

## FP324: Foreign Relations of Latin America

Spring 2019  
Nimitz G114  
T, Th: 1330 -1445  
Office: Nimitz G111  
Phone: 410-293-2996

Dr. John Polga-Hecimovich  
Office Hours: Wednesday  
0930-1130  
and by appointment  
e-mail: [polgahec@usna.edu](mailto:polgahec@usna.edu)

### Course Overview

The course studies the origins and historical evolution of the Latin American state system since the early 19th century. It is designed to help students have a better understanding of the complex relationship between the United States and Latin America but also addresses the topics of power political dynamics and the parallel efforts at cooperation, inter-state solidarism, and regional order. Contrary to other approaches, which tend to conflate IR with Comparative Politics, or simply with the study of individual countries' foreign policies, this course advances an "IR approach" that emphasizes regional and systemic processes shaping the development of Latin America's international relations as a distinctive and self-standing regional system of states, worthy of its own academic attention. In this context, students will have the opportunity to read extensively about the origins and evolution of Latin America as a discrete regional system of states, holistically understanding its unique features as well as its commonalities with other regional actors, institutional phenomena, and global trends.

The course is divided into four sections. The first section provides an overview of nineteenth and early twentieth century imperialism and balance of power in the region. We identify the main actors in U.S. policymaking in the region and discuss different theories that seek to explain U.S.-Latin American relations from independence to World War II. Key questions are whether the forces motivating U.S. policy have changed, and whether these motivations are conducive to beneficial or exploitative relations with Latin American countries. The second part of the course examines U.S.-Latin American relations during the Cold War, from 1945 to 1990. The topics examined here will include the Bay of Pigs invasion, the Cuban missile crisis, U.S. interventionism in the region backing military regimes, and U.S. policy toward guerrilla movements in Central America. The third part of the course moves beyond explicitly U.S.-Latin American relations to discuss the post-Cold War panorama and trade. The fourth and final section examines current issues in Latin American foreign relations, including emerging regional hegemonies, immigration, narco-trafficking, organized crime, security and defense cooperation, and challenges to U.S. influence in the region.

### Books and other readings

There is only one required book for this class. However, in addition to the required text, a large number of book chapters and articles will be assigned. Those marked with asterisks (\*\*) in the syllabus are also available electronically on the class's Blackboard page. We will use a portion of each class for discussion, so it is important to keep up with the reading assignments.

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

### Requirements and Grading

a) Participation	10%
b) Reading Presentations	10%
d) Midterms (15% + 20%)	35%
e) Research Paper	20%
f) Final	25%

## FP324: Foreign Relations of Latin America

**Participation (5%):** Midshipmen are expected to attend and participate in all classes (showing up and falling asleep, for example, will not count). Quality participation means demonstrating (a) a solid grasp of the information covered in readings and in class, (b) an ability to analyze information and issues critically, and (c) a willingness to listen to others.

**Reading Presentations (10%):** Each student will give will give two 5-6 minute reading presentations over the course of the semester (preferably on different days). Each presentation should summarize a single assigned reading as well as a 1-minute critique. Each presentation, which will be based on a pass-fail basis, will be worth 5% of your final grade.

**Midterms (40%):** There will be two midterm examinations. The first midterm will be held in class on February 13 and will make up 20% of your final grade. It will be composed of multiple-choice, essay, and short-answer questions. The second midterm will be a take-home, essay-based exam worth 20% of your final grade. I will hand it out on Tuesday, March 31 and it is due in class on Thursday, April 2.

**Research Paper (20%):** You will choose a Latin American state and analyze how it's foreign policy toward the United States changed—and also stayed the same—before and after President Trump's inauguration in January 2017. The paper will be 10-12 pages, double-spaced (~2500 words) in Times New Roman (or equivalent) size 12 font with 1 inch margins. As part of this project, **I must approve the country and issues areas by Thursday, February 27.** Failure to do so will result in 10% off of the final paper grade. The paper itself will be due at the beginning of class on Tuesday, April 21.

**Final (25%):** The final is cumulative. I will decide the format of the final as the course progresses.

### The standardized grade scale applies:

90-100	A
80-90	B
70-80	C
60-70	D
Below 60	F

### Behavioral expectations

Beyond the grading component, this course is interactive, and midshipmen are required to stay awake and participate in a meaningful way. Laptop computers, cell phones, tablets, and other electronic devices are not allowed during class sessions unless otherwise designated. Violators will face grade penalties decided by the instructor.

Midshipmen are expected to be respectful of the opinions of others. Midshipmen may consume food and drink in class so long as they are not disruptive. In accordance with USNA policy, the use of tobacco products of any type is prohibited in class.

### Academic Honesty

Midshipmen are expected to exhibit the highest integrity in all of their activities concerning this course. Academic dishonesty, including plagiarism and cheating *of any type*, will not be tolerated and will be cause for the initiation of an honor proceeding. Students should be careful to attribute material properly whenever there is any doubt.

Plagiarism is the act of presenting someone else's words, ideas or work – whether accidentally or

## FP324: Foreign Relations of Latin America

deliberately – as your own, without acknowledgment of sources. Plagiarism is a form of cheating and is an honor violation, and all plagiarists will be treated as honor offenders, in addition to receiving a grade of zero for the plagiarized work. Plagiarism may include:

- Copying written work from another source, published or unpublished, without proper acknowledgment of the original;
- Buying papers online or from a paper mill;
- Resubmitting or double submitting work to two different classes;
- Using gouge or company files;
- Submitting someone else's work as your own. The above list should not be treated as exhaustive.

If you are not sure what plagiarism is, find out. Midshipmen are responsible for knowing and understanding what constitutes plagiarism. If in doubt, document your sources, or see me to ask further questions. Please take a close look at the Library's very helpful web site on avoiding plagiarism, which can be found at <http://libguides.usna.edu/plagiarism>.

### Late Policy/Make-Ups

All exams and quizzes are to be taken at the scheduled time. The only exception to this is for an academy-approved absence with proper documentation. Be forewarned: the make-up exam will be tougher than the original. Failure to take an exam or quiz at the scheduled time will result in a grade of zero (0). **I will not accept late papers** (so do not wait to the last minute to write it).

### Schedule of Assignments

Below is a schedule of assignments for the class. All readings not from the textbook can be found on the course's Blackboard page. Note that these are subject to change at my discretion; while I do not anticipate making changes, I will notify you at least one week in advance if it is necessary to do so. However, if there are to be any changes to the below assignments, I will let you know as far in advance as possible. All readings are to be completed by the beginning of each class.

<b>Week 1</b>	<b>GLOBAL POLITICS AND THEORIES OF U.S.-LATIN AMERICAN RELATIONS</b>
Thursday, January 9	Smith, Introduction
	<b>PART I: THE IMPERIAL ERA</b>
<b>Week 2</b>	<b>Imperialism and Balance of Power in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century</b>
Tuesday, January 14	**Michael Powelson. 2011. "19th Century Latin America Imperialism from a Global Perspective." <i>History Compass</i> 9(10): 827-43. **Robert N. Burr. 1955. "The Balance of Power in Nineteenth-Century South America: An Exploratory Essay." <i>The Hispanic American Historical Review</i> 35(1): 37-60.
Thursday, January 16	Smith, Chapter 1
<b>Week 3</b>	
Tuesday, January 21	<b>Manifest Destiny and the Monroe Doctrine</b> Smith, Chapter 2
Thursday, January 23	<b>Solidarism and Latin America's Response to Imperialism</b> Smith, Chapter 3

## FP324: Foreign Relations of Latin America

### Week 4

Tuesday, January 28

#### **Roosevelt and the Good Neighbor Policy**

Smith, Chapter 4

\*\*Maj Gen Smedley Butler. 1935. "War is a Racket." (speech)

### **PART II: THE COLD WAR**

Thursday, January 30

#### **Cold War Rules of the Game**

Smith, Chapter 5

### Week 5

Tuesday, February 4

#### **The Alliance for Progress**

Smith, Chapter 6

Thursday, February 6

#### **U.S. Intervention against Socialism**

Smith, Chapter 7

\*\*John H. Coatsworth. 2005. "United States Interventions." *ReVista. Harvard Review of Latin America* Spring/Summer.

### Week 6

Tuesday, February 11

Smith, Chapter 8

Thursday, February 13

### **MIDTERM EXAM 1**

### **PART III: POST-COLD WAR AND GLOBALIZED LATIN AMERICA**

### Week 7

Tuesday, February 18

#### **Aftermath of the Cold War**

Smith, Chapter 9

Thursday, February 20

\*\*Michael Desch. 1998. "Why Latin America May Miss the Cold War" in *International Security and Democracy: Latin America and the Caribbean in the Post-Cold War Era* (Ed. Jorge Domínguez), Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press (pp245-265).  
\*\*Christopher Sabatini, "Rethinking Latin America: Foreign Policy is More Than Development," *Foreign Affairs* 91:2 (Mar/Apr 2012), 8-13

### Week 8

Tuesday, February 25

#### **Trade**

Smith, Chapter 10

Thursday, February 27

\*\*Eric Farnsworth, "A Way Forward for Hemispheric Trade," *Current History* 108:715 (February 2009), 90-92

\*\*Jorge G. Castañeda, "NAFTA's Mixed Record: The View From Mexico," *Foreign Affairs* 93:1 (January/February 2014) 134-141

*Final paper topic approval due date*

### Week 9

Tuesday, March 3

*Guest speaker Eric Farnsworth, Vice-President, Americas Society-Council of the Americas*

## FP324: Foreign Relations of Latin America

Thursday, March 5      **The War on Terror**  
Smith, Chapter 11

March 10 and 12      **Spring Break**

### PART IV: CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES

#### Week 10

Tuesday, March 17

#### **Regional Integration**

\*\*Malamud, Andrés, and Gian Luca Gardini. 2012. "Has Regionalism Peaked? The Latin American Quagmire and its Lessons." *The International Spectator: Italian Journal of International Affairs* 47(1): 116-33.

\*\*Malamud, Andrés. 2019. "Regional Organizations and Development in Latin America." In *The Routledge Handbook of Latin American Development*, ed. J. Cupples, M. Palomino-Schalscha and M. Prieto. London and New York: Routledge.

Thursday, March 19

#### **Hegemonic Aspirations?**

\*\*Malamud, Andrés. 2015. "What Determines Foreign Policy in Latin America? Systemic versus Domestic Factors in Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico, 1946-2008." *Latin American Politics and Society* 57(4): 1-27.

\*\*Serbin, Andrés, and Andrei Serbin Pont. 2017. "The Foreign Policy of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela: The Role and Legacy of Hugo Chávez." *Latin American Policy* 8(2): 232-48.

#### Week 11

Tuesday, March 24

#### **Immigration**

Smith, Chapter 13

Thursday, March 26

\*\*Douglas S. Massey. 2011. "Epilogue: The Past and Future of Mexico-US Migration" and "Appendix: Chronology of Mexican Migration" in *Beyond La Frontera: The History of Mexican-US Migration*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

\*\*Azam Ahmed. 2019 (August 18). "Women Are Fleeing Death at Home. The U.S. Wants to Keep Them Out." *The New York Times*.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/08/18/world/americas/guatemala-violence-women-asylum.html>

\*\*Oriana Van Praag. 2019. "Understanding the Venezuelan Refugee Crisis." Washington, DC: Wilson Center.

<https://www.wilsoncenter.org/article/understanding-the-venezuelan-refugee-crisis>

#### Week 12

Tuesday, March 31

#### **Regional Security and Defense Cooperation**

\*\*Trinkunas, Harold. 2013. "Reordering Regional Security in Latin America." *Journal of International Affairs* 66(2): 83-99.

\*\*Helene Cooper, Thomas Gibbons-Neff, Charlie Savage and Eric Schmitt. "Pentagon Eyes Africa Drawdown as First Step in Global Troop Shift", *The New York Times*, (December 24, 2019)

<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/12/24/world/africa/esper-troops-africa-china.html>

*Midterm Exam 2 passed out*

Thursday, April 2

**MIDTERM EXAM 2 DUE**

*Guest speaker Steven Griner, Director of the Department of Sustainable Democracy*

## FP324: Foreign Relations of Latin America

*and Special Missions, Organization of American States (OAS)*

<b>Week 13</b> Tuesday, April 7	<b>Organized Crime and Narco-trafficking</b> Smith, Chapter 14 **Seth Freed Wessler. 2017 (November 20). "The Coast Guard's 'Floating Guantánamos'", <i>The New York Times</i> . <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/20/magazine/the-coast-guards-floating-guantanamos.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/20/magazine/the-coast-guards-floating-guantanamos.html</a>
Thursday, April 9	**Bruce M. Bagley, "Drug Trafficking and Organized Crime in Latin America and the Caribbean in the Twenty-First Century" in <i>Drug Trafficking, Organized Crime, and Violence in the Americas Today</i> , University Press of Florida: Gainesville (pp1-24). **Mark Kleiman. 2011. "Surgical Strikes in the Drug Wars: Smarter Policies for Both Sides of the Border," <i>Foreign Affairs</i> 90(5): 89-101.
<b>Week 14</b> Tuesday, April 14	<b>Challenges to U.S. Influence</b> Smith, Chapter 12
Thursday, April 16	**Michael Shifter and Daniel Joyce. 2009. "No Longer Washington's Backyard," <i>Current History</i> , 108(715): 51-57 **Francisco Urdinez, Fernando Mouron, Luis L. Schenoni, and Amâncio J. de Oliveira. 2016. "Chinese Economic Statecraft and U.S. Hegemony in Latin America: An Empirical Analysis, 2003-2014." <i>Latin American Politics and Society</i> 58(4): 3-30.
<b>Week 15</b> Tuesday, April 21 <b>Research Paper Due</b>	<b>Debating Contemporary U.S. Policy</b> Smith, Chapter 15 **Eric Farnsworth. 2016. "Obama's Pragmatism Worked in Latin America. Now It's Time to Support Democracy", <i>The World Politics Review</i> .
Thursday, April 23	Catch up day
<b>Week 16</b> Tuesday, April 28	<b>The Future of International Politics of Latin America</b> Discussion and review for final exam