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Theories and trends

### Latin American Indigenous International Relations

Theory: Autonomous Theory and Its Evaluation

#### Zhao Hui

Abstract: The Latin American autonomy theory was born in the 1970s. Its early representatives were the Brazilian scholar Jagua Ribe and the Argentinian scholar Puig. Both of them served as the Brazilian Minister of Science and Technology and the Argentine Minister of Foreign Affairs respectively. The autonomy theory is based on Latin American developmentalism and Latin American developmentism. Dependency theory is the source of thought. It breaks through the established framework of mainstream Western international relations theory, treats peripheral countries as "subjects" rather than "objects" in international relations research, and builds theory around the core concern of Latin American countries - autonomy. The theory of autonomy believes that sovereign equality masks the inequality of international power, and that the anarchic order of the international system masks the hierarchical order composed of countries with varying degrees of autonomy. It also emphasizes that the domestic elite groups of peripheral countries are crucial to maintaining or changing the state of dependence. ÿ In response to the problem of the way out for peripheral countries, the theory of autonomy proposes that in addition to the options of dependence and revolution, peripheral countries have a third way - autonomy. They can formulate and implement policies consistent with the international system by creatively using the maneuvering space provided by the international system. The strategic goal of selfinterest is to eventually get rid of dependence on the central country and achieve independent development. As a feasible path, the autonomy theory links autonomy with integration and advocates like-minded peripheral countries to implement a common integration strategy together to form a coherent, a cohesive system, expand resources and market base, increase production scale, promote endogenous development, and improve collective bargaining power at the international level.

Keywords: Autonomy theory, Peripheral countries developmentalism, Dependency theory integration

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International relations has a prominent "imprint" of Western centralism. Realism, liberalism, constructivism and other mainstream

Western theories have always dominated. Stanley Hoffman (Stanley Hoffman) even called international relations "the society of the United

States". Science"ÿÿ However, with the economic rise and ideological awakening of the third world, Latin American local theories, including

Latin American developmentalism and dependency theory, have emerged in global international relations research, which has exerted a great
influence on the Western international relations theory in the disciplinary discourse system. Hegemony poses certain challenges. The
autonomy theory formed in the era of symbiosis between East-West conflict and North-South conflictÿ is deeply influenced by Latin American
developmentalism and dependency theory. It is its own school and is regarded as the third largest theoretical contribution to international
relations by Latin American circles.

The background of the emergence of autonomous theory

The great discussion on the concept of "autonomy" in the study of Latin American international relations began in the middle of the Cold War in the 1970s. At that time, due to the decline in strength of the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, during their excessive outward expansion, divisions emerged within the Eastern and Western camps. The differentiation led to the easing of relations between the United States and the Soviet Union, and international tensions were eased for a time. At the same time, the third world countries that had been in the middle united to safeguard common interests and formed a joint force to establish practical groups such as the Group of 77. actions to promote the development of the world pattern toward multipolarity and strive to establish a fair and reasonable new international political and economic order.

As the power of the Third World continues to grow, Latin American countries have gradually become an important force against hegemonism on the international stage. They have experienced from an east-west perspective to a north-south perspective, from automatic alliance to non-alignment, and from Pan-Americanism to Latin America. doctrine, from emphasizing security to emphasizing development, from relying on the United States to focusing on foreign affairs

Five major changes in diversity.

First, from the east-west perspective to the north-south perspective. Deeply affected by historical reasons such as being a European colony for a long time, Latin American countries have natural ties with the West in terms of ideology, social systems, cultural traditions, ethnic composition, etc. Therefore, the Latin American elite recognized themselves as part of the Western system in terms of self-perception. After World War II, the fact that Latin America was the sphere of influence of the United States was acquiesced by all countries in the world, including the Soviet Union, at the Yalta Conference. Truman promoted the counter-revolution When the Soviet Union and the Soviet Union adopted anti-communist Cold War policies, Latin America was forcibly included in the Western strategic system headed by the United States.ÿ

By the late 1960s and early 1970s, the United States was mired in the Vietnam War and intensified domestic racial conflicts, weakening its national strength. At the same time, the disintegration of the Bretton Woods system, the outbreak of the oil crisis, the export dividends of raw material producing countries, and The relaxation of U.S.-Soviet relations and U.S.-China relations heralded the adjustment and reshaping of international power relations. These events caused the ruling groups in Latin American countries to begin to doubt the capabilities of the United States and Western countries, and saw the decline of the first world and the decline of the third world. As the world develops and grows, it is possible for developing countries to exert greater influence in restructuring the international economic order. Based on this prediction, when Latin American countries consider their status and role in the future world pattern, they will shift their footing to the south. Paying more attention to the North-South relationship rather than the traditional East-West relationship, the identity of the Third World is also deepening. During this period, President Echeverría of Mexico, President Perez of Venezuela, President Peron of Argentina, and Guerrero of Brazil President Zell and other leaders of Latin American countries are actively developing relations with third world countries outside the region.

Second, from automatic alliance to non-alignment. After World War II, in order to strengthen its control over the "backyard", the United States vigorously promoted political and military alliances between Latin American countries and the United States. In 1947, Latin American countries were drawn into the "backyard" created by the United States. Treaty of Mutual Assistance among Inter-American Countries» In 1948, the United States-led Organization of American States was established and became an important tool for the United States to intervene in Latin American affairs. In the early post-war period, 13 Latin American countries signed bilateral military mutual assistance treaties with the United States. The United States established It has established more than 400 military bases. In international organizations such as the United Nations and the Organization of American States, most Latin American countries have become "voting machines" controlled by the United States. ÿ Some large Latin American countries even regard "automatic alliance" with the United States as

the norm of foreign policy. However, with the changes in the international situation in the middle of the Cold War, especially the weakening of the bipolar structure, the resurgence of the "Second World" such as Europe and Japan, and the emergence of a large number of politically independent emerging countries, the popularity of the Non-Aligned Movement has increased globally. Many Latin American countries have also begun to shift from "alignment" to "non-alignment".

Ä An Jianguo: "The development of international relations in Latin America after the war", in "Latin American Studies", Issue 3, 1987, page 21. Xiao Feng: "On the development of diplomatic theorie

ÿ and policies of Latin American countries after the war (Part 1)", in «Latin American Studies», Issue 2, 1989, Page 9.

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In September 1961, Cuba became the only member of the Non-Aligned Movement in Latin America at that time. In August 1972, the Non-Aligned Movement Foreign Ministers' Meeting was held for the first time in Latin America, setting off a climax for Latin American countries to join the Non-Aligned Movement. In 1974, Kissinger was concerned about the prospect of Latin America "slipping into the Non-Aligned Group and compounding our problems around the world." By the time the Sixth Non-Aligned Movement Summit was held in Havana, Cuba, in September 1979, Latin America had Eleven countries have become official members of the Non-Aligned Movement, and another 11 countries are observer states. Latin American countries have become an important force in the Non-Aligned Movement, especially in the struggle to defend the 200 nautical miles of maritime rights, and have contributed to the majority of third world countries. It played a leading role in safeguarding maritime rights and interests and opposing the maritime hegemonism of superpowers, and ultimately promoted the "United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea" to make clear provisions on the "200-mile exclusive economic zone".

Third, from Pan-Americanism to Latin Americanism. Pan-Americanism was first proposed by Bolivar and others during the Latin American War of Independence. The purpose was to unite Latin American countries to fight against Spain, seek independence, get rid of colonial status, and consolidate and safeguard their own sovereignty. 19 At the end of the century, as the United States entered the overseas expansion stage from the mainland expansion stage, Pan-Americanism began to be used by the United States and became a "big flag" for the United States to accelerate its foreign expansion. Through the frequent use of "big stick policy" and "gold dollar diplomacy", the United States It carried out armed intervention and economic expansion in Latin American countries. On the one hand, it turned some Latin American countries into its own protectorates militarily. On the other hand, it economically squeezed out the influence of European powers in Latin America, causing the region to gradually become a U.S. At the same time, the foreign policies of Latin American countries were subject to arbitrary interference by the United States. After the victory of the Cuban Revolution in 1959, the United States argued that Cuban ideology was incompatible with the Pan-American system, putting the unity of the Western Hemisphere in danger. For this reason, it implemented an isolation policy against Cuba and pushed the Organization of American States to pass a resolution to expel Cuba. By the end of 1964, only Mexico among Latin American countries maintained diplomatic relations with Cuba.

Beginning in the late 1960s, as the economic strength of Latin American countries gradually increased and nationalism continued to rise, calls for reforming the Pan-American system and replacing Pan-Americanism with Latin Americanism became louder and louder. In October 1975, in Mexico Under the initiative of Venezuela and Venezuela, representatives of 23 Latin American governments signed the "Panama Agreement", declaring the establishment of the Latin American Economic System to coordinate the common positions of Latin American countries on economic and social issues and enhance the status of Latin American countries in international dialogue. This is the second step in After the establishment of the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America in 1948, the Alliance of Latin American Universities in 1949, the Latin American Free Trade Association in 1960, the Latin American Parliament in 1964, and the Special Coordination Committee for Latin America in 1969, Latin American countries established another organization representing "Latin Americanism". Regional organizations. All these institutions contribute to the development of international law

Strengthen the concept of "Latin America" at all levels and consciously distance themselves from the United States and the Pan-Americanism it advocates. Fourth,

from emphasizing security to emphasizing development. In the early post-war period, in order to curb the development of communism in the Western

Hemisphere, the United States actively weaved anti-communist propaganda The defense and security system cultivated a large number of pro-American and anticommunist right-wing soldiers in Latin America to come to power, and increased military assistance to pro-American governments, consolidating military cooperation

between the two sides, uniting against communism, and safeguarding collective security. During this period, Latin America was in conflict between the East and the

West. China clearly stands on the side of the United States. The foreign policies of many Latin American countries have been marked by anti-Soviet and anticommunist signs, and the security issue of preventing communist infiltration has been given top priority.

As the world structure evolved from the hegemony of the United States in the early post-war period to the balance of power between the United States and the Soviet Union, the Cold War began to enter a détente stage, and the foreign policies of Latin American countries began to shift from pure strategic security interests to considerations of social and economic development. Many Latin American countries openly rejected the idea of "Latin America and the United States" "There is a special and exclusive relationship between the two countries", and no longer "talk about communism". It strengthened its relations with the Soviet Union and the socialist countries in Eastern Europe. The friendly and cooperative relations with China also achieved breakthrough development. In the 1970s, A total of 11 Latin American countries have established diplomatic relations with China. In addition, Latin American economic nationalism has shown a very strong momentum. Internally, it insists on developing the national economy, taking import substitution industrialization as the development path, getting rid of foreign control, and externally safeguarding economic sovereignty and independence. ÿ Strongly condemns the exploitation of developing countries by developed countries and the unfair international economic order. However, the United States has ignored and avoided the economic and social development issues of Latin American countries, which has made some countries that had pinned their hopes on changing the backward situation through US assistance and bilateral cooperation. Latin American governments abandoned their illusions. In May 1969, 21 Latin American countries held a meeting in Viña del Mar, Chile, to discuss the issue of unequal economic and trade relations between Latin America and the United States. They publicly expressed their strong dissatisfaction with the United States and emphasized that all countries The right to freely control its natural resources and the principle that economic cooperation cannot be attached

Fifth, from dependence on the United States to foreign diversification. During the national independence and liberation movements at the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century, Latin American countries got rid of Western colonial rule and won political independence. However, they were still economically dominated by Western monopoly capital such as Britain and Germany. During World War II, the strength of the United Kingdom declined significantly, and the economic ties between Latin American countries and Europe were basically interrupted. The U.S. monopoly group achieved its goal of squeezing out competitors and seizing economic dominance in the region, thus establishing its economic hegemony in Latin America. ÿÿ For example, in the mid-1970s, U.S. multinational corporations alone controlled 1/5 of the GDP, 1/3 of the industrial production, 2/5 of the exports, and 1/2 of the bank assets of Latin

American countries. ÿ With the growth of Latin American national assets With the growth of class power, since the 1960s and 1970s, many

Latin American countries have launched large-scale nationalization movements, taking over a large number of foreign-funded enterprises, mainly American-owned enterprises.

Han Qi: "On the Impact of the Second World War on Latin America", published in "Research on Modern and Contemporary World History", Issue 13, 2016, Page 198. Jiao Zhenheng: "Nationalization Movements in Latin American."

 $<sup>\</sup>ddot{y}$  Countries after the Postwar\*, published in «Latin American Studies», Issue 4, 1987, Page 31.

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Yes. Between 1960 and 1976, Latin American countries nationalized about 200 foreign companies, including 158 US-owned companies, 8

British-owned companies, and 34 companies from other countries. At the same time, the proportion of the United States in Latin America's foreign trade It has also continued to decline, from 50% in the early post-World War II period to about 40% in the early 1960s. By 1979, the United States accounted for only 349% of Latin America's imports and 38% of its exports. ÿ U.S. direct investment in Latin America accounted for its foreign investment The proportion of the total amount also dropped from 388% in 1950 to 1980

3. At the same time, trade and investment in Latin America by Western European countries and Japan increased significantly. Economic and trade exchanges between Latin American countries and the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and other members of the Economic Cooperation Council increased significantly. Relations with developing countries in Asia and Africa increased significantly. Trade exchanges are also becoming increasingly frequent.

Against the background of the relative decline of U.S. hegemony and the rise of autonomous practices in Latin America, international relations research in Latin American circles, especially those in the Southern Cone countries, began to pay close attention to and explore the possibilities and constraints of realizing national interests through autonomous diplomacy. This gave rise to the An academic community with "autonomy" as its core concept. Brazilian scholar Yaguaribe and Argentinian scholar Puig are among the best.

#### The main points of Erya Guaribe

Yaguaribe, born in 1923, is a well-known Brazilian scholar. He has taught at many universities in the United States. He is also a politician. He participated in the establishment of the Brazilian Social Democratic Party and served as the Minister of Science and Technology of Brazil. As early as his youth, he Yaguaribe once participated in the founding of the Brazilian Institute of Advanced Studies and promoted ideas with a strong developmentalist flavor.

In his article "Dependence and Autonomy in Latin America" published in 1969, Yaguaribe adopted some "diagnostic" results of Latin

American developmentalism and pointed out that there are three structural trends of dependence in Latin American countries: stagnation,

marginalization and detachment. Nationalization. First, deteriorating terms of trade, incomplete import substitution, and unsustainable external

financing have led to economic stagnation, which has also brought about stagnation in political, cultural, and social development. Secondly,

with the increasing number of unemployed farmers, Migrating to cities, the poverty belts in central urban areas are becoming larger and larger.

This group of people are marginalized in the economic, political, educational and other fields. They are unable to integrate into the industrialization

process and can only engage in low-end tertiary industry, leading to social marginalization. Prominent. Once again, denationalization has

occurred in strategic economic sectors, cultural levels, and political and military levels. Due to the influence of multinational corporations,

ÿ United Nations Center for Transnational Corporations: «Revisiting the Developing Transnational Corporations in the World», Beijing: Commercial

ÿ Press, 1982, page 284. Zhang Sengen, Qi Haiyan: «Latin America's Foreign Trade Characteristics and Current Adjustment Measures», in «Latin America Series», No. 3, 1984, page

ÿ 14. Chen Caixing: "The development and changes of foreign direct investment in Latin America after the war", published in "Latin American Studies", No. 2, 1990, page 27,

The proportion of foreign-funded enterprises continues to increase, and Latin American countries have lost control of strategic industries of great significance to the development. Foreign-funded enterprises consider the interests of the central country when making decisions, which is completely contrary to the assumption of Latin American countries seeking endogenous independent development. At the same time, Latin American countries have weak scientific and technological innovation capabilities and do not have institutional guarantees to promote and promote scientific and technological development. When Latin American young people who studied in foreign universities returned to their countries, they only wanted to serve as a "transmission belt" for foreign knowledge and did not devote themselves to establishing research and development. The center promotes the scientific and technological progress of the country, which leads to the continuous continuation of technological dependence and the formation of denationalization at the cultural level. In addition, in the name of resisting the "threat" of communism, Latin American militaries have strengthened their dependence on the US defense system.

Not only do they receive a large amount of supplies from the United States, Weapons and war preparation materials have been introduced, and a large number of senior Latin American officers have received military training provided by the United States. The military government that came to power through a coup and the authoritarian government composed of an alliance between the military and conservatives have also continued to consolidate their dependence on the United States politically, relations, resulting in denationalization at the political and military levels y

The article "Peripheral Autonomy and Central Hegemony" published in 1979 is a representative work of Yaguaribe's comprehensive explanation of the theory of autonomy. In the article, Yaguaribe used the historical-structural analysis method to examine the international system as a system from a grand historical perspective. The starting point for the study of autonomy theory. In his view, there were mainly two orders that dominated the world pattern at that time. The first order was the complex competitive relationship between the two imperial systems represented by the two superpowers. The second order The two orders are the relationship between the central country and the peripheral countries that exist within the imperial system. Although the two imperial systems have clear differences, they also have similarities, namely the asymmetry of the internal structure and the resulting opposition and opposition within the system. Tension. ÿ On this basis, he further pointed out, "There is a new hierarchy in the world. According to the level of selfdetermination ability, it can be roughly divided into four categories." ÿ The first category is the comprehensive dominance type (primacía general). World War II In the next 20 years, the United States was the only comprehensively dominant country, mainly reflected in the inconquerability of its own territory, as well as its military capabilities of global domination and nuclear counterattacks to destroy invaders. The Soviet Union relied on the late 1960s. The steady improvement of scientific and technological military strength is getting closer to the standard of comprehensive dominance. The second type is regional dominance (primacía regional). The Soviet Union is a typical representative of regional dominance. It has the right to rule some specific regions but not all regions. China, which was implementing the policy of "alliance with the United States to resist the Soviet Union" at that time, is more likely to be promoted to this category. The third category is autonomous (autonomía), including Western European countries, China, and Japan. Its characteristic is that although its own territory is not invincible, Sex,

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Implement material or moral punishment on possible aggressors. In addition, they have greater room for self-decision in domestic and international affairs. Compared with the comprehensive autonomy type in the strict sense, there are also regional autonomy types (such as Iran in the Middle East, Brazil in South America, etc.) and industry autonomy (such as Saudi Arabia, etc.). The fourth category is dependency (dependencia), covering most countries in the world. These countries are often subject to overall dominance or regional dominance. foreign countries with independent capabilities, and some are also controlled by middle powers with independent capabilities.

Yaguaribe believes that the relationship of dominance and dependence that exists within the imperial system centered on the United States is not only a reflection of the objective reality of society, but also the result of the wishful thinking of the central and peripheral countries. In other words, those countries in a dependent state are not What is forced to be dependent is the foreign policy choice made by the country's elite group out of self-interest considerations. ÿ Within this imperial system, the intermediary role is played by those middle powers with comprehensive independent capabilities. However, independent capabilities are not For example, a country that already has regional autonomy or industry autonomy may be "upgraded" to a country with comprehensive autonomy, while a country that previously had comprehensive autonomy may also be "downgraded."

On the issue of autonomy or dependence, Yaguaribe believes that only if two static structural characteristics are satisfied at the same time,

Only a country with certain conditions and two dynamic functional conditions can become an independent rather than a dependent country. ÿ

The first structural condition is "domestic feasibility." Domestic feasibility depends on the degree of natural resources, human resources and international exchange capabilities that a country has mastered and controlled in a specific historical period to gradually get rid of dependence. 
ÿ Including a series of internal conditions such as natural resources, strategic resources, industry, raw materials, agricultural products, energy, science and technology, and public policies in line with international trade. It is also related to a country's technological development, social and cultural integration, public morality and education level. and other factors are closely related. If the degree of social and cultural integration or the level of collective social morality is high, the material requirements for achieving independence will be reduced accordingly. Yaguaribe divides the world into three types of countries based on the level of domestic feasibility. First The first category of countries has sufficient conditions to achieve independent development, including the United States, the Soviet Union, China, Japan, the European Community, the United Kingdom and the Commonwealth countries. The second category of countries has the minimum conditions to establish independent economic development plans, including India and large countries in Latin America. and medium-sized countries, Arab countries, Pakistan, Indonesia, etc. The third category of countries does not have the conditions for independent development, such as small Central American and Caribbean countries, African countries and some Asian countries. ÿ

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The second structural condition is "international tolerance" (permisibilidad internacial). The concept of international tolerance is more abstract and refers to a country's geopolitical and international relations. The conditions it possesses to hedge against substantive threats from other countries. These conditions are both It can be internal, such as a country's economic and military strength, or it can be external, such as establishing a defensive alliance with other countries. Take Mexico, Brazil and Argentina, the three major Latin American countries, as examples. Brazil and Argentina have higher international tolerance than Mexico. It is higher and it is easier to enhance autonomy. This is because the United States has a much higher ability to directly intervene in Mexico than in Brazil and Argentina. At the same time, international tolerance is not constant and will become more tense as the international environment becomes tense. For example, under the bipolar structure during the Cold War, international tolerance will change significantly according to the intensity of the confrontation between the two poles. In addition, there are two functional

conditions for autonomy, namely "technology- "Enterprise independence" and "racial-cultural similarity". Typical representatives of

technological-enterprise independence are the European Community and Japan. Within the European Community, although France has

more political and military independence than West Germany, West Germany's The autonomy is significantly higher than that of France.

Jaguaribe believes that this is because West Germany is more independent at the technical and enterprise levels and has more endogenous

development momentum. However, countries such as Australia, New Zealand and Canada are less powerful in terms of politics, military

and technology. None of them have sufficient conditions for autonomy in business and enterprise. However, because these countries are

very close to the United States in race and culture and maintain good relations with the United States, they also enjoy relatively high autonomy within the imperial system.

Yaguaribe pointed out that structural conditions are empowerment conditions and have little to do with the foreign policy adopted by a country, but are closely related to the degree of social and cultural integration and the level of people's moral education. Functional conditions are operational conditions and may it will change due to the efforts of peripheral countries or the behavioral changes of central countries. ÿ By examining the

development trend of the international pattern from bipolarity to multipolarity, Yaguaribe put forward three hypotheses about the future direction of Latin American politics: Continue to maintain the satellite style Dependence, revolution, autonomy. Different from the "inherent instability" of the dependence model or the revolutionary model, the autonomy model has "relative stability". ÿ In view of the fact that the US-centered imperial system provides internal services to peripheral countries that conform to the basic interests and values of the United States. This provides considerable room for autonomy. He believes that Latin American countries can choose an "autonomous model of development and integration."

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The autonomy of this model is reflected at two levels. The first is the autonomy of the decision-making process. The independent development and independent integration movement means that Latin American countries are free to make decisions involving politics, economy, culture and society based on their own interests. Major decisions. The second is autonomy in the development model. The "autonomous model of development and integration" is not simply a copy of the neoliberal model or the communist model, two development models with serious ideological conflicts, but is different. For their third path, ŷ This development model integrates national development and regional integration.

On the one hand, it combines the cultural, socioeconomic and political development of Latin American countries as autonomous actors; on the other hand, it does not undermine their Under the conditions of optimal development conditions for identity and society, through regional integration, a coherent and cohesive system can be formed to expand the resources and market base of member states, increase their production scale and productivity, and ensure the endogenous development of the entire region. ÿ

Yaguaribe believes that the integration process is a reinsurance for the independent development process of Latin American countries and is also a tool to improve the domestic feasibility of Latin American countries at the regional level. At the same time, the core value of the Latin American integration process is reflected in politics rather than economics. Because on the one hand, this process is related to the independence of Latin American countries, and on the other hand, it also represents the efforts and contributions made by Latin America to establish a fairer and more reasonable new international order. ÿBased on the actual situation in Latin America, he pointed out that Latin America is one He believed that integration should be open and gradual, and that "concentric circle" integration is an ideal integration model. He advocated the establishment of an Argentina-Brazil alliance, promoting the implementation of a common industrial policy through the strong political will of both parties, and using this strateov Based on the alliance, we will build and lead the Southern Common Market.

Yaguaribe is a staunch defender of the Southern Common Market. He believes that the Southern Common Market not only effectively improves the international competitiveness of member states, but also maintains the autonomy of member states at the international level.

This dual advantage is very important. Because whether the United States dominates the world in the future or a multi-polar world checks and balances each other, whether they can achieve independent decision-making on the international stage will determine whether the member states of Mercosur can best integrate into the new international order. ÿ And in the circle of Mercosur In addition, there is the Union of South American Nations, which covers more countries. He hopes that, driven by the "concentric circle" integration process, South American countries will unite with each other and through free trade and regional cooperation, improve the overall quality of the member states. domestic feasibility

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and international tolerance, thereby achieving independence.

## Three Puig's main points

Puig, who was born in 1928, is one of the founders of the study of international relations in Argentina. He briefly served as Argentina's foreign minister for two months in 1973. During this period, he prepared negotiations with the United Kingdom on the sovereignty of the Malvinas Islands. He bid farewell to politics due to the resignation of President Campora. In 1976, in order to escape persecution by the military government, Puig went into exile to teach at a university in Venezuela, where he wrote a large number of books and articles on the theory of autonomy. This is a great influence on Puig. Said, the

only way to provide a truly autonomous solution is to "abandon theoretical frameworks based on realities other than our own." Puig 's autonomy theory is based on a historical and political analysis of Argentina and Latin America, and regards autonomy as It is the core category of the foreign policy of Latin American countries and also serves as an expression of popular needs and historical struggles. His representative works include "International Doctrine and Latin American Autonomy" published in 1980, "Malvinas and the International System" published in 1983, "Latin America: A Comparative Foreign Policy" published in 1984, etc.

The tension between anarchy and hierarchy that exists in the international system is the starting point for Puig to construct his theory of autonomy. Puig believes that the international system, like human communities, has a clear division of functions and is divided into It is dominated and managed by a distribution system with the highest effectiveness, that is, someone makes a decision, someone follows it, and someone obeys the decision. He "atomizes" the international society and divides it into three groups: the highest allocator, the lower allocator and the lower allocator. Recipients: The rulers of the United States and the Soviet Union, who possess nuclear weapons and other super deterrent forces, are the highest allocators. Other heads of state and heads of government organizations, non-governmental organizations and multinational corporations are low-level allocators. Everyone else They are all recipients;ÿ

Through a comprehensive analysis of the impact of new characteristics of the international situation on the international system, such as the decline of the traditional advantages of global powers, the loosening of the stability of the imperial system, and the continuous emergence of new international actors such as OPEC, Puig made the "impermeability between groups" "Internal autonomy within the group" and other judgments. He believed that the Western capitalist camp headed by the United States and the Eastern socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union formed after the end of World War II.

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The camp divided the world into two different groups, and there was a tacit understanding of non-interference between them, resulting in the "impermeability" between the two groups. This also determined the relative stability within the group, that is, the central country of a group It is impossible to weaken the dominance and dependence relationships within the group by implementing large-scale economic and military assistance to the peripheral countries of another group, and it is impossible to promote the peripheral countries to break away from the existing group. At the same time, the internal relations of the group The central country can use enough policy tools to ensure its control and dominance over the peripheral countries. Once some peripheral countries have "different intentions", the central country can also enlist the support of most other countries in the group to suppress it. However, the real Changes may come from within. On the premise of fully recognizing the reality of international society and the potential space for independent decision-making in their own countries, elite groups in peripheral countries may eventually achieve peace with the central countries through gradual autonomy and with the help of superb crisis management art. Strategic cutting

Puig opposed the "depressing and nihilistic answer" given by dependency theory and did not believe that "dependence is a natural result of the structural asymmetry caused by the capitalist mode of production." He pointed out that "the international community with the highest allocator The system is not incompatible with the progressive autonomy of the people of each country." Without resorting to revolution, peripheral countries do not have the only option of dependence. On the contrary, peripheral countries can participate in the independent foreign policy by implementing independent foreign policies. Modify old rules and formulate new ones to serve the national interests of the country, and even form certain constraints on the central country, and finally get rid of the dependent status. He defined "autonomy" as the maximum that a country can have under the objective conditions of the real world. ÿ He believes that the pursuit of autonomy means "expanding one's own decision-making space, which often means reducing the decision-making space enjoyed by others. Achieving greater autonomy means that a strategic zero-sum game occurs in advance, in which one One person wins what another person loses." ÿ "No matter whether it is good or bad, confrontation is not allowedÿ

"Avoidable"

Puig believes that peripheral countries have four foreign policy options between dependence and autonomy: quasi-colonial dependence, that is, the ruling class of the peripheral country becomes a vassal of the central country; national dependence, that is, the rule of the peripheral country The group regards dependence as a rational choice for national development, incorporates the interests of the central country into its own national plan, and seeks to obtain greater autonomy in the future through dependence. Unorthodox autonomy means that the ruling groups of peripheral countries make decisions that are different from those of the central country. national plans that pursue national interests different from those of the central country, but do not challenge the core strategic interests of the central country. Decoupled autonomy means that peripheral countries

Countries break away from the group dominated by the central country and challenge its global power. ÿ This represents the different forms of peripheral countries from colonial-like primitive historical attachment to the ultimate realization of maximum self-determination. However, the logic between these forms is not one-way. It develops linearly, but will change according to the specific international environment, either moving forward or backward. In the guasi-

colonial dependence model, although peripheral countries enjoy sovereignty, they are no different from colonies when participating in international political and economic activities. At best, the government is nothing more than an appendage under the power structure of the central country. It is completely obedient to the top allocator of the central country. Subject to political rule from the outside, the economies of these countries have completely lost their autonomy. They are guided by the interests of the central country and develop vigorously. Resource extraction activities provide central countries with the primary products and raw materials needed for their industrial development, and most of the profits are transferred abroad instead of reinvesting and promoting local economic development. At the same time, the domestic market becomes the market for foreign industrial products. The dumping market for imported goods made it difficult for local handicrafts and manufacturing industries to survive and was on the verge of collapse. With the acquiescence of the central countries, minority groups in these countries enjoyed ultra-high privileges and maintained a form of rule that was incompatible with the modern economy. After independence in 1821, Peru, which has been in a political and economic "semi-colonial" state for a long time, falls into this category.

In the national dependency model, decision-makers in peripheral countries partially perform the duties of the highest domestic allocators.

Although the institutionalized national decision-making system is independent of external interference, it is highly restricted by external influence. The ruling group accepts the state of dependence and Try to obtain the maximum national interests from external dependence and strive for greater autonomy in the future. They will "rationalize" dependence, formulate their own development goals and national policies based on the dependence situation, seek consistency in the interests of both parties to the dependence, and at the same time contribute to the international system. The senior allocators in the system draw an insurmountable "bottom line". Once the bottom line is touched, peripheral countries will react and even violently resist. For example, Argentina in the 19th century faced the European powers imposing extraterritorial rights on Latin American countries and using When it came to bottom-line behaviors such as using force to collect debts, Argentina showed typical characteristics of national dependence. It successively proposed the Calvo Doctrine and the Drago Doctrine, which gained support from Latin American countries and prevented European powers from intervening in the name of diplomatic protection. It has safeguarded the legitimate rights and interests of its own country and other Latin American countries through its domestic political practices and the use of force to extort contractual debts from other countries.

In the unorthodox autonomy model, under the premise of accepting the leadership of the central country, the decision-makers of peripheral countries fully exercise their responsibilities as the top domestic distributors and enjoy high autonomy in national decision-making involving their own development models, foreign exchange strategies, etc. We must not accept the central state's mechanical and dogmatic imposition of political and strategic considerations based on its own interests on them. At the same time, we can maximize the

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They make maximum use of the weaknesses and mistakes of the center countries to expand their countries' international maneuvering space. The center countries also allow peripheral countries to independently formulate almost all of their own policies and have disagreements on some general issues involving non-core interests. But for the core demands of the central country, the peripheral countries must respond positively. Otherwise, the central country will use all power, including force, to force the peripheral countries to submit.

Implementing unorthodox independent foreign policies is sometimes like "walking on a knife's edge." "In particular, it is necessary to accurately judge the critical state when the general interests of the center country are "upgraded" to core interests under specific conditions and adjust them in a timely manner to be consistent with them, so as to maintain the leadership position of the center country within the group. Most of the time in the 19th century, The United States, which follows the United Kingdom, is a prominent representative of this model.

In the decoupling autonomy model, the peripheral countries decide to cut off the relationship with the central country, break away from the existing group, and become completely independent. The top domestic allocators no longer need to take into account the strategic interests of the central country. The United States successfully implemented it at the end of the 19th century. In order to pursue a decoupled and autonomous foreign policy, U.S. policymakers at the time decided to clearly challenge Britain's supremacy on a global scale. The result was that the two countries reached the "Yalta Agreement of the 19th century," in which Britain recognized U.S. political power in Central America and the Caribbean. The United States has promised not to interfere with Britain's interests in South America. However, the risk factor of implementing this foreign policy is relatively high. It may not only exhaust national resources, but may also lead to completely contrary to expected results, because once the country lacks the ability to If it has sufficient viability in the international system, it is very likely that it will return to its previous state of dependence. For example, after Cuba broke away from the group led by the United States, it did not achieve complete independence, but joined the socialist camp led by the Soviet Union. Oscillating between national

dependence and unorthodox autonomy. Regarding the "advancing" conditions for peripheral countries from dependence to autonomy, Puig particularly emphasized the determination of the domestic elite group to pursue an independent strategy and the establishment of an alliance within the group against the central country. He agreed with Yaguaribe's statement about "domestic feasibility" and "international tolerance" and believed that "domestic feasibility" for peripheral countries is an important internal factor in achieving independence. In terms of the composition of "domestic feasibility", he pointed out that, In addition to having a sufficient material foundation, the existence of functional elite groups (élites funcionales) that are determined to pursue the path of autonomy is also one of the essential elements. This is because, "The dependency structure is largely determined by humans. rather than materially determined"ÿ, the actions taken by elite groups are crucial. If they act in a dysfunctional way and do not serve their country's national interests, then they will become the "transmission belt" of power for the dominant departments of the central state, promoting and Consolidate the phenomenon of dependence, but if they play a positive functional role, they can also promote the minimization of dependence, thereby gradually achieving

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In terms of external factors, he advocated that peripheral countries should step out of isolation, form alliances with other peripheral countries in the group, and gather common power resources to resist the rule of the central country. However, he also pointed out that integration itself does not it is not autonomous-oriented, but instrumental, that is, promoting the integration process does not necessarily lead to the occurrence of autonomy. Only by setting the goal of integration to achieve autonomy, member states can complete the coordinated development of domestic and integrational strategies through the integration process. Only the conditions for realizing autonomy can be strengthened and improved it

Puig believes that the autonomy of Latin American countries, such as the "Third Way" of Peronism, is unorthodox autonomy. which mainly occurs in the context of the decline of American influence in the bipolar pattern. It is a form of unorthodox autonomy. The typical feature is that although the dependent country accepts the strategic leadership of the central country and safeguards the core interests of the central country, it can openly "speak against" the central country on at least three major issues. First, it can independently determine its own development model without having to Too much consideration is given to the needs of the central country. Second, independent development of foreign relations that do not have international strategic significance. Third, differentiate between the national interests of the central country as an independent country and the national interests of the central country as the leader of the imperial system. Based on the third point, Puig believes that peripheral countries can strengthen themselves through unity within the system and collectively resist the goals imposed by the central countries that are only in their own interests but not in the interests of the system as a whole. Therefore, he proposed "stakeholder integration." The concept of integration (integration solidaria) advocates going beyond the previous approach of considering integration functions only from a trade and economic perspective, adding more political and cultural content, and establishing "regional shared values including autonomy"ÿ, thereby realizing the integration of the entire region . Gradual autonomy. In addition, integration should not be limited to functional elite groups seeking autonomy, but should focus on civil society, from the macro level of the country to the micro level of individuals, to achieve the goal of "ethnic regions" rather than "nation states" To promote the common understanding of the region and promote independent willing countries in the region to carry out strategic cooperation covering a wide range of areas, abandon the model that only considers economic gains, form a community of closely related interests, and collectively seek greater space for international activities. ÿ And then adjust the asymmetric relationship with the central country

#### Four comments on early autonomy theories

Although the views of Jaguaribe and Puig are not completely consistent, they still have many things in common.

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On the basis of drawing on the core views of Latin American developmentalism and dependency theory, the classic realist concept of "power" is replaced with a concept of "autonomy" that is more in line with the actual needs of peripheral countries, as a way to defend national sovereignty and development, constrain the behavior of transnational subjects, and enhance international cooperation. Negotiation capabilities, tools to compete with more powerful actors in the international system and safeguard one's own interests.

In Tickner's view, an important contribution of Latin American developmentalism and dependency theory to the study of Latin American international relations is to explain how the development potential of peripheral countries is suppressed and suppressed under the influence of the global division of labor and the capitalist operating mechanism from the outside in. How was national sovereignty negated? The autonomy theory inherited the "center-periphery" structural analysis method of Latin American developmentalism and dependency theory. Its central task is to define the potential of political autonomy and economic autonomy in the internal and external dimensions. ÿ And design strategies to effectively and maximize these potentials ÿÿ

Briceño-Ruiz and Simonov believe that although Latin America is a passive recipient of international relations theories in developed regions, it has still developed some local theories with international influence based on its peripheral perspective. Among them, Latin America Developmentalism and dependency theory are the most prominent. The autonomy theory represented by Puig and Jaguariebe, although its influence is relatively low, "can still be regarded as the third major theory of international relations in Latin America." Contribution "Coraklei also believes that the autonomy theory's efforts to find solutions for weak countries to reduce vulnerability go beyond the nihilistic dependency theory and the pessimistic conclusions of realism on the ability of weak countries to act autonomously. First § Break through the established framework of mainstream Western international relations theory and construct the theory around the core concern of Latin American

countries - autonomy. In the context of realism, power defines interests. The mechanism of power struggle is the same at the individual level and the national level. It's all to control the other party and make the other party submit.

The process of realizing national interests through foreign policy is the process of maintaining, expanding and displaying power. Compared with power, autonomy has never been a concern of the central country. As the shaper of the international system and the maker of international institutions, the central country has sufficient With a large operating space, it can be done in a favorable international system

It is necessary to independently carry out external actions within the context of international relations and the international institutional environment, and pursue its own national interests to the maximum extent. Waltz pointed out that "power is the ability to maintain autonomy in the face of external forces"y. In other words, autonomy is

ÿ The snowflake is the snowflake is the snowflake 149 199: 1999: 1999

Power is born with power and is exercised by actors with huge power attributes. Because the central country has huge power, it enjoys almost complete autonomy, while the autonomy of peripheral countries is inherently insufficient or even missing. For the concept of power in

analyzing international Neither Yaguaribe nor Puig deny the important role of the interaction between actors, but they also point out that power cannot cover all content, especially the issue of autonomy that is ignored by the central state. The autonomy theory believes that, unlike the central state, In the war and peace issues arising from the international power struggle, developing countries on the periphery are more concerned about the underdevelopment of the economy and society and the unfair international order. The key to solving these problems is independence. This is because, in In interaction with the international system, the degree of autonomy directly determines whether peripheral countries can effectively resist the constraints and influences from central countries and transnational actors, and whether domestic elite groups can freely operate in different political, economic, cultural, social, etc. The theory of autonomy changes the perspective and regards peripheral countries as "subjects" rather than "objects" in international relations theoryÿ. It proposes using autonomy as an alternative to increase the international space for maneuver, reduce or end it. A series of propositions on the dependency phenomenon are in line with the core concerns and interest demands of peripheral countries. Its ideological originality is an important contribution of developing countries to the discipline of international relations. It provides a different way to think about foreign policy and international politics than the existing mainstream of international relations. Second, critically absorb the core viewpoints of Latin

American developmentalism and dependency theory, and rationally analyze the internal and external causes of dependence.

The autonomy theory inherits the assertions about the "center-periphery" structure of Latin American developmentalism, and further proposes the existence of an international system. Hierarchical system. Yaguaribe divided the international system into four types of countries based on the difference in degree of autonomy: comprehensive dominance, regional dominance, autonomy and dependence.

Puig "atomized" the international society, highlighting the sovereign The inequality of international power concealed by the appearance of the country, and based on the transmission process of command-implementation-acceptance, is divided into three groups: the highest allocator, the lower allocator and the recipient. Although the specific expressions of the levels are different, they all It conveys the same message, that is, a very small number of countries with exclusive material conditions for possessing nuclear weapons occupy a central position in the international system and exercise varying degrees of control over peripheral countries by formulating international rules. However, for the development of La

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Puig believes that there is a directional error because "there is no understanding of the root cause of injustice, that is, the capitalist system itself." Raise doubts"ÿÿ

The autonomy theory agrees with the judgment that dependency theory emphasizes that in addition to economic dependence, there are also dependencies in politics, culture, ideology and other fields. However, it clearly opposes the expansion of external factors by dependency theory. Yaguaribe believes that Latin American countries have been in a state of dependence for a long time. An important reason is that domestic elites act as a "transmission belt" for the rule of the central country, intentionally or unintentionally suppressing social change and technological innovation, resulting in a lack of independent capabilities. "The dependence of peripheral countries is not so much imposed by the central country. Rather, it is a choice made by domestic elites in exchange for class benefits."ÿ Puig emphasized that it is necessary to understand clearly how the structure and operation of international institutions constrain peripheral countries, rather than simply blaming external factors.ÿ He agreed with "dependence" "Pushing problems to the outside without self-reflection is escaping from reality"ÿ, and pointed out that the influence of internal factors is also crucial, especially domestic functional elites, who can not only promote and consolidate dependence, but also strive to minimize dependence. He believes that the dependence phenomenon is to a large extent at the actor level rather than at the material level. In other words, the autonomy theory believes that the will, determination and belief of domestic elites have a very important impact on the degree of autonomy of a

country. Thirdly, ÿ Point out the way out for peripheral countries, and advocate the establishment of comprehensive regional integration with shared values. In response to the problem of the way out for peripheral countries, the autonomy theory proposes that in addition to the options of dependence and revolution, peripheral countries also have a third way—independence. This is because the rule of the central country and the autonomy of peripheral countries are not incompatible. On the contrary, dependent countries can creatively use the maneuvering space provided by the international system to formulate and implement laws and regulations on the basis of meeting a series of domestic necessary conditions. strategic goals that are in line with their own interests. Among them, as the main path to achieve autonomy, regional economic union and policy coordination are indispensable. The autonomy theory advocates the combination of autonomy and integration. It believes that in the capitalist system, facing the challenges from the center Only by implementing a common integration strategy with like-minded countries can peripheral countries strengthen the "domestic feasibility" and

<sup>&</sup>quot;international tolerance" of member states as a whole, promote endogenous development, and improve their international competitiveness. level of bargaining powery

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In this regard, Yaguaribe proposed the concept of "autonomous model of development and integration" and advocated the establishment of a "concentric circle" type of integration, based on the Argentina-Brazil alliance, to openly and gradually absorb the participation of more countries in the region The integration process helps member states integrate into the new international order in the best possible way, and provides guarantees for the independent development of member states. Puig questioned the economical integration model and suggested using "stakeholder integration" to Instead of "interdependent integration", add more political and cultural content to the traditional integration agenda with economics and trade as the main content, and establish regionally shared values, including a common understanding of autonomy. He particularly emphasized integration. It believes that integration itself cannot guarantee the realization of autonomy by member states. The premise is that all member states must set the goal of integration to achieve autonomy. The autonomy theory uses integration as a tool to achieve autonomy, and does not deliberately belittle integration. ization, but put it at the center of achieving autonomy.

From the 1970s to the early 1980s, the autonomy theory of Yaguaribe and Puig had a brief period of glory. However, as Latin American countries generally fell into debt crises and regional integration efforts were frustrated, the autonomy theory began to fall into silence. By promoting the prescription of neoliberalism, the United States reversed the trend of declining importance in Latin America during the mid-Cold War and began to "come back strongly". Its interference in Latin American affairs has also continued to increase. In the era of neoliberalism and the third wave of democratization, Under the impact, the role of government has been weakened and market forces have risen, prompting Latin American countries to turn to a low-profile foreign strategy. Under this situation, emphasizing independence seems somewhat inappropriate. Especially the end of the

Cold War has led to a fundamental change in the international landscape, which has resulted in a conflict between the East and the West. The theory of autonomy in the era of symbiosis with the North-South conflict has been increasingly questioned. On the one hand, the fall of the Berlin Wall and the disintegration of the Soviet Union announced the end of the East-West conflict. On the other hand, the rise of the newly industrialized countries in East Asia has also changed the North-South conflict. This has caused the explanatory power of autonomy theory to encounter a crisis. Some critics believe that autonomy theory is used to strengthen the state apparatus and serve the interests of the ruling class, and will ultimately harm the actual interests of ordinary people. In addition, the implementation of Latin American countries with independent foreign policies will also suffer from "settlement of accounts" due to confrontation with the United States, which will have a negative impact on national strength.ÿ

When Escud was sorting out Argentina's foreign policy in the 100 years from 1889 to 1989, he found that from

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It opposed the U.S. "Monroe Doctrine" and remained neutral during the two world wars. Then it pursued the "Third Position" during the Cold War, joined the Non-Aligned Movement, refused to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, and risked the development of the medium-range ballistic missile "Condor II" Argentina has always adopted a confrontational attitude towards the United States. However, due to the huge disparity in power, the United States suppressed Argentina economically and politically at every opportunity, which harmed Argentina's national interests. On the contrary, Canada, Australia and The historical experience of New Zealand and other countries as well as the recovery performance of Germany, Japan, Italy and other countries after World War II are enough to illustrate the importance of maintaining strategic coordination with begemenic countries and avoiding confrontation.

Based on the above judgments, Escud proposed "peripheral realism" and advocated a redefinition of autonomy. In his view, autonomy no longer means freedom of action, because "almost all medium-sized countries have huge freedom of action, and even can reach the point of self-destruction." He introduced the concept of cost into the debate on autonomy, proposing to define and measure autonomy in terms of the relative cost of achieving freedom of action, and to use prudence, a strategic perspective, and a utilitarian cost-benefit calculation to decide. The breadth and connotation of autonomy practice. At the same time, "It is necessary to distinguish between autonomy itself and the use of autonomy. When the use of autonomy is to consolidate the country's power and/or welfare base, it can be regarded as an investment in autonomy, and if it is only to prove that the country Not being supervised by any other country is the consumption of autonomy." In addition, he opposed the implementation of confrontational independent foreign policies for the so-called "honor", "dignity", "pride" and other symbolic goals, believing that this only satisfied the needs of the elite group. Vanity, it is the lower class who ultimately bear the cost. He believes that autonomy must start from the elimination of external political confrontation, and cannot be wasted on challenging or symbolic attitudes, but must be achieved through improving the attributes of state power and improving the people's material base, decisions and actions to maintain and, where possible, reinforce them.

Escud urged peripheral countries to keep their foreign policies as low-profile as possible, to match their political goals with those of the dominant superpower in the region, and to seek alliances with central countries where possible to establish a good It creates a favorable external environment for the international exchanges, economic growth, and social development of peripheral countries, and strives for tangible material benefits for the general public. On the issue of regional integration, peripheral realism and Puig The proposed "stakeholder integration" draws a clear line. It no longer sets the goal of enhancing regional autonomy as the goal of integration. Instead, it hopes to maximize the stimulation of peripheral countries through regional integration on the premise of accepting the current international order. The potential to integrate into the globalization process

In response to Escudé's approach of "badmouthing" the autonomy theory, some Latin American scholars have expressed dissent. For example, Tocatrian and Carvajal believe that it is very one-sided to define foreign policy and determine policy goals solely in terms of material interests. ÿ In In an international system characterized by structural asymmetry, the struggle for self-determination and sovereignty is a part of daily life and a necessary condition for the survival of peripheral countries. "Autonomy" itself is not a "consumer product", but serves to enhance the action capabilities of peripheral countries. , integrate into the world system in a pragmatic way. Simonov also believes that although the East-West conflict has ended, the autonomy theory has not lost its explanatory power. One of the main reasons is that the North-South confrontation has not disappeared, but has intensified. It is even more important than ever before. In particular, central countries have increased their control over international organizations and continue to maintain their absolute technological superiority over peripheral countries, thus further strengthening the dominance-dependence relationship.ÿ

At the beginning of the 21st century, as U.S. hegemony faced new challenges and threatened the existing balance of power structure, and as some Latin American countries regained the political coordination function in their autonomy strategies, autonomy theory ushered in new developments. ÿ Different scholars have successively proposed Concepts such as "related autonomy", "alienation autonomy", "participatory autonomy", "isolation autonomy", "integrated autonomy", "diversified autonomy" and "regional autonomy". These new theoretical paradigms continue Yaguari. Based on the main theoretical views of Bay and Puig, it is supplemented and expanded. The analytical framework shows heterogeneity that is consistent with the characteristics of the times. It represents a new perspective for studying autonomy issues and also reflects the autonomy theory. It has explanatory power that transcends a

specific historical period (Editor-in-Chief Huang Nian)