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Class: Wednesday, 5:30-8:00 pm; Class:

## **U.S. Foreign Policy toward Latin America and the Caribbean**

**SIS-419-001, 653-001 -- Spring 2011**

**I. Course Description and Objectives:** The course will examine the continuity and the changes in U.S. foreign policy toward Latin America and the Caribbean from the Monroe to the Bush Doctrine, from Washington's warning to "steer clear of permanent alliances" to Obama's North American Leaders' Summit. Historically, the region has been of special interest to the U.S. because of its proximity and instability. It is the area in which America's principles and its power have often collided. With the end of the Cold War, the threat diminished and so did U.S. interest. We will analyze the evolution of U.S. objectives in Latin America, the means used to pursue those goals, and the process by which decisions connect means with ends. Students will learn how to think about and make policy toward contemporary challenges, including Cuba, Hugo Chavez and the rise of the new populists, drugs and crime, and free and unfair trade from NAFTA to Mercosur.

### **II. Learning Outcomes:**

- Understand the history of U.S. foreign policy toward Latin America and how the agenda, the goals, and the means have evolved;
- Critically assess contemporary challenges that confront the region;
- Become conversant with the perspectives of different countries and major scholars;
- Understand how U.S. policy is made by the Executive Branch, Congress, and non-governmental organizations, and how leaders in Latin America and the Caribbean have influenced those policies;
- Develop and demonstrate analytical, writing, research, and speaking skills.

**III. Readings.** Since the course seeks to relate contemporary and historical issues, everyone is expected to stay current, reading The New York Times daily, and other sources. Updates of the schedule and some of the additional readings are available on the course Blackboard site at:

<http://www.american.edu/blackboard>

#### **Required:**

Michael LaRosa and Frank O. Mora, eds., Neighborly Adversaries: Readings in U.S.-Latin American Relations (Rowman and Littlefield, 2007, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition).

Robert A. Pastor, Exiting the Whirlpool: U.S. Foreign Policy Toward Latin America (Westview Press, 2001).

Lars Schoultz, Beneath the United States: A History of U.S. Policy to Latin America (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998).

#### **Recommended:**

Robert H. Holden and Eric Zolov, eds., Latin America and the United States: A

Documentary History (N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 2000). This is an extremely useful compilation of excerpts of key documents in U.S. policy, including the Monroe Doctrine, Polk's message to Congress on war with Mexico, the Platt and Teller Amendments, the Panama Treaties, the Zimmerman Telegram, the Good Neighbor Policy, the OAS Charter, the Herbert Matthews articles in The New York Times on Fidel Castro, and much more.

Robert A. Pastor, The North American Idea: A Vision of a Continental Future (N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 2011, forthcoming).

Hal Brands, Latin America's Cold War (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010).

**IV. Course Procedures and Requirements.** Students should complete the week's readings before the class, which will be divided in half, with the first part being primarily a lecture, and the second, mostly a discussion led by one or two students, who will circulate a set of questions to generate discussion on the key topics of the week. Students are encouraged to read beyond the syllabus and introduce the readings in the second part of the class. Grades will be based on class participation, presentations, and a 10-page (single-space) paper for undergraduates and a 20-page paper (single-space) for graduate students (30%), a mid-term (30%), and a final (40%). Students should present a page description – with bibliography – of a paper topic by February 15. Graduate students will have additional reading and will report on the readings to the class.

**Students are required to abide by American University's Academic Integrity Code (see <http://www.american.edu/academics/integrity/code.htm>)**

### **EMERGENCY PREPAREDNESS**

In the event of a declared pandemic (influenza or other communicable disease), American University will implement a plan for meeting the needs of all members of the university community. Should the university be required to close for a period of time, we are committed to ensuring that all aspects of our educational programs will be delivered to our students. These may include altering and extending the duration of the traditional term schedule to complete essential instruction in the traditional format and/or use of distance instructional methods. Specific strategies will vary from class to class, depending on the format of the course and the timing of the emergency. Faculty will communicate class-specific information to students via AU e-mail and Blackboard, while students must inform their faculty immediately of any absence due to illness. Students are responsible for checking their AU e-mail regularly and keeping themselves informed of emergencies. In the event of a declared pandemic or other emergency, students should refer to the AU Web site ([www.prepared.american.edu](http://www.prepared.american.edu)) and the AU information line at (202) 885-1100 for general university-wide information, as well as contact their faculty and/or respective dean's office for course and school/ college-specific information.

## V. Course Schedule

### PART I: A FRAMEWORK

#### January 12 Introduction to Latin America and the Caribbean and Cross Perspectives

- Thomas E. Skidmore and Peter H. Smith, Modern Latin America, "Prologue," (Oxford University Press, 2009, 7th ed.), pp. 1-12. Background data and maps.
- Robert Pastor, Exiting the Whirlpool, Chapter 1 (Lessons of Torrijos).
- Michael LaRosa and Frank O. Mora, Neighborly Adversaries, Chapters 1-4, pp. 1-50.
- Max Paul Friedman, "Retiring the Puppets, Bringing Latin America Back In: Recent Scholarship on United States-Latin American Relations," *Diplomatic History* 27 (2006), pp. 621-636.
- Lars Schoultz, Beneath the United States: A History of U.S. Policy to Latin America (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), pp. xi-xvii, 1-38.
- Background tables and maps

Graduate Students - to report on the following :

- Samuel Flagg Bemis, The Latin American Policy of the United States: An Historical Interpretation (NY: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1943), pp. 3-30, 384-393.
- Robert A. Pastor and Tom Long, "The Cold War and Its Aftermath in the Americas - The Search for a Synthetic Interpretation of U.S. Policy," Latin American Research Review (December 2010).

#### January 19 The U.S. Foreign Policy and the National Security Decision-Making Process

- Russell C. Crandall, The United States and Latin America After The Cold War (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), Chapter 1 (pp. 1-13).
- Pastor, Whirlpool, Chapters 2, 7 (Whirlpool; Interbranch Politics)
- Excerpts from Karl F. Indurfurth and Loch Johnson, eds., Decisions of the Highest Order: Perspectives on the NSC (Calif.: Brooks/Cole Publishing Company), pp. 34-39.
- David Rothkopf, Running the World: The Inside Story of the NSC (NY: Public Affairs, 2005), pp. 3-14.
- Pastor, Not Condemned: The United States and Nicaragua, Chapter 5.
- NSC Memorandum on Central America, July 19, 1979 (on blackboard)

Graduate Students - to report:

- Anthony Lake, Somoza Falling (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1989), Chapters 1, 3.
- Graham Allison, The Essence of Decision (Boston: Little Brown, 1971), pp. 1-36; 245-251.
- James G. Blight, Bruce Allyn, and David A. Welch, Cuba on the Brink: Castro, the Missile Crisis, and the Soviet Collapse (N.Y.: Pantheon Books, 1993), Foreword by Jorge Domínguez, pp. ix-xiv.

## **PART II: THE HISTORY OF U.S. POLICY**

### **January 26     **Defending, Expanding, Dividing, and Consolidating the Nation (1783-1898)****

- LaRosa and Mora, pp. 55-74 (Dexter Perkins; Platt Amendment; Root)
- Peter Smith, Talons of the Eagle: Dynamics of U.S.-Latin American Relations (Oxford University Press, 2000, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.), Ch. 1, pp. 11-37.
- Lars Shoultz, pp. 107-151.
- Robert Holden and Eric Zolov, Latin America and the United States: A Documentary History (N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 2000). [Hereafter, Holden & Zolov]. “The Monroe Doctrine, 1823,” “The First Inter-American Conference, 1889”, pp. 11-14, 50-51.

#### **Graduate Students - to report:**

- Samuel Flagg Bemis, The Latin American Policy of the U.S., Chaps. III- VIII (pp. 31-123).

### **February 2     **Regional and World Power (1898-1954)****

- LaRosa and Mora, pp. 93-134; 149-158 (Bemis; Wilson; Wood; Trask; Kennan; Schesinger and Kinzer).
- Robert Pastor, Not Condemned: The United States and Nicaragua, Chapter 2.
- Lars Schoultz, pp. 272-331.
- Piero Gleijeses, Shattered Hope: The Guatemalan Revolution and the United States, 1944-54 (Princeton University Press, 1991), Prologue and Conclusion, pp. 3-7; 361-387.
- Holden and Zolov, pp. 72-73; 81-82; 90-92; 100-102; 107-109; 119-121; 135-137: “The Teller Amendment, 1898;” “The Platt Amendment, 1901”; The Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty on the Panama Canal, 1903;” “The Roosevelt Corollary, 1904;” “The Pact of the Embassy, 1913;” “The Zimmerman Telegram, 1917;” “The Clark Memorandum, 1928.”

#### **Graduate Students - to report:**

- James A. Field, Jr., "American Imperialism: The 'Worst Chapter' in Almost Any Book," The American Historical Review, 83, 3 (June 1978): 644-683.
- Interpretations of the fall of the Guatemalan Revolution in 1954 (From above: Schoultz; Gleijeses; Schlesinger and Kinzer, Bitter Fruit, p. 229 (on blackboard) and excerpt in LaRosa and Mora.

### **February 9     **The Cold War and the Americas (1954-1990)****

- Alan Luxenberg, "Did Eisenhower Push Castro into the Arms of the Soviets," in LaRosa and Mora, pp. 159-191.
- Pastor, Exiting the Whirlpool, Chapters 3, 4 (Carter, Reagan)
- James G. Blight, Bruce Allyn, and David A. Welch, Cuba on the Brink: Castro, the Missile Crisis, and the Soviet Collapse (N.Y.: Pantheon Books, 1993), pp. 3-10, and 15-24.
- Adam Clymer, Drawing the Line at the Big Ditch: The Panama Canal Treaties and the Rise

of the Right (University Press of Kansas, 2008), pp. 33-52.

- Lars Schoultz, pp. 349-366.
- Summary of NSC Meeting on Chile, November 6, 1970 (see blackboard)
- Holden and Zolov, pp. 193-4; 211-213; 226-231: "OAS Resolution 32 on Communism, 1948;" Herbert Matthews, "With Castro in the Sierra Maestra, 1957;" "The Alliance for Progress, 1961;" "Lessons from the Bay of Pigs, 1961."

**Graduate Students - to report - Contrast Schoultz (above) with Brands:**

Hal Brands, Latin America's Cold War (Harvard University Press, 2010), pp. 1-36.

**February 15 Paper Topic and Outline are due**

**February 16 The Post-Cold War – Bush, Clinton, and Bush (1989-2008)**

- Pastor, Exiting the Whirlpool, Chapter 5, 6, 13 (Bush, Clinton, Redefining Sovereignty)
- Abraham F. Lowenthal, "The U.S. and Latin America, 1960-2010," manuscript.

**Graduate Students - to report**

- Russell C. Crandall, The United States and Latin America After The Cold War (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), Chapter 2-15 (pp. 14-247).

**PART III: RECURRING ISSUES AND PROBLEMS**

**February 23 Crises of Political Succession and Revolutionary Governments**

- Pastor, Exiting the Whirlpool, Chapters 8, 9.
- Pastor, Not Condemned to Repetition: The United States and Nicaragua, Chapters 4, 6, 9, 10, 13.
- LaRosa and Mora (Cole Blasier, The Hovering Giant), pp. 135-148.

**Graduate Students - to report - compare Nicaragua and Cuba to the Dominican Republic**

Abraham F. Lowenthal, The Dominican Intervention (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971), Chapter 1, pp. 1-32.

**March 2 – Mid-Term Exam**

**March 9 – Spring Break**

**March 16 Promoting Economic Development: Aid, Trade, Poverty**

- Pastor, Whirlpool, Chapter 10.
- LaRosa and Mora, (Debt, Trade), pp. 205-218, 239-248.

- Rosemary Thorp, Progress, Poverty, and Exclusion: an Economic History of Latin America in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century (Washington, D.C.: Inter-American Development Bank, 1998), pp. 1-45.

### **Graduate Students - to report on Contemporary Issues**

The Economist, September 9, 2010: "The U.S. and Latin America: Nobody's Backyard;" "So Near and Yet So Far;" "Efficiency Drive;" "Bringing NAFTA Back Home."

### **March 23 Promoting Peaceful Change: Human Rights and Democracy**

- Pastor, Whirlpool, Chapter 11.
- Piccone and Pardo, in Abraham F. Lowenthal, et. al., The Obama Administration and the Americas: Agenda for Change (Washington, D.C.: Brookings, 2009), Chapters 3, 5.
- Jennifer McCoy, "International Responses to Democratic Crisis In the Americas, 1990-2005," Democratization, Vol. 13, No. 5 (December 2006).
- The Inter-American Democratic Charter, September 11, 2001.

### **Graduate Students - to report on Lessons from the past:**

- Pastor, Nicaragua, Chapters 15-16.
- Scott Mainwaring and Timothy R. Scully, "Latin America: Eight Lessons for Governance," Journal of Democracy (July 2008).

## **PART IV: THE CONTEMPORARY AGENDA**

### **March 30 Old and New Leftists - Cuba and the Andes**

- <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jksS6rohVGE&feature=channel>
- Marifeli Perez-Stable, "Cuba in Transition," in Lowenthal (pp. 119-136).
- Shoultz, pp. 367-386.
- Peter DeShazo, "Cuba Outlook: Raul and Beyond," A Report of the Center for Strategic and International Studies, September 2009
- Lowenthal and Zovatto in Lowenthal, et. al., Obama and the Americas, Chaps 1-2. [ck]
- Jorge G. Castañeda, "Latin America's Left Turn," Foreign Affairs (February 2009).
- <http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Americas/2010/1127/As-Fidel-Castro-and-his-Cuban-revolution-fade-is-Cuba-rising>

### **Graduate Students - to report on comparison between Castañeda and below**

Jon Beasley-Murray, Maxwell A. Cameron, and Eric Hershberg, "Latin America's Left Turns: A Tour d'Horizon," Cameron and Hershberg, eds., Latin America's Left Turns (Lynne Rienner, 2010), pp. 1-20.

### **April 6 The U.S. Policy Agenda to the Americas, Part I**

- Pastor, Whirlpool, Chapters 14 (Century of the Americas)
- Abraham F. Lowenthal, "Obama and the Americas," Foreign Affairs (July/August 2010).

- Bagley and Tokatlian, "Dope and Dogma: Explaining the Failure of US-Latin American Drug Policies;" LaRosa and Ingwersen, "US Immigration Policies," in LaRosa and Mora, pp. 219-234, 249-262.
- Jorge Castaneda, "Morning in Latin America: The Chance for a New Beginning," Foreign Affairs (Sept/Oct 2008).
- Council on Foreign Relations, "U.S.-Latin America Relations: A New Direction for a New Reality," Independent Task Force Report No. 60, 2008.  
[http://www.cfr.org/content/publications/attachments/LatinAmerica\\_TF.pdf](http://www.cfr.org/content/publications/attachments/LatinAmerica_TF.pdf).
- OAS Resolutions on Honduras and Cuba, 2009:  
[http://www.oas.org/en/member\\_states/default.asp#Cuba](http://www.oas.org/en/member_states/default.asp#Cuba)

### **Graduate Students - Compare Obama Policy Before and After**

Arturo Valenzuela, "Beyond Benign Neglect: Washington and Latin America," in LaRosa and Mora, pp. 319-328.

Arturo Valenzuela, "Obama and Latin America," October 9, 2010

### **April 13 U.S. Foreign Policy Agenda, Part II: North America and Brazil**

- Robert A. Pastor, The North American Idea: A Vision of a Continental Future (Oxford University Press, 2011), Chapters 1, 6, 7.
- Richard L. Harris, "Resistance and Alternatives to Globalization," in LaRosa and Mora, pp. 303-318.
- Sidney Weintraub, "A North American 'Community': Pros and Cons," Issues in International Political Economy, Center for Strategic and International Studies, January 2005, No. 61.  
<http://csis.org/files/media/csis/pubs/issues200501.pdf>
- Maria Celia Toro, "Mexican Policy Against Drugs: From Detering to Embracing the U.S.," and John Bailey, "Security Imperatives of North American Integration," in Sidney Weintraub, ed., NAFTA'S Impact on North America (CSIS, 2004), pp. 209-255.
- Leonardo Martinez-Diaz and Lael Brainard, Chapter 1, in Brainard and Martinez, eds., Brazil as an Economic Superpower? (Brookings, 2009), pp. 1-13.
- Julia E. Sweig, "A New Global Player: Brazil's Far-Flung Agenda," Foreign Affairs (November/December 2010), pp. 173-184)

### **Graduate Students - to compare Sweig with Brands (below) on Brazil's Foreign Policy and analyze the North American Leaders Summit, Guadalajara, August 2009**

- Hal Brands, "Dilemmas of Brazilian Grand Strategy," Strategic Studies Institute, Aug. 2010.  
<http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pubs/display.cfm?pubid=1017>
- "Joint Statement by North American Leaders, August 2009.  
[http://www.whitehouse.gov/the\\_press\\_office/Joint-statement-by-North-American-leaders/](http://www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/Joint-statement-by-North-American-leaders/)

**April 20 Summary Presentations**

**April 22 Papers are due**

**April 27-May 3**

**Final Exam**