



LATIN AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICIES

Between Ideology and Pragmatism

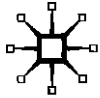
EDITED BY GIAN LUCA GARDINI
AND PETER LAMBERT



LATIN AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICIES
BETWEEN IDEOLOGY AND PRAGMATISM

Edited by
Gian Luca Gardini and Peter Lambert

palgrave
macmillan



LATIN AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICIES
Copyright © Gian Luca Gardini and Peter Lambert, 2011.

All rights reserved.

First published in 2011 by
PALGRAVE MACMILLAN®
in the United States – a division of St. Martin's Press LLC,
175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010.

Where this book is distributed in the UK, Europe and the rest of the world, this is by
Palgrave Macmillan, a division of Macmillan Publishers Limited, registered in England,
company number 785998, of Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS.

Palgrave Macmillan is the global academic imprint of the above companies and has
companies and representatives throughout the world.

Palgrave® and Macmillan® are registered trademarks in the United States, the United
Kingdom, Europe and other countries.

ISBN: 978-0-230-11095-3

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Latin American foreign policies : between ideology and pragmatism / edited by Gian Luca
Gardini & Peter Lambert.

p. cm.

ISBN 978-0-230-11095-3

1. Latin America—Foreign relations—1980— I. Gardini, Gian Luca. II. Lambert,
Peter, 1948—

JZ1519.L385 2011

327.8—dc22

2010035729

A catalogue record of the book is available from the British Library.

Design by MPS Limited, A Macmillan Company

First edition: March 2011

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Transferred to Digital Printing in 2011

CONTENTS

Acknowledgments	vii
Notes on Contributors	ix
Introduction Ideology and Pragmatism in Latin American Foreign Policy <i>Gian Luca Gardini and Peter Lambert</i>	1
1 Latin American Foreign Policies between Ideology and Pragmatism: A Framework for Analysis <i>Gian Luca Gardini</i>	13
2 Pragmatism, Ideology, and Tradition in Chilean Foreign Policy since 1990 <i>Joaquín Fermanois</i>	35
3 Brazilian Foreign Policy: Causal Beliefs in Formulation and Pragmatism in Practice <i>Miriam Gomes Saraiva</i>	53
4 Dancing between Superpowers: Ideology, Pragmatism, and Drift in Paraguayan Foreign Policy <i>Peter Lambert</i>	67
5 Argentine Foreign Policy under the Kirchners: Ideological, Pragmatic, or Simply Peronist? <i>Andrés Malamud</i>	87
6 From Obscurity to Center Stage: The Architectonics of Bolivia's Foreign Policy <i>Larry Birns and Alex Sanchez</i>	103
7 Ideology and Pragmatism in the Foreign Policy of Peru <i>Ronald Bruce St. John</i>	119

8	The Continuing Pull of the Polar Star: Colombian Foreign Policy in the Post-Cold War Era <i>Stephen J. Randall</i>	139
9	Venezuelan Foreign Policy under Chávez, 1999–2010: The Pragmatic Success of Revolutionary Ideology? <i>Diana Raby</i>	159
10	Defying Expectations: The External Profile and Activism of the Cuban Revolution <i>Antoni Kapcia</i>	179
11	Nicaragua's Pragmatic Ideologues <i>David Close</i>	197
12	Mexico's Foreign Policy Under the <i>Partido Acción Nacional</i> : Promoting Democracy, Human Rights, and Interests <i>Ana Covarrubias</i>	213
13	Unity and Diversity in Latin American Visions of Regional Integration <i>Gian Luca Gardini</i>	235
	Conclusions <i>Gian Luca Gardini and Peter Lambert</i>	255
	Index	265

"This timely and thorough volume addresses the fascinating and much overlooked component of Latin American foreign policies in the current globalized era. We are used to believing that Latin America is always on the receiving end of diplomacy, but this volume's well-researched contributions force us to reconsider our assumptions."

—Russell Crandall, Professor of international politics, Davidson College and author of *The United States and Latin America after the Cold War*

"A volume such as this one is long overdue. In the first decade of the twenty-first century, unprecedented domestic political change and a shift in global power structures allowed Latin American states to greatly enhance their global presence, both individually and collectively. Gardini and Lambert dissect this process by bringing together wide-ranging case studies of the recent foreign policies of 11 key Latin American states. The line-up of distinguished contributors is impressive and the result is a volume that subtly analyses the tradeoffs between ideology and pragmatism in regional policy making. The book will prove useful to academics and policy makers alike."

—Timothy J. Power, Director, Latin American Centre, University of Oxford

"One of the most valuable assets among the many of this book is the enduring quality of the overall framework that serves as the basis for analysis throughout the volume."

—David Scott Palmer, Professor of International Relations, Boston University

Over the past decade Latin American countries adopted a more assertive and autonomous stance in their foreign policy, including a growing rejection of neoliberalism and the development of policies that respond more effectively to national and regional interests. Within this, ideology has combined with clearly pragmatic aims in different and innovative ways. With analysis of 11 different case studies by some of the most outstanding writers in the field from across the globe, this volume represents an important and innovative contribution to our understanding of the factors driving foreign policy design and implementation in Latin America in the early twenty-first century.

Gian Luca Gardini is a Lecturer in International Relations and Latin American Politics at the University of Bath, where he is also Deputy Director of the European Research Institute. Gardini obtained his MPhil and PhD in International Relations from the University of Cambridge. His research interests cover the international relations of Latin America, Argentine and Brazilian foreign policy, regional integration, and international relations theory.

Peter Lambert is a Senior Lecturer in Spanish and Latin American Studies at the University of Bath, where he is also Associate Dean in the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences. His research interests and publications are focused on Paraguayan contemporary politics, history, and society, although he has published more widely on Latin America, including most recently the co-edited volume *Political Violence and the Construction of National Identity in Latin America* (2006). He was President of the Society for Latin American Studies (SLAS) 2007-2009.

Cover illustration and design
by Ben Summers

palgrave
macmillan

