

Explaining and Understanding U.S.-Latin American Relations

Fall 2016
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Office: XXXX

Office Hours: XXXX (or by appointment)

This course offers an analytical survey of U.S.-Latin American relations. After successful completion of this course, you should have a strong sense about how to approach any empirical problem on U.S.-Latin American relations from multiple angles, as well as a good notion of where relations between the United States and Latin American countries have been and where they are going. This course historical perspective extends from the 1900s to the present, with special attention to the shape and implications of the post-9/11 international environment. Coverage will focus on processes of war and peace, drug trafficking, poverty, the promotion of democracy in the Americas, undocumented migration, and economic integration (including NAFTA). We will also study the different practices of foreign policymaking toward the United States of countries such as Brazil, Mexico, Argentina, and Venezuela, an often-overlooked approach to the study of inter-American relations.

Week 1: Course Structure and Themes

Hollis, Martin, and Steve Smith, "Introduction: Two Traditions," in *Explaining and Understanding International Relations* (Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 1-10.

Video: "Missing."

Week 2: What Images Do We Have of "Latin America," and Why?

Neruda, Pablo, "La United Fruit Co.," in Ben Belitt, ed. and tr., *Selected Poems of Pablo Neruda*. Grove Press, 1961, pp. 148-149 (very easy to find on-line).

Pike, Fredrick, *The United States and Latin America: Myths and Stereotypes of Civilization and Culture* (University of Texas Press, 1992), Preface.

Kenworthy, Eldon, *America/Americas: Myth in the Making of U.S. Policy toward Latin America* (Penn State University Press, 1995), pp. 1-22.

Packenham, Robert, *Liberal America and the Third World* (Princeton University Press, 1973), pp. 3-22, 59-85, 93-98, 109-160.

Bertucci, Mariano, "The Region's Moved On: U.S. Scholarship Hasn't" *Americas Quarterly* (Spring 2013): 52-55.

Baker, Andy and David Cupery, "Gringo Stay Here!" *Americas Quarterly* (Spring 2013): 45-51.

Cottam, Martha L., *Images and Intervention: U.S. Policies in Latin America* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1994).

Video: "Gringo in Mañanaland"

Week 3: Approaches to Explaining U.S.-Latin American Relations

Snyder, Jack, "One World, Rival Theories," in *Essential Readings in World Politics* Third Edition, eds. Karen A. Mingst and Jack L. Snyder (W. W. Norton & Company, 2008), pp. 4-11.

Desch, Michael, *When the Third World Matters: Latin America and United States Grand Strategy* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), pp. 1-12, 137-142, 146-149.

Escudé, Carlos, *Foreign Policy Theory in Menem's Argentina* (University Press of Florida, 1997), pp.86-99.

Allison, Graham, *Essence of Decision* (Little, Brown, 1971), pp. 117-126, 185-210.

Krasner, Stephen, "Are Bureaucracies Important?" *Foreign Policy* No. 7 (Summer 1972): 159-179.

Smith, Peter, *Talons of the Eagle: Dynamics of U.S.-Latin American Relations*, third edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), Introduction.

Pastor, Robert, *Exiting the Whirlpool: U.S. Foreign Policy toward Latin America and the Caribbean* (Westview Press, 2001), pp. 135-150.

Buzan, Barry and Ole Wæver, *Regions and Powers: The Structure of International Security* (Cambridge University Press, 2003), Maps 1 and 2, Introduction, and pp. 40-70.

Domínguez, Jorge I., "International Cooperation in Latin America: The Design of Regional Institutions by Slow Accretion," in *Crafting Cooperation: Regional Institutions in Comparative Perspective*, ed. Amitav Acharya and A. Iain Johnston (Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 83-106.

Donnelly, Jack, "Anarchy is not a Cause. Anarchy Has No Effects. And It's Not an Ordering Principle Either: Taking Structure and System Seriously in International Theory" (mimeo, 2012) OR see Donnelly's "The Elements of the Structure of International Systems," *International Organization* 66, Issue 4 (October 2012: 609-643).

Week 4: Looking Back: U.S.-Latin American Relations before the Cold War

Oxford English Dictionary, "Empire."

Smith, *Talons of the Eagle: Dynamics of U.S.-Latin American Relations*, third edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), Introduction and Chs. 2-4.

Butt, Ahsan, "Anarchy and Hierarchy in International Relations: Examining South America's War-Prone Decade, 1932-41," *International Organization* 67, Issue 3, July 2013: 575-607.

Holden and Zolov, *Latin America*, Readings 2, 7, 13, 22 (on U.S. policy); and 10, 21, 35, 47 (on Latin American reactions).

Week 5: The Cold War in the Americas and Latin America as the Battleground

Smith, *Talons of the Eagle: Dynamics of U.S.-Latin American Relations*, third edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), Chs. 4-6.

Roberts, Kenneth, "Bullying and Bargaining: The United States, Nicaragua, and Conflict Resolution in Central America", *International Security*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (Autumn, 1990), pp. 67-102.

Pastor, Robert A., "Preempting Revolutions: The Boundaries of U.S. Influence", *International Security*, Vol. 15, No. 4 (Spring, 1991), pp. 54-86.

Holden and Zolov, *Latin America*, Readings 68, 71, 106, 109, 111 (on U.S. policy); 82, 86, 96, 101, 115 (on Latin American views).

Video: "School of Assassins"

Week 6: What Happened?! The Great Transformation in U.S.-Latin American Relations

Domínguez, Jorge I., and Rafael Fernández de Castro *The United States and Mexico: Between Partnership and Conflict* (Routledge, 2001), pp. ix-xiii.

Dominguez, Jorge I., ed., *International Security and Democracy: Latin America and the Caribbean in the Post-Cold War Era* (Pittsburgh University Press, 1998).

Russell, Roberto, and Juan Gabriel Tokatlian, "Beyond Orthodoxy: Asserting Latin America's New Strategic Options Toward the United States," *Latin American Politics and Society* Vol. 53, Issue 4, Winter 2010: 127-146.

Levy, Jack S., "Learning and Foreign Policy: Sweeping a Conceptual Minefield," *International Organization* 48 No. 2 (Spring 1994), pp. 279-291, 296-306.

Choose only 2 countries from the following options:

Norden, Deborah, and Roberto Russell, *The United States and Argentina: Changing Relations in a Changing World* (Routledge, 2002), pp. 1-47.

Domínguez, Jorge I., and Rafael Fernández de Castro *The United States and Mexico: Between Partnership and Conflict* (Routledge, 2001), pp. 1-34.

Mares, David R., and Francisco Rojas Aravena, *The United States and Chile: Coming in From the Cold* (Routledge, 2001), pp. 3-47.

Kelly, Janet, and Carlos A. Romero, *The United States and Venezuela: Rethinking a Relationship* (Routledge, 2002), pp. 1-52

McClintock, Cynthia, and Fabián Vallas, *The United States and Peru: Cooperation at a Cost* (Routledge, 2003), pp.1-8, 25-38, 67-75, 91-96, 131-141.

Hirst, Mônica, *The United States and Brazil* (Routledge, 2005), pp. 1-11.

Week 7: War and Peace

Edward Mansfield and Jack Snyder, “Democratic Transitions, Institutional Strength, and War,” *International Organization* 56 no. 2 (Spring 2002): 297-337.

Mares, David R, *Violent Peace: Militarized Interstate Bargaining in Latin America* (Columbia University Press, 2001, pp. 28-51, 160-189.

Kacowicz, Arie, *Zones of Peace in the Third World: South America and West Africa in Comparative Perspective* (State University of New York Press), pp. 1-2, 59-65, and Ch. 3.

Hurrell, Andrew, “An Emerging Security Community in South America?” in *Security Communities*, ed. Emanuel Adler and Michael Barnett (Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 228-261.

Week 8: Drug Trafficking

Andreas, Peter, and Angelica Duran Martinez, “The Politics of Drugs and Illicit Trade in the Americas,” in *Routledge Handbook of Latin American Politics*, ed. Peter Kingston and Deborah Yashar (Routledge, 2012), pp. 380-392.

Nadelmann, Ethan, “U.S. Drug Policy: A Bad Export,” *Foreign Policy* No. 70 (Spring 1988), pp. 83-108.

Shifter, Michael, “Latin America’s Drug Problem,” *Current History* (February 2007): 58-63.

Domínguez and Fernández de Castro, *The United States and Mexico: Between Partnership and Conflict* (Routledge, 2001), pp. 35-52.

McClintock, Cynthia, and Fabián Vallas, *The United States and Peru: Cooperation at a Cost* (Routledge, 2003), pp. 111-130

Video: “The deadly genius of drug cartels,” by Rodrigo Canales, *TED Talks*, November 2013.

Week 9: Fighting Poverty in Latin America

Gindling, T. H., “Poverty in Latin America,” *Latin America Research Review*, Vol. 40, No. 1, 2005, pp. 207-222.

Sugiyama, Natasha, “The Diffusion of Conditional Cash Transfer Programs in the Americas,” *Global Social Policy* 11(2011): 250-278.

Valencia Lomeli, Enrique, “Conditional Cash Transfers as Social Policy in Latin America: An Assessment of their Contributions and Limitations,” *The Annual Review of Sociology* 34(2008): 499-524.

Lustig, Nora, “Scholars Who Became Policymakers: the Influence of Research on the Design, Evaluation and Political Survival of Mexico’s Anti-Poverty Program,” in *Building Bridges: Scholars, Policymakers and International Affairs*, ed. Abraham Lowenthal and Mariano Bertucci (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014).

Week 10: Promoting Democracy in the Americas

Seligson, Mitchell, “Contributing to Policy Through Evaluation: USAID and Democracy Promotion,” in *Building Bridges: Scholars, Policymakers and International Affairs*, ed. Abraham Lowenthal and Mariano Bertucci (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014).

Lowenthal, Abraham, “The United States and Latin American Democracy: Learning from History,” in *Exporting Democracy: The United States and Latin America*, ed. Abraham F. Lowenthal (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 243-265.

Sikkink, Kathryn, “Human Rights, Principled-Issue Networks, and Sovereignty in Latin America,” *International Organization* 47 no. 3 (Summer 1993): 411-441

Peceny, Mark, and William Stanley, “Liberal Social Reconstruction and the Resolution of Civil Wars in Central America,” *International Organization*, Vol. 55, No. 1 (Winter 2001).

Legler, Thomas, Sharon Lean, and Dexter Boniface, *Promoting Democracy in the Americas* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), pp. 21-39; Hawkins-Shaw, “The OAS and Legalizing Norms of Democracy”, 40-62; Boniface, “The OAS’s Mixed Record”, 107-129; Burges-Daudelin, “Brazil: How Realists Defend Democracy”, and 152-174; and Lean, “External Validation and Democratic Accountability”, 152-174.

Week 11: The Politics of International Migration

Andreas, Peter, and Timothy Snyder, eds. *The Wall Around the West: State Borders and Immigration Controls in North America and Europe* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2000), pp. 1-5 by Andreas, and 55-71 by Lahav & Guiradon.

Andreas, Peter, and Thomas Biersteker, eds. *The Rebordering of North America* (Routledge, 2003), pp. 1-16.

Jorge I. Domínguez and Rafael Fernández de Castro, *Contemporary U.S.-Latin American Relations* (New York: Routledge, 2010), Chs. 2, 4, 5.

Video: “The Latin American and Caribbean Presence in the U.S.”

Week 12: The Politics of Trade

Krasner, Stephen, “Manipulating International Commodity Markets: Brazilian Coffee Policy, 1906-1962,” *Public Policy* 21 (1973): 493-523, OR Evans, Peter B., “Declining Hegemony and Assertive Industrialization: U.S.-Brazil Conflicts in the Computer Industry,” *International Organization*, Vol. 43, No. 2 (Spring 1989), pp. 207-238.

Cameron, Maxwell and Brian Tomlin, *The Making of NAFTA: How the Deal Was Done* (Cornell University Press, 2000), pp. 1-14.

Odell, John S., *Negotiating the World Economy* (Cornell University Press, 2000), pp. 88-135.

Aggarwal, Vinod, and Ralph Espach, “Diverging Trade Strategies in Latin America: A Framework for Analysis,” in *The Strategic Dynamics of Latin American Trade*, ed. Vinod Aggarwal, Ralph Espach, and Joseph Tulchin (Stanford University Press, 2004), pp. 3-35.

Week 13: Country Cases

Everybody should read:

Dominguez, Jorge, “The Changes in the International System During the 2000s,” in *Contemporary U.S.-Latin American Relations: Cooperation or Conflict in the 21st Century?*, ed. Jorge Domínguez and Rafael Fernández de Castro (Routledge, 2010), pp. 1-15.

And, then, choose two of the following five countries, be ready to discuss one in full, and read at least one article or one chapter from the other:

Argentina:

Russell, Roberto, "Argentina and the United States: A Distant Relationship," in *Contemporary U.S.-Latin American Relations: Cooperation or Conflict in the 21st Century?* ed. Jorge Dominguez and Rafael Fernandez de Castro (Routledge, 2010), pp. 101-122.

Domínguez, Jorge I., *International Security and Democracy* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1998), pp. 51-79 by Escudé and Fontana, and 130-150 by Palá.

Sotomayor Velázquez, Arturo, "Civil-Military Affairs and Security Institutions in the Southern Cone: The Sources of Argentine-Brazilian Nuclear Cooperation," *Latin American Politics and Society* 46:4 (Winter 2004): 29-64.

Malamud, Andrés, "Presidential Diplomacy and the Institutional Underpinnings of MERCOSUR: An Empirical Examination," *Latin American Research Review* 40:1 (2005): 138- 161.

Brazil:

Hirst, Monica, "Brazil-U.S. Relations: Getting Better all the Time," in *Contemporary U.S.-Latin American Relations*, pp. 124-140.

Hilton, Stanley, "The Argentine Factor in Twentieth-Century Brazilian Foreign Policy Strategy," *Political Science Quarterly* 100 no. 1 (Spring 1985): 27-51.

Plus, articles by Sotomayor Velázquez and Malamud under "Argentina" above.

Chile:

Fuentes Julio, Claudia, and Francisco Rojas Aravena, "Chile and the United States 2000-2009: From Elusive Friendship to Cooperative Friendship," in *Contemporary U.S.-Latin American Relations*, pp. 142-162.

Rosales, Osvaldo, "Chile's Multidimensional Trade Policy," in *The Strategic Dynamics of Latin American Trade*, ed. Aggarwal, Espach, and Tulchin, pp.189-212.

Parrish, Randall, "Democrats, Dictators, and Cooperation: The Transformation of Argentine-Chilean Relations," *Latin American Politics and Society* 48:1 (Spring 2006): 143-174.

Lagos, Ricardo, "Bush, Saddam, and Me," in *The Southern Tiger: Chile's Fight for a Democratic and Prosperous Future* (Palgrave MacMillan, 2012), pp. 200-240.

Cuba:

Sweig, Julia, *Cuba: What Everybody Needs to Know* Second Edition (Oxford University Press, 2013).

Perez-Stable, Marifeli, "The United States and Cuba since 2000," in *Contemporary U.S.-Latin American Relations*, pp. 44-62.

Mexico:

Domínguez, Jorge, and Rafael Fernández de Castro, "U.S.-Mexican Relations in the Twenty-First Century," in *Contemporary U.S.-Latin American Relations*, pp. 17-42.

Andreas, Peter, "U.S.-Mexico: Open Markets, Closed Border," *Foreign Policy*, no. 103 (1996): 51-69.

Poitras, Guy, "The Politics of NAFTA in Mexico," *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 36 no. 1 (Spring 1994): 1-30.

Venezuela:

Romero, Carlos, and Javier Corrales, "Relations between the United States and Venezuela, 2001-2009: A Bridge in Need of Repairs," in *Contemporary U.S.-Latin American Relations*, pp. 218-245.

Shifter, Michael, *Hugo Chávez: A Test for U.S. Policy*. Washington, DC: Inter-American Dialogue, 2007, pp. 10-27.