

THE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS PROGRAM

*Instituto Universitario de Pesquisas do Rio de Janeiro (IUPERJ)**

At the end of almost a year and a half of activities of the International Relations Program of IUPERJ, partially funded by The Ford Foundation, it is possible to identify qualitative as well as quantitative growth in these studies in Brazil, principally in the area of Rio de Janeiro. This growth is remarkable if we take into account, on the one hand, the few attempts at progress made during the decade of the seventies and, on the other hand, the expectation generated at the beginning of the program.

These changes resulted, in part, from some historic "accidents" related to general conditions in Brazil. First, it was at the end of the 1970s that various changes that had been occurring for nearly a decade in the external politics of Brazil were consolidated. Second, various academicians interested in international relations and foreign policy, who had been outside of the country, returned to Brazil within a very short period of time. In this way, considering only the Rio de Janeiro metropolitan area, a small group was transformed, between August 1979 and December 1980, into a community of almost thirty people with substantial professional, even primary, interest in these areas of study. The rapid formation of this community was an auspicious event since, given the virtual absence hitherto of systematic interest in the area, the establishment of an efficient albeit informal system of communication and cooperation among professionals interested in this area of study was made possible.

Several formal or informal programs or "quasi-departments" oriented toward different aspects of these fields of study were created at several institutions. The communication this established among interested professionals permitted the emergence of a certain "natural" specialization of tasks. Thus, the IUPERJ specialized more in the areas of research and graduate education, with emphasis on politics; the Institute of International Relations of the Pontificia Universidade Católica de Rio de Janeiro (PUC) concentrated on instruction at the undergraduate level and on research with an economic emphasis. The Centro de Pes-

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Translated with funds provided by the Josiah Charles Trent Memorial Foundation, Inc.

quisa e Documentação de Historia Contemporânea do Brasil (CPDOC) of the Getúlio Vargas Foundation dedicated itself more intensely to the gathering and administration of archives of documents relating to Brazilian foreign policy, as well as to research with an emphasis on history. The Department of Social Sciences of the Universidade Federal Fluminense has dedicated itself to graduate instruction in the area of international relations, and the Fundação de Comercio Exterior has developed investigations oriented toward the commercial expansion of Brazil outside its boundaries.

There is great interest in these subjects within the university-educated public; this interest is not new, but it never, until recently, had been translated into the creation and operation of academic programs of study and research. Several "schools" of international relations were created at the beginning of the 1970s that offered (we might add, dishonestly) a world of money and promises, in terms of employment prospects, to undergraduate students and young graduates. Although such "schools" have been closed down by the Conselho Federal de Educação, their existence, however short, helped create a prejudice among students against academic programs in this field. In addition, the lack of differentiation between extracurricular interest and professional interest in this area can also be attributed to the realism of the students, who did not demand courses of an academic-professional nature in international relations. This type of education did not lead to employment, since the two principal careers in the area—the diplomatic profession and journalism—recruited their candidates, formally or informally, through other than academic channels.

In the last few years the situation has begun to change. Although the Foreign Ministry has maintained the formal monopoly on formulation and implementation of Brazil's foreign policy, various other opportunities have emerged: university programs have been enlarged, opening the way for instruction in international relations and foreign policy in graduate courses (although not as a specific area of concentration); and the commercial expansion and relative growth of Brazil's international role has required professionals more familiarized with the international arena. The demand came from interest groups, from international agencies of the ministries, and from the businesses involved in the export of nontraditional products: services, technical assistance, culture, and arms.

The opening of these fields meant a *potential* enlargement of the market for professionals in the area of international relations. With this in view, during 1980 the members of the staff of IUPERJ took the initiative of informing potential candidates of the master's program of the opportunities that would be offered in the near future in this field of specialization. IUPERJ is instituting, along with professionals at other

universities in the Rio de Janeiro area, presentations for the purpose of informing students of the existing professional options.

ACTIVITIES OF IUPERJ

IUPERJ is the only institution in Rio de Janeiro—more specifically, in the southeast region of the country—to offer graduate study in international relations, for the moment as an area of concentration open to candidates for the master's in political science. With the creation of the doctoral program in political science and sociology, begun in 1980, it is possible to visualize that, within a few years, doctorates will be awarded with a specialization in international relations. During the selection of candidates for the master's program of IUPERJ for 1981, two candidates were approved who were interested in international relations. It is important to point out that the application of these candidates was not yet a result of the publicity campaign mentioned above, since there was not sufficient time for the campaign to have had an impact.

Research Activities

Nontraditional Brazilian Exports and Their Political Implications / This project is being carried out by Maria Regina Soares de Lima and Alexandre Barros, with the assistance of Zairo Borges Cheibub. The objective is an exploratory mapping of new areas of Brazilian exports that are different from those that have predominated in the past, so that more lasting contacts may be established through the continued help of technical assistance, replacement parts, etc. These new exports have larger political implications since they mean an increase in the "new international presence of Brazil," especially in countries less developed than Brazil. The areas that are being researched are: the performance of engineering services, culture (exportation of cinema, television, administrative know-how, and scholarship programs for foreign students), and the export of war matériel.

Bibliography of Articles on Brazilian Foreign Policy / This task is being undertaken by Zairo Borges Cheibub, under the guidance of Maria Regina Soares de Lima and Alexandre Barros. It includes the inspection of all articles published in Brazilian reviews and periodicals, since 1930, concerning foreign policy and international relations. Funds are being sought to cosponsor, along with IUPERJ, the publication of this bibliography.

Other Projects / Besides the above, which could be called institutional projects, the two regular professors in the program and the visiting

professor are, or have been, involved in the following individual research projects: Maria Regina Soares de Lima—Brazilian-U.S. relations and the nuclear problem (developed in pursuit of the doctorate at Vanderbilt University) and the formulation of U.S. foreign policy with regard to Latin America (with Monica Hirst of CPDOC/FGV); Alexandre de S.C. Barros—probabilities of international conflict in South America, and civilian-military relations in South America; Guillermo O'Donnell—comparative project (Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Uruguay) on normalization policies, political and economic study, and international comparative research regarding processes of democratization using the bureaucratic-authoritarian state as a point of departure (with P. Schmitter, University of Chicago, and L. Whitehead, Oxford University).

Lectures

The International Relations Program of IUPERJ also promoted these lectures during 1980: Ambassador (and ex-Minister of Foreign Relations) Antônio Francisco Azeredo da Silveira—"Brazilian Foreign Policy: Balance and Perspectives of the Geisel Government"; Professor Augusto Varas (Latin American Faculty of Political Science [FLASCO] and Chilean Association of Peace Studies [ACHEP, Santiago)—"Perspectives of the Chilean Military Government for the 1980s"; Journalist Sílio Boccanera (correspondent, *Jornal do Brasil*, in Washington)—"Central American Political Situation at the End of the 1970s and Perspectives for 1980"; Professor Antônio Carlos Peixoto (Centre d'Études des Relations Internationales [CERI], Paris)—"Ideologies in Latin America"; Professor George Lawton (Department of Political Science, University of Maryland)—"Post-Somoza Political Situation in Nicaragua."

Publications

During 1980, members of the program had the following works accepted for publication: Maria Regina Soares de Lima (with Gerson Moura)—"A Trajetória do Pragmatismo," *Encontros com a Civilização Brasileira* (1981); Alexandre Barros (with Edmundo Campos Coelho)—"The Politics of Military Intervention and Withdrawal in South America," *International Political Science Review* (in press); Guillermo O'Donnell—"As Forças Armadas e os Regimes Autoritários do Cone Sul" (forthcoming in a volume coordinated by O'Donnell, Schmitter, and Whitehead).

The Creation of GRIPE

As a result of the growth in the community of students of international relations and foreign policy, the Grupo de Estudos de Relações Interna-

cionais e Política Externa (GRIPE) was created within the Associação Nacional de Pos-Graduação em Ciências Sociais (ANPOCS), which met, for the first time, in October 1980 during the annual meeting of ANPOCS in Rio de Janeiro. With the creation of GRIPE, this area of studies was legitimized on a national academic level. The coordinator of GRIPE is Maria Regina Soares de Lima.