

BOSTON UNIVERSITY

Department of International Relations

Fall 2013: IR 568: United States-Latin American Relations

Monday 2-5pm

Professor: Peter DeShazo

Office Hours: Following weekly class or by appointment

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### **Course Description, Goals, and Organization**

Relations between the United States and Latin America are in a process of transition and transformation. From a position of near hegemony in the Western Hemisphere only 20 years ago, the United States is no longer the single dominant force in the political or economic life of the region. Many variables have shaped the power relationship between the United States and other countries in the Americas, including the consolidation of elected government as the regional standard, sustained economic development in many countries, the appearance of China as a major economic force, globalizing trends in economic, energy, and international affairs taking hold in the region, and the effect of U.S. policies in the Middle East. That said, there are also striking elements of continuity in current U.S. policy toward the region.

The goal of this course is to familiarize students with the historical evolution of the U.S. – Latin America relationship from the early days of Latin American national independence in the 1820s to the present time, to examine the key variables driving that relationship from the vantage point of both sides, to gain greater understanding of the mechanisms by which regional foreign policy is made – especially in the United States, to place inter-regional affairs in the Western Hemisphere in a world perspective and to empower students to more effectively analyze future developments in the region. Students will be encouraged to examine historical and present-day developments from the viewpoint of policy makers on all sides and to think critically regarding the factors that make for successful or failed policy outcomes. Another key goal of the course is to encourage students to advocate policy positions, both orally and in writing, in a clear and succinct manner.

The first weeks of the semester will be dedicated to historical background, providing a solid framework upon which to analyze specific variables and to put current and future events into perspective. This analysis will be somewhat concentrated on trends in U.S. policy-making, but will also reflect developments not only in Latin American responses but in the formation overall policy objectives of key countries in the region. The latter portion of the semester will examine the elements influencing the

formulation and execution of foreign policy on both sides, especially the juxtaposition of domestic and international concerns and the key variables in play on a sustained basis in past decades, such as security issues, narcotics, democracy, and trade. As a case study, one class will be dedicated to an analysis of Plan Colombia and U.S. – Colombian relations. The final classes will examine future prospects for the Obama administration and inter-regional affairs, with special attention on Mexico and Brazil.

### **Grading:**

#### Undergraduates:

1. Class attendance and participation, including oral presentations of “action memos”: 20%
2. Two, 2- page (double-spaced) “action memos” advocating policy positions, one each from the point of view of a Latin American policy-maker and from a U.S. policy-maker. “Action memos” are expected to marshal pertinent background information, data and statistics into a coherent argument in favor of a focused policy recommendation. **Due October 21, November 25.** Each memo is 20% of grade = 40%.
3. A mid-term examination on **October 28** consisting of term recognition and essay questions: 30%.
4. A group “op-ed” advocating a policy position to be presented the **final day of class**: 10%.

#### Graduates:

1. Class attendance and participation, including oral presentations of “action memos”: 20%
2. Two , 2-page (double-spaced) “action memos” advocating policy position, one each from the point of view of a Latin American policy-maker and from a U.S. policy-maker. “Action memos” are expected to marshal pertinent background information, data, and statistics into a coherent argument in favor of a focused policy recommendation. **Action memos due October 21, November 25.** Each memo is 20% = 40%.
3. An 8-page policy paper outlining a key issue at stake in U.S. – Latin American relations that you wish to analyze in greater detail, providing 2-3 possible policy steps to be taken to address that issue. An additional list of sources consulted in researching the memo should be attached. Authors will present an oral summary of these papers in class and lead a question and answer session on the paper. **Due December 9.** 40%

Written assignments are to be turned in hard copy to the instructor at class on the due date. They will be returned with grades and comments at the next class. For the first “Action Memo” students have the option of re-writing and resubmitting the Memo at the following class for possible change in grade.

All written assignments will be marked down one grade (for example, “A” to “A minus”) for each day they are submitted late without a valid excuse.

Students are expected to complete the readings assigned for each class.

Required Readings: (Available for purchase at the B.U Barnes & Noble Bookstore)

--Peter H. Smith, *Talons of the Eagle: Latin America, the United States, and the World*, 4<sup>th</sup> Edition, Oxford University Press, 2013.

--Robert H. Holden and Eric Zolov, eds, *Latin America and the United States: A Documentary History*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Oxford University Press, 2011.

--Jorge I. Domínguez and Rafael Fernández De Castro, eds, *Contemporary U.S. – Latin American Relations: Cooperation or Conflict in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century?* Routledge, 2010.

Other readings are either available online or will be held on reserve.

### **Class Schedule and Reading Assignments**

**CLASS 1: Monday, September 9:** *Introduction. Course overview, expectations, details, discussion.*

--Abraham F. Lowenthal: “Rethinking U.S. – Latin American Relations: Thirty Years of Transformation” in *The Americas in Motion: Looking Ahead*, Inter-American Dialogue, April 2013, pp. 1-7. (Online)

**CLASS 2: Monday, September 16:** *Historical Context: National Independence to the First World War*

--Smith, *Talons of the Eagle*, pp. 1-51.

--Holden and Zolov, *Latin America and the U.S.*: Monroe (13-16); Polk (26-28) Bidlack (28-29); Curtis 49- 51); Martí (64-65) Platt Amendment (82-83); Hay-Bunau (86-88); Roosevelt Corollary (96-98)

**CLASS 3: Monday, September 23:** *Historical Context: Hegemonic Power and Good Neighbor*

--Smith, pp. 52-112

--Holden and Zolov: Woodrow Wilson (104-106); Dollar Diplomacy (111-13); Jones Act (115-16);

J. Ingenieros (116-18); Haya de la Torre (122-23); Good Neighbor Policy (133-34); U.S. Accepts Non-Intervention (138-40); Carleton Beals (147-49); Fascist Threat (155-58); Bracero Program (158-60).

**FILM TRAILERS:** Hollywood woos Latin America

**CLASS 4: Monday, September 30.** *Historical Context: The Cold War*

--Smith, pp. 117-202.

--Holden and Zolov: *Menace of Communism* (179-81); Kennan (186-89); Nixon-Kennedy (215-17);

Milton Eisenhower (241-42); Fulbright (248-50); Ché Guevara (251-53); Cardoso & Faletto (268-70)

Reagan (304-306).

**CLASS 5: Monday, October 7.** *Historical Context: The Indispensable Country - 1988-2000*

--Smith, pp. 205-243.

--Holden and Zolov: NAFTA (342-5); Summit of the Americas (351-4); Helms-Burton Act(358-63).

--David Scott Palmer, *U.S. Relations with Latin America during the Clinton Years: Opportunities Lost or Opportunities Squandered?* U Florida Press 2006: pp. 9-43.

**CLASS 6: Tuesday October 15:** *Historical Context: The Counter-Terrorism Agenda and George W. Bush*

--Smith: pp. 260-90.

-- Domínguez and Fernández de Castro:

Jorge I. Domínguez: "Changes in the International System during the 2000s" pp. 1-16.

Marifeli Pérez Stable: "The U.S. and Cuba since 2000." pp, 44-63

Carlos A. Romero and Javier Corrales: "Relations between the United States and Venezuela: A Bridge in Need of Repairs" pp. 218-246)

**CLASS 7: Monday October 21:** *Change or Continuity under Obama?*

**FIRST ACTION MEMO DUE. ORAL PRESENTATIONS OF FIRST ACTION MEMO**

--Abraham F. Lowenthal, Theodore Piccone and Laurence Whitehead, eds: *Shifting the Balance:*

*Obama and the Americas*, Brookings Institution 2011

Abraham F. Lowenthal, "Obama and the Americas" pp. 1-28

Jennifer McCoy: "The Chavez Challenge for Obama: An Inconvenient Marriage or a Frosty Separation?" pp. 69-85.

Laurence Whitehead: "Old Hopes, New Risks" pp. 165-182

--Michael Shifter, "Rethinking the Relationship: The United States and Latin America" *An Inter-American Dialogue Report*, April 2012, pp. 1-20. (online).

**CLASS 8: Monday, October 28:** *How U.S. Policy in Latin America is formulated and executed*

**MID-TERM EXAMINATION**

--Smith, pp. 333-356.

**CLASS 9: Monday, November 4:** *Evaluating Policy Effectiveness: The Case of Plan Colombia*

--Holden and Zolov, "Plan Colombia" pp. 378-382.

--Peter DeShazo, Johanna Mendelson-Forman, Philip McLean, *Countering Threats to Security and Stability in a Failing State, Lessons from Colombia*, Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2009 (online), pp. 3-26; 33-71.

--Adam Isacson, "Failing Grades: Evaluating the Results of Plan Colombia", *Yale Journal of International Affairs*, summer/fall 2005, pp. 138-54 (online).

--Domínguez and Fernández de Castro:

Cynthia J. Arnson and Arlene B. Tickner, "Colombia and the United States: Strategic Partners or Uncertain Allies?" pp.164-195.

**CLASS 10: Monday, November 11:**    *Key Policy Variables: Democracy*

--Jorge Domínguez and Michael Shifter, eds: *Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin*

*America*, Vol 4:

Michael Shifter, "Emerging Trends and Determining Factors in Democratic Governance" pp. 3-13

Eduardo Gamarra, "Evo Morales and Democracy" pp. 124-152.

--Holden and Zolov, "The Inter-American Democratic Charter" pp. 382-87, also online at *OAS.org*.

--Lowenthal, Piccone, and Whitehead, eds:

Theodore Piccone, "The Democracy Agenda in the Americas," pp. 145-64.

**FILM:** "*Our Brand Is Crisis*" directed by Rachel Boynton 2006

**CLASS 11: Monday, November 18:**    *Key Policy Variables, Security and Drugs*

--Smith, pp. 308-330.

--Statement by Michael Shifter to the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Western Hemisphere

Subcommittee, "Regional Security Cooperation: An Examination of the Central American Regional

Initiative and the Caribbean Basin Security Initiative," June 19, 2013 – online at Inter- American

Dialogue . org.

--Peter Hakim, "Rethinking U.S. Drug Policy," Inter-American Dialogue, 2011 (online at Dialogue

Website)

-Latin American Commission on Drugs and Democracy, "Drugs and Democracy, Toward a Paradigm

Shift," April 2009, pp. 1-12. (online)

**CLASS 12: Monday, November 25:** *Key Policy Variables: Immigration, Energy and Trade:*

**SECOND ACTION MEMO DUE: ORAL PRESENTATIONS OF ACTION MEMOS**

--Smith, pp. 291-307

--Roger Tissot, "Latin America's Energy Future", Inter-American Dialogue, August 2012, pp. 1-25. (Available online).

--Marc R. Rosenblum, "U.S. Immigration Policy since 9/11: Understanding the stalemate over comprehensive immigration reform" Migration Policy Institute – Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars, 2011, pp. 1-13. (online)

--J.F. Hornbeck, "U.S. – Latin America Trade: Recent Trends and Policy Issues," Congressional Research Service, February 8, 2011. (online).

**CLASS 13: Monday, December 2:** *Looking Ahead: Relations with Mexico and Brazil*

--Dominguez and Fernández de Castro:

Jorge I. Dominguez, "U.S. –Mexican Relations in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century" pp. 17-43.

Mónica Hirst, "U.S. – Brazil Relations: Getting Better all the Time" pp. 124-141

--Lowenthal, Piccone and Whitehead:

Carlos Heredia and Andres Rozenhal, "Mexico and the U.S.: The Search for a Strategic Vision" pp. 29-42.

José Augusto de Castro Neves and Matias Spektor, "Obama and Brazil" pp. 43-54.

"OP-ED" Planning Discussion

CLASS 14: Monday December 9: *Looking Ahead: The Americas and the World.*

--Smith, pp. 226-245

--Inter-American Dialogue, "The World of 2030: Risks and Opportunities for Latin America", March 2013, available online at: [thedialogue.org](http://thedialogue.org)

--Sergio Bitar, "Latin America and the United States: Looking Towards 2020. Inter-American Dialogue, September 2011, available online at: [thedialogue.org](http://thedialogue.org)

"OP-ED" Planning Discussion

**GRADUATE POLICY PAPERS DUE: ORAL PRESENTATIONS OF POLICY PAPERS**

CLASS 15: Monday, December 16: *Conclusions and Discussion:*

-- Smith, pp. 357-375

**GROUP "OP-EDs" Presented.**



