

UNIVERSIDADE DO ESTADO DO RIO DE JANEIRO (UERJ)
INSTITUTO DE ESTUDOS SOCIAIS E POLÍTICOS (IESP)
Foreign policy, climate change and the South American Amazon
2023 (first academic term), Tuesdays at 9 am
Professors: Carlos R. S. Milani e Ana Paula Tostes

ABSTRACT

Starting with an introduction to the relationship between the Anthropocene, climate change and international politics, this course aims to discuss how the climate change agenda is integrated into the foreign policy of some States and international organizations, giving priority to development and security agendas, the role of the UN (and the IPCC) and the negotiations within the COPs (“Conference of Parties”). In discussions on climate change as a foreign policy agenda, some case studies will be analyzed, including Brazil, South Africa, China, the United States of America, the European Union, South American regional organizations and the AOSIS coalition (“Alliance of Small Island States”). A transversal thematic axis of studies in the discipline will be the Amazon (Brazilian and South American) in order to understand how this biome – considered emblematic and fundamental for the socially and environmentally sustainable future of the region and the planet – is treated in the general debate on climate change and in the specific foreign policy debate concerning the selected actors.

COURSE ORGANIZATION

Theme 1: The Anthropocene and climate change in international politics

Beau, Rémi & Larrère, Catherine (orgs.). (2018) *Penser l’Anthropocène*. Paris: Les Presses de Sciences Po (caps.: Cochet, Yves. L’anthropocène change-t-il la pensée politique? & Pierre Charbonnier: L’ambition démocratique à l’âge de l’anthropocène).

Chakrabarty, Dipesh (2015) *The human condition in the Anthropocene: Tanner Lectures on Human Values*, New Haven: Yale University. Disponível em: https://tannerlectures.utah.edu/_resources/documents/a-to-z/c/Chakrabarty%20manuscript.pdf

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Latour, Bruno (2020). *Onde aterrar? Como se orientar politicamente no Antropoceno*. Rio de Janeiro: Bazar do Tempo.

Milani, Carlos R. S. (2022) “Antropoceno como conceito e diagnóstico: implicações para o multilateralismo e na perspectiva do Brasil”. CEBRI: policy paper series.

Ostrom, Elinor (2014) “A polycentric approach for coping with climate change”, *Annals of Economics and Finance*, vol. 15, pp. 97–134.

Theme 2: the United Nations, the IPCC and COPs

Abdenur, Adriana Erthal (2021). “Climate and security: UN agenda-setting and the ‘Global South’” in *Third World Quarterly*, vol 42, pp. 2074-2085

Aykut, Stefan C. & Dahan, Amy. (2015) *Gouverner le climat? 20 ans de négociations internationales*. Paris: Les Presses de Sciences Po (Caps.: “Le régime climatique onusien, expertise, gouvernance, arènes”; “Un schism avec le reel” & “Pour un autre ordre de gouvernementalité”).

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Duarte, Tiago Ribeiro (2019) “O painel brasileiro de mudanças climáticas na interface entre ciências e políticas públicas”, *Sociologias*, ano 21, no. 51, pp. 76-101.

Grundmann, Reiner (2012) “The legacy of Climategate: revitalizing or undermining climate science and policy?”, *Climate Change*, vol. 3, pp. 289-95.

Guillemot, Hélène (2017). The necessary and inaccessible 1.5C objective: a turning point in the relations between climate science and politics? In: *Globalising the Climate: COP21 and the Climatisation of Global Debates* (Londres: EarthScan/Routledge), pp. 39-56.

Paes, Lucas de O. (2022) “The Amazon rainforest and the global-regional politics of ecosystem governance”. *International Affairs*, vol. 98, no. 6, pp. 2077–97.

Zelli, Fariborz, & van Asselt, Harro (2013) “The institutional fragmentation of global environmental governance: Causes, consequences, and responses”, *Global Environmental Politics*, vol. 13, pp. 1-13.

Theme 3: Climate change and foreign policy – the case of Brazil

Azevedo, Tasso R. (2015) *Análise das emissões de GEE no Brasil (1970-2013) e suas implicações para políticas públicas*. S. Paulo: SEEG/Observatório do Clima.

Estevo, Jefferson; Ferreira, Leila. (2022) “A política externa do governo Jair Bolsonaro para as mudanças climáticas: rupturas negativas e riscos.” In: GONÇALVES, F.; LOUREIRO, G.; MELLO, B. (org.). *Política externa do governo Bolsonaro: temas, resultados e retrocessos*. Lemos Mídia Editora (e-book) Disponível em: <https://lemosmidia.com.br/produto/politica-externa-no-governo-bolsonaro-temas-resultados-e-retrocessos/>

Fearnside, Philip. (2019) Retrocessos sob o Presidente Bolsonaro: um desafio à sustentabilidade na Amazônia. *International Science Journal*, vol.1, no.1. abril/junho.

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Hochstetler, Kathryn & MILKOREIT, Manjana (2015) “Responsibilities in transition: Emerging powers in the climate change negotiations”, *Global Governance*, vol . 21, pp. 205-26. Disponível em: <https://rmitchel.uoregon.edu/sites/rmitchel1.uoregon.edu/files/ir/hochstetlermilkoreitgg.pdf>

Nobre, Carlos A. & Sampaio, Gilvan & Borma, Laura S. & Castilla-Rubio, Juan Carlos & Silva, José S. & Cardoso, Manoel (2016) “Land-use and climate change risks in the Amazon and the need of a novel sustainable development paradigm”, *Proceeding of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*, vol. 113, pp. 10759-68.

Rochedo, Pedro R. et al. (2018) “The threat of political bargaining to climate mitigation in Brazil”, *Nature Climate Change*, vol. 8, p. 695.

Theme 4: South Africa

Bond, Patrick (2012). *Politics of Climate Justice*. Scottsville: University of Kwazulu-Natal Press.

Brown, Oli et al. (2007) "Climate Change as the 'new' security threat: implications for Africa". *International Affairs*, vol. 83, no. 6, November, pp. 1141–1154.

Chan, Nicholas. (2021) ""Special Circumstances" and the Politics of Climate Vulnerability: African Agency in the UN Climate Change Negotiations". *Africa Spectrum*, vol. 56, no. 3, p. 1-19. Disponível em: <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/0002039721991151>

Hochstetler, Kathryn. (2020) *Political Economies of Energy Transition, Wind and Solar Power in Brazil and South Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Theme 5: China

CONRAD, B. (2012) "China in Copenhagen: Reconciling the "Beijing Climate Revolution" and the "Copenhagen Climate Obstinacy"". *The China Quarterly*, vol. 210, June, pp. 435-55. Disponível em: https://www.gppi.net/media/Conrad_2012_China-Quarterly_Copenhagen.pdf

JAKOBSON, Linda. (2009) China and Climate Change Negotiations: China's Changing Climate. *The World Today*, vol. 65, no. 5, May, pp. 4-7.

JINNAH, Sikina. (2017) "Makers, Takers, Shakers, Shapers: Emerging Economies and Normative Engagement in Climate Governance". *Global Governance*, vol. 23, p. 285-306.

LI, Wanxin et al. (2013) "China-Africa Cooperation: Joint Engagement in Adaptation to Climate Change". In: *Climate Change: International Law and Global Governance*, eds. Oliver C. Ruppel, Christian Roschmann & Katharina Ruppel-Schlichting (Nomos Publisher).

WALKER, Kent et al. (2014) "Is the Red Dragon Green? An Examination of the Antecedents and Consequences of Environmental Proactivity in China". *Journal of Business Ethics*, vol. 125, no. 1, November, pp. 27-43.

WU, Fuzuo. (2013) "China's Pragmatic Tactics in International Climate Change Negotiations: Reserving Principles with Compromise". *Asian Survey*, vol. 53, no. 4, July/August, pp. 778-800.

Theme 6: USA

Armitage, Kevin. (2008) "State of Denial: the United States and the politics of global warming." *Globalizations*, vol. 2, no.3, 417-427.

Lacy, Mark J. (2005) *Security and Climate Change: international relations and the limits of realism*. New York: Routledge.

McCright, A. et al. (2016) "Ideology, capitalism and climate: explaining public view about climate change in the United States". *Energy Research & Social Science*, vol. 21, p. 180-89.

Pettifor, Ann (2019) *The Case for the Green New Deal*. Londres: Verso.

Victor, David G. (2011). *Global Warming Gridlock*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Theme 7: OTCA, UNASUL, CELAC, MERCOSUL – what is the relevance of climate change in the region?

ALENCAR, Ane et al. (2021) “A Pan-Amazonian sustainable development vision”. In: *Science Panel for the Amazon*. Amazon Assessment Report. Publicação virtual. Capítulo 25. Disponível em: <https://www.theamazonwewant.org/amazon-assessment-report-2021/>.

LARREA, Carlos et al. (2021) “Globalization, extractivism and social exclusion: threats and opportunities to Amazon Governance in Brazil”. In: *Science Panel for the Amazon*. Amazon Assessment Report. Publicação virtual. Capítulo 17. Disponível em: <https://www.theamazonwewant.org/amazon-assessment-report-2021/>.

Theme 8: EUROPEAN UNION – Foreign policy and the construction of a green diplomacy

LELIEVELDT, Herman; PRINCEN, Sebastiaan. (2011). *The Politics of the European Union*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, capítulo 8.

MANNERS, Ian. (2010). “Global Europa: Mythology of the European Union in World Politics”. *JCMS* vol. 48, no.1, pp. 67-87.

LENSCHOW, Andrea; SPRUNGK, Carina. (2010). “The Myth of a Green Europe”. *JCMS*, vol.48 no.1, pp. 133-154.

ECKERT, Sandra. (2021). “The European Green Deal and the EU’s Regulatory Power in Times of Crisis” *JCMS* vol. 59, Annual review, pp. 81-91.

BAKER, Susan. (2006). “Environmental values and climate change policy In: LUCARELLI, Sonia; MANNERS, Ian (Eds.). *Values and Principles in European Union Foreign Policy*. London/New York: Routledge, capítulo 5.

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Theme 9: AOSIS

Panke, Diana. (2012) “Dwarfs in international negotiations: how small states make their voices heard”, *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, vol. 25, no. 3, pp.313-28.

Ribot, Jesse (2014) “Cause and response: vulnerability and climate in the Anthropocene”, *Journal of Peasant Studies*, vol. 41, pp. 667-705.

Rasheed, A. (2019) “Role of Small Islands in UN Climate Negotiations: a constructivist viewpoint”. *International Studies*, vol. 56, no.4, p. 215–35.

Vaha, Milla E. (2015) “Drowning under: Small Island States and the right to exist”. *Journal of International Political Theory*, vol. 11, no.2, p. 206–23.