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According to Puig, the transition to autonomy entails four basic stages: (1) paracolonial dependency (formal sovereign status); (2) national dependence (the anchoring of the material benefits derived from dependency to a national project); (3) heterodox autonomy (autonomy in nonstrategic issues in exchange for nonconfrontational relations with the core); and (4) secessionist autonomy (the rupture of all linkages with the core combined with acts of global defiance) (1980:149–155). Similar to Jaguaribe's discussion of this problem, for Puig autonomy requires adequate degrees of national viability, a sufficient amount of domestic resources, and an explicit commitment on the part of elite groups regarding autonomy's intrinsic value. Both authors share the notion that autonomy requires the mobilization of power resources in the periphery. Regional alliances against the core, economic and political integration, and improved negotiating strategies constitute just three strategies highlighted by Puig and Jaguaribe for achieving this goal.

Peripheral Realism

The end of the Cold War led to a reevaluation of the intrinsic value of peripheral autonomy as a guide to Latin America's international relations. Beginning in the 1990s, academic production in the region on the topic of autonomy was nonexistent. Carlos Escudé's (1995) formulation of peripheral realism constitutes the only exhaustive conceptual endeavor in recent Latin American IR.⁴ Contrary to the authors preceding him, Escudé maintains that the benefits of autonomy, historically a cornerstone of the region's foreign policies, must be weighed against the relative costs of using it. In an attempt to derive a normative theory from realism's central premises, of relevance to the periphery (Argentina in particular), Escudé discusses the merits of "peripheral realism" as opposed to autonomy. According to the author, the acritical adoption in the periphery of theoretical frameworks produced primarily in the United States has had negative consequences in Latin America, to the extent that it has served the ideological purposes of the elites in these countries. While realist theory has been used to justify aggressive foreign policies on the part of the periphery, interdependence has led to an overestimation of the periphery's scope for action (Escudé, 1995:19).

Classical realism's emphasis upon the state and the national interest defined in terms of power, is especially problematic when applied to the periphery, given that state-centric approaches fail to specify the subject that state actions serve, and can legitimate specific group interests over others. Escudé describes this common tendency to present the state-as-person, in isolation from the particular interests represented therein, as the "anthropomorphic fallacy" (1995:49). In light of the exclusionary nature of state-centric realism, particularly evident in the periphery where the nature of the state is more conducive to elitist practices, the author proposes the adoption of a citizen-centric realist approach more attuned to the particularities of the Third World.

Escudé's peripheral realism includes the following premises: (1) the concept of the national interest should be defined in terms of economic development centered around the well-being of the citizenry; (2) peripheral countries should eliminate political confrontations with the core powers in those cases in which the latter's policies do not directly affect the material interests of the country in question; (3) peripheral countries should avoid unproductive confrontations with great powers, even when such confrontations do not generate immediate costs; (4) peripheral

⁴Escudé does not enjoy the same regional authority as the other authors discussed in this section. However, the fact that "peripheral realism" has been extremely influential in the practice and study of Argentina's international relations and that Escudé's work constitutes the only recent conceptual endeavor in the field, well warrant its discussion here.

countries should avoid "idealist" but costly foreign policy approaches; and (5) peripheral countries should examine the advantages of bandwagoning with the dominant power or a coalition of great powers (Escudé, 1995:154-156).

Latin American IR Teaching

The Evolution of IR in Latin America

Different analysts associate the consolidation of Latin American IR with changes in the region's international orientation in the 1970s, namely, the diversification of its external relations and the search for autonomy vis-à-vis the United States.⁵ Both created new needs in terms of the systematic analysis of Latin America's relations with the rest of the world (Muñoz, 1980; Tomassini, 1990; Maira, 1991). According to Luis Maira (1991:8-10), although the new academic endeavors that began to emerge during this "foundational period" were completely isolated from each other, the research agendas that they addressed were basically similar, and included topics such as the operation of the international system, North-South relations and the role of the Third World, the internal nature of the core countries, economic integration and regional cooperation, comparative foreign policy, and processes of transnationalization and interdependence. The process of consolidation and maturation of the discipline received a crucial impetus with the creation of the Joint Studies Program in International Relations in Latin America (RIAL) in 1977, an association of academic centers dedicated to the promotion of research, teaching, and seminars on international relations. Starting in the early 1980s, RIAL began coordinating annual reports and meetings on international relations, in which a diverse series of topics began to be explored by academics from the region. During this same period, the Latin American Foreign Policy Program (PROSPEL), which comprised the same community of Latin American scholars, began to publish an annual volume dealing with the evolution of regional foreign policies.⁶

A series of factors have influenced the evolution of international relations studies in different national settings (Perina, 1985b; Russell, 1992b; Tickner, 2000): comparative levels of development and position within the regional/international system; political regime type; levels of domestic crisis; degree of interaction between academic and public sectors; and duration of the colonial experience. Those countries that experienced comparatively early development, namely, Chile, Mexico, Brazil, and Argentina, were those in which international relations studies evolved earlier. Historically, this group of countries has also occupied a predominant position within the regional hierarchy. The major difference between Brazil and the other three countries is that for many years Brazil's ministry of foreign relations, Itamaraty, was reluctant to foster an environment more conducive to the consolidation of IR as an academic field, given its monopoly of the country's foreign relations (Soares de Lima, 1992).

Political regime type and political crisis also played a crucial role in the development of IR in those countries subjected to authoritarian rule between the 1960s and 1980s. Although the levels of repression directed against the academic sector in Argentina and Chile were much higher than in Brazil, in all three cases many individuals who would have normally aspired to participate in political activities were excluded from this realm, and often reoriented their professional activities toward the academic sector. This process had contradictory effects in the countries in question. International relations studies received a significant intellectual "push" from authoritarianism, consisting mainly of the incorporation of important political figures into IR activities that resulted in the creation of an

⁵The first research centers dedicated to the study of global issues were created in the 1960s, in Mexico and Chile. During the following two decades IR teaching and research programs were spread throughout the region.

⁶Chilean scholars Luciano Tomassini and Heraldo Muñoz, respectively, spearheaded these initiatives.