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## **The perspective of US foreign policy rebooting towards South America and Central Asia**

In this article we analyze the US-Latin American and US- Central Asian relations in terms of policy reorientation within the contemporary foreign policy analyses (FPA), evoking the conceptual and normative appeal, as they determine an unconventional approach to FPA onto Latin America Central Asia and the US.

We research the cycle of US foreign policy towards Latin America and Central Asia with the accent on sheer policy comparison of US-Latin American and Central Asian leaders, their decision-making and implementation mechanisms.

In accordance with the methodology, by replacing the deductivism into the inductivism, this approach allow us to research more rigorous comparative policies of the US foreign policies starting from the Cold War till present days and US foreign policy starting from the collapse of USSR. Connecting with the studies of foreign policy and international relations, we examine how Latin American leaders and Central Asian made vigorous impact onto the US foreign policy that gradually influenced the US behavior and changed the hemispheric relations and polarity.

**Key words:** US-Latin American and US-Central Asian foreign policy, USSR, CIS, Eurasia, Central Asia, NAFTA, OAS, Eurasian Economic Union, Monroe Doctrine, BRICS, good neighbor policy.

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## **АҚШ-тың сыртқы саясатын Оңтүстік Америка мен Орталық Азияға бағыттау перспективасы**

Бұл мақалада біз АҚШ-тың Латын Америкасы мен Орталық Азияға деген көзқарасын АҚШ-тың сыртқы саясатының саяси талдауы шеңберінде концептуалды және нормативті зерттеу моделіне сүйене отырып қайта бағдарлау саясаты тұрғысынан талдаймыз, өйткені АҚШ Латын Америкасы мен Орталық Азиядағы сыртқы саясатын талдауында дәстүрлі емес тәсілді анықтайды. Біз Латын Америкасы мен Орталық Азияға қатысты АҚШ-тың сыртқы саясатының циклын америкалық, ортаазиялық және латынамерикалық көшбасшылардың сыртқы саяси мақсаттарын, олардың басқару шешімдерін жүзеге асыру механизмі мен әдістерін салыстыруға баса назар аударуға отырып зерттейміз.

Зерттеу әдіснамасына сәйкес, стратегияның дедуктивті моделі индуктивизмге біртіндеп айналды және бұл тәсіл қырғи қабақ соғысты, КСРО-ның күйреуінен бастап бүгінгі күнге дейінгі АҚШ-тың сыртқы саясатының салыстырмалы саясатын тереңірек түсінуге мүмкіндік береді.

АҚШ-тың сыртқы саясатының әдістері және Латын Америкасы мен Орталық Азиямен халықаралық қатынастар туралы зерттеулеріміздің шеңберінде біз Латын Америкасы көшбасшыларының талдауын, сондай-ақ олардың АҚШ-тың сыртқы саясатына әсер ету динамикасын қарастырамыз. Латын Америкасы мен Орталық Азияға қатысты АҚШ-тың мінез-құлқындағы өзгерістер оңтүстік жарты шардың полярлық жүйесін қайта бағалауға серпін берді.

**Түйін сөздер:** АҚШ-тың сыртқы саясаты, Орталық Азия және Латын Америкасы, ЕАЭС, Еуразия, NAFTA, ОАГ, КСРО, Монро доктринасы, БРИКС, тату көршілік саясаты.

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## **Перспектива перезагрузки внешней политики США на Южную Америку и Центральную Азию**

В этой статье мы анализируем отношения США к странам Латинской Америки и Центральной Азии с точки зрения ее политики переориентации в рамках политического анализа внешней политики США, основываясь на концептуальной и нормативной модели исследования, поскольку они определяют нетрадиционный подход к анализу внешней политики США в Латинской Америке и Центральной Азии. Мы исследуем цикл внешней политики США в отношении Латинской Америки и Центральной Азии с акцентом на сравнение внешнеполитических целей американских, центральноазиатских и латиноамериканских лидеров, их механизмы и методы реализации управленческих решений.

В соответствии с методологией исследования, дедуктивная модель стратегии плавно перешла в индуктивизм, и этот подход позволяет нам понять более глубоко сравнительную политику внешней политики США начиная с анализа холодной войны, развала СССР и до наших дней.

В рамках исследований методов внешней политики и международных отношений США к Латинской Америке и Центральной Азии мы рассматриваем анализ латиноамериканских лидеров, а также динамику их воздействия на внешнюю политику США, которая постепенно оказала значительное влияние и изменение на поведение США в сторону Латинской Америки и Центральной Азии, тем самым дала импульс на переоценку системы полярности южного полушария.

**Ключевые слова:** внешняя политика США, Центральная Азия и Латинская Америки, ЕАЭС, Евразия, НАФТА, ОАГ, СССР, доктрина Монро, БРИКС, политика добрососедства.

## Introduction

Major geopolitical transformations and internal rapid dynamics are currently setting the world political stage for a possible increase of great power competition either in Central Asia and Latin America between the United States of America, Russia and China.

Central Asia and Latin American –are two regions that would play an inevitable part in the US foreign policy as those macro-regions have the power to harness the world politics, security and advance Russian and China’s interests graciously, which would defeat the US hegemony entirely. And in order to adapt these possible changes the US is trying to reboot its foreign policy trajectory to bring Washington’s ambitions both in Central Asia and Latin American region into better alignment. There might be a question- why Latin America and Central Asia? What are the common interests between such completely different and outlying regions? The answer is that these regions have lots of things in common either in politics, economics and security that make great impact on the US sustainable prosperity and maintaining balance in the world order.

If we refer to history, Latin American region was always taken for granted, except when it reached the boiling point; Latin America from broader economic terms is a region that keeps the balance for a decent growth in the foreseeable future that gives a huge opportunity for the US trade and exports. The US has more free trade partners in this region if to compare with other countries in the world. As Latin America keeps on gradually rising in global prominence, like Brazil, Colombia, Argentina and Mexico are becoming increasingly valuable and influential strategic partners in most of the US organizations, Summits and even in UN on-the-ground efforts. And the Latin American’s dominance continues to be a prominent player in setting the US commercial and trade agenda in the world.

As for Central Asia, the US still continues on being a glide path, as Central Asia is a good gateway

to Afghanistan. From its strategic calculus Central Asia is a region that gradually moving by a different trajectory that step-by-step loosen its bonds with the Euro-Atlantic community and increases the impact of China’s and Russian importance in Central Asia. And in the years to come Russian and China might become major economic and political powers in this region, which would mean a very hard -hitting position for the US ambitions and lead to decline the US presence in and influence over this region. Advancing the US priorities in Latin American and Central Asian regions will require significant changes in the US foreign policy. If to refer to world history, we can notice that the US foreign policy towards Central Asia and Latin America has overcome several strategic phases that completely made changes and reshaped political worldview and attitude towards these regions. Once from peripheral interest these regions turned into one that made great influence in the US political strategy and the whole ideology and geopolitical orientation.

Before evaluation of certain aspects of economic and political relations between North and South America as well as Central Asia, it may be essential to outline that the North – South relations start with the decolonization after World War II. The new states that had obtained their independences considered themselves to be totally disadvantaged within the international system. The huge gap between North and South have been widened in recent decades, with more people living in absolute poorness than ever before, the interest of the North in so-called “Third World” has been decreased drastically, and in accordance with the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) the country shrunk to a mere 0,22% of gross national product (GNP) by the end of 90’s. At the same time some scientists dispute that globalization and liberalization gave new opportunities for the South to develop new investments, technologies as well as new expertise.

In 1949, US President Truman in his inaugural address mentioned that they would continue to give unfaltering support to the United Nations and

continues to search for ways to strengthen their authorities and increase their effectiveness in order to utilize the benefits of modern technologies for the efficient development of the South, and outlining that this concept of fair trade between the countries would have nothing in common with the old imperialism of the European powers that exploited the colonies in the interest of foreign financiers.

The rising power of the anti-colonial actions of the South, and at the same time the diminishing power of the European imperialist states led to the fact that the South had achieved a milestone strategic importance between the United States and Soviet Union in the context of the Cold War – new interests towards former colonies. The Cold War period emerges to be distinctive between the US and Latin America as the ideological considerations acquired a priority over the US political and economic policies with Latin America. From 1940's till 1960's, in the design of the US policy onto the Latin American policy, the ideology played a great role in it. Jorge I. Dominguez outlines, "The victory and consolidation of the Cuban revolutionary government changed that. In its subsequent conduct of the key aspects of its policy towards Latin America, the US government often behaved as if it were under spell of ideological demons".

The ideological concept of the US foreign policy towards Latin America reached its climax during the presidency of Wilson Woodrow (28<sup>th</sup> president of the US, 1913-1921). During his presidency the systematic interventions to Mexico, Caribbean and Central American states marked the epoch of a long-term sustained relationships between the US and Latin American relations. Even when Bill Clinton (42<sup>nd</sup> president of the US, 1993-2001) was several times criticized for "Wilsonism" that resulted into wasteful overseas overthrows, and the subjection of the US foreign policy interests towards Latin American states. For example, those ideological motivations can be found in the US military interventions in Haiti (1994), Cuba (1990's).

The first US intervention into Latin American government was in Guatemala in 1954 during the Cold War. The reason was to protect the United Fruit Co. from further expropriation of property. And it paved the way to the next successful attempts to intervene the Dominican Republic in 1965, Grenada in 1983, Peru in 1968, and Panama in 1989 in order to safe the US economic interests and make safe for capitalism.

In comparison with Central Asian region, the US foreign policy was less harsh but made some allowances in geopolitical sphere. Since 1990-1994

the Central Asia's period of independence was traced by the following geopolitical benchmarks such as western political and economic models of reform as well as political security development. The US had been one of the leading suppliers for economic, political and social aids since its sovereignty. Basically, the US foreign policy interest contributed to the following priorities, such as:

1. Expansion of presence at region so that to consolidate the global leadership.

2. Unlock of natural resources by maintaining the guaranteed access to energy resources of Caspian region.

3. Influence on political and economic potential of Central Asia so that to implement the restraint of Russia, China and Iran, which are considered to be opponents to the US.

4. Development of Eurasian strategic transport corridor on gas and oil pipelines directions. The actual political gap alliance between the US and Uzbekistan in summer 2005 made some vivid changes in the US policy in Central Asia, as it led to expulsion of American military base from Uzbekistan and contributed to the growth of dominance of Russian and Chinese positions. Within these open confrontations the US managed simultaneously undertake several specific measures that resulted in a comprehensive reassessment of the strategic goals and priorities of the regional politics. In order to rehabilitate the situation the US administration decided to make step forward and assert its positions in Kyrgyzstan first, where they continued to keep their airbase in Manas; second, they got confirmation in support of the US actions towards Afghanistan in Tajikistan, and kept the coalition right to use the airspace of the country, and third, they started carrying out negotiations with Kazakhstan to expand cooperation in energy and natural resources. As a result a new policy concept of on Central Asia was developed, and its main ideological source was based upon the work of F. Starr "A Great Central Asia Partnership for Afghanistan and its neighbors". In this work he concluded that there was a new formation of a Great Central Asia as an economic and transport center and a self-determined subject of international affairs and acts as the "back yard" of the Russian Federation. In fact the US has set a large-scale and ambitious goal-to create an alternative integration project against the ones run by the Russian Federation in Central Asian region, to limit the role of China in Central Asia and to contribute to the formation of the "South and Central Asia" macro-region, where the US would be under control over Afghanistan and cooperation with New Delhi and Islamabad, and it would make significant

and possibly predominant influence. If to compare the ambiance of US foreign policy between Central Asian and South America, we could see the slight fleur of the same mannerism, hand- “act tough but with velvet gloves”. For example, declaring the intentions of the US to render its assistance in integrating the Central Asian countries with each other and with the nearest neighbors by protecting the territorial integrity of independent state against the neo- imperialistic attitude of Russia, thereby trying to break the monopoly over the Central Asian pipeline and transit routes. The US by all means emphasized on turning their slight blind eye on mechanisms of multilateral military political and economic cooperation that had been already operating in this region. The primary focus was on breaking the dependency of Central Asian countries from Russia and simultaneously preventing the region from falling into Chinese influence. Moreover, the additional challenge for the US administration was the dynamic emerging rise of Islamism in that region, as it posed threats to the security and that obviously induced the US foreign policy to reconsider its political maneuver. Therefore, during Bill Clinton administration there were some successful attempts to curtail Russian pressure in the region. For example, through Talbot Doctrine, Clinton administration managed to bypass Russia and Iran dominance in the Caspian hydrocarbons and Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan pipeline transit. This action finally signaled Central Asia and Caspian to be the region of the US vital interests. However, we should notice that the Central Asian region was not of high priority in Clinton’s foreign policy, and we can witness it in the policy of security and stability, which were slightly murky. In comparison with the policy of G.W. Bush administration right after September 9/11. The political trajectory towards Central Asia was completely renegotiated, and this region attained a central role as its geostrategic proximity with Afghanistan. The US continued the policy of the previous president in democratization and gradually Central Asia started the process of lending their military base to the US. As it has been mentioned before Bush administration being completely plunged into global struggle with war of terrorism made some strategic mistakes in terms of sustaining its flexibility in political relations with some of the Central Asian regions. The situation was complicated by the fact that gradually the US started to miss the free resources for Central Asian policy, the power was slipping through fingers, since they were occupied with consequences with Iraq, on top of it, the global economic crises was at the back of the pack. And all these facts resulted in lack of

making decent contribution towards active foreign policy in Central Asia. The war in Afghanistan was getting worse Taliban were slowly weaving a web of intrigue and disseminating their power to Pakistan. Thus, even some of the outlying tribal territories of Pakistan were destabilized and became under control of Taliban.

However, the new administration of B. Obama later had to shift from Iraq to Afghanistan, as Taliban were increasingly spreading fear to the world security. The withdrawal of troops in Iraq was in priority in his policy as it could transfer all the available military resources to Afghanistan and Pakistan. The Obama administration did not want to step on the same rake as the pervious president had done it. First, B. Obama started to force rapprochement with such global actors as Russia, China and India. And it was quite vivid, as the European partners started to notice a slight cooling in relations with them. Whereby, the new administration was showing its sincere interest in renewing sustainable relations with key global partners (non-western) by maneuvering actively in Central Asian region. And the new era of reset of relations with Russia started, and it was quite important for Central Asian states as well. The new era of New Silk Road strategy of Obama administration through C5+1 strategy was smoothly in the process of implementation.

### Literature review

There are a select few resources that address the crucial role in initiating key arguments and theories of the US foreign policy concepts towards Central Asia and Latin America throughout the article and played an important role in the final conclusion reached. In the essay by S.F. Starr “In defense of Greater central Asia”, it is written that Central Asia may again become a pivotal one by developing its relations with the most outstanding world actors such as Russia, US and China, further providing with the cross-sectional and descriptive study analyses on each region of Central Asia and their impact on the US foreign policy. In the article of CABAR (Central Asian Bureau for Analytical Reporting) by A. Akmatolieva, it is emphasized that in the US Central Asia policy the rehabilitation of transatlantic relations will make great affect on the joint efforts of the US and EU to expand cooperation with Central Asia and diversify the economies of this region. The US Strategy for Central Asia 2019-2025 by Bureau for South and Central Asian Affairs provides the policy objectives on supporting and strengthening the sovereignty of Central Asian region, expanding and

maintaining support for stability in Afghanistan and finally promoting C5+1 Diplomatic platform. The US policy toward Central Asia 3.0 under Carnegie Endowment for international Peace written by E. Rumer, R. Sokolsky and P. Stronski gives detailed and open analyses on rebooting the US policy in security and the attainment of critical foreign policy on domestic and geopolitical trends of Central Asia, and their integration with Russia, China, Iran and Afghanistan.

In the book “Exciting the whirlpool-US Foreign Policy toward Latin America and the Caribbean”, Robert A. Pastor provides essential views for examining Washington’s relationship toward Latin American region and explains the vantage analysis of the influence of the post-Cold War phase of the international relations, its comparative analysis of the US national security and foreign policy concepts, ideological elements that dominated in both Americas. In the book “Latin America confronts the US, Asymmetry and Influence”, Tom Long suggests a fresh look toward US-Latin American relations through the analysis of six countries and accentuating on the way how the Latin American leaders managed to change the power asymmetries to influence the US foreign policy. In the book “Latinos: Remarking America”, Marcelo Suarez Orozco, Mariela Paez, describes the process of latinization, the drastic rise of migration flow that significantly reshaped the character of the US foreign policy. The brings different points of view on analyzing the pan-ethnic latino construct and the development of the latino identity within transnational relations on the context of US foreign policy actions. In the article “BRICS: A Challenge to the US Hegemony”, Muhammad Adnan provides the analysis of the connotation of BRICS and two theoretical views on Neorealism and Institutionalism, its liberal perspective and comparative analysis for BRICS and IBSA countries. In the article “Foreign Policy Analysis in Latin American Democracies: the case for a research protocol”, Dawisson Belem Lopes, Carlos Aurelio Pimenta de Faria, Manoel Santos describe an alternative theoretical path in contemporary Latin American foreign policies, give the analysis of comparative politics and consequently new general theories on Latin American policies towards the US.

Of interest, there are the studies for our further comparative analysis – International Diplomacy working paper on “The Obama Administration and Latin America: Towards a New Partnership?” Daniel P. Erikson, № 46; Latin American Commission on Drugs and Democracy protocol, Rio de Janeiro; MERIDA Initiative report on “Drugs, Guns and

Friends”, Committee on force relations of the US; Aspenia online international forum on “Trumps America First” approach towards Latin America, Nicole Bilotta; Americas Global role e-newspaper article on “The wisdom of trying COVID-19 Humanitarian Assistance to Policy Objectives in Venezuela”, Nicola Bilotta, Dr. Christopher Sebatini; Pew research center database on: 1.US-Mexico border wall, 2.lack of confidence of Latin American people in President Trump, 3. Positive views of the US down across most Latin American countries; Global American Campaign working group conclusions on “Recommendations for the US-Latin American and Caribbean Policy”.

### Research methodology

In this article we used cross-case comparison and synthesized the analyses of the US foreign policy and how leaders of Central Asia and Latin America made a great impact on the US behavior and the hemispheric relations and polarity based on their conceptualizations and strategies of foreign policy. There were used three analytical stages that structure the case studies of the article, such as: problem understanding; foreign policy goals and strategies; outcomes. During the research we used case and cross case analyses with its dynamics so that to examine the US tendency for reorientation towards Central Asia and Latin America. We also provided set of cases to study the influence of Central Asia and Latin America towards the gradual change of the US foreign policy behavior, hemispheric relations and polarity in world politics arena.

### Discussion and results

The US foreign policy towards Latin America had been modified and gone through many phases-starting from the “Good Neighbor Policy” by Franklin Roosevelt (32nd president of the US, 1933-1945) proposed at the Pan-American Conference in Montevideo, Uruguay, that tended to establish a cooperative relationship with Latin America; second stage was during the Cold War between 1945-1989 which was more decisive in defining the concept of the current foreign policy. The sudden emergence of new blocks –superpowers such as the US and Soviet Union resulted in new conflicts of interests for domination of the polarity over the world political scene. Latin America was forced to choose between two camps and in accordance with the neoconservative expert Norman Podhoretz (1980, *The Present Danger* (New York: Simon and Schuster) to choose between US and

Soviet Union lifestyle, and it was a key contributor for further facilitation of political climate over the South. It's emblematic, but the end of the Second World War led the US smoothly into a new level of economic prosperity due to not having the advantage of waging those wars in their own territory that finally in 1945 reinforced the GDP for 35% and stock private investments for 50%. And Latin America's economy operated in close collaboration and under strong control with the US during that period of time.

The Pan-American system gradually turned into the Organization of American State (OAS), and some left political activists proclaimed it as the "The United States Ministry of Latin American Colonies". This organization turned out to be one of the Washington's instrument projects over Latin America and Caribbean states. The OAS was a certain "message" to the Soviet Union – if by all means the Soviet Union would attack against of the states of the US, it would mean that they would attack all signatory countries. A very well thought –out move. Gradually the OAS turned out to be the deployment of the world the consensus between the elites of the US and Latin America against the communism. That was a short-lived period, most of the permanent councils of the OAS rose up against the US foreign policy within the organization, and such countries were as Peru, Ecuador (1960), during Falklands war (1982) and the intervention to Panama (1989). Finally by the end of the Cold war, the OAS fell into existential crises.

When the Soviet Union was collapsed, the OAS started to modify one of its pillars and commenced on concentrating the liberal values of democracy so that to ensure its credibility in front of the Latin American states. But it did not work and did not place the OAS onto the central stage as the way it was assigned before. And Washington started to facilitate the other roadmap of the OAS restructure adjustment in monopolizing the Latin American region through International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank and Inter-American Development Bank (IADB). Due to the fact that Washington was mostly preoccupied with the economic reforms and investments it did not intend to be influential or arbiter in cases of political conflicts in Latin American regions. For example, its voice did not count during the conflicts between Chile and Argentina (1984) or Peru and Ecuador (1998).

With the power of the left in 2000 in Latin America, the US lost its control over the Inter-American system. The left-wing government instantly started to build its muscles and weaken the influence of the OAS, as most them thought that the OAS is the same as the "Monroe Doctrine". The left reinforced the new process of regionalization that

finally led to the founding of a new organization that could unite all the Latin American states into one union and gradually separate from the OAS. This organization was called as the Union of South American states (UNASUR, 2008). It was a very risky and challenging move. It included the issues concerning the political, economic and defense lines between the countries. It instantly started to intervene into the political conflicts and crises in Bolivia (2008), between Venezuela and Colombia (2010), Ecuador (2012), and Paraguay (2012), and the OAS was totally excluded from the mediation and negotiation control.

Right after UNASUR, there came the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC, 2010). This community was dedicated to political cooperation and became the international platform for discussion between the region's states. The Community grew globally and there were several international meetings such as CELAC-Russia, CELAC-India, CELAC-European Union, CELAC-China and etc.

In 2015 the former minister of foreign affairs of Uruguay Luis Almagro (2010-2015), the representative of the left-wing government, by the support of the left and nomination of the president of Uruguay Jose Mujica (2010-2015), he was elected as the secretary-general of the OAS. After being officially assigned Luis Almagro gave a solemn promise to continue the path of independence. But he swiftly recast himself, changed the political trajectory, and started orchestrating the OAS's key initiatives that left a complex of negative legacy effects. It was vivid Luis Almagro was thoroughly working on returning the OAS under the auspices of the US. For example, in October 2019, there was an election in Bolivia, and the current president Evo Morales won the election in the first round (47,08%), leaving his rival Carlos Mesa with 10 % less votes (36,51%). According to the constitution of Bolivia when the candidate gets more than 40% of votes, it means his wins the first round election. But the OAS's electoral observations proclaimed some uncertainty in votes and did not allow Evo Morales to stave off a second round.

What was the reaction? At that point, protests burst into cities, setting fire and turning the city into turmoil and riots. As voters divided into two groups, those who were for the election to be fraud, the other to be fair. The opposition had been radicalized and Evo Morales had to go into exile under the threat of the army. The OAS could not prove its accusation of the election fraud in accordance with to the final report of Washington Center of Economic and Policy

Research (CEPR). Some weeks later the political theater continued its performance and Jeanine Anez (ex-interim president of Bolivia, 2019-2020) de facto announced support for the re-election of Luis Almagro for OAS. The re-election of Luis Almagro undoubtedly marks the return to the “Monroe Doctrine”.

Now, we can see that OAS again got its domination and started to play favorably towards the US interests. And there is a question – if there is a positive and sustainable future for the US foreign policy reorientation towards Latin America? What to expect?

The US relations with Latin America during and after the Cold War exhibited important economic and political aspects for further better facilitation of the US policies. And there were more vivid positive outcomes rather than negative. Since the end of the Cold War, the US policy in Latin America re-established around the goals for promoting human rights protection, democracy and regional security. For example, over the years the US was successful in achieving its goals: Cuba reduced its criticism towards the US and improved cooperation; Colombian peace process support resulted in reduction of terrorist violence; and the Free Trade Agreement in 2012 encouraged the economic growth for both Americas. All these facts somehow improved the image of the US policy in front of the people of Latin American region. But for a short time the music played its song and the intentions for building the bridge of mutual understanding and beneficial cooperation were swiftly abrupt.

The election of the left leader – Hugo Chavez in Venezuela (1998) indicated the onset of new era for a politically difficult decade. The left leader of Venezuela consciously started to reject the US economic and political foreign policy towards the development of economic and social prosperity in Latin American region. They thought that OAS do not meet the requirements to their interests, blocks the region’s ideological diversity and weakens the commitments to defend clear standards of institution to protect its democracy and socialism. The OAS was an obstacle for regional integration, and they created its own new institution – UNASUR, where they tried to withdraw the influence of OAS totally and made the hemispheric relations tenser. This was the situation when newly elected president of the US Barack Obama inherited from his predecessor. By the end of his presidency (2017) there were few critics regarding the policy towards Latin America and he left some prospects of tuneful relations between the US and Latin America.

If we refer to the past relationships between Americas, so we can find in the history that there were few moments when the US was a real partner, those were within trade openness of the region and economic development, international market integration before the outbreak of the World War I. However, Barack Obama came closer that his previous administrations in overcoming high tensions with Latin American region. This period was proclaimed as a honeymoon, the period that helped to revive the flagging relationships that were a total disenchantment during Bush administration.

Barack Obama’s foreign policy to Latin America achieved some vivid beneficially good results. The first, to broaden the foreign policy environment, for example, frequent meeting within G20 (Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, Canada), diplomatic and prudent resurrect towards Cuba and Venezuela; second, when Obama softened the edges towards Cuba within a “war and drugs” policy (2008), Merida Initiatives (guns, drugs and friends) that provided military support to Mexico and rendered assistance in establishing internal security against guerilla in Colombia; third, immigration reforms.

Overall, the US has been always alert of foreign powers that interfered the Western hemisphere, and Latin America’s growing international relations made the US be alert and keep the eyes peeled. For example, the frequent meetings with the Iranian president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad (2005-2013) with Venezuelan president Hugo Chavez (1999-2013), Brazil with its deepening ties with Russia, China and India (BRICS, 2006). Those actions were step by step challenging the US potential strength to reconsider their foreign policy and establish a new mild method for remaining Latin America off-limit to those powers; because in accordance with the data of International institute for strategic studies, the sales of Russian weapon to Latin America reached the top –US 5,4 billion in 2009 and the Iranian gradual meddling into Latin-American region also triggered the Obama administration into some latent tensions between Latin America, as the US did not want to accept their declining influence in the region. For example, as soon as Hugo Chavez was officially elected as the president of Venezuela, he swiftly started to pose himself as the most severe opponent to the US power. He rejected the US’ historical leadership over the region and made efforts to create a new network of alliances independent of the US. His attempts to replace the IMF and the World Bank into the Latin American Banco del Sur, then to replace the FTAA into the Bolivarian Alternative for Latin America (ALBA), and finally to establish

news station Telesur as an alternative to the US news media sources.

If we talk about Brazil, we should mention that Brazil is the world's fifth largest region with its largest population and economy, and it was also willing to reform some of the global powers in the international arena, as it also wanted to be recognized either politically or economically as a part of the new hegemon. But unlike Venezuela, Brazil chose a very careful path so that to ensure that its pursuits would not open conflicts with the US. For example, the president of Brazil Lula Dilma Rousseff (2011-2016) and G.W. Bush, from a political point view had quite warm and steady relationships, as both accepted the fact that Brazil was and would be the relevant actor and voice of the Latin American region, and it was crucial for both to be on good foot. And Obama administration continued its good neighboring policy. The US-Brazil sustainable relations helped a lot in handling the tensions in Venezuela, Honduras, Colombia and Bolivia. Those relations were posing themselves as a vital engine in building delicate diplomacy with the region. The smooth emergence of a new hegemon- Brazil into the international political arena added some new dimensions to balancing the power between the US, Latin America, Russia and China. In conclusion, one must emphasize that during the Obama administration there were lots of pressing challenges confronted and he was repairing them and recalibrated its policy towards the Latin American region. The US rendered its support to lift Cuba's suspension from the OAS and called for restoration of democracy in Honduras. Overall, Obama remains as one of the best presidents that advanced the strategy for sustainable and issue-oriented foreign policy towards Latin America.

Donald Trump's foreign policy. In 2016 Donald Trump was officially proclaimed as the president of the US (2016-2020) with his clear "America First" strategy. And with his strategy it was quite obvious what political scenario he intended to implement and that Latin American region would not be in priority. Latin America's lack of strategic importance would not change under the Trump administration. If we refer to the late 80's and to the present, so we can notice that three essential pillars, such as free trade, democracy and security, comprised the US foreign policy toward Latin America. It was strongly supported either by the Republican presidents Ronald Reagan, G.H.W. Bush, G.W. Bush or Democrats as Bill Clinton and Barack Obama.

In accordance with the data survey of a Pew Research survey in 2015 there were 45% of Latin American people that did not support the policy of

the Obama administration (1), and under the Trump administration the share drastically increased up to 70% (2). Even in Brazil, where Jair Bolsonaro vigorously praised the policy of Trump, the average confidence decreased from 69% in 2013 to 28% in 2020 (3). The low percentage was the result of Trump's aggressive course against Central American immigrants, for example, the construction of the wall on the border of Mexico, thereby, slowing down the immigration to the US, the reset of free trade agreement, or alleviation of China's power in Latin American region, and finally maintaining political and economic pressure on Bolivia, Venezuela, Nicaragua and Cuba.

Moreover, the Trump administration put on pause most of the aid, for example for Honduras, El Salvador and Guatemala with the view to stopping the flow of immigrants and asylum-seekers, while the Obama administration tried to promote more economic and political support to those regions. D. Trump's foreign policy maintained very strict rules and tightened restrictions against Venezuela and vigorously supported an interim (self-proclaimed) president of Venezuela Juan Guaido in 2019. But the US Democratic Transition in Venezuela failed due to inefficient coordination of multilateral support at that time, such as rejection of support for Oslo Dialogue or International Contact Group (ICG) led by the EU.

The pressure on Cuba had totally reversed B. Obama's warm welcome to Havana. With his restriction on travel and trade between the US and Cuba led to political and economic disaster, that thereby resulted onto a great strategic mistake, as Cuba changed its vector into China and Russia.

In conclusion, analyzing the foreign policy of D. Trump towards Latin America one should notice that the Monroe Doctrine was back again and the four years of D. Trump's presidency driven by "America First" strategy and approach definitely produced a worse outcome for Latin American region.

Joe Biden's foreign policy. Almost from the first day of his presidency Joe Biden, 47<sup>th</sup> president of the US (2021 till present) showed his first tangible sign of changing the vector of the US' foreign policy towards Latin America. For example, he granted the Temporary Protected Status to Venezuelans because of the continuing humanitarian crises there. Venezuela and Cuba are still one of the complicated potential for the Biden administration to recover and restore the international cooperation with those regions due to a great mistake made by the previous president, as most the Latin American regions turn their eyes to China, Russia and Iran. Trump's popular concept for Latin America as a "Troika of tyranny" (Nicaragua,

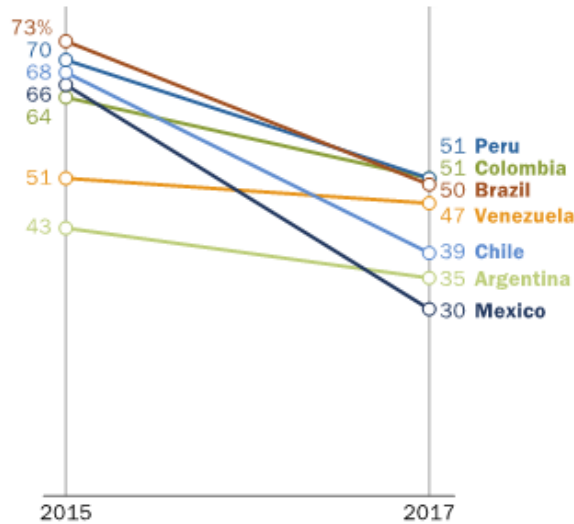


Venezuela and Cuba) was a re-enactment to what was previously proposed by G.W. Bush as “axes of evil” (Iraq, Iran and North Korea) had significantly exacerbated the political climate between both America. But the Biden administration step by step

catching up the Obama era policy towards Latin America and turning away a 180-degree the actions done by Trump. Now it is a watchful waiting moment to see what new administration is initiating to start with and what results to expect.

**Positive views of the U.S. down across most of Latin America**

*Favorable views of the U.S.*



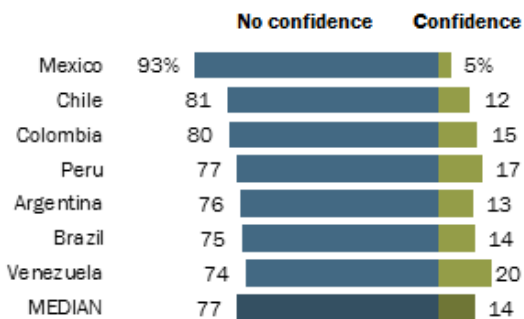
Note: Colombia favorability ratings are from 2014.  
Source: Spring 2017 Global Attitudes Survey.

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Figure 1

**Large majorities in Latin America lack confidence in President Trump**

*How much confidence do you have in U.S. President Donald Trump to do the right thing regarding world affairs?*



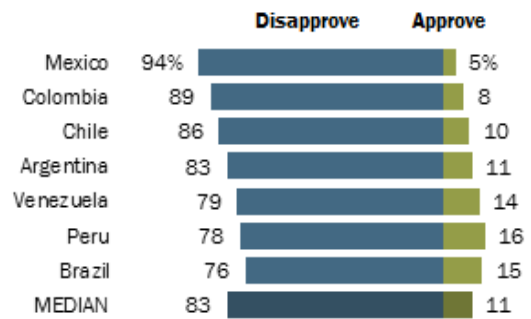
Source: Spring 2017 Global Attitudes Survey.

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Figure 2

**Majorities in Latin America oppose proposed U.S.-Mexico border wall**

*Do you approve or disapprove of President Donald Trump's proposal to build a wall on the border between the U.S. and Mexico?*



Source: Spring 2017 Global Attitudes Survey.

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Figure 3

In regard to his strategies, some of his priorities in order to rehabilitate and recalibrate the foreign policy toward Latin America regions are: human rights in Latin America by defending the civic space and opposing the authoritarianism; playing a major role in humanitarian aid due to Covid-19 in Latin America; cooperation with Mexico in suspending a blueprint for “Remain in Mexico” and elimination humanitarian disaster caused by it; putting on pause the building the wall between the US and Mexican borders; negotiations with Venezuelan government regarding the re-establishment of humanitarian exemption which will ease Venezuela to revive the trade of crude oil, as well as the to review the Venezuelan sanctions; and re-engage the diplomacy with Cuba by reviewing the Article III of the Helms-Burton Act which was suspended in 1996 but then reactivated in 2019 by Trump.

Likewise in Latin America, Central Asia after disintegration of the USSR, the position of the US gradually became stronger in the region. After gaining the independence, the US started to implement active adjustments of relationships with Central Asia, as practically, Central Asia is an “Islamic arch” that goes through geostrategic countries as Russia, China, Afghanistan, Iran.

As it has already been mentioned the US was one among the first to welcome the sovereignty of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan Turkmenistan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, and has contributed towards security support and economic development and their prosperity over the last recent decades. The US foreign policy has always admitted the fact that Central Asia is and will be a strategic and commercial partner, and a sustainable bridge between Europe and Asia. The primary strategic interest of the US is to make Central Asia be more prosperous, open to global markets and investments and build strong democratic institutions. And the US efforts to counter against terrorism, energy security support are basically provided the stability support of Central Asia, which resulted in enhancement of economy in the region (4).

For the last decades, the US has provided several billions of indirect assistance to support of security, economic growth and political stability through the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, European Bank of Reconstruction and Development and Asian Bank of Development so that to generate thousands of local jobs and enhancing human capacity (5).

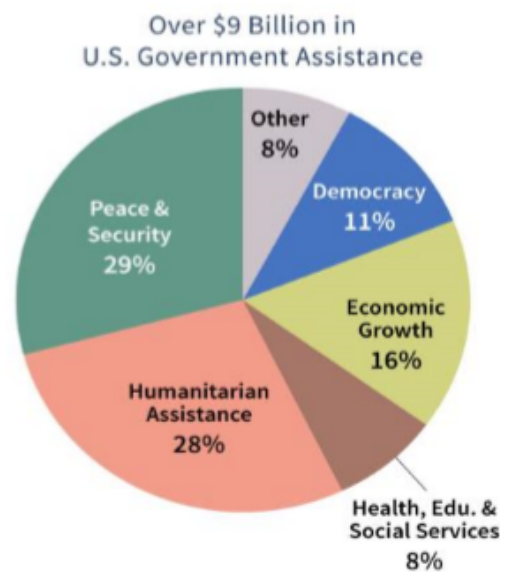


Figure 4

Over \$91 Billion\* of U.S.-Led Investment in Central Asia



Figure 5

After the ratification of the US Strategy for Central Asia in 2015, the leaders in Central Asia started to make reforms in terms of intraregional connections i.e. deeper commitment in political and economic reforms through C5+1 platform. The Central Asia efforts to increase investments and attract the US business is dynamically developing and show the vivid interest to integrate not only in the region but beyond, as well as to comply with

the international norms. In accordance with these interests, the main vector of the US foreign policy is to reduce of economic and political presence of Russia in the region, and to discharge the influence from China and Iran as well, so that to create the nourishing conditions for the US to create balance and render economic and political assistance to Central Asian region.

### Conclusion

It should be admitted that Latin America is and will remain the counterpart for the US region as well as Central Asia. As long as it is the world's largest economy with its most powerful military power and the source of so called "soft power". The Latin American region is and will be of considerable interest to the US, and what happens in Latin America really matters the US, it's like an invisible thin thread that connects two hemispheres tight, for example, Latin America still provides significant impact on labor market, investments and they are even able to influence on issues regarding climate change, pandemics and nuclear proliferation. The North and South America relations further will be shaped by global challenges either regional and sub-regional development and it is very difficult to describe in one simple paradigm, as they are multifaceted full of diversity and contradictions.

Latin American regions are experiencing transformations and now they are the regions that may be considered as a global interlocutor in terms of global context. The prosperity of the Latin American region is crucial to the US security stability. The era considering Latin America as the backyard or backstage of the US has been totally over. The cases of NAFTA, ALBA, MERCOSUR, UNASUR, BRICS, BRI- illustrate that Latin America to certain strategies influence the US foreign policy even though the position of Latin American regions is much more weaker or as Tom Long noted asymmetrical relations. Even if we note the leaders of the Latin American region, we could see their constant attempt to demonstrate their ambitious political goals and partially they made the US foreign policy address the Latin American interests in the region.

For the Central Asian countries the inevitable part of the US Foreign Policy Strategy (2015) is the firm intention not to be outside the zone of strategic impact, in particular, it is spoken about the strengthening of power security of the US in delivering the power resources, as energy resources determine the value of international relations on the global and regional

levels. The current security situation in central Asia is strongly defined by Western impact, which smoothly outlined two major players – US and EU through implementation of some political and military key instruments. It has been historically proven that the geostrategic position of Central Asian region was pivotal, as it is and will be a part of heartland exceptionless controlling the world order. Serving as an indispensable buffer zone for the Soviet Union, the region played a great role during the period of Cold War. After the collapse of the Soviet Union the US started to show their triumph claiming their position to be as a superpower and intensely began to implement the liberal world order in Central Asia. And the US adventure in this region started immediately with the policies of security and economic dominance. But the ill-informed implementations of the US foreign policy of all the previous presidents led Central Asian region turn into the influence of Russia, China and Iran. As we can see through SCO or Eurasian economic community. The reasons for the US failure either in Central Asia or Latin America were both political and structural, none of the foreign policies did not alienated both regions from two hegemonic actors such as Russia, China.

In this article I used cross-case comparison and synthesized the analyses of the US foreign policy and how leaders of Central Asia and Latin America made a great impact on the US behavior and change the hemispheric relations and polarity, moreover, most of the new policy goals are now adopted towards foreign policy towards Central Asia and Latin America. However, through comparison, we may examine that the weaker state is the more influence it can be in domestic and international political arenas, that finally structure a new hemisphere which advisable not be a stumbling block but rather a testing or laboratory bloc for developing successful economic patterns for the prosperity of global trading system between South and Central Asia and North and South Americas and remain the WTO (World Trade Organization) open, and to nurture trust and mutual understanding between confronted parties. The current US foreign policy in regards to the analyses done we can see that the goal of the policy is not just an improvement of quality life for Central Asian and Latin American people but to narrow the gaps that separates rich and poor people within the nations. If all the regions' leaders act valiantly, not for personal gain but greater good they can establish a sustainable model where all the industrialized and developing countries would try to emulate the greater ones.

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