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Diplomacy Syllabi

School of Diplomacy and International  
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Spring 2016

## **US Foreign Policy in Latin America and the Caribbean**

Benjamin Goldfrank

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**DIPL 6801: US Foreign Policy in Latin America and the Caribbean**  
**School of Diplomacy and International Relations, Spring 2016**  
**Thursdays, 2:00 – 4:10 pm, Aferi Hall (ST) 123**

Professor: Benjamin Goldfrank  
Office Hours: Tuesdays, 1:00 – 3:00, and by appointment  
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Course Summary:

This seminar examines the major foreign policy doctrines applied by the United States in Latin America from the Monroe Doctrine through the Good Neighbor Policy and the Alliance for Progress until the recent agendas combining the “War on Terror” and “Free Trade.” We will ask questions such as how US policy is shaped, why it has changed over time, which policies are most effective in securing mutually beneficial relationships, and what the policy options are with regard to key issues such as trade, immigration, drugs, and democracy promotion. The seminar focuses on developing analytical, writing, and presentational skills.

Requirements and Grading:

1. Class Participation (15 percent of course grade): Students are expected to attend all class sessions, to read all assigned materials prior to class, and to take part actively in discussions. The quality of the discussion will largely depend on your preparation.
2. Policy Memos (10 percent): Each week – except those weeks that you make a class presentation or turn in a paper – students write a memo of 1 or 2 pages that describes one of the main issues in the week’s readings and takes a position on that issue.
3. Two In-Class Presentations (9 and 19 percent): Presentation #1 should last 4-5 minutes; presentation #2 should last 8-10 minutes.
4. Three Policy Position Papers (9, 19, and 19 percent): Paper #1 should be 4-5 pages; papers #2&3 should be between 8 and 10 (double-spaced) pages. The first two should be based on the class presentations and are due one week after the presentations. The final paper should analyze relations between the US and one particular country or set of countries (for example, Central America, the Andes, the Caribbean) and should offer policy prescriptions to improve relations generally or address a specific bilateral or multilateral issue. The final paper *may* include references from class readings but *must* include other sources as well.

*Presentations/Papers*

The presentations and papers should address an issue in the selected week’s readings and make an argument for the United States government to adopt a specific policy regarding that issue. The issues may be as broad or narrow as those presented in the readings, from drugs, security, human rights, trade, and democracy promotion to the support for the coup in Guatemala in 1954, the invasion of the Dominican Republic in 1965, and the current policy toward Colombia, Venezuela, or Bolivia. The presentations and papers may include both theoretical ideas from the international relations and/or foreign policy fields as well as case evidence, referring extensively to class readings. Outside research is permitted and encouraged as a supplement to class readings, but not required. (Samples of policy position papers are available on Blackboard.)

### Important Notes:

Plagiarism and other forms of academic dishonesty will be reported to the administration, and may result in a lowered or failing grade for the course and up to possible dismissal from the School of Diplomacy. See university and school standards for academic conduct here: <http://www.shu.edu/offices/student-life/community-standards/community-standards.cfm>  
<http://www.shu.edu/academics/diplomacy/academic-conduct.cfm>.

Use of electronic devices for any purpose other than taking notes is not appropriate during class time. It distracts other students and the professor and will result in a lowered grade.

It is the policy and practice of Seton Hall University to promote inclusive learning environments. If you have a documented disability you may be eligible for reasonable accommodations in compliance with University policy, the Americans with Disabilities Act, Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act, and/or the New Jersey Law against Discrimination. Please note, students are not permitted to negotiate accommodations directly with professors. To request accommodations or assistance, please self-identify with the Office for Disability Support Services (DSS), Duffy Hall, Room 67 at the beginning of the semester. For more information or to register for services, contact DSS at (973) 313-6003 or by e-mail at [DSS@shu.edu](mailto:DSS@shu.edu).

### Required Readings:

All required course readings are on Blackboard except for two books available at the bookstore: *U.S. and Latin American Relations* by Gregory Weeks (Wiley 2015), and *The School of the Americas: Military Training and Political Violence* by Lesley Gill (Duke 2004). Required readings denoted with ●; recommended readings denoted with \* (or \*\*)

### **Weeks 1-5: History and Theory**

#### Week 1 – Thu, Jan 14: Introductory Meeting & Film (“Harvest of Empire”)

- \* Sergio Amaral, “US-Latin America Relations Over the Last Decade,” in Inter-American Dialogue, *A Decade of Change Political, Economic, and Social Developments in Western Hemisphere Affairs* (2011) pp. 89-111.
- \* Mark Sullivan, “Latin America and the Caribbean: Key Issues for the 114<sup>th</sup> Congress,” (January 28, 2015) pp. 1-22; skim 22-33.

#### Week 2 – Jan 21: From Independence and the Monroe Doctrine to Panama’s Canal

- Gregory Weeks, “Ch. 1: The Theoretical Context of U.S. and Latin American Relations,” and “Ch. 2: The Roots of U.S. and Latin American Relations,” in *US and Latin American Relations* (2015).
- Otto Reich, “Testimony to House Committee on Foreign Affairs” (March 25, 2014), pp. 1-13.
- Richard Feinberg, Emily Miller, and Harold Trinkunas, “Better Than You Think: Reframing Inter-American relations,” Brookings Institution Policy Brief (March 2015), pp. 1-19.
- Sean Burges and Fabrício Chagas Bastos, “Latin American Diplomacy,” in Kerr, Constantinou, and Sharp, eds., *The Sage Handbook of Diplomacy* (forthcoming 2016).
- \* Frank Mora and Nicholas Zimmerman, “The Top Seven Myths of U.S. Defense Policy Toward the Americas,” *Military Review* (Sept.-Oct. 2010), pp. 2-10.
- \* Michel Gobat, “The Invention of Latin America: A Transnational History of Anti-Imperialism, Democracy, and Race,” *American Historical Review* (December 2013), pp. 1345-1375.

### Week 3 – Jan 28: From the Roosevelt Corollary to the Good Neighbor

- Weeks, “Ch. 3: The Rise of U.S. Hegemony,” and “Ch. 4. The Era of Intervention and the Good Neighbor” (2015).
- Eric Paul Roorda, “Genocide Next Door: The Good Neighbor Policy, the Trujillo Regime, and the Haitian Massacre of 1937,” *Diplomatic History*, 20:3 (1996), p. 301-319.
- Paul Dosal, “The Latinamericanization of American Foreign Policy,” *Journal of Developing Societies*, 21:3-4 (2005), pp. 253-269.
- \* Max Paul Friedman and Tom Long, “Soft Balancing in the Americas: Latin American Opposition to U.S. Intervention, 1898-1936,” *International Security* 40:1 (Summer 2015), pp. 120-156.

### Week 4: Feb 4: The Cold War, the Cuban Revolution, and the Alliance for Progress

- Weeks, “Ch. 5: The Early Cold War Period,” and “6. The Cuban Revolution,” (2015).
- Stephen Streeter, “Interpreting the 1954 U.S. Intervention in Guatemala: Realist, Revisionist, and Postrevisionist Perspectives,” *The History Teacher*, 34:1 (Nov. 2000), pp. 61-74.
- Abraham Lowenthal, “‘Liberal,’ ‘Radical,’ and ‘Bureaucratic’ Perspectives on U.S. Latin American Policy: The Alliance for Progress in Retrospect,” in Julio Cotler and Richard Fagen, eds., *Latin America and the United States: The Changing Political Realities* (1974), pp. 212-235.
- \*\* Alan Luxemburg, “Did Eisenhower Push Castro into the Arms of the Soviets?” *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*, 30:1 (Spring, 1988), pp. 37-71.
- \* James Siekmeyer, “Trailblazer Diplomat: Bolivian Ambassador Víctor Andrade Uzquiano’s Efforts to Influence U.S. Policy, 1944–1962,” *Diplomatic History*, 28:3 (June 2004), pp. 385-406.
- \* Alan McPherson, “Misled by Himself: What the Johnson Tapes Reveal about the Dominican Intervention in 1965,” *Latin American Research Review*, 38:2 (June 2003), pp. 127-146.

### Week 5 – Feb 11: Dictatorships, Counterinsurgencies, and Human Rights

- Weeks, “Ch. 7: The Communist Threat and U.S. Intervention,” (2015).
- J. Patrice McSherry, “Death Squads as Parallel Forces: Uruguay, Operation Condor, and the United States,” *Journal of Third World Studies*, 24:1 (Spring 2007), pp. 13-52.
- Richard Fagen, “The Carter Administration and Latin America: Business as Usual?” *Foreign Affairs*, 57 (1978), pp. 652-669.
- Jeanne Kirkpatrick, “U.S. Security and Latin America,” *Commentary* (Jan. 1981), pp. 29-40.
- \*\* Hal Brands, “Reform, democratization, and counter-insurgency: evaluating the US experience in Cold War-era Latin America,” *Small Wars & Insurgencies* (May 2011), pp. 290-321.
- \* Lawrence Whitehead, “Explaining Washington’s Central America Policies,” *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 15 (1983), pp. 321-363.

## **Weeks 6-14: Contemporary Relations and Issues**

### Week 6 – Feb 18: Promoting Democracy and Human Rights

- Weeks, “Ch. 11. Human Rights and Democracy,” (2015).
- Luis da Vinha, “Revisiting the Carter Administration’s Human Rights Policy: Understanding Traditional Challenges for Contemporary Foreign Policy,” *Revista de Paz y Conflictos* N. 7 (2014), pp. 99-122.
- Morris Morley and Chris McGillion, “Soldiering on: The Reagan Administration and Redemocratisation in Chile, 1983-1986,” *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, 25:1 (Jan. 2006), pp. 1–22.
- Neil Burron, “Unpacking US Democracy Promotion in Bolivia: From Soft Tactics to Regime Change,” *Latin American Perspectives* 39:1 (Jan 2012), pp. 115-132.
- William Robinson, “Promoting Polyarchy: 20 Years Later,” *International Relations* 27:2 (June 2013), pp. 228-234.
- \* Peter Kornbluh and Marian Schlotterbeck, “How U.S. President Reagan Broke With Chile’s Pinochet,” *Santiago Times* (Nov 30, 2010).
- \* National Security Council Meeting, (Nov 18, 1986).

### Week 7 – Feb 25: Economic Relations

- Weeks, “Ch. 8. Free Trade and Neoliberal Reform,” (2015).
- Andy Baker and David Cupery, “Anti-Americanism in Latin America: Economic Exchange, Foreign Policy Legacies, and Mass Attitudes toward the Colossus of the North,” *Latin American Research Review* 48:2 (2013), pp. 106-130.
- Anabel Gonzalez, “Revitalizing the US Trade Agenda in Latin America: Building on the FTA Platform,” *Journal of International Economic Law* (June 2009), 5 pgs.
- Ángel Gurría, “Free Trade: A Ticket to a Bigger Party,” *World Policy Journal* (Winter 2015-2016), pp. 51-56.
- Public Citizen, “The Rising Use of the Trade Pact Sales Pitch of Last Resort: TPP Foreign Policy Arguments Mimic False Claims Made for Past Deals,” Public Citizen’s Global Trade Watch (April 2014), pp. 1-19.
- \*\* Nicola Phillips, “U.S. Power and the Politics of Economic Governance in the Americas,” *Latin American Politics & Society*, 47:4 (Winter 2005), pp. 1-25.
- \*\* Matías Vernengo, “The Colombia FTA: Only Corporations Win,” *NACLA: Report on the Americas* (May/June 2011), pp. 47-48.

\*\*\*\*\*No Class Thursday, March 3 – Spring Break\*\*\*\*\*

### Week 8 – March 10: The School of the Americas

- Lesley Gill, *The School of the Americas: Military Training and Political Violence* (2004). Read Prologue, Chapters 1-6 (end on p. 162), and Conclusion. Chapter 8 is optional.

Week 9 – March 17: From the War on Drugs to the War on Terror (Andes)

- Weeks, “Ch. 12: Drug Trafficking and Terrorism,” (2015).
- Gill, “Chapter 7: Disordering the Andes,” *The School of the Americas*, pp. 163-197.
- Robert Killebrew, Matthew Irvine, and David Glaser, “A New US-Colombian Relationship: Transnational Crime and US National Security,” *Orbis* (Spring 2012), pp. 233-248.
- Tom Long, “Peace in Colombia? Lessons from the Failed 1999-2002 Talks,” *Latin America Goes Global* (December 16, 2015), pp. 1-5.
- Bruce Bagley, “Organized Crime in the Americas: Major Trends in the Twenty-First Century,” Woodrow Wilson Center Update on the Americas (August 2012), pp. 1-14.
- \* Paul Gootenberg, “Cocaine’s Long March North, 1900-2010,” *LAPS* (2012), pp. 159-180.

**\*\*No Class Thursday, March 24 – Holy Thursday\*\***

Week 10 – March 31: More Drug Wars (Mexico and Central America); and Arms Race?

- Richard Downie, “Critical Strategic Decisions in Mexico: the Future of US/Mexican Defense Relations,” *Strategic Issues in US/Latin American Relations 1:1*, Center for Hemispheric Defense Studies, National Defense University (July 2011), pp. 5-27.
- Ami Carpenter, “Changing Lenses: Conflict Analysis and Mexico’s ‘Drug War,’” *Latin American Politics & Society* 55:3 (Fall 2013), pp. 139-166.
- Héctor Silva-Ávalos, “The United States and Central America’s Northern Tier: The Ongoing Disconnect,” *Inter-American Dialogue Working Paper* (March 2014), pp. 1-22.
- Rafael Duarte Villa and Brigitte Weiffen, “South American Re-armament: From Balancing to Symbolizing Power,” *Contemporary Security Policy* 35:1 (2014), pp.138-162.
- \* James Cockayne and Summer Walker, “What Comes After the War on Drugs – Flexibility, Fragmentation or Principled Pluralism?” *United Nations University Policy Report* (November 2015), read pp. i-v and 1-10. Optional: Chapters 2-4 and Conclusion.

Week 11 – April 7: International Institutions, Democracy, and Peace

- Maxwell Cameron, “After the Democratic Charter’s First Decade: Achievements, Limitations, and Next Steps,” *Latin American Policy* (June 2012), pp. 58-73.
- Thomas Legler, “The Democratic Charter in Action: Reflections on the Honduran Crisis,” *Latin American Policy* (June 2012), pp. 74-87.
- Nicolas Lemay-Hébert, “Resistance in the Time of Cholera: The Limits of Stabilization through Securitization in Haiti,” *International Peacekeeping*, 21:2 (April 2014) pp. 198–213.
- Pia Ruggirozzi and Jean Grugel, “Regional governance and legitimacy in South America: the meaning of UNASUR,” *International Affairs* 91:4 (July 2015), pp. 781-797.
- \* Todd Gordon and Jeffery Webber, “The Overthrow of a Moderate and the Birth of a Radicalizing Resistance: The Coup against Manuel Zelaya and the History of Imperialism and Popular Struggle in Honduras,” in Webber & Carr, eds., *The New Latin American Left: Cracks in the Empire* (2013), pp. 357-382.

#### Week 12 – April 14: Immigration

- Weeks, “Ch. 10: Latin American Immigration and U.S. Policy,” (2015).
- Samuel Huntington, “The Hispanic Challenge,” *Foreign Policy* (Mar/Apr 2004), pp. 30-45.
- Scott McConnell, “Not So Huddled Masses: Multiculturalism and Foreign Policy,” *World Affairs* (Spring 2009), pp. 39-50.
- Marta Tienda and Susana Sánchez, “Latin American Immigration to the United States,” *Daedalus* 142:3 (Summer 2013), pp. 48-64.
- Manuel Orozco and Julia Yansura, “Chapter 2: Understanding Central American Migration: The Crisis of Central American Child Migrants in Context,” in Orozco and Yansura, *Confronting the Challenges of Migration and Development in Central America*, Inter-American Dialogue (November 2015), pp. 16-26.

#### Week 13 – April 21: Cuba

- Lars Schoultz, “Benevolent Domination: The Ideology of U.S. Policy Toward Cuba,” *Cuban Studies* Vol. 41 (2010), pp. 1-19.
- Susan Kaufman Purcell, Prepared Statement Before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs (March 2008), pp. 1-6.
- Roger Noriega, “Obama’s Gambit Misunderstands Cuban Reality,” AEI Research (February 2015), pp. 1-20.
- William Leogrande, “Normalizing US-Cuba relations: escaping the shackles of the past,” *International Affairs* 91:3 (May 2015), pp. 473-488.
- Isa Mendes, “Mending bridges: the Unfinished Business of the US and Cuba,” BRICS Policy Center Policy Brief 5:6 (April-May 2015), pp. 1-18.
- \* Schwartzman, Kathleen, “Can International Boycotts Transform Political Systems? The Cases of Cuba and South Africa,” *Latin American Politics and Society*, 43:2 (Summer 2001), pp. 115-146.
- \* Susan Eckstein, “The Personal Is Political: The Cuban Ethnic Electoral Policy Cycle,” *Latin American Politics and Society*, 51:1 (Spring 2009) pp. 119-148.

#### Week 14 – April 28: The Return of the Latin American Left and the US Response

- Weeks, “Ch. 9: Challenge to US Hegemony,” (2015).
- Jorge Castañeda, “Latin America’s Left Turn,” *Foreign Affairs*, 85:3 (May/June 2006), pp. 28-43.
- Kevin Young, “The Good, the Bad, and the Benevolent Interventionist: US Press and Intellectual Distortions of the Latin American Left,” *Latin American Perspectives*, 40:3 (May 2013), pp. 207-225.
- Daniel Hellinger, “Obama and the Bolivarian Agenda for the Americas,” *Latin American Perspectives* 38:4 (July 2011), pp. 46-62.
- Peter Hakim, “The Future of US-Brazil relations: confrontation, cooperation or detachment?” *International Affairs* 90:5 (September 2014), pp. 1161-1180.
- Michael Shifter, “Ch. 9: The United States and Venezuela: Managing a Schizophrenic Relationship,” in Wiseman, ed., *Isolate or Engage: Adversarial States, US Foreign Policy, and Public Diplomacy* (2015), pp. 259-279.
- \* Detlef Nolte, “The Dragon in the Backyard: US Visions of China’s Relations toward Latin America,” GIGA Focus International, No. 5 (2013), pp. 1-7.

**Tuesday, May 10: Final Papers Due by Noon (via email and hard copy)**

Potential sources for final papers:

Journals: *Latin American Research Review*, *Latin American Politics and Society*, *Journal of Latin American Studies*, *Latin American Perspectives*, *NACLA: Report on the Americas*, *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, *The Latin Americanist*, *Comparative Politics*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *World Politics*, *Politics and Society*, *Journal of Democracy*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*

Websites:

Daily News Round-Up in Latin America: <http://latinamericadailybriefing.blogspot.com/>

Latin American Politics Blog: <http://weeksnotice.blogspot.com>

Lots of Latin America links: <http://lanic.utexas.edu/>

Primary Student Learning Outcomes:

By the end of the semester, students should have acquired knowledge and understanding of: key concepts, models, theories, and debates involved in the study of contemporary international relations and diplomacy; the interaction between politics and economics in the international system; a particular region of the world (Latin America and the Caribbean); and prevailing global issues. Students should have developed the skills to: analyze complex situations and synthesize information; and communicate effectively in oral and written forms. Students should be able to deploy a global perspective to: recognize and understand differences among a diversity of cultures and viewpoints; and interact effectively with people of other cultures, backgrounds, and viewpoints.