

## Brazilian Foreign Policy

*August 5th - November 13th 2020*

*60 hours / 30 lectures*

*Language of Instruction: Portuguese*

### Course Description

This course introduces students to the subject of Brazilian Foreign Policy by analyzing core concepts, ideas and challenges that have shaped the way we think about Brazil's role in the world over the past two centuries. Illustrations will be drawn from international history and contemporary affairs.

### Course Objectives

The objective of this course is to provide a solid understanding of Brazil's foreign policy, assessing, among other aspects, Brazil's role in Latin America, its relationship to the United States, and debates about the country's views on topics such as globalization, development and multilateralism. In addition, it seeks to advance students' capacity to write clearly and express themselves coherently and apply theoretical knowledge to the subject at hand.

### Learning Goals

By the end of the semester, students will have:

- The ability to understand and discuss the key concepts of Brazilian foreign policy and actively participate in debates about contemporary foreign policy challenges.
- The knowledge to critically assess how domestic politics affects foreign policy.
- The competence to express, in both written and oral form, complex ideas in the realm of Brazilian foreign policy, and to apply them to other countries.

### > Professor

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### > Teaching Assistant

#### Guilherme Mattos

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### > Class Schedule

#### Group 1:

Wednesday, 9h00-10h50

Zoom Link: tba

Friday, 7h00-8h50

Zoom Link: tba

#### Group 2:

Wednesday, 7h00-8h50

Zoom Link: tba

Friday, 11h00-12h50

Zoom Link: tba

### > Office Hours

Friday, 14h00 - 16h00

Skype:

(schedule via Calendly beforehand):

## Online Course Structure

About this course: We will cover a lot of ground over the next 4 months, so it is crucial for all students to come to class prepared and ready to utilize the insights the readings offer. We will discuss what I consider to be one of the most fascinating subjects of the International Relations discipline, and our goal is that each student will have a more sophisticated understanding of Brazilian foreign policy and will be able to critically discuss Brazil's place in the world by the end of the semester -- which will benefit your perspective of whether you will join the foreign service or the UN, run for office or become an entrepreneur, activist, banker or researcher.

Readings: The mandatory readings will be a combination of chapters from our assigned textbook, scholarly papers and specialized newspapers' and magazines' articles. Lectures will also often draw from other materials deemed relevant, which we will share with you before or during class.

Classes: Online classes will be organized around 3 blocs that take approximately 30 minutes each, separated by 5-minute breaks. In the first bloc, students will take a brief quiz based on the day's readings followed by a brief debate about the questions. The second bloc consists of a lecture which will include a general overview of the topic at hand, a summary of the main debates in the field. The third bloc will consist of a debate or policy simulation. On several occasions during the semester, we will welcome a guest lecturer.

Quizzes: Students will complete about 20 short quizzes throughout the semester. These will cover the content of mandatory readings assigned for that day. We will be using Google Forms for quizzes and I will send a link over Zoom so that you can complete your quiz during class time. These are a useful way to check whether you have grasped the key aspect of each text. The four quizzes with the lowest score will not be considered for the final grade.

Lectures: These will be based on the required readings and will aim at providing a general overview of the topic assigned for the day, as well as more detailed commentary motivated by questions students bring to class. After each lecture, there will be time for Q and A.

## Course Requirements and Grading

This course consists of a series of classes with pre-assigned readings. Students are expected to do all the readings and attend a minimum of 75% of the course and contribute to class discussion by engaging the issues that stem from the readings.

Final grades will be assigned as follows:

- Individual 1200-word essay: 20%
- Group essay (1200 words): 10%
- Individual 1-page memo: 10%
- 3 minute policy briefing via video: 10%
- Quizzes: 25%
- Final exam: 25%

Short essays: Each student will submit one 750-word essay in response to questions distributed in class beforehand. In addition, students will submit a 750-essay jointly written with their group. The essays must be sent in .docx or .doc formats with the following configuration: 1.5-spacing, Arial or Times New Roman font, size 12, margins left and top 3 cm, right and bottom 2 cm. Documents in other formats (.pdf, .pages, etc.) will not be accepted. Essays should be submitted via E-Class by 11:59 pm on the dates specified below. Papers received after the deadline will only be accepted in cases of emergency. In each essay students will answer the given question with reference to the concepts and theories discussed in class. Essays are not summaries of the readings, and they should be written with an informed readership in mind (so you can focus on the discussions that matter most). More detailed instructions on essay structure will be given the first week of class. Essays may be submitted in English, Spanish or Portuguese.

Policy memo and video: Early in your career, your writing may be your most important tool of influence. If your ideas make sense on paper, others may invite you to explain them to larger audiences. Indeed, you may never acquire the influence that you seek -- and make the career advances that you desire -- without first developing your ability to write clearly, coherently and persuasively. Thus, you need to devote significant time, thought and work to mastering your ability to deploy this powerful instrument of influence. You need to become a master of that much-maligned, yet all-essential policy tool: the memo, which you will individually submit towards the end of the semester. In addition, students will submit a 3-minute elevator briefing via video, in which they are asked to lay out the key ideas and policy recommendations. We will discuss this in more detail during the course and read several examples of good and bad policy memos.

Final exam: The exam will cover the entire course syllabus. Students will respond to two questions of their choosing out of a menu of different questions. Exams will be written at home. All questions will address topics from the lectures and readings. Exams may be written in English, Spanish or Portuguese.

### Online Course Policies

Stay focused: Online learning entails several risks, including lack of concentration and boredom. The instructor will do his best to offer as lively a meeting as he possibly can, but you should do your best to stay clear of these risks. Switch off your email and WhatsApp during class, and do not go anywhere near Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, TikTok or any other apps. If you need external help to make this happen, download and use Cold Turkey (for PC and Mac), StayFocused (Android and OS), Forest App or similar software to keep you away from digital distractions. We strongly suggest that all students switch on their camera throughout the lectures, which helps pay attention to the class debate.

If possible, find a quiet place: If you share your room or the house with someone else, make sure they know the times in which you will be taking an online class so they disrupt your concentration as little as possible.

Avoid plagiarism: It is the policy of the School of International Relations at FGV that all cases of academic dishonesty – including plagiarism – be reported to the Undergraduate Committee and their Chair.

### Criteria for Grading Essays and the Exam

8 or above: Work in this category shows excellent command of the topic. It is well organized, clearly expressed and cogently argued. Work in this category will either approach the question from an unexpected angle, contain unusually illuminating or original thinking, or be especially well illustrated.

7,5 to 7,9: Work in this category shows excellent command of the topic. It is well organized, clearly expressed and cogently argued.

6,5 to 7,4: Work in this category shows sound knowledge of the topic. It displays a very good understanding of the question and it is clearly organized and cogently argued. The argument is detailed, precise, and clear.

6 to 6,4: Work in this category shows sound knowledge of the topic. It is clearly organized and cogently argued. Achieving this mark on a question means that the student has firm control of the essential points.

5,5 to 5,9: Work in this category shows some weaknesses in terms of its accuracy, coherence, detail, organization, or focus.

5 to 5,4: Work in this category shows extensive weaknesses in terms of its accuracy, coherence, detail, organization, or focus. The candidate has firm control of at least some of the essential points.

4 to 4,9: Work in this category shows some basic knowledge of the topic. Yet it displays some serious deficiencies in terms of its accuracy, coherence, detail, organization, or focus.

3 to 3,9: Work in this range shows an attempt to answer the question set, but it is either irrelevant to the question set, incoherent, unsystematic, superficial, or unacceptably brief.

1 to 2,9: Work in this category fails to show any basic knowledge of the topic.

Zero: Work that features evidence of plagiarism.

## Course Schedule

### Lecture 1 (Wednesday, August 5) – Course Overview and Introduction

*Please read the course program carefully prior to class*

#### 1. Foreign Policy Analysis

### Lecture 2 (Friday, August 7) – Itamaraty, Brazil's Foreign Ministry

Required Reading:

- CASON, J.; POWER, T. Presidentialization, Pluralization, and the Rollback of Itamaraty: Explaining Change in Brazilian Foreign Policy Making in the Cardoso-Lula Era. **International Political Science Review**, v. 30, n. 2, p. 117–140, 2009.

Optional Reading:

- CASTELAN, D. R. A implementação do consenso: Itamaraty, Ministério da Fazenda e a liberalização brasileira. **Contexto Internacional**, v. 32, n. 2, p. 563–605, dez. 2010.

### Lecture 3 (Wednesday, August 12) – Brazil's Congress and Foreign Policy

Required Reading:

- DINIZ, S.; RIBEIRO, C.. The role of the Brazilian congress in foreign policy: an empirical contribution to the debate. **Brazilian Political Science Review (Online)**, v. 3, n. se, p. 10–36, 2008.

### Lecture 4 (Friday, August 14) – The Presidency and Foreign Policy

Required Reading:

- BURGES, S. W.; CHAGAS BASTOS, F. H. The importance of presidential leadership for Brazilian foreign policy. **Policy Studies**, v. 38, n. 3, p. 277–290, 4 maio 2017.

### Lecture 5 (Wednesday, August 19): Public Opinion and Foreign Policy

Required Reading:

- GUIMARÃES, F. DE S.; FERNANDES, I. F.; MALDONADO, G. Domestic Attitudes toward Regional Leadership: A Survey Experiment in Brazil. **Foreign Policy Analysis**, v. 16, n. 1, p. 98–117, 1 jan. 2020.
- ALMEIDA, M. H. T. DE et al. **O Brasil, as Américas e o Mundo - Segundo a opinião do público e dos líderes 2010/2011 - 2014/2011**. São Paulo: CEBRAP - USP, Chapter 1-4, 2017.

### Lecture 6 (Friday, August 21) – The Private Sector, Civil Society and Foreign Policy

Required Reading:

- MANCUSO, W. P.; OLIVEIRA, A. J. DE. Abertura econômica, empresariado e política: os planos doméstico e internacional. **Lua Nova: Revista de Cultura e Política**, n. 69, p. 147–172, 2006.
- CONECTAS DIREITOS HUMANOS. **A Collection of Thoughts from the Global South on Foreign Policy and Human Rights**: Experiences and strategies from the field, p.7-13, 2018.

### Lecture 7 (Wednesday, August 26) – Political Parties, Elections and Foreign Policy

Required Reading:

- OLIVEIRA, A. J. DE; ONUKI, J. Eleições, partidos políticos e política externa no Brasil. **Revista Política Hoje**, v. 19, n. 1, p. 144–185, 2010.
- SPEKTOR, M. A política externa de tucanos e petistas. **Folha de São Paulo**, 25 out. 2015.
- BARBOSA, R. FHC e Lula, políticas externas divergentes. **Folha de São Paulo**, 11 nov. 2015.

### Lecture 8 (Friday, August 28) – Religion and Foreign Policy

Required Reading:

- ARAÚJO, E. Trump e o Ocidente. **Cadernos de Política Exterior**, v. 3, n. 6, p. 323–358, 2017.
- ALENCASTRO, M. Crise angolana ameaça ambições globais da Igreja Universal. **Folha de São Paulo**, 19 jul. 2020.

**Thursday, September 3: Submission of Individual Essay**

## 2. Topics of Brazilian Foreign Policy

### Lecture 9 (Wednesday, September 2) – Defense, Security and Human Rights

Required Reading:

- ALSINA JR, J. P. S. O poder militar como instrumento da política externa brasileira contemporânea. **Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional**, v. 52, n. 2, p. 173–191, dez. 2009.
- MILANI, C. R. S. Brazil's Human Rights Foreign Policy: Domestic Politics and International Implications. **Politikon**, v. 42, n. 1, p. 67–91, 2 jan. 2015.

Optional Reading:

- GARCIA, E. V. O pensamento dos militares em política internacional (1961-1989). **Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional**, v. 40, n. 1, p. 18–40, jun. 1997.
- GONÇALVES, W.; MIYAMOTO, S. Os militares na política externa brasileira: 1964-1984. **Estudos Históricos**, v. 6, n. 12, p. 211–246, 1993.

### Lecture 10 (Friday, September 4) – Transnational Organized Crime

Required Reading:

- FERREIRA, M. A. S. V. Transnational Organized Crime and Structural Violence in Brazil. In: ATIENO, C.; ROBINSON, C. (Eds.). **Post-conflict Security, Peace and Development**. Springer Briefs in Environment, Security, Development and Peace. Cham: Springer International Publishing, p. 37–54, 2019. .
- WAINWRIGHT, T. **Narconomics: how to run a drug cartel**. First edition ed. New York: PublicAffairs, Introduction and Conclusion, 2016. .

### Lecture 11 (Wednesday, September 9) – Corruption and Foreign Policy

Required Reading:

- DURAND, F. The Odebrecht Tsunami: The Odebrecht scandal highlights the phenomenon of corporate capture of the state in Brazil and Peru. Yet new investigative tools show promise in detecting and responding to multinational graft. **NACLA Report on the Americas**, v. 51, n. 2, p. 146–152, 3 abr. 2019.
- TOURINHO, M. Brazil in the global anti-corruption regime. **Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional**, v. 61, n. 1, p.1-18, 12 mar. 2018.

Optional Reading:

- TOURINHO, M. Anti-Corruption Diplomacy. In: SPEKTOR, M. (Ed.). **10 Challenges of Brazilian Foreign Policy**. [s.l.]: KAS and CEBRI, pp.48-54, 2017.

#### Lecture 12 (Friday, September 11) – International Political Economy and Foreign Policy

Required Reading:

- CAMPELLO, D.; ZUCCO, C. Presidential Success and the World Economy. **The Journal of Politics**, v. 78, n. 2, p. 589–602, abr. 2016.
- MUSACCHIO FARIAS, A.; LAZZARINI, S. G. **Reinventing state capitalism: Leviathan in business, Brazil and beyond**. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, Introduction, Chapter 4, 2014.

#### Lecture 13 (Wednesday, September 16) – Feedback Session #Essay 1

#### Lecture 14 (Friday, September 18) – The Environment and Foreign Policy

Required Reading:

- FRANCHINI, M. A.; VIOLA, E. Myths and images in global climate governance, conceptualization and the case of Brazil (1989 - 2019). **Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional**, v. 62, n. 2, p. 1-21, 2019.
- HOCHSTETLER, K.; INOUE, C. Y. A. South-South relations and global environmental governance: Brazilian international development cooperation. **Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional**, v. 62, n. 2, p. 1-22, 2019.
- STUENKEL, O. Bolsonaro Fans the Flames. **Foreign Affairs**, 30 ago. 2019.



Optional Reading:

- VIEIRA, M. A. Brazilian Foreign Policy in the Context of Global Climate Norms. **Foreign Policy Analysis**, v. 9, n. 4, p. 369–386, out. 2013.

### Lecture 15 (Wednesday, September 23) – Racism, Gender and Foreign Policy

Required Reading:

- SALOMÓN, M. Exploring Brazilian foreign policy towards women: dimensions, outcomes, actors and influences. **Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional**, v. 63, n. 1, p. 1-18, 2020.
- DZIDZIENYO, A. Race and international relations: Brazil and South Africa. **South African Journal of International Affairs**, v. 8, n. 1, p. 41–52, jun. 2001.

### Lecture 16 (Friday, September 25) – **Submission of Group Essay (there will be no class)**

### Lecture 17 (Wednesday, September 30) – Populism and Foreign Policy

Required Reading:

- SPEKTOR, M. Diplomacia da Ruptura. In: ABRANCHES, S. H. (Ed.). **Democracia em risco? 22 ensaios sobre o Brasil hoje**. São Paulo, Brazil: Companhia das Letras, p. 263–276, 2019.
- GUIMARÃES, F. de S.; SILVA, I. D. de O. Far-Right Populism and Foreign Policy Identity: Jair Bolsonaro's ultra-conservatism and the new politics of alignment. **International Affairs**, p. 1-29, 2020/21. No prelo.

### Lecture 18 (Friday, October 2) – Regionalism

Required Reading:

- SPEKTOR, M. Ideias de ativismo regional: a transformação das leituras brasileiras da região. **Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional**, v. 53, n. 1, p. 25–44, jul. 2010.

- MALAMUD, A. A Leader Without Followers? The Growing Divergence Between the Regional and Global Performance of Brazilian Foreign Policy. **Latin American Politics and Society**, v. 53, n. 3, p. 1-24, 2011.

### **3. Relations to Other Countries and Regions**

#### **Lecture 19 (Wednesday, October 7) – Brazil-Argentina relations**

Required Reading:

- MALLEA, Rodrigo; SPEKTOR, Matias; Wheeler, Nicholas. **The Origins of Nuclear Cooperation: a Critical Oral History of Argentina and Brazil**, WWIC and FGV: Washington and Rio de Janeiro, pp. XI - 23; 180-190, 2015.

Optional Regional:

- BARTHELMESS, E. As relações Brasil-Argentina no aniversário da Declaração do Iguazu. **Cadernos de Política Exterior**, v. 3, p. 27-43, 2016.
- MERKE, F.; STUENKEL, O. Argentina y Brasil: la alianza necesaria. **Foreign Affairs Latinoamérica**, v. 20, n. 2, p. 32-39, 2020.

#### **Lecture 20 (Friday, October 9) – Case study: Brazil-Paraguay relations (1996-1999)**

Required Reading:

- DIAS, M. P. DE O. **Entrevista de história oral para o projeto “Um Estudo da Atuação Brasileira em Crises Constitucionais e Políticas na América Latina (1990-2015)”**, 22 mar. 2018.
- PERICÁS NETO, B. **Entrevista de história oral para o projeto “O Brasil em Crises Internacionais”**, Rio de Janeiro, CPDOC/Fundação Getulio Vargas (FGV), p. 11-37, 5 nov. 2014.

#### **Lecture 21 (Wednesday, October 21) – Feedback Session #2**

#### **Lecture 22 (Friday, October 23) – Brazil-Venezuela**

Required Reading:

- STUENKEL, O. How South America ceded the field in Venezuela. **Foreign Affairs**, 31 jan. 2019.
- FELDMANN, A. E.; MERKE, F.; STUENKEL, O. Argentina, Brazil and Chile and democracy defence in Latin America: principled calculation. **International Affairs**, v. 95, n. 2, p. 447-467, 1 mar. 2019.

### Lecture 23 (Wednesday, October 28) – Brazil-China

Required Reading:

- OLIVEIRA, G. DE L.T. Chinese land grabs in Brazil? Sinophobia and foreign investments in Brazilian soybean agribusiness. **Globalizations**, v. 15, n. 1, p. 114-133, 2 jan. 2018.
- JENKINS, R. O. China's Economic Expansion in Latin America and the Caribbean. **How China is reshaping the global economy: development impacts in Africa and Latin America**. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 223-253, 2019.

Optional Reading:

- JENKINS, R. China and Brazil: Economic Impacts of a Growing Relationship. **Journal of Current Chinese Affairs**, v. 41, n. 1, p. 21-47, mar. 2012.

### *Thursday, October 29 – Submission of Individual Policy Memo*

### Lecture 24 (Friday October 30) – Brazil-US ties: A Long Road of Unmet Expectations?

Required Reading:

- CORRALES, J. Understanding International Partnership: The Complicated Rapprochement between the United States and Brazil. **Political Science Quarterly**, v. 130, n. 2, p. 213-244, jun. 2015.
- SPEKTOR, M. **18 Dias**. Rio de Janeiro: Objetiva, pp. 16-45, 2014.

Optional Reading:

- HIRST, M. Historical Background. In: HIRST, M.; HURRELL, A. (Eds.). **The United States and Brazil: a long road of unmet expectations**. Contemporary inter-American relations. New York: Routledge, p. 01–18, 2005.
- LOUREIRO, F. Relação de Bolsonaro com EUA tenta repetir Castelo Branco, diz professor. **Folha de São Paulo**, 25 jan. 2019.

### Lecture 25 (Wednesday, November 4) – Brazil, BRICS and the Global South (2001-2014)

Required Reading:

- STUENKEL, O. **The BRICS and the future of global order**. Second ed ed. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2020, Introduction and Chapter 1.

Optional Reading:

- BRANDS, H. Evaluating Brazilian Grand Strategy under Lula. **Comparative Strategy**, v. 30, n. 1, p. 28–49, 4 mar. 2011.
- ALMEIDA, P. R. DE. Never before seen in Brazil: Luis Inácio Lula da Silva's grand diplomacy. **Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional**, v. 53, n. 2, p. 160–177, 2010.
- ROBERTS, C. A.; ARMIJO, L. E.; KATADA, S. N. Introduction. **The BRICS and collective financial statecraft**. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, p.1-23, 2018.

### Lecture 26 (Friday, November 6) – Brazil and the European Union

Required Reading:

- AFIONIS, S.; STRINGER, L. C. The environment as a strategic priority in the European Union–Brazil partnership: is the EU behaving as a normative power or soft imperialist? **International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics**, v. 14, n. 1, p. 47–64, mar. 2014.

Optional Reading:

- GRATIUS, S. Brazil and the European Union: from liberal inter-regionalism to realist bilateralism. **Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional**, v. 61, n. 1, 5 abr. 2018.

### Lecture 27 (Wednesday, November 11) – Brazil amidst growing US-China tensions

Required Reading:

- STUENKEL, O. Huawei or Not? Brazil Faces a Key Geopolitical Choice. **Americas Quarterly**, 30 jun. 2020.
- SPEKTOR, Matias. "Rising Brazil: Postmortem, Looking Forward". Unpublished paper, 2019.
- WESTAD, O. A. The Sources of Chinese Conduct: Are Washington and Beijing Fighting a New Cold War? **Foreign Affairs**, out. 2019.

Optional Reading:

- ZHAO, M. Is a New Cold War Inevitable? Chinese Perspectives on US–China Strategic Competition. **The Chinese Journal of International Politics**, v. 12, n. 3, p. 371–394, 1 set. 2019.

**Thursday, November 12 – Submission of 3-min Policy Briefing via Video**

**Lecture 28 (Friday, November 13) – Feedback Session Memo**

**Final exam (Date to be announced)**

**Reaval (Date to be announced)**