

INR 4244: International Politics of Latin America
Department of Political Science
University of Florida
Spring 2025

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Office hours will be in person, via Zoom, or by phone
Zoom Link: <https://ufl.zoom.us/my/andrewjanusz>

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Course Information

Lecture: Tuesday 8:30 to 10:25 (AND 134)
Thursday 9:35 to 10:25 (AND 134)

Course Description

This course provides an overview of Latin American foreign relations. After beginning with a brief overview of International relations theories, we will move on to discussing historical and current Inter-American relationships. Why do Latin American countries do what they do? What are their interests and what can they do to realize them? What historical challenges have they faced, what are their present concerns, and what issues are likely to arise in years to come? We will discuss cooperation and conflict, economic growth and depression, and prospects for regional prosperity. The world is moving toward a new global order, the outlines of which are still murky. As a result, Inter-American relationships are increasingly complex and consequential.

Course Materials

There is one required textbook in this course. Students can purchase them in the UF Bookstore or online. All the other articles and book chapters can be found on the UF E-Learning (Canvas) at <http://elearning.ufl.edu/>.

-Peter H. Smith, *Talons of the Eagle: Latin America, the United States, and the World*, 4th edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013),

Course Requirements

1. Class Attendance and participation (10%)
You are expected to attend all class meetings prepared for an in-depth discussion of the assigned course material. A portion of your final grade will be based on your participation. Please know that attendance is not equal to participation. Your grade will reflect not just whether you show up, but your engagement in the discussion.
2. Policy Memos (30%)
Each student will write three policy memos of about 2,000 words. You will receive additional instructions on these memos in class. The deadlines for these three memos can be found in the class schedule below.
3. Midterm exam (30%)
There will be a closed-book in-class midterm exam on February 27, 2025, during our class time for 50 minutes. It is worth 30% of the final grade. Students should review all the class materials and apply them in answering the question(s).
4. Final exam (30%)
There will be a closed-book in-class final exam on April 22, 2025, during the scheduled final. It is worth 30% of the final grade. Students should review all the class materials and apply them in answering the question(s).

Grading Scale

Percent	Grade
93.4-100	A
90.0-93.3	A-
86.7-89.9	B+
83.4-86.6	B
80.0-83.3	B-
76.7-79.9	C+
73.4-76.6	C
70.0-73.3	C-
66.7-69.9	D+
63.4-66.6	D
60.0-63.3	D-
0-59.9	E

Course Policies

Attendance: Requirements for class attendance and make-up exams, assignments, and other work in the course are consistent with university policies. See UF Academic Regulations and Policies for more information regarding the University Attendance Policies. (links to <https://catalog.ufl.edu/UGRD/academic-regulations/attendance-policies/>).

Academic Integrity: The University of Florida is an institution of learning, research, and scholarship that is strengthened by the existence of an environment of integrity. It is essential that all members of the University practice academic integrity and accept individual responsibility for their work and actions. Students are responsible for doing their own work, and academic dishonesty of any kind will be subject to sanction and referral to the university's Academic Integrity Committee, which may impose additional sanctions.

UF students are bound by The Honor Pledge which states, "We, the members of the University of Florida community, pledge to hold ourselves and our peers to the highest standards of honor and integrity by abiding by the Honor Code. On all work submitted for credit by students at the University of Florida, the following pledge is either required or implied: "On my honor, I have neither given nor received unauthorized aid in doing this assignment."

The Conduct Code specifies a number of behaviors that are in violation of this code and the possible sanctions. [Click here to read the Conduct Code](#). If you have any questions or concerns, please consult me.

Expected Workload: You should be aware that our course requires a *significant* deal of outside work including reading, writing, analysis, and preparing comments. As a Carnegie I, research-intensive university, UF is required by federal law to assign at least 2 hours of work outside of class for every contact hour. Work done in these hours may include reading/viewing assigned material and doing explicitly assigned individual or group work, as well as reviewing notes from class, synthesizing information in advance of exams or papers, and other self-determined study tasks.

For our 3-credit class, this means you should expect to spend 6-9 hours per week outside of class. The amount of time spent on this course may vary by week. I strongly encourage you to speak to me during office hours if you encounter any struggles or difficulties.

Participation: To successfully pass this course, your participation and engagement is necessary. Students must be prepared to discuss the readings and other materials listed for that day. However, if you are sick or have been in contact with someone who is sick please stay home and take care of yourself. Please let me know if you are not attending class because of illness. You will not be penalized for missing classes (within reason). If you are sick for more than a couple of days, please get an excused absence so we can discuss options. If you miss class, you are encouraged to ask your classmates for their notes or come to office hours to talk about the material you missed.

Requirements for class attendance and make-up exams, assignments, and other work in the course are consistent with university policies. See UF Academic Regulations and Policies for more information regarding the University Attendance Policies." (links to <https://catalog.ufl.edu/UGRD/academic-regulations/attendance-policies/>).

In-Class Recording: Students are allowed to record video or audio of class lectures. However, the purposes for which these recordings may be used are strictly controlled. The only allowable purposes are (1) for personal educational use, (2) in connection with a complaint to the university, or (3) as evidence in, or in preparation for, a criminal or civil proceeding. All other purposes are prohibited. Specifically, *students may not publish recorded lectures without the written consent of the instructor.*

A “class lecture” is an educational presentation intended to inform or teach enrolled students about a particular subject, including any instructor-led discussions that form part of the presentation, and delivered by any instructor hired or appointed by the University, or by a guest instructor, as part of a University of Florida course. A class lecture does not include lab sessions, student presentations, clinical presentations such as patient history, academic exercises involving solely student participation, assessments (quizzes, tests, exams), field trips, private conversations between students in the class or between a student and the faculty or lecturer during a class session.

Publication without permission of the instructor is prohibited. To “publish” means to share, transmit, circulate, distribute, or provide access to a recording, regardless of format or medium, to another person (or persons), including but not limited to another student within the same class section. Additionally, a recording, or transcript of a recording, is considered published if it is posted on or uploaded to, in whole or in part, any media platform, including but not limited to social media, book, magazine, newspaper, leaflet, or third party note/tutoring services. A student who publishes a recording without written consent may be subject to a civil cause of action instituted by a person injured by the publication and/or discipline under UF Regulation 4.040 Student

Lecture Slides: I will post redacted lecture slides on the course website at the conclusion of each class meeting. The slides are meant as a guide and are in no way a substitute for attending lecture. My hope is that by making the slides available students will not feel that they must spend the entire class furiously taking notes and instead pay close attention to the lecture, ask questions, and participate deeply in class discussion.

Communication: Students should use Canvas to contact me. Although you may email me at my UF email account, the university strongly encourages communication via Canvas to avoid the potential of violations of student confidentiality protected by [FERPA](#). I encourage students to visit my virtual office hours to discuss any questions, comments, or concerns regarding the course.

Email/Messaging Hours: You may email or message me via Canvas at any time that is convenient to you. I will respond within one business day between the hours of 9am and 5pm. If you do not receive a reply from me after 24 hours, please resend your message. Although I may sometimes reply outside of these designated hours, responses cannot be guaranteed after 5pm on weekdays, weekends, or holidays. Please plan accordingly to have your questions answered in advance of assignment and exam deadlines.

Exams: There are two exams. Exams will draw from all assigned readings up to that point. If you know you will miss the exam for a UF-sponsored commitment (e.g. traveling with the debate team, softball team, orchestra, ROTC, etc.) *or* for some foreseeable personal commitment *that is not discretionary* (e.g. a scheduled medical procedure, like surgery) *or* because of an existential-level family emergency (e.g. death, medical emergency you will be able to make up the exam. If the miss is because of a scheduled event, you must let me know at least two weeks in advance (email is perfectly acceptable and preferred). I will work with you to make accommodations, but it is your responsibility to arrange with me to take a makeup exam.

Grades Adjustment: I do not round or adjust grades under any circumstances. This policy is not an attempt to be harsh but to hold all students in equal standing.

Late or Make-up Assignments: Work that is late due to a university-approved absence will be accepted without penalty. If an assignment is submitted late for reasons unrelated to a university-approved absence, it will receive a 0. Acceptable reasons for work to be late include illness; Title IX-related situations; serious accidents or emergencies affecting the student, their roommates, or their family; special curricular requirements (e.g., judging trips, field trips, professional conferences); military obligation; severe weather conditions that prevent class participation; religious holidays; participation in official university activities (e.g., music performances, athletic competition, debate); and court-imposed legal obligations (e.g., jury duty or subpoena).

Accessibility Services: Students with disabilities who experience learning barriers and would like to request academic accommodations should connect with the disability Resource Center. If you have (or suspect you have) a learning or other disability that requires academic accommodations, you should contact the UF Disability Resource Center (DRC) as soon as possible (dso.ufl.edu/drc). Please be sure that necessary accommodations are properly documented by the UFDRC. To obtain a classroom accommodation, you must first pre-register with the DRC (352.392.8565) by providing appropriate documentation. Once registered, students will receive an accommodation letter which must be presented to your instructors when requesting an accommodation. I am always happy to make whatever accommodations you may need to be successful in the course.

Technology Resources: The UF Computing Help Desk can assist you with any of your technical issues. You can access the Help Desk 24/7 at <https://helpdesk.ufl.edu/>, 352-392-HELP (4357), or [helpdesk.@ufl.edu](mailto:helpdesk@ufl.edu). If you use email, write from your gatorlink@ufl.edu email address, or include your UFID and/or GatorLink username (NOT your password!) in the body of the email. Provide complete information regarding the course and content to which you are referring.

Academic Resources: There are many other campus, academic resources you should take advantage of throughout the semester. These include:

- E-learning technical support: Contact the UF Computing Help Desk at 352-392-4357 or via e-mail at helpdesk@ufl.edu.
- Library Support: <http://cms.uflib.ufl.edu/ask> Various ways to receive assistance with respect to using the libraries or finding resources.

- Teaching Center: Broward Hall, 352-392-2010 or to make an appointment 352- 392-6420. General study skills and tutoring. <https://teachingcenter.ufl.edu/>
- Writing Studio: 2215 Turlington Hall, 352-846-1138. Help brainstorming, formatting, and writing papers. <http://writing.ufl.edu/writing-studio/> Now offering online consultation.
- On-Line Students Complaints: <https://distance.ufl.edu/getting-help/student-complaintprocess/>.
- Career Connections Center: <https://career.ufl.edu/> Career assistance and counseling.

Crisis Resources: If you or someone you know is struggling with any crisis including but not limited to gender, sexual, racial, or domestic violence, there are many community and University of Florida resources available. Some of these include:

- U Matter, We Care (umatter@ufl.edu, 352-392-1575, <https://umatter.ufl.edu>)
- RESPECT – UF Division of Student Affairs (<https://respect.ufsa.ufl.edu>)
- Counseling and Wellness Center – available 24/7 (352-392-1575, <https://counseling.ufl.edu>)
- Student Health Care Center (352-392-1161, <https://shcc.ufl.edu>)
- Multicultural & Diversity Affairs (352-392-1217, <https://multicultural.ufl.edu>)
- Hitchcock Field & Fork Pantry- Assisting members of our campus community who experience food insecurity - <https://pantry.fieldandfork.ufl.edu>
- UF Health Shands Emergency Room / Trauma Center (352-733-0111)
- Gainesville Police Department (non-emergency #: 352-955-1818, <https://gainesvillepd.org>)

Course Evaluations: Students are expected to provide professional and respectful feedback on the quality of instruction in this course by completing course evaluations online via GatorEvals. Guidance on how to give feedback in a professional and respectful manner is available at <https://gatorevals.aa.ufl.edu/students/>. Students will be notified when the evaluation period opens, and can complete evaluations through the email they receive from GatorEvals, in their Canvas course menu under GatorEvals, or via <https://ufl.bluera.com/ufl/>. Summaries of course evaluation results are available to students at <https://gatorevals.aa.ufl.edu/public-results>.”

Course Schedule

Week 1 Introduction

- 1.14 *Actors, Interests, and Outcomes*
Smith, *Talons of the Eagle*, Introduction
- 1.16 *International Relations Framework*
Jeffrey Frieden, David Lake, Kenneth Schultz, *World Politics: Interests, Interactions, and Institutions*, Fourth Edition (New York: W.W. Norton, 2016) Introduction and Chapter 2

Week 2 International Opportunities

1.21 Great Power Politics, 1891-1945

Smith, *Talons of the Eagle*, Chapters 1-3

James Monroe. "The Monroe Doctrine."

<http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?doc=23&page=transcript>.

Theodore Roosevelt. "The Roosevelt Corollary."

<http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?doc=56&page=transcript>.

1.23 Great Power Politics cont.

Putnam, Robert D. 1988. "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games." *International Organization* 42:427-460.

David C. Gompert, Hans Binnendijk and Bonny Lin, "The American Decision to Go to War with Spain, 1898) in their book *Blinders, Blunders, and Wars* RAND Corporation. (2014) pp. 53-61

Week 3 Consolidating US Influence

1.28 Economic and Ideological Dimensions of U.S. Latin Relations

Smith, *Talons of the Eagle*, Chapter 4

1.30 Making Friends

Smith, *Talons of the Eagle*, Chapters 5-6

Week 4 Cold War

2.4 Crushing Enemies

Smith, *Talons of the Eagle*, Chapters 7-8

Stephen Schlesinger and Stephen Kinzer, *Bitter Fruit: The Untold Story of the American Coup in Guatemala*, in LaRosa and Mora 149-158

2.6 Cuban Missile Crisis

Michael C. Desch, 1993. *When the Third World Matters: Latin America and United States Grand Strategy*. Chapter 4

Allison 1999 (posted on the course site) pages 1-9, then look at the questions on page 257 to understand the questions each model focuses on. Finally, read pages 39-42, and 56-66. I recommend, but do not require looking at pages 42 to 56.

Stephen Krasner, 1972. "Are Bureaucracies Important? (Or Allison Wonderland)" *Foreign Policy* 7: 159-179.

Week 5 From War to Development

- 2.11 *End Game and Aftermath*
Smith, *Talons of the Eagle*, Chapters 9

Jorge G. Castañeda, "Latin America and the End of the Cold War" *Transition*, No. 59 (1993), pp. 45-64.

- 2.13 *Economic Alternatives*
Thomas Skidmore, Peter Smith, and James Green. *Modern Latin America* 8th Edition. (2013) Chapter 12

Week 6 Economic Development

- 2.18 *Free Trade*
Smith, *Talons of the Eagle*, Chapter 10

Kurt Weyland, "Neoliberalism and Democracy in Latin America: A Mixed Record" *Latin American Politics and Society*, Vol. 46, No. 1 (Spring, 2004), pp. 135-157

- 2.20 *NAFTA 2.0*
Laura Carlsen. 2013. "Under NAFTA, Mexico Suffered, and the United States Felt Its Pain." *New York Times*.

Luis de la Calle. 2017. "The True Relevance of NAFTA." *Americas Quarterly* 11.2: 86-91.

James McBride and Mohammed Aly Sergie. 2018. "NAFTA's Economic Impact" *Council on Foreign Relations*. <https://www.cfr.org/background/naftas-economic-impact>

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Week 7 Development 2.0

- 2.25 *Regionalism*
Andrés Malamud, and Gian Luca Gardini. "Has Regionalism Peaked? The Latin American Quagmire and Its Lessons." *The International Spectator* 47.1 (2012): 116-133.

Karl Kaltenthaler, and Frank O. Mora. 2002. "Explaining Latin American Economic Integration: The Case of Mercosur." *Review of International Political Economy* 9.1: 72-97.

Diana Tussie. "Latin America: Contrasting Motivations for Regional Projects." *Review of International Studies* 35.S1 (2009): 169-188.

2.27 Midterm Exam

Week 8 International Issues

3.4 Debt

Laurence Whitehead, "Latin American Debt: An International Bargaining Perspective" *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 15, No. 3 (Jul., 1989), pp. 231-249

Helleiner, Eric. "The Strange Story of Bush and the Argentine Debt Crisis." *Third World Quarterly* 26.6 (2005): 951-969.

Julie Wernau and Ryan Dube. 2019. "How Argentina's Evolving Economic Crisis Unfolded" *The Wall Street Journal*. September 4. <https://www.wsj.com/articles/how-argentinas-evolving-economic-crisis-unfolded-1536062407>

JoAnn Kawell. "Privatization and its Discontents" *NACLA Report*. September 25, 2007.

3.6 Environment

Jeff Tollefson, "A Light in the Forest: Brazil's Fight to Save the Amazon and Climate-Change Diplomacy," *Foreign Affairs* 92:2 (Mar/April 2013), 141-151

Adam Chimienti and Sebastian Matthes, "Ecuador: Extractivism for the Twenty-First Century?" *NACLA Report on the Americas* 46:4 (Winter 2013), 59-61

Gerardo Renique, "Peru: Humala Submits to the United States and the Mining Industry," *NACLA Report on the Americas* 46:3 (Fall 2013), 12-17

Stephanie Nolen. February 26, 2018. "The Road," *Globe and Mail*. February 26, 2018. <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/world/amazon-rainforest-deforestation-crisis/article37722932/>

Week 9 Migration

3.11 Push Factors, Pull Factors, and Policy

Wayne Cornelius and Marc Rosenblum. 2005. "Immigration and Politics." *Annual Review of Political Science* 8(1): 99-119.

Emily Achtenberg and Rebel Currents. "Argentina's Immigration Crackdown Rattles Bolivia" *NACLA*. March 14, 2017. <https://nacla.org/blog/2017/03/14/argentina%27s-immigration-crackdown-rattles-bolivia>

Chris Kraul. February 18, 2019 "Global Development: As Venezuela Spirals Downward, South America Struggles to Absorb its Migrants and Refugees" <https://www.latimes.com/world/la-fg-venezuela-latin-america-exodus-20190218-story.html>

Adriana Beltran. "Children and Families Fleeing Violence in Central America" WOLA Report. February 21, 2017. <https://www.wola.org/analysis/people-leaving-central-americas-northern-triangle/>

3.13 Effects of Immigration

Anna Flagg. "Is There a Connection Between Undocumented Immigrants and Crime." *The New York Times*. May 13, 2019.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/13/upshot/illegal-immigration-crime-rates-research.html?smtyp=cur&smid=tw-nytimes>

Daniela Guzman and John Quigley. "Add A Million Venezuelans and Your Economy Looks Very Different" *Bloomberg*. June 27, 2019.

<https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2019-06-27/add-a-million-venezuelans-and-your-economy-looks-very-different>

Mark Severson. "Mexican President Gets Little Backlash for Migrant Crackdown" *Associated Press News*. July 7, 2019.

<https://www.apnews.com/aa60885718a04002b61b09975622303c>

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Week 10 Governance Issues

3.25 Drug Policy

Andreas, Peter, and Angelica Duran Martinez. 2012. "The Politics of Drugs and Illicit Trade in the Americas" in Peter Kingstone and Deborah Yashar Eds. *Handbook of Latin American Politics*, New York: Routledge.

Clare Ribando Seelke, Liana Sun Wyler, June Beittel, Mark Sullivan. "Latin America and the Caribbean: Illicit Drug Trafficking and U.S. Counterdrug Programs" CRS Report for Congress May 12, 2011

Shannon, O'Neil. "The Real War in Mexico-How Democracy Can Defeat the Drug Cartels." *Foreign Affairs*. 88 (2009): 63.

3.27 Democratic Governance

Kevin Casas-Zamora, "The Honduran Crisis and the Obama Administration" in Abraham F. Lowenthal, Theodore J. Piccone, and Laurence Whitehead. Eds., *Shifting the Balance: Obama and the Americas* Brookings Institution Press. (2011) pp. 114-131

Thomas Legler, "Learning the Hard Way: Defending Democracy in Honduras" *International Journal*, Vol. 65, No. 3, Democracy Assistance (Summer 2010), pp. 601-618

Maxwell A. Cameron, "Democracy and the Separation of Powers: Threats, Dilemmas,

and Opportunities in Latin America” *Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies / Revue canadienne des études latino-américaines et caraïbes*, Vol. 27, No. 53, Special Issue on Democracy in Latin America (2002), pp. 133-159

Week 11 Governance Issues

4.1 Democratic Responsibilities

Stefano Palestini. “Defending Democracy in Latin America...but Which Democracy?” February 16, 2017 <https://theglobalobservatory.org/2017/02/latin-america-democracy-venezuela-brazil-argentina/>

Luiz Almagro. “Defending Democracy and Human Rights in the Western Hemisphere” *PRISM* (Vol 8:1) <https://cco.ndu.edu/News/Article/1760934/defending-democracy-and-human-rights-in-the-western-hemisphere/>

Anita Isaacs. 2000. “International Assistance for Democracy: A Cautionary Tale” in Jorge I. Domínguez Ed. *The Future of Inter-American Relations*, New York: Routledge, pp. 259-286

4.3 MPSA No Class

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Week 12 Change or Continuity

4.8 Cuba and China

María Cristina García, “Hardliners v. “Dialogueros”: Cuban Exile Political Groups and United States-Cuba Policy” *Journal of American Ethnic History*, Vol. 17, No. 4 (Summer, 1998), pp. 3-28

Ted Piccone, “U.S.-Cuba Normalization: U.S. Constituencies for Change” *IdeAs*, 2018. <https://journals.openedition.org/ideas/2107>

Kevin Gallagher and Roberto Porzecanski. 2008. “China Matters: China's Economic Impact in Latin America.” *Latin American Research Review*, 43(1), 185-200.

Rhys Jenkins. “China's Belt and Road Initiative in Latin America: What has Changed?” *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs* 51.1 (2022): 13-39.

4.10 Trump – Biden - Trump

Peter Schechter and Jason Marczak, with Rachel DeLevie-Orey, *Beyond the Headlines: A Strategy for US Engagement with Latin America in the Trump Era* Atlantic Council Strategy Paper #9 2017

Tom Long and Max Paul Friedman, “Trump and Latin America: Asymmetry and the Problem of Influence” *America and the World—2017 and Beyond* H-Diplo | ISSF POLICY Series

Brian Winter, “The Truth About Trump and Latin America” *Americas Quarterly* February 12, 2018 <https://www.americasquarterly.org/content/truth-about-trump-and-latin-america> ACCESS THIS ARTICLE DIRECTLY VIA THE WEB

Shannon K. O’Neil, “Trump Ignores Latin America’s Biggest Challenges” *Council on Foreign Relations*, October 3, 2018 <https://www.cfr.org/article/trump-ignores-latin-americas-biggest-challenges> ACCESS THIS ARTICLE DIRECTLY VIA THE WEB

Joe Biden, “The Western Hemisphere Needs U.S. Leadership” *Americas Quarterly* December 17, 2018 <https://www.americasquarterly.org/content/joe-biden-western-hemisphere-needs-us-leadership>

Marczak, Jason. “Biden’s first presidential visit to South America comes too late and with China gaining momentum.” *The Atlantic Council*, November 15, 2024 <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/new-atlanticist/bidens-first-presidential-visit-to-south-america-comes-too-late-and-with-china-gaining-momentum/>

Week 13 Reflections and Review

4.15 *Quest for Alternatives*

Smith, *Talons of the Eagle*, Chapter 12

Berg, Ryan. “This Trump Administration Is Shaping Up to Be Latin America-First” *Foreign Policy*, January 8, 2025 <https://foreignpolicy.com/2025/01/08/trump-latin-america-administration/>

Reid, Michael. “Trump and Latin America’s Costly Disunity” *Americas Quarterly*, January 7, 2025. <https://www.americasquarterly.org/article/trump-and-latin-americas-costly-disunity/>

Brian Winter, “Latin America Is About to Become a Priority for U.S. Foreign Policy” *Foreign Affairs* December 10, 2024 <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/united-states/latin-america-about-become-priority-us-foreign-policy>

4.17 *Confrontation and Cooperation*

Smith, *Talons of the Eagle*, Conclusion

Week 14

4.22 Final Exam