

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL SERVICE (SIS)

International Relations of the Americas

SIS 577.001

Prof: Raul Benitez Manaut

SPRING 2007

Wednesdays, 5.30-8.00 pm

I. Purpose of the course

The course will analyze the current strategic relationships among the US, Canada, Mexico, the Caribbean, and Latin American as a whole. We will take into account new political tendencies in the region, such as the rise of the New Left in South America and its international consequences. We will also explore and debate security concerns at the hemispheric and subregional level.

The focus of the course will be the foreign policies and the international relations of North America, Latin America and the Caribbean Countries. We separate the hemisphere into five sub-regions: North America, Central America, the Caribbean, the Andean Countries and the Southern Cone-Mercosur countries.

We will start with an historical analysis of the US-Latin American relations, from the end of the Second World War, until the end of the Cold War (1989-1990). A regional process of democratization began in the 1980's. During most of the XX Century, military or authoritarian regimes predominated in Latin America. Major highlights during the Clinton administration in the US (1993-2001), including the growing influence of the "Washington Consensus" among agencies funding economic development and the Hemispheric Summit meeting held in Miami in 1994. Processes of sub-regionalization during this time exerted very important effects in North America, Mercosur, Central America and the Caribbean countries.

Other major topics will include the Central American crisis of the 1980's, and the international resolution of civil wars in Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala, with the mediation of the international community. Concerns about Cuba play a major role in the Caribbean security dialogue. At the same time, we will also devote particular attention to the diplomacy of the English speaking Caribbean small states. We will also examine how the "Southern Cone" countries paved the way for the Mercosur process between

Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay and Paraguay. Chile provides an example successfully negotiating, both democratization and participation in the global economy.

This course also considers the issues most important related to regional governance and hemispheric agreements. The crises of the Andean countries are deeply. We will analyze the rise of Hugo Chavez in Venezuela, the Colombian conflict, and the governance crises in Bolivia, Peru and Ecuador. Other key topics include official corruption, drug trafficking, and issues related to weak governance, such as the lack of effective justice systems and police forces. Throughout the region, populations feel the impacts of insecurity and crime.

The course also reviews new trends in diplomacy; analyzes OAS and its most important conventions and agreements, for example, on Hemispheric Security or Human Rights; Canada's new diplomacy since the 1990s; and the changing priorities of US foreign policy towards the region after September 11th 2001.

During the first six years of the 21st Century, international relations in the hemisphere have correlated closely with: 1) the trade agreements (at the continental, sub-regional and bilateral levels); 2) countries degree of cooperation with the US in the global war on terrorism; 3) the rise of the new left and its different tendencies; 4) the immigration crisis involving US and many Latin American and Caribbean countries; 5) issues of organized crime in the region; 6) and the governance issues, such as the elections in Mexico in last July 2th, in Brazil in September and October of 2006, and in Nicaragua in November.

We will also analyze the relationship between domestic and foreign policies, because this connection exerts major influence on hemispheric relations. For example, recent US foreign policy in the region has reflected the relationship between Congress and the President. Similarly, US policy makers have had to respond to new type of anti-US attitudes in Venezuela and Bolivia), as well as nationalism between the popular culture and inside the political parties in Mexico.

II. Readings and web courses.

Students should complete assigned readings before class. Because the international relations of the Americas are complex and very dynamic issues, students are expected to stay current. Recommended news sources are Washington Post (www.washingtonpost.com), New York Times (www.nytimes.com), web pages of the Center for North American Studies, American University; Interamerican Dialogue; the Latin American Program of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars; the Center for Strategic and International Studies; the Rand Corporation; the web page of *Foreign Affairs* and *Foreign Affairs en Espanol*; the web page and the E-Journal of the Center for Hemispheric Defense Center at the National Defense University; and the most important newspapers and magazines in Latin America, like *El Universal* and *Reforma* (Mexico), *La Prensa Grafica* (El Salvador), *Granma* (Cuba), *Clarín* (Argentina), *O Globo* (Brazil), *Mercurio* (Chile). Additional news and academic sources appear in the

web page of FLACSO, RESDAL, Florida International University, and other universities in the US and Latin America.

III. Other course tasks

There will be three elements to evaluate the course.

Class participation is very important. Achieving the learning objectives for this course the debate must be an informed discussion based on the readings and lectures. During the course, each student will briefly make a presentation to share with the class a summary of her/his term paper research.

Midterm exam. The exam will test students' command of the readings of the International Relations of Americas. These subjects together provide the basis for an analysis of the specific issues of the most important regions and countries in the second half of the course.

Term paper should be 10-15 pages for undergraduate students and 20-25 pages for graduate students. Each page should have one and a half line spacing in font size 12. It should reflect the knowledge of the subject matter of the lectures and readings. Students may do a critical review of the literature based on a selection of at least three books or a combination of books, chapters of books, and articles. Students should select very specific subjects. As the first part of the course develops, the instructor will provide some ideas and examples of subjects for term papers. Also students may do a research paper on a question or hypothesis approved by the instructor.

Grades: Grades will be based on the class participation and presentations (30%), a mid-term exam (35%) and a term paper (35%).

IV. Academic Integrity

Plagiarism is a serious offense at American University, and all students should be aware of the American University Academic Integrity Code:

“Members of the Academic Community are expected to conduct themselves with integrity as a matter of course. Academic violations include (but are not limited to) the following:

Plagiarism: To plagiarize is to use the work, ideas, or words of someone else without attribution. Plagiarism may involve using someone else's wording without using quotation marks—a distinctive name, a phrase, a sentence, or an entire passage or essay. It may also involve misrepresenting the sources that were used.”

V. Required Basic Readings for the course:

- 1) United Nations Development Program *Report of Democracy in Latin America. Towards a Citizen's Democracy*, UNDP, Alfaguara, Buenos Aires, 2004, 288 pp.
<http://democracia.undp.org/Informe/Default.asp?Menu=15&Idioma=11>
- 2) Robert A. Pastor *Exiting the Whirlpool: U.S. Foreign Policy Toward Latin America and the Caribbean* (Colorado: Westview Press, 2001, 2nd edition).
- 3) Joseph S. Tulchin & Ralph H. Espach (editors), *Latin America in the new international system*, Lynne Rienner, Boulder, London, 2000.
- 4) Peter H. Smith *Talons of the Eagle. Dynamics of U.S.-Latin American Relations*, Oxford University Press, New York, Oxford, 2000, second Edition.
- 5) Frances Hagopian and Scott P. Mainwaring (editors) *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America. Advances and Setbacks*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2005.
- 6) George Philip *Democracy in America. Surviving Conflict and Crisis?*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 2003.
- 7) Ivelaw Lloyd Griffith (editor) *Caribbean Security in the Age of Terror. Challenge and Change*, Ian Randle Publishers, Kingston, Miami, 2004.
- 8) Coletta A. Youngers and Eileen Rosin (editors) *Drugs and Democracy in Latin America. The Impact of U. S. Policy*, Lynne Rienner, Boulder, London, 2005.

In Spanish

- 1) Joseph S. Tulchin, Raul Benitez Manaut and Rut Diamint (editors) *El Rompecabezas. Conformando la seguridad hemisferica en el siglo XXI*, Prometeo Libros, Buenos Aires, 2006.

Calendar

Week 1. Jan. 17

Introduction. International Relations in the Americas. Historical Outstanding Facts

Reading

Peter H. Smith *Talons of the Eagle. Dynamics of U.S.-Latin American Relations*, op. cit. "Introduction", Chapter I "The Imperial Era", Chapter II "The Cold War", pp. 1-190.

Week 2. Jan. 24

The US Policy towards Latin America and the Caribbean. 20st Century

Reading

Richard Newfarmer (editor) *From Gunboats to Dipomacy. New U.S. Policies for Latin America*, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London, 1984.

Introduction (pp. ix-xxii). Chapter 1: James R. Kurth "The New Realism in U.S.-Latin American Relations: Principles for a New U.S. Foreign Policy" (3-14); Chapter 2: Richard McCall "From Monroe to Reagan: an Overview of U.S.-Latin American Relations" (p. 15-34).

Week 3. Jan 31

The US Policy towards Latin America in transition. From the Seventies to the XXI Century

Robert A. Pastor *Exiting the Whirlpool: U.S. Foreign Policy Toward Latin America and the Caribbean*, op. cit. Chapter 1, to Chapter 7 pp. 1-150.

Abraham F. Lowenthal (editor) *Exporting Democracy. The United States and Latin America. Case Studies*, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London, 1991, Chapters 9 and 10 pp. 234-283 (Chapters of Laurence Whitehead and Abraham Lowenthal).

Christopher Rudolph *National Security and Immigration. Policy Development in the United States and Western Europe since 1945*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, 2006, Chapters 1 and 2, pp. 1-40.

"U.S. Foreign Policy towards Latin America and the Caribbean". *Revista. Harvard Review of Latin America*, Spring-Summer 2005.

Week 4. Feb. 7

The Processes of Democratization, the Latin American International Relations and the Security Conundrum from the Nineties to the XXI Century.

Frances Hagopian and Scott P. Mainwaring (editors) *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America. Advances and Setbacks*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2005. Introduction pp. 1-13.

Chapter 1 “Latin American Democratization since 1978: Democratic Transitions, Breakdowns, and Erosions”, pp. 14-62

Joseph S. Tulchin & Ralph H. Espach (editors), *Latin America in the new international system*, Lynne Rienner, Boulder, London, 2000.

Chapter 1 Joseph S. Tulchin & Ralph Spach “Latin America in the New International System: A Call for Strategic Thinking”, pp. 1-33.

Chapter 8: Robert O. Keohane “Between Vision and Reality: Variables in Latin America Foreign Policy”, pp. 207-213.

Chapter 9: Ernest May “Beyond Neoliberalism: A Long Term Perspective on Regional Strategic Thinking”. Pp. 215-218.

Hector E. Schamis “Populism, Socialism, and Democratic Institutions”, in *Journal of Democracy*, October 2006, Vol. 17, No. 4.

Matthew R. Cleary “*Explaining the Left's Resurgence*”, *Journal of Democracy*, October 2006, Vol. 17, No. 4.

WOLA “Erasing the lines. Trends in U.S. military programs with Latin America”, Washington, 2005. www.wola.org/publications/erasing_the_lines_05.pdf

Week 5. Feb. 14

Regional Challenges: Security, Drugs Trafficking and Corruption

Coletta A. Youngers and Eileen Rosin (editors) *Drugs and Democracy in Latin America. The Impact of U. S. Policy*, Lynne Rienner, Boulder, London, 2005.

Chapter 1: “The U.S. ‘war on drugs’: its impact in Latin America and the Caribbean”, pp. 1-14.

Chapter 10: “The Collateral Damage of the U.S. War on Drugs: Conclusions and Recommendations”, pp. 339-366.

Joseph S. Tulchin & Ralph Spach (editors) *Combating Corruption in Latin America*, Woodrow Wilson Center Press & Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 2000.

Chapter 5: “High-Level Political Corruption in Latin America: “A Transitional Phenomenon”, pp. 107-129.

Week 6. Feb. 21

Regional Challenges: The OAS and the regional Security.

Raul Benitez-Manaut *Mexico and New Challenges of Hemispheric Security*, Woodrow Wilson Center Reports on the Americas No. 11, Washington, 2004.

Margaret Daly Hayes “The New Security Agenda for the Americas: Focus on ‘Insecurity’”, in Riordan Roett and Guadalupe Paz (editors) *Latin America in a Changing Global Environment*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder and London, 2003, pp. 41-60.

Carolyn M. Shaw *Cooperation, Conflict, and Consensus in the Organization of American States*, Palgrave-McMillan, New York, 2004. Chapters 1 and 7, 8. pp. 1-14, and 151-186.

OAS Committee on Hemispheric Security. <http://www.oas.org/csh/english/default.asp>

Final Declaration of the 2003 OAS Special Conference on Security (Mexico City)
<http://www.oas.org/csh/CES/documentos/ce00339e04.doc>

Week 7. Feb 28

Country cases 1: The Canadian foreign policy and its hemispheric link: bilateral relations with US and Mexico, the promotion of human security.

David Haglund & Joel J. Sokolsky *The U.S.-Canada Security Relationship. The Politics, Strategy, and Technology of Defense*, Westview Press, Boulder, 1989.

Douglas Bland “Canadian Neutrality: Its Military Consequences”, pp. 93-112.

Christopher Conliffe “The Permanent Joint Board on Defense, 1940-1988”, pp. 145-166.

Moufida Goucha and Francisco Rojas Aravena (editors) *Human Security, Conflict Prevention and Peace*, UNESCO, FLACSO, Santiago de Chile, 2003.

Francisco Rojas “Introduction: Human Security: emerging Concept of Security in the Twenty-First Century”, pp. 11-28.

Hal Klepak “Peace, Human Security and Conflict Prevention in Latin America and the Caribbean – A View from North America”, pp. 71- 82.

Charles F. Doran “Canada’s New Opening to Latin America”, in Riordan Roett and Guadalupe Paz (editors) *Latin America in a Changing Global Environment*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder and London, 2003, pp. 91-113.

The Responsibility to Protect, Report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, ICISS, December 2001, Canada. Chapters 1 to 4: pp. 1-39.

David N. Biette “Whatever Happened to Canada”, *Literature Review of Canada*, Vol. 14, No. 5, June 2006.

Week 8. March 7

Country Cases 2: Mexico and NAFTA

Joseph S. Tulchin and Andrew Selee (editors), *Mexico's Politics and Society in Transition*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder and London, 2003.

Joseph S. Tulchin and Andrew Selee "Introduction", *Mexico's Politics and Society in Transition*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder and London, 2003, pp. 5-28.

Chapter 1: Carlos Elizando "After the Second of July: Challenges and Opportunities for the Fox Administration", in, pp. 29-54.

Chapter 2: Raul Benitez Manaut "Security and Governance: The Urgent Need for State Reform", pp. 55-73.

Beatriz Magaloni "The Demise of Mexico's One Party Dominant Regime: Elite Choices and the Masses in the Establishment of Democracy", in Frances Hagopian and Scott P. Mainwaring (editors) *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America. Advances and Setbacks*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2005. pp. 121-148.

Roderic Ai Camp *Mexico's Military on the Democratic Stage*, Praeger Security International, Westport, London, Chapters 1 and 2: pp. 1-42.

John Bailey and Jorge Chabat (editors) *Transnational Crime and Public Security: Challenges for Mexico and the United States* Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, University of California-San Diego, 2002.

Week. 9. March 14 (Spring Break)

Week 10. March 21.

Country Cases 3: Brazil

Fernando Lorenzo & Marcel Vaillant *Mercosur and the Creation of the Free Trade Area of the Americas*, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 2005.

Chapter 1: Fernando Lorenzo & Marcel Vaillant "The Mercosur and the Creation of the Free Trade Area of the Americas", pp. 1-28.

Kurt Weyland "The Growing Sustainability of Brazil's Low Quality Democracy", in Frances Hagopian and Scott P. Mainwaring (editors) *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America. Advances and Setbacks*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2005. pp. 90-120.

Paulo Esteves "Global Governance: Multilateralism and the Struggle between have have-notes: a view from the Brazilian foreign policy perspective", Paper presented at LASA Congress, Las Vegas, October, 2004.

Thomaz Guedes da Costa “Strategies for Global Inclusion. Brazil and its Regional Partners”, in Joseph S. Tulchin & Ralph H. Espach (editors), *Latin America in the new international system*, Lynne Rienner, Boulder, London, 2000. pp. 91-116.

Riordan Roett “Brazil’s Role as a Regional Power”, in Riordan Roett and Guadalupe Paz (editors) *Latin America in a Changing Global Environment*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder and London, 2003, pp. 189-208.

Week 11. March 28

Country Cases 4: Argentina and Chile

Arturo Valenzuela and Lucía Dammert “Problems of Success in Chile”, *Journal of Democracy*, October 2006, Vol. 17, No. 4.

“Chile. A Changing Country”, *Revista. Harvard Review of Latin America*, Spring, 2004.

Steven Levitsky “Argentina: Democratic Survival amidst Economic Failure”, in Frances Hagopian and Scott P. Mainwaring (editors) *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America. Advances and Setbacks*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2005. pp. 63-89.

Cynthia Arnson (editor) *Argentina-United States Bilateral Relations. An Historical Perspective and Future Challenges*, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington, 2003, “Introduction”, pp.1-8; Chapter 1: pp. 11-28; Chapter 6: pp. 59-76.

Week. 12 April 4

Regional cases 1: Central America

William Leo Grande *Our own backyard: the United States in Central America, 1977-1992*, Chapel Hill, N.C. University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

Part 1: Origins. Pp. 3-146.

Cynthia J. Arnson (editor) *Comparative peace processes in Latin America*, Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1999.

Max G Manwaring, “Street Gangs: the New Urban Insurgency” (Carlisle, USAWC, 2005) <http://www.carlisle.army.mil/ssi/pubs/display.cfm/hurl/PubID=597>

Ana Arana “How the Street Gangs Took Central America”, *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2005.

Week 13. April 11

Regional Cases 2: Cuba and The Caribbean

Daniel P. Erikson & Adam Minson “The Caribbean: Democracy Adrift?”, *Journal of Democracy*, October 2005, Volume 16, Number 4

Jorge I. Domínguez “Cuban Foreign Policy and the International System”, in Joseph S. Tulchin & Ralph H. Espach (editors), *Latin America in the new international system*, Lynne Rienner, Boulder, London, 2000. pp. 183-207.2

Philip Brenner “Overcoming Asymmetry: The Meaning of U.S.-Cuban Relations for U.S. Policy Towards Latin America”, Paper presented at LASA Congress, Las Vegas, October, 2004.

William LeoGrande “The United States and Cuba: Stained Engagement”, Paper presented at LASA Congress, Las Vegas, October, 2004.

William M. LeoGrande, *Cuba’s policy in Africa, 1959-1980*, Institute of International Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 1980.

Ivelaw Lloyd Griffith (editor) *Caribbean Security in the Age of Terror. Challenge and Change*, Ian Randle Publishers, Kingston, Miami, 2004.

Chapter 1 “Probing Security Challenge and Change in the Caribbean”, pp. 1-51.

Chapter 10 “United States-Caribbean Relations”, 252-273.

Hal Klepak , *Cuba’s military 1990-2005 : Revolutionary soldiers during counter-revolutionary times*, Palgrave MacMillan, New York, N.Y., 2005.

Chapter 2 “The FAR up to the Special Period, 1959-1990: Ther Third World’s Most Impressive Force? Pp. 41-55.

Chapter 9 “The Military Defense of Cuba: But Can the FAR still Deter?”, pp. 241-270.

Chapter 10 “Conclusion”, pp. 271-278.

Week 14. April 18

Regional Cases 3: Andean Countries

Russell Crandall, Guadalupe Paz and Riordan Roett (editors), *The Andes in Focus: Security, Democracy & Economic Reform* Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder, 2005:

Chapter 2: “Julia E. Sweig and Michael McCarthy “Colombia: Staving Off Partial Collapse”, pp. 11-45.

Chapter 5: Juan Carlos Sainz Borgo and Guadalupe Paz, “Venezuela: Revolutionary changes under Chavez,” pp 91-120.

Chapter 7: Mark Eric Wiliams “U.S. Policy in the Andes: Commitments and Commitment Traps”, pp. 151-172.

Scott Mainwaring, Ana Maria Bejarano and Eduardo Pizarro (editors) *The Crisis of Democratic Representation in the Andes*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, California, 2006.

Chapter 5: René Antonio Mayorga “Outsiders and Neopopulism: The Road to Plebiscitary Democracy”, pp. 133-167.

WOLA “Blueprint for a New Colombia Policy”, Washington, 2005,
www.wola.org/Colombia/blueprint_new_colombia_0305.pdf

Cynthia Arnson (editor) *The crisis of democratic governance in the Andes*, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington, D.C., 2001.

Scott Mainwaring “The Crisis of Representation in the Andes”, *Journal of Democracy*, July 2006, Volume 17, Number 3.

Paul W. Zagorski, “Democratic Breakdown in Paraguay and Venezuela: The Shape of Things to Come in Latin America?” *Armed Forces and Society*, Vol. 30, No. 1 Fall, 2003, pp. 117-139

Cynthia McClintock “A Left Turn in Latin America. An Unlikely Comeback in Peru”, *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 17, No. 4, October 2006, pp. 95-109.

Jennifer L. McCoy and David J. Myers (editors) *The Unraveling of Representative Democracy in Venezuela*, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London, 2004.

Chapter 7 Carlos A. Romero “The United States and Venezuela: From a Special Relationship to Wary Neighbors”, pp. 130-151.

Francisco E. Thoumi “Illegal Drugs, Economy, and Society in the Andes, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 2003. Part 1: “The Illegal Drugs Industry’s History and Structure”, pp. 15-140.

Week 15. April 25 Last Class
General Debate

Week 16. April 30-May 9 Preparation of the Final Exam

Week 17. May 8-14. Final Grades