

Carlos Escudé - CV

Born August 10, 1948, in Buenos Aires, Argentina

Professor of Political Science and International Relations, Universidad del CEMA (UCEMA) and director of its *Centro de Estudios Internacionales y de Investigación para la Globalización* (CEIEG).

Senior Tenured Researcher (*Investigador Principal*) at the Argentine National Research Council (*Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas* – CONICET)

Codirector and co-owner of “Iberoamérica y el Mundo”, an NGO dedicated to the free dissemination of books and academic information on the history and international relations of Latin America, URL www.argentina-rree.com

EDUCATION

- Ph.D. in Political Science, Yale University, 1981. M.Phil. (1980) and M.A. (1979), Yale U.
- Graduate studies in Political History at St. Antony's College, University of Oxford, 1977-78 (B.Litt. leading to D.Phil. status; transferred to Yale's Ph.D. program)
- License in Sociology at the Argentine Catholic University, Buenos Aires, 1973.

HONORS, GRANTS AND FELLOWSHIPS

- 2010 – Keynote address delivered at “Pensar las relaciones argentino-chinas en el bicentenario de la República Argentina. Pasado, presente y perspectivas próximas”, a Conference organized by CONICET (Argentina) and the Institute of Contemporary International Relations of the Popular Republic of China, May 21, 2010, Argentine Foreign Ministry.
- 2010 – Keynote address, delivered at “Pensar Santa Cruz; ayer, hoy y mañana”, a Conference organized by Universidad de Aquino - Bolivia (UDABOL) in Santa Cruz de la Sierra, 16-18 June, 2010.
- 2009 – Keynote address to the opening session of the Latin American section (AMILAT) of the 15th World Congress of Jewish Studies, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, August 2-6, 2009
- 2008 – *Magna Palestra*, VII Semana Académica de Relaciones Internacionales, Pontificia Universidade Católica de São Paulo, Brazil, November 3-6
- 2003-04 – Ashley Fellow, Trent University (Canada); appointed by the University Senate and nominated by the History and Political Science departments as “likely the most distinguished political theorist in Latin America”
- 2001 – “Premio Vocación Académica 2001”, Fundación El Libro, Buenos Aires International Book Fair
- 2001 – Yahoo! Argentina Award to the best website with political content (“Iberoamérica y el Mundo”, www.argentina-rree.com)
- 1996 – Konex Award (as one of the “five most prominent Argentine political scientists of the decade”)
- 1996 – Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst (DAAD) Fellowship

- 1994-2000 & 2003 – United Nations Development Program grants (UNDP, Argentine program) for the editorship and co-authorship of a 15-volume history of Argentina’s foreign policy
- 1991 – Member of the Argentine delegation to the opening of the United Nations General Assembly and Member of the Argentine delegation to the conference of the Non Aligned Movement in Ghana
- 1991 – Appointed as special advisor to the Foreign Minister of Argentina for foreign policy strategy vis-à-vis the West
- 1987 – Bernardo Houssay Award to Relevant Scientific Research, CONICET, Argentina, 1987
- 1986 – Decorated with the Order of Bernardo O'Higgins in the rank of “Comendador”, for the public promotion of the Argentine-Chilean Peace and Friendship Treaty of 1984
- 1984-85 – John Simon Guggenheim Fellowship
- 1983-84 – Social Science Research Council (SSRC - USA) Postdoctoral Fellowship
- 1978-81 – Fulbright-Hays Fellowships for doctoral studies at Yale University
- 1974-78 – CONICET fellowships for research and study in Argentina and at St. Antony’s College, Oxford
- 1971 – Award for sociological research with a mathematical orientation, given by the School of Economics of the University of Buenos Aires and the Buenos Aires Stock Exchange Foundation

PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

Academic Appointments in Argentina

- 1982-present – Tenured member of the Argentine National Council of Scientific Research (CONICET), presently with the rank of “Investigador Principal”.
- 2003-present – Professor of Political Science and Director of CEIEG at CEMA University
- 2001-02 – Director of *Centro de Estudios Internacionales “Carlos Savedra Lamas”* at Belgrano University
- 1993-2003 – Professor of International Relations at Universidad Torcuato Di Tella
- 1992-99 – Visiting Professor in charge of the course on Argentine Foreign Policy at the Argentine Foreign Service Academy (*Instituto del Servicio Exterior de la Nación*)
- 1992-99 – Visiting Professor in the International Relations Program of FLACSO Buenos Aires
- 1982-92 – Professor of International Relations and Political Science, University of Belgrano Graduate School, 1982-1992. Courses: *Política Exterior Argentina y Latinoamericana II; Seminario de Relaciones Internacionales.*
- 1984-88 – Professor of Argentine Diplomatic History, School of Political Science (undergraduate program), Argentine Catholic University

Appointments as visiting professor or visiting scholar at foreign universities

- 2003 – Ashley Lecturer, Trent University, Peterborough, Ontario.
- 2001 – Visiting Professor, Master’s Program in Human Rights, *Universidad Internacional de Andalucía* (Campus “Santa María de la Rábida)

- 1997 – Visiting Professor, Doctoral Program in Latin American Studies, *Instituto Universitario Ortega y Gasset* and *Universidad Complutense de Madrid*
- 1996 – Visiting Scholar, *Institut für Spanien- und Lateinamerikastudien*, Universität Augsburg (ISLA), 1-31 October 1996
- 1994 – Visiting Professor of Government, Faculty of Arts and Sciences, and Visiting Scholar at the Harvard Center for International affairs, Harvard University. Head of course of Government 1901, "The International Relations of the Southern Cone Countries of South America", Spring Term
- 1992 – Visiting Scholar, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
- 1990 – Visiting Scholar, School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), The Johns Hopkins University, Washington D.C.
- 1989 – Visiting Scholar, Department of History, University of Texas at Austin
- 1984-85 – Visiting Fellow, St. Antony's College, Oxford University

Other service

- Member of the Academic Board of the Master's Program in International Relations of FLACSO Buenos Aires
- Member of the Academic Board of the Master's Program in International Relations of the Instituto de Estudios Avanzados (IDEA) of *Universidad de Santiago de Chile* (USACH)
- Consulting Member of *Consejo Argentino para las Relaciones Internacionales* (CARI), and Member of the Board of its *Centro de Estudios de Política Exterior* (CEPE)
- Member of the Academic Board of *Fundación Atlas Para una Sociedad Libre*
- Member of the Editorial Board of *Agenda Internacional*, Fundación Visión desde el Sur, Buenos Aires
- Member of the Academic Council, *Proyecto Testimonio* for the study of antisemitism in Argentina, *Delegación de Asociaciones Israelitas Argentinas* (D.A.I.A.), 1994-1998
- Vicepresident of the Argentine Council Against Ethnic and Religious Discrimination, D.A.I.A., 1995-97
- Member of the Editorial Board of the program on economic history of the Macmillan/St. Antony's College book series, 1986-89
- Former president of *Democracia Representativa*, an Argentine NGO dedicated to the promotion of democratic values

Employment as advisor, consultant and similar

Special Advisor to Argentine Foreign Minister, 1991-92; Argentine Foreign Ministry projects with the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), 1994-2000 and 2003. Occasionally, with the World Bank's Latin American and Caribbean Division (Washington Consensus workshop, Rio, March 2002); Royal Dutch Shell (regional strategies workshop, Buenos Aires, January 2002); and the Spanish Chamber of Commerce in the Argentine Republic (VI Spanish-Argentine Forum on Employment, November 2002); AIG Global Investment (2006); Instituto Argentino de Ejecutivos de Finanzas (2006), Gerson Lehrman Group (2006).

MAJOR CITATIONS AND REVIEWS PUBLISHED OUTSIDE ARGENTINA

Escudé work on peripheral realism

Escudé's theoretical work is cited at length in Ira Straus, "Reversing Proliferation", *The National Interest*, Fall 2004 (# 7), p. 67, with full page comments on the contribution of peripheral realism to nuclear non proliferation.

Also, in her article on "Hearing Latin American Voices in International Relations Studies", *International Studies Perspectives*, 2003 (4), Arlene B. Tickner dedicates a full page and a heading to peripheral realism, as the sole original Latin American contribution to International Relations theory and ideas during the 1990s. Again in 2008, in "Latin American IR and the Primacy of *lo práctico*" (*International Studies Review*, 2008:10), Tickner comments peripheral realism at length.

In *Regions of War and Peace* (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002), Douglas Lemke dedicates almost a page of his concluding chapter to peripheral realism, beginning with: "in a fascinating essay, Carlos Escudé distinguishes between two types of minor powers ..." (p. 203-204). In *Militarization, Democracy and Development* (University Park PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002), Kirk S. Bowman dedicates several paragraphs to these ideas. For example: "Carlos Escudé presents a very provocative case for the claim that ..." (p. 35-36).

In "Assessing current conceptual and empirical approaches", the first chapter to a collective volume edited by Jacqueline Anne Braveboy-Wagner titled *The Foreign Policies of the Global South* (Boulder y Londres: Lynne Rienner, 2003), Braveboy-Wagner and Michael T. Snarr dedicate a long paragraph to express their disagreement with Escudé's work (p. 14-15).

Realismo Periférico: Fundamentos para la Nueva Política Exterior Argentina, Buenos Aires: Planeta 1992), was reviewed as follows by Abraham F. Lowenthal in the Winter 1992-93 issue of *Foreign Affairs*:

"After years of iconoclastic insistence that Argentina's independent (and often anti-U.S.) foreign policy was delusionary and self-destructive, the author is now serving as an adviser to an Argentine foreign minister who largely accepts the basic thesis that the only realistic policy for a peripheral country like Argentina is "one that helps to attract investments and positive relations with banks and international financial organizations," and that Argentina should therefore seek alignment with the United States. Written with verve, passion and self-confidence, this volume may well overstate its argument, but it articulates an important and influential current, relevant beyond Argentina. A significant work."

In China, Sun Ruoyan wrote extensively on peripheral realism in "A Review of Carlos Escudé's Theory of Peripheral Realism", *Journal of World Economics and Politics*, No.11, 2003, p. 38-

43; and in “Seeking a Way Out for the Periphery A Historical Investigation of International Relations Theory in Latin America after World War II”, *Journal of World Economics and Politics* (Institute of World Economy & Politics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences), No. 8, 2005, p. 25-31.

In India and in Mexico, Varun Sahni wrote extensively on peripheral realism in “Peripheric Realism versus Complex Interdependence: Analyzing Argentina and Mexican Foreign Policies since 1988”, *International Studies*, Vol. 38:1, 2001 (Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi); and in “Realismo periférico vs. interdependencia compleja: dilucidando las políticas exteriores de Argentina y México desde 1989”, Working Paper N° 47, International Studies Division, CIDE, Mexico 2000.

In Germany, Detlef Nolte included a section titled “Der *realismo periférico* - ein neuer Ansatz in der argentinischen Außenpolitik” in his chapter “Ein neuer Perón? Eine Bilanz der resten Präsidentschaft von Carlos Menem (1989-1995)”, published in Detlef Nolte and Nikolaus Werz (eds.), *Argentinien. Politik, Wirtschaft, Kultur und Außenbeziehungen*. Frankfurt/M.: Vervuert, 1996. In the same book, Klaus Bodemer titled another chapter: “Peripherer Realismus? Die Außenpolitik der Regierung Menem gegenüber Europa und den USA zwischen Kontinuität und Wandel”.

In Brazil, at least three dissertations have been written on peripheral realism, in the Foreign Ministry’s Rio Branco Institute (2005; author, L.A.F.Y Sagarra), in the Universidade de São Paulo (2007; author, J. Salles de Carvalho), and in the Pontificia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro (2005; author, A. Costa Misi). *Realismo Periférico* was reviewed lengthly by the *Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional* (Vol. 36:1, 1993). Peripheral realism has been dealt with extensively by well-known Brazilian experts such as José Flávio Sombra Saraiva (“História das Relações Internacionais: o objeto de estudo e a evolução do conhecimento”, in *Relações internacionais: dois séculos de História*, Vol. I, Instituto Brasileiro de Relações Internacionais, 2001); Amado Luiz Cervo (in *Relações internacionais da América Latina: velhos e novos paradigmas*, Instituto Brasileiro de Relações Internacionais, 2001) and Estevão Chaves de Rezende Martins (in *Relações Internacionais: visões do Brasil e da América Latina, estudos em homenagem a Amado Luiz Cervo*, Instituto Brasileiro de Relações Internacionais 2003).

Peripheral realism has also been dealt with at length by well-known Chilean author Eduardo Devés Valdez, in *El Pensamiento Latinoamericano en el Siglo XX*, Vol. 3, Buenos Aires: Biblos, 2004, pp. 154 and 156-7.

Escudé’s work on Argentine nationalism and political culture

Cited at length, among other books and articles, in Monica Esti Rein, *Politics and Education in Argentina, 1946-1962*, London and New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1998, and in Lawrence E. Harrison *The Pan-American Dream*, Boulder: Westview, 1997. For example, “As Carlos Escudé points out in a fascinating new book... (Harrison, p. 77-78), or “Carlos Escudé (...) concludes his

insightful and provocative book (...) with the words (...)" (Harrison p. 108).

A review article by David Mares on "Foreign policy in Argentina, Brazil, and Chile", published in the *Latin American Research Review* (Vol. 29, No. 1, 1994), refers to Escudé's contribution in G. Di Tella and D. Cameron Watt (eds.), *Argentina Between the Great Powers, 1939-1946*, as one of "the most developed claims for how disparity in international power interacted with domestic variables in Argentina's foreign policy". Similarly, in the following issue of the *Latin American Research Review* (Vol. 29, No. 2, 1994), a review article on "Conflict over the Falkland Islands: a never-ending story?" signed by C.N. Caviedes, calls Escudé's contribution to A.A. Borón and J. Faúndez (eds.), *Malvinas Hoy: Herencia de un Conflicto*, which delves on textbook indoctrination on Argentina's Falkland/Malvinas claim, an "impressive essay" and a "fine example of intellectual sobriety and realism".

In *Geopolitical Traditions: a century of geopolitical thought* (London and New York: Routledge 2000), Klaus Dodds and David Atkinson dedicate several paragraphs to Escudé's work on territorial nationalism. For example: "*Carlos Escudé published a series of important articles and books in English and Spanish during the 1980's...*", (p. 174). In *Pink Ice – Britain and the South Atlantic Empire* (London & New York, I.B. Tauris 2002), Klaus Dodds again cites his work extensively. For example: "*Through the work of Argentine political scientist Carlos Escudé, we are better able to understand the nature of Argentine nationalism and the significance of a political culture infused with territorial anxieties*" (p. 9). In *The Politics of South American Boundaries* (Westport CT and London: Praeger, 2002) Carlos A. Parodi also dedicates long paragraphs to summarizing Escudé's research on territorial nationalism (p. 59-60).

Escudé's work on the history of Argentina's foreign relations

Gran Bretaña, Estados Unidos, y la Declinación Argentina: 1942-1949 (Buenos Aires: Belgrano, 1983) was reviewed as follows in Vol. 45 (1985) of the *Handbook of Latin American Studies*:

"Outstanding study of relations between Great Britain, US, and Argentina during and after World War II. Written as Yale Univ. doctoral dissertation, it makes use of English and American archives to uncover previously unknown facts about the Braden-Perón controversy and British dealings with Perón after the war. Nothing like it exists at present."

Profusely quoted in Joseph S. Tulchin's book, *Argentina and the United States: A Conflicted Relationship* (Boston: Twayne, 1990). In the Bibliographical Appendix to that work, Tulchin states:

"The most interesting corpus of work by a single Argentine scholar on the foreign relations of his country as they concern the United States is by Carlos Escudé. His books include *Patología del Nacionalismo* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Tesis 1987), *Gran Bretaña*,

Estados Unidos y la Declinación Argentina 1942-1949 (Buenos Aires: Editorial de Belgrano 1988), *La Argentina vs. las Grandes Potencias: El Precio del Desafío* (Buenos Aires: Editorial de Belgrano 1986), and *La Argentina, ¿Paria Internacional?* (Buenos Aires: Editorial de Belgrano 1984)." (p. 183)

In 1987, the *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* (Vol. 29:1) published a review essay entitled "Argentina: the Search for Rational Foreign Policies", by A. Vacs, based exclusively on *La Argentina, ¿Paria Internacional?* and *La Argentina vs. las Grandes Potencias: El Precio del Desafío*.

The first of these works is characterized as "a very interesting examination of Argentine foreign policy", in Andrew Orgill, *The Falklands War: Background, Conflict, Aftermath - An annotated bibliography*, London and New York: Mansell, 1993, p. 105-106. Also lengthily quoted by Peter S. Beck in *The Falkland Islands as an International Problem* (Routledge, London and New York, 1988), and in his "The Policy Relevance of the Falkland/Malvinas Past", in A. Danchev (ed.), *International Perspectives on the Falklands Conflict*, London and New York: Macmillan 1992. In the latter publication, he calls Escudé's work on the subject "significant, even pioneering". More recently, profusely cited by Glenn J. Dorn in *Peronistas and New Dealers: U.S.-Argentine Rivalry and the Western Hemisphere (1946-1950)*, New Orleans: University Press of the South, 2005.

On the first part of the fifteen-volume *Historia General de las Relaciones Exteriores de la República Argentina*, titled *Las Relaciones Exteriores de la Argentina Embrionaria*, Vol. 60 (2005) of the *Handbook of Latin American Studies* says:

"An impressive six-volume study of Argentine diplomacy focusing on the confused period of national definition in the 1800s. Unlike many treatments that allude to an inexorable 'Argentina in-the-making,' this study stresses the weak and conditional character of the new nation-state. Rejects the oft-told tale of massive Argentine territorial loss, noting instead that the Plata was a constellation of 'mini-states,' each with its own interests and politics, some of which gravitated toward Buenos Aires (others did not). There was little inevitable about the process—as the various foreign interventions and the Paraguayan War clearly demonstrated. Backed by a large array of archival and secondary sources, this study is perhaps the most innovative work on Argentine foreign relations to appear in some time." Lawrence Boudon (ed.), *Handbook of Latin American Studies*, Vol. 60: Humanities, Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005; p. 447.

On the first fourteen volumes of the fifteen-volume *Historia General de las Relaciones Exteriores de la República Argentina*, Vol. 61 (2006) of the *Handbook of Latin American Studies* says:

"Comprehensive authoritative work constitutes the best single source available on the history of Argentina's foreign relations. Published volumes examine the evolution of the

country's international relations between the early 19th century and the late 1980s. Set is edited by well-known Argentine experts Cisneros and **Escudé** and relies on the contributions of a number of specialists in different periods and aspects of Argentina's foreign policies. Pt. 1 comprises six volumes which examine the period 1806-81, addressing the emergence of the Argentine Republic and the role of the provincial states, early relations with neighboring countries and European states, Juan Manuel de Rosas' foreign policies, and Argentina's international relations during the period of constitutional organization. Pt. 2 is divided into four volumes: two analyze Argentine foreign policies vis-à-vis South America, Europe, and the US between 1881-1930; next volume examines the country's political-diplomatic relations between 1930-43; and last one studies Argentina's economic relations with Great Britain and the US between 1880-1943. Pt. 3 contains four volumes analyzing Argentina's foreign economic relations in the period 1943-89, the diplomacy of the Malvinas/Falkland Islands (1945-89), and foreign political relations in the periods 1943-66 and 1966-89. Pt. 4 (expected to be published in two volumes) will examine the evolution of Argentina's foreign relations between 1989-99. Indispensable source for the study of Argentina's international relations and policies is also available in electronic version (see <http://www.argentina-rree.com/index2.htm>).” Lawrence Boudon (ed.), *Handbook of Latin American Studies*, Vol. 61: Social Science, Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005; p. 478.

List of foreign (non-Argentine) academic journals that reviewed *Foreign Policy Theory in Menem’s Argentina* (Gainesville FL: University Press of Florida, 1997), mostly in critical terms

American academic journals

- 1) *Annals of the American Academy of Political Science & Social Science*, May 1998 (Vol. 557, p. 181-182). By Lana L Wylie.
- 2) *Hispanic American Historical Review*, February 2000 (Vol. 80:1, p. 220-221). By Ariel C. Armory.
- 3) *Choice*, September 1997. By R. E. Hartwig.
- 4) *Journal of Inter-American Studies and World Affairs*, Spring 1998 (Vol. 29:1, p. 109-112). By A. Vacs.
- 5) *Merston International Studies Review*, May 1998 (Vol. 42, p. 180-182). By Michael Niemann.
- 6) *International Studies Quarterly*, May 1998 v42 Sup. 1 (Vol. 42:1, p. 180-182) By M. Niemann.

British academic journals:

- 1) *Journal of Latin American Studies*, February 1999 (Vol. 31:1, p. 219-220). By Hazel J. Smith.
- 2) *Bulletin of Latin American Studies*, December 1998 (Vol. 18:1, p. 14-116). By Carlos Cengarle.

Canadian academic journal:

- 1) *International History Review*, May 1998 (Vol. 20). By David Sheinin.

Mexican academic journal:

1) *Política y gobierno*, Vol. V, N° 1 (1998), By Varun Sahni.

International web site of the academic professions:

1) H-Net Reviews in the Humanities & Social Sciences, April de 1998. By James Cane.

SELECTED ACADEMIC ACTIVITIES

- “Las políticas exteriores y de seguridad argentinas desde la crisis de 2001-2002”, keynote address delivered at “Pensar las relaciones argentino-chinas en el bicentenario de la República Argentina. Pasado, presente y perspectivas próximas”, a Conference organized by CONICET (Argentina) and the Institute of Contemporary International Relations of the Popular Republic of China, May 21, 2010, San Martín Palace, Buenos Aires.
- “Israeli-Latin American Relations, 1948-2010”, a panel presentation presented at “The World Facing Israel, Israel Facing the World”, a Conference organized by the Johannes Gutenberg Univesität - Mainz, in Mainz, Germany, 25-27 May, 2010.
- “Secesión Civilizatoria en el Bicentenario de la Emancipación”, keynote address delivered at “Pensar Santa Cruz; ayer, hoy y mañana”, a Conference organized by Universidad de Aquino - Bolivia (UDABOL) in Santa Cruz de la Sierra, 16-18 June, 2010.
- “Un experimento pacifista: las políticas exteriores y de seguridad de la Argentina, 2003-2011”, lectura delivered at “Libro Blanco de la Defensa 2010 - Construyendo el Libro Blanco del Bicentenario - Taller I - Defensa Nacional: cooperación e integración regional”, a workshop organized by the Argentine Ministry of Defense, on June 1, 2010.
- "Hacia el Bicentenario: perspectivas y desafíos en América Latina", panel presentation delivered at “Argentina hacia el Bicentenario – 3^{ras} Jornadas de Debate”, organized by the Centro Interdisciplinario de Estudios Sociales de América Latina (CIESAL), the Dirección de Gobiernos y ONGs of the Facultad de Ciencia Política y Relaciones Internacionales of the Universidad Nacional de Rosario, and the Secretaría de Extensión del Centro de Estudiantes of the said school, 8-10 June, 2010.
- “El Parlamento del Mercosur en Transformación: un diálogo Unión Europea-Mercosur”, a symposium organized by the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung in the Universidade da Amazônia, Belém do Pará. Panel presentation: “Argentina y Mercosur: avance y revés”, December 10-11, 2009.
- Keynote address to the opening session of the “III Jornadas de Historia de las Relaciones Internacionales”, Centro de Estudios Latinoamericanos (CEL) del Instituto de Historia y Ciencias Sociales de la Facultad de Humanidades de la Universidad de Valparaíso, November 4-6, 2009.
- Keynote address to the opening session of the Latin American section (AMILAT) of the 15th World Congress of Jewish Studies, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, August 2-6, 2009. Title: “Israel-Latin American Relations in the Global Era”.
- “Europe and Latin America: Looking at each other?”, Warsaw and Cracow, 3-5 July, 2009. Paper delivered on “The Notions of National and Territorial Identities in the Contemporary Europe and Latin America”.
- “Tercer Simposio de Política Exterior Boliviana”, Santa Cruz de la Sierra and La Paz, March 30-April 2, 2009. Presentation focusing on peripheral realism.
- *VII Semana Académica de Relaciones Internacionales, Pontificia Universidade Católica de São Paulo*, 3-6 November 2008. Magna Palestra: “*Identidad y Política en América Latina*”.

- *Congreso de Ciencias, Tecnologías y Culturas de la Universidad de Santiago de Chile (Diálogo entre las disciplinas del conocimiento. Mirando al futuro de América Latina y el Caribe)*, 29 October to 2 November 2008. Paper: “*Réquiem al Realismo Periférico*”.
- “*Teorias e conceitos em relações internacionais: Enfoques Nacionais e Regionais*”, organized by *Universidade de Brasília* and *Instituto Brasileiro de Relações Internacionais (IBRI)*, 25-26 August 2008. Paper: “*Peripheral Realism: An Argentine Theory-Building Experience, 1986-97*”.
- “*Primera Conferencia de Ciencias Sociales y Pensamiento Crítico*”, organized by CLACSO, Santiago de Chile, 5-6 November 2007.
- “*Desafíos regionales para un mundo en globalización: a tres años del 11-M*”, organized by Safe Democracy Foundation (Spain), Madrid, March 2007. Member of panel on “*Cómo evitar la mega-crisis regional del Oriente Próximo*”.
- “*Forum de la Libertad*”, Montevideo, Catholic University of Uruguay, 27-28 November 2006. Organized by the Friedrich Naumann Stiftung.
- “*XII Encuentro de Latinoamericanistas Españoles*” (12th Encounter of Spanish Latinamericanists), Santander, Spain, 21-23 September 2006. Paper delivered: “*De Estado cautivo a Estado Fallido: la Argentina y su populismo sistémico, 1975-2006*”.
- Guest at the seminar on “*Sacred Texts and National Conflict in the Middle East*”, 31 May to 3 June 2004, Jerusalem, organized by the James Shasha Institute for International Seminars of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
- Lecturer at Trent University’s History Department, February-March, 2004.
- Opening presentation on the Franco-Eisenhower negotiations for bases in Spain, of the course on “*50 Años de Relaciones entre España y los Estados Unidos*”, 1-5 September 2003, San Lorenzo del Escorial, Universidad Complutense de Madrid.
- Paper delivered at the seminar on “*Euro-Atlantic Integration and Russia after September 11*”, Moscow, 30-31 May 2002, Euro-Atlantic Institute of International Integration Studies and Higher School of Economics, State University, Moscow.
- Commentator at the Regional Workshop on the failure of the “*Washington Consensus*”, World Bank, Latin American and the Caribbean Division, Rio de Janeiro, 13-15 March 2002.
- Paper delivered at the symposium on “*A diez años de la URSS: Crisis, transformación y perspectivas del Mundo Post-Soviético*”, *Centro de Estudios Avanzados, Universidad de Santiago de Chile*, 22-24 October 2001.
- Instructor of brief course on globalization in the “*II Maestría en Derechos Humanos en el Mundo Contemporáneo*”, *Sede Iberoamericana de Santa María de la Rábida, Universidad Internacional de Andalucía*, Palos de la Frontera, Spain, 25-29 June 2001.
- “*Cuarto seminario Brasil-Argentina: los años 30*”, Itamaraty Palace and Catholic University, Rio de Janeiro, 22-23 November 1999. Organized by *Fundación Centro de Estudios Brasileiros*.
- “*Workshop on Security Relations in the Western Hemisphere: Four Middle Powers and the United States*”, *Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económica (CIDE)*, Mexico City, 11-12 November 1999.
- “*Semana del ISEN en el Instituto Rio Branco*”, Brasilia, 8 October 1999.
- Speech delivered in the Seminar on the Centennial of Argentine-Japanese relations, Tokyo, 2

- March 1999, organized by the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Japanese Latin American Association.
- “Atlantic Conference”, organized by The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, held at the Algarve, Portugal, 12-15 November 1998. Paper on the likely economic and security impact, on South America, of an expanded and more unified Europe.
 - Panelist at the annual “Argentine Week Seminar”, Brazilian Foreign Ministry at Instituto Rio Branco, Itamaraty, Brasilia, 18-22 May, 1998.
 - Paper delivered in conference on “Conflict or Convergence: Global Perspectives on War, Peace, and International Order”, organized by Prof. Samuel Huntington, Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies, November 13-15, 1997.
 - Meeting on “Democratization, economic liberalization and foreign policy: the Argentine experience”, St. Antony’s College, Oxford, 21-22 March 1997.
 - Instructor of a 2-credit course on “Argentine foreign policy: a historico-theoretical perspective”, doctoral program on contemporary Latin America, offered jointly by the *Instituto Universitario Ortega y Gasset* and the *Universidad Complutense de Madrid*, January-February 1997.
 - Lecture at the Friedrich Ebert Foundation in Bonn, 16 October 1996.
 - Lecture on “The military disequilibria in Southern South America as a test ground for the realist model of international relations”, at Hamburg's *Institüt für Iberoamerika-Kunde*, 28 Oct. 1996.
 - Presentation of a paper at a seminar on "Argentina: political culture and problems of development," Fritz Erler Academy, Freudenstadt, 18-20 October, 1996. Organized by the *Institut für Zusammenarbeit Leiter Abt. Lateinamerika und Karibik, Universität Tübingen*.
 - Commentator in the symposium on "Culture, values and development in Latin America", 28-30 June, 1996, organized by INCAE, San José de Costa Rica.
 - International Studies Association (ISA) Annual Convention, San Diego, California, 17-20 April, 1996. Paper on peripheral realism delivered in a panel on “The relevance of International Relations theory for the Third World”.
 - Paper presented at the symposium on the security policies in the Western hemisphere organized by the Inter-American Dialogue in Washington D.C., September 6, 1995.
 - Conference on Southern Cone politics (*El sur de las Américas frente a los nuevos desafíos*), Brasilia, May 26-27, 1995, organized by FLACSO and FOROSUR.
 - Comentator at the conference on MERCOSUR, organized by the *Istituti per le Relazioni tra l'Italia e i Paesi dell'Africa, America Latina e Medio Oriente (IPALMO)*, Sao Paulo, May 2-4, 1995.
 - Workshop on Inter-American security, Inter-American Dialogue, Washington D.C., 24-25 March 1995.
 - Seminar on Argentina's Jewish Community: A view of the Past, Present and Future, organized by The American Jewish Committee, Los Angeles, November 10, 1994.
 - Paper delivered at the seminar on the European Union and MERCOSUR, organized by the *Istituti per le Relazioni tra l'Italia e i Paesi dell'Africa, America Latina e Medio Oriente (IPALMO)*, Milan, October 11-12, 1994.

- Visit and lecture, West Point U.S. Military Academy, April 23-25, 1994.
- “Political culture and foreign policy: the case of Argentina”, lecture delivered at the Center for International Affairs (CFIA), Harvard University, 8 February 1994.
- Fifth Argentine-American Forum, Airlie House, Virginia, Oct 31-Nov 2, 1993.
- Paper on “Theoretical reflections on the case of the Cóndor II missile project”, delivered at the Argentina Workshop, Center for International Affairs (CFIA), Harvard University, November 3, 1993.
- Paper on peripheral realism, delivered at the Seminar on Neorealism and Interdependence, CIDE, México City, 7-9 October 1993.
- Meeting of Latin American Scholars interested in the study of the United States, CIDE/Instituto Mora/Colegio de México, Mexico City, 23-25 September 1992.
- Commentator at the seminar on the Falkland/Malvinas Controversy, The George Mason University, Airlie House, Virginia, May 1992.
- Paper delivered at the seminar on “Argentina: the experience of economic adjustment in a democratic context”, held at St. Antony's College, Oxford, and at the Institute of Latin American Studies, University of London, 16-19 March 1992.
- “From delusions of grandeur to peripheral realism: Argentina’s foreign policy under President Menem”, lecture delivered at Duke University and at the Institute of Latin American Studies, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 20 February 1992.
- Lecture on “Argentina’s Foreign Policy under President Menem”, delivered at Center for International Affairs (CFIA), Harvard University, February 4, 1992.
- Speech at meeting of the Program of Joint Studies on the International Relations of Latin America (RIAL), Asunción, November 1991.
- Commentator at meeting of the Program of Joint Studies on the International Relations of Latin America (RIAL), Santiago de Chile, October 1990.
- Paper on culture as a conditioning factor of Argentina’s foreign policy, delivered at the School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), Johns Hopkins University, Washington DC, March 1990.
- Researcher at the Lyndon B. Johnson Presidential Library, University of Texas at Austin, July-August 1989.
- Commentator, workshop on Latin American-U.S. relations, Instituto de Estudios de Estados Unidos, Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económica (CIDE), Mexico City, 28- 29 Sep. 1989.
- Paper delivered at Meeting of the Program of Joint Studies on the International Relations of Latin America (RIAL), San Lorenzo del Escorial, Madrid, 14-17 October 1989.
- Paper delivered at symposium on US policies for the promotion of democracy in Latin America, School of International Relations, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, April 1989.
- Panelist at round table on Latin American perceptions of the United States, 41st International Convention of the American Studies Association, New York, November 1987.
- Papers delivered at seminars on the institutional changes during Argentina's transition to democracy, Universities of Rome and Florence, 22-27 June 1987.
- Meeting of Latin American scholars interested in the study of the United States, *Casa de Rui*

- Barbosa*, Rio de Janeiro. Paper presented at Convention of the Brazilian Association of American Studies, University of Belo Horizonte, 6-8 April 1987.
- Paper delivered at seminar on Democratic Argentina, University of Mainz, Federal Republic of Germany, and tour of German academic institutions in Berlin, Bonn, Frankfurt, Cologne and Hamburg, 17-27 November 1986.
 - Panelist at round table on Latin American perceptions of the United States, *Associação Brasileira de Estudos Americanos* (ABEA), Rio de Janeiro, 17 September 1986.
 - Commentator at symposium on the International Year of Peace organized by UNITAR and Columbia University, New York, 2-5 September 1986.
 - Paper delivered at seminar on the relations between Argentina, the United States and the United Kingdom during the decade of the 1940's, St. Antony's College, University of Oxford, 3-5 July 1986.
 - Commentator at the tripartite (Argentine-UK-US) seminar on the Falkland Islands conflict, School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), The Johns Hopkins University, Washington DC, 3-5 February 1985.
 - Paper presented at seminar on the compared social developments of Argentina, Australia and Canada between 1850 and 1950, Institute of Latin American Studies, University of London, January 1985.
 - Lecture on "Argentine Territorial Nationalism", 5 February 1985, Institute of Latin American Studies, University of London.
 - Lecture on "The effect of U.S. policy on Argentina in the 1940s", St. Antony's College, Oxford University, 1 February 1985.

COMPLETE LIST OF ACADEMIC PUBLICATIONS

Books (as author):

- Por qué soy judío, y otros ensayos*, Buenos Aires: Lumière, 2010.
- La Guerra de los Dioses: Los Mandatos Bíblicos frente a la Política Mundial*, Buenos Aires: Lumière, 2007.
- Festival de Licuaciones: Causas y Consecuencias de la Pobreza en la Argentina*, Buenos Aires: Lumière, 2006.
- El Estado Parasitario: Argentina, Ciclos de Vaciamiento, Clase Política Delictiva y Colpaso de la Política Exterior*, Buenos Aires: Lumière, 2005.
- Estado del Mundo: Las Nuevas Reglas de la Política Internacional Vistas desde el Cono Sur*, Buenos Aires: Ariel, 1999.
- Los Mercenarios del Fin del Milenio: Estados Unidos, Europa y la Proliferación de Servicios Militares Privados*, Buenos Aires: Belgrano, 1999.
- Foreign Policy Theory in Menem's Argentina*, Gainesville, Florida: The University of Florida Press, 1997.
- El Realismo de los Estados Débiles: la política exterior del primer gobierno Menem frente a la teoría de las relaciones internacionales*, (published under the auspices of The Center for International Affairs, Harvard University), Buenos Aires: GEL 1995.
- Realismo Periférico: Bases Teóricas para una Nueva Política Exterior Argentina*, Buenos Aires: Planeta 1992
- La "Riconquista" Argentina: Scuola e Nazionalismo*, Fiesole, Italy: Edizioni Cultura della Pace, 1992. Abridged version of the book cited below (1990), in Italian.
- El Fracaso del Proyecto Argentino: Educación e Ideología*, Buenos Aires: Ed. Tesis/Instituto Torcuato Di Tella, 1990.
- Patología del Nacionalismo: el Caso Argentino*, Buenos Aires: Ed. Tesis/Instituto Torcuato Di Tella, 1987.
- La Argentina vs. las Grandes Potencias: el Precio del Desafío*, Buenos Aires: Ed. de Belgrano 1986.
- La Argentina, ¿Paria Internacional?* (with the collaboration of Cristóbal Williams), Buenos Aires: Ed. de Belgrano 1984.
- Gran Bretaña, Estados Unidos y la Declinación Argentina, 1942-49*, Buenos Aires: Ed. de Belgrano 1983, 1984, 1988, 1996.
- Aspectos Ocultos de la Salud en la Argentina – Inversión y Productividad, 1900-1975*, Buenos Aires: El Coloquio, 1976.
- Aspectos Ocultos de la Educación en la Argentina – Políticas de Inversión y Productividad, 1900-1975*, Buenos Aires: El Coloquio, 1975.

Books (as editor):

- Beatriz Gurevich and Carlos Escudé (eds.), *El Genocidio frente a la Historia y la Naturaleza Humana*, Buenos Aires: GEL, 1994.

Collective works (as director and coauthor):

Historia General de las Relaciones Exteriores de la República Argentina, directed by Andrés Cisneros and Carlos Escudé, in fifteen volumes; Buenos Aires: GEL, 1998. Also available online in “Iberoamérica y el Mundo”.

Publications outside Argentina:

- “National and Territorial Identities in Contemporary Latin America and Europe”, in Ryszard Stemplowski (ed.), *Europe and Latin America, Looking at Each Other?*, Warsaw: Polish Institute of International Affairs, 2010. BOOK CHAPTER
- “Réquiem al realismo periférico: ascenso y ocaso de una experiencia argentina de construcción de una teoría de RRII, 1986-1997”, in Cristián Parker Gumucio and Fernando Estenssoro Saavedra (eds.), *El desafío del conocimiento para América latina*, Santiago de Chile: Explora/USACH-IDEA, 2010. BOOK CHAPTER
- “Peripheral Realism: An Argentine Theory-Building Experience, 1986-1997”, in José Flávio Sombra Saraiva (ed.), *Concepts, Histories and Theories of International Relations for the 21st Century: Regional and National Approaches*, Brasilia: IBRI, 2009. BOOK CHAPTER
- “La civilización iberoamericana y sus relaciones internacionales”, in R. Stemplowski (ed.), *On the State of Latin American States: Approaching the Bicentenary*, Krakov, Poland: Andrzej Frycza Modrzewski Krakow University, 2009. BOOK CHAPTER
- “Piqueteros al gobierno: un experimento populista argentino, 2003-2007”, *Estudios Interdisciplinarios de América Latina y el Caribe* (Aranne School of History, University of Tel Aviv), Vol. 20 (1), January-June 2009. JOURNAL ARTICLE
- Review of Ricardo Salvatore’s *Imágenes de un Imperio: Estados Unidos y las Formas de Representación de América Latina* (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 2006), in *Estudios Interdisciplinarios de América Latina y el Caribe* (Aranne School of History, University of Tel Aviv), Vol. 18, N° 2, Jul-Dec 2007, pp. 125-127. REVIEW
- “De Estado cautivo a Estado fallido: La Argentina y su populismo sistémico, 1975-2006” http://d.repec.org/n?u=RePEc:hal:papers:halshs-00103870_v1&r=all; EconPapers/REPEN, 2007 WORKING PAPER (SPAIN)
- “From Captive to Failed State: Argentina under Systemic Populism, 1975-2006”, in *Fletcher Forum of World Affairs*, Vol. 30(2), Summer 2006, pp. 125-147. JOURNAL ARTICLE
- “Transnational terrorism, corruption and erosion of state authority: the case of the 1992 and 1994 attacks in Argentina”, coauthored with Beatriz Gurevich in *Estudios Interdisciplinarios de América Latina (EIAL)* (published by the School of History of the University of Tel Aviv), Vol. 14, N° 2, November 2003, pp. 127-148. JOURNAL ARTICLE

- “¿Cuánto valen esas bases? El tira y afloja entre Estados Unidos y España, 1951-1953”, in *Cuadernos de Historia Contemporánea*, Universidad Complutense de Madrid Nº 25, November 2003. JOURNAL ARTICLE
- “The Falklands will never be Argentine”, in Lyubomir Ivanov (ed.), *The Future of the Falkland Islands and its People*, Sofia (Bulgaria): Double T, 2003. BOOK CHAPTER
- “Европейский Союз и глобальная безопасность в мировой системе постсовременности (world-system)”, in *Европа*, Volumen 2 (3), 2002, p. 96-130. JOURNAL ARTICLE
- “Argentinien – Land frustrierter Perspektiven? Ein Erklärungsansatz für relativen Frustrationen der Argentinier”, in Klaus Bodemer, Andrea Pagni and Peter Waldmann (eds.), *Argentinien Heute*, Frankfurt: Vervuert, 2002, pp. 37-58. BOOK CHAPTER
- “Argentina, Israel y los Judíos”, *Revista de Libros*, Nº 69, September 2002, Madrid, pp. 7-8. REVIEW ARTICLE
- “Argentina: A ‘Parasite State’ on the Verge of Disintegration”, *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, Volume 15 (3), October 2002, pp. 453-467. JOURNAL ARTICLE
- “Natural Law at War”, *The Times Literary Supplement* (TLS, London), 31 May 2002, p. 27. REVIEW ARTICLE
- “Unia Europejska i globalne bezpieczeństwo w ponowoczesnym świecie”, in *Polski Przegląd Dyplomatyczny*, Vol. 2, Nº 1 (5) 2002, pp. 57-85. JOURNAL ARTICLE
- “When Security Reigns Supreme: The Postmodern World-System vis-à-vis Globalized Terrorism and Organized Crime”, in Ryszard. Stemplowski (ed.), *Transnational Terrorism in the World System Perspective*, Polish Institute of International Affairs, Warsaw 2002, pp. 69-96. BOOK CHAPTER
- “The European Union and Global Security in the Postmodern World-System”, in Ryszard Stemplowski (ed.) *The European Union in the World System Perspective*, Polish Institute of International Affairs, Warsaw 2002, pp. 95-120. BOOK CHAPTER
- “Comentarios” to the paper of Francisco Fernando Monteoliva Doratioto “*As Políticas da Argentina e do Brasil em relação à Disputa Boliviana-Paraguaiá pelo Chaco (1926-1936)*”, in *Brasil-Argentina: A Visão do Outro*, Brasília: Fundação Alexandre de Gusmão/Fundación de Estudios Brasileños, 2000, pp. 478-483. PUBLISHED COMMENTS TO BOOK CHAPTER
- “Perspectives on War, Peace and International Order in the Southern Cone of South America”, Weatherhead Center for International Studies, Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies, May 1999. Part of the Project on “Conflict or Convergence: Global Perspectives on War, Peace and International Order”, directed by Samuel P. Huntington. PROCEEDINGS
- “Argentina's Security Policies: Their Rationale and Regional Context” (co-author with Andrés Fontana), in Jorge I. Domínguez (ed.), *International Security and Democracy: Latin America and the Caribbean in the Post-Cold War Era*, Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1998, pp. 51-79. BOOK CHAPTER
- “An Introduction to Peripheral Realism and its Implications for the Interstate System: Argentina and the Cóndor II Missile Project”, in Stephanie Neuman (ed.), *International Relations Theory and the Third World*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998, pp. 55-76. BOOK CHAPTER

- “Las Políticas de Seguridad de Argentina: su Lógica y Contexto Regional”, in co-authorship with Andrés Fontana, in Jorge Domínguez (ed.) *Seguridad Internacional, Paz, y Democracia en el Cono Sur*, Santiago de Chile: FLACSO, 1998, pp. 81-123. BOOK CHAPTER
- Foreign Policy Theory in Menem's Argentina*, Gainesville, Florida: The University of Florida Press, 1997. BOOK
- “Die argentinische Aussenpolitik: ein Paradigmenwechsel?”, in Rafael Sevilla y Ruth Zimmerling (comp.), *Argentinien, Land der Peripherie?*, Bad Honnef (Germany): Horlemann, 1997, pp. 122-136. BOOK CHAPTER
- “Política Exterior Argentina: as exigencias da coerencia”, en *Revista Brasileira de Comércio Exterior*, Fundacao Centro de Estudos do Comércio Exterior, N° 53, Octubre-Diciembre de 1997. JOURNAL ARTICLE
- “Hacia una Nueva Concepción de las Unidades del Sistema Estructural de Waltz: El Caso de la Política Exterior Argentina”, in A. Borja, G. González y B.J.R. Stevenson (ed.), *Regionalismo y Poder en América: Los Límites del Neorrealismo*, Mexico: Porrúa/CIDE, 1996, pp. 273-310. BOOK CHAPTER
- Review of David Rock’s edited volume, *Latin America in the 1940s: War and Postwar Transitions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), in *Journal of Latin American Studies*, Vol. 27 (1), 1995, p. 245. REVIEW ARTICLE
- “Un enigma: la 'irracionalidad' argentina frente a la Segunda Guerra Mundial”, in *Estudios Interdisciplinarios de América Latina y el Caribe* (Aranne School of History, University of Tel Aviv), Vol. 6 (2), July-December 1995, pp. 5-33. JOURNAL ARTICLE
- “Argentina 1900-1950: imagen de sí misma, imagen de Estados Unidos y el conflicto diplomático”; en Víctor Arriaga et alia (comp.), *Estados Unidos desde América Latina*, México: Instituto Mora/CIDE/ColMex, 1995. BOOK CHAPTER
- “The Anthropomorphic Fallacy in International Relations Discourse”, Working Paper #94-6, Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, August 1994. WORKING PAPER
- “Education, Political Culture and Foreign Policy: The Case of Argentina”, Duke-UNC Working Papers Series, N° 4, November 1992. WORKING PAPER
- La 'Riconquista' Argentina: Scuola e Nazionalismo*, Fiesole, Italy: Edizioni Cultura della Pace, 1992. Abridged version of the book cited below (1990), in Italian. BOOK
- “Cultura Política y Contenidos Educativos: el Caso de Argentina”, in C. Barbé, *Le Ombre del Passato: Dimensioni Culturali e Psicosociali di un Processo di Democratizzazione*, Torino, Italy: G. Giappichelli Editore 1992, pp. 111-154. BOOK CHAPTER
- “Argentina: The Costs of Contradiction”, in *Exporting Democracy: The United States and Latin America*, Abraham F. Lowenthal (ed.), Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991, pp. 125-160. BOOK CHAPTER
- “US Political Destabilisation and Economic Boycot of Argentina during the 1940s”, in *Argentina Between the Great Powers 1939-46*, G. Di Tella y D. Cameron Watt (eds.), London: Macmillan, 1989, pp. 56-76. BOOK CHAPTER
- “Health in Buenos Aires in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century”, in *Social Welfare 1850-1950: Australia, Argentina and Canada Compared*, D.C.M. Platt (ed.), London: Macmillan, 1989, pp. 60-70. BOOK CHAPTER
- “La Política de Gran Bretaña y Estados Unidos hacia la Argentina Durante la Década del '40”, in

Revista de Historia de América (Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, Mexico D.F.), N° 106, July-December 1988, pp. 7-47. BOOK CHAPTER
“Argentine Territorial Nationalism”, in *Journal of Latin American Studies*, Vol. 20 (1), May 1988, pp. 139-155. JOURNAL ARTICLE

Chapters in collective volumes published in Argentina:

- “El Golfo Pérsico y la Región Afgano-Paquistaní: algunas opciones geopolíticas en las vísperas de una nueva administración”, in Luis M. Savino (ed.), *Las Elecciones Presidenciales de los Estados Unidos*, Buenos Aires: Fundación Centro de Estudios Americanos, 2008
- “La Guerra Justa y el Fin de la Historieta”, in *Siete Escenarios para el Siglo XXI*, Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 2004.
- “Argentina - La Muerte de la Política Exterior: El Callejón Sin Salida de un Estado Parasitario”, in *Soluciones de Políticas Públicas Para un País en Crisis*, Buenos Aires: Fundación Atlas, 2003.
- “Pasado y presente de las relaciones argentinas con los hegemones occidentales”, in Andrés Cisneros (ed.), *Política Exterior Argentina 1989-1999: Historia de un Éxito*, Buenos Aires: GEL, 1998.
- "Las relaciones argentino-chilenas, 1946-1953, y las ilusiones expansionistas del peronismo" (co-author with Leonor Machinandiarena de Devoto), in Torcuato S. Di Tella (ed.), *Argentina-Chile, ¿Desarrollos Paralelos?*, Buenos Aires: Nuevohacer (GEL), 1997.
- "La Historia, la Cultura Política, los Errores y las Lecciones en las Relaciones Argentino-Norteamericanas", in Felipe A.M. de la Balze and Eduardo A. Roca (eds.), *Argentina y Estados Unidos: Fundamentos de una Nueva Alianza*, Buenos Aires: ABRA (Asociación de Bancos de la República Argentina), 1997.
- "La Traición a los Derechos Humanos, 1950-1955", in CARI, *La Política Exterior Argentina y sus Protagonistas, 1880-1995*, Buenos Aires: Nuevohacer, 1996.
- "La Historia, la Cultura Política, los Errores y las Lecciones en las Relaciones Argentino-Norteamericanas", in ABRA, *El Empleo en la Nueva Economía*, 7mas. Jornadas Bancarias de la República Argentina, Buenos Aires 1996.
- "Cultura Política y Política Exterior: el Salto Cualitativo de la Política Exterior Argentina Inaugurada en 1989 (o Breve Introducción al Realismo Periférico)", in R. Russell (ed.), *La Política Exterior Argentina en el Nuevo Orden Mundial*, Buenos Aires: GEL 1992.
- "De la Irrelevancia de Reagan y Alfonsín: Hacia el Desarrollo de un Realismo Periférico", in *Estados Unidos y la Transición Argentina*, R. Bouzas y R. Russell (ed.), Buenos Aires: Ed. Legasa 1989.
- "De Esperanzas Necesarias y Frustraciones Inevitables: Reflexiones en torno a la Integración Latinoamericana", in *Argentina entre el Orden y el Desorden Internacional*, A. Pérez Lindo (ed.), Buenos Aires: Ed. Cántaro 1989.
- "Política Exterior Argentina: Una Sobredosis Crónica de Confrontaciones", in *La Nueva Democracia Argentina*, E. Garzón Valdés, M. Mols y A. Spita (eds.), Buenos Aires: Sudamericana 1988.
- "Contenido Nacionalista de la Enseñanza de la Geografía en la República Argentina, 1879-

- 1986", in *Malvinas Hoy: Herencia de un Conflicto*, A. A. Borón and J. Faúndez (eds.), Buenos Aires: Ed. Puntosur 1988.
- "El Nacionalismo Territorial Argentino", in *Argentina en el Mundo 1973-1987*, R. M. Perina and R. Russell (eds.), Buenos Aires: GEL 1988.
- "Hacia una Optimización de la Inserción de la Argentina en el Sistema Internacional", in *Ensayos Sobre la Crisis Política Argentina*, J. Pinto (ed.), Buenos Aires: Biblioteca Política Argentina, Centro Editor de América Latina 1988.
- "Condicionamientos Externos de la Democracia Argentina", in *Sobre la Consolidación de la Democracia*, M. J. López (ed.), Buenos Aires: Belgrano 1987.
- "Hacia una Optimización de la Inserción de la Argentina en el Sistema Internacional", in *Ensayos de Ciencia Política*, J. Pinto (ed.), Buenos Aires: Ed. Larisa 1984.

Booklet:

- "El Boicot norteamericano a la Argentina en la Década del '40", Colección *Conflictos y Procesos de la Historia Argentina Contemporánea*, No. 1, Buenos Aires: Centro Editor de América Latina 1988.

Articles in specialized journals published in Argentina and Uruguay:

In *Archivos del Presente* (Buenos Aires):

- “Israel-Estados Unidos: un alianza asimétrica”, Vol. 14:52, 2010.
 “La Argentina y sus Alianzas Estratégicas”, no. 13, year 4, Jul.-Sep. 1998.
 “Caso Pinochet: un Claroscuro Político y Moral”, no. 14, year 4, Oct.-Dec. 1998.

In *Agenda Internacional* (Fundación Visión Desde el Sur):

- “Viñetas sobre el estado del mundo en nuestro tiempo”, 6: 21 (March 2010).
 “A río revuelto: autonomía periférica en un contexto de desorden global”, Vol. 1, (1), Jun-Aug. 2004, pp. 16-27.

En *Boletín del Centro Naval*:

- “El trasfondo cultural de la invasión argentina de Malvinas”, Vol. CXXVIII:827, mayo-agosto de 2010.

In *Sociedad Global* (Universidad Abierta Interamericana)

- “Piqueteros al Poder, 2003-2007: Una Estrategia Exitosa”, Vol. 1:1, Dec. 2007.

In DEF – Desarrollo, Defensa, Energía, Medio Ambiente:

- “Argentina, Estados Unidos y la Cuestión Nuclear”, Vol. 3:26, Oct. 2007.

In *Postdata* (Buenos Aires):

- “La Transformación de las Ecuaciones del Realismo Periférico en el Siglo XXI”, August 2007.
 “Cultura Política, Política Exterior y Caducidad del Modelo del Estado como Actor Racional: el Caso Argentino”, May 2001.

In *Boletín del ISIAE* (CARI – Consejo Argentino para las Relaciones Internacionales):

- “El conflicto de las papeleras y la muerte de la política exterior”, Vol. 9:40, Oct. 2006.

In *Ágora Internacional* (Buenos Aires):

- “¿Hacia un nuevo Medioevo? Breve introducción al neomodernismo”, Vol. 1:1, Aug. 2006.
- In *Transparencias* (“La Revista de la AMIA”):
 “El terrorismo frente al sistema mundial”, Mar.-Ap. 2002.
- In *Revista de Ciencias Sociales* (Universidad Nacional de Quilmes):
 “Escenario estratégico internacional después del 11 de septiembre”, N° 13, Sep. 2002.
- In *Cuadernos Marcha* (Montevideo):
 “Las relaciones argentinas con los hegemones occidentales”, Jan. 1999, pp. 3-16.
- In *Revista Argentina de Ciencia Política* (University of Buenos Aires):
 “Pasado y presente de las relaciones argentinas con los hegemones occidentales”, N° 2, Dec. 1998.
- In *América Latina/Internacional* (FLACSO, Buenos Aires):
 “La falacia antropomorfa en el discurso de las relaciones internacionales”, Vol. 2:1, Fall-Winter 1995, p. 95-121.
 “Fundamentos para un replanteo de la estrategia argentina respecto de Malvinas”, Vol. 9 (33), June-August 1992, p. 513-519.
 “La política exterior de Menem y su sustento teórico implícito”, Vol. 8 (27), January-March 1991, p. 396-406.
- In *Agora* (Buenos Aires):
 “Hacia una nueva concepción de las unidades del sistema estructural de Waltz: el caso de la política exterior argentina”, Winter 1995.
- In *INDICE para el Análisis de Nuestro Tiempo* (Delegación de Asociaciones Israelitas de la Argentina, D.A.I.A., Buenos Aires):
 “Los obstáculos culturales para el desarrollo democrático en la Argentina: la generación de una cultura autoritaria a través de los contenidos de la educación en el siglo XX”, Ap. 1992.
- In *Relaciones Internacionales* (Universidad Nacional de La Plata):
 “La relatividad de los derechos argentinos a las Malvinas”, Vol. 5:9, Nov. 1995, p. 31-41.
 “Cultura política, política exterior y caducidad del modelo del Estado como actor racional: el caso argentino”, Vol. 9 (19), Jun.-Nov. 200, pp. 37-70.
- In *Todo es Historia* (Buenos Aires):
 “La Traición a los Derechos Humanos: Relaciones Argentino-Norteamericanas 1950-1955”, Mar. 1989.
 “Crónicas de la Tercera Posición: la Ratificación Argentina del TIAR en Junio de 1950”, Nov. 1988.
 “El Conflicto del Beagle: la Razón y las Pasiones” (in collaboration with Cristóbal Williams), Feb. 1984.
 “Cuando el Mundo Dependía de Nuestros Alimentos”, May 1983.
 “¿Qué le dio al país la diplomacia?”, Vol. 20 (42), 1987, pp. 16-20.
 “1940-1950: Boicot Norteamericano Contra la Argentina”, Part 1, Feb. 1982, and Part 2, Mar. 1982.
 “Braden, Perón y la Diplomacia Británica”, Nov. 1978.
 “Perón, Miranda y la Compra de los Ferrocarriles Británicos” (en collaboration with

- María T. Carballo de Cilley), Mar. 1979.
- In *Ideas en Ciencias Sociales* (University of Belgrano, Buenos Aires):
 "Contenido Nacionalista de la Enseñanza de la Geografía en la República Argentina 1879-1986", No. 9, 1988.
 "La Competencia Territorial en la Historia de las Relaciones Argentino-Chilenas", No. 3, 1985.
- In *Valores en la Sociedad Industrial* (Universidad Católica Argentina):
 "La Salud en Buenos Aires entre 1860 y 1914", mid-1986.
- In *Criterio*(Buenos Aires):
 "Derechos Humanos y Soberanía Política", 12 Jan. 1984.
 "Condicionantes Externos de la Democracia Argentina", 28 Nov. 1985.
- In *Desarrollo Económico* (Buenos Aires):
 "Réplica al Comentario Sobre *La Declinación Argentina*", Jan.-Mar. 1984.
 "Las Restricciones Internacionales de la Economía Argentina 1945-1949", Ap.-Jun. 1980.
- In *Revista Argentina de Relaciones Internacionales* (CEINAR, Buenos Aires):
 "La Distribución de la Riqueza en la Argentina y en el Mundo", No.6, Sep.-Dec. 1976.

Working Papers published in Argentina:

- “Un experimento pacifista : las políticas exteriores y de seguridad de Argentina en el siglo XXI”, Universidad del CEMA, Working Paper N° 426, July 2010.
- “Israel, Latin America and the United States: A peripheral-realist perspective”, Universidad del CEMA, Working Paper N° 413, Dec. 2009.
- “Realismo periférico. Una filosofía de política exterior para Estados débiles”, Universidad del CEMA, Working Paper N° 406, Sep. 2009.
- “Las identidades nacionales en América latina y en Europa”, Universidad del CEMA, Working Paper N° 405, Sep. 2009.
- “Apuntes sobre los orígenes del nacionalismo territorial argentino”, Universidad del CEMA, Working Paper N° 388, Dec. 2008
- “Una investigación en el mercado de las ideas: la penetración global del concepto de “realismo periférico” en la bibliografía especializada en relaciones internacionales (a noviembre de 2008)”, Universidad del CEMA, Working Paper N° 387, Dec. 2008
- “The anthropomorphic fallacy in international relations theory and practice”, Universidad del CEMA, Working Paper N° 373, July 2008
- “Kirchner y la cooptación de piqueteros, 2003-2007”, Universidad del CEMA, Working Paper N° 359, December 2007.
- “Radiografía de una política de derechos humanos: los Estados Unidos frente a la Argentina”, Universidad del CEMA, Working Paper N° 352, July 2007.
- “¿Hacia un nuevo Medioevo? El neomodernismo frente al conflicto global actual.” Universidad del CEMA, Working Paper N° 330, December 2006.

- “The US Destabilization and Economic Boycott of Argentina of the 1940s, revisited”, Universidad del CEMA, Working Paper N° 323, July 2006.
- “Cultura política, política exterior y caducidad del modelo del Estado como actor racional: el caso argentino”, Universidad del CEMA, Working Paper N° 310, December 2005.
- “La guerra justa y el fin de la historieta (un manifiesto neomoderno)”, Universidad del CEMA, Working Paper N° 295, July 2005.
- “Los piqueteros: prebenda y extorsión en los estratos marginales de un ‘Estado parasitario’”, Universidad del CEMA, Working Paper N° 287, February 2005.
- “¿Cuánto valen esas bases? La instauración de un ‘realismo periférico’ español frente a los Estados Unidos, 1951-1953”, Doc. de Trabajo del CEIEG N° 5, Buenos Aires, Dec. 2004.
- “Reflections on Cultural Superiority and the Just War: A neomodern Imperative”, Universidad del CEMA, Working Paper N° 278, Buenos Aires, November 2004.
- “Hacia una teoría sistémica del “Estado parasitario: El caso Argentino”, Universidad del CEMA, Working Paper N° 277, Buenos Aires, November 2004.
- “La globalización y el sistema-mundial neomoderno frente a las armas de destrucción masiva y la seguridad humana: hacia un materialismo histórico de derechas”, Universidad del CEMA, Working Paper N° 274, Buenos Aires, November 2004.
- “Apuntes de mala praxis académica: taxonomía y estudios de caso”, in co-authorship with Beatriz Gurevich, Documentos de Trabajo del CEIEG N° 4, Buenos Aires, October 2004.
- “Hipótesis de Conflicto: El Cono Sur Frente al Eje Chávez-FARC”, *Working Paper* N° 63, in co-authorship with Mariana Souto Zabaleta, Universidad Torcuato Di Tella, May 2001.
- “La Política Exterior de Alfonsín: lecciones de una sobredosis de confrontaciones” (in collaboration with Marisa González de Oleaga, Instituto Universitario Ortega y Gasset, Madrid), *Working Paper* N° 30, Universidad Torcuato Di Tella, July 1996.
- “Divergencias Estratégicas en el Cono Sur: las políticas de seguridad de la Argentina frente a las de Brasil y Chile” (in collaboration with Andrés Fontana, Instituto del Servicio Exterior de la Nación), *Working Paper* N° 20, Universidad Torcuato Di Tella, July 1995.
- “International Relations Theory: A Peripheral Perspective”, Universidad Torcuato Di Tella *Working Paper* N° 1, June 1993.

Partial list of Argentine media that have published Escudé’s opinion pieces

La Nación (newspaper, Buenos Aires); *Clarín* (newspaper, Buenos Aires); *Página 12* (newspaper, Buenos Aires); *Río Negro* (newspaper, Buenos Aires); *Buenos Aires Herald* (newspaper, Buenos Aires); *El Cronista* (newspaper, Buenos Aires); *Ámbito Financiero* (newspaper, Buenos Aires); *BAE* (Buenos Aires Económico) and *InfoBAe* (newspaper, Buenos Aires); *La Prensa* (newspaper, Buenos Aires); *La Razón* (newspaper, Buenos Aires); *La Gaceta* (newspaper, Tucumán); *La Voz del Interior* (newspaper, Córdoba); *La Capital* (newspaper, Rosario); *Los Andes* (newspaper, Mendoza); *El Ciudadano* (newspaper, Mendoza); *Nueva Sión* (liberal periodical of the Argentine Jewish community); *Revista Mercado*; *Revista Extra* *Revista Noticias*; *Revista Siete Días*; *Revista Somos*; *Revista Humor*; *Revista La Avispa*; *Revista Estrategas*; *Revista La Primera*.

Countless television programs, countless radio broadcasts

Partial list of foreign media that have cited the Escudé's opinions

Le Figaro; The Wall Street Journal; The Financial Times; The New York Times; The Los Angeles Times; The Chicago Tribune; Time Magazine; The Economist; Newsweek; Business Week; The Washington Post; The Christian Science Monitor; Russia Journal; British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC); CNN television news broadcast; Voice of America