

**RECENT POLITICAL CHANGES IN SOUTH AMERICAN GOVERNMENTS AND
THEIR IMPACT ON REGIONAL FOREIGN POLICY**

***AS RECENTES MUDANÇAS POLÍTICAS NOS GOVERNOS DA AMÉRICA DO SUL E
SEUS REFLEXOS NA POLÍTICA EXTERNA REGIONAL***

***LOS RECIENTES CAMBIOS POLÍTICOS EN LOS GOBIERNOS SUDAMERICANOS Y
SU IMPACTO EN LA POLÍTICA EXTERIOR REGIONAL***



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Over the last three decades, South America has seen different political and ideological tendencies in its governments. In a pendulum fashion, the countries have tended between right and left and their international actions have been influenced by this ideological fluctuation. With the end of the Cold War, neoliberalism was the predominant trend in Latin America, especially in the South American subcontinent. Right-wing and centre-right governments predominated during the 1990s in the region's countries and their foreign policies were predominantly geared towards globalization and its liberal promises. In the 2000s, the so-called "pink wave" (or post-neoliberalism) brought a resurgence of the Latin American left, especially in South America. With few exceptions, the decade was marked by a convergence of mentalities among left-wing and center-left governments in the region, which reverberated directly in the construction of their foreign policies: intensification of diplomatic relations, greater intra-regional trade and integration initiatives such as IRRSA, UNASUR and CELAC were sewn up.

However, a decade after the pink wave, right-wing and extreme right-wing political forces have re-established themselves in power precisely because of the strengthening of conservatism in other centers of world power such as the US and the UK. Bolsonaro in Brazil, Macri in Argentina, Piñera in Chile, Vizcarra in Peru and Iván Duque in Colombia are examples of the rise of the new right in the region. This dossier brings together a set of papers that look at these recent political-ideological changes in South America and some of their repercussions on regional foreign policy.

The dossier begins with an interview with historian Clodoaldo Bueno, one of the leading researchers on Brazilian foreign policy. The professor at São Paulo State University (UNESP) was the author of the book "História da Política Exterior do Brasil" (History of Brazilian Foreign Policy), published in 1992 with Amado Luis Cervo. His academic career is intertwined with the establishment of International Relations as a field of research in Brazil. In the interview, Bueno comments on his history of international relations, the process of regional integration in South America and the course of Brazilian foreign policy in recent decades.

The first article, by Paulo Gustavo Pellegrino Correa and Ivan Henrique de Mattos e Silva, discusses the changes in the Brazilian Foreign Policy (BFP) guidelines for South America during Jair Bolsonaro's administration (2019-2022). The authors point out the precepts that underpinned Bolsonarism in Brazil's diplomatic shift, especially towards its geographical surroundings.

In "Considerations on politics and economy in present-day Argentina (1983-2020)", Iuri Cavlak presents a historical reconstruction of the main political and economic moments in

Argentina, between the end of the last military dictatorship and the present. The article uses Brazilian and Argentine bibliography to show the Argentine government's official data and statistics to demonstrate the continual change between more and less liberal governments, from those with a greater attachment to liberalism to those with a greater connection to social policies, as if this were the periodic change necessary to maintain the market economy as it has been configured in South America.

The third article focuses on the shift to the right in Uruguay, its political economy and foreign policy (2020-2023). Authors Camilo López Burian, Cecilia Rocha Carpuic and Diego Hernández Nilson explore the political transformations that have taken place in Uruguay since 2020, when a majority coalition made up of five right-wing and center-right parties took office after 15 years of left-wing mandates. The paper looks at the changes based on domestic and systemic (regional and global) factors.

In "Consolidation of South American nation states based on borders and regional integration", Miguel Dhenin provides a broad overview of the process of consolidating South American borders in the light of regional integration, from the beginning of the 16th century to the present day. The article is based on the argument that regional dynamics result from the tension between (geo)political centers and border areas, as part of the internal consolidation processes of South American nations. For the author, this process has resulted in historical resistance on the part of the nations of the South American continent to politically deepen the process of regional integration, particularly in light of the experience during the global pandemic.

The fifth paper in this dossier discusses the integration models that have historically been the subject of dispute in Latin America. Gabriel Dib Daud De Vuono and Wagner Tadeu Iglecias discuss how these political tensions have had an impact on Mercosur's three decades of integration. The authors conclude that Mercosur is in constant dispute between different projects, sometimes based on neoliberal precepts, aimed at open regionalism and centred on a liberalizing economic-commercial dynamic, and sometimes reformists who propose a multidimensional perspective to the integration process.

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