

**PSC 244 LATIN AMERICAN-UNITED STATES RELATIONS**  
**Fall 2015 Professor: ROSE J. SPALDING**  
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In spite of the close connections between the United States and Latin America, relations within this hemisphere have been persistently riddled with tensions. Latin American leaders have vacillated in their foreign policy approaches to the US and to each other. Close examination reveals a recurring shift between policies that emphasize bilateral negotiation with the United States, in which Latin American leaders separate themselves from each other to seek a privileged relationship with the dominant power in the hemisphere, and collaborative alliances, in which they cooperate with each other to define a shared bargaining position, independent of the United States. The division between those nations that push for greater separation from the US and those that favor closer alignment has been one of the major fault lines in hemispheric relations.

In the United States, debate persists about appropriate forms of engagement with our Latin American neighbors. Phases of intense involvement in Latin American affairs have often been followed by periods of “benign” (or not so benign) neglect. Although the degree of attention given to Latin America varies across time and administrations, there is no region that is more deeply connected to the United States. The underlying challenges posed by the economic integration, the legacies of the Cold War, the “war on terrorism,” and the movement of migrants from South to North, serve to deepen and complicate the connections across the Americas.

The purpose of this course is to introduce students to this complex relationship. We will explore the dual thrust of Latin American and U.S. relations--toward hemispheric integration under U.S. leadership, on the one hand, and toward autonomy and sub-hemispheric regionalism, on the other--and reflect on the ways in which regional relations might be improved. The first part of this course focuses on the background of Latin American-U.S. relations looking back at the late 19th and 20th centuries. This section is designed to explore theories and concepts in the field of international relations and apply them to major phases in regional dynamics. The second part focuses on three broad controversies shaping regional relations today: the debate about economic development and free trade; the conflict over immigration policy; and concern about violence, drug flows and national security. This section draws on a multi-perspectival approach to examine competing views about these issues. Discussion of each of these topics will conclude with a class debate in which the positions of competing countries and key actors are juxtaposed and analyzed.

Expected learning outcomes for students enrolled in all courses in the Self, Society and the Modern World learning domain at DePaul University include the ability to:

- Use the constructs of power, diversity, and/or culture to describe examples of where, why and how inequities exist in modern society.
- Frame a theory about the relationship between individuals and modern society.

- Analyze central institutions and/or underlying social structures and their impact on the larger society.
- Articulate an argument based on theory and empirical evidence regarding the modern world.
- Analyze critical research and arguments about the modern world.
- Reflect, in writing, upon their role in the modern world, including their relationship to their own and/or other communities.
- Analyze social problems and public policies on the basis of ethics and values.

### **READINGS:**

1. Gregory B. Weeks, *U.S. and Latin American Relations*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (West Sussex, UK: Wiley Blackwell 2015);
2. Michael J. LaRosa and Frank O. Mora, *Neighborly Adversaries: Readings in U.S.-Latin American Relations*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2015);
3. Additional readings linked to the syllabus or posted to the class D2L site.

### **GRADING:**

Quizzes, reading responses, and thought questions	10%
In-class midterm exam	20
Position papers and debates (5% each)	10
Issue paper (7 pages)	30
Daily Class participation	10
In-class final exam	20

**QUIZZES, READING RESPONSES AND THOUGHT QUESTIONS:** We'll have several short exercises in which you answer a set of questions about the material covered in class that day or write up a one paragraph comment on an assigned reading. These exercises will help you stay on track as we work through the theories and interpretations that frame our discussion. They should also help you prepare for the midterm and final exams.

**EXAMS:** The midterm and final exams are composed of a combination of short answer identifications and essay questions drawn from assigned readings and class discussions.

### **DEBATE ASSIGNMENTS:**

Each of you will be signing up to represent an actor or country in our two of our three class debates. To prepare for the debate, you'll need to write a short "position paper" describing the views, assumptions and concerns that inform the perspective of your actor. You will then present and defend that point of view during the debate. Following the debate, you will have the opportunity to step away from your role and discuss your personal perspective on the issue.

*The position paper:* This is a 1-page summary of your actor's position on the issue. Your position paper should describe your actor's identity, goals and priorities; summarize their interpretation of the debate; and spell out any policy recommendations or proposed solutions they have to offer. To gather this information, begin with the assigned readings and then go to the list of suggested extra readings to see what relates to your role. You

can expand your search into a more specialized bibliography if needed. The position paper must be turned at the time of the debate. (Late position papers will not help you prepare adequately for the experience.)

*The debate:* During the debate you should (1) mobilize a body of information that explains and supports the position of your actor; (2) identify the weak points in the opposing arguments; and (3) anticipate the critiques your opponents will throw your way and prepare to rebut them. Review the list of actors involved in your debate and figure out who your allies and opponents are likely to be. Think about ways that you can coordinate your arguments with those of your likely allies. Write key facts or statistics on note cards so you will have that information at your fingertips. Be prepared to provide the sources for any information you draw on in the debate.

**ISSUE PAPER:** This is a 7-page paper on the debate theme of your choice (development, immigration, or drugs/security). This paper will give you a chance to summarize the issues under discussion, explain the positions of different actors on these issues, and develop your own perspective and recommendations.

Issue papers are due the class period following the debate on that topic. Late issue papers will be graded down  $\frac{1}{2}$  letter grade for each day they are overdue.

**CLASS PARTICIPATION and PREPARATION:** Regular attendance and participation in class discussion is expected. Missing more than two class sessions will have a negative impact on your class participation grade. To prepare adequately for class discussion, you should expect to spend a minimum of two hours working on this course for each hour of class time.

**EXTRA CREDIT:** I've identified several extra credit opportunities in the syllabus. If you attend one of the specified outside events and turn in a one-page comment about it, you may be eligible for extra credit. You can also volunteer to participate in a third debate for extra credit.

**OFFICE HOURS:** My office is in Room 2102 in 990 W. Fullerton (phone: 773-325-1983). The best way to contact me is by email at [rspaldin@depaul.edu](mailto:rspaldin@depaul.edu). My office hours are TTh1:00-2:30 and by appointment. I hope each of you will come by to talk with me at least once during the quarter.

**SPECIAL ACCOMMODATIONS:** Students who feel they may need an accommodation based on a disability should contact me privately to discuss specific needs. All discussions will remain confidential. To ensure that you receive reasonable accommodation based on your needs, please inform me as early as possible in the quarter (preferably within the first week of class), and make sure that you have contacted the PLuS Program (for LD, AD/HD) at 773-325-1677 in Student Center #370, and/or The Office for Students with Disabilities (for all other disabilities) at 773-325-1677, Student Center #370.

**ACADEMIC INTEGRITY:** As the University's Academic Integrity Policy notes, "violations of academic integrity are detrimental to the intellectual development of individuals within the community and to the community at large." Students should be aware of the strong sanctions against plagiarism as stated in the current Bulletin/Student Handbook. If proven, a charge of plagiarism could result in an automatic F in the course and possible expulsion from the University. Please refer to your Student Handbook or visit Academic Integrity at DePaul University (<http://academicintegrity.depaul.edu>) for further details. If you have any additional questions or doubts about what plagiarism entails or how to properly acknowledge source materials, be sure to discuss these concerns with me.

## COURSE OUTLINE AND READINGS

### I. Historical Trajectories: Interpretations and Debates

#### A. Introduction (Sept. 10)

1. Discussion: Images of Latin America in the United States  
Images of the U.S. in Latin America

#### B. Conceptual overview (Sept. 15)

1. Models of international relations: Realism, Liberal Institutionalism and Dependency theories
2. Conceptual discussion of hard power/soft power
3. Identification of key foreign policy actors and agencies
4. Origins: Interpreting the Monroe Doctrine

Readings: Weeks, chs. 1-2

#### C. Empire and Hegemony (Sept. 17)

1. "Manifest Destiny" and its consequences
2. The age of imperialism: economics and national security
3. "Big Sticks" and client states

Readings: Weeks, ch. 3;

LaRosa and Mora, chapter 2 (Josiah Strong, "The Anglo-Saxon and the World's Future") and chapter 3 (José Martí, "Our America")

#### D. Hegemony in a Post-imperial World (Sept. 22)

1. Good Neighbor Policy
2. Development of international institutions

Readings: Weeks, ch. 4

LaRosa and Mora, chapter 13 (Bryce Wood, "The Making of the Good Neighbor Policy")

#### E. Cold war conflicts (Sept. 24)

1. The cold war: military intervention and national security
2. Economic dimensions and aid strategies

Readings: Weeks, chs. 5-6

**Extra credit event:** Chicago Students for Fair Trade and Sweatfree Summit  
 Saturday, September 26<sup>th</sup>, 1:00-4:00PM  
 The Greenheart Center, 746 N. LaSalle

**F. Counterinsurgency and war (Sept. 29)**

1. “Evil empire” and counterrevolutionary war
  2. Intersection with democracy promotion and human rights
- Readings: Weeks, ch. 7

**G. Post-cold war transitions?**

1. Development challenges and the regional left turn (Oct. 1)

Guest speaker from Salvadoran rural development organization (CRIPDES)

Readings: LaRosa and Mora, chapter 21 (Mora, “Post-Cold War U.S. Latin American Policy: The Clinton, Bush and Obama Administrations”);

Lynn Holland, “For the Love of Water: The Ban on Mining in El Salvador,” Council on Hemispheric Affairs, Sept. 2, 2015

<http://www.coha.org/for-the-love-of-water-the-ban-on-mining-in-el-salvador/>

2. U.S.-Cuba: a new era (Oct. 6)

Readings: William M. LeoGrande, “Normalizing US-Cuba Relations: Escaping the Shackles of the Past,” *International Affairs* 91, #3 (2015): 473-488 (pdf at D2L)

“Statement by President Obama on Cuba Policy Change,” December 17, 2014 <http://www.cfr.org/cuba/statement-president-obama-cuba-policy-changes/p35850>

Carla Anne Robbins, Council on Foreign Relations, “U.S.-Cuba Relations: Three Things to Know,” January 30, 2015

(3 minute video) <http://www.cfr.org/cuba/us-cuba-relations-three-things-know/p36063>

**Midterm exam: Oct. 8th**

**II. 21<sup>st</sup> Century Challenges in US-Latin American Relations**

**A. The “Washington Consensus,” neoliberal transitions, and ALBA: The debate about development models (Oct. 13-20)**

1. Latin America’s market transition
2. Free trade agreements: NAFTA, CAFTA, Chile, Peru, Colombia and Panama
3. Alternatives to US-led integration: ALBA, Mercosur, UNASUR and CELAC
4. New conflicts over regional leadership and direction

Readings: Weeks, chs. 8-9;  
LaRosa and Mora, chapter 19 (Hornbeck, “U.S.-Latin American Trade: Recent Trends and Policy Issues”);

Rose Spalding, "Rule Makers and Rule Takers: Negotiating CAFTA," in *Contesting Trade in Central America; Market Reform and Resistance* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014) PDF on D2L.

Morales, Chávez, Castro, “Agreement for the application of the Bolivarian Alternative” (2006)  
<http://www.venezuelanalysis.com/print/1869>;

Embassy of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela in the United States, “Venezuela is Hope, Not a Threat,” *Newsletter* (May 2015), on D2L.

## **FIRST DEBATE: MODELS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND FREE TRADE AGREEMENTS—Oct. 20**

Issue papers for this debate are due on Oct. 22

## **B. Immigration (Oct. 22-Nov. 3)**

1. Historical patterns: Latin American migration to the US
  2. Sending and transit countries: theorizing contemporary hemispheric flows
  3. Immigration trends: documented, undocumented and unaccompanied children
  4. Remittances and circular migration: impacts on home countries
  5. US immigration rules: policy patches and comprehensive immigration reform

Readings: Weeks, ch. 10;

LaRosa and Mora, chapter 23 (Ingwersen and LaRosa, "Waiting on Reform: A Brief History of U.S.-Latin American Immigration");

**“Transcript of Obama’s Immigration Speech,” November 20, 2014**

[http://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/transcript-obamas-immigration-speech/2014/11/20/14ba8042-7117-11e4-893f-86bd390a3340\\_story.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/transcript-obamas-immigration-speech/2014/11/20/14ba8042-7117-11e4-893f-86bd390a3340_story.html)

“Washington’s Child Migrant Dilemma,” Interviewee: Julia Preston, National Immigration Correspondent, New York Times, Interviewer: Danielle Renwick, Copy Editor/Writer Council on Foreign Relations, August 20, 2015

[http://www.cfr.org/immigration/washingtons-child-migrant-dilemma/p36915/](http://www.cfr.org/immigration/washingtons-child-migrant-dilemma/p36915;)

Liz Robbins, “Immigration Crisis Shifts from Border to Courts,” New York Times, August 25, 2015

<http://www.nytimes.com/2015/08/24/nyregion/border-crisis-shifts-as-undocumented-childrens-cases-overwhelm-courts.html>;

Adam Isacson and Maureen Meyer, “Mexico’s Other Border: Security, Migration, and the Humanitarian Crisis at the Line with Central America,” WOLA Report (August 2014)

[http://www.wola.org/news/new\\_wola\\_report\\_mexicos\\_other\\_border](http://www.wola.org/news/new_wola_report_mexicos_other_border)

## **SECOND DEBATE: IMMIGRATION-FROM LATIN AMERICA TO THE US—**

**Nov. 3**

Issue papers for this debate are due on Nov. 5

### **C. Drugs, violence and new security discussions (Nov. 5-12)**

- 3. The “prohibitionist” approach: Drug Wars, Crime and Violence
- 4. US policy responses: from Plan Colombia to the Mérida Initiative
- 5. Views from Latin America

Readings: Weeks, chs. 11-12;

LaRosa and Mora, chapter 20 (Bagley, “Drug Trafficking and Organized Crime in the Americas: Major Trends in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century”);

Claire Ribando Seelke and Kristin Franklin, “U.S.-Mexican Security Cooperation: The Mérida Initiative and Beyond,” Congressional Research Service Report for Congress, May 7, 2015

<http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R41349.pdf>

Center for Legal and Social Studies (Argentina), “The Impact of Drug Policy on Human Rights: The Experience in the Americas,” August 2015.

<http://www.cels.org.ar/common/drug%20policy%20impact%20in%20the%20americas.pdf>;

Fernando Henrique Cardoso, César Gaviria and Ernesto Zedillo, “The War on Drugs is a Failure,” Wall Street Journal, February 23, 2009.

<http://online.wsj.com/article/SB123535114271444981.html#printMode>;

Coletta A. Youngers and Kathryn Ledebur, ‘Building on Progress: Bolivia Consolidates Achievements in Reducing Coca and Looks to Reform Decades-old Drug Law’ Washington Office on Latin America, August 2015

<http://www.wola.org/sites/default/files/Drug%20Policy/WOLA-AIN%20Bolivia.FINAL.pdf>;

Clay Boggs and Kristen Rand, "Gun-Running Nation: How Foreign-Made Assault Weapons are Trafficked from the United States to Mexico and What to Do About It," Washington Office on Latin America, July 2015  
[http://www.wola.org/sites/default/files/Gun\\_Running\\_Nation.pdf](http://www.wola.org/sites/default/files/Gun_Running_Nation.pdf)

**Third DEBATE: Drugs, Gangs and Violence—Nov. 12**

Issue papers for this debate are due on Nov. 17

**D. Conclusions (Nov. 17)**

1. Contemporary Latin American-US Relations Framework: Continuing impacts of economics, domestic politics, security and ethnocentrism
2. The shifting regional axis: the rise—and decline?—of China  
Readings: LaRosa and Mora, chapter 27, LaRosa and Mora, "By Way of Conclusion: Neither Neighborly nor Adversarial: An Evolving American Relationship";  
Danielle Renwick, "Nicaragua's Grand Canal," CFR, April 24, 2015  
<http://www.cfr.org/infrastructure/nicaraguas-grand-canal/p36468>

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**Final exam: November 24<sup>st</sup> 11:30-1:45**

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## **FIRST DEBATE: ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND FREE TRADE AGREEMENTS**

1. Barrack Obama (US)
2. Enrique Peña Nieto (Mexico)
3. Michele Bachelet (Chile)
4. Dilma Rousseff (Brazil)
5. Nicolas Maduro (Venezuela)
6. Evo Morales (Bolivia)
7. Daniel Ortega (Nicaragua)
8. American Chamber of Commerce (AMCHAM) representative
9. Unemployed US manufacturing worker
10. EPZ (or *Maquiladora*) worker in Guatemala
11. Anti-mining activist in El Salvador
12. Chinese investor in Latin America

### **Supplemental online reading suggestions:**

Council on Foreign Relations, “Trading Up: US Trade and Investment Policy,” April 2015 <http://www.cfr.org/trade/trading-up-us-trade-investment-policy/p31813>

Lucy Conger, “A Mandate for Mexico,” Wilson Center, 2015  
[https://wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/A\\_Mandate\\_for\\_Mexico.pdf](https://wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/A_Mandate_for_Mexico.pdf)

USTR, “North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)” [2011]  
<http://www.ustr.gov/trade-agreements/free-trade-agreements/north-american-free-trade-agreement-nafta>

USTR, “Nafta: Myths vs. Facts” (March 2008)  
<http://www.ustr.gov/sites/default/files/NAFTA-Myth-versus-Fact.pdf>

Eduardo Zepeda, Timothy A. Wise, and Kevin P. Gallagher, “Rethinking Trade Policy for Development: Lessons from Mexico under NAFTA” (December 2009)  
<http://www.ase.tufts.edu/gdae/Pubs/rp/CarnegieNAFTADec09.pdf>

Samuel W. Bodman and James D. Wolfensohn, “Global Brazil and US-Brazil Relations”  
 Council on Foreign Relations, Task Force Report #66 (July 2011)  
<http://www.cfr.org/brazil/global-brazil-us-brazil-relations/p25407?co=C007304>

Danielle Renwick and Brianna Lee, “Venezuela’s Economic Fractures,” CFR *Background*, December 26, 2014  
<http://www.cfr.org/economics/venezuelas-economic-fractures/p32853>

Steve Ellner, “Venezuela: Maduro and the Market,” *Alborada Magazine*, May 15, 2015  
<http://venezuelanalysis.com/analysis/11381>

## **SECOND DEBATE: IMMIGRATION**

1. Barrack Obama (US)
2. Enrique Peña Nieto (Mexico)
3. Salvador Sánchez Cerén (El Salvador)
4. Mexican undocumented immigrant worker in US
5. Unaccompanied child immigrant from Guatemala
6. Migrant shelter worker in southern Mexico
7. Donald Trump (Republican Party presidential candidate)
8. Representative Luis Gutiérrez (Democrat member of Congress, IL)
9. Jorge Ramos, Univisión
10. US employer, eager to hire immigrant workers
11. US Border patrol or ICE
12. Catholic religious leader working on immigration

**Supplemental online reading suggestions:**

Marc R. Rosenblum and Ariel G. Ruiz Soto, “An Analysis of Unauthorized Immigrants in the United States by Country and Region of Birth,” *Migration Policy Institute Report* (August 2015)

<http://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/analysis-unauthorized-immigrants-united-states-country-and-region-birth>

Jie Zong and Jeanne Batalova, “Central American Immigrants in the US,” *MPI Spotlight*, Sept. 2, 2015

<http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/central-american-immigrants-united-states>

MPI Global Remittance Guide, database

<http://www.migrationpolicy.org/programs/data-hub/global-remittances-guide>

Obama Whitehouse, “Taking Action on Immigration,”

<https://www.whitehouse.gov/issues/immigration>

Donald J. Trump, “Immigration Reform that will make America great again,”

<https://www.donaldjtrump.com/positions/immigration-reform>

Reuters, “Mexico Blasts Trump Stance on Immigration Reform as Absurd, Racist,”

August 17, 2015

<http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/08/19/us-usa-election-trump-mexico-idUSKCN0QO1SZ20150819>

Gallup, “In U.S., 65% favor path to citizenship for illegal immigrants,” August 12, 2015

<http://www.gallup.com/poll/184577/favor-path-citizenship-illegal-immigrants.aspx?version=print>

### **THIRD DEBATE: DRUGS, VIOLENCE, AND SECURITY**

1. Barrack Obama (US)
2. Enrique Peña Nieto (Mexico)
3. Juan Manuel Santos (Colombia)
4. Evo Morales (Bolivia)
5. Salvador Sánchez Cerén (El Salvador)
6. Leader of a Mexican Drug Trafficking Organization (DTO)
7. MS 13 gang member in El Salvador
8. US weapons dealer near Mexican border
9. Undercover DEA official
10. Latin American Commission on Drugs & Democracy (Cardoso, Gaviria and Zedillo)
11. Mexico peace movement activist
12. US illegal drug user
13. Inter-American Human Rights Commission (OAS)

**Supplemental online reading/viewing suggestions:**

Peace/Violence map of Mexico:

<http://www.visionofhumanity.org/#/page/indexes/mexico-peace-index>

Anne Konrad, “Security Strategies to Combat Drug Violence in Mexico,” Wilson Center, August 2015 <https://wilsoncenter.org/article/security-strategies-to-combat-drug-violence-mexico#>

Azam Ahmed, “Young Hands in Mexico Feed Growing US Demand for Heroin,” New York Times, August 29, 2015

<http://www.nytimes.com/2015/08/30/world/americas/mexican-opium-production-rises-to-meet-heroin-demand-in-us.html>

David A. Shirk, “The Drug War in Mexico: Confronting a Shared Threat” Council on Foreign Relations, Special Report #60 (March 2011)

<http://www.cfr.org/mexico/drug-war-mexico/p24262>

“Narcos,” 2015 Netflix TV show on Pablo Escobar, the Colombian government, and the US Drug Enforcement Agency (10 episodes) <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt2707408/>

June S. Beittel, “Mexico: Organized Crime and Drug Trafficking Organizations,” CRS Report to Congress, July 22, 2015 <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R41576.pdf>

Claire Ribando Seelke, “Gangs in Central America,” CRS Report to Congress, Feb. 20, 2014 [www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL34112.pdf](http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL34112.pdf)

Ted Lewis and Janice Gallagher, “Inter-American Human Rights Commission Report Slams Mexican Government Version of Ayotzinapa Atrocities,” Sept. 8, 2015.  
<http://www.globalexchange.org/blogs/peopletopeople/2015/09/08/inter-american-human-rights-commission-report-slams-mexican-government-version-of-ayotzinapa-atrocities-10-key-points/>