

Political Science 4410W, Fall 2007
Room: Blegen 135
Time: T/Th 11:15-12:30
TA:

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POLITICAL SCIENCE 4410W: US - LATIN AMERICAN RELATIONS

Objectives: In this course we first spend some time exploring the history of relations between the US and Latin America. We then focus on contemporary issues such as immigration, trade policy, relations with Cuba, and relations with Venezuela. We will explore how the emergence of the US as the dominant power in the hemisphere shapes the contours of contemporary policies, and endeavor to understand how domestic politics in the US and in Latin American nations constrains diplomatic initiative.

Expectations: This class presupposes no particular knowledge about US foreign policy, US-Latin American relations, or international relations theory. However, this is an advanced class, and I therefore have high expectations and high standards. **Be prepared to do about 100-150 pages of reading per week.** All readings on this syllabus are required, and I expect you to do *all* the readings *before* the scheduled class.

Assignments: I base your course grade on two in-class midterms (25% each), a research paper of 15 pages (30%), and several short writing assignments scheduled throughout the semester (20%). There is no final exam. Midterms will combine short answers and a longer essay. I base exam grades on a demonstrated command of the material from lectures *and* readings; in general, grades are based on University definitions: for example, the University defines a “C” grade as “achievement meeting the basic course requirements in every respect” (see the CLA’s “Classroom Grading and Examination Procedures”).

Research paper: This is a writing-intensive course. I will pass out the research paper assignment during the first week of class. We will spend two course periods discussing the research and writing process. I will provide you with a sheet of 20 potential research topics, but you are free to choose whatever topic you would like. A one-page “thesis paragraph plus preliminary outline” is due on **10/2**. I (or the TA) will provide you with feedback about your topic and proposed argument, and meet with you if necessary to help guide your research. **You will then revise and hand in a complete draft of the paper on 11/6.** I (or the TA) will again provide you with feedback, and **the final version of the paper is due on 12/14.** IMPORTANT: the preliminary outline, the complete draft, and the final version are all *requirements*. You will fail the research paper assignment (30% of your grade) if you do not complete all three elements of the assignment.

Academic Integrity: I expect all students to complete coursework honestly. Failure to do so by seeking unfair advantage over others or misrepresenting someone else’s work as your own can result in disciplinary action. A student who violates the University Student Code of Conduct (for details consult the Office for Student Academic Integrity, <http://www1.umn.edu/oscai/>) on an

exam or a paper will be given a grade of “F” for that assignment, and will be reported to the Office for Student Academic Integrity. My primary concern is plagiarism on the term paper. You will hand in only an electronic version of your paper; I will then run your paper through www.turnitin.com, a plagiarism detector used by the University. I am sorry to have to do this, but given past experience I must continue to do so. We will discuss how to avoid plagiarism in class, to clarify this aspect of academic dishonesty.

Policies for make-up exams, late assignments, and incompletes: I do not permit make-up exams unless you notify me *before* the scheduled exam and present written documentation of the circumstances (e.g. a note from University Health Service verifying illness). I will only accept the legitimate circumstances mentioned in the policy on makeup examinations, and only with written documentation. Legitimate circumstances include religious holidays, verifiable illness, serious family emergencies, subpoenas, jury duty, military service, and participation in University-sponsored group activities. I will grant an incomplete for this class only in the case of documented illness, and if you and I complete the “CLA Agreement for Completion of Incomplete Work.” Short assignments are due during the class period on the days they are due. Short assignments turned in after that time will be given no more than half credit. For the research paper, I deduct an entire letter grade for every five days the paper is late.

Readings: you should purchase the following books.

- Michael LaRosa and Frank O. Mora (eds.), *Neighborly Adversaries: Readings in US-Latin American Relations*. Boulder, CO: Rowman and Littlefield, 1999.
- Robert A. Pastor, *Exiting the Whirlpool*. Boulder, CO: Westview, 2001.

All readings not in these two books are readings, available either 1) on the course website (through WebVista); 2) through the University library website; or 3) otherwise available on the web. The syllabus provides guidance. I will also place a copy of the syllabus, copies of each week’s lecture slides, and exam study guides on the course website.

COURSE SCHEDULE

9/4: Intro: Introduction

Questions:

- Who *does* influence foreign policy in the US, how, and why?
- Who *should* influence foreign policy in a democracy?

9/6: Research and Writing I

Discussion of paper organization and style, the schedule for handing in drafts, and potential paper topics.

9/11: The Monroe Doctrine and Early US-Latin American Relations

Readings:

- LaRosa and Mora, readings 2 (Josiah Strong), 4 (Frederick Pike), 5 (Elihu Root) and 6 (Dexter Perkins)
- Eldon Kenworthy, *America/Américas: Myth in the Making of US Policy Toward Latin America*, pages 1-22 (1995). (Website)
- Samuel Huntington. "American Ideals versus American Institutions." *Political Science Quarterly* 97(1) (1982). **(Read only to page 23.)** (Website)

Questions:

- To what extent do you think that Strong's claims resonate among Americans today? What impact did/do those views have on foreign policy?
- Assume Pike is correct about the views of 19th-century Americans. To what extent do contemporary Americans hold similar or different views? What impact did/do those views have on foreign policy?
- Which argument is more convincing, Kenworthy or Huntington? Why?
- How would Root respond to Kenworthy if he were here today?
- How would Perkins respond to Kenworthy if he were here today?

9/13 and 9/18: "Manifest Destiny" and Early US-Latin American Relations

Readings:

- John Mearshimer. "Anarchy and the Struggle for Power." In Robert Art and Robert Jervis (eds.), *International Politics: Enduring Concepts and Contemporary Issues* (7th ed., 2005), pages 50-60. (Web)
- Michael Desch. *When The Third World Matters: Latin America and US Grand Strategy*, pages 1-12 (1993). (Web)
- Thomas Hietala, *Manifest Design: Anxious Aggrandizement in Late Jacksonian America*, pages 132-134 and 152-172 ("Continentalism and the Color Line"). (Web)
- Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race*. Chapter 6, "The Crucible of Empire." (Web)

Questions:

- What is "manifest destiny?"
- How did strategic considerations affect early US foreign policy?
- How did racial considerations affect early US foreign policy?
- To what extent can "realism" serve as a theory to explain US foreign policy from the pre-Civil War era to the post-9/11 era?

1st Short Assignment: Explain the extent to which Frye Jacobson's argument can (or cannot) be applied to an issue in contemporary US-Latin American relations (pick an issue you find

interesting, you need not do any research). Your answer (two double-spaced pages) is due via email as a Word attachment by 10AM on 9/18. Bring a copy of your assignment to class, as well.

9/20: Research and Writing II

Discussion of on-line research, and of issues pertaining to plagiarism

9/25 and 9/27: Rise to Empire? US-Latin American Relations through 1898

Readings:

- Louis Pérez, *The War of 1898: The United States and Cuba in History and Historiography*. Chapter 3, “The Meaning of the Maine.” (Web)
- Walter LaFeber, *The New Empire: An Interpretation of American Expansion, 1860-1898*. Pages 1-24, 60-61, 102-112, 150-72, 370-406. (Web)
- Kristin Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars*. Chapters 2-3. (Web)

Questions:

- What is the definition of “imperialism?”
- To what extent does US policy during this era conform to any definition of imperialism?
- How does public opinion affect foreign policy?
- How do gender issues affect foreign policy?
- How do economic interests affect foreign policy?

2nd Short Assignment (group assignment): find newspaper and/or magazine articles about the 1900 US invasion of Panama. Taking Hoganson’s argument as a point of departure, answer the following questions: 1) To what extent were the statements of US government officials’ about the reasons for the invasion or media coverage of the invasion “gendered?” 2) Has US foreign policy changed since 1898? EACH GROUP should summarize its findings in three double-spaced pages (Only one report from each group is due). (Due Friday 9/28 by 5 p.m. via email.)

10/2: First midterm (in class, blue-book). **Also due:** one-page “thesis plus preliminary outline” demonstrating that you’ve picked a topic for your research paper, thought about ways to address the question, and done some initial research. The TA and I will evaluate and provide feedback.

10/4 and 10/9: The Cold War: Latin America as Part of Global Politics

Readings:

- LaRosa and Mora, reading 16 (Kennan)
- Michael Desch, 1993. *When The Third World Matters: Latin America and US Grand Strategy*, pp. 137-142, 146-149. (Web)
- Stephen Schlesinger and Stephen Kinzer, *Bitter Fruit: the Untold Story of the American Coup in Guatemala*. Chapters 5-7 and 15 (Web)

- Cole Blasier, 1985. *The Hovering Giant: US Responses to Revolutionary Change in Latin America*, pages 3-11 & 177-210. (Web)
- Jules Dubois, 1963. *Operation America: The Inside Story of the Communist Plan to Subvert Latin America*. Chs. 1, 17. (Web)

Questions:

- What is the “national interest” of the United States? Who decides this and how?
- To what extent was the communist threat “real” during the Cold War?
- What was the political impact of the “success” of US policy in Guatemala?
- What not-so-implicit theory of foreign policy do Schlesinger and Kinzer articulate?
- What theory of foreign-policy-making best explains Cold War US-Latin American relations? (Refer back to Kenworthy, LaFeber, Mearshimer, Hoganson, Desch...)

10/11: Cold War Continued: The Cuban Missile Crisis

Readings:

- Michael C. Desch, 1993. *When the Third World Matters: Latin America and United States Grand Strategy*. Chapter 4, “That Deep Mud in Cuba.” (Web)
- Graham Allison, *Essence of Decision* (2nd ed.), pages 2-7, 143-147, 255-263. (Web)
- Stephen Krasner, 1972. “Are Bureaucracies Important? (Or Allison Wonderland)” *Foreign Policy* 7: 159-179. (Web)
- Jorge Domínguez, 1999. “US-Latin American Relations During the Cold War and Its Aftermath.” In *The United States and Latin America: The New Agenda*, ed. Victor Bulmer-Thomas and James Dunkerley, pages 33-49. (Web)

Question:

- Which theory of foreign policy best explains the US response to the missile crisis? Why?
- To what extent can we apply the different theories presented this week to more contemporary issues, such as US-Venezuela relations, immigration policy, or US-Cuba relations?

10/16 & 10/18: Cold War Continued

Readings:

- LaRosa and Mora, Reading #20 (Pastor)
- Pastor, *Exiting the Whirlpool*, chapters 2-5.
- Jeanne Kirkpatrick, “U.S. Security and Latin America.” *Commentary*, January 1981, pp 29-40. (Web)
- John Norton Moore, *The Secret War in Central America: Sandinista Assault on World Order*. Pages 5-49. (Web)
- Thomas Carothers, 1991. “The Reagan Years: The 1980s.” in Abraham Lowenthal (ed.), *Exporting Democracy* (Web)

Questions:

- What “went wrong” with US foreign policy in Nicaragua in 1979?
- What explains the “bifurcated” policy of anticommunism and democracy promotion under President Reagan?
- Do you agree with Carother’s and Pastor’s conclusions? Why or why not?
- When is the use of force justified in foreign policy?
- When are covert operations justified in foreign policy?

3rd Short Assignment: Do you agree with the policy prescriptions of Kirkpatrick and Moore? Why or why not? (One page, due via email at 10 AM on Thursday 10/18)

10/23: Cold War Endgame and Aftermath

Readings:

- Pastor, *Exiting the Whirlpool*, chapters 6-7 & 11
- Abraham Lowenthal, 1987. *Partners in Conflict: The United States and Latin America*. Pages 48-65. (Web)

Questions:

- To what extent and when can the legislative branch influence foreign policy?
- To what extent was “democracy promotion” an element of US policy towards Latin America at any point during the Cold War?
- What difference has the end of the Cold War made for US-Latin American relations?
- Whose political, strategic, and/or economic interests have shifted since 1989, both within the US and elsewhere?

10/25: Second Midterm (in class, blue-book)

10/30 and 11/1: Contemporary US-Cuba Relations

Readings:

- William LeoGrande, 1998. “From Havana to Miami: U.S. Cuba Policy as a Two-Level Game.” *Journal of Inter-American Studies and World Affairs* 40(1): 67-86. (Web)
- Jorge Domínguez, 2005. “Cuba and the Pax Americana: US-Cuban Relations Post-1990.” In Dominguez and Kim, *Between Compliance and Conflict*, pages 193-217. (Web)
- Louis A. Pérez, 2002. “Fear and Loathing of Fidel Castro: Sources of US Policy Toward Cuba.” *Journal of Latin American Studies* 34(2): 227-254. (Web)
- Maxine Molyneux, 1999. “The Politics of the Cuban Diaspora in the United States,” in Victor Bulmer-Thomas and James Dunkerley, *The United States and Latin America: The New Agenda*, pages 287-310. (Web)

- Susan K. Purcell. “Why the Cuban Embargo Makes Sense in a Post-Cold War World.” In Kaufman Purcell and Rothkopf (eds.), *Cuba: The Contours of Change*. (Web)
- David Rothkopf. “A Call for a Post-Cold War Cuba Policy . . . Ten Years After the End of the Cold War.” In Kaufman Purcell and Rothkopf (eds.) (Web)
- Julia Sweig. “Fidel’s Final Victory.” *Foreign Affairs* January/February 2007. Available at <http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20070101faessay86104-p0/julia-e-sweig/fidel-s-final-victory.html>.

Questions:

- What are the origins of US policy towards Cuba?
- What explains the continuation of US policy towards Cuba after the Cold War has ended?
- What must occur for US-Cuba policy to change? Why?
- Should the US keep or end the embargo? What defines “success” for an embargo?

4th Short Assignment: Should the US continue or abandon its embargo of Cuba? Why? (Two pages maximum. Due in class Thursday 11/1)

11/6 & 11/8: Globalization and Trade Policy Alphabet Soup (1): NAFTA

Preliminary draft of entire research paper, incorporating our feedback, due by 3 PM Friday 11/9. You are required to attach a “revision memo” of one page to this draft. This memo will briefly describe how you conducted the research, how your thesis topic has evolved since you handed in the one-page outline, what you believe you need to change or augment before the final version is handed in, and lastly but most importantly, what sorts of guidance or feedback you would most appreciate from me and/or the TA.

Readings:

- Robert Pastor, *Exiting the Whirlpool*, pages 270-279.
- John R. MacArthur, 2000. *The Selling of “Free Trade”: NAFTA, Washington, and the Subversion of American Democracy*. Pages 227-249, 252-266, and 269-275. (Web)
- William P. Avery, “Domestic Interests in NAFTA Bargaining.” *Political Science Quarterly* 113(2): 281-305 (1998). (Web)
- United States Trade Representative, 2004. “NAFTA: A Decade of Strengthening Relationships.” (Web)
- Public Citizen, 2004. “The Ten-Year Track Record of NAFTA: US, Mexican and Canadian Farmers and Agriculture.” (Web.)
- Public Citizen, 2004. “The Ten-Year Track Record of NAFTA: US Workers’ Jobs, Wages and Economic Security.” (Web.)
- Elizabeth Becker *et al.*, 2003. “Free Trade Accord at Age 10: The Growing Pains are Clear.” *NYT*, December 27. (Web.)
- Joseph Stiglitz, 2004. “The Broken Promise of NAFTA.” *NYT*, January 6. (Web)
- Jorge Castañeda, 2004. “NAFTA at 10: A Plus or a Minus?” *Current History* (February), pages 51-55. (Web)

- Sidney Weintraub, 2004. "Scoring Free Trade: A Critique of the Critics." *Current History* (February), pages 56-60. (Web)

Questions:

- What is "free" trade? To what extent is trade "free" already?
- What impact does trade have on society, according to economic theory?
- What is "globalization?" Why is it good or bad?
- What are the arguments for and against NAFTA?
- Which theory of US foreign policy best explains how NAFTA was approved?
- What are the criteria for assessing the impact of NAFTA?
- What has been the economic and/or political impact of NAFTA on the US?
- What has been the economic and/or political impact of NAFTA on Mexico?

11/13 & 11/15: Trade Policy alphabet soup (2): CAFTA, FTAA, WTO...

All readings for this week are on the course Website.

- Vinod Aggarwal and Ralph Espach, 2004. "Diverging Trade Strategies in Latin America: A Framework for Analysis." In Aggarwal, Espach and Joseph Tulchin (eds.) *The Strategic Dynamics of Latin American Trade*, pages 3-35.
- Pedro da Motta Veiga, 2004. "Regional and Transregional Dimensions of Brazilian Trade Policy." In Aggarwal, Espach and Tulchin (eds.), pages 176-187.
- Joy Powell, "Sugar Beet Farmers on the Defensive." *Minneapolis Star-Tribune*, 12/17/03.
- Kevin Diaz, "The New Breadbasket." *Minneapolis Star-Tribune* 3/7/04.
- Kevin Diaz, "Tariffs, Subsidies are Epic Struggle." *Minneapolis Star-Tribune* 3/7/04.
- Kevin Diaz, "The New Frontier." *Minneapolis Star-Tribune* 3/8/04.
- Kevin Diaz, "Brazil's Cheap Labor Gives It an Edge." *Minneapolis Star-Tribune* 3/9/04.
- Elizabeth Becker and Todd Benson, "Brazil's Road to Victory Over US Cotton." *NYT*, 5/1/04.
- Simon Romero, "Brazil's Spreading Exports Worry Minnesota Farmers." *NYT*, 6/22/04.
- Todd Benson, "Brazil's Big Stake in Cotton Likely to Become Bigger." *NYT* 6/29/04.
- Todd Benson, "WTO Rules for Brazil in Sugar Dispute." *NYT*, 8/5/04.
- Council on Hemispheric Affairs, "The FTAA: A Recipe for Economic Disaster?" COHA Memorandum to the Press, 8/15/05.
- Daniel P. Erikson and Eric Jacobstein, "Free Trade Isn't Free of Partisan Politics." *Los Angeles Times*, 9/26/05.
- Eric Jacobstein, 2005. "Barely Squeezing Through? US Politics and the Central American Free Trade Agreement." *Focal Point: Spotlight on the Americas* 4(4).
- Council on Hemispheric Affairs, "An Eye for an Eye? Disregarding Fairness, Disconnecting from the FTAA." Memorandum to the Press, 2005.
- Tom Wright, "Europe Remains Divided on Farm Subsidies." *NYT*, 10/21/05.
- Alexei Barrionuevo, "Mountains of Corn and a Sea of Farm Subsidies." *NYT*, 11/9/05.
- Keith Bradsher, "Orthodoxies on Trade Worn Down in Marathon" *NYT*, 12/20/05.

Questions:

- What forces shape US agricultural policy?
- To what extent do multinational organizations like the WTO influence US trade policy?
- To what extent can any of our theories of foreign policy account for recent WTO outcomes?

11/20 and 11/27: Immigration Politics and Policy

Readings:

- Jeffrey Passel, 2005. "Estimates of the Size and Characteristics of the Undocumented Population." Pew Hispanic Center Research Report, March 21, 2005 (Web)
- Peter Andreas, 2003. "A Tale of Two Borders: US-Canada and US-Mexico Lines after 9/11." In Andreas and Biersteker, *The Rebordering of North America*, pages 1-16. (Web)
- Douglas Massey *et al.*, 2003. *Beyond Smoke and Mirrors: Mexican Immigration in an Era of Economic Integration*. Chapters 1-2, 6 (Web)
- Jeffrey Davidow, 2004. *The United States and Mexico: The Bear and the Porcupine*. Pages 207-232. (Web)
- George Borjas, "The Bush-Kennedy-McCain Sham(nesty). 5/22/07. Go to his blog: http://borjas.typepad.com/the_borjas_blog/2007/05/the_bushkennedy.html
- **Independent reading:** do a search, using the library's access to contemporary US newspapers, on President Bush's failed immigration reform plan (April through June 2007). See 5th short assignment below.

Questions:

- What are the main contours of US immigration policy?
- What drives public opinion about immigration?
- Recall the Frye Jacobson reading: reassess his argument in light of this week's readings.
- What forces drive the evolution of immigration policy?
- Who wins and loses from immigration, according to the readings?
- What is the impact of NAFTA on immigration and immigration policy?
- What is the impact of the "War on Terrorism" in immigration policy?
- What is the prospect for immigration policy reform today?

5th Short Assignment: Why did President Bush's 2007 immigration proposal fail? (One page maximum. Due by 11 AM Thursday)

11/29 and 12/4: Immigration Policy Continued - Effects of Immigration

Readings:

- Susan González Baker *et al.*, 1997. "Fiscal Impacts of Mexican Migration to the United States." In Bean *et al.*, pp. 145-73. (Web)
- Julian Simon. 1999. *The Economic Consequences of Immigration* (2nd ed.), chapters 5 and 15. (Web)

- George Borjas, 1997. "The Economic Impact of Mexican Immigration." In Barry Bosworth et al., *Coming Together? Mexico-United States Relations*. Washington: Brookings Institution Press. (Web)
- George Borjas, 2004. "Increasing the Supply of Labor Through Immigration: Measuring the Impact on Native-Born Workers." Center for Immigration Studies Backgrounder #4. (Web)
- Tomás Rivera Center, "How Much do Immigrants Really Cost?" Access at www.azteca.net/aztec/immigrat/howmuch2.html.
- Virginia Postrel, "Yes, Immigration May Lift Wages." *NYT* 11/3/05. (Web)

Questions:

- Compare the arguments that immigration can be weighed in terms of economic costs and benefits.
- Apart from economic costs or benefits, what other costs and/or benefits are there to immigration?

6th Short Assignment: Do an on-line search for at least one purported "fact" about the costs *or* benefits of *illegal* immigrants to the United States. Limit your search to material published in the last two years. Discuss (one page max.) problems with this "fact." Due in class 12/4.

12/6 and 12/11: US-Venezuela Relations and Contemporary US Policy towards Latin America

- William M. LeoGrande. "A Poverty of Imagination: George W. Bush's Policy in Latin America." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 39:355-385 (2007).
- Jorge Castañeda. "Latin America's Left Turn." *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2006. Available at <http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20060501faessay85302-p0/jorge-g-castaneda/latin-america-s-left-turn.html>.
- Peter Hakim. "Is Washington Losing Latin America?" *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2006. Available at <http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20060101faessay85105/peter-hakim/is-washington-losing-latin-%20%20%20%20%20america.html>.
- Richard Lapper. "Living with Hugo: US Policy Towards Hugo Chávez's Venezuela." Council on Foreign Relations CSR #20, November 2006. Available on-line.
- Javier Corrales. "Hugo Boss." *Foreign Policy*, January/February 2006. Available through UMN Library website.
- Michael Shifter. "In Search of Hugo Chávez." *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2006. Available at <http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20060501faessay85303/michael-shifter/in-search-of-hugo-ch-vez.html>.
- Bernardo Alvarez Herrera. "A Benign Revolution." *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2006. Available at <http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20060701faresponse85417/bernardo-alvarez-herrera/a-benign-revolution.html>.
- Warren Hoge. "Venezuelan's Diatribe at U.N. May Have Backfired." *New York Times* 10/25/06.
- Simon Romero. "Venezuela Rivals US in Aid to Bolivia." *New York Times* 2/23/07.

7th Short Assignment: imagine that you are a State Department staffer. Prepare a “policy recommendation” memo regarding US policy towards Venezuela. What should US policy be, and why? (2 pp.)

Questions:

- To extent did US policy towards Latin America change under Clinton from Reagan and Bush I? What theories of foreign policy help explain the extent of (or lack of) change?
- How, if at all, has US policy changed since Bush II came to office? What theories of foreign policy explain these changes?
- In what ways and to what extent has US policy toward Latin America changed since the Monroe Doctrine? Assess the various theories we have used to explain US policy: liberal, radical, realist, and other, and compare and contrast the ways in which policy might have changed.

Final draft of research paper due on 12/18 by 5 p.m!!!