



## The Politics of Brazilian Foreign Policy

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### Introduction

From November 1902 through February 1912, four presidents governed Brazil. Throughout all this period, though, only one person headed the foreign ministry: José Maria da Silva Paranhos Jr., alias Baron of Rio Branco (20 April 1845–10 February 1912). This political wonder and diplomatic giant was to shape Brazil's international doctrine and diplomatic traditions for the following century. His major achievement was to peacefully solve all of Brazil's border disputes with its South American neighbors. Founded in 1945, Brazil's prestigious diplomatic school carries his name, Instituto Rio Branco, and, since the early 2000s, Brazilian foreign policy has become the largest subfield of international relations in university departments across the country. Indeed, Brazilian foreign policy is to Brazilian academia what American politics is to US academia, namely, a singular phenomenon that has taken over a general field. In contrast with the United States, most in-depth research from about 1998 to 2010 came from foreign-based scholars; however, since then a large cadre of mostly young academics in Brazil have seized the agenda. Unlike the pre-2000 period, the orientation has been toward public policy rather than diplomatic history. That the top Brazilian journals of international relations are now published in English rather than Portuguese attests to the increasing internationalization of the field.

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### General Overview

The study of Brazilian foreign policy has developed over two broad periods. Until the 1980s, all authors were male and most were Brazilian, most publications were in form of books, and most texts were written in Portuguese. Since the 1990s, more and more foreign authors have entered the field, female scholars (mostly Brazilian such as Monica Herz, Monica Hirst, Maria Regina Soares de Lima, Leticia Pinheiro, and Miriam Gomes Saraiva) became as prominent as their male colleagues, journals became the preferred locus for academic dissemination, and English gradually replaced Portuguese as the language of choice. Textbooks, collections, and local journals reflect this evolution. The Fundação Alexandre de Gusmão (FUNAG), a public foundation linked to the foreign ministry, became a rich source of Portuguese-language publications, encompassing both original texts from local authors and translations of classic foreign works.

### Textbooks

The works cited in this section are regularly used to teach international relations and foreign policy at university centers and diplomatic schools. Sá Pimentel 2013 stands out as a collection of texts that engage with the sources of Brazilian diplomatic thinking, while Almeida 2004 dissects the ideologies that have driven Brazil's diplomacy. Bernal Meza 2005 includes a review of Brazilian thinking in the Latin American context. Vizentini 2005 summarizes eighty years of Brazilian foreign policy in a short volume. Altemani and Lessa 2006, Pinheiro and Milani 2011, and Saraiva and Cervo 2005 combine an analysis of actual foreign policy with the way it is studied. The contributors to Milani, et al. 2015 artfully use maps and graphics to convey information about Brazil in the world.

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**Almeida, Paulo Roberto de.** *Relações internacionais e política externa do Brasil: História e sociologia da diplomacia brasileira.* Porto Alegre, Brazil: Editora da UFRGS, 2004.

This volume gives a historical and sociological assessment of Brazilian diplomacy. The author evaluates the historiography of Brazil's international relations, the ideologies behind its foreign policy, and the role of the political parties. He includes a focus on commercial and financial diplomacy.

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**Altemani, Henrique, and Antônio Carlos Lessa, eds. *Relações internacionais do Brasil: Temas e agendas*. 2 vols. São Paulo, Brazil: Saraiva, 2006.**

A two-volume handbook that addresses a full range of topics on Brazil's international relations. It presents a qualified introductory overview of the main agendas of Brazilian foreign policy.

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**Bernal Meza, Raúl. *América Latina en el mundo: El pensamiento latinoamericano y la teoría de las relaciones internacionales*. Buenos Aires: Nuevo Hacer, 2005.**

This useful book reviews the origins, sources, and evolution of the Latin American approach to international relations. It gives the place of honor to the so-called School of Brasília and highlights the contributions of such Brazilian thinkers as Amado Cervo, Luiz Alberto Moniz Bandeira and, from a different perspective, Celso Lafer. The comparison with Argentine and Chilean intellectual traditions is worthy of note.

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**Milani, Carlos R. S., Enara Echart Muñoz, Rubens de S. Duarte, and Magno Klein. *Atlas da política externa brasileira*. Rio de Janeiro: EDUERJ, 2015.**

A didactic cartography of Brazil in the world, this 135-page book presents colorful maps and graphics to assist in visualizing the evolution of Brazil's international relations.

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**Pinheiro, Leticia, and Carlos R. S. Milani, eds. *Política externa brasileira: A política das práticas e as práticas da política*. Rio de Janeiro: Editora FGV, 2011.**

Featuring chapters by Carlos Milani and Thiago Melamed de Menezes (human rights); Mônica Leite Lessa, Miriam Gomes Saraiva, Dhiego de Moura Mapa, and Monique Badaró (cultural diplomacy); Leticia Pinheiro, Gregory Beshara, and Alessandro Candeas (education); André de Mello e Souza, Paulo Marchiori Buss, and José Roberto Ferreira (global health); and Mónica Salomón, Alberto Kleiman, and Gustavo de Lima Cezario (subnational diplomacy), this educational book focuses on foreign policy change.

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**Sá Pimentel, José Vicente de. *Pensamento diplomático brasileiro: Formuladores e agentes da política externa, 1750–1964*. 3 vols. Brasília: Fundação Alexandre de Gusmão, 2013.**

This three-volume collection published by the Fundação Alexandre de Gusmão, official think tank of the foreign ministry, asserts that a continental country such as Brazil could secure stable peace with its ten neighbors only through skillful diplomatic statecraft. Most chapters introduce indigenous foreign policy concepts by linking them to the diplomatic *heroes* that coined them, and to their time.

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**Saraiva, José Flávio Sombra, and Amado Luiz Cervo, eds. *O crescimento das relações internacionais no Brasil*. Brasília: Instituto Brasileiro de Relações Internacionais, 2005.**

Featuring chapters by Paulo Fagundes Vizontini (intellectual production), Antônio Carlos Lessa (teaching), José Flávio Sombra Saraiva (foreign policy), Antonio Jorge Ramalho da Rocha (geopolitics), Dinair Andrade da Silva (migrations), Maria Thereza Negrão de Mello (cultural industry), Isabel Canto (scientific cooperation), Dércio Garcia Munhoz (global economy), Paulo Roberto de Almeida (international finance), and Heloisa Machado da Silva (import substitution), this collection traces the evolution of thinking on international relations in Brazil.

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**Vizentini, Paulo Fagundes. *Relações internacionais do Brasil: De Vargas a Lula*. Rio de Janeiro: Editora Fundação Perseu Abramo, 2005.**

This short book analyzes the relationship between internal and external factors that have shaped Brazil's international relations from the 1930s to the 2010s.

## Edited Volumes and Special Issues

Guilhon-Albuquerque 1996 assembles what is perhaps the largest collection of work by specialists in Brazilian foreign policy. Fonseca Junior and Nabuco Castro 1997 also gathers together top-notch scholars in a volume in which contributors approach different foreign policy dimensions by topic rather than period. The other three thematic collections, all quite recent, bring together Brazilian and foreign specialists to approach a selected topic from as many angles as possible. Gardini and Almeida 2016 focuses not so much on Brazil but on the response of its neighbors to its rise. Margheritis 2017 and Pereira 2017 are outputs of a joint research project, which examines the interactions between a rising Brazil and a changing world.

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**Fonseca Junior, Gelson, and Sérgio Henrique Nabuco Castro, eds. *Temas de política externa brasileira II*. São Paulo, Brazil: Paz e Terra, 1997.**

This second volume of a two-volume set addresses the full range of Brazilian foreign policy dimensions. After an introductory overview, it features contributions from such foundational thinkers as Antônio Augusto Cançado Trindade, Celso Lafer, Marcelo de Paiva Abreu, Maria Regina Soares de Lima, Monica Hirst, and Rubens Ricupero.

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**Gardini, Gian Luca, and Maria Hermínia Tavares de Almeida, eds. *Foreign Policy Responses to the Rise of Brazil: Balancing Power in Emerging States*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.**

A rising power can nurture rivalry or cooperation. What has been the regional response to Brazil's rise? This question is addressed by Gardini (Brazil's rise), Tavares de Almeida (mass perceptions), Miriam Gomes Saraiva (soft power), Roberto Russell and Juan Gabriel Tokatlian (Argentina), Joaquín Fernandois (Chile), Carlos Luján (Uruguay), Peter Lambert (Paraguay), Ana Carolina Delgado and Clayton Cunha Filho (Bolivia), Ronald Bruce St John (Peru), José Briceño-Ruiz (Venezuela), Eduardo Pastrana Buelvas (Colombia), Ana Covarrubias (Mexico), and Andrés Malamud (Latin America).

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**Guilhon-Albuquerque, José Augusto, ed. *Sessenta anos de política externa brasileira, 1930–1990*. 4 vols. São Paulo, Brazil: Cultura Editores Associados, 1996.**

This four-volume collection brings together some fifty scholars and practitioners to take stock of sixty years of Brazilian foreign policy. The resulting books are as useful to students as accessible to laypeople.

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**Margheritis, Ana, ed. *Special Issue: The “Graduation Dilemma” in Foreign Policy: Brazil at a Watershed*. *International Affairs* 93.3 (May 2017).**

Featuring articles by Carlos Milani, Leticia Pinheiro, and Maria Regina Soares de Lima (conceptualization of the graduation dilemma); Ana Margheritis (Brazilian diaspora); Christoph Harig and Kai Kenkel (humanitarian intervention); Mahrukh Doctor (Brazilian business and foreign policymaking); Carlos Milani, Francisco Da Conceição, and Timóteo M'bunde (educational cooperation in Africa); and Danilo Marcondes and Emma Mawdsley (development cooperation), this special issue takes stock of the growing pains of a wannabe global power.

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**Pereira, Anthony W., ed. *Special Issue: Brazil: Geopolitical Challenges in a Multipolar World*. *Rising Powers Quarterly* 2.2 (May 2017).**

Featuring articles by Antonio de Aguiar Patriota (cooperative multipolarity); Vinícius Rodrigues Vieira (institutions, national interest, and trade); Matheus Soldi Hardt, Fernando Mouron, and Laerte Apolinário Júnior (Brazilian technical cooperation); Anthony Pereira (defense of democracy abroad); Francisco Urdínez and Pietro Rodrigues (Brazilian perceptions of Chinese-American rivalry); Kai Lehmann (regional leadership); and Andrés Malamud (foreign policy retreat), this special issue deals with the achievements and setbacks of Brazilian foreign policy in the 21st century.

## Journals

International scholars publish their work in several social science journals in Brazil; this section lists only those that are specifically or largely devoted to international relations or foreign policy. While *Carta Internacional*, *Estudos Internacionais*, *Meridiano 47: Journal of Global Studies*, and *Política Externa* are published mostly in Portuguese, *Brazilian Political Science Review*, *Contexto Internacional* and *Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional* are published exclusively in English. Most of these journals are now indexed in key databases such as Scopus, which are used globally for career advancement.

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### ***Brazilian Political Science Review (BPSR). 2007–.***

This journal is the flagship publication of the Brazilian Association of Political Science (ABCP). It features articles in the fields of political science and international relations.

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### ***Carta Internacional. 1993–.***

*Carta Internacional* is the flagship journal of the Brazilian Association of International Relations (ABRI).

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### ***Contexto Internacional. 1985–.***

This journal established itself as one of the leading publications in international relations within Brazil. Published by the Institute of International Relations at PUC-Rio, it currently focuses on area studies within the Global South.

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### ***Estudos Internacionais. 2000–.***

With a broad scope, this journal is published by Pontifícia Universidade Católica de Minas Gerais (PUC-Minas), a university with an established research tradition in the study of Brazil's international relations.

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### ***Meridiano 47: Journal of Global Studies. 2000–.***

Featuring mostly mid-sized articles, *Meridiano 47* is published by the Brazilian Institute of International Relations (IBRI) and seeks to foster intellectual debate on international politics.

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### ***Política Externa. 1992–.***

A quarterly inspired by *Foreign Affairs*, *Política Externa* is a joint venture of the University of São Paulo (USP) and São Paulo State University (UNESP) research groups of international relations.

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### ***Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional (RBPI). 1958–.***

Leading publication in the field, *RBPI* is published by the Brazilian Institute of International Relations (IBRI) and is the oldest publication in international relations in Brazil.

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## The History of Brazilian Foreign Policy

In 1750, the Madrid Treaty ended an armed conflict over a border dispute between the Portuguese and Spanish Empires in South America: this event can serve as the embryo of Brazilian foreign policy. This section is subdivided into two. The first subsection deals with the historical Foundations of Brazil's external goals and strategies, whereas the second deals with different Interpretations that have been offered with respect to critical events or periods.

### Foundations

For a comprehensive overview of Brazil's foreign policy, Cervo and Bueno 2002 and Vianna 1958 are both good starting points. Rodrigues 1962 and Rodrigues 1966 provide a useful picture of the interests and principles that guided Brazilian diplomats over more than a century. Burns 1967 focuses on the nascent link between foreign policy and economic development. Burns 1966, McCann 2015, and Smith 1991 delve into Brazil's relations with the United States at critical historical junctures. Lafer and Peña 1973 analyzes the international positioning, and the mutual relationship, of Argentina and Brazil, whereas Moniz Bandeira 2003 analyzes Argentina and the United States to understand Brazil's changing alliances over time. Moura 2013 is the first volume that examines Brazilian foreign policy as a balancing act between global powers, in this case the United States and Germany.

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**Burns, E. Bradford. *The Unwritten Alliance: Rio-Branco and Brazilian-American Relations*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1966.**

This classic volume tells the story of how, at the beginning of the 20th century, Foreign Minister Rio Branco shifted Brazil's top diplomatic alliance from London to Washington, DC, promoting friendship with the United States on a high diplomatic level.

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**Burns, E. Bradford. "Tradition and Variation in Brazilian Foreign Policy." *Journal of Inter-American Studies* 9.2 (1967): 195–212.**

After the 1964 coup d'état, military president Humberto Castelo Branco effected sweeping changes, none of which were more radical than in foreign policy. He vowed to support traditional ideals such as disarmament, self-determination, non-intervention, and anti-colonialism. Most consequential for the years to follow, he emphasized that foreign policy should increase national power through social and economic development.

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**Cervo, Amado Luiz, and Clodoaldo Bueno. *História da política exterior do Brasil*. São Paulo, Brazil: Editora UNESP, 2002.**

An essential book on the history of Brazilian foreign policy. In a panoramic sweep, the authors review all periods of Brazilian diplomacy until the early 2000s.

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**Lafer, Celso, and Félix Peña. *Argentina y Brasil en el sistema de relaciones internacionales*. Buenos Aires: Ediciones Nueva Visión, 1973.**

Prefaced by Hélio Jaguaribe, the authors in this pioneering book foresaw the Argentine-Brazilian rapprochement, which would begin in 1979 with the tripartite (including Paraguay) agreement on Parana River projects. The authors' main argument is that only by coordinating Argentine and Brazilian foreign policies, with autonomy from extra-regional powers, could Latin America develop in an integrated fashion.

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**McCann, Frank D., Jr. *The Brazilian-American Alliance, 1937–1945*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015.**

By the late 1930s, US officials grew concerned that Brazil's right-wing dictatorship could strike an alliance with Nazi Germany. With

extensive recourse to archival material, and originally published in 1973, McCann shows how the Vargas regime eventually opted for a close alliance with the United States and even joined the Allies in the war effort.

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**Moniz Bandeira, Luiz Alberto. *Brasil, Argentina e Estados Unidos: Conflito e integração na América do Sul (Da Tríplice Aliança ao Mercosul)*. Rio de Janeiro: Editora Revan, 2003.**

This book analyzes the triangular relation among Argentina, Brazil, and the United States. It shows how, over the course of two centuries, Argentina and Brazil alternated roles with respect to the United States and to each other. The author underlines the strategic importance of Mercosur as an instrument of South American autonomy from the United States.

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**Moura, Gerson. *Brazilian Foreign Relations, 1939–1950: The Changing Nature of Brazil-United States Relations during and after the Second World War*. Brasília: Fundação Alexandre de Gusmão, 2013.**

Based on a doctoral dissertation, finished in 1982, Moura stresses the power of political agency in Brazilian foreign policy and influentially defines the relationship of Brazil with Germany and the United States early in World War II as one of “pragmatic equilibrium.”

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**Rodrigues, José Honório. “The Foundations of Brazil’s Foreign Policy.” *International Affairs* 38.3 (1962): 324–338.**

A precursor to Rodrigues 1966, this article identifies three foundations of Brazilian foreign policy: pacifism, territorial integrity, and non-intervention. Based on these principles, Rodrigues evaluates Brazilian international relations between 1844 and 1934, a period that encompasses both imperial and republican regimes.

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**Rodrigues, José Honório. *Interesse nacional e política externa*. Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1966.**

In this influential work, Rodrigues studies the fundamentals of Brazil’s national interest. He identifies the origins of the political principles that guided Brazilian foreign policy, namely pacifism, non-intervention, the self-determination of peoples, and a preference for arbitration.

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**Smith, Joseph. *Unequal Giants: Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Brazil, 1889–1930*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1991.**

After 1889, the support of the United States for the new republic of Brazil helped forge a mutually convenient partnership. However, disagreements over naval armaments, reciprocity arrangements, coffee prices, and the issue of Brazil’s role in the League of Nations showed the relationship to be one of unequal partners, with the United States gaining influence in Latin America as Brazil’s ambitions faded.

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**Vianna, Hélio. *História diplomática do Brasil*. Rio de Janeiro: Biblioteca do Exército, 1958.**

This classic work presents a history of Brazilian diplomacy until the mid-1950s, with an emphasis on regional relations and the role that national elites played in the country’s external actions. The author presents a traditional view of foreign policy linked to “raison d’état.”

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## Interpretations

Jaguaribe 1979 and Guimarães 1999 present the world order as divided into center and periphery. Brazil belongs to the periphery and depends on the center. Hilton 1975 studies the domestic struggles behind the formation of the national interest, whereas Lafer 2004 analyzes the factors behind the formation of the national identity. Hurrell 2013 and Cepaluni and Vigevani 2009 analyze one of

the most consistent features of Brazilian foreign policy: the search for autonomy. Lima 2013 contributes a nuanced and theory-rich analysis of the political economy of Brazilian foreign policy, whereas Saraiva and Tedesco 2001 and Lopes 2013 examine how democratization has influenced the foreign policy-making process by giving voice to rival domestic preferences. Alsina Júnior 2015 delves into the role played by military power in Brazil's diplomatic history.

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**Alsina Júnior, João Paulo Soares. *Rio-Branco, grande estratégia e o poder naval*. Rio de Janeiro: Editora FGV, 2015.**

This book challenges the conventional view that depicts the baron of Rio Branco, founding father of Brazil's modern diplomacy, as a pacifist. Based on in-depth historical research, Alsina Júnior argues that Rio-Branco was a pragmatic realist who, in advancing the national interest, remained conscious of the need for military power and the posing of credible threats.

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**Cepaluni, Gabriel, and Tullo Vigevani. *Brazilian Foreign Policy in Changing Times: The Quest for Autonomy from Sarney to Lula*. Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2009.**

The authors argue that, although autonomy has been a permanent goal of Brazilian foreign policy, the strategies to reach it have changed over time. They identify three tactics that have been used sequentially: distancing from dominant states, participating with dominant states in international organizations, and diversifying relations with a wider range of states and organizations.

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**Guimarães, Samuel Pinheiro. *500 anos de periferia: Uma contribuição ao estudo da política internacional*. Porto Alegre, Brazil: Editora da UFRGS, 1999.**

Guimarães, a veteran diplomat, explores the aspects of international relations most influential for peripheral states such as Brazil. In this book he assesses how the shortcomings of the periphery can be overcome.

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**Hilton, Stanley E. *Brazil and the Great Powers, 1930–1939: The Politics of Trade Rivalry*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1975.**

This well-researched historical monograph argues that Brazil's trade policy balancing between the United States and Germany in the interwar period stemmed from shrewd political maneuvering in defense of the national interest rather than the result of conflicting domestic groups.

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**Hurrell, Andrew. *The Quest for Autonomy: The Evolution of Brazil's Role in the International System, 1964–1985*. Brasília: Fundação Alexandre de Gusmão, 2013.**

Based on a doctoral dissertation, defended at Oxford in 1996, Hurrell analyzes the evolution of Brazil's international role during the period of military rule that lasted from 1964 to 1985. Hurrell's conclusion is that Brazil's freedom of maneuver depended on two factors: the consolidation—or weakening—of US hegemony and the absence—or presence—of alternative relationships.

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**Jaguaribe, Hélio. "Autonomía periférica y hegemonía céntrica." *Estudios Internacionales* 12.46 (1979): 91–130.**

In this seminal work, Jaguaribe explores the limits and possibilities of autonomy for peripheral countries, with particular attention paid to Brazil, during the Cold War.

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**Lafer, Celso. *A identidade internacional do Brasil e a política externa brasileira*. São Paulo, Brazil: Editora Perspectiva, 2004.**

In this influential work (the author served twice as foreign minister), Lafer gauges the factors said to characterize Brazilian national identity and to guide its foreign policy. The article highlights the continental scale of the country, its single language, and its relations

with neighboring countries.

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**Lima, Maria Regina Soares de.** *The Political Economy of Brazilian Foreign Policy: Nuclear Energy, Trade and Itaipu.* Brasília: Fundação Alexandre de Gusmão, 2013.

Based on a collective action approach to international relations, this is one of the first modern analyses of Brazilian foreign policy with respect to foreign trade and nuclear policy. Lima shows that the behavior of a peripheral country varies across issue areas according to its power resources and a heterogeneous incentive structure. The original version was published as: “A economia política da política externa brasileira: Uma proposta de análise,” *Contexto Internacional* 6.12 (1990): 7–28.

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**Lopes, Dawisson Belém.** *Política externa e democracia no Brasil: Ensaio de interpretação histórica.* São Paulo, Brazil: Editora UNESP, 2013.

This book addresses the question of whether Brazilian foreign policy became more responsive to social demands after democratization in 1985. Answering in the affirmative, the author shows how it has gradually become a contested public policy rather than an exclusive elite domain.

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**Saraiva, Miriam Gomes, and Laura Tedesco.** “Argentina e Brasil: Políticas exteriores comparadas depois da Guerra Fria.” *Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional* 44.2 (2001): 126–150.

Saraiva and Tedesco compare foreign policy changes in Argentina and Brazil in the early 1990s. They show how both countries adapted to the end of the Cold War in different ways: while a significant degree of convergence can be identified in both countries, domestic political changes led Argentina to implement a more radical foreign policy reorientation than Brazil.

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## **Brazilian Diplomacy**

The reputation of Brazil’s foreign ministry as highly professionalized and effective has turned Itamaraty, as it is known, into a poster child for diplomats and scholars alike, especially in Latin America. Carvalho 1959, Rodrigues and Seitenfus 1995, and Ricupero 2017 tell the history of this success story, as well as its influence upon nation-building. Fonseca Junior 2015 highlights a constant of Brazilian diplomacy over time: its preference for multilateralism. Rivarola Puntigliano 2008 and Faria, et al. 2013 identify continuities and changes with regard to the organization of the diplomatic service. Amorim Neto and Malamud 2019 comparatively study Itamaraty’s policymaking capacity over a seventy-year period. Spektor 2009 and Steiner, et al. 2014 analyze two historical turning points in Brazil’s diplomatic evolution. Alsina Júnior 2009 highlights how the diversification of instruments, notably military power, enhances diplomatic efficiency.

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**Alsina Júnior, João Paulo Soares.** “O poder militar como instrumento da política externa brasileira contemporânea.” *Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional* 52.2 (2009): 173–191.

Alsina Júnior reflects on the instrumentalization of military power by Brazilian foreign policymakers after the Cold War. His main argument is that foreign policy and defense policy need reciprocal coordination in order to enhance performance.

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**Amorim Neto, Octavio, and Andrés Malamud.** “The Policymaking Capacity of Foreign Ministries in Presidential Regimes: A Study of Argentina, Brazil and Mexico, 1946–2015.” *Latin American Research Review* 54.4 (2019): 812–834.

This article investigates the sources of the policymaking capacity of the foreign ministries of the three major Latin American powers. By comparing diplomatic professionalization, institutional attributions, and presidential delegation over a period of seventy years, the authors conclude that the three chancelleries have converged toward high levels of professionalization, though differences remain regarding institutional attributions and presidential delegation.

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**Carvalho, Carlos Miguel Delgado de. *História diplomática do Brasil*. São Paulo, Brazil: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1959.**

Out of print until the 1990s and reprinted several times since then, this book was for decades a must-read volume both for scholars and for aspiring diplomats. Together with Vianna 1958 (cited under the History of Brazilian Foreign Policy: Foundations), this work is one of the main sources of Brazil's earlier diplomatic history.

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**Faria, Carlos Aurélio Pimenta de, Dawisson Belém Lopes, and Guilherme Casarões. "Itamaraty on the Move: Institutional and Political Change in Brazilian Foreign Service under Lula da Silva's Presidency, 2003–2010." *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 32.4 (2013): 468–482.**

To assess the impact of Lula's reforms of the Brazilian foreign service and the enlargement of its recruitment base, the authors conducted an extended survey of Brazilian diplomats. They conclude that Itamaraty might be on the verge of a historical breakthrough by loosening long-cherished diplomatic traditions of social insularity and political autonomy.

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**Fonseca Junior, Gelson, Jr. *Constantes e variações: A diplomacia multilateral do Brasil*. Porto Alegre, Brazil: Leitura XXI, 2015.**

Though not a permanent member of the UN Security Council, Brazil is, after Japan, the country that has been elected the most times as a nonpermanent member. Brazil has also played a singular role in the UN General Assembly as, since 1947, it has been the first country to speak at the general debate. This book traces the origins of Brazil's commitment to multilateralism dating from Rio Branco and Rui Barbosa up to the 21st century.

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**Ricupero, Rubens. *A diplomacia na construção do Brasil, 1750–2016*. Rio de Janeiro: Versal Editores, 2017.**

This book analyzes Brazilian diplomacy in detail from the Madrid Treaty to 2016. It contains precise information and high-quality maps and photos that illustrate every diplomatic period.

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**Rivarola Puntigliano, Andrés. "'Going Global': An Organizational Study of Brazilian Foreign Policy." *Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional* 51.1 (2008): 28–52.**

Analysis of the post-Cold War erosion of the state-centered focus of Brazilian foreign policy due to the strengthening of transnational networks.

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**Rodrigues, José Honório, and Ricardo Antônio Silva Seitenfus. *Uma história diplomática do Brasil, 1531–1945*. Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1995.**

This monograph contains analysis by José Honório Rodrigues, updated by Ricardo Seitenfus, of three periods of Brazilian diplomatic history: the imperial, national, and inter-American. The first two periods are extensively analyzed, with an emphasis on the role of the Baron of Rio Branco in the delimitation of Brazil's borders.

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**Spektor, Matias. *Kissinger e o Brasil*. Rio de Janeiro: Jorge Zahar, 2009.**

Drawing on archival research and original interviews, Spektor challenges the view of Brazil and the United States as geopolitical rivals. The book shows how President Nixon intended to outsource the maintenance of global order to regional powers, at a time when the Brazilian military administration was implementing a foreign policy of so-called responsible pragmatism. Although the rapprochement did not endure, it remains as one of the closest periods in the bilateral relationship between the two powers.

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Steiner, Andrea Quirino, Marcelo de Almeida Medeiros, and Rafael Mesquita de Souza Lima. "From Tegucigalpa to Teheran: Brazil's Diplomacy as an Emerging Western Country." *Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional* 57.1 (2014): 40–58.

This article analyzes Brazil's intervention in two international crises in demonstrating that the country's identity and behavior are aligned with the West in opposition to views that back up revisionist claims.

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## Brazilian Foreign Policymaking

Do domestic or international factors determine Brazilian foreign policy? Through longitudinal and comparative research that analyzes voting convergence at the UN General Assembly, the authors of Amorim Neto 2011 and Amorim Neto and Malamud 2015 claim that international factors carried the day while the United States was the global hegemon. Other studies, such as Danese 1999, Malamud 2005, and Cason and Power 2009, show how domestic institutions and presidential diplomacy have shaped foreign policymaking and regional politics, with Vigevani and Ramanzini Júnior 2011 pointing to additional domestic factors that have affected South American integration. Spohr 2019 presents the congressional side of domestic institutions in showing the role played by the Senate in ratifying executive nominations for diplomatic posts. Hirst and Pinheiro 1995 highlights policy continuities in spite of political change. Burges 2008 and Burges 2009 combine different theories of power in showing how Brazil managed to thrive internationally without resorting to hard power strategies. This kind of smart power, affirms Pinheiro 2000, is visible in Brazil's ambivalent approach to international institutionalization.

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**Amorim Neto, Octavio. *De Dutra a Lula: A condução e os determinantes da política externa brasileira*. Rio de Janeiro: Elsevier, 2011.**

Winner of the Brazilian Political Science Association Best Book Award in 2012, this is the first systematic assessment of the factors that shaped Brazilian foreign policy since World War II. In conducting a pioneering, in-depth quantitative analysis of voting patterns at the UN General Assembly, Amorim Neto concludes that systemic rather than domestic factors have been preeminent.

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**Amorim Neto, Octavio, and Andrés Malamud. "What Determines Foreign Policy in Latin America? Systemic versus Domestic Factors in Argentina, Brazil and Mexico, 1946–2008." *Latin American Politics and Society* 57.4 (2015): 1–27.**

Drawing on Amorim Neto 2011, the authors compare the voting behavior of Latin America's three largest powers at the UN General Assembly to conclude that, while systemic power factors largely underlay the foreign policy of Brazil and Mexico, namely the power gap with the United States, Argentina has shown a more volatile pattern.

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**Burges, Sean W. "Consensual Hegemony: Theorizing the Practice of Brazilian Foreign Policy." *International Relations* 22.1 (2008): 65–84.**

In this last of four consecutive articles that transformed the understanding of Brazilian foreign policy, Burges applies the concept of hegemony with a Gramscian rather than standard international relations meaning to show how noncoercive strategies were used by emerging powers to disseminate their preferences and recruit the support of other actors.

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**Burges, Sean W. *Brazilian Foreign Policy after the Cold War*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2009.**

Burges applies Susan Strange's concept of structural power and Antonio Gramsci's notion of hegemony to show how Brazil established its place in the international system after the Cold War. The reshaping of relations with other South American nations through the development of new regional practices and institutions was put at the service of the country's highest goal, namely, to attain national economic security.

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**Cason, Jeffrey W., and Timothy J. Power. "Presidentialization, Pluralization, and the Rollback of Itamaraty: Explaining Change in Brazilian Foreign Policy Making in the Cardoso-Lula Era." *International Political Science Review* 30.2 (2009): 117–140.**

This article analyzes the erosion of the influence of the highly professionalized and traditionally autonomous Brazilian foreign ministry since the mid-1990s. The authors identify two major trends, the pluralization of domestic actors and the rise of presidential diplomacy, as increasingly prominent in foreign policymaking to the detriment of professional diplomacy.

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**Danese, Sérgio França. *Diplomacia presidencial*. Rio de Janeiro: Topbooks, 1999.**

This book constitutes the first systematic attempt to understand the role presidential diplomacy has played in shaping and driving Brazil's foreign policy. It focuses on executive leadership as a crucial linkage between domestic politics and international affairs.

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**Hirst, Monica, and Leticia Pinheiro. "A política externa do Brasil em dois tempos." *Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional* 38.1 (1995): 5–23.**

This article analyzes the foreign policies of Fernando Collor de Mello (r. 1990–1992) and Itamar Franco (r. 1993–1994), who underwent a traumatic succession, by focusing on continuities and ruptures. The authors show that, disruption notwithstanding, changes were mostly instrumental, while strategic foreign policy goals were maintained.

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**Malamud, Andrés. "Presidential Diplomacy and the Institutional Underpinnings of Mercosur: An Empirical Examination." *Latin American Research Review* 40.1 (2005): 138–164.**

First systematic account of interpresidentialism, a functional substitute for regional institutions that resorts to direct negotiations between national presidents whenever a crucial decision must be made or a critical conflict solved. This combination of national presidentialism with summit diplomacy allowed Mercosur to effectively operate and progress in its early years.

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**Pinheiro, Leticia. "Traídos pelo desejo: Um ensaio sobre a teoria e a prática da política externa brasileira contemporânea." *Contexto Internacional* 22.2 (2000): 305–335.**

This pioneering article describes the duplicity of Brazilian foreign policy, as so-called pragmatic institutionalism mixes attributes of two traditions of international relations: realism and liberalism. This combination has driven Brazil to promote institutions where it is weak—for example, globally—and to demote them where it is strong—for example, regionally.

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**Spohr, Alexandre Piffero. "Parliamentary Supervision of Brazilian Foreign Policy: An Analysis of Approval of Authorities." *Brazilian Political Science Review* 13.3 (2019): e0004.**

This article studies how the Brazilian Senate operates in approving the appointment of diplomatic authorities. The research finds a similar pattern of legislative supervision of foreign policy and other public policies, despite a few singular characteristics such as the presence of lengthy approval cases.

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**Vigevani, Tullo, and Haroldo Ramanzini Júnior. "The Impact of Domestic Politics and International Changes on the Brazilian Perception of Regional Integration." *Latin American Politics and Society* 53.1 (2011): 125–155.**

The authors argue that domestic politics has been more strongly influential than external factors in determining Brazil's stance on South American integration, particularly regarding Mercosur.

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## **Brazil's Top Foreign Agendas: Investment, the Environment, and Security**

Brazil's foreign agenda has changed over time, although crucial goals such as stability in the region and institutionalized multilateralism in the world have remained constant. Souza 2009 studies the magnitude of continuity and change in elite preferences over the first decade of the 21st century. Mallea, et al. 2015 tackles the major strategic security issue in recent decades: the origin of nuclear cooperation between Brazil and Argentina. Nolte and Weiffen 2018 treats a softer aspect of regional security, namely, institutional cooperation (and competition). Tuffi Saliba, et al. 2015 analyzes one of Brazil's most innovative diplomatic concepts, known as the "Responsibility while Protecting" (RwP). In turn, Hochstetler and Viola 2012 deals with the only global policy dimension in which Brazil qualifies as a top player: environmental management and climate change. Actis 2012 suggests that, with Lula, the internationalization of Brazilian capital became a new top foreign policy goal.

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**Actis, Esteban. "Los condicionantes domésticos en los diseños de política exterior: La internacionalización de capitales brasileños como nuevo objetivo de la política exterior de Brasil." *Brazilian Journal of International Relations* 1.3 (2012): 399–423.**

Actis explains how, in the 21st century, Brazilian foreign goals have gone beyond promoting trade and seeking political recognition. Especially under Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (r. 2003–2010), the internationalization of capital through expansion of Brazilian corporations abroad became a paramount foreign policy objective.

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**Hochstetler, Kathryn, and Eduardo Viola. "Brazil and the Politics of Climate Change: Beyond the Global Commons." *Environmental Politics* 21.5 (2012): 753–771.**

Against common wisdom, this article argues that the climate issue does not follow a "global commons" logic for large emitters, as their actions can affect climate outcomes alone or in small groupings. Hence, they are more responsive to domestic calculations. The authors show how Brazil's support for new climate commitments after 2007 was based on principled and interest-driven motives of key interest groups.

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**Mallea, Rodrigo, Matias Spektor, and Nicholas J. Wheeler, eds. *Origens da cooperação nuclear: Uma história oral crítica entre Argentina e Brasil. Papers from a joint conference of FGV, ICCS, and the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Rio de Janeiro, 21–23 March, 2012. Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars, 2015.***

The methodology of critical oral history consists of bringing together key protagonists and academic experts of a historical event to compare memories and interpretations. This book is the result of such a convention, which took place in Rio de Janeiro in 2012 to reflect on a momentous transformative event in international relations in Latin America: the origin of nuclear cooperation between Argentina and Brazil.

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**Nolte, Detlef, and Brigitte Weiffen. "Competing Claims for Security Governance in South America." In *Inter-organizational Relations in International Security: Cooperation and Competition*. Edited by Stephen Aris, Aglaya Snetkov, and Andreas Wenger, 109–126. New York: Routledge, 2018.**

This chapter studies overlapping security governance in South America. Whether organizations that share members cooperate or compete depends greatly on the foreign policy orientation of the largest members. As such, Brazil has been key in shaping South America as an autonomous space from the Organization of American States.

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**Souza, Amaury de. *A agenda internacional do Brasil: A política externa brasileira de FHC a Lula*. Rio de Janeiro: Elsevier-CEBRI, 2009.**

This short book is the result of a survey conducted among the Brazilian foreign policy elite in 2008. The survey replicated a similar one conducted in 2001 by the same author. The comparison helps identify the many continuities and the few but significant transformations that distinguish Brazilian foreign policy preferences and expectations.

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**Tuffi Saliba, Aziz, Dawisson Belém Lopes, and Pedro Vieira. “Brazil’s Rendition of the ‘Responsibility to Protect’ Doctrine: Promising or Stillborn Diplomatic Proposal?” *Brasiliana: Journal for Brazilian Studies* 3.2 (2015): 32–55.**

After actively participating in the debate surrounding the “Responsibility to Protect” (R2P) doctrine, Brazil proposed a new approach: the “Responsibility while Protecting” (RwP). By launching its own rendition of R2P, Brazil attempted to reinforce the role of the UN Security Council, which it aspired to reform in order to gain a permanent seat. This paper provides an account of the Brazilian initiative and its failure.

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**Viola, Eduardo, and Matías Franchini. *Brazil and Climate Change: Beyond the Amazon*. New York: Routledge, 2018.**

Is Brazil a benign, cooperative environmental power or a rogue one? The reversal of Amazon deforestation in recent years makes this question one of both academic and strategic relevance. Through an analysis of Brazil in comparative perspective, this book provides an introduction to and an assessment of the climate reality of Brazil as well as a framework to analyze the climate performance of major economies.

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## **The Regionalism of Brazil**

Which really is Brazil’s region? Bethell 2010 and Spektor 2010 explain the origin of the concepts of Latin America and South America, respectively, for the Brazilian intellectual elite. Burges 2005, Burges 2006, and Malamud 2011 analyze the material and symbolic limitations that have prevented Brazil from becoming a regional leader, which, in turn, explains the obstacles to consolidating effective regionalism. Gómez-Mera 2013 and Merke 2015 apply hybrid theoretical frameworks, respectively liberal realism and the English School, in understanding Brazil’s role in South American power dynamics. Krapohl, et al. 2014 and Malamud and Rodriguez 2014 seek to explain the ambivalent behavior of Brazil in its region as a result of power asymmetries and global positioning.

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**Bethell, Leslie. “Brazil and ‘Latin America.’” *Journal of Latin American Studies* 42.3 (2010): 457–485.**

For more than a century after independence, Brazilians thought of Brazil as a country surrounded by Latin America—and so did most Latin Americans. This started to change during the Cold War, and it has deepened since. Through an analysis of ideas and intellectual debates, the author traces the history of how Brazil became a Latin American country—and eventually a South American one.

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**Burges, Sean W. “Bounded by the Reality of Trade: Practical Limits to a South American Region.” *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 18.3 (2005): 437–454.**

This was the first article, in a series of four, in which Burges redefined the academic understanding of Brazilian foreign policy. He argues that the goal of achieving South American integration meets with material limits that no country, even Brazil, is able or willing to overcome.

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**Burges, Sean W. “Without Sticks or Carrots: Brazilian Leadership in South America during the Cardoso Era, 1992–2002.” *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 25.1 (2006): 23–42.**

Winner of the Society for Latin American Studies Harold Blakemore Essay Prize, this article followed Burges 2005 and pioneered the understanding of Brazil as a soft rather than a traditional power in its region. This characteristic was the result not only of strategic vision and skillful diplomacy, but also of Brazil’s material limitations in exerting coercion or providing payoffs.

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**Gómez-Mera, Maria Laura. *Power and Regionalism in Latin America: The Politics of Mercosur*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2013.**

This book argues that the erratic patterns of conflict and cooperation that have characterized South American regionalism reflect the tension between systemic incentives and domestic political constraints. The author emphasizes the centrality of three explanatory factors: power asymmetries, state institutions, and economic interests. Eventually, a shared sense of external vulnerability (by Argentina and Brazil) and intra-regional power asymmetries (Brazil's preponderance) have converged to foster institutionalized cooperation in Mercosur.

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**Krapohl, Sebastian, Katharina L. Meissner, and Johannes Muntschick. "Regional Powers as Leaders or Rambos? The Ambivalent Behaviour of Brazil and South Africa in Regional Economic Integration." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 52.4 (2014): 879–895.**

Through a comparison of Brazil and South Africa, this article argues that regional leadership is a function of the balance between regional and extra-regional interests. As the latter prevail, regional integration suffers.

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**Malamud, Andrés. "A Leader without Followers? The Growing Divergence between the Regional and Global Performance of Brazilian Foreign Policy." *Latin American Politics and Society* 53.3 (2011): 1–24.**

A forceful challenge to the prevailing conception in the Brazilian foreign establishment that regional leadership is a necessary condition for global leadership. By showing that Brazil failed to translate domestic resources into regional leadership, while at the same time achieving many of its global goals, the article delineates the disconnection between the region and the world.

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**Malamud, Andrés, and Júlio César Cossio Rodriguez. "Straddling the Region and the World: Brazil's Dual Foreign Policy Comes of Age." In *The Role, Position and Agency of Cusp States in International Relations*. Edited by Marc Herzog and Philip Robins, 131–148. New York: Routledge, 2014.**

This chapter analyzes Brazil as a cusp state, that is, a state that straddle two regions or cultures. As a country with multiple identities, Brazil shares features with Turkey or Ukraine that distinguish it from its arguably more homogeneous Spanish-speaking neighbors. Spanish and Portuguese versions of this chapter have been published in Argentine and Brazilian journals, respectively.

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**Merke, Federico. "Neither Balance nor Bandwagon: South American International Society Meets Brazil's Rising Power." *International Politics* 52.2 (2015): 178–192.**

This article challenges both realist and liberal explanations of Brazil's geopolitical positioning in South America. By showing that the country has neither sought material domination nor provided regional public goods, Merke argues—from an English School perspective—that Brazil shares values and institutions with its neighbors that have laid the foundations for a distinct regional international society.

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**Schenoni, Luis L. "Subsystemic Unipolarities? Power Distribution and State Behaviour in South America and Southern Africa." *Strategic Analysis* 41.1 (2017): 74–86.**

A text that applies theories of unipolarity, rather than balance of power, in understanding power dynamics in South America and southern Africa. Schenoni claims that this approach explains not only Brazilian and South African foreign policies toward their regions, but also the behavior of secondary regional powers and small states.

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**Spektor, Matías. "Brazil: The Underlying Ideas of Regional Policies." In *Regional Leadership in the Global System: Ideas, Interests and Strategies of Regional Powers*. Edited by Daniel Flemes, 191–204. London: Ashgate, 2010.**

Based on the assumption that power considerations are mediated by ideas espoused by the elites, the author explores the

connections between strategic ideas and Brazil's regional activism after the Cold War. Spektor shows that traditional images such as autonomy, self-help, and suspicion of neighbors persist. However, a passive understanding of the region has been replaced with more active ideas such as shifting from the "Latin America" to "South America" and accepting some degree of regional institutionalization.

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## **The International Alliances of Brazil**

In its search for autonomy and promotion of its national interests, Brazil has resorted sometimes to multilateral forums and at other times to specific alliances. Daudelin and Burges 2011 claims that multilateralism has been more celebrated than actually applied by Brazilian policymakers. Whether in convergence or divergence, two countries have been historically at the top of the Brazilian diplomatic agenda: Argentina (Saraiva 2012) and the United States (Hirst 2013). Lechini 2008 argues that Africa occupied a place in Brazil's foreign agenda even before the independence of the African Portuguese-speaking countries in 1975. In the 21st century, Brazil has joined in founding two top international groupings: BRICS, the association of Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa (Sotero and Armijo 2007), and IBSA, the forum of Brazil, India, and South Africa (Oliveira, et al. 2006), both framed within what is called South-South relations (Inoue and Vaz 2012). Brazil's quest for global recognition has been allegedly hampered by a lack of followers (Schirm 2010), the presence of rival claimants (Burges 2007), or the absence of alternatives to the global hegemon (Rodriguez 2012).

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**Burges, Sean W. "Building a Global Southern Coalition: The Competing Approaches of Brazil's Lula and Venezuela's Chavez." *Third World Quarterly* 28.7 (2007): 1343–1358.**

The third article in a set of four about South American politics, this text argues that Brazil and Venezuela were rivals for regional leadership during the 2000s. Burges anticipated that, in spite of many problems, the Brazilian neo-structuralist, yet market-oriented vision would be more successful than the Venezuelan handout, exclusively statist approach.

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**Daudelin, Jean, and Sean Burges. "Moving In, Carving Out, Proliferating: The Many Faces of Brazil's Multilateralism since 1989." *Pensamiento Propio* 16.33 (2011): 35–64.**

This article debunks Brazil's avowed commitment to multilateralism. The authors show how, since 1989, Brazil has supported multilateralism in principle but only engaged actively in promoting it when it was consistent with narrowly defined national interests, just as other dominant powers in the global system do.

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**Hirst, Monica. *Understanding Brazil-United States Relations: Contemporary History, Current Complexities and Prospects for the 21st Century*. Brasília: Fundação Alexandre de Gusmão, 2013.**

This book takes stock of more than a century of bilateral relations between Brazil and the United States. The author's most innovative contribution is in reading this period as a succession of "As": Alliance, Alignment, Autonomy, Adjustment, and Affirmation. A sixth "A" would be Argentina, the third leg in a longstanding diplomatic triangle.

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**Inoue, Cristina Yumie Aoki, and Alcides Costa Vaz. "Brazil as Southern Donor: Beyond Hierarchy and National Interests in Development Cooperation?" *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 25.4 (2012): 507–534.**

Under the Lula administration (r. 2003–2010), Brazil became a global donor while continuing to be a developing country. This article disputes the official claim that external development assistance did not reproduce North-South traditional aid relations as it was moved by international solidarity. Instead, the authors argue that national economic and political interests were paramount behind South-South cooperation.

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**Lechini, Gladys. "O Brasil na África ou a África no Brasil? A construção da política africana pelo Itamaraty." *Nueva Sociedad* (October 2008): 55–71.**

This article claims that, despite ups and downs, Brazil's African policy was established in 1960 and never discontinued. Aiming at the diversification of external relations, this policy was dramatically heightened during the Lula administration (r. 2003–2010).

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**Oliveira, Amâncio Jorge Nunes de, Janina Onuki, and Emmanuel de Oliveira. "Coalizões sul-sul e multilateralismo: Índia, Brasil e África do Sul." *Contexto Internacional* 28.2 (2006): 465–504.**

This article studies the articulation of South-South coalitions within multilateral organizations. With a focus on the three middle powers of Brazil, India, and South Africa, the authors claim that defensive (aka protectionist) rather than offensive factors have driven these kind of alliances, whether regarding trade or security issues.

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**Rodriguez, Júlio César Cossio. "Chacal ou Cordeiro? O Brasil frente aos desafios e oportunidades do sistema internacional." *Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional* 55.2 (2012): 70–89.**

This article claims that Brazilian foreign policy closely follows structural changes of the international system. With the help of categories developed by neoclassical realist Randall Schweller, Rodriguez shows that Brazil has acted as a lamb when no challenge to the unipolar power is present, but as a jackal as soon as a revisionist actor (such as China) emerges.

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**Saraiva, Miriam Gomes. *Encontros e desencontros: O lugar da Argentina na política externa brasileira*. Belo Horizonte, Brazil: Fino Traço Editora, 2012.**

Argentina has been Brazil's most important strategic neighbor since prior to independence. This book analyzes the evolution from rivalry to cooperation between the two countries over two centuries, highlighting the role of official cordiality as conflict moderator.

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**Schirm, Stefan A. "Leaders in Need of Followers: Emerging Powers in Global Governance." *European Journal of International Relations* 16.2 (2010): 197–221.**

This article claims that regional followership is a necessary condition for emerging powers to project power globally. Brazil and Germany are said to have been unsuccessful in their international bids because they failed to consider the interests and ideas of their neighboring countries.

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**Sotero, Paulo, and Leslie Elliott Armijo. "Brazil: To Be or Not to Be a BRIC?" *Asian Perspective* 31.4 (2007): 43–70.**

This article is one of the first to claim that soft rather than hard power will define Brazil's potential to influence international outcomes. Among its key soft resources, Brazil is seen as featuring stable democratic governance and the prospect of becoming an environmental power in a world increasingly preoccupied with climate change.

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## **Brazil and the Global Order**

The end of the "unipolar moment," after the 9/11 attacks and their consequences, marked the rise of "the rest" as opposed to the West. Among the former, affirms Stuenkel 2015, the BRICS have stood out. In particular, Brazil's ambitious but troubled rise to global influence is the subject matter of Reid 2014 and Mares and Trinkunas 2016. Lima and Hirst 2006, Fienes 2009, and Burges 2017 deal with the advantages and setbacks for Brazil's global rise from its status as a regional power. Hurrell and Narlikar 2006, Herz 2011, Doctor 2015, and Guimarães and Almeida 2017 analyze concrete manifestations of Brazilian foreign policy aimed at securing the country a place in world governance.

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**Burges, Sean W. *Brazil in the World: The International Relations of a South American Giant*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2017.**

Winner of the Latin American Studies Association's 2018 Luciano Tomassini Latin American International Relations Book Award, this monograph contributes to understanding Brazilian foreign policy within the concept of structural power. Writing for nonspecialists, Burges introduces the fundamentals of the foreign policy of an emerging world power.

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**Doctor, Mahrukh. "Brazil's Role in Institutions of Global Economic Governance: The WTO and G20." *Global Society* 29.3 (2015): 286–300.**

A constructivist analysis of Brazilian foreign policy, this article compares Brazil's preferences in the World Trade Organization (WTO) and Group of 20 (G20) to show that the country has moved from an exclusively material definition of its national interest to a more complex one in which prestige and status are pursued even to the detriment to its full material interests.

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**Flemes, Daniel. "Brazilian Foreign Policy in the Changing World Order." *South African Journal of International Affairs* 16.2 (2009): 161–182.**

This article discusses Brazil's foreign policy options after unipolarity and describes its role as a pivotal state between the region and the world.

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**Guimarães, Feliciano de Sá, and Maria Hermínia Tavares de Almeida. "From Middle Powers to Entrepreneurial Powers in World Politics: Brazil's Successes and Failures in International Crises." *Latin American Politics and Society* 59.4 (2017): 26–46.**

Through a qualitative comparative analysis of thirty-two international crises, this article finds that two conventional ideas are misplaced: that Brazil exerts influence basically through soft power and that the US position determines Brazil's foreign policy achievements. On the contrary, the findings show that Brazil is more successful when it deploys traditional power-based instruments irrespective of the great power's positioning.

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**Herz, Monica. "Brazil: Major Power in the Making?" In *Major Powers and the Quest for Status in International Politics*. Edited by Thomas J. Volgy, Renato Corbetta, Keith A. Grant, and Ryan G. Baird, 159–179. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.**

Brazil's longstanding aspiration to be recognized as a major power became a central foreign policy goal under the Lula administration (r. 2003–2010). This chapter examines the country's efforts to produce regional and global governance in order to enhance its international status.

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**Hurrell, Andrew, and Amrita Narlikar. "A New Politics of Confrontation? Brazil and India in Multilateral Trade Negotiations." *Global Society* 20.4 (2006): 415–433.**

Against predicted homogenization and policy convergence, this article analyzes the more activist and less accommodating period in North/South relations that took place in the early 2000s. The authors argue that trade policy changes by two major players, Brazil and India, were explained by learning and adaptation processes rather than domestic politics. Available online by subscription or purchase.

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**Lima, Maria Regina Soares de, and Mônica Hirst. "Brazil as an Intermediate State and Regional Power: Action, Choice and Responsibilities." *International Affairs* 82.1 (2006): 21–40.**

This influential article argues that Brazil's longstanding foreign policy aspiration has been to achieve international recognition as a

major power. The authors analyze several dimensions of Brazilian foreign policy, such as commitment to multilateralism, regional politics, and relations with the United States, to pinpoint the hardships of matching increased ambition with concrete results.

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**Mares, David R., and Harold A. Trinkunas. *Aspirational Power: Brazil on the Long Road to Global Influence*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2016.**

This monograph highlights Brazil's swing between global projection and retraction set to the rhythm of its oscillating economic evolution. Due to its rich material endowment, the authors affirm that Brazil remains "likely to one day emerge as a great power." Yet, the authors consider that its greatest asset is its domestic democracy. A principled rather than short-termed, pragmatic foreign policy would thus serve the country better in gaining global influence.

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**Reid, Michael. *Brazil: The Troubled Rise of a Global Power*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2014.**

This book provides a panoramic perspective of Brazil's historical evolution from a Western vantage point. Rich and nuanced, its main contribution is in considering the country's rise as troubled at a time when undue optimism prevailed.

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**Stuenkel, Oliver. *The BRICS and the Future of Global Order*. Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2015.**

Under the assumption that a post-Western global order is in the making, this monograph analyzes the transformation of the BRIC acronym from an investment term into a semi-institutionalized international alliance now called BRICS. A Brazilian-based international scholar, Stuenkel offers both a rich historical account and a prospective analysis of the relations among the rising powers of Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa.

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