

LATIN AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS – NS 3520

Naval Postgraduate School – Winter Quarter 2001
Tues. & Thurs. 1-3pm – 388 Glasgow Hall

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Overview

This course surveys the scope and dimensions of Latin American international relations. It is organized as a reading seminar, and its objectives are to provide substantive grounding in the history, theoretical approaches, and central issues of Latin American international relations.

This seminar presumes your familiarity with Latin American history and politics, and with theories of international relations and international political economy. It is designed to complement Introduction to International Relations (NS3024) and Latin American Security Affairs (NS4560), by building on the former course and preparing you for the latter one.

The course is divided into six parts. First is a broad overview of the history, current status, and prospective future of inter-American relations. The second provides an historical overview of U.S.-Latin American relations, and considers efforts to theorize about the international relations of the developing world. Security and regional cooperation are the foci of the third part of the course, and the readings seek to explain the relative absence of inter-state war in South America, and the institutional development of inter-American relations.

The fourth part of the course is concerned with international political economy. It considers the impact of globalization, and the prospect that economic integration offers an effective means of international insertion for Latin American countries. It examines Mercosur's trajectory in depth, and Latin American economic relations with North America, Europe, and the Asian/Pacific region. The fifth section of the seminar considers the main diplomatic institutions of the Americas, and examines in detail international efforts to promote the consolidation of democratic governance among Latin American states. The final part of the seminar reviews issues in contemporary U.S.-Latin American relations.

Evaluation

Your final grade will be based on four assignments, as follows: research paper 60%; paper briefing 20%; discussion questions 10%; and seminar participation 10%. Extensions beyond the deadlines listed will be considered only for reasons that are beyond students' control (e.g., family or other emergencies). Inform me in advance by telephone or email if for any reason you believe that you may require an extension.

Assignments

Paper proposal and annotated bibliography. Although not included in the seminar grade, you are required to submit a two-page proposal and an annotated bibliography at the beginning of class on 25 January. This proposal will present the research question to be addressed in your paper. It should not present conclusions, but rather sketch your line of analysis and describe resources you will employ in developing your paper. The bibliography must include at least six sources beyond those assigned here, and indicate how each will be used in your analysis.

Research paper: The core assignment for this seminar is a 20-25 pp. research paper on a topic germane to course, which is due at the beginning of class on 22 March. The paper should examine a significant theoretical, historical, or policy-relevant question in Latin American international relations. I will evaluate the paper's organization, argumentation, and data sources against a high academic standard, and the paper must incorporate a wide range of sources beyond those required for this seminar. Research and writing conducted for the paper may be used for – but cannot be drawn from – a departmental thesis. For insightful guidance on organizing your paper and making your argument persuasively, see: Teresa Pelton Johnson, "Writing for *International Security*: A Contributor's Guide," *International Security* 16(2) Fall 1991: 171-80, (<http://ksgnotes1.harvard.edu/BCSIA/Library.nsf/wwwdocsname/ISWriteForIS>).

Paper briefing: Each student will present the executive summary of their paper for discussion by seminar participants. The briefing must not exceed 15 minutes, and will be evaluated for clarity, conciseness, and professionalism. We will design the briefing schedule collaboratively, so that student presentations may coincide with complementary themes in the course readings. For guidance on preparing effective briefings, you may find it useful to review: Communications Consulting Group and Publications Department, RAND, *Guidelines for Preparing Briefings*, (RAND: Santa Monica, CA, 1996), (<http://www.rand.org/publications/CP/CP269/CP269.pdf>).

Discussion questions: Each student will prepare and present a brief, 5-10 minute introduction to one topic on the syllabus. This presentation should summarize key issues examined in the readings, and introduce a written set of four to seven questions designed to guide discussion for that seminar. These questions should be disseminated to participants in advance, ideally via email, or in a prior class meeting. Your objective in this exercise is to clearly formulate the key questions, identify any important omissions, and highlight differences in analysis or interpretation among the readings.

Seminar participation: You are expected to participate actively in seminar discussions and demonstrate that you have read – and reflected upon – the course readings.

This course will be conducted entirely in English, and all required readings are likewise in English. However, where appropriate, you are strongly encouraged to use Spanish- and Portuguese-language sources in your research. The list of online resource below may be useful in this regard. To facilitate your access to these resources and to the seminar readings online, you will also receive a copy of this syllabus via email.

Online Resources

News

Students should follow contemporary developments in Latin American foreign affairs. Although updated irregularly, the Center for International Policy offers focused coverage of Latin America regional security and foreign affairs (<http://www.us.net/cip/newnote.htm>). *Miami Herald* offers coverage of Latin American news (<http://www.herald.com/content/today/news/americas/content.htm>); and its Spanish-language companion *El Nuevo Herald* is even better (<http://www.elherald.com/>). The Brazilian foreign ministry maintains an electronic clippings service of national and international news stories in Portuguese (<http://www.mre.gov.br/acs/clipping/>). The DoD *Current News Early Bird* (<http://ebird.dtic.mil/>) offers the best source on U.S. policy, but with sparse coverage of Latin America. Canadian Forces College runs a similar service (<http://www.cfc.dnd.ca/spotlight.en.html>), with very good coverage of Canadian and European reports. LANIC organizes news reports by “hot topic” (<http://www.lanic.utexas.edu/info/newsroom>), and identifies news sources by country (<http://info.lanic.utexas.edu/la/region/news>).

Governmental, Regional, and International Institutions

Government Agencies, and Regional and International Organizations – SELA

<http://www.lanic.utexas.edu/project/sela/links.htm>

Latin American Embassies in Washington, DC

<http://www.clac.state.mn.us/english/bdemb.htm>

Research Centers in Latin America

http://www.staff.uiuc.edu/~g-munck/research_centers.html

Data, Documents, and Maps

Latin American Network Information Center (LANIC) – University of Texas at Austin

<http://www.lanic.utexas.edu/>

Handbook of Latin American Studies – Library of Congress

<http://memory.loc.gov/hlas/>

Latin America Virtual Library – American University School of International Service

<http://www.american.edu/academic.depts/sis/democracyla/democpj.htm>

Political Database of the Americas – Georgetown University/OAS

<http://www.georgetown.edu/pdba/>

Economic Data – Inter-American Development Bank

<http://www.iadb.org/int/sta/ENGLISH/staweb/index.htm>

Economic Data – Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe (CEPAL)

<http://www.cepal.org/estadisticas/>

Latin America & Caribbean Government Documents Project – Cornell University

<http://lib1.library.cornell.edu/coldev/ladocshome.html>

Electronic Briefing Books – National Security Archives

<http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/>

Maps of the Americas – Perry-Castañeda Collection, University of Texas at Austin

http://www.lib.utexas.edu/Libs/PCL/Map_collection/americas.html

U.S. Government

Bureau of Western Hemisphere Affairs, U.S. Department of State

<http://www.state.gov/www/regions/wha/index.html>

Official U.S. Documents, Speeches, and Resources – United States Information Agency

<http://usinfo.state.gov/regional/ar/ar.htm>

Country Background Notes – U.S. Department of State

http://www.state.gov/www/background_notes/whabgnhp.html

Required Materials

The readings that are not available online are on reserve in the NPS library. The following books are available at the NPS bookstore:

- Cottam, Martha L. 1994. *Images and Intervention: U.S. Policies in Latin America*. Pittsburgh, PA. University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Farer, Tom, ed. 1996. *Beyond Sovereignty: Collectively Defending Democracy in the Americas*. Baltimore and London. Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Fishlow, Albert, and James Jones, eds. 1999. *The United States and the Americas: A Twenty-First Century View*. New York. W.W. Norton.
- Kacowicz, Arie M. 1998. *Zones of Peace in the Third World: South America and West Africa in Comparative Perspective*. Albany, NY. State University of New York.
- Neuman, Stephanie, ed. 1998. *International Relations Theory and the Third World*. New York. St. Martin's.
- Roett, Riordan, ed. 1999. *Mercosur: Regional Integration, World Markets*. Boulder, CO. Lynne Rienner.
- Smith, Peter H. 2000. *Talons of the Eagle: Dynamics of U.S.-Latin American Relations*, 2nd Ed. New York. Oxford University Press.

I: INTRODUCTION

Week 1 (11 January)

Introduction to the Seminar

- Exchange background and contact information
- Review course objectives, requirements, and syllabus
- Observations on the study of Latin American international relations
- Discuss *A Time for Decisions: U.S. Policy in the Western Hemisphere*, (Washington, DC: Inter-American Dialogue, 14 December 2000), (<http://www.iadialog.org/publications/plenary2000.pdf>).

Week 2 (16 & 18 January)

Inter-American Relations: Past, Present, and Future

- Atkins, G. Pope. 1995. "The Latin American Regional Subsystem." Pp. 22-48 in *Latin America in the International Political System*, 3rd ed. Boulder, CO. Westview.
- Muñoz, Heraldo. 1996. "The Dominant Themes in Latin American Foreign Relations: An Introduction." Pp. 1-16 in *Latin American Nations in World Politics*, 2nd ed. Heraldo Muñoz and Joseph S. Tulchin, eds. Boulder, CO. Westview.
- Fishlow, Albert. 1999. "The Western Hemisphere Relation: Quo Vadis?" Pp. 15-35 in *The United States and the Americas: A Twenty-First Century View*. Albert Fishlow and James Jones, eds. New York. W.W. Norton.
- Dominguez, Jorge J. June 1999. "The Future of Inter-American Relations." Washington, DC. Inter-American Dialogue. (http://www.iadialog.org/Future_of_IAR.html).

II: HISTORY & THEORY HEGEMONY, IMAGES, AND EUROCENTRISM

Historical Perspective

- Smith, Peter H. 2000. *Talons of the Eagle: Dynamics of U.S.-Latin American Relations*, 2nd Ed. New York. Oxford University Press. Chapters 1-8 (i.e., Part I and II), and "Conclusion."
- Horowitz, Irving Louis. Spring 1997. "Mythologizing Latin America/Demonizing the United States." *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 39(1): 163-75.

Week 3 (23 & 25 January)

Paper Proposal and Annotated Bibliography due 25 January

Theoretical Approaches

- Cottam, Martha L. 1994. *Images and Intervention: U.S. Policies in Latin America*. Pittsburgh, PA. University of Pittsburgh Press. Chapters 1, 2, 3, "Conclusion," and "Appendix."
- Neuman, Stephanie, ed. 1998. *International Relations Theory and the Third World*. New York. St. Martin's. Chapters by Neuman (1), Ayooob (2), Escudé (3), Holsti (5), and Buzan (8).
- Hey, Jeanne A.K. 1998. "Is There a Latin American Foreign Policy?" *Mershon International Studies Review* 42: 106-116.

III: SECURITY INTERSTATE PEACE AND REGIONAL COOPERATION

Week 4 (30 January & 1 February)

Interstate Peace in South America

- Kacowicz, Arie M. 1998. Chapters 1, 2, and 3 (pp. 1-124), and Tables 5.1-5.7 in Chapter 5 (pp. 180-81, 184-85, 192, 199); in *Zones of Peace in the Third World: South America and West Africa in Comparative Perspective*. Albany, NY. State University of New York Press.
- Barletta, Michael. 1999. "Nuclear Security and Diversionary Peace: Nuclear Confidence-Building in Argentina and Brazil." *National Security Studies Quarterly* (Summer 1999): 19-38, (<http://www.georgetown.edu/sfs/programs/nssp/nssq/barletta2.pdf>).
- Barletta, Michael. 2000. "Insights and Inspiration for Policy." Pp. 330-38 in *Ambiguity, Autonomy, and the Atom: Emergence of the Argentine-Brazilian Nuclear Regime*. Ph.D. dissertation. University of Wisconsin-Madison.
- Hurrell, Andrew. 1998. "An Emerging Security Community in South America?" Pp. 228-64 in *Security Communities*. Emanuel Adler and Michael Barnett, eds. Cambridge. Cambridge University Press.

Week 5 (6 & 8 February)

Interstate Cooperation in the Americas

- Centeno, Miguel Angel. 1999. "War in Latin America: The Peaceful Continent?" Pp. 121-36 in *Latin America: An Interdisciplinary Approach*. Julio López-Arias and Gladys M. Varona-Lacey, eds. New York. Peter Lang.
- Child, Jack. 1990. "The Status of South American Geopolitical Thinking." Pp. 53-85 in *South America into the 1990s: Evolving Relationships*. G. Pope Atkins, ed. Boulder, CO. Westview.

- Peceny, Mark. 1994. "The Inter-American System as a Liberal 'Pacific Union.'" *Latin American Research Review* 29(3): 188-201.
- Corrales, Javier, and Richard E. Feinberg. 1999. "Regimes of Cooperation in the Western Hemisphere: Power, Interests, and Intellectual Traditions." *International Studies Quarterly* 43(1): 1-36.
- Hollist, W. Ladd, and Daniel L. Nielson. 1998. "Taking Stock of Inter-American Bonds: Approaches to Explaining Cooperation in the Western Hemisphere." *Mershon International Studies Review* 42(2): 257-81.
- Arias Sánchez, Oscar. 1997. "Ten Years After Esquipulas: Looking Toward the Future." *ACUNS Reports and Papers* (4), (http://www.yale.edu/acuns/NEW_publications/Arias.Lecture.Eng.pdf).
- Klepak, Hal. 1999. "Cross-Cultural Dimensions of the Non-Proliferation and Arms Control Dialogue in Latin America." Pp. 159-88 in *Culture and Security: Multilateralism, Arms Control, and Security Building*. Keith R. Krause, ed. London and Portland, OR. Frank Cass.

IV: POLITICAL ECONOMY GLOBALIZATION, ECONOMIC INTEGRATION, & INTERREGIONAL RELATIONS

Week 6 (13 & 15 February)

Globalization and Latin American Economic Integration

- Ferrer, Aldo. January-June 1998. "Globalization: Fact Versus Fiction." *Capítulos* 53. (http://www.lanic.utexas.edu/project/sela/eng_capitulos/rcapin539.htm).
- Tussie, Diana. January-June 1998. "Multilateralism's New Approach in the Global Economy." *Capítulos* 53. (http://www.lanic.utexas.edu/project/sela/eng_capitulos/rcapin532.htm).
- Vacchino, Juan Mario, and Telasco Pulga. January-June 1998. "Integration Agreements and the Latin American Community of Nations." *Capítulos* 53. (http://www.lanic.utexas.edu/project/sela/eng_capitulos/rcapin537.htm).
- Permanent Secretariat, Sistema Económico Latinoamericano (SELA). January-April 1999. "Some Thoughts on the Dynamics on Latin America's and the Caribbean's External Relations." *Capítulos* 55. (http://www.lanic.utexas.edu/project/sela/eng_capitulos/rcapin55-1.htm).
- International Trade and Development Finance Division, Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLAC). November 1999. "The New Multilateral Trade Negotiations: A Challenge for Latin America and the Caribbean." Paper prepared by ECLAC for the third Ministerial Conference of the World Trade Organization (WTO), Seattle, 30 November-3 December 1999. (<http://www.eclac.org/publicaciones/SecretariaEjecutiva/7/lcl1277/lcl1277i.pdf>).

Week 7 (20 & 22 February)

EU-Latin American Relations

- Whitehead, Lawrence. 1999. "The European Union and the Americas." Pp. 51-71 in *The United States and Latin America: The New Agenda*. Victor Bulmer-Thomas and James Dunkerley, eds. Cambridge, MA, and London. Harvard University Press.
- Ruiz-Giménez, Guadalupe. January-April 1999. "The European Union and Latin America: A Strategic Association for the XXI Century." *Capítulos* 55. (http://www.lanic.utexas.edu/project/sela/eng_capitulos/rcapin55-5.htm).

Asia/Pacific-Latin American Relations

Gutiérrez, Hernán. 1999. "Asian Conglomerates and Regionalism in the Southern Cone of Latin America." Pp. 33-53 in *Open Regionalism: Strengthening the Net. Perspectives from APEC Countries*. Francisco Rojas Aravena and Paz Buttehahl, eds. Santiago. FLACSO-Chile/Vancouver Institute for the Americas.

NAFTA and the FTAA

Van Grassteck, Craig. January-June 1998. "The Fast Track: A Long and Winding Road." *Capítulos* 53. (http://www.lanic.utexas.edu/project/sela/eng_capitulos/rcapin534.htm).

Robert Devlin, Antoni Estevadeordal, and Luis Jorge Garay. August 1999. "The FTAA: Some Longer Term Issues." Occasional Paper 5. Buenos Aires. INTAL/ITD. (<http://www.iadb.org/INTAL/publicaciones/Devlin-Estevadeordal-Garay.pdf>).

Bernier, Ivan, and Martin Roy. 1999. "NAFTA and Mercosur: Two Competing Models?" Pp. 69-81 in *The Americas in Transition: The Contours of Regionalism*. Gordon Mace, Louis Bélanger, and contributors. Boulder, CO, and London. Lynn Rienner.

Week 8 (27 Feb. & 1 March)

MERCOSUR

Roett, Riordan, ed. 1999. *Mercosur: Regional Integration, World Markets*. Boulder, CO. Lynne Rienner.

Jaguaribe, Helio. January-June 1998. "Mercosur and Alternative World Orders." *Capítulos* 53. (http://www.lanic.utexas.edu/project/sela/eng_capitulos/rcapin531.htm).

Soares de Lima, Maria Regina. 1999. "Brazil's Alternative Vision." Pp. 133-51 in *The Americas in Transition: The Contours of Regionalism*. Gordon Mace, Louis Bélanger, and contributors. Boulder, CO, and London. Lynn Rienner.

Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Relations. September 2000. "Meeting of the Presidents of South America." (<http://www.un.int/brazil/document/South-America-Summit-Information.htm>).

Independent Task Force on Brazil 12 February 2001. "A Letter to the President and a Memorandum on U.S. Policy toward Brazil." New York. Council on Foreign Relations. (http://www.cfr.org/p/pubs/Brazil_TaskForce.html).

V: DIPLOMACY

MULTILATERAL INSTITUTIONS AND DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE

Week 9 (6 & 8 March)

The Organization of American States and Summitry of the Americas

Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, U.S. Department of State. March 1998. "Background Notes, Organization of American States." (http://www.state.gov/www/background_notes/oas_0398_bgn.html).

Thérien, Jean-Philippe, Michel Forthman, and Guy Gosselin. 1996. "The Organization of American States: Restructuring Inter-American Multilateralism." *Global Governance* 2: 215-239.

Inter-American Dialogue Study Group on Western Hemisphere Governance. April 1997. "The Inter-American Agenda and Multilateral Governance: The Organization of American States." Washington, D.C. Inter-American Dialogue (<http://www.iadialog.org/oas.html>).

Office of Summit Follow-Up, Organization of American States. 1998. "The Summit Process."
(<http://www.summit-americas.org/eng/summitprocess.htm>).

Leadership Council for Inter-American Summity. *Mastering Summity: An Evaluation of the Santiago Summit of the Americas and Its Aftermath*. (Coral Gables, FL: North-South Center, March 1999),
(<http://gehon.ir.miami.edu/nsc/summit/SummityII.pdf>).

Promoting a Democratic Hemisphere

Whitehead, Laurence. 1991. "The Imposition of Democracy." Pp. 216-242 in *Exporting Democracy: The United States and Latin America*, Abraham F. Lowenthal, ed. Baltimore and London. Johns Hopkins University Press.

Lowenthal, Abraham F. 1991. "The United States and Latin American Democracy: Learning from History." Pp. 243-265 in *Exporting Democracy: The United States and Latin America*, Abraham F. Lowenthal, ed. Baltimore and London. Johns Hopkins University Press.

Acevedo, Domingo E., and Claudio Grossman. 1996. "The Organization of American States and the Protection of Democracy." Pp. 132-149 in *Beyond Sovereignty: Collectively Defending Democracy in the Americas*. Tom Farer, ed. Baltimore and London. Johns Hopkins University Press.

Domínguez, Jorge I., and Susan Kaufman Purcell. 1999. "Political Evolution in the Hemisphere." Pp. 137-73 in *The United States and the Americas: A Twenty-First Century View*. Albert Fishlow and James Jones, eds. New York and London. W.W. Norton.

Week 10 (13 & 15 March)

Farer, Tom, ed. 1996. *Beyond Sovereignty: Collectively Defending Democracy in the Americas*. Baltimore and London. Johns Hopkins University Press. First, read overview chapter by Farer (1), and then case studies by Maingot (8), Weiss Fagan, (9), Frohman (10), and Palmer (11). Next, read review chapters by Diamond (3), Sikkink (6), Nelson and Eglinton (7), and Remmer (13).

VI: U.S.-LATIN AMERICAN RELATIONS

Week 11 (20 & 22 March)

*** Paper due 22 March ***

Issues on the Contemporary Agenda

Haney, Patrick J., and Walt Vanderbush. June 1999. "The Role of Ethnic Interest Groups in U.S. Foreign Policy: The Case of the Cuban American National Foundation." *International Studies Quarterly* 43(2): 341-61.

Steiner, Roberto. 1999. "Hooked on Drugs: Colombian-US Relations." Pp. 159-75 in *The United States and Latin America: The New Agenda*. Victor Bulmer-Thomas and James Dunkerley, eds. Cambridge, MA, and London. Harvard University Press.

Joyce, Elizabeth. 1999. "Packaging Drugs: Certification and the Acquisition of Leverage." Pp. 208-25 in *The United States and Latin America: The New Agenda*. Victor Bulmer-Thomas and James Dunkerley, eds. Cambridge, MA, and London. Harvard University Press.

Cope, John A. "DOD Participation in the Hemisphere Security Review." Unpublished paper for OSD-SO/LIC-IA. Washington, DC. Institute for National Strategic Studies.

Fishlow, Albert, and James Jones, eds. 1999. *The United States and the Americas: A Twenty-First Century View*. New York. W.W. Norton. Chapters by Birdsall, Lustic, and O'Connell (4), Lowenthal (5), and Fishlow (8).