

Dartmouth College

Latin American, Latino and Caribbean Studies: LACS 80/GOVT 84.30

Latin America and the United States: The Dynamics of Foreign Policy Formulation

Winter, 2015, 2A

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 15 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 of 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 trade, 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 American relations 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 position, both orally and in writing, in a clear and succinct manner.

The first weeks of the term 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 of overall policy objectives of key countries in the region. The latter portion of the term will examine the elements influencing the formulation and execution of foreign policy on all sides, especially the juxtaposition of domestic and international concerns and the key variables in play in past decades, such as security issues, narcotics, democracy, trade, and energy. As a case study, one class will be dedicated to an analysis of Plan Colombia. The final class will examine future prospects for the remainder of the Obama administration and beyond, with special attention on Mexico and Brazil.

Grading

1. Class attendance and participation, including oral presentations of “action memos” : **10% of total grade.**
2. Three 2-page (double spaced) “action memos” advocating policy positions, at least 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 and data into a coherent argument in favor of a focused policy recommendation. **Due February 3, February 17 and March 3. Each memo worth 20% of grade = 60% of total grade.**
3. A final paper in the form of a six-page (double-spaced) policy advocacy memorandum on a topic chosen by students in consultation with the instructor. This memorandum will follow the basic format of the action memo, but may have a broader focus and will include more detailed information and in-depth analysis of the issue. **Due March 21. 30% of total grade.**

Written assignments are to be turned in hard copy to the instructor at class on the due date. They will be returned with comments and grades two classes later. 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.

Action memos will be presented orally by each student during class on the due date for submission. Each student will have two minutes to make her/his presentation to the class.

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

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

Required Readings:

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

—Robert H. Holden and Eric Zolov, editors, *Latin American and the United States: A Documentary History*, 2nd Edition, Oxford University Press, 2011.

—Jorge I. Domínguez and Rafael Fernández De Castro, editors, *Contemporary U.S. - Latin American Relations: Cooperation or Conflict in the 21st Century?* Routledge, 2010.

—Abraham F. Lowenthal, Theodore J. Piccone, and Lawrence Whitehead, editors, *Shifting the Balance, Obama and the Americas*, Brookings Institution Press, 2011.

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

Class Schedule and Reading Assignments

CLASS 1: Tuesday January 6: *Introduction, course overview, expectations, details, discussion.*

—Peter H. Smith, *Talons of the Eagle*, pp. 1-9.

—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: Thursday, January 8: *Historical Context: National Independence to 1914*

—Smith, *Talons of the Eagle*, pp. 1-63.

—Holden and Zolov, *Latin America and the U.S.:* The No Transfer Doctrine (6-8); the Monroe Doctrine (13-15); James K. Polk (23-25 and 26-28); Bidlack Treaty (28-29); William Curtis (49-51); Alfred Thayer (57-60); Jose Marti (63-65); Calvo Clause (69-70); “Ariel” (79-81); Platt Amendment (83-84); Drago Doctrine (84-85); Hay-Bunau Treaty 86-87); Theodore Roosevelt (88-90) Ruben Dario (91-92); Roosevelt Corollary to Monroe Doctrine (96-97).

CLASS 3: Tuesday January 13. *Historical Context: Hegemonic Power or Good Neighbor? 1914-1945.*

—Smith, *Talons of the Eagle*, pp. 64-112.

—Holden and Zolov: Woodrow Wilson Mobile Speech (104-106); Dollar Diplomacy (111-112); Zimmerman Telegram (113-14); Jones Act (115); Jose Ingenieros (116-118); Victor Raul Haya de la Torre (122-23) Good Neighbor Policy (133-34); U.S. Accepts Non-Intervention (138-139); Hemispheric Security and Non-Intervention (140-41); Marketing Pan-Americanism (150-152); Blue Book on Argentina (168-170).

FILM TRAILERS: Hollywood Woos Latin America

CLASS 4: Thursday January 15: *Historical Context: Cold War I — Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, and the Cuban Revolution.*

—Smith, *Talons of the Eagle*, 117-202.

—Holden and Zolov: Rio Treaty (179-181); Charter of the Organization of American States 181-183); Menace of Communism (184-85); George F. Kennan (186-188); Debating Cuba and Castro (215-217); The Alliance for Progress (221-223); Charter of Punta del Este (227-229); Shark and the Sardines (230-232); Intervention in the Dominican Republic (248-250); Che Guevara (251-252).

CLASS 5: Tuesday, January 20: *Historical Context: Cold War II - The National Security Doctrine and Central America.*

- Smith, *Talons of the Eagle* (117-202 — same as CLASS 4)
- Holden and Zolov: Faletto and Cardoso (268-270); Human Rights and Foreign Aid (281-283); Panama Canal Treaties (294-295); Saving the New World From Communism (296-298); Reagan, The Fear of Communism in Central America (304-306)

CLASS 6: Thursday January 22: *Historical Context: Post-Cold War - The Indispensable Nation, 1988-2000.*

- Smith, *Talons of the Eagle*, pp. 205-243.
- Holden and Zolov, Summit of the Americas (pp. 351-353); The Helms Burton Act (358-362)
- David Scott Palmer, *U.S. Relations with Latin American during the Clinton Years: Opportunities Lost or Opportunities Squandered?* U Florida Press 2006: pp. 9-43.

CLASS 7: Tuesday January 29. *Historical Context: The Counter-Terrorism Agenda and George W. Bush*

- Smith, *Talons of the Eagle*, pp. 260-290.
- Holden and Zolov; The Devil Came Here Yesterday (397-399)
- Dominguez and Fernandez de Castro, editors: *Contemporary U.S. - Latin American Relations:*
 - Jorge I Dominguez “Changes in the International System during the 2000s” pp. 1-16.
 - Marifeli Perez-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 Repair” pp. 218-246.

CLASS 8: Thursday January 29: Historical Context: Change or Continuity Under Obama?

—Lowenthal, Piccone, and Whitehead, editors: *Shifting the Balance*:

Abraham 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 9: Tuesday, February 3: How U.S. Foreign Policy is Formulated and Executed

—Smith, pp. 333-356.

FIRST ACTION MEMO DUE

CLASS 10: Thursday February 5. Evaluating Policy Effectiveness: Plan Colombia

—Holden and Zolov: Plan Colombia (pp. 378-82)

—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, (available 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. 138-154 (available online)

—Dominguez and Fernandez de Castro:

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

CLASS 11: Tuesday February 10: *Key Policy Variables, Democracy.*

—Jorge Dominguez and Michael Shifter, editors: *Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America*, 4th edition:

-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 available online at **OAS.org**.

—Lowenthal, Piccone and Whitehead, editors:

-Theodore Piccone, "The Democracy Agenda in the Americas" pp. 145-164.

CLASS 12: Thursday February 12: *Key Policy Variables: Democracy*

FILM SHOWING AND DISCUSSION: "Our Brand is Crisis" directed by Rachael Boynton, 2005

CLASS 13: Tuesday February 17: *Key Policy Variables Trade, Immigration and Energy*

SECOND ACTION MEMO DUE

—Smith, *Talons of the Eagle*, 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. (available online)

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

CLASS 14: Thursday February 19: Key Policy Variables: Security and Drugs

- Smith, *Talons of the Eagle*, 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 (available online at Inter-American Dialogue website)
- Peter Hakim, “Rethinking U.S. Drug Policy,” Inter-American Dialogue, 2011 (online at Inter-American Dialogue website).
- Latin American Commission on Drugs and Democracy, “Drugs and Democracy, Toward a Paradigm Shift,” April 2009, pp.1-12. (available online).

CLASS 15: Tuesday, February 24: Looking Ahead: The U.S. and Mexico

- Dominguez and Fernandez de Castro:
 - Jorge I. Dominguez, “U.S. - Mexican Relations in the 21st Century, pp. 17-43.
- Lowenthal, Piccone and Whitehead:
 - Carlos Heredia and Andres Rozenthal, “Mexico and the U.S. - The Search for a Strategic Vision,” pp. 29-42.

CLASS 16: Thursday, February 26: Looking Ahead: The U.S. and Brazil.

- Dominguez and Fernandez de Castro
 - Monica Hirst, “U.S. - Brazil Relations: Getting Better all the Time” pp. 124-141.
- Lowenthal, Piccone and Whitehead:
 - Jose Augusto de Castro Neves and Matias Spektor: “Obama and Brazil,” pp. 43-54.

CLASS 17: Tuesday March 3: Looking Ahead: Latin America and the World

THIRD ACTION MEMO DUE

- Smith, *Talons of the Eagle* pp. 226-245

- Inter-American Dialogue, “The World of 2030: Risks and Opportunities for Latin America,” March, 2013, Available online at thedialogue.org
- Sergio Bitar, “Latin America and the United States: Looking Towards 2020. Inter-American Dialogue, September 2011 available online at: thedialogue.org

CLASS 18: Thursday March 5: Soft Power, Public Diplomacy and Shaping Public Opinion.

- CSIS Commission on Smart Power - A Smarter, More Secure America. (available online). “How America Can Become a Smarter Power,” pp. 5-15; “Part I - Waning Influence” pp. 17-27; “Public Diplomacy,” pp. 47-53.
- TEAM DRAFTING OF “Op-Eds”

CLASS 19: Tuesday, March 10: *Summary Discussion*

PRESENTATION OF TEAM OP-EDs