The Doctrine would reach its formulation during the efforts of Saavedra Lamas as Minister of Foreign Affairs in the government of Agustín Pedro Justo (1932-1938), within the framework of peace negotiations in the face of the conflict over the Chaco Boreal dispute between Bolivia and Paraguay (1932-1935). Since

December 1928, the Arbitration and Conciliation Conference of American States met in Washington with the purpose of finding a solution to the conflict. However, Argentina's reluctance to participate in a multilateral effort led by the US government would soon become evident. Within the Conference, the Commission of Neutrals was formed, made up of Argentina, Brazil, Cuba, Uruguay and the United States, although, in the end, neither Argentina nor Brazil would participate in it. The Commission of Neutrals would be reduced in its composition to five countries not bordering the parties in conflict - the United States, Colombia, Cuba, Mexico and Uruguay-. After several frustrated attempts, in September 1932, the Commission would propose sanctions against the State that continued hostilities, when the other wished to stop them (Escudé and Cisneros, 2000).

Argentina rejected the proposal because it considered that it only represented a legal instrument that could justify coercive interference and endangered the basic principles of International Law. Saavedra Lamas sought, then, to coordinate the defense of the principles of sovereignty and peace through an anti-war and conciliation pact, with other international treaties of the time: the Pact of the League of Nations (Versailles, 1919), the Treaty to Avoid and Prevent Conflicts (Santiago, 1923), the Locarno Pacts (London, 1925), the Briand-Kellogg Pact (Paris, 1928), the Inter-American Treaties of Conciliation and Arbitration (Washington, 1929) and the Pact of the Covenant League (Ruda, 1992: 30; Escudé and Cisneros, 2000).

The Anti-War Pact of Non-Aggression and Conciliation (1933), known as the "Saavedra Lamas Pact", after being proposed to Brazil, was signed by this country, Argentina, Chile, Mexico, Uruguay, and later Colombia, Bolivia, El Salvador, Costa Rica and European countries such as Bulgaria, Spain, Greece and Portugal joined.

The Pact had as one of its central clauses the non-recognition of the acquisition of territories by force (occupation or acquisi-

tion), a doctrine that Saavedra Lamas had promoted in the negotiations related to the conflict in the Chaco Boreal (Berasategui, 2009: 3), highlighting the negative consequences of arms production, which absorbed capital and energy and disordered international trade (Berasategui, 2009: 3). Peace translated into material and human benefits for the world, and had to be achieved through adhesion to the efforts made by states in favor of universal harmony, so the solution of conflicts or differences had to be resolved by peaceful means.

For the purposes of the implementation of the Covenant, it was considered necessary to create a permanent organization for the conciliation of international conflicts. In the event of non-compliance, by any state in conflict, with the obligations stipulated therein, the contracting states undertook to use all their efforts to maintain peace. To do this, they would adopt a common and supportive position as neutrals; they would put into operation the political, legal or economic means authorized by International Law; and they would make the influence of public opinion gravitate (Anti-War Pact of Non-Aggression and Conciliation, 1933).

Two months after its signing, the Pact was presented at the Pan-American Conference in Montevideo and some time later, in 1934, before the League of Nations. Thus, to the attempts to Pan-Americanize the pacifist device promoted from Washington, Argentina responded with an Ibero-American perspective (Zuccarino, 2019: 3) and with institutional multilateralization (Scarfi, 2018: 9; Conforti Carlomagno, 2016: 3).

The principles upheld by Saavedra Lamas have a doctrinal character and are an expression of neutrality, sovereignty, self-determination of peoples and, finally, alternative ways through which to build peace. In this sense, his thinking must be understood in a trajectory where the Calvo and Drago Doctrines are located (Berasategui, 2009). Likewise, the condemnation of wars of aggression, in general terms, appears more precise than the general

invocation of other European treaties of the time, since it focuses on the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policies, the non-recognition of conquests territorial by force, and the inclusion of detailed conciliation mechanisms (Berasategui, 2009: 3). With historical roots, it ultimately resulted in a response of a regional idealist nature with a universal vocation, of a multilateral nature, within the framework of an international system dominated by the belligerence of the time (Gonzales and Zuccarino, 2023: 15-16).

The Saavedra Lamas Doctrine would have a direct influence on the American Treaty of Peaceful Solutions (Treaty of Bogotá, 1948) and the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America and the Caribbean (Treaty of Tlatelolco, 1967) (Ben-Nun, 2020 : 127). Without a doubt, the distinction as Nobel Peace Prize winner in 1936 made Saavedra Lamas one of the main American references regarding the peaceful resolution of conflicts.

Connections

Schools of thought and Networks: Central American Unionist School

Concepts: Autonomy

Doctrines: Calvo Doctrine, Drago Doctrine, Díaz Ordaz Doctrine, García Robles Doctrine

Figures: Alfonso García Robles, Carlos Calvo, Carlos Saavedra Lamas, Luis María Drago

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Doctrine of the Third Position

Silvia T. Álvarez

The "Third Position Doctrine" consists of a foreign policy proposal synthesized in the defense of the principles of economic independence, social justice and political sovereignty. It recognizes its formal origin on July 7 1947, in a message addressed by the President of Argentina, Juan Domingo Perón (1946-1955), to all the peoples of the world through more than a thousand radio stations. From the formulation of such Doctrine, Perón presented a set of principles that surpass capitalism and communism, which he considered symbols of contemporary materialism, imperialism and the oppression of individuals and peoples (Perón, 1949: 15; 1949: 78; 1952: 409-410; 1954: 24).

The Third Position must be analyzed in an international context marked by the end of the Second World War and the emergence of a bipolar system in which the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics would compete for world hegemony. Argentina, governed by a military regime of which Perón was part, had maintained neutrality until shortly before the end of the War, despite pressure from Washington (Tulchin, 1990: 153 et seq.) aimed at achieving government alignment Argentina with the great powers. Perón, who in 1946 had constitutionally assumed the presidency of the country with the support of a coalition of parties that would give rise to the Justicialist Movement,

would have one of his main postulates in the defense of national sovereignty, against the interference of the United States, was faced with the challenge of formulating and conducting the country's foreign policy within the framework of a "New World Order."

The Doctrine would be presented, then, as the search for the necessary balance between the acceptance of the leadership of the United States in the Western world, with whom it was convenient to strategically ally itself in the search for international reintegration (Rapoport and Spiegel, 2009) and that part of the society that considered Perón as a symbol of the defense of national interest and sovereignty against the power policies of that same country (Barelli, 2008). In political terms, it would be expressed as a heterodox autonomy (Puig, 1988: 29; Barrios 2008: 139 et seq.). The principles of this Doctrine would also be associated with a broader political and social scenario, which vindicated the role of the state in social matters, at a time when the Welfare State and social constitutionalism associated with the revision of classical liberalism and the weighting of the criticism that the Social Doctrine of the Church made of capitalism. In this way, the formulation of the Third Position must be understood as a unity between principles of external policy and internal policy.

Perón perceived the existence of a bipolar international system dominated by the power politics of the great powers: the United States and the Soviet Union, which were expressions of capitalist individualism and communist collectivism, but also examples of contemporary materialism (Perón, 1949: 15). From his perspective, while in capitalism man was subject to the power of money, to the indifference or consent of the state, in communism he was subject to the absolute and omnipotent tutelage of the state (1952: 409-410).

Juan D. Perón's proposal consisted of building a state in which man was its protagonist, as a material and spiritual being. The

Third Position Doctrine was presented as the means through which the state could fulfill its mission since it defended social justice, economic independence and political sovereignty, principles that were guided by a single goal: national unity. Social justice was understood as the equitable distribution of material and spiritual goods, in contrast to social injustice, which translated into misery and unemployment, the bases on which war was built. For this reason, justice and peace were terms that were inextricably linked. Universal peace, Perón said, would only be possible when social justice reigned in each town (1948: 105). But, since that this could only exist when the state exercised economic control over its wealth, a priority was the achievement of economic independence. Therefore, the latter had to become the basis of the Third Position (1948: 152). Finally, once social justice and economic independence were achieved, political sovereignty was possible and the necessary conditions were in place to undertake one's own and independent foreign policy (1948: 4).

If states, in the management of their foreign policies, were committed to the cause of universal peace, they had to respect the principle according to which all states were sovereign and, therefore, did not recognize a higher authority. In his opinion, there would be no peace as long as that principle was not above any other consideration. From this reading, internal sovereignty, however, appeared as the ultimate goal of his proposal, but at the same time as an exclusive means of realizing state sovereignty in view of a global cooperative government, based on solidarity, the fulfillment of commitments international and effective commitment to the peaceful resolution of conflicts (1947: 235).

In this way, the Doctrine of the Third Position can be interpreted in realistic and idealistic keys; realistic because of the way in which Perón perceived the structure and functioning of the international system, dominated by power politics; idealistic, due to the belief in a future international scenario dominated by Law.

The Third Position was presented as a doctrine whose principles were used in the conflicts that arose within the framework of the Cold War, such as the Berlin Crisis (1948), the Korean War (1950) or the Czechoslovakia Crisis (1955) (Álvarez, 1998) and would be resignified within the framework of changing international contexts. In the '70s, the return of Justicialism to power (1973-1975) gave a new ideological character to the Doctrine. Within the framework of the development of Latin American Structuralism and, mainly, Dependency Theory, it would also be presented as an emancipatory and even revolutionary path associated with the struggles of the Third World and the Non-Aligned Movement (Míguez, 2018). Already, with the advent of the Washington Consensus in the '90s, it represented a way to legitimize the policies of Justicialism during the presidency of Carlos Saúl Menem, who sought to align with the West in the emergence of a "global order" linked to rights. human rights, democracy and the market, under the leadership of the United States. Again, under the principles of sovereignty, the idea of a state at the service of "citizen sovereignty" would seek to be configured, in the key of peripheral realism, achievable under the principles of the market, democracy and international law, which it recognized in the United States. its main global reference (Saavedra, 2004). Thus the Third Position would be associated, over time, with the political uses of its principles and with political pragmatism itself.

Connections

Theories and theoretical approaches: Latin American structuralism, Dependency, Peripheral realism
Concepts: Heterodox autonomy, Latin American Third Worldism
Doctrines: Doctrine of active non-alignment
Figures: Carlos Escudé, Juan Carlos Puig

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Tobar Doctrine

Claudio Coloma Rojas

The "Tobar Doctrine" is the call made by the Ecuadorian diplomat, Carlos Tobar, in 1907, for governments to refrain from recognizing *de facto regimes*. The American Republics "must intervene indirectly in the internal discussions of the republics of the continent. This intervention could consist, at least, in the non-recognition of the de facto governments that emerged from the revolutions against the constitution" (Stansifer, 1967: 251).

Although the idea was not new, since it had already been raised in the previous century, in the words of Elizalde (1934: 20), it "caused a sensation" at the beginning of the 20th century, to the point of inspiring the drafting of the Central American Convention of 1907.

The Doctrine can be considered a pioneering representation of the liberal values of Woodrow Wilson's idealism. Elizalde even suggests that Tobar, in some way, exerted influence on the American president, when he did not recognize the government of Mexican José Huerta in 1913.

Tobar raised these ideas when Ecuador was presided over by Eloy Alfaro (1895-1901 and 1906-1911); the national symbol of modernity, which was identified with the entrepreneurial and internationalist spirit of the Manabi bourgeoisie that was connected to the world through the maritime routes of Panama.

Now, like any idealistic approach to international relations, this Doctrine is questionable. Realism would say that it is *naïve* , because it conceives the world as it should be and not as it is. Thus, the Mexican Genaro Estrada addressed the problem of recognition by calling not to pronounce judgment, neither *a priori* nor *a posteriori* , on the right of nations to accept, maintain or replace their governments (Estrada, 1931).

From Constructivism, the Doctrine contrasts with the pessimism of the social constitution of the international structure. At the beginning of the 20th century, a democratic America was far from becoming what Critical Realism defines as a "social fact." On the contrary, as an analyst of the time maintained, it was a structure shaken by conflicts and civil wars that Tobar himself sought to correct (Castro, 1917: 725).

For Poststructuralism, the Doctrine would be essentialist because it excludes other regimes and denies politics. The defense of the pre-established regime serves as an ideological mechanism that conceals the dislocations generated by its counterhegemonic forces. Hence, some authors criticized the Doctrine, pointing out that "recognition is a political fact and in no way a question of logic, law or justice" (Elizalde, 1934: 23).

If we look at the North-South dichotomy, we see that interventionism attacks the principles of sovereignty and self-determination. These are not only fundamental in a Westphalian world, but they are also fundamental in an anti-imperialist and decolonized one. That is to say, although the Doctrine does not deny the right of insurrection, it rejects revolution *per se*. Hence, paradoxically, it is assimilated to the legitimation doctrine of the European monarchies that sought to contain the expansion of the liberal values of the French Revolution.

Today, the Tobar Doctrine is considered a source of the customary law of recognition of constitutional governments, which is enshrined in the Inter-American Democratic Charter. It also means

the hinge of the international idealism of American thought of the 19th and 20th centuries.

However, the fantasy of a homogeneously democratic and depoliticized continent, as a basis for the legitimacy of governments, remains a controversial issue. In this regard, we must not only go back to the military dictatorships that permanently dealt with the lack of international recognition, but also to recent cases such as those of Roberto Micheletti in Honduras (2009), Michel Temer in Brazil (2016) or Pedro Carmona (2002) and Juan Guaidó (2019) in Venezuela.

For the field of International Studies, meanwhile, the Doctrine implies epistemological and methodological challenges. It seeks a homogeneity contrasted with international plurality, the study of which is more epistemologically democratic. This, in turn, leads to not getting stuck in methodologies that define what is democratic and what is not democratic based on variables whose ontic essence is always questionable. After all, choosing an international approach inevitably entails a political choice.

Connections

Theories and theoretical approaches: Peripheral realism
Concepts: Autonomy, Democratic clause, Republicanism
Doctrines: Betancourt Doctrine, Carranza Doctrine, Estrada Doctrine
Figures: Carlos Estrada

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Doctrine of *Uti Possidetis Iuris*

Cristian Garay Vera

The "*Uti possidetis iuris*", translated as "what you possess you will continue to possess", is a traditional doctrine of Spanish American law. This was recognized by the Chilean jurist Alejandro Álvarez in his treatise, published in France, *Le Droite International Americain* (1910). This principle settles the issues of sovereignty with different dates for South America, Mexico and Central America, according to the date taken as a breaking point regarding the link with the Hispanic Monarchy and the formation of independent States, but at the same time of claim of territorial inheritance for their own boundaries.

The concept of *Uti possidetis iuris* constitutes a specific legal appropriation, which emerges from Roman Law and refers to property as a product of its exercise converted into a legal norm by the possession of a title (Duran, 1977; Gálvez, 2004). However, it has Latin American regional specificities and gives the states derived from the Castilian Crown a central criterion to resolve their border conflicts, although it poses other problems in its practical application as will be seen later. It is also a republican and Hispanic American criterion, since Portugal and Brazil, and other occupying powers in Latin America such as Great Britain, France and the Netherlands did not apply it, from a reference to the previous limits of the Hispanic Monarchy when Gran Colombia was

established in 1819 and delimit its limits (Ruiz Tinoco, 2006). As Gálvez (2004: 132) recalls, "the Republic of Colombia in the Angostura Congress of December 17, 1819, through the "Fundamental Law of the Republic of Colombia", enunciated for the first time the doctrine of "Uti possidetis juris of 1810" in its article 2°, and also ratifies it in the Constitution of Cúcuta of 1821 in its article 6°". In this sense, it is worth clarifying that the concept of *Uti possidetis de facto is very different*, since it legalizes the occupation of a territory, sometimes by simple migration of nationals or other times by "right of conquest", widely rejected after the Treaty of Versailles. The *Uti possidetis iures*, which is the Latin American concept, assumes legal antecedents for property.

Sometimes international treaties or constitutions allude to the idea of territorial inheritance with expressions such as "at the time", "to date", "before Independence", or "before the present War of Independence", in which it is recognized as *Uti possidetis iuris* without naming it. Mexico invoked it in 1824, the United Provinces of Central America the same year, and Honduras in 1826 (Ramos, 2012:150). But there is a certain consensus that, since the 1840s, recognition of the legal principle has stabilized (although setting the date 1821), as happened with the Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation signed between Peru and the Empire of Brazil in 1841.

The concept of *Utis possidetis* settles the domain titles derived from Spain, taking as a milestone 1810 for South America, and 1823 for Central America and Mexico. Now, specialists maintain that the literal use is contained in Simón Bolívar's project to convene the Congress of Panama in 1826. According to this project, its second point established "That to make effective this guarantee [of freedom and independence of each State] was at the uti possidetis of 1810, according to the demarcation of each general captaincy or viceroyalty erected into a sovereign State" (cited in Duran, 1977: 37). However, Duran (1977) indicates disparities

with respect to dates such as 1821 or 1824, which were postulated by different countries and writers in various documents, some of a constitutional nature, classifying these dates as an instrument of legal fictions. Thus, Peru suggested 1824 according to the representatives of the Congress of Lima between 1847-1848 and on other occasions, 1821.

The concept had sporadic use to settle disputes between the United Kingdom and the United Provinces of Holland in 1667. The Spanish Monarchy itself used it in a note from Luis de Onís to John Q. Adams in 1818, in a discussion about the right bank of the Mississippi River, where the first alluded to the *Utis possidetis* of 1764 as proof of sovereignty (Duran, 1977). So this principle was known by the classical legal tradition, to refer to the legal continuity of the units that made up the Hispanic Monarchy between the 16th century and the beginning of the 19th century. Each intendancy, governorate, bishopric, audience, general captaincy or "kingdom" in the jurisdictional sense before 1777 (intendency reform) accumulated a territorial patrimony. The legitimacy of this allows it to be projected in its continuity, which is the Hispanic American nation states,

> It can be affirmed that there is a perfect continuity in the Spanish concept of the "line of law", since it itself in its essence would not make sense without the administrative divisions of Viceroyalties, General Captaincies, Audiences and even Bishoprics, created at times, and suppressed in others (Ramos, 2012: 150).

As a legal criterion, this concept was consolidated to resolve two types of disputes. The first was the overlapping of jurisdictions or changes in them, in the internal order of each unit. The second was the discussion about how to establish limits in the Hispanic period, which alluded to geographical features or areas without establishing a precise reference landmark. In any case, the Cath-

olic Church adjusted the dioceses to the new States after Independence, to make ecclesiastical and civil jurisdiction consistent.

Since its origin, in the partition of America between the Portuguese and Spanish in the Treaty of Tordesillas, the criteria did not address cartography, but rather abstract latitudes and longitudes. The concessions given to the Captains of Conquests in their Charters provided by the Crown were generic, but since the 17th and 18th centuries the incorporated areas were adjusting to the geography, establishing ideal limits that came up against the explorations of scientific societies carried out since the 19th century. XIX, correcting, for example, river courses, extension of geographical areas. Areas that had nominal sovereignty such as the Amazon, the depopulated Atacama or Patagonia, among others, lent themselves to multiple legal discussions that arose from very precise geographical differences regarding concepts such as "from" and "to where."

For South America it followed as a corollary,

> that, by virtue of the principle of "Uti possidetis", in Hispanic America there were no vacant territories, "Res Nullius". So that all the territories of the new American world, whether populated or not, were considered as belonging, by law, to the different countries within which they were included, according to the old Spanish political-administrative division (Acevedo, 2012: 159).

However, it should be noted that this criterion of the Latin American republics does not include Brazil, which continued a legal tradition of appropriation of the land colonized by its inhabitants, the bandeirantes, which explains its march towards the interior of the Amazon, which surpasses the line established between the Spanish and the Portuguese, and the increase in territory of the Brazilian Empire until the beginning of the Republic of Brazil, when its borders were stabilized (Ruiz Tinoco, 2006). It is

an instrument for inter-state relations, since it does not consider the rights of indigenous peoples and that America was occupied before partition. In the case of other extra-regional powers, they did not recognize this criterion and occupied, for example, Belize and British Guyana opposite Venezuela.

On the other hand, the use of the concept *Uti possidetis* is reiterated in many bilateral documents, thus until 1977 according to Duran (1977, 52-56, 58-60) it was explicitly mentioned in treaties between Ecuador-Peru, Colombia-Peru, Bolivia-Peru, Guatemala-Honduras, Brazil-Peru, Brazil-Uruguay, Brazil-Venezuela, Brazil-Paraguay, Brazil-Bolivia. It is also found in various Constitutions (Costa Rica, 1848) and arguments of arbitration rulings (Colombia-Venezuela, 1886-1891). In the Congress of Lima of 1847-1848 its use was established by representatives of Peru, Chile, Ecuador, New Granada (Colombia) and Bolivia, but that treaty was not subsequently ratified.

The 19th century was very active in the stabilization of the concept of Uti Possidetis Iuris in the border controversies of Latin American countries (Hensel, Allison and Khanani, 2006; Garay and Jiménez, 2022), some produced by the emergence of smaller units contained in other jurisdictions, as is the case of parts of Mexico, Central America, and Colombia. Also in controversial cases between Nicaragua and Colombia, the preeminence, in international courts, of the Utis *possidetis* of 1810 over that of 1821, in which a Central American country and another South American.

In the 20th century, with the reduction of wars and border disputes, this concept became part of the heritage of foreign policies, incorporating two types of applications, one referring to the currently sovereign territory, and another associated with maximalist conceptions of how much territory the country would have had country in its parent unit of the Hispanic Monarchy in relation to border disputes. Currently, many historians of international

relations in the region study the concepts of Greater Argentina, Greater Peru, Greater Colombia or Greater Mexico to study imaginaries and foreign policy (Garay, 2019). Expressive of this imaginary are the works on inherited territorial heritage, of which it is a model, identifiable in other countries of the South American region, Bazán (1986) for Chile.

In recent times, the right invoked by States for indigenous populations has been questioned, a consequence that,

> They were considered as belonging, by law, to the different countries within which they were included, according to the old Spanish political-administrative division. Therefore, it was assumed - which is based more on a legal fiction - that although in fact this was not the case, each new emancipated State acquired sovereignty and independence since 1810 over the entire territorial extension included in the old Spanish administrative district, but only regarding South American countries. This clearly indicates that the new States considered themselves possessors of the uninhabited regions and even those that had never been explored, which also implied considering the Indians who inhabited regions within their limits, as their nationals, subject to sovereignty. of the new State (Ramos, 2012: 153).

In summary, it can be stated 1) "that a generally accepted doctrine or principle of international law known as uti possidetis has existed in Latin America"; 2) that Brazil has interpreted its validity to the detriment of effective occupation, giving it less value; and 3) although its application is to regulate Latin American relations, it also prevented "the recognition of territorial titles that non-American states could try to acquire over parts of the American continent" (Duran, 1977: 114). In 1986 the principle was invoked outside of Hispanic America, by the International Court of Justice in the trial between Burkina Faso against Mali (Gálvez, 2004: 135).

Connections

Theories and Theoretical Approaches: Dependency
Concepts: Great Homeland, Latin American System
Doctrines: Juárez Doctrine

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Border_Stability_Uti_Possidetis_and_Territorial_Claims_in_the_Americas/links/00b7d5326ea9761b12000000/The-Colonial-Legacy-and-Border-Stability-Uti-Possidetis-and-Territorial-Claims-in-the-Americas.pdf

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PART V:
FIGURES

A

Alberto Methol Ferré, Uruguay, 1929-2009

Areas of Interest: Geopolitics, History of international relations, Integration, Cultural and intellectual integration.

Keywords: Cultural circles, Continental spaces, Southern Common Market (MERCOSUR), Theology of the people.

Selection of Works:

(1959) *La crisis del Uruguay y el Imperio Británico*.
(1967) *El Uruguay como problema. Geopolítica de la cuenca del Plata*.
(1979) *Puebla: proceso y tensiones*.
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Aldo Ferrer, Argentina, 1927-2016

Areas of Interest: International trade, International economy, Elaboration of theories, Globalization, History of globalization, History of international relations, Industrialization, World system.

Keywords: Latin American structuralism, National density, Income distribution, Globalization, Grupo Fénix, Industrialization and internal development, Technology.

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(1956) *El Estado y el desarrollo económico*.
(1964) *Modernización, desarrollo industrial e integración latinoamericana* (artículo).
(1975) *La crisis del sistema monetario internacional. Un enfoque estructuralista* (artículo).
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(1996) *Historia de la globalización. Orígenes del orden económico mundial*.
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Alejandro Álvarez Jofré, Chile, 1868-1960

Areas of Interest: International Law, Human Rights, Diplomacy.

Keywords: International Court of Justice (CID), International Law, New International Law, Pan-Americanism, Regionalism.

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Alfonso García Robles, Mexico, 1911-1991

Areas of Interest: Maritime law, Disarmament, Diplomacy, History of international relations, World peace, Security.

Keywords: Armamentism-Disarmament, Mexico, Pan-Americanism, Prohibition of nuclear weapons, Treaty of Tlatelolco.

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Alfredo Vicente Seoane Flores, Bolivia, 1958

Areas of Interest : International political economy, Industrialization, Integration, Economic integration, Regional relations.

Keywords: Bolivia, Development, Late industrialization, Hemispheric integration, Productive transformation.

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Álvaro García Linera, Bolivia, 1962

Areas of Interest: Colonialism-Anticolonialism, Creation of concepts, Ethnic issues, Culture and Globalization, Geopolitics, Imperialism-Antiimperialism, Political and social movements.

Keywords: Bolivia, Plurinational State, Latin American Marxism, Indigenous Movement, New Indigenous Left, Pluriverse.

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Amado Luiz Cervo, Brazil, 1941-2025

Areas of Interest: Creation of concepts, History of foreign policy, History of international relations, World system.

Keywords: State paradigm, International insertion processes, Development model, History of Brazilian foreign policy, Brazil.

Selection of Works:

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Ana Pizarro, Chile

Areas of Interest: Latin American Culture and Society, Gender Issues, Latin American Thought, Planetary Natural Resources.

Keywords: Africa, Amazonia, Latin America, Coloniality, Discourses, Imaginaries, Literature, Modernity, Periphery.

Selection of Works:

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(1995) *Vanguardia y modernidad en el discurso cultural* (artículo).
(2001) *La casa y la calle: mujer y cultura en América Latina y el Caribe* (capítulo).
(2004) *El sur y los trópicos: ensayos de cultura latinoamericana*.
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Andrés Serbin, Argentina, 1948

Areas of Interest: International cooperation, Diplomacy, Globalization, Regional relations, International-global civil society.

Keywords: Citizen diplomacy, Eurasia and Russia, Multilateralism, Regional organizations, Regional civil society.

Selection of Works:

(1986) *El Caribe ¿Zona de Paz?: Geopolítica, integración y seguridad.*
(1987) *Etnicidad, clase y nación en la cultura política del Caribe de habla inglesa.*
(1992) *Medio ambiente, seguridad y cooperación regional en el Caribe.*
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(2010) *Chávez, Venezuela y la reconfiguración política de América Latina.*
(2016) ¿Fin de ciclo?: Las relaciones entre Cuba y los Estados Unidos en el entorno regional y global (artículo).
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Andrés Soliz Rada, Bolivia, 1939-2017

Areas of Interest: Colonialism-Anticolonialism, Latin Americanism, Latin American Thought.

Keywords: Bolivia, Plurinational State, Indigenous Movement, New Indigenous Left, Great Homeland.

Selection of Works:

(1975) *Bolivia, pena y furia de América* (artículo).
(1975) *Peligro de guerra en el Cono Sur* (artículo).
(1978) *La caracterización de Bolivia y la contradicción fundamental.*
(1984) *El gas en el destino nacional.*
(1995) *La Conciencia Enclaustrada.*
(1996) *La Fortuna del Presidente*.
(2001) *Rescatemos la conciencia nacional* (artículo).
(2005) *Jorge Abelardo Ramos y la Unión Sudamericana: del Mercosur a*

la Patria Grande.
(2012) *El MERCOSUR y la africanización de Bolivia* (artículo).
(2013) *La Luz en el túnel I: las lides ideológicas de la Izquierda Nacional Boliviana.*
(2013) *La Luz en el túnel II: las lides ideológicas de la Izquierda Nacional Boliviana.*
(2015) *30 años de "Patria Grande"* (artículo).
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3 de Septiembre. https://www.la-razon.com/lr-article/andres-soliz-rada-un-ano-despues/
Villarroel, M. (2012) El 'compadre' que lleva dentro. Andrés Soliz Rada. *La Razón,* 23 de Diciembre. https://www.la-razon.com/lr-article/el-compadre-que-lleva-dentro-andres-soliz-rada/

Aníbal Pinto Santa Cruz, Chile, 1919-1996

Areas of Interest: Development, International Economy, Elaboration of theories, History of international relations, Independence, World system.

Keywords: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (CEPAL), Latin American structuralism, Structural heterogeneity, Inflation, Economic model.

Selection of Works:

(1953) *Hacia nuestra independencia económica*.
(1954) *Antecedentes sobre el desarrollo de la economía chilena 1925-1952*.
(1959) *Chile, un caso de desarrollo frustrado*.
(1964) *Chile, una economía difícil*.
(1968) *Política y desarrollo*.
(1971) *Tres ensayos sobre Chile y América Latina*.
(1972) *La heterogeneidad estructural: aspecto fundamental del desarrollo latinoamericano*.
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Aníbal Quijano Obregón, Peru, 1928-2018

Areas of Interest: Culture and Globalization, Creation of concepts, Colonialism-Anticolonialism, Latin American thought, Indigenous peoples.

Keywords: Coloniality of power, Coloniality-Decoloniality, Decolonial studies, Imperialism, Modernity.

Selection of Works:

(1970) *Imperialismo y marginalidad en América Latina*.
(1974) *Crisis imperialista y clase obrera en América Latina*.
(1992) *Colonialidad y modernidad/racionalidad* (artículo).
(1993) *América Latina en la economía mundial* (artículo).
(1997) *Estado-nación, ciudadanía y democracia: cuestiones abiertas* (capítulo en H. González y H. Schmidt).
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Antonio Augusto Cançado Trindade, Brazil, 1947-2022

Areas of Interest: International Law, Environment, International Organizations.

Keywords: Human rights, Humanitarian law, International protection of human rights.

Selection of Works:

(1984) *O esgotamento de recursos internos no direito internacional*.

(1993) *Direitos Humanos e meio ambiente: paralelo dos sistemas de proteção internacional.*

(1996) *As três vertentes da proteção internacional dos direitos da pessoa humana: direitos humanos, direito humanitário, direito dos refugiados* (en coautoría con J. Ruiz de Santiago y G. Peytrignet).

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(2002) *O direito internacional em um mundo em transformação: (ensaios, 1976-2001).*
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(2014) *Reflections on a century of international justice and prospects for the future.*
(2017) *Princípios do Direito Internacional contemporâneo.*
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Antônio Carlos Lessa, Brazil, 1970

Areas of Interest: Diplomacy, History of foreign policy, International insertion, Integration, Foreign policy.

Keywords: Strategic associations, Brazil, Universalist diplomacy, International insertion, International relations.

Selection of Works:

(1998) *A diplomacia universalista do Brasil: a construção do sistema contemporâneo de relações bilaterais* (artículo).
(2005) *O ensino de Relações Internacionais no Brasil* (capítulo en J. F. Saraiva y A. L. Cervo organizadores).
(2005) *Instituições, atores e dinâmicas do ensino e da pesquisa em Relações Internacionais no Brasil: o diálogo entre a história, a ciência política e os novos paradigmas de interpretação (dos anos 90 aos nossos dias)* (artículo).
(2006) *Relações Internacionais do Brasil: temas e agendas* (dos volúmenes, organizados con H. Altemani de Oliveira).
(2010) *O Itamaraty e a Africa: as origens da política africana do Brasil* (artículo en coautoría con P. Penna Filho).
(2010) *Parcerias estratégicas do Brasil: um balanço da era Lula (2003-2010)* (artículo).
(2010) *Distanciamento versus engajamento: alguns aportes conceituais para a análise da inserção do multilateralismo brasileiro (1945-1990)* (artículo en coautoría con L. Freitas Couto y R. Souza Farias).
(2013) *Parcerias Estratégicas do Brasil: os significados e as experiências tradicionais* (organizado con H. Altemani de Oliveira).
(2014) *O declínio*: *inserção internacional do Brasil (2011-2014)* (artículo en coautoría con A. L. Cervo).

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(2019) *Brazil in the BRICS after ten years: Past, present, and near future perspectives* (capítulo en coautoría con D. Silva Ramos Becard y A. F. Barros-Platiau en L. Xing editor).
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Argemiro Procopio, Brazil, 1949

Areas of Interest: International cooperation, Diplomacy, Environment, Indigenous peoples, Security.

Keywords: Amazon, Environment, Indigenous peoples, International relations, Sustainability.

Selection of Works:

(2010) *Diplomacia e desigualdade*.
(2009) *Migrantes, Garimpeiros e Declaração das Nações Unidas sobre os Direitos dos Povos Indígenas*.
(2005) *O multilateralismo amazônico e as fronteiras da segurança*.
(2005) *Relações Internacionais: os excluídos da arca de Noé*.
(2004) *No olho da águia: unilateralismo e relações internacionais*.
(2003) *China em tempos de mudança*.
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Arlene B. Tickner, Colombia

Areas of Interest: Creation of concepts, Gender issues, Elaboration of theories, History of international relations, South-South relations.

Keywords: Colombia, Feminism, Hybridization, Postcolonialism, Theory review of international relations.

Selection of Works:

(1992) *Gender in International Relations*.

(2000) *Sistema interamericano y democracia: antecedentes históricos y tendencias futuras*.
(2002) *Los estudios internacionales en América Latina ¿subordinación intelectual o pensamiento emancipatorio?*
(2009) *International Relations scholarship around the world* (editado con O. Wæver).
(2015) *Anti-americanismo, pro-americanismo y sentido común en América Latina* (en coautoría con C. Cepeda y J. L. Bernal).
(2011) *Colombia y el mundo 2010: opinión pública y política internacional* (en coautoría con C. Cepeda y J. L. Bernal).
(2011) *Relaciones internacionales y política exterior de Colombia* (compilado con S. Borda).
(2013) *Claiming the International.*
(2012) *Thinking International Relations differently* (en coautoría con D. Blaney).
(2017) *South-South cooperation beyond the myths* (editado con I. Bergamaschi y P. Moore).

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ternacionales y contribuciones recientes desde el enfoque de Cadenas Globales de Valor. *Revista Aportes para la Integración Latinoamericana*, Junio (38) 45-67.

Arturo Escobar, Colombia, 1952

Areas of Interest: Colonialism-Anticolonialism, Creation of concepts, Ethnic issues, Latin American culture and society, Dependency, Political and social movements, Planetary natural resources.

Keywords: Development apparatus, Autonomy, International development, Endogenous discourses, Pluriverse, Post-development, Third World.

Selection of Works:

(1986) La invención del desarrollo en Colombia (artículo).
(1987) *Power and Visibility: The Invention and Management of Development in the Third World* .
(1992) *The Making of Social Movements in Latin America* (editado con S. Álvarez).
(1994) *El desarrollo sostenible: diálogo de discursos* (artículo).
(1996) *La invención del Tercer Mundo. Construcción y deconstrucción del desarrollo*.
(1996) *Encountering Development. The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*.
(1998) *Cultures of Politics/Politics of Culture: Re-visioning Latin American Social Movements* (editado con S. Álvarez y E. Dagnino).
(1998) *Biodiversidad, naturaleza y cultura: localidad y globalidad en las*

estrategias de conservación.
(1999) *El final del salvaje. Naturaleza, cultura y política en la antropología contemporánea*.
(1999) *After Nature: Steps to an Anti-essentialist Political Ecology* (artículo).
(2000) *El lugar de la naturaleza y la naturaleza del lugar: ¿Globalización o postdesarrollo?*
(2003) *Mundos y conocimientos de otro modo. El programa de investigación de modernidad/colonialidad latinoamericano* (artículo).
(2005) *Bienvenidos a Cyberia. Notas para una antropología de la cibercultura* (artículo).
(2005) *Más allá del Tercer Mundo. Globalización y diferencia*.
(2005) *Women and the Politics of Place* (editado con W. Harcourt)
(2005) *El "postdesarrollo" como concepto y práctica social* (capítulo) [en adelante el término se reproduce tal como lo utiliza el autor: posdesarrollo o postdesarrollo]
(2006) *Antropologías del mundo: transformaciones disciplinarias en contextos de poder* (editado con G. Lins Ribeiro)
(2008) *Territories of Difference. Place, Movements, Life, Redes.*
(2011) *Una minga para el posdesarrollo* (artículo).
(2014) *Sentipensar con la tierra: nuevas lecturas sobre desarrollo, territorio y diferencia*.
(2017) *Autonomía y diseño. La realización de lo comunal*.
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(2018) *Otro posible es posible: caminando hacia las transiciones desde Abya Yala/Afro/Latino-América*.
(2020) *Pluriversal Politics: The Real and the Possible*.
(2020) *Designing as a Futural Praxis for the Healing of the Web of Life* (capítulo).

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Flórez Flórez, J. y Aparicio, J. R. (2009) Arturo Escobar y la política de la diferencia: recorridos por los debates de las ciencias sociales. *Nómadas* (30) 222-241.

Gómez, M. (2015) Una aproximación a las contribuciones de Arturo Escobar a la ecología política. *Ecología Política*, Enero. https://www.ecologiapolitica.info/?p=3650

Lozada Cubillos, J. J. (2010) Conocimiento, poder y desarrollo: una visión a partir del pensamiento decolonial de Arturo Escobar. *CRITERIOS-Cuadernos de Ciencias Jurídicas y Política Internacional*, 3 (1) 249-265.

Pérez Ruiz, M. L. (2014) Sobre la hibridación y la interculturalidad en el postdesarrollo. Para un diálogo con Arturo Escobar. *Cultura y representaciones sociales*, 9 (17) 74-109.

Atilio Borón, Argentina, 1943

Areas of Interest: Geopolitics, Imperialism-Anti-imperialism, Independence, Political and social movements, Latin America-United States Relations, International Politics.

Keywords: Savage capitalism, Imperial Order, Imperial Project.

Selection of Works:

(1991) *Memorias del capitalismo salvaje*.

(2000) *Tras el búho de Minerva. Mercado contra democracia en el capitalismo de fin de siglo.*
(2001) *El nuevo orden imperial y cómo desmontarlo*.
(2002) *Imperio e imperialismo - Una lectura crítica de Michael Hardt y Antonio Negri.*
(2003) *Estado, capitalismo y democracia en América Latina.*
(2003) *Los imperativos estratégicos de la Casa Blanca en la actual fase imperialista: la guerra y el ALCA* (capítulo).
(2003) *América Latina: Estado e reformas numa perspectiva comparada.* (en coautoría con N. Krawczyk y L.E. Wanderley).
(2004) *Hegemonía e imperialismo en el sistema internacional* (capítulo).
(2004) *Nueva hegemonía mundial: alternativas de cambio y movimientos sociales* (compilador).
(2004) *Imperio y Teoría Marxista del Imperialismo* (artículo).
(2005) *Un Imperio en llamas* (artículo).
(2005) *Movimientos y poderes de izquierda en América Latina*.
(2006) *La teoría marxista hoy. Problemas y perspectivas* (compilado con J. Amadeo y S. González).
(2007) *Reflexiones sobre el poder, el Estado y la revolución*.
(2007) *Movimientos sociales y luchas democráticas: algunas lecciones de la experiencia reciente en América Latina* (capítulo).
(2008) *Consolidando la explotación. La academia y el Banco Mundial contra el pensamiento crítico*.
(2008) *Crisis civilizatoria y agonía del capitalismo. Diálogos con Fidel Castro* (en coautoría con F. Castro).
(2008) *Socialismo siglo XXI. ¿Hay vida después del neoliberalismo?*
(2009) *El lado oscuro del Imperio: la violación de los derechos humanos por Estados Unidos* (en coautoría con A. Vlahusic).
(2010) *La ofensiva de las derechas en el Cono Sur.*
(2012) *América Latina en la geopolítica del imperialismo*.
(2019) *El Hechicero de la Tribu. Mario Vargas Llosa y el liberalismo en América Latina*.

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Cândido Mendes de Almeida, Brazil, 1928-2022

Areas of Interest: Culture and Globalization, Democracy-Dictatorship, Development.

Keywords: Brazil, Democracy, Development, Nationalism, Populism.

Selection of Works:

(1963) *Nacionalismo e desenvolvimento*.
(1966) *Memento dos Vivos. A esquerda católica no Brasil.*

(1974) *Después del populismo, impugnación social y desarrollo en América Latina*.
(1977) *Le Mythe du développement* (en coautoría con C. Castoriadis, J. Minces y J.M. Domenachi).
(1980) *The Post-1964 Brazilian Regime: Outward Redemocratization and Inner Institutionalization* (artículo).
(1992) *A democracia desperdiçada: poder e imaginário social.*
(1996) *Cultural pluralism, identity and globalization* (coordinador).
(2000) *O País da Paciência. Tregua e alternativa.*
(2003) *Lula et l'autre Brésil*.
(2005) C*elso Furtado: fundação e prospectiva do desenvolvimento* (artículo).
(2006) *Le Défi de la différence. Entretiens sur la latinité avec François L'Yvonnet* (en coautoría con F. L'Yvonnet).
(2011) *Planejamento nacional e consciência histórica* (artículo).
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Carlos Calvo, Argentina, 1824-1906

Areas of Interest: International Law, Diplomacy, Latin American Thought, International Treaties.

Keywords: International Law, Principle of compensation, Principle of non-intervention, Dispute settlement.

Selection of Works:

(1862-1869) *Colección completa de los tratados, convenciones, capitulaciones, armisticios y otros actos diplomáticos de todos los estados de la América Latina, comprendidos entre el golfo de Méjico y el cabo de Hornos, desde el año de 1493 hasta nuestros días: precedidos de una memoria sobre el estado actual de la América, de cuadros estadísticos, de un diccionario diplomático y de una noticia histórica sobre cada uno de los tratados más importantes* (once tomos).

(1864) *Una página de derecho internacional, o la América del Sur ante la ciencia del derecho de gentes moderno.*

(1864-1867) *Annales historiques de la révolution de l'Amérique latine: accompagnées de documents à l'appui. De l'année 1808 jusqu'à*

la reconnaissance par les états européens de l'indépendance de ce vaste continent (cinco tomos).

(1868) *Derecho internacional teórico y práctico de Europa y América* (dos tomos).

(1885) *Dictionnaire du droit international publique et privat*.

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Carlos Escudé, Argentina, 1948-2021

Areas of Interest: Creation of concepts, Elaboration of theories, Geopolitics, History of foreign policy, History of international relations, International politics.

Keywords: Argentina, Center-Periphery, Weak states, Anthropomorphic fallacy, National interest, Peripheral realism.

Selection of Works:

(1983) *Gran Bretaña, Estados Unidos y la declinación argentina, 1942-1949*.
(1986) *La Argentina y las grandes potencias: el precio del desafío*.
(1987) *Patología del nacionalismo: el caso argentino*.
(1992) *Realismo periférico: fundamentos para la nueva política exterior argentina*.
(1995) *El realismo de los estados débiles: la política exterior del primer gobierno de Menem frente a la teoría de las Relaciones Internacionales*.
(1999) *Estados del mundo: las nuevas reglas de la política internacional vistas desde el Cono Sur*.
(2000) *Historia general de las relaciones exteriores de la República Argentina* (dirigido con A. Cisneros).
(2012) *Principios de realismo periférico. Vigencia de una teoría argentina ante el ascenso de China*.
(2013) *La Guerra de Los Dioses: Los mandatos bíblicos frente a la política mundial*.

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Carlos Montenegro, Bolivia, 1903-1953

Areas of Interest: Imperialism-Anti-imperialism, Nationalism.

Keywords: Anti-nation, Bolivia, Colony, History, Identity, Nation, Nationalism, Revolution.

Selection of Works:

(1938) *El oro de la Standard Oil contra el derecho del estado*.
(1938) *Caducidad de las concesiones mineras*.
(1944) *Nacionalismo y coloniaje: su expresión histórica en la prensa de Bolivia*.
(1948) *Biografía de Spruille Braden*.
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(1962) *Las inversiones extranjeras en América Latina.*

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Zavaleta Mercado, R. (1956) Augusto Céspedes y una historia chola. *Marcha*, 7 de diciembre.

Carlos Saavedra Lamas, Argentina, 1878-1959

Areas of Interest: International Law, World Peace, International System.

Keywords: Arbitration, Chaco Peace Conference, Right to asylum, Chaco War, Anti-war treaty of non-aggression and conciliation.

Selection of Works:

(1910) *Economía colonial*: *fundamentos de la convención diplomática y proyecto de Ley de Colonización presentado a la Cámara de Diputados.*

(1922) *Tratados internacionales de tipo social*: *Las convenciones sobre emigración y trabajo, perspectivas que representan para los*

países sudamericanos y especialmente para la República Argentina, conferencias de Washington y Ginebra.

(1931) *La crise de la codification et de la doctrine argentine de droit international* (dos volúmenes).

(1937) *Por la paz de las Américas*.

(1948) *Vida internacional*.

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Celso N. Amorim, Brazil, 1942

Areas of Interest: International cooperation, Diplomacy, Integration, International Organizations, International Politics, Security.

Keywords: Brazil, Cooperation, Diplomacy, Integration, United Nations Organization (UN).

Selection of Works:

(1994) *Perspectivas da cooperação internacional* (capítulo).
(1994) *Uma diplomacia voltada para o desenvolvimento e a democracia* (capítulo).
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(1996) *Iniciativa para as Américas: o acordo do Jardim das Rosas* (capítulo).
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(2008) *Os Brics e a reorganização do mundo* (artículo).
(2009) *A integração sul-americana* (artículo).
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Spohr, A. P. y da Silvia, A. L. R. (2017) Foreign Policy's Role in Promoting Development: the Brazilian and Turkish Cases. *Contexto Internacional*, Enero-Abril, 39 (1) 157-178.

Celso Furtado, Brazil, 1920-2004

Areas of Interest: Development, International Economy, Elaboration of theories, History of the world system, World system, Sovereignty of natural resources.

Keywords: Brazil, Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (CEPAL), Development-Underdevelopment, Latin American Structuralism, Dependency Theory, Third World, Latin America.

Selection of Works:

(1963) *The Economic Growth of Brazil: A Survey from Colonial to Modern Times*.
(1966) *Développement et sous-développement*.
(1968) *Teoría y política del desarrollo económico*.
(1969) *La economía latinoamericana desde la conquista ibérica hasta la Revolución Cubana*.
(1971) *La economía latinoamericana. Formación histórica y problemas contemporáneos*.
(1974) *El mito del desarrollo económico y el futuro del Tercer Mundo*.
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Vidal, G. y Guillén, A. (Coord.) (2007) *Repensar la teoría del desarrollo en un contexto de globalización*. *Homenaje a Celso Furtado.* Buenos Aires: Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales (CLACSO). México: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana. Casa abierta al tiempo; México: Red Eurolatinoamericana de Estudios sobre el Desarrollo Celso Furtado.

Vidal, G. (2001) Celso Furtado y el problema del desarrollo. *Comercio Exterior*, 51 (2) 151-158.

Celso Lafer, Brazil, 1941

Areas of Interest: Culture and Globalization, International Law, Human Rights, Diplomacy, Foreign Policy, International Politics.

Keywords: Brazil, Identity, International organizations, World Trade Organization (WTO), Organization of United Nations (UN).

Selection of Works:

(1977) *Comércio e Relações Internacionais*.
(1978) *El estudio de las Relaciones Internacionales: necesidades y perspectivas* (artículo).
(1988) *A reconstrução dos direitos humanos: um diálogo com o pensamento de Hannah Arendt*.
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Claudio Rama Vitale, Uruguay, 1954

Areas of Interest: Science and technology, Culture and Globalization, Regional relations.

Keywords: Higher education, Social changes, Virtual and digital education, Educational policies, University systems.

Selection of Works:

(1984) *La nueva división internacional del trabajo.*
(1986) *La acumulación especulativa en Venezuela.*

(1988) *El socialismo del siglo XX.*
(2000) *La tercera reforma de la educación superior en América Latina y el Caribe: masificación, regulaciones e internacionalización* (artículo).
(2003) *Economía de las industrias culturales en la globalización digital*.
(2003) *La educación transnacional: el tercer shock en la educación superior en América Latina* (artículo).
(2008) *Nuevas oportunidades de la educación superior en la globalización* (conferencia).
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(2012) *La reforma de la virtualización de la universidad. El nacimiento de la educación digital.*
(2015) *Nuevas dinámicas de la regionalización universitaria en América Latina* (artículo en coautoría con M. Cevallos).
(2016) *La reforma de la educación superior en Uruguay (1984-2013): entre tensiones políticas, rémoras del pasado y transformaciones estructurales*
(2016) *Mutaciones universitarias latinoamericanas. Cambios en las dinámicas educativas, mercados laborales y lógicas económicas.*
(2019) *Políticas, tensiones y tendencias de la educación a distancia y virtual en América Latina.*
(2019) *La virtualización de la universidad en América Latina.*
(2019) *Políticas, tensiones y tendencias de la educación a distancia y virtual en América Latina.*
(2019) *Luchas por el poder y reforma universitaria en Uruguay.*
(2020) *La nueva educación híbrida.*
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Flores, P. B. (2009) El estado del arte en materia de movilidad internacional de estudiantes: tipos de enfoques. *Centro Redes* [Documento de trabajo N° 40] 1-37.

Mena, M. (Comp.) (2007) Construyendo la nueva agenda de la Educación a Distancia. Buenos Aires: Ediciones La Crujía y Ediciones Stella.

Puente, S. (2007) *Industrias culturales y políticas de Estado*. Buenos Aires: Prometeo Libros.

Clive Youlande Thomas, Guyana, 1938

Areas of Interest: Colonialism-Anticolonialism, Development, Dependency, International Economy, Economic Integration, In-

ternational Organizations.

Keywords: Mode of production, Caribbean economic policy, Radical project in the Third World.

Selection of Works:

(1965) *Monetary and financial arrangements in a dependent monetary economy: a study of British Guiana, 1945-1962* (artículo).
(1967) *The dynamics of West Indian economic integration.*
(1969) *Sugar Economics in a Colonial Situation: The Sugar Industry of Guyana*.
(1972) *The structure, performance, and prospects of Central Banking in the Caribbean.*
(1973) *Reserve Adequacy and Regional Cooperation in Reserve and Payments Management*.
(1974) *Dependence and Transformation: The Economics of the Transition to Socialism.*
(1982) *From colony to state capitalism: alternative paths of development in the Caribbean.*
(1984) *The Rise of the Authoritarian State in Peripheral Societies*.
(1984) *Plantations, peasants, and state: a study of the mode of sugar production in Guyana.*
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Cristián Parker Gumucio, Chile, 1953

Areas of Interest: Non-state actors or agents, Latin American Culture and Society, Environment.

Keywords: Global catastrophes, Environmental crisis, Popular culture, Global education, "Other Logic", Sociology of religion.

Selection of Works:

(1994) *La sociología de la religión y la modernidad: por una revisión de las categorías durkheimianas desde América Latina* (artículo).
(1996) *Otra Lógica en América latina: religión popular y modernización capitalista*.
(1996) *Las Iglesias y su acción social en Chile*.
(1997) *Religión y postmodernidad*.
(1998) Ética, cultura y desarrollo humano. *Alternativa para el siglo XXI*.
(2000) *Los jóvenes chilenos: cambios culturales; perspectivas para el siglo XXI*.
(2001) *Capital social y representaciones socioculturales juveniles: un estilo en jóvenes secundarios chilenos* (artículo).
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(2004) *La sociologie des religions à l'horizon 2050: un point de vue latino-américain* (artículo).
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(2006) *La religión y el despertar de los pueblos indígenas en América Latina* (artículo).
(2008) *Identidad latina e integración sudamericana* (capítulo).
(2008) *Mentalidad religiosa post-ilustrada: creencias y esoterismo en una sociedad en mutación cultural* (artículo).
(2008) *Interculturality, conflicts and religion: Theoretical perspectives* (artículo).
(2009) *Alfabetismo científico, misión de la universidad y ciudadanía: ideas para su construcción en los países en vías de desarrollo*

(artículo en coautoría con F. López Segrera).
(2012) *Elites universitarias y cambio climático* (artículo en coautoría con J. Muñoz Rau).
(2013) *Elites, climate change and agency in a developing society: the Chilean case* (artículo en coautoría con M. Letelier y J. Muñoz Rau).
(2014) *El mundo académico y las políticas públicas frente a la urgencia del desarrollo sustentable en América Latina y el Caribe* (artículo).
(2014) *Visiones sobre los tránsitos socio-técnicos hacia patrones de consumo sustentable en agua y energía en la minería sudamericana. Dos controversias argentinas* (artículo en coautoría con G. Baigorrotegui y F. Estenssoro Saavedra).
(2015) *Agua-energía-minería, consumo sustentable y gobernanza: visión de actores estratégicos sudamericanos* (capítulo en coautoría con G. Baigorrotegui y F. Estenssoro Saavedra).
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(2020) *Prospectiva y consecuencias del Covid-19, y su impacto en la educación superior* (artículo en coautoría con F. López Segrera).
(2021) *De la evaluación de impacto ambiental a la evaluación ambiental estratégica: desafíos para la política ambiental en Chile y América Latina* (artículo en coautoría con M. P. Aedo).

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Cristina Eguizábal Mendoza, Costa Rica

Areas of Interest: Security, Geopolitics, Regional Relations, World Peace.

Keywords: Central America, Migrations, Peace and Security.

Selection of Works:

(1982) *El conflicto Este-Oeste y la crisis centroamericana* (artículo).

(1988) *América Latina y la Crisis Centroamericana: En busca de una solución regional*.

(1992) *Negociaciones, paz y democratización en El Salvador* (artículo).

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(1995) *Desafíos humanitarios en Centroamérica: lecciones de los conflic-*

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van Klaveren, A. (1992) Entendiendo las políticas exteriores latinoamericanas: modelo para armar. *Estudios Internacionales* (98) 169-216.

Cristina Yumie Aoki Inoue, Brazil

Areas of Interest: Development, Environment, Planetary natural resources.

Keywords: Global environmental policy, Global sustainability governance, International development cooperation.

Selection of Works:

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(2016) *Many Worlds, Many Theories?* (artículo en coautoría con A. Tickner).

(2017) *Worlding the Study of Global Environmental Politics in the Anthropocene: Indigenous Voices from the Amazon* (artículo en coautoría con P. Franco Moreira).

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(2019) *South-South Transnational Advocacy: Mobilizing Against Brazilian Dams in the Peruvian Amazon* (artículo en coautoría con P. Moreira, J. Gamu, C. Inoue, S. Athayde, S. da Cal Seixas y E. Viola).

(2020) *Socio-environmentalism* (capítulo en coautoría con M. Franchini en A. Tickner y K. Smith editores).

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D

Danilo Martuccelli, Peru, 1964

Areas of Interest: Ethnic issues, Culture and Globalization, Latin American Culture and Society, Cultural and intellectual integration.

Keywords: Racism and ethnicity, Sociology of education, Sociology of the individual, Political sociology, Social theory.

Selection of Works:

(1991) *La nouvelle texture du social* (Tesis doctoral).
(1996) *A l'école. Sociologie de l'expérience scolaire* (en coautoría con F. Dubet).
(1996) *Las contradicciones políticas del multiculturalismo* (artículo).
(1997) *La plaza vacía. Las transformaciones del peronismo* (en coautoría con M. Svampa).
(1998) ¿En qué sociedad vivimos?
(1999) *Sociologies de la modernité: L'itinéraire du XX siècle.*
(2002) *Grammaires de l'individu*.

(2001) *Dominations ordinaires: Explorations de la condition moderne*.
(2003) *Integración y globalización* (capítulo).
(2004) *Matériaux pour une sociologie de l'individu. Perspectives et débats* (editado con V. Caradec).
(2005) *La consistance du social: Une sociologie pour la modernité*.
(2006) *Forgé par l'épreuve: l'individu dans la France contemporaine*.
(2006) *Interculturalidad y globalización: los desafíos de la poética de la solidaridad* (artículo).
(2007) *Cambio de rumbo. La sociedad a escala del individuo*.
(2008) *El desafío latinoamericano: cohesión social y democracia* (en coautoría con B. Sorj).
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Deisy de Freitas Lima Ventura, Brazil

Areas of Interest: International cooperation, Human rights, International law, International organizations.

Keywords: Normative cubism, Regional integration, Global health, Sustainability.

Selection of Works:

(1995) *O Mercosul em movimento.*
(1996*) América Latina: cidadania, desenvolvimento e estado*.
(1996) *A ordem jurídica do Mercosul*.
(1999) *Introdução ao Direito Internacional Público* (en coautoría con

R. Seintenfus). (2002) *Do Ebola ao Zika: as emergências internacionais e securitização da saúde global* (artículo).

(2003) *Las asimetrías entre el Mercosur y la Unión Europea: los desafíos de una asociación*.

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(2009) *Os efeitos da transnacionalização sobre a governança regional: o caso da conflituosa implantação da indústria de celulose no cone sul da América. Contexto internacional* (artículo en coautoría con I. Zendron Miola).

(2012) *La participación de los entes subnacionales en la política exterior de Brasil y en los procesos de integración regional* (artículo en coautoría con M. García Fonseca).

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(2020) *Desafios da pandemia de COVID-19: por uma agenda brasileira de pesquisa em saúde global e sustentabilidade* (artículo en coautoría con H. Ribeiro, G. Di Giulio, P. Jaime, J. Nunes, C. M. Bógus, J. L. Ferreira Antunes y E. Alves Waldman).

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Diana Tussie, Argentina,

Areas of Interest: International trade, International cooperation, Development, Diplomacy, International economy, Integration.

Keywords: Post hegemonic moment, New left, post hegemonic regionalism.

Selection of Works:

(1988) *Los países menos desarrollados y el sistema de comercio internacional.*
(2000) *Luces y sombras de una nueva relación: el Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo, el Banco Mundial y la sociedad civil* (editora).
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(2012) *The new trade diplomacy* (capítulo en A. Cooper, J. Heine y R. Takhur).

(2014) *Reshaping regionalism and regional cooperation in South America* (artículo).

(2016) *Shaping the world beyond the core: states and markets in Brazil's global ascent* (capítulo en R. Germain).

(2017) *Rethinking our region in a post hegemonic moment* (capítulo en J. Briceño Ruiz, José e I. Morales).

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Herz, M., Hoffmann, R. y Tabak, J. (2015) *Organizações Internacionais: História e Práticas*. Río de Janeiro: Elsevier.

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Edgardo Mercado-Jarrín, Peru, 1919-2012

Areas of Interest: Borders and limits, Geopolitics, Regional relations, Security.

Keywords: South America, Geopolitics, Peruvian Institute of Geopolitical and Strategic Studies, Peru, Security.

Selection of Works:

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(1979) *Política y estrategia en la Guerra de Chile.*
(1989) *Un sistema de seguridad y defensa sudamericano*.
(1990) *Seguridad y ecología. Reformulación de un concepto* (artículo).
(1991) *Consecuencias y enseñanzas de la guerra del Golfo Pérsico.*
(1992) *Perú. El nuevo rumbo hacia sus vecinos* (artículo).
(1993) *Perú: perspectivas geopolíticas*.
(1995) *La geopolítica en el tercer milenio*.

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Toche, E. (2008) *Guerra y democracia: los militares peruanos y la construcción nacional*. Lima: DESCO - Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales (CLACSO).

Eduardo Gudynas, Uruguay, 1960

Areas of interest: Development, Environment, Planetary natural resources.

Keywords: Biocentrism, Good living, Sustainable development, Extractivism, Socioecology.

Selection of Works:

(1991) *La praxis por la vida. Introducción a las metodologías de la ecología social.*
(1998) *Ciudadanía en movimiento: participación y conflictos ambientales* (en coautoría con A. Santandreu).
(1999) *Concepciones de la naturaleza y desarrollo en América Latina* (artículo).
(2003) *Ecología, Economía y Ética del Desarrollo Sostenible.*
(2009) *Diez tesis urgentes sobre el nuevo extractivismo. Contextos y demandas bajo el progresismo sudamericano actual* (artículo).
(2009) *La dimensión ecológica del buen vivir: entre el fantasma de la modernidad y el desafío biocéntrico* (artículo).
(2010) *La senda biocéntrica: valores intrínsecos, derechos de la naturaleza y justicia ecológica* (artículo).
(2011) *Buen vivir: Germinando alternativas al desarrollo* (artículo).
(2011) *Debates sobre el desarrollo y sus alternativas en América Latina: Una breve guía heterodoxa* (artículo).
(2011) *Más allá del nuevo extractivismo: transiciones sostenibles y alternativas al desarrollo* (capítulo).
(2011) *Desarrollo, derechos de la Naturaleza y Buen Vivir después de Montecristi* (capítulo).
(2012) *La renovación de la crítica al desarrollo y el Buen Vivir como alternativa* (artículo en coautoría con A. Acosta).

(2012) *Estado compensador y nuevos extractivismos: Las ambivalencias del progresismo sudamericano* (artículo).
(2014) *Derechos de la naturaleza. Ética biocéntrica y políticas medioambientales.*
(2015) *Extractivismos. Ecología, economía y política de un modo de entender el desarrollo y la Naturaleza.*
(2019) *Postdesarrollo como crítica y las herramientas para estudios críticos en desarrollo* (capítulo).
(2020) *Extractivisms: Politics, Economy and Ecology*.
(2020) *Extractivismos agropecuarios en tiempos de pandemia: flexibilizaciones, asimetrías, autoritarismos y otros efectos derrame* (artículo en coautoría con T. Artacker y J. Campanini).
(2021) *Negociando el cambio climático: el continuado fracaso de la política convencional* (artículo).
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Elizabeth Cancelli, Brazil

Areas of Interest: Strategic issues, Democracy-Dictatorship, Geopolitics, Integration, Regional relations.

Keywords: Cultural Cold War, Intellectualities and power, Repression and prison control.

Selection of Works:

(1984) *Estrategia para o fragelo*.
(1993) *O mundo da violência: a polícia da Era Vargas*.
(1999) *Ação e repressão policial num circuito integrado internacionalmente* (capítulo).
(2001) *A cultura do crime e da lei, 1889-1930*.
(2003) *América del deseo: pesadilla, exotismo y sueño* (artículo en coautoría con V. Salles).
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Enrique Domingo Dussel Ambrosini, Argentina, 1934-2023

Areas of Interest: Colonialism-Anticolonialism, Latin American Culture and Society, Dependency, Elaboration of theories, Globalization, Independence, Latin American thought.

Keywords: Decolonial studies, Philosophy of liberation, Decolonial turn, Modernity, Transmodernity.

Selection of Works:

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(1973) *Para una ética de la liberación latinoamericana* (tomos I y II).
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(1999) *Seis tesis para una crítica de la razón política (el ciudadano como agente político)* (artículo).
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Enrique Iglesias García, Uruguay, 1930

Areas of Interest: International cooperation, International economy, International insertion, International organizations.

Keywords: Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), Economic Commission for Latin America (CEPAL), Development, Multilateralism.

Selection of Works:

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Enrique Leff Zimmerman, Mexico, 1946

Areas of Interest: Development, Globalization, Environment, Latin American Thought, Planetary Natural Resources.

Keywords: Ecodevelopment, Ecology, Environmental epistemology, Environmental rationality, Sustainability.

Selection of Works:

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Eric Williams, Trinidad and Tobago, 1911-1981

Areas of Interest: Colonialism-Anticolonialism, Ethnic issues, Slavery and economy, Integration.

Keywords: Capitalism, Caribbean Community, Caribbean Integration, National People's Movement (MNP).

Selection of Works:

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Estanislao Severo Zeballos, Argentina, 1854-1923

Areas of Interest: Strategic issues, Diplomacy, Borders and limits, Foreign policy, International treaties.

Keywords: Unarmed Diplomacy, Argentine Geographic Institute, Argentine Theory of Private Human Law.

Selection of Works:

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(1878) *La conquista de 15.000 leguas.*
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Estevão de Rezende Martins, Brazil, 1947

Areas of Interest: International cooperation, History of international relations, Methodology and Theory of International Relations, International organizations, Foreign policy, International politics, Regional relations.

Keywords: Culture, Europe, Europe-Latin America, History-Methodology-Theory, Power.

Selection of Works:

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(2017) *Democracy and the threat of populism* (artículo).
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Felipe Herrera, Chile, 1922-1996

Areas of Interest: International economy, Integration, Cultural and intellectual integration.

Keywords: Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), Chile, Political economy, Latin American integration.

Selection of Works:

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(1966) *Bases económicas y políticas para un mercado común latinoamericano*.
(1967) *Nacionalismo latinoamericano.*
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Fernando Estenssoro Saavedra, Chile, 1959

Areas of Interest: Globalization, Environment, Planetary natural resources, Sovereignty of natural resources.

Keywords: Environmentalism/Ecology as a political phenomenon, Absolute South, Social South.

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(2013) *Antecedentes históricos del debate ambiental global: Los primeros aportes latinoamericanos al origen del concepto de Medio Ambiente y Desarrollo (1970-1980)* (artículo en coautoría con E. Devés).

(2013) *La geopolítica ambiental global: el desafío del cambio climático para América Latina* (artículo).

(2014) *Historia del debate ambiental en la política mundial, 1945-1992. La perspectiva latinoamericana.*

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(2021) *Crisis Ambiental Global: ¿Una Crisis Antropogénica o Capitalogénica?* (artículo).

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Fernando Fajnzylber Waissbluth, Chile, 1940-1991

Areas of Interest: Dependency, Development, International Economy, Industrialization, Latin America-United States Relations, Center-Periphery Relations, World System.

Keywords: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (CEPAL), Economic growth, Transnational companies, Latin American structuralism, Development models.

Selection of Works:

(1970) *Estrategia internacional y empresas internacionales: posición relativa de América Latina y Brasil* (informe).

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(1989) *América Latina ante los nuevos desafíos del mundo en transición* (documento de trabajo).
(1989) *Sobre la impostergable transformación productiva de América Latina* (artículo).
(1990) *El medio ambiente en la actual estrategia de crecimiento económico* (artículo).
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Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Brazil, 1931

Areas of Interest: International economy, International political economy, Elaboration of theories, History of the world system.

Keywords: Latin American structuralism, Globalization, Neoliberalism, Brazil, Dependency Theory.

Selection of Works:

(1962) *Capitalismo e escravidão no Brasil meridional: o negro na sociedade escravocrata do Rio Grande do Sul*.
(1964) *Empresário industrial e desenvolvimento econômico no Brasil*.
(1969) *Dependencia y desarrollo en América Latina. Ensayo de interpretación sociológica* (en coautoría con E. Faletto).
(1972) *O Modelo Político Brasileiro*.
(1973) *Estado y sociedad en América Latina*.
(1995) *El pensamiento socioeconómico latinoamericano. Las últimas cuatro décadas* (artículo).
(1996) *O Brasil e a economia global* (en coautoría con R. Baumann Neves).
(2003) *Repensando dependência e desenvolvimento na América Latina* (en coautoría con E. Faletto).
(2006) *The Need for Global Governance: A Perspective from Latin America*.
(2009) *América Latina, desafios da democracia e do desenvolvimento: governabilidade, globalização e políticas econômicas para além da crise* (dos volúmenes, en coedición con A. Foxley).

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Francisco Bilbao, Chile, 1823-1865

Areas of Interest: Latin American Culture and Society, Latin American Thought, Latin America-United States Relations.

Keywords: South American Initiative, Latin American Integration, Latin American Race.

Selection of Works:

(1844) *Sociabilidad chilena* (ensayo).
(1853) *La revolución en Chile y los mensajes del proscripto.*
(1862) *La América en peligro.*
(1864) *El evangelio americano*.
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Francisco Rojas Aravena, Chile, 1949

Areas of Interest: Diplomacy, Globalization, South-South Relations, Security.

Keywords: Multilateralism, International negotiation, Latin American political system.

Selection of Works:

(1998) *Globalización, América Latina y la diplomacia de Cumbres*.
(2000) *Multilateralismo: perspectivas latinoamericanas*.
(2002) *Construyendo un régimen cooperativo de seguridad en el Cono Sur de América Latina. Elementos conceptuales, políticos y estratégicos* (artículo en coautoría con M. Robledo Hoecker).
(2003) *América Latina en la búsqueda de la gobernabilidad, la seguridad y la defensa.*
(2004) *Seguridad en las Américas, los desafíos Post Conferencia: Operacionalizar los consensos y articular los conceptos* (artículo).
(2006) *El nuevo mapa político latinoamericano* (artículo).
(2011) *América Latina y el Caribe: nuevas formas de cooperación: las dimensiones Sur-Sur* (editado con T. Beirute Brealey).
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Frantz Fanon, Martinique, 1925-1961

Areas of Interest: Colonialism-Anticolonialism, Ethnic issues, Imperialism-Anti-imperialism, National liberation movements, Political and social movements.

Keywords: Africa, Decolonization, Postcolonial Studies, Arab World, Psychology of Oppression, Revolution.

Selection of Works:

(1952) *Piel negra, máscaras blancas*.
(1959) *Sociología de una revolución. Año V de la revolución argelina.*
(1961) *Los condenados de la tierra.*
(1964) *Por la revolución africana: escritos políticos*.

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Genaro Estrada, Mexico, 1887-1937

Areas of Interest: Colonialism-Anticolonialism, Diplomacy, Geopolitics, Imperialism-Antiimperialism.

Keywords: Principle of non-intervention, Mexico, Foreign policy.

Selection of Works:

(1921) *Visionario de la Nueva España*.
(1928) *Episodios de la diplomacia en México*.
(1935) *Un siglo de relaciones exteriores de México*.
(1937) *La doctrina de Monroe: y el fracaso de una conferencia panamericana en México*.
(1988) *Obras completas* (dos volúmenes, compilado por L. M. Schneider).

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Genésio Darci (Leonardo) Boff, Brazil, 1938

Areas of Interest: Gender issues, Latin American Culture and Society, Environment, Latin American thought.

Keywords: Anthropology, Ecology, Spirituality, Ethics, Philosophy, Liberation Theology.

Selection of Works:

(1977) *Los sacramentos de la vida*.
(1979) *Gracia y experiencia humana*.
(1981) *Iglesia: Carisma y Poder. Ensayos De Eclesiología Militante*.
(1991) *Mística y política: contemplativo en la liberación* (artículo).
(1995) *Ecología: grito de la Tierra, grito de los pobres.*
(1996) *Mística y espiritualidad* (en coautoría con F. Betto).
(1998) *El águila y la gallina. Una metáfora de la condición humana.*
(1999) *El cuidado esencial. Ética de lo humano, compasión por la Tierra*.
(2000) *La dignidad de la Tierra. Ecología, mundialización, espiritualidad*.
(2001) Ética planetaria desde el Gran Sur.
(2001) *Teología bajo el signo de la transformación* (capítulo).
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(2004) *Femenino y masculino. Una nueva conciencia para el encuentro de las diferencias*.
(2009) *The Tao of liberation. Exploring the ecology of transformation* (en coautoría con M. Hathaway).

(2014) *Liberar la tierra: Una ecoteología para un mañana posible*.
(2017) *Una ética de la Madre Tierra. Cómo cuidar la casa común.*
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Vázquez Carballo, J. M. (2008) *Trinidad y sociedad: implicaciones éticas y sociales en el pensamiento trinitario de Leonardo Boff*. Salamanca: Secretariado Trinitario.

George Padmore, Trinidad and Tobago, 1902-1959

Areas of Interest: Colonialism-Anticolonialism, Ethnic issues, Imperialism-Anti-imperialism, National liberation movements, Political and social movements, South-South relations, Third Worldism.

Keywords: Bandung Conference, Decolonization of Africa, Pan-Africanism, Third World.

Selection of Works:

(1931) *The Life and Struggles of Negro Toilers*
(1936) *How Britain rules Africa* .
(1937) *Africa and world peace* .
(1953) *The Gold Coast revolution: the struggle of an African people from slavery to freedom*
(1972) *Pan-Africanism or communism*.

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Baptiste, F. y Lewis, R. (Eds.) (2009) *George Padmore Pan-African Revolutionary*. Kingston: Ian Randle.

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Gilberto Freyre, Brazil, 1900-1987

Areas of Interest: Colonialism-Anticolonialism, Creation of concepts, Ethnic issues.

Keywords: Africa, Brazil, Lusotropicalism, Miscegenation, Portugal.

Selection of Works:

(1933) *Casa-grande y senzala* .
(1936) *Sobrados e Mucambos* .
(1940) *O mundo que o português criou* .

(1945) *Interpretation of Brazil* .
(1953) *Um brasileiro em terras portuguesas* .
(1953) *Adventure and routine. Suggestions for a trip to search for Portuguese constants of character and history* .
(1958) *Portuguese integration in the tropics* .
(1961) *O luso e o trópico. Sugestões em torno dos Portuguese methods of integration of native peoples and different cultures of Europe in a new complex of civilization: the luso-tropical* .
(1977) *Beyond the Modern* .

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Maio, M. (1999) Tempo controverso: Gilberto Freyre e o Projeto UNESCO. *Tempo Social*, 11 (1) 111-136.

Pallares-Burke, M. (2006) Raza, mestizaje e identidad: las ideas de Gilberto Freyre. *Arbor Ciencia, Pensamiento y Cultura*, 182 (722) 831-843.

Rugai Bastos, É. (2001) Brasil: um outro Ocidente? Gilberto Freyre e a formação da sociedade brasileira. *Ciencia & Trópico*, 29 (1) 33-60.

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Gladys T. Lechini, Argentina

Areas of Interest: International Cooperation, Globalization, International Insertion, Integration, Methodology and Theory of International Relations, Foreign Policy, South-South Relations.

Keywords: South-South Cooperation, Emerging States, African Studies, Latin America-Africa Relations.

Selection of Works:

(1986) *Así es África. Su inserción en el mundo. Sus relaciones con Argentina*.

(2006) *Argentina y África en el espejo de Brasil ¿Política por impulsos o construcción de una política exterior?*

(2007) *IBSA: una opción de cooperación Sur-Sur. En: Del Sur hacia el Norte: Economía política del orden económico internacional emergente*.

(2008) *Los estudios sobre África y Afroamericana en América latina. El estado del arte. Los estudios afroamericanos y africanos en América Latina. Herencia, presencia y visiones del otro* (compiladora).

(2009) *La cooperación Sur-Sur y la búsqueda de autonomía en América Latina ¿Mito o realidad?*

(2009) *Africa, Asia and Latin America. The building of concepts to International Relations in Global Sou*th (capítulo en J. F. S. Saraiva editor).

(2013) *China en África: discurso seductor, intenciones dudosas*.

(2015) *La cooperación de los emergentes en el mundo en desarrollo* (capítulo en A. Pelfini y G. Fulquet coordinadores).

(2017) *Interregional Cooperation between Latin America and Africa* (capítulo en F. Frizzo Bragato y L. Gordon editores).

(2019) *Las contribuciones de la "Escuela Rosarina" al estudio de las Relaciones Internacionales en Argentina* (artículo en coautoría con P. Rojo).

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Colacrai, M. (2019) Perspectivas Teóricas, Relaciones Internacionales y Política Exterior en Argentina. Devenir y situación actual. *Estudios internacionales* (194) 113-130.

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Schleicher, R. y Platiau, A. (2017) What is the relation between brazilian foreign policy and the implementation of bilateral technical cooperation projects in African Countries? *Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional*, 60 (1).

Golbery do Couto e Silva, Brazil, 1911-1987

Areas of Interest: Borders and limits, Geopolitics, Security.

Keywords: Brazil, National Security Doctrine, Institute of Research and Social Studies (IPES).

Selection of Works:

(1952) *Aspectos geopolíticos del Brasil*.
(1959) Áreas internacionales de entendimiento y áreas de roce.
(1967) *Geopolítica do Brasil*.
(1981) *Conjuntura politica nacional: o poder executivo e geopolítica do Brasil*.

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Catraio Aguiar, J. (2018) Tradición, agonía y consenso en la geopolítica brasileña entre 1930 y 1964. *Geopolítica(s)*, 9 (1) 87-111.

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Graciela Arroyo Pichardo, Mexico

Areas of Interest: Culture and Globalization, History of the world system, Theory and Methodology of International Relations.

Keywords: Paradigms, Diversity and Interculturality, Center for International Relations Universidad Nacional de México, Mexico.

Selection of Works:

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Gustavo Esteva, Mexico, 1936-2022

Areas of Interest: Ethnic issues, Culture and Globalization, Development, Political and social movements, Indigenous peoples.

Keywords: Good life, Peasantry, Criticism of development, Agrarian culture, Radical pluralism, Post-development.

Selection of Works:

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(1982) *La batalla en el México rural.*
(1987) *Regenerating People's Space* (artículo).
(1987) *Food Policy in Mexico: The Search for Self-Sufficiency* (en coautoría con J. E. Austin).
(1992) *Le Nord perdu: Repères pour l'après-développement* (en coautoría con G. Rist y M. Rahnema).
(1994) *Re-embedding Food in Agriculture* (artículo).
(1994) *From 'Global Thinking' to 'Local Thinking´* (en coautoría con M.S. Prakash).
(1995) *Fiesta - jenseits von Entwicklung, Hilfe und Politik.*
(1995) *Autonomía, ámbitos de comunidad. Una visión pluralista radical* (capítulo).
(1996) *Hosting the Otherness of the Other: the case of the Green Revolution* (capítulo).
(1997) *Hope at the margins: beyond human rights and development* (en coautoría con M.S. Prakash).
(1998) *Grassroots post-modernism: remaking the soil of cultures* (en coautoría con M. S. Prakash).
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(2003) *Sin maíz no hay país: páginas de una exposición* (coordinado con C. Marielle).
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(2007) *Escaping education: Living as learning within grassroots cultures* (en coautoría con M.S. Prakash).
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(2015) *Enclosing the Enclosers: Autonomous Experiences from the Grassroots - beyond Development, Globalization & Postmodernity* (capítulo).
(2020) *Protegiendo la autonomía de la democracia* (artículo).
(2021) *Transitare le pandemie con Ivan Illich* (en coautoría con A. Zanchetta).

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H

Héctor Gros Espiell, Uruguay, 1926-2009

Areas of Interest: Non-state actors or agents, International Law, Human Rights, Diplomacy, International Organizations, International-World Civil Society.

Keywords: Inter-American Court of Human Rights (IACHR), Human rights, United Nations Organization (UN).

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Areas of Interest: Cultural and intellectual integration, Latin American thought.

Keywords: Latin American university thought, emancipatory university.

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Helio Jaguaribe, Brazil, 1923-2018

Areas of Interest: Creation of concepts, International political economy, Elaboration of theories, History of the world system, International insertion, Integration.

Keywords: Autonomy, Brazil, Latin American Structuralism, Higher Institute of Brazilian Studies, Regional Integration, Dependency Theory, Development Theory.

Selection of Works:

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(1964) *Desarrollo económico y desarrollo político*.
(1969) *La dependencia político-económica de América Latina* (en coautoría con A. Ferrer, T. dos Santos y S. Wionczek).
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Hernán Santa Cruz, Chile, 1906-1999

Areas of Interest: Human rights, Diplomacy, Negotiation, International Treaties.

Keywords: Socioeconomic and cultural rights, Economic and social progress, Economic organizations, Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (CEPAL).

Selection of Works:

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(1950) *Address delivered by Sr. Hernan Santa Cruz, President of the Economic and Social Council at the opening meeting of the third session of the Economic Commission for Latin America.*
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Ileana Cid Capetillo, Mexico

Areas of Interest: Non-state actors or agents, Globalization, Theory and Methodology of International Relations.

Keywords: International actors, International stage.

Selection of Works:

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J

Jaime Torres Bodet, Mexico, 1902-1974

Areas of Interest: International cooperation, Ethnic issues, Diplomacy, Cultural and intellectual integration, International organizations, World peace.

Keywords: International harmony, Militant opinion.

Selection of Works:

(1948) *Educación y concordia internacional: discursos y mensajes, 1941-1947*.
(1949) *Adult education and the future of our civilization: education for responsibility* (artículo).

(1949) *Un Plan de desarrollo para los países desfavorecidos, propone el Dr. Torres Bodet* (artículo).
(1949) *Nuestra meta: Elevar la condición intelectual y moral de los grandes grupos humanos* (artículo).
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Janina Onuki, Brazil

Areas of Interest: Globalization, International Organizations, International Politics, Regional Relations, South-South Relations.

Keywords: South America, BRICS, Cooperation, Defense, Europe, Regional integration, International regimes.

Selection of Works:

(1998) *A Argentina e a Alca* (capítulo).

(2000) *Brasil, Mercosul e a segurança regional* (en coautoría con A. J. Oliveira).
(2002) *Globalização: perspectivas teóricas das relações internacionais* (artículo en coautoría con J. C. Razy).
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(2006) Coalizões Sul-Sul e Multilateralismo: Índia, Brasil e África do Sul (artículo en coautoría con A. J. Oliveira y E. Oliveira).
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(2008) *Las negociaciones entre la Unión Europea y América Latina. Tomo I: Dos visiones complementarias* (en coautoría con G. Caetano, D. Ventura y L. Sant'Ana Lima).
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(2021) *The BRICS and Brazilian public opinion: soft balancing or economic strategy?* (artículo en coautoría con I. F. Fernandes y V. Ruiz Albino de Freitas).
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Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, Peru, 1920-2020

Areas of Interest: International Law, Diplomacy, International Organizations, World Peace, Security.

Keywords: Persian Gulf War, Peace negotiations, Iran-Iraq War, United Nations (UN), Peru.

Selection of Works:

(1964) *Manual de Derecho Diplomático.*
(1991) *Anarchy or Order: Annual Reports 1982-1991.*
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José Antonio Ocampo, Colombia, 1952

Areas of Interest: International trade, Development, International economy.

Keywords: Development, Structuralist approach, Terms of trade.

Selection of Works:

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(2008) *Capital account liberalization and development* (en coautoría con J. Stiglitz).
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Salvia, A. (2015) *La trampa Neoliberal: Un estudio sobre los cambios en la heterogeneidad estructural y la distribución del ingreso en Argentina: 1990-2003.* Buenos Aires: Eudeba.

José Briceño Ruiz, Venezuela, 1965

Areas of Interest: Integration, Economic integration, Latin American thought.

Keywords: Inter Regionalism, Intergovernmental Liberalism, Strategic Regionalism.

Selection of Works:

(2003) *Las teorías de la integración regional y su praxis en Europa y América Latina.*
(2006) *Actualidad de la integración en América Latina y el Caribe. Persistentes sueños, viejos dilemas y nuevos desafíos* (en coautoría con G. Reyes).
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(2015) *Integración y cooperación regional en América Latina Una relectura a partir de la teoría de la autonomía* (editado con A. Simonoff).
(2018) *El estudio de la integración regional y del regionalismo en América Latina: entre la influencia europea y el pensamiento propio* (artículo).

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José Joaquín Brunner, Chile, 1944

Areas of Interest: Culture and Globalization, Cultural and intellectual integration, Economic integration.

Keywords: Cartographies of Modernity, Cultural globalization, Cultural center and organizational periphery, Liberal culture, International geopolitics of knowledge.

Selection of Works:

(1985) *Universidad y Sociedad en América Latina: Un Esquema de Interpretación*.
(1985) *La Cultura como Objeto de Políticas.*
(1986) *Los Debates sobre la Modernidad y el Futuro de América Latina.*
(1994) *Cartografías de la Modernidad.*
(1998) *Globalización Cultural y Posmodernidad.*
(2001) *Globalización, Educación, Revolución tecnológica* (artículo).
(2001) *Modernidad. Centro y Periferia: Claves de Lectura* (artículo).
(2014) *América Latina en la Geopolítica Internacional del Conocimiento* (artículo).
(2019) *Circulación y recepción de la Teoría del Capitalismo Académico* (en coautoría con J. Labraña, J. Ganga y E. Rodríguez-Ponce).
(2019) *Entre el centro cultural y la periferia organizacional: La educación superior en América Latina desde la teoría de sistemas-mundo de Wallerstein* (en coautoría con J. Labraña y V. J. Álvarez).

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José Luis Fiori, Brazil, 1944

Areas of Interest: International political economy, Geopolitics, History of international relations, International insertion, World system.

Keywords: International political economy, Brazil Great Power School, World society.

Selection of Works:

(1992) *Economía política del Estado desarrollista en Brasil* (artículo).
(1997) *Os moedeiros falsos.*
(1995) *Em busca do dissenso perdido: ensaios críticos sobre a festejada crise do Estado.*
(1997) *Globalização, hegemonia e imperio.*
(2001) *Brasil no Espaco.*
(2005) *Sobre o poder global, Novos estudos.*

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José Luis Orozco Alcántar, Mexico, 1940-2018

Areas of Interest: International economy, Elaboration of theories, Geopolitics, Globalization.

Keywords: Pragmatic State, Corporate Geopolitics, Political Intelligence, United States Power, Pragmatic Revolution.

Selection of Works:

(1978) *La Pequeña Ciencia. Una Crítica de la Ciencia Política Norteamericana.*

(1987) *La Revolución Corporativa.*

(1992) *Razón de Estado y Razón de Mercado: Teoría y Pragma de la Política Exterior Norteamericana.*

(1995) *Sobre la Filosofía norteamericana del Poder.*
(1995) *Sobre el Orden Liberal del Mundo.*
(1996) *Para aproximarse al Estado pragmático. El asalto al Estado liberal de derecho* (artículo).
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(2001) *De Teólogos, Pragmáticos y Geopolíticos. Aproximación al Globalismo norteamericano*.
(2008) *Del Pragmatismo al Fundamentalismo en Ciencias Sociales* (artículo).
(2010) *La Odisea Pragmática.*
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(2016) *Los inicios del siglo Wilsoniano* (artículo).

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Pérez, R. (1993) *La Circulación de las Élites en las nuevas condiciones mundiales*. México: ENEP-Acatlán.

José Rolland Flávio Sombra Saraiva, Brazil, 1960

Areas of Interest: International political economy, History of International Relations, Integration, Methodology and Theory of International Relations, International Organizations, Foreign Policy, South-South Relations, International System.

Keywords: Africa, Latin America, Decision-making autonomy, Brazil, Hemispheric integration.

Selection of Works:

(1987) *Formação da África Contemporânea.*
(1995) *O Brasil e a integração hemisférica*.
(1996) *O lugar da África: a dimensão atlântica da política externa brasileira (de 1946 a nossos dias).*
(1997) *Relações Internacionais Contemporâneas: da Construção do Mundo Liberal À Globalização*.
(1997) *Mercosur: La Dimensión Cultural de La Integración.*
(1998) *O Brasil na Integração cultural e educacional do Mercosul.*
(1998) *Le Brésil Et Le Monde: Pour Une Histoire Des Relations Internationales de Puissance Émergentes*.
(1999) *Angola e Brasil nas Rotas do Atlântico Sul.*
(2001) *Relações internacionais: Entre a ordem bipolar e policentrismo (de 1947 a nossos dias).*
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(2001) *Integração Hemisférica: Dimensões Econômicas, Políticas e Sociais.*
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(2005) *O crescimento das Relações Internacionais no Brasil.*
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(2008) *Triângulo da Saudade.*
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Juan Bosch, Dominican Republic, 1909-2001

Areas of Interest: Strategic issues, Imperialism-Anti-imperialism, Latin America-United States Relations, Security.

Keywords: Anti-imperialism, Interventionism-Anti-interventionism, Overdeveloped Capitalism, Imperial Border, Pentagonism, Caribbean.

Selection of Works:

(1981) *De Cristóbal Colón a Fidel Castro, el Caribe frontera imperial.*
(1999) *Crisis de la democracia de América en la República Dominicana.*
(2000) *El pentagonismo, sustituto del imperialismo.*

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Juan Carlos Puig, Argentina, 1928-1989

Areas of Interest: Creation of concepts, International Law, Diplomacy, Elaboration of theories, Integration, International system.

Keywords: Autonomy, Heterodox Autonomy, Peripheral Countries, Regionalism.

Selection of Works:

(1952) *Principios del derecho internacional público americano.*
(1980) *Doctrinas internacionales y autonomía latinoamericana.*

(1983) *Malvinas y régimen internacional.*
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Juan Gabriel Tokatlian, Argentina, 1954

Areas of Interest: Creation of concepts, Globalization, Integration, International Politics, Security.

Keywords: Autonomy, Relational Autonomy, Colombia, Globalization.

Selection of Works:

(2002) *De la autonomía antagónica a la autonomía relacional: una mirada teórica desde el Cono Sur* (artículo en coautoría con R. Russell).

(2003) *El lugar del Brasil en la política exterior argentina* (en coautoría con R. Russell).

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Simonoff, A. (2007) *Los dilemas de la autonomía: la política exterior de Arturo Illia 1963-1966*. Buenos Aires: GEL.

Juan José Arévalo, Guatemala, 1904-1990

Areas of Interest: Colonialism-Anticolonialism, Democracy-Dictatorship, Unionism.

Keywords: Anticolonialism, United States, Central American Revolutionary Unity, Central American Unionism.

Selection of Works:

(1945) *Escritos Políticos.*

(1947) *Discursos en la Presidencia, 1945-1947.*
(1954) *Guatemala, la Democracia y el Imperio*.
(1954) *Istmania; o, la Unidad Revolucionaria de Centroamérica*.
(1959) *Antikomunismo en América Latina: Radiografía del proceso hacia una nueva Colonización.*
(1963) ¿A dónde va América Latina?

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Juan Miguel Bákula Patiño, Peru, 1914-2010

Areas of Interest: International Law, Maritime Law, Diplomacy, Borders and limits, Foreign Policy.

Keywords: Material seat of the state, Pacific War, Historical rupture.

Selection of Works:

(1979) *El Dominio Marítimo.*
(1983) *El Mar Peruano: Una región diferente*.
(1984) *La Antártida y el nuevo Derecho del Mar.*
(1985) *El dominio marítimo del Perú.*
(2002) *Perú: entre la realidad y la utopía. 180 años de política exterior* (dos volúmenes).
(2007) *El Perú en el reino de lo ajeno. Historia interna de la acción externa*.
(2008) *La imaginación creadora y el nuevo régimen jurídico del mar. Perú y Chile: ¿el desacuerdo es posible?*

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Flores Díaz, S. I. (2017) *El Memorándum Bákula: un agujero negro de la política exterior chilena* [Tesis de Maestría, Santiago de Chile: Universidad de Chile]. Repositorio de la UCh. http://repositorio.uchile.cl/handle/2250/145176

Flores Díaz, S I. (2019) La misión del embajador Juan Miguel Bákula en Santiago en mayo de 1986. *Revista Tribuna Internacional,* 8 (16) 1-22.

Flores Díaz, S. I. (2020) Análisis del Memorándum Bákula: el documento que inició la redelimitación marítima chileno-peruana. *Revista Prolegómenos*, 23 (45) Enero-Junio, 165-180.

K

Kathya Araujo, Peru

Areas of Interest: Gender issues, Latin American Culture and Society, Political and social movements.

Keywords: Asymmetries of Power, Processes of individuation and subject configuration, Social Theory.

Selection of Works:

(2001) *Mujeres y Sustentabilidad. Intercambio y debates entre el movimiento de mujeres y el movimiento ecologista* (en coautoría con P. Bravo y S. Larraín).
(2008) *Estudios sobre sexualidades en América Latina* (editado con M. Prieto).
(2009) *Individuo y feminismo. Notas desde América Latina* (artículo).
(2009) ¿Se acata, pero no se cumple? Estudios sobre las normas en América Latina (editora).
(2012) *Desafíos comunes. Retrato de la sociedad chilena y sus individuos. Tomo I: Neoliberalismo, democratización y lazo social. Tomo II: Trabajo, sociabilidades y familias* (en coautoría con D. Martuccelli).
(2012) *Legitimization in the world society* (en coautoría A. Mascareño).
(2013) *Interactive Inequalities and Equality in the Social Bond: A Sociological Study of Equality* (artículo).
(2016) *Desigualdades interaccionales e irritaciones relacionales: Sobre la contenciosa recomposición del lazo social en la sociedad chilena* (artículo).

(2016) *El miedo a los subordinados, una teoría de la autoridad.*
(2017) *Sujeto y neoliberalismo en Chile: rechazos y apegos* (artículo).
(2019) *La percepción de las desigualdades: interacciones sociales y procesos sociohistóricos* (artículo).
(2019) *Las calles: Un estudio sobre Santiago de Chile.*
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(2020) *Una estrategia para las Ciencias Sociales: olvidar la modernidad* (capítulo).

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L

Leopoldo Zea, Mexico, 1912-2004

Areas of Interest: Colonialism-Anticolonialism, Imperialism-Antiimperialism, Cultural and intellectual integration, Latin American thought, Third Worldism.

Keywords: Colonialism, Dependency, Domination, Globalization, Liberation, Awareness.

Selection of Works:

(1955) *América en la conciencia de Europa.*
(1957) *América en la historia.*
(1960) *Latinoamérica y el mundo.*
(1971) *Latinoamérica o Emancipación y Neocolonialismo.*
(1971) *Los precursores del Pensamiento Latinoamericano.*
(1974) *Dependencia y Liberación de la Cultura Latinoamericana*.
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Lincoln Bizzozero, Uruguay, 1951

Areas of Interest: International cooperation, International insertion, Integration, International organizations.

Keywords: Cooperation, Regional integration, Southern Common Market (MERCOSUR), Regionalism, International system.

Selection of Works:

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Lloyd Best, Trinidad and Tobago, 1934-2007

Areas of Interest: Caribbean, Development, Elaboration of theories, Slavery and economy, Industrialization.

Keywords: Plantation economy, Industrialization by invitation.

Selection of Works:

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Lorenzo Meyer, Mexico, 1942

Areas of Interest: Non-state actors or agents, History of international relations, Imperialism-Anti-imperialism, Regional relations.

Keywords: Mexico-United States bilateral relations, Foreign relations of Mexico.

Selection of Works:

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Luciano Tomassini, Chile, 1935-2010

Areas of Interest: Integration, Methodology and Theory of International Relations, International politics, North-South relations.

Keywords: Latin American structuralism, International politics, Public policies, Transnationalization.

Selection of Works:

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Luis Alberto Macas Ambuludí, Ecuador, 1950

Areas of Interest: Colonialism-Anticolonialism, Latin American Culture and Society, Globalization, Political and social movements, Indigenous peoples.

Keywords: Colonialism, Globalization, Indigenous movements, Intercultural society, Sumak Kawsay.

Selection of Works:

(1990) *El Levantamiento visto por sus Protagonistas*.
(1997) *Por qué cayó Bucaram. Entretelones y actores* (en coautoría con E. Miño).
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(2000) *Instituciones Indígenas. La Comuna como eje histórico*(artículo).
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Luis María Drago, Argentina, 1859-1921

Areas of Interest: Creation of concepts, International Law, Imperialism-Anti-imperialism, Interventionism-Anti-interventionism.

Keywords: Chaco boreal, Intervention, Peace, Sovereignty, Peace.

Selection of Works:

(1903) *La República Argentina y el caso de Venezuela. Documentos, juicios y comentarios relacionados con la nota pasada al ministro argentino en Washington.*
(1938) *Discursos y escritos* (tres tomos).

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Woolsey, T. S. (1921) Drago and the Drago Doctrine. *American Journal of International Law,* 15 (4) 558-559.

Luiz Alberto Moniz Bandeira, Brazil, 1935-2017

Areas of Interest: Geopolitics, History of international relations, International insertion, Integration, International politics, Regional relations.

Keywords: Foreign policy of Brazil, Argentina-Brazil bilateral relations, United States.

Selection of Works:

(1989) *Brasil-Estados Unidos: A Rivalidade Emergente (1950-1988).*
(1998) *De Martí a Fidel: a revolucao cubana e a América Latina.*
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Manuel Ugarte, Argentina, 1875-1951

Areas of Interest: Creation of concepts, Latin American Culture and Society, Latin Americanism, Nationalism, Unionism.

Keywords: Ibero-America, Latin America, Nationalism, Great Homeland.

Selection of Works:

(1911) *El porvenir de América latina.*
(1922) *Mi campaña hispanoamericana.*
(1923) *El destino de un continente.*
(1924) *La Patria Grande.*
(1947) *Escritores iberoamericanos de 1900*.

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Sepúlveda, I. (1989) Componentes del latinoamericanismo en Manuel Ugarte. *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma,* 2, 81-297.

Marco Fidel Suárez, Colombia, 1855-1927

Areas of Interest: Creation of concepts, Latin American culture and society, International Law.

Keywords: Colombian foreign policy, Suárez Doctrine.

Selection of Works:

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(1955) *El derecho internacional en los "Sueños de Luciano Pulgar".*
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María Pía Riggirozzi, Argentina

Areas of Interest: Gender issues, Human rights, Borders and limits, International political economy.

Keywords: Governance, Neoliberalism, Migrant women, Post-neoliberalism, Regionalism, Health, Civil society.

Selection of Works:

(2000) *El Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo, el Banco Mundial y la sociedad civil. Luces y sombras de una nueva relación* (capítulo en D. Tussie compiladora).

(2001) *Pressing ahead with new procedures for old machinery: global governance and civil society* (artículo en coautoría con D. Tussie).

(2008) *Beyond the Washington Consensus? Asia and Latin America in search of more autonomous development* (artículo en coautoría con J. Grugel y B. Thirkell-White).

(2009) *Post-neoliberalism in Latin-America: Rebuilding and Reclaiming the State after Crisis* (artículo en coautoría con J. Grugel).

(2010) *Region, regionness and regionalism in Latin America. Towards a new synthesis* (artículo).

(2012) *Governance after Neoliberalism in Latin America* (editado con J. Grugel).

(2012) *The Rise of Post-Hegemonic Regionalism: The case of Latin America* (en coautoría con D. Tussie).

(2015) *Regional Governance and Legitimacy in South America: The Meaning of Unasur* (artículo en coautoría con J. Grugel).

(2015) *Locating regional health policy: Institutions, politics and practices* (artículo en coautoría con N. Yeates).

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(2021) *The credibility of regional policymaking: insights from South America* (artículo en coautoría con M. Ryan).
(2022) *La gobernanza regional ante la pandemia: desafíos sociales e institucionales en la intersección de las crisis de salud y migratorias* (capítulo en A. von Bogdandy, A. Malamud y M. Morales Antoniazzi editores).
(2023) *La feminización de la migración venezolana* (artículo en coautoría con N. Cintra).
(2023) *Salir adelante. La salud, el cuidado, y la violencia vistos a través de los ojos de venezolanas desplazadas en Brasil* (en coautoría con B. Curcio, T. Lines y N. Cintra).

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Maria Regina Soares de Lima, Brazil

Areas of Interest: Strategic issues, International cooperation, International economy, International insertion, Integration, Foreign policy, International policy.

Keywords: Brazil rising, South-South Cooperation, Intermediate state, Regional Power, Inter-American relations.

Selection of Works :

(1986) *The Political Economy of Brazilian Foreign Policy: Nuclear Energy, Trade and Itaipu* (artículo).

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Mario Daniel Waissbluth Subelman, Chile, 1948

Areas of Interest: Science and Technology, Development, Industrialization, Political and social movements.

Keywords: Education, Public management, Innovation, Modernization, Public policies.

Selection of Works:

(1986) *Las universidades y el desarrollo tecnológico del país* (en coautoría con J. Martuscelli).
(1991) *Industrialización y tecnología en América Latina: diagnóstico psicoanalítico y opciones fantasiosas* (artículo).
(1998) *El financiamiento gubernamental a la innovación* (artículo).
(2001) *Limpiemos las telarañas del crecimiento* (artículo).
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Mario Ojeda, Mexico, 1927-2013

Areas of Interest: Borders and limits, History of international relations, Regional relations.

Keywords: Interdependence, Integration.

Selection of Works:

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Mario Rapoport, Argentina, 1942

Areas of Interest: International economy, History of foreign policy, History of international relations, Integration, Foreign policy, Latin America-United States relations.

Keywords: Latin America, Argentina, Ruling classes, Southern Cone, Foreign policy, History and International Relations, Decision making.

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(1981) *Gran Bretaña, Estados Unidos y las Clases Dirigentes Argentinas, 1940-1945.*
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Mario Travassos, Brazil, 1891-1973

Areas of Interest: Geopolitics.

Keywords: Anthropogeographic aspects, Physiographic facilities, Harmonizing forces, Geographic instability, Lines of least resistance.

Selection of Works:

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Miriam Gomes Saraiva, Brazil

Areas of Interest: International cooperation, Diplomacy, Integration, International organizations, Foreign policy, South-South relations.

Keywords: Autonomy, Brazil's external insertion, continental regionalism.

Selection of Works:

(2001) *Argentina e Brasil: políticas exteriores comparadas depois da Guerra Fria* (artículo).
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(2011) *Brasil: potência regional con intereses globales* (artículo en coautoría con M. Valença).
(2011) *Integração regional na América do Sul: processos em aberto* (artículo).
(2012) *Procesos de integración de América del Sur y el papel de Brasil: los casos del Mercosur y la Unasur* (artículo).
(2012) *Brazil's strategies and partnerships: The place of the European Union* (artículo).

(2012) *Encontros e desencontros: o lugar da Argentina na política externa brasileira*.
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(2013) *Continuidade e mudança na política externa brasileira: As especificidades do comportamento externo brasileiro de 2003 a 2010* (artículo).
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Miryam Colacrai, Argentina

Areas of Interest: Methodology and Theory of International Relations, International Organizations, Foreign Policy.

Keywords: Subnational actors, Cooperation, Diplomacy, Southern Common Market (MERCOSUR), Argentina-Chile bilateral relations.

Selection of Works:

(1994) *La Política Exterior Argentina y la cuestión antártica: un ejemplo de negociación permanente dentro del régimen antártico* (capítulo en Centro de Estudios de Relaciones Internacionales de Rosario editor).
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Simonoff, A. (2007) *Los dilemas de la autonomía: la política exterior de Arturo Illia 1963-1966.* Buenos Aires: GEL.

Monica Hirst, Brazil

Areas of Interest: International cooperation, History of international relations, Integration, International organizations, Foreign policy, Security.

Keywords: Brazil, Regional cooperation, Southern Common Market (MERCOSUR), Foreign policy, Regional security.

Selection of Works:

(1990) *Desarme y Desarrollo en América Latina.*
(1996) *Democracia, seguridad e integración: América Latina en un mundo en transición.*
(1996) *La dimensión política del Mercosur: actores, politización e ideología* (artículo).
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Néstor García Canclini, Argentina, 1939

Areas of Interest: Culture and Globalization, Integration, International-World Civil Society.

Keywords: Consumption, Citizenship, Hybrid cultures, Globalization, Cultural industries.

Selection of Works:

(1982) *Las culturas populares en el capitalismo.*
(1988) *Cultura transnacional y culturas populares.*
(1990) *Culturas híbridas. Estrategias para entrar y salir de la Modernidad.*
(1995) *Consumidores y ciudadanos. Conflictos multiculturales de la globalización*.
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Rodríguez, J. R. (2000) La globalización imaginada [Reseña]. *Fundamentos en Humanidades*, 1 (1) 97-103.

Nora Lustig, Argentina

Areas of Interest: Development, International political economy, Regional relations.

Keywords: Latin America, Inequality and poverty, Development economics, Impact of COVID-19 on the economy, Social policy, Open regionalism.

Selection of Works:

(1992) *Mexico: The remaking of an economy*.
(1995) *Coping with Austerity: Poverty and Inequality in Latin America* (editora y autora).
(1998) *México: Evolución económica, pobreza y desigualdad* (capítulo en coautoría con M. Székely).
(1999) *Why is inequality back on the agenda?* (capítulo en coautoría con R. Kanbur en B. Pleskovic y J. Stiglitz editores).
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(2010) *Declining inequality in Latin America: A decade of progress?* (editado con L. F. López-Calva).
(2011) *The rise and fall of income inequality in Latin America* (capítulo en coautoría con L. Gasparini en J. Ocampo y J. Ros editores).
(2013) *Declining Inequality in Latin America in the 2000s: The Cases of Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico* (artículo en coautoría con L. F. López-Calva y E. Ortiz-Juarez).
(2014) *The Impact of Taxes and Social Spending on Inequality and Pov-*

erty in Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Mexico, Peru, and Uruguay: Introduction to the Special Issue (artículo en coautoría con C. Pessino y J. Scott).

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Norman Girvan, Jamaica, 1941-2014

Areas of Interest: International trade, International political economy, International insertion, Integration, Sovereignty of natural resources.

Keywords: Caribbean, Transnational corporations, Development, Integration, Dependency Theory,

Selection of Works:

(1971) *Foreign Capital and Economic Underdevelopment in Jamaica*
(1972) *Cooper in Chile: Study in Conflict between Corporate and National Economic.*
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Octavio Ianni, Brazil, 1926-2004

Areas of Interest: International Economy, Globalization, Imperialism-Anti-imperialism.

Keywords: Dependency, Imperialism, Structures of domination, Modernity-World.

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(1976) *Esclavitud y capitalismo.*
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(1996) *Teorías de la globalización*.
(1997) *El laberinto latinoamericano.*
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(1999) *La era del globalismo*.
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(2005) *La sociología y el mundo moderno.*

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Olga Pellicer Silva, Mexico

Areas of Interest: International cooperation, Gender issues, Human rights, International law, Diplomacy, Foreign policy, Latin America-United States relations.

Keywords: Multilateralism, Organization of American States, Beijing Platform for Action, International Security.

Selection of Works:

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(1972) *México y la Revolución cubana.*
(1974) *Comentario sobre la Conferencia de Cancilleres Americanos y la Políticas de México hacia América Latina* (artículo).
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(1998) *México y los Estados Unidos: las rutas de la cooperación* (en coautoría con R. Fernández de Castro).
(1998) *Regional mechanisms and international security in Latin America* (editora).
(1999) *La OEA a los cincuenta años*.
(2000) *El multilateralismo en América Latina: restos y posibilidades* (capítulo en F. Rojas Aravena editor).
(2003) *La guerra de Irak y el nuevo orden internacional* (artículo).
(2004) *México y Cuba: un drama en tres actos* (artículo).
(2006) *México ante el mundo: tiempo de definiciones* (introducción y capítulo en L. Herrera Lasso coordinador).
(2007) *La Naciones Unidas; crisis y recuperación* (artículo).
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Oscar Varsavsky, Argentina, 1920-1976

Areas of Interest: Non-state actors or agents, Science and Technology, Development, International Economy.

Keywords: Mathematical analysis, Scientific autonomy, Sci-

ence in Latin America, Science and Politics, Science and University, Dependency, Computational Instrument, National interest.

Selection of Works :

(1969) *Ciencia, política y cientificismo*.
(1971) *Proyectos nacionales: planteos y estudios de viabilidad.*
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Osiris Guillermo Villegas, Argentina, 1916-1998

Areas of Interest: Development, Geopolitics, Integration, Security.

Keywords: National Authenticity, National Security Strategies, Development and Security Requirements, Vital National Interest.

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Osvaldo Sunkel, Chile, 1929

Areas of Interest: Culture and Globalization, Development, International Economy, International Insertion, Environment.

Keywords: Latin America, Development styles, Dependency, Environment.

Selection of Works:

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Paulo Fagundes Visentini, Brazil, 1947

Areas of Interest: Strategic issues, International economy, History of international relations, International insertion, International politics, World system.

Keywords: Africa, Asia, Diplomacy, Geopolitics, Foreign Policy.

Selection of Works:

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Rafael Velázquez Flores, Mexico

Areas of Interest: International cooperation, Diplomacy, Geopolitics, Foreign policy.

Keywords: Decisional analysis, Foreign Policy Analysis, Levels of foreign policy analysis, Foreign Relations of federal entities.

Selection of Works:

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(2003) *Retos e interrelaciones de la integración regional: Europa y América* (coordinado con J. Roy y R. Domínguez Rivera).
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(2008) *El 11 de septiembre y la relación México-Estados Unidos: ¿Hacia la securitización de la agenda?* (en coautoría con J. A. Schiavon).
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Ramón Grosfoguel, Puerto Rico, 1956

Areas of Interest: Creation of concepts, International political economy, Imperialism-Anti-imperialism, North-South relations.

Keywords: Epistemological decolonization, Decolonial studies, Decolonial turn, Epistemic racism, Migrations.

Selection of Works:

(1997) *A TimeSpace Perspective on Development. Recasting Latin American Debates* (artículo).

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Puigdomenech, M. C. (2019) Una propuesta decolonial: provincializar al feminismo. *Heterocronías, Feminismos y Epistemologías del Sur*, 1 (1) 52-65.

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Raúl Bernal-Meza, Chile, 1950

Areas of Interest: Creation of concepts, International economy, Elaboration of theories, Globalization, Integration, History of international relations, Latin American thought, World system.

Keywords: Latin America-China, International political economy, Latin American structuralism, Latin American neostructuralism, Regionalism, Theory of International Relations.

Selection of Works:

(1991) *Claves del Nuevo Orden Mundial.*
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(2017) *Dos aportes teóricos latinoamericanos de relaciones internacionales y su utilización por el pensamiento chino contemporáneo: los casos de Prebisch y Escudé* (artículo).
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Raúl Prebisch, Argentina, 1901-1986

Areas of Interest: Creation of concepts, Development, International economy, Elaboration of theories, Center-Periphery Relations, World system.

Keywords: Center/Periphery, Outward-inside development, Deterioration in the terms of trade, Heterogeneous distribution of science and technology, Import-substituting industrialization.

Selection of Works:

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Renato Ortiz, Brazil, 1947

Areas of Interest: Culture and Globalization.

Keywords: Globalization, Incomplete Modernity, World-Modernity, Globalized Culture, Identities, Cosmopolitanism.

Selection of Works:

(1991) *Lo actual y la modernidad* (artículo).
(1994) *Mundialización y cultura.*
(1996) *Otro territorio: ensayos sobre el mundo contemporáneo.*
(1997) *Notas sobre la mundialización y la cuestión nacional* (artículo).
(1998) *Diversidad cultural y cosmopolitismo* (artículo).
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(1999) *Cultura y globalización* (en coautoría con M. B. Martín, F. L. De La Roche y J. Jaramillo).
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Ianni, O. (1996) *Teorías de la globalización*. México: Siglo XXI.

René Zavaleta Mercado, Bolivia, 1937-1984

Areas of Interest: Creation of concepts, Ethnic issues, National liberation movements, Political and social movements.

Keywords: National consciousness, Variegated formation, State, Nationalism, Dual power.

Selection of Works:

(1967) *La formación de la conciencia nacional.*
(1974) *El poder dual en América Latina. Estudios de los casos de Bolivia y Chile.*
(1986) *Lo nacional-popular en Bolivia.*
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Ricaurte Soler Batista, Panama, 1932-1994

Areas of Interest: Imperialism-Anti-imperialism, Independence, Latin American thought, Foreign Policy, Latin America-United States Relations.

Keywords: Latin American national question, Neocolonialism, Hispanic American Unification.

Selection of Works:

(1954) *Pensamiento panameño y concepción de la nacionalidad durante el siglo XIX*. (1959) *El positivismo argentino.*
(1961) *Estudios sobre historia de las ideas en América*.
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(1975) *Clase y nación en hispanoamérica: siglo XIX* (artículo).
(1976) *Panamá, nación y oligarquía, 1925-1975*.
(1979) *La nación latinoamericana, proyecto y problema.*
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(1982) *Cuatro ensayos de historia. Sobre Panamá y nuestra América*.
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Roberto Russell, Argentina, 1947

Areas of Interest: Creation of concepts, Globalization, History of international relations, Methodology and Theory of International Relations, Foreign policy, Regional relations.

Keywords: Argentina, Heterodox autonomy, Autonomy, Brazil, Peripheral idealism, Foreign policy.

Selection of Works:

(1994) *Los ejes estructurantes de la política exterior argentina: apuntes para un debate.*
(2001) *El Mercosur y los cambios en el sistema político internacional* (en

coautoría M. Hirst).
(2002) *De la autonomía antagónica a la autonomía relacional: una mirada teórica desde el Cono Sur* (ensayo en coautoría con J. G. Tokatlian).
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Rómulo Betancourt, Venezuela, 1908-1981

Areas of Interest: Democracy-Dictatorship, Development, Independence, Industrialization, Integration, Economic nationalization, Sovereignty of natural resources.

Keywords: Democracy, Dictatorship, Multinational integration, Oil.

Selection of Works :

(1932) *Una república en venta.*
(1940) *Problemas venezolanos.*
(1956) *Venezuela, política y petróleo*.
(1964) *La revolución democrática en Venezuela: documentos del gobierno presidido por Rómulo Betancourt. 1959-1964.*
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Rosalba Icaza Garza, Mexico

Areas of Interest: Gender issues, Development, International political economy, Globalization, Regionalism.

Keywords: Gender coloniality, Feminisms, Decolonial studies, Alternative Regionalisms, Global policies.

Selection of Works:

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(2010) *Women workers in the maquiladoras and the debate on global labor standards* (artículo en coautoría con E. Domínguez, C. Quintero, S. López y A. Stenman).

(2010) *Global Europe, guilty! Contesting EU neoliberal governance for Latin America and the Caribbean* (artículo).

(2012) *Citizenship and trade governance in the Americas* (capítulo en coautoría con P. Newell y M. Saguier en J. Gaventa y R. Tandon editores).

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Molano-Cruz, G. (2017) La construcción de un mundo de regiones. *Revista de Estudios Sociales*, Julio-Septiembre (61) 14-27.

Rosario Green, Mexico

Areas of Interest: Diplomacy, International political economy, Globalization, Foreign policy.

Keywords: Globalization, Mexico, Foreign policy, International economy.

Selection of Works:

(1976) *El endeudamiento público externo de México, 1940-1973*.
(1977) *México: la política exterior del nuevo régimen* (artículo).
(1980) *La importancia del estudio de las relaciones internacionales de los países latinoamericanos* (artículo).
(1981) *Estado y banca transnacional en México*.
(1988) *La deuda externa de México, 1973-1987: de la abundancia a la escasez de créditos*.
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Ruth Diamint, Argentina

Areas of Interest: Integration, Foreign Policy, Security.

Keywords: Argentina, International Politics, International Security.

Selection of Works:

(1993) *La iniciativa para las Américas. El caso de Argentina* (capítulo en F. Rojas Aravena).
(1998) *Argentina y la seguridad internacional.*
(1999) *Control civil y Fuerzas Armadas en las nuevas democracias latinoamericanas* (editora).
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(2003) *Diez años de política exterior argentina: de Menem a Kirchner* (artículo).
(2008) *La historia sin fin: el control civil de los militares en Argentina* (artículo).
(2013) *Regionalismo y posicionamiento suramericano: UNASUR y ALBA* (artículo).
(2014) *Sin gloria: la política de defensa en la Argentina democrática.*
(2015) *Latin America's leaders* (en coautoría con L. Tedesco).

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Lucero, M. (2009) Las mujeres en las fuerzas armadas argentinas.

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Ruy Mauro Marini, Brazil, 1932-1997

Areas of Interest: Dependency, Elaboration of theories, Globalization, Imperialism-Anti-imperialism.

Keywords: Neodevelopmentalism, Neoliberalism, Subimperialism, Superexploitation of work, Dependency Theory.

Selection of Works:

(1969) *Subdesarrollo y revolución.*
(1973) *Dialéctica de la Dependencia.*
(1976) *El reformismo y la contrarrevolución. Estudios sobre Chile*.
(1976) *La revolución cubana: una reinterpretación* (artículo).
(1981) *En el Caribe y Centroamérica: Los pueblos defienden su revolución de la amenaza yanqui* (artículo).
(1978) *Las razones del neodesarrollismo (respuesta a F. H. Cardoso y J. Serra)* (artículo).
(1981) *Irracionalidad de la dependencia* (artículo).
(1982) *Después de las Malvinas* (artículo).
(1983) *Análisis de los mecanismos de protección al salario en la esfera de la producción* (en coautoría con A. Sotelo y A. Arteaga García).
(1985) *Geopolítica latino-americana* (artículo).
(1993) *Dos momentos de la integración latinoamericana* (artículo).
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(capítulo en S. E. Dutrénit Bielous y L. Valdés Zurita coordinadores).
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(1996) *Proceso y tendencias de la globalización capitalista* (capítulo en R. M. Marini y M. Millán coordinadores).
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Slipak, A. M. (2016) Ruy Mauro Marini, un imprescindible para el debate latinoamericano. *Cuestiones de sociología*, (14).

Sotelo Valencia, A. (2017) La vigencia del pensamiento de Ruy Mauro Marini y la Teoría de la Dependencia. *Textos & Contextos (Porto Alegre)*, Janeiro-Julho 16 (1) 29-48.

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Salvador Mendieta, Nicaragua 1879-1958

Areas of Interest: Integration, Unionism.

Keywords: Chair of Central American Studies, Defense of sovereignty, Central American Disease, Central American Unionist Party, Unionism.

Selection of Works :

(1903) *Páginas de unión.*
(1905) *La nacionalidad y el Partido Unionista Centroamericano.*
(1930) *El problema unionista de Centroamérica y los gobiernos locales.*
(1934) *La enfermedad de Centroamérica. Descripción del sujeto y síntomas de la enfermedad.*
(1958) *Testamento político del Doctor Salvador Mendieta.*

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Casaús, M. y Giráldez, T. (2005) *Las redes intelectuales centroamericanas: un siglo de imaginarios nacionales (1820-1920)*. Guatemala: F y G Editores.

Devés, E. (2016) International topics in Central America's thought and agenda, 1900-2010: a framework in five moments. *Universum*, Julio, 31 (1) 81-104.

Karnes, T. H. (1961) *Los fracasos de la unión: Centroamérica 1824-1960*. San José: Instituto Centroamericano de Administración

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Morry, W. (1968) *Salvador Mendieta: Escritor y apóstol de la Unión Centroamericana*. [Tesis Doctoral, Alabama: Departamento de Lenguas Romances de la Universidad de Alabama].
Rodas, J. (1943) *Mis prisiones y peregrinaciones por Centroamérica en aras del ideal unionista*. Guatemala: s/e.
Rodríguez, F. (1999) *Salvador Mendieta: apóstol de la unión centroamericana*. Managua: CIRA.

Samuel Pinheiro Guimarães, Brazil, 1939-2024

Areas of Interest: Strategic issues, International cooperation, Dependency, Development, International insertion, Integration, International politics.

Keywords: Large peripheral states, Macrostructure of power, International order, Poles of power.

Selection of Works:

(1998) *Desafios e dilemas dos grandes países periféricos: Brasil e Índia* (artículo).
(1998) *Direitos Humanos no século XXI*.
(1999) *Quinhentos anos de periferia: uma contribuição ao estudo da política internacional*.
(2000) *Capital nacional e capital estrangeiro* (artículo).
(2006) *Desafios brasileiros na era dos gigantes*.
(2008) *Nação, nacionalismo, Estado* (artículo).
(2008) *O mundo multipolar e a integração Sul-Americana* (artículo).
(2012) *The future of Mercosur* (artículo).

(2012) *Contexto global e o novo posicionamento brasileiro.*
(2013) *O imperialismo, o sistema internacional e o Brasil: reflexões sobre a política internacional.*
(2016) *Inserção internacional do Brasil* (artículo).

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Santiago Castro-Gómez, Colombia, 1958

Areas of Interest: Latin American Culture and Society, Globalization, Latin Americanism.

Keywords: Latin America, Social Sciences, Decolonial Studies,

Cultural Studies, Philosophy, History, Hubris of the zero point, Sociology.

Selection of Works:

(1996) *Crítica de la razón latinoamericana.*
(1998) *Teorías sin disciplina. Latinoamericanismo, poscolonialidad y globalización en debate* (en coautoría con E. Mendieta).
(1999) *Pensar (en) los intersticios: teoría y práctica de la crítica poscolonial* (editado con Ó. Guardiola-Rivera y C. Millán de Benavides).
(2000) *La reestructuración de las ciencias sociales en América Latina* (editor).
(2002) *Indisciplinar las ciencias sociales. Geopolíticas del conocimiento y colonialidad del poder. Perspectivas desde lo andino* (editado con C. Walsh y F. Schiwy).
(2004) *Pensar el siglo XIX. Cultura, biopolítica y modernidad en Colombia* (editor).
(2005) *La hybris del punto cero: ciencia, raza e ilustración en la Nueva Granada (1750-1816).*
(2007) *El giro decolonial: reflexiones para una diversidad epistémica más allá del capitalismo global.*
(2007) *Reflexiones para una diversidad epistémica más allá del capitalismo global* (editado con R. Grosfoguel).
(2008) *Genealogías de la colombianidad. Formaciones discursivas y tecnológicas de gobierno en los siglos XIX y XX* (en coautoría con E. Restrepo).
(2009) *Tejidos oníricos: movilidad, capitalismo y biopolítica en Bogotá (1910-1930).*
(2010) *Historia de la gubernamentalidad I. Razón de Estado, liberalismo y neoliberalismo en Michel Foucault.*
(2015) *Revoluciones sin sujeto. Slavoj Žižek y la crítica del historicismo posmoderno.*

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Duque Acosta, C. A. (2021) El giro conservador en la obra del filósofo colombiano Santiago Castro-Gómez. *Revista Boletín Redipe,* Octubre 10 (10) 50-64.

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Sebastián Edwards Figueroa, Chile, 1953

Areas of Interest: International trade, Development, International economy, International organizations.

Keywords: Capital control, Growth, Economic development, Macroeconomics, Exchange rates.

Selection of Works:

(1987) *Monetarism and Liberalization: The Chilean Experiment* (en co-

autoría con A. Cox Edwards).
(1987) *Exchange Rate Misalignment in Developing Countries* (artículo).
(1989) *Real Exchange Rates, Devaluation, and Adjustment: Exchange Rate Policy in Developing Countries*.
(1995) *Crisis and Reform in Latin America: From Despair to Hope*.
(2000) *Interest rates, contagion and capital controls.*
(2001) *The Economics and Political Transition to an Open Market Economy: Colombia.*
(2002) *Preventing Currency Crises in Emerging Markets* (editado con J. A. Frankel).
(2007) *Capital Controls and Capital Flows in Emerging Economies: Policies, Practices, and Consequences* (editor).
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(2010) *Left Behind: Latin America and the False Promise of Populism.*
(2014) *Toxic Aid: Economic Collapse and Recovery in Tanzania.*
(2018) *American Default: The Untold Story of FDR, the Supreme Court, and the Battle over Gold.*
(2018) *On Latin American Populism, and Its Echoes around the World* (artículo).
(2020) *Milton Friedman and Exchange Rates in Developing Countries* (artículo).
(2021) *Macroprudential Policies and The Covid-19 Pandemic: Risks and Challenges For Emerging Markets* (artículo).
(2021) *Discussion of the History of Chile* (capítulo).
(2022) *Exchange Rate Pass-Through, Monetary Policy, and Real Exchange Rates: Iceland and the 2008 Crisis* (artículo).

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Sergio González Miranda, Chile, 1954

Areas of Interest: Ethnic issues, Culture and Globalization, Borders and limits, Integration, Indigenous peoples, Regional relations.

Keywords: Latin America, Cross-border spaces, Saltpeter War, Latin America, Indigenous peoples.

Selection of Works:

(1999) *Interculturalidad y globalización: el caso de los aymaras de Tarapacá* (artículo).
(2009) *La presencia boliviana en la sociedad del salitre y la nueva defin-*

ición de la frontera: auge y caída de una dinámica transfronteriza (Tarapacá 1880-1930) (artículo).

(2011) *Las históricas relaciones entre Tarapacá y Oruro: la frustrada tentativa de integración transfronteriza durante ciclo de expansión del salitre (1864-1928)* (artículo).

(2014) *Las inflexiones de inicio y término del ciclo de expansión del salitre (1872-1919): Una crítica al nacionalismo metodológico* (artículo).

(2015) *La voz desde lejos. La Triple Frontera Andina: entre la heterología y la globalización* (artículo).

(2015) *Normalización de la crisis y posición estratégica empresarial durante la expansión de la economía del salitre* (artículo).

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Sergio Vieira de Mello, Brazil, 1948-2003

Areas of Interest: Human rights, Diplomacy, International organizations, Security, International traffic.

Keywords: United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), Human Security.

Selection of works:

(1985) *Civitas maxima: Origines, fondements et portée philosophique et pratique du concept de supranationalité* (tesis de doctorado).
(1991) *Philosophical Story and Real Story: The Relevance of Kant's Political Thought in Current Times*.
(1995) *Refugee Repatriation and Reintegration in Cambodia* (capítulo).
(1996) *Security for Peoples, Security for States* (discurso).
(1997) *Forcible Population Transfer and "Ethnic Cleansing"* (artículo).
(1999) *Resist the Apartheid Temptation in the Balkans* (artículo).
(2001) *A consciência do mundo: A ONU diante do irracional na história* (artículo).

(2001) *The Evolution of UN Humanitarian Operations* (capítulo).
(2001) *O período de transição em Timor Leste: Construir das cinzas e destroços uma nação independente e democrática*.
(2002) *World Civilization: Barking up the Wrong Tree?* (discurso).
(2002) *Holistic Democracy: The Human Rights Content of Legitimate Governance* (discurso).
(2002) *Informe sobre direito à saúde no dia Mundial da AIDS*.
(2002) *Violence against women is an affront to all of us* (artículo).
(2002) *Statement address to the Counter-terrorism Committee of the Security Council* (declaración).
(2002) *Situation des droits de l'homme en Republique Democratique du Congo* (declaración).
(2003) *Taking Steps against Racism* (discurso).
(2003) *Their dignity will be mine, as it is yours: Essay on Human Rights and the role of the United Nations* (artículo).
(2003) *The pillars of Human Security* (artículo).
(2004) *Cinco Questões sobre Direitos Humanos* (artículo).
(2004) *Apenas os Estados-Membros podem fazer a ONU funcionar* (artículo).

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Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui, Bolivia

Areas of Interest: Creation of concepts, Elaboration of theories, Political and social movements, Latin American thought, Indigenous peoples.

Keywords: Aymará, Ayllus, Bolivia, Ch'ixi, Decolonization.

Selection of Works:

(1984) *"Oprimidos pero no vencidos" Luchas del campesinado aymara y qhechwa 1900-1980.*
(1988) *Los artesanos libertarios y la ética del trabajo* (en coautoría con Z. Lehm Ardaya).
(1992) *Ayllus y proyectos de desarrollo en el norte de Potosí.*
(2001) *Bircholas: trabajo de mujeres: explotación capitalista o opresión colonial entre las migrantes aymaras de La Paz y El Alto.*
(2003) *Las fronteras de la coca. Epistemologías coloniales y circuitos alternativos de la hoja de coca. El caso de la frontera boliviano-argentina.*
(2008) *Pueblos originarios y Estado.*
(2010) *Ch'ixinakax Utxiwa. Una reflexión sobre prácticas y discursos descolonizadores.*
(2010) *Violencia (re)encubiertas en Bolivia.*
(2014) *Hambre de huelga: Ch'ixinakax Utxiwa y otros textos.*
(2014) *Mito y desarrollo en Bolivia: el giro colonial del gobierno del MAS.*
(2015) *Sociología de la imagen. Miradas ch'ixi desde la historia andina.*
(2018) *Un mundo ch'ixi es posible: ensayos desde un presente en crisis.*

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Accossatto, R. (2017) Colonialismo interno y memoria colectiva: Aportes de Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui al estudio de los movimientos sociales y las identificaciones políticas. *Economía y Sociedad*, Mayo XXI (36) 167-181.

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Mignolo, W. D. (2002) El potencial epistemológico de la historia oral: algunas contribuciones de Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui. En D. Mato (Comp.) *Estudios y otras prácticas intelectuales latinoamericanas en cultura y poder*, Buenos Aires: Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales (CLACSO), 201-212.

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Simón Yampara Huarachi, Bolivia, 1952

Areas of Interest: Creation of concepts, Ethnic issues, Elaboration of theories, Latin American thought, Indigenous peoples.

Keywords: Aymará, Ayllus, Bolivia, Intellectuals, Suma Qamaña.

Selection of Works:

(1985) ¿Adoptar la vía capitalista o la vía comunitaria andina? (artículo).

(1995) *Pachakutt'i-kandiri en el paytiti: reencuentro entre la búsqueda y retorno a la armonía originaria.*

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(2001) *Los aymaras en su pensamiento, pervivencia y saber del pueblo* (capítulo en W. Ari Chachaki editor).
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(2005) *Comprensión aymara de la tierra-territorio en la cosmovisión andina y su ordenamiento para la/el qamaña* (artículo).
(2008) *Matrices de civilización. Sobre la teoría económica de los pueblos andinos* (en coautoría con D. Temple).
(2009) *Interculturalidad: ¿Encubrimiento o descubrimiento de las matrices civilizatorio culturales?* (artículo).
(2010) *Re-Constitución política desde la civilización de Tiwanaku.*
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T

Theotonio dos Santos, Brazil, 1936-2018

Areas of Interest: Science and Technology, Dependency, Development, International political economy, Imperialism-Anti-imperialism, Theory of international relations.

Keywords: Contemporary capitalism, Dependency, Latin American structuralism, Imperialism, Mechanisms of dependency, Neoliberalism. Dependency Theory.

Selection of Works:

(1968) *El nuevo carácter de la dependencia*.

(1972) *Dependencia y cambio social*.
(1974) *Socialismo o fascismo: el nuevo carácter de la dependencia y el dilema latinoamericano.*
(1978) *Imperialismo y dependencia.*
(1983) *Teorias do capitalismo contemporâneo*.
(1983) *Revolução científico-técnica e capitalismo contemporâneo.*
(1987) *Revolução científico-técnica e acumulação de capital.*
(2000) *A Teoria da Dependência: balanço e perspectivas*.
(2004) *Do terror à esperança - auge e declínio do neoliberalismo*.
(2016) *Desenvolvimento e civilização. Homenagem a Celso Furtado.*

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Del Valle Rivera, M. D. C. y Jasso Villazul, S. J. (Comps.) (2015) *Obras reunidas de Theotônio dos Santos*. México: UNAM.
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Lozoya, L. I. (2015) Theotônio Dos Santos, un intelectual revolucionario. *Izquierdas*, Octubre, 25, 238-275.
Marini, R. M. (Comp.) (1999) *El pensamiento social latinoamericano en el Siglo XX* (II). Caracas: UNESCO.
Vidal Molina, P. (2013) Theotônio dos Santos en el Chile de la Unidad Popular. *Cuadernos de Historia*, 39, 185-200.

Therezinha de Castro, Brazil

Areas of Interest: Strategic issues, Geopolitics, Planetary natural resources, Security, International treaties.

Keywords: Africa, Antarctica, Brazil, Defrontation Theory.

Selection of Works:

(1960) *Atlas de relaciones internacionales.*
(1976) *Hacia la Antártida.*
(1981) África: geohistoria, geopolítica y relaciones internacionales.
(1982) *Texto-atlas de geopolítica de Brasil.*
(1982) *Brasil en el mundo actual: posicionamiento y directrices.*
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(1992) *Nossa américa: geopolítica comparada.*
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(1998) *Hacia el Amazonas.*
(1999) *Geopolítica: principios, medios y fines.*

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Kerr de Oliveira, L. (2012) Energía como recurso de poder na política internacional: geopolítica, estratégia e o papel do Centro de Decisão Energética [Tesis de Doctorado, Porto Alegre: Universidad Federal de Río Grande del Sur]. Repositorio in-

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Neves, A. L. V. (2015) Atlântico Sul: projeção estratégica do Brasil para o século XXI. En G. F. Gheller et al (Orgs.) *Amazônia e Atlântico Sul: desafios e perspectivas para a defesa no Brasil.* Brasil: Instituto de Pesquisa e Econômica Aplicada (IPEA), 233-264.

Nogueira, J. M. F. (2015) *América do Sul: uma visão geopolitica*. Lisboa: IDN Cadernos - Instituto da Defesa Nacional.

Ostos Cetina, M. D. P. (2011) Application of geopolitical models in Latin America: the cases of Brazil and Colombia. *Latinoamérica. Revista de Estudios Latinoamericanos*, 53, 147-167.

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Vanderlei Ribeiro, E. (2012) *Perspectiva tridimensional do Brasil para o Atlântico Sul.* Lisboa: Instituto de Estudos Superiores Militares.

V

Vicente Saenz, Costa Rica, 1896-1963

Areas of Interest: Imperialism-Anti-imperialism, Interventionism-Anti-interventionism, Unionism.

Keywords: Isolation of dictatorships, Colony, Liberation, North Americanization, Hispanic American Socialism.

Selection of Works:

(1922) *Cartas a Morazán*.
(1925) *Norteamericanización de Centro América.*
(1929) *El canal de Nicaragua.*
(1933) *Rompiendo cadenas: las del imperialismo norteamericano en Centroamérica.*
(1938) *España heroica.*
(1944) *Centroamérica en pie: contra la tiranía, contra el crimen y la barbarie, contra el imperialismo en cualquiera de sus formas.*
(1946) *Paralelismo de la paz y de la democracia.*
(1949) *Hispanoamérica contra el coloniaje.*
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Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, Peru, 1895-1979

Areas of Interest: Integration, Imperialism-Anti-imperialism, Indigenous peoples.

Keywords: American Popular Revolutionary Alliance (APRA), Internationalization of infrastructure, Nationalization of economic sectors, Theory of historical space-time.

Selection of Works:

(1927) *Por la emancipación de América Latina.*
(1930) *Ideario y acción aprista.*
(1931) *Teoría y táctica del aprismo*.
(1932) *Impresiones de la Inglaterra imperialista y la Rusia soviética.*
(1935) *¿A dónde va Indoamérica?*
(1936) *El antiimperialismo y el APRA.*
(1942) *La defensa continental*.
(1946) *Cartas a los prisioneros apristas*.
(1948) *Espacio-tiempo histórico: cinco ensayos y tres diálogos.*
(1956) *Treinta años de aprismo*.
(1957) *Toynbee frente a los panoramas de la historia: espacio, tiempo, histórico americano.*

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Pakkasvirta, J. (2002) Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre en Centroamérica ¿la primera y última fase del aprismo internacional? *Revista de Historia*, 44, 9-31.

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Walter Mignolo, Argentina, 1941

Areas of Interest: Colonialism-Anticolonialism, Creation of concepts, Culture and Globalization, Latin American Thought, Center-Periphery Relations.

Keywords: Epistemic disobedience, Eurocentrism, Geopolitics of knowledge, Dark side of Modernity, Decolonial option.

Selection of Works:

(1995) *The darker side of the Renaissance: literacy, territoriality, colonization*.
(1995) *Occidentalización, imperialismo, globalización: herencias coloniales y teorías postcoloniales* (artículo).
(2000) *Local histories/global designs. Coloniality, subaltern knowledges, and border thinking.*
(2000) *The many faces of cosmo-polis: border thinking and critical cosmopolitanism* (artículo).
(2000) *La colonialidad a lo largo y a lo ancho: el hemisferio occidental en el horizonte colonial de la modernidad.*
(2001) *Capitalismo y geopolítica del conocimiento: el eurocentrismo y la filosofía de la liberación en el debate intelectual contemporáneo.*
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(2005) *La idea de América Latina. La herida colonial y la opción decolonial.*
(2007) *Delinking: the rhetoric of modernity, the logic of coloniality and the grammar of de-coloniality* (artículo).
(2009) *Epistemic disobedience, independent thought and decolonial freedom* (artículo).
(2011) *The darker side of western modernity: global futures, decolonial options.*

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Walter Rodney, Guyana, 1942-1980

Areas of Interest: Dependency, Development, International Economy, International Traffic.

Keywords: Colonialism, Slave trade, Imperialism, Pan-Africanism.

Selection of Works:

(1966) *African slavery and other forms of social oppression on the Upper Guinea Coast, 1580-1650.*
(1967) *The impact of the Atlantic slave trade in West Africa.*
(1969) *African labour under capitalism and imperialism.*
(1969) *Ideology of the African revolution.*
(1970) *The role of the University in Developing Africa.*
(1970) *The Imperialist Partition of Africa.*
(1971) *Some implications of the question of disengagement from imperialism* (artículo).
(1972) *How Europe underdeveloped Africa.*
(1975) *Marx in the Liberation of Africa* (discurso).

(1979) *Guyanese sugar plantations in the late nineteenth century: a contemporary description from the "Argosy".*

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Hirji, K. (2017) *The enduring relevance of Walter Rodney's How Europe underdeveloped Africa*. Canadá: Daraja Press.

James, C. L. R. (1983) *Walter Rodney and the question of power.* London: Race Today Publications.

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William Arthur Lewis, Saint Lucia, 1915-1991

Areas of Interest: International economy, Elaboration of theories, Industrialization.

Keywords: Development-Underdevelopment, Industrialization by invitation, Dual sector model.

Selection of Works:

(1954) *Desarrollo económico con suministros ilimitados de mano de obra*.
(1955) *La teoría del crecimiento económico.*
(1978) *Growth and Fluctuations, 1870-1913*.

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Areas of interest considered for the figures (Prepared by the editors and the editing team)

Borders and limits
Center-Periphery Relations
Colonialism-Anticolonialism
Creation of concepts
Cultural and intellectual integration
Culture and Globalization
Democracy-Dictatorship
Dependence
Development
Diplomacy
Disarmament
Economic integration
Economic nationalization
Elaboration of theories
Environment
Ethnic issues
Foreign policy
Gender issues

Geopolitics
Globalization
History of foreign policy
History of globalization
History of international relations
History of the world system
Human rights
Imperialism-Anti-imperialism
Independence
Indigenous peoples
Industrialization
Integration
International cooperation
International deals
International economy
International insertion
International organizations
International policy
International political economy
International right
International system
International trade
International traffic
International-global civil society
Interventionism-Anti-interventionism
Latin American Culture and Society
Latin American thought
Latin Americanism
Latin America-United States Relations
Maritime law
Methodology and Theory of International Relations
National liberation movements
Nationalism

Negotiation
Non-state actors or agents
North-South relations
Planetary natural resources
Political and social movements
Regional relations
Science and Technology
Security
Slavery and economy
South-South relations
Sovereignty of natural resources
Strategic issues
Third worldism
Unionism
World peace
World system

Studies of Ideas Collection

Goals:

• Strengthen a disciplinary space that is increasingly constituted with greater identity, the result, among other things, of controversies between trends and subspecialties;

• Expand the coverage of eidetic studies, without restricting them to the most developed topics in our environment, but rather promoting interdisciplinary meetings without losing the fact that the focus is on the studies of ideas;

• Offer another opportunity to publish on these issues, being the voice of an epistemic community;

• Interest young people or other people who are looking for possible paths of academic development in the study of ideas.

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10. Eduardo Devés, Andrés Kozel, *Studying Ideas. A conversation from the South on the studies of ideas and the reconfiguration of a disciplinary space.*

INTERNATIONAL AND GLOBAL QUESTIONS FROM LATIN AMERICAN THOUGHT

These texts, drawing on theoreical and empirical approaches, advocate for an intercultural, decolonizing, multilingual, dialogic, plural, and critical education that promotes and respects community and ancestral knowledge. That is to say, they are texts that distance themselves from educational and pedagogical concepts marked by objectivist, neutral, aseptic, and technocratic logics. These chapters converge on conceptions of education committed to processes of democratization, dignification, and justice for social sectors that have been historically excluded and dispossessed.

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