

CONTEMPORARY INTER-AMERICAN RELATIONS

CONTEMPORARY U.S.–LATIN AMERICAN RELATIONS

COOPERATION OR CONFLICT IN THE 21ST CENTURY?



EDITED BY **JORGE I. DOMÍNGUEZ**
AND **RAFAEL FERNÁNDEZ DE CASTRO**

ROUTLEDGE 

Contemporary Inter-American Relations Series

Edited by Jorge I. Domínguez and
Rafael Fernández de Castro

The United States and Chile

Coming in from the Cold
David R. Mares and Francisco Rojas Aravena

The United States and Venezuela

Rethinking a Relationship
Janet Kelly and Carlos A. Romero

The United States and Argentina

Changing Relations in a Changing World
Deborah Norden and Roberto Russell

The United States and Peru

Cooperation at a Cost
Cynthia McClintock and Fabian Vallas

The United States and Brazil

A Long Road of Unmet Expectations
Mônica Hirst, with an essay by Andrew Hurrell

The United States and the Caribbean

The Transformation of Hegemony and Sovereignty in the Post Cold War Era
Anthony P. Maingot and Wilfredo Lozano

The United States and Central America

Geopolitical Realities and Regional Fragility
Mark B. Rosenberg and Luis G. Solís

The United States and Mexico

Between Partnership and Conflict (2nd edition)
Jorge I. Domínguez and Rafael Fernández de Castro

Contemporary U.S.–Latin American Relations

Cooperation or Conflict in the 21st Century?
Jorge I. Domínguez and Rafael Fernández de Castro

Contemporary U.S.–Latin American Relations

Cooperation or Conflict in the
21st Century?

Edited by

**Jorge I. Domínguez and
Rafael Fernández de Castro**

 **Routledge**
Taylor & Francis Group
NEW YORK AND LONDON

INSECIC - ISEN - BIBLIOTECA	
INVENTARIO:	90705
UBICACIÓN:	6.11705
T.V.:	3271781
FECHA:	877-04-25
PROCEDENCIA:	DONACIÓN SOLANA YORBOYAN
PRECIO:	

First published 2010
by Routledge
270 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016

Simultaneously published in the UK
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2010 Taylor & Francis

Typeset in Minion by Swales & Willis Ltd, Exeter, Devon
Printed and bound in the United States of America on acid-free paper by
Edwards Brothers, Inc.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Trademark Notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Contemporary U.S.-Latin American relations : cooperation or conflict in the 21st century? /

Jorge I. Domínguez and Rafael Fernández de Castro, [editors].

p. cm. — (Contemporary Inter-American relations)

Includes index.

1. Latin America—Foreign relations—United States.
2. United States—Foreign relations—Latin America.
3. Latin America—Politics and government.
4. United States—Politics and government.

I. Domínguez, Jorge I. II Fernández de Castro, Rafael

F1418.C8133 2010

327.807309'05—dc22

2009050147

ISBN 10: 0-415-87999-X (hbk)

ISBN 10: 0-415-88000-9 (pbk)

ISBN 10: 0-203-85047-5 (ebk)

ISBN 13: 978-0-415-87999-6 (hbk)

ISBN 13: 978-0-415-88000-8 (pbk)

ISBN 13: 978-0-203-85047-3 (ebk)

To Janet Kelly (1947–2003)

Distinguished scholar, public intellectual, and friend

At home in both Venezuela, where she lived for over
twenty years, and the United States

Colleague as an author in this project from its very start,
and forever

Contents

<i>List of Tables</i>	ix
<i>Preface</i>	xi
<i>Contributors</i>	xiii
<i>Acronyms</i>	xvii
1 The Changes in the International System during the 2000s	1
JORGE I. DOMÍNGUEZ	
2 U.S.–Mexican Relations in the Twenty-First Century	17
JORGE I. DOMÍNGUEZ AND RAFAEL FERNÁNDEZ DE CASTRO	
3 The United States and Cuba since 2000	44
MARIFELI PÉREZ-STABLE	
4 The United States and Central America since 2000: Free Trade and Diaspora Diplomacy	64
CRISTINA EGUIZÁBAL	
5 U.S.–Caribbean Relations: Modifying Traditional Hegemony and Sovereignty in the Caribbean	83
ANTHONY P. MAINGOT	
6 Argentina and the United States: A Distant Relationship	101
ROBERTO RUSSELL	
7 Brazil–U.S. Relations: Getting Better All the Time	124
MÓNICA HIRST	
8 Chile and the United States 2000–2009: From Elusive Friendship to Cooperative Friendship	142
CLAUDIA F. FUENTES JULIO AND FRANCISCO ROJAS ARAVENA	

9 Colombia and the United States: Strategic Partners or Uncertain Allies?	164
CYNTHIA J. ARNSON AND ARLENE B. TICKNER	
10 The United States and Peru in the 2000s	197
CYNTHIA MCCLINTOCK AND FABIÁN VALLAS	
11 Relations between the United States and Venezuela, 2001–2009: A Bridge in Need of Repairs	218
CARLOS A. ROMERO AND JAVIER CORRALES	
<i>Index</i>	247

List of Tables

1.1 Exports to China from Selected Latin American Countries	4
1.2 Latin American Countries' Imports from China	5
1.3 International Reserve Assets, 2001–2008	7
1.4 Years of Last Agreements between International Monetary Fund and Latin American and Caribbean Countries, 1989–2009	8
2.1 Opium, Heroin, Cannabis, and Cocaine in Mexico, 1998–2008	22
2.2 U.S. Top Trade Partners: Exports, Imports, and Trade Balance, 2000–2008	26
2.3 Main Sources of Mexican Imports	28
2.4 Mexican Exports by Main Destination	28
2.5 Mexico's Annual Foreign Direct Investment	29
4.1 U.S. Exports to Central America, 2000–2008	69
4.2 U.S. Imports from Central America, 2000–2008	71
4.3 Costa Rica's Top Trade Partners: Exports, 2000–2008	71
5.1 Foreign Scholarships Offered by Cuba for Academic Year 2001/2002	93
7.1 Brazil's Trade with the United States	131
7.2 Brazil's Annual Net Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) from Latin America and the Caribbean	131
7.3 UN Voting Coincidence	134
8.1 Chile's Main Trade Partners, 1997–2008	145
8.2 Institutional Mechanisms between Chile and United States	153
9.1 Coca Cultivation and Potential Cocaine Production in Colombia, 2000–2008	177
9.2 Colombian Trade Relations with the United States and Venezuela, 1995–2008	180
10.1 Peru's Exports: Value and Key Partners, 2000–2007	204
10.2 Peru's Imports: Value and Key Partners, 2000–2007	204
10.3 Control of Coca and Coca Leaf in Peru, 1995–2007	207
11.1 U.S. Oil Imports by Country of Origin, 2008	231
11.2 Venezuelan Exports by Destination by Value	231
11.3 Venezuelan Exports by Destination by Percentage	231
11.4 Venezuelan Imports by Place of Origin by Value	232
11.5 Venezuelan Imports by Place of Origin by Percentage	232

x *List of Tables*

11.6	Price of Venezuelan Oil per Barrel in U.S.\$	233
11.7	Venezuelan Exports to the United States by Type of Product, 2008	233
11.8	U.S. Investments in Venezuela	234
11.9	Selected Macroeconomic Indicators for Venezuela and Latin America	235

"Fifteen outstanding scholars, eight residing in Latin America and seven residing in the United States, collaborate in this exceptionally well-informed, balanced, nuanced, and up-to-date discussion of contemporary relations between the United States and the diverse Latin American and Caribbean nations. This is a valuable primer on how and why U.S.–Latin American relations are changing, and where they are heading. I will assign it to my students and recommend it to decision-makers."

—**Abraham F. Lowenthal**, University of Southern California

"This highly readable volume applies cutting-edge analysis to current U.S. interactions with nations from Mexico to the Southern Cone. Up-to-date and notably well-integrated, this set of essays will serve both scholars and teachers alike."

—**Christopher Mitchell**, New York University

"Dominguez and Fernández de Castro's book is a collaborative gem—the best work on contemporary relations between the United States, major Latin American countries, and key regions available today. Accessible to undergraduates, graduate students, and scholars alike, its balanced, rigorous analysis is essential reading for anyone seeking to understand where U.S.–Latin American relations are heading in the 21st century, and why."

—**Mark Williams**, Middlebury College

"A remarkable effort to update and enrich our understanding of U.S.–Latin American relations in the last decade. This volume gathers the work of distinguished specialists, providing us with a comprehensive, thoughtful, and provocative overview of the state and prospects of inter-American relations in the 21st century. A must-read for scholars and practitioners alike."

—**Ana Margheritis**, University of Florida

Drawing on the research and experience of fifteen internationally recognized Latin America scholars, this insightful text presents an overview of inter-American relations during the first decade of the twenty-first century. This unique collection identifies broad changes in the international system that have had significant effects in the Western Hemisphere, including issues of politics and economics, the securitization of U.S. foreign policy, balancing U.S. primacy, the wider impact of the world beyond the Americas, especially the rise of China, and the complexities of relationships between neighbors.

Contemporary U.S.–Latin American Relations focuses on the near neighbors of the United States—Mexico, Cuba, the Caribbean, and Central America—as well as the larger countries of South America—including Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Peru, and Venezuela. Each chapter addresses a country's relations with the United States, and each considers themes that are unique to that country's bilateral relations as well as those themes that are more general to the relations of Latin America as a whole. This cohesive and accessible volume is required reading for Latin American politics students and scholars alike.

Jorge I. Domínguez is the Antonio Madero Professor of Mexican and Latin American Politics and Economics and Vice Provost for International Affairs at Harvard University. He is a past president of the Latin American Studies Association.

Rafael Fernández de Castro has been Chair, Founder, and full-time Professor of the Department of International Studies, Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México (ITAM), Mexico City, since 1991. He is currently on leave to work as President Felipe Calderón's Foreign Policy Advisor.

an informa business

ISBN 978-0-415-88000-8



9 780415 880008



Routledge

Taylor & Francis Group

www.routledge.com

Cover image: Day two of the Summit of the Americas in Trinidad & Tobago, 18 April 2009
© MATTHEW CAVANAUGH/epa/Corbis