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**ЭВОЛЮЦИЯ ЛАТИНОАМЕРИКАНСКОЙ ПОЛИТИКИ США ПРИ АДМИНИСТРАЦИЯХ Д.ТРАМПА И Дж.БАЙДЕНА**

**THE EVOLUTION OF US LATIN AMERICAN POLICY UNDER THE ADMINISTRATIONS OF D. TRUMP AND D. BIDEN**

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**Аннотация.**

В магистерской диссертации анализируется внешнеполитический вектор США в отношении стран Латинской Америки. Государства данного региона всегда имели большое значение для Соединенных Штатов. Сам регион является одним из крупнейших торговых партеров, в то же время оказывается источником нелегального трафика наркотиков и миграционного давления. На сегодняшний день отношения между Северной и Южной Америками определяются совместными интересами, как политическими, так и экономическими. Интерес Белого дома к южным соседям определяется его экономическим развитием, а интерес Латинской Америки к Соединённым Штатам определяется интересом к возможностям для развития собственной промышленности. В рамках анализа латиноамериканской политики США рассматривается стратегия Белого дома с целью выявления новых путей развития и подходов к странам Латинской Америки. В диссертации подчеркнута важность экономических и политических проблем, а также проведен подробный анализ их решения в период администраций Джо Байдена и Дональда Трампа.

Ключевые слова: Латинская Америка, США, латиноамериканская политики США, Джо Байден, Дональд Трамп, межамериканские отношения.

**Abstract.**

 The master's thesis examines the direction of American foreign policy toward Latin American nations. The United States has long placed a high value on the states in this region. Although the region is one of the main commercial partners, it also serves as a source of illegal drug trafficking and pressure on migration. Today, shared political and economic interests govern interactions between North and South America. While Latin America's interest in possibilities to build its own industry determines its interest in the United States, the White House is interested in its southern neighbors because of their economic progress. The White House plan is taken into consideration as part of the research of US Latin American policy in order to pinpoint fresh development and diplomatic strategies for the region's nations. The dissertation focuses on the significance of political and economic issues and provides a thorough examination of how they were resolved under the administrations of Donald Trump and Joe Biden.

Key words: Latin America, USA, US Latin American politics, Joe Biden, Donald Trump, inter-American relations.

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# Introduction

The relevance of this study lies in the fact that the countries of Latin America have always occupied an important place in relations with the United States. Despite the historical and cultural differences between the regions, the states of the Western Hemisphere to this day have a great economic, political and cultural influence on each other. At the same time, there have been changes in the dynamics of relations between the United States of America and the countries of Latin America since the adoption of the Monroe Doctrine by the American President to the present day.

The chronological framework of the master's thesis includes the period of the 21st century, where the lower limit is 2016 and the upper limit is the beginning of 2023 (and covers the period of the presidential administrations of Donald Trump and Joseph Biden).

 The purpose of the study is to determine the prospects for further relations between the United States and the Latin American region.

**The purpose of the study determined a set of research tasks:**

1) Study the evolution of US relations with Latin American countries in the 21st century;

2) To identify changes in the methods of conducting US foreign policy towards Latin America;

3) Analyze the conduct of Latin American policy by Presidents D. Trump and J. Biden;

4) To reveal the reasons for the conflict relations between the USA and the countries of Latin America;

5) Compare the specifics of the US Latin American policy under the administrations of Presidents D. Trump and J. Biden.

6) Study the changing US priorities in their Latin American policy.

**The object of the study is** the US Latin American policy under the administrations of D. Trump and J. Biden**.**

**The subject of the dissertation** is the features of US interaction with the countries of the Latin American region.

**The novelty of this paper** lies in the fact that a comprehensive analysis of the Latin American policy of the United States of America under the presidency of Donald Trump and Joseph Biden is being carried out. There are still quite a few scientific works devoted to a comprehensive analysis of US foreign policy in Latin America at the present stage, and existing works are mainly devoted to the study of US bilateral relations with certain countries of the region. This master's thesis is an analysis of the parameters of US Latin American policy, while it explores not only the bilateral relations of the White House with certain key countries of the Latin American region, but also identifies the multilateral approaches of the United States.

**Methodology and research methods:**

The master's thesis is built on the basis of a descriptive method and a structural element. In the course of the analysis undertaken in the master's thesis, an integrated approach of various methods was used: the method of comparative observation, which assumes that offers a comparative analysis of the activities of Latin American governments and the governments of the United States of America, as well as a comparison of the interactions of the regions of the Western Hemisphere during the reign of D. Trump and J. Biden, historical and biographical methods were also used, in the analysis of historical and biographical information, a functional element that was used to consider the influence of various foreign policy, economic and historical relations between the United States and the countries of Latin America.

**The source** base of the dissertation is determined by the goal, objectives and methodology. In the process of writing a dissertation research, sources of various species characteristics were used.

In preparing this work, official US government websites were used, in particular, the official website of the US State Department, which contains documents on the main US initiatives in relation to Latin America. The data of the draft annual US budget were also considered in order to analyze statistical data and identify the main directions and priorities of US foreign policy under the administration of President George Biden (which are compared with the priorities of previous administrations).

When writing the work, the author also analyzed the clerical documents of various US government agencies and American organizations related to issues of relations between the US and Latin American countries during the study period. These materials, published on government websites, were used to trace the specifics and evolution of the foreign policy courses and strategies officially proclaimed by the United States, as well as the foreign policy of Latin American states.

During the writing of the master's thesis, various research papers were used to consider the relations between the United States and Latin American countries in certain historical eras, to monitor the evolution of relations, changes in the strategies and methods of the United States in relation to the Latin American region.

From domestic authors, I used the works of N. N. Bolkhovitinov, Rosenthal D.M. (from the latter, in particular, the necessary information was obtained on relations between the United States and Venezuela), Lavut A.A.'s works made it possible to better understand the Latin American model of US foreign policy. In the works of Kodzoev M.A. the problem of American-Cuban relations was raised, in the works of Sokov I. A, an analysis was made of relations between the United States and Mexico in the context of the ratification of the USMCA agreement.

The historiographic base was also made up of literature on Latin America, its history, political processes in the region, and contemporary relations with the United States. In this regard, the works of such domestic scientists as V.A Shikhov, G.N. Sevastyanov, V.P. Sudarev, I.A. Istomin, Martynov B.F., which made it possible to better understand the facts of the history of the US Latin American policy and the history of international relations in Latin America as a whole. Of foreign authors in this regard, the works of Thomas E, Peter H, L. Bethell, I. Roxborough, García de Cortázar should be noted. All these researchers are distinguished by an integrated approach to the study of Latin American issues. The analysis of political and integration processes in Latin America was studied in the works of Russian researchers V.L. Heifets and P.P. Yakovlev, Lavut A.A.

Among foreign authors, it is also worth highlighting Bender M., who also wrote about US relations with countries belonging to the USMCA, Mark P. Sullivan, Rebecca M. Nelson studied US-Argentine relations, and D. M. Ruvalcaba wrote in his works about the Latin American policy of J. Biden .

 In the process of writing the dissertation, materials from leading American, Russian, British and Spanish-language media were analyzed. The first subgroup consists of print media. Among the American media, I used The Washington Post, The National Interest, The New York Times, British, BBC Politico, The Guardian, The Daily Telegraph, CNN, Reuters, Russian "Russian.rt", "Rossiyskaya Gazeta", "Tass" "RBC", "Russia Today", "Lenta.ru" Expansion". The entire review of the media of various ideological orientations made it possible to present a complete picture of the opinions and views on the US Latin American policy at the present stage and made it possible to conduct a detailed analysis of the US Latin American policy between D. Trump and D. Biden.

To study the current relations between the Latin American states and the United States, materials from various information portals were also used, where reports on recent events were collected. For example, the article "Una hora de conversación telefónica "fructífera y amistosa" entre Trump y Peña Nieto" contains information about a telephone conversation between US Presidents D. Trump and Mexican President Peña Nieto, the article "Make it in one term: what Donald Trump achieved in the presidency of the United States” tells about the successes and results of D. Trump as president, the article “Biden, Joseph. "Colombia is the keystone of U.S. policy in Latin America and the Caribbean." says J. Biden's Latin American policy in the Caribbean region.

The structure of the work is predetermined by a set of selected sources and the purpose and objectives of the study. The dissertation consists of an introduction, three chapters, a conclusion, a list of references and references. This paper will consider the evolution of US relations with Latin American countries in 3 stages: I - Since the signing of the Monroe Doctrine until the beginning of the 21st century, II - US Latin American policy under the administration of Donald Trump, III - US Latin American policy under the Joe Biden administration. In the course of a comparative analysis of the US Latin American policy during the administrations of Donald Trump and Joe Biden, the work focuses on the election programs of both presidents regarding Latin American politics, relations with Mexico as a bordering state, and considers the policy of rapprochement and destabilization of relations with a number of Latin American countries.

# Chapter 1. The place of the Latin American region in US foreign policy

## 1.1 Stages in the development of relations between the United States and Latin America

Since the adoption of the Monroe Doctrine by the fifth President of the United States, James Monroe, on December 2, 1823[[1]](#footnote-1), formalized the role of Latin America in the sphere of US interests.

In the very nature of the emergence and development of the United States, from the first days of its existence, lies the desire for expansion, expanding its influence[[2]](#footnote-2). It is this circumstance that is the most important for understanding the nature and essence of the Monroe Doctrine.

The American economy at that time was going through a difficult period. The Anglo-American War of 1812-1814 (1815) gave a powerful impetus to the development of capitalism in the United States and the closely related plantation mode of production in agriculture. Since the War of 1812, the industrial revolution, especially in the cotton industry, has become the predominant trend of economic development[[3]](#footnote-3).

The rapid development of the capitalist North and the American industrial revolution, which opened the way for the US to dominate the capitalist world, was possible thanks to the South, which provided the needs of the rapidly growing cotton industry with raw materials[[4]](#footnote-4).

Cotton gave the South wealth and power, became the basis of the economy and a symbol of wealth. Its production grew rapidly and required a lot of effort: the need for a large amount of rapidly depleted land and a large number of slaves. All these efforts led to a direct relationship between the rapid development of the cotton industry in the North and the dominance of the slave-owning plantation economy in the South. This development of the economy caused a number of problems that limited the extraction of the main resource - the lack of land. This is what led to the need for the United States to desire to expand the ability to use this resource. In other words, the Americans had the idea of territorial expansion as a way out of the problem. If before the war of 1812 the direction of such expansion was directed towards Canada, then after the war, thanks to its results and the changed economic situation, the expansion acquired a southwestern orientation[[5]](#footnote-5).

Continuous expansion of territory was vital to the slave-owning plantation economy of the South. Between the War of 1812 against England and the enactment of the Monroe Doctrine in 1823, the United States conquered West and East Florida, started the settlement and development of Texas, and signed several land acquisition contracts with Indian tribes[[6]](#footnote-6).

The phenomenon of territorial expansion is becoming an important domestic political factor in the development of the United States. The emergence of the Monroe Doctrine is the logical embodiment of the expansionist ideology and the policy of territorial expansion.

During the first half of the 20th century, the development of Latin American countries was marked by the presence and strengthening of the United States of America on their territories, since during these years they exercised unprecedented hegemony over the American continent, in the face of the international weakening of Europe.

In particular, the Americans took care of acquiring natural resources (oil, silver, zinc, copper, rubber, timber, sugar), implemented heavy industry, controlled strategic routes, got cheap labor, conquered consumer markets, and consolidated dominance over financial transactions (money exchanges). banks, stock exchanges)[[7]](#footnote-7). In economic matters, the penetration of American capital was achieved through such banks as the National City Bank, which already had in 1926 a total of 42 branches in nine countries, and the establishment of central banks. These and other banks lent money to fund public works and industrial activities[[8]](#footnote-8).

In the first half of the twentieth century, the United States carried out active interventions in Latin America, thus demonstrating its imperialist interests:

● 1906: American investment in Cuba, which in 1885 was 50 million Cuban pesos, reaches 200 million. In August of that year, an uprising broke out against the puppet president Estrada Palma, who demanded military intervention by the United States. The Americans land and appoint William Taft as Auditor.

● 1907: Dominican Republic. The United States forced the Dominican government to grant him a customs revenue collection, a status that would be maintained for 33 consecutive years.

● 1908: American troops intervene in Panama. In the next decade, he will do it four more times.

● 1910: US Marines occupy Nicaragua to support the regime of Adolfo Diaz.

● 1911: Mexico. To "protect" American citizens, President William Taft orders 20 soldiers to be moved to the southern border and eight warships off the coast of California.

● 1912: US Marines invade Nicaragua and begin an occupation that will last almost uninterrupted until 1933. The day is not far off when three stars and three stripes at three equidistant places delimit our territory: one at the North Pole, another at the Panama Canal, and a third at the South Pole, said President Taft in 1912. Because of our genetic dominance, the entire hemisphere will in reality be ours because it belongs to us morally.

● 1914 - The US Navy bombs the port city of Veracruz, an attack apparently prompted by the detention of American soldiers in Tampico. The Mexican government apologizes, but President Woodrow Wilson orders the navy to attack Veracruz. One hundred Mexican soldiers, several Naval Academy cadets and civilian groups resist heroically. There are 300 dead. Residents stay for several months.

● 1915: Marines occupy Haiti to "restore order". A protectorate was established that would last until 1934. Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan, reporting on the situation in Haiti, commented: "Imagine: black people speak French."

● 1916: Marines occupy the Dominican Republic and remain there until 1924.

● 1918 - Marines occupy the province of Chiriqui in Panama to "maintain public order."

● 1924: US Marines invade Honduras to "broker" the civil war. A Honduran military officer leads an interim government. Honduras is the world's number one exporter of bananas, but the profits go to the United Fruit Company.

● 1925: US Army troops occupy Panama City to end the strike and maintain order.

● 1926: The United States decides to establish a National Guard in Nicaragua. Augusto Cesar Sandino creates a popular army to fight foreign invaders.

● 1927 - A US Marine captain convinces Sandino to surrender. The rebel replies: "I want a free homeland or die." The United States then carried out the first aerial bombardment in Latin America. Attack on the village of El Ocotal. 300 Nicaraguans were killed by Yankee bombs and machine guns.

● 1930 - The Dominican Republic begins the dictatorship of Rafael Leonidas Trujillo, a soldier who came out of the National Guard, promoted and trained by the United States.

● 1933: The United States leaves Nicaragua and leaves control of the country to Anastasio Somoza and his National Guard.

● 1934 - Cesar Augusto Sandino, who laid down his arms, is killed in Nicaragua. The assassination was ordered by Somoza with the complicity of US Ambassador Arthur Bliss Lane.

● 1941 - President Arias is overthrown in a military coup led by Ricardo Adolfo de la Guardia, who first consulted his plan with the US ambassador. Secretary of War Henry Stimson said: "It was a great relief for us because Arias was very restless and pro-Nazi".

Numerous interventions, from the occupation of Cuba in 1898 to the intervention in Panama in 1941, were aimed at strengthening a trading structure that would support their economic development, protecting and expanding their property and investments, supporting pro-American politicians, and overthrowing unwanted regimes.

The economic penetration of the United States into the extractive, manufacturing, and banking sectors of numerous countries left a lasting impression on the development of Central America and the Caribbean throughout the first half of the 20th century. He turned to dishonest politicians and the use of force in the military to protect his interests.

The best example of the Caribbean is the Cuban state, which between 1898 and 1959 was completely dependent on the great neighbor to the north. By 1898 the island was overrun, and in 1901 the government was forced to include his Platt Amendment[[9]](#footnote-9) in the constitution. In general terms, this document meant the loss of the sovereignty of the nation, since it committed itself not to enter into agreements with other countries, as well as to give the United States the right to interfere in the affairs of Cuba if they demanded the preservation of their independence or the protection of the government, in order to protect property, life and freedom.

Using these arguments to their advantage, the United States intervened in various elections and suppressed social movements that were contrary to the economic interests of their companies, such as the United Fruit Company. The US presence was justified by the growth of the gross domestic product (GDP) of the Cubans, but, on the other hand, it created dependence: Cuba became a typical nation with a monoculture - sugar[[10]](#footnote-10).

On the other hand, at the end of the thirties of the last century, Latin America becomes the arena of uncontrolled geopolitical competition. Both the Italians and the Germans seek to establish a dominant influence in Brazil and Argentina, which implies an emerging confrontation with England and, accordingly, with the United States[[11]](#footnote-11).

These events led to a struggle for dominance, from a geopolitical point of view, and, in this struggle, the United States could be vulnerable on its Latin American flank. This favors their expansion in the Caribbean, providing constant military protection of vital sea lanes. Under these circumstances, the Panama Canal is a strategic point to consider, and when the Japanese allied themselves with the Italians and the Germans, the danger of a confrontation in the two oceans became so imminent that the United States was forced to reconsider relations in the Western Hemisphere, in order to ensure unconditional support for the countries of the region in case of war. The issue of national security will become another of the US interests that must be protected in this region.

 When significant American cultural influence surpassed that of Europe and World War II was declared, the United States government, led by F.D. Roosevelt immediately seeks to strengthen ties with the states of the region, openly asking for their political and military support. Thus, from now on, the United States demands from Latin America: Military bases, especially in the Caribbean and on the Atlantic coast of South America; Guaranteed access to key raw materials such as rubber and quartz. Willingness to ally with the United States against the Axis powers if joining a conflict. A guarantee of the neutrality of the Latin American peoples, excluding any danger of the enemy penetrating their territory. The planning of the North American government is producing the expected results during the war, allowing it to increase its influence in Latin America by structuring the flow of raw materials for its war industry from an economic point of view; and from a strategic point of view, adequate political and military cooperation. We can say that the Second World War significantly strengthened ties between the regions of the hemisphere[[12]](#footnote-12).

Rethinking the hemispheric situation will be an urgent issue for the United States. Beginning with the meeting of foreign ministers in Mexico (1945), through the so-called Rio Pact (1947), but especially after the Bogota Conference (1948), the Organization of American States (OAS) created favorable conditions for the revival of the spirit of Pan-Americanism, from the position of continental solidarity expressed this time through a regional association. However, the OAS, despite being assigned specific roles in the regional sphere, soon found itself immersed in extra-regional issues. Thus, during the Korean War, the United States managed to get the Organization to declare North Korea the aggressor - the US position in the UN - thereby involving the Latin American states in the first "hot war" of the so-called Cold War. This can be seen as the first attempt by the United States to politically instrumentalize a number of intergovernmental institutions that will emerge at the regional level in the future[[13]](#footnote-13).

While Pan-Americanism and relations in the Western Hemisphere had been developing since the mid-nineteenth century, Latin America was of particular concern to Washington after 1959, after the victory of the Cuban Revolution. The alliance between Fidel Castro and the USSR during the Cold War heightened the fear of successive administrations. After an unsuccessful attempt at the Bay of Pigs, Castroism tried to defend itself against the new "imperialist aggression" by exporting the revolution to its environment (1960s and 1970s). The search for allies among the Latin American left, the momentum of armed struggle and the creation of guerrilla pockets were a constant problem for Washington.

Beginning in the 1950s, but mostly in the 1960s, a whole current of thought arose in universities and research institutes aimed at scientifically diagnosing the causes of Latin American backwardness. This led to the emergence of the so-called "center and periphery theory", where the center was understood to be the United States and the United Nations, and the periphery - Latin America. This theory was postulated by ECLAC (Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean.) researchers who analyzed the situation of economic dependence of Latin America and the political and social consequences that it entailed for the region[[14]](#footnote-14).

The cases of J. Arbenz in Guatemala in 1954 with the expropriation of United Fruit Company lands and M. Mossadegh in Iran in 1953 confirmed the position of US control in relation to the outside world. But from Latin America itself, J. Figueres (Costa Rica), R. Betancourt (Venezuela) and E. Frey (Chile) called on the United States to promote the development of democracy and broaden access to technology.

In 1961, the OAS Declaration was signed in Punta del Este. The absence of Cuba has already determined the isolationism in which it will be in the future. In Uruguay, a general plan for financial assistance to the continent was drawn up. The Alliance for Progress survived the crisis of the 1970s, but by 1974 it could be considered a failure. In fact, it meant a huge increase in American investment in the south of the continent, as $13.5 billion registered in the name of American entities in 1960 turned into $130 billion by the end of the 1980s. But the required political conditions and the imposition of a coercive economic model eventually stifled the possibilities of genuine autonomous development promised by the Alliance's most ardent supporters[[15]](#footnote-15).

For years, Latin America has been at the center of the US agenda. Reactions ranged from the interventionism of some Republican (Dwight D. Eisenhower, Richard Nixon, and Ronald Reagan) and Democrat (Lyndon Johnson) presidents to new strategies (John F. Kennedy and the Alliance for Progress).

The events of September 11 (2001) completely eliminated Latin America from the US strategic view because it did not constitute a strategic danger, despite the fact that the end of the Cold War (1989) decreased the region's strategic importance. We can infer from the foregoing that developments in the United States' Latin American vector were influenced by the circumstances on the global stage[[16]](#footnote-16).

Various initiatives tried to strengthen relations between the hemispheres, but not because of ideology (anti-communism), but because of trade. This was the case with the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA), which was formed at the beginning of the 21st century. The signing of the FTAA conference was expected in 2005 at the IV summit in Mar del Plata (Argentina), but it did not take place. The discussion revealed serious disagreements between the United States, on the one hand, and Brazil, Argentina and Venezuela, on the other hand, on a number of issues, including the protection of property rights, the problems of reducing subsidies for American exports and freer access to Latin American goods. in the American market[[17]](#footnote-17).

The main reason was the discrepancy between the positions of the US and Brazil on liberalization. The US refused to discuss issues of subsidizing the economy, which is very important for Latin American countries, and offered to submit their proposal to the WTO. Brazil proposes a response to the case on the protection of intellectual property rights that are essential for US companies[[18]](#footnote-18).

The Brazilian government rightly feared that the liberalization of markets for goods and services, as proposed by the United States, would create many problems for individual citizens, since in many product groups the Brazilian industry might not be able to compete; the same applies to agriculture. Brazil is a consequence of the world's agricultural exports, and its economic performance could be severely affected and even undermined if trade is liberalized due to competition from typically resource-based food commodities that the US has no intention of giving up.

In order to increase access to the Latin American market, the United States expands bilateral economic cooperation with countries in Central and South America on the basis of interstate alliances and maintains its use, while also launching multilateral collaboration.

Because the economy is one of the main factors determining US foreign policy both in Latin America and in other parts of the globe. South America is economically important as a sales market, sources of raw materials and resources, as well as an investment market for US private and public loans, which is especially evident with the spread of globalization processes[[19]](#footnote-19). In the field of national security policy in South America, the United States maintains an open market regime and free trade throughout the region[[20]](#footnote-20).

In 2003, the United States welcomes the reduction of customs duties on agricultural products for the CACM countries and ecological societies by 85%, for the countries of the Andean group - by 60-70%, for the countries of MERCOSUR - by 50%; the same kind of proposals were implemented at the tariff for services[[21]](#footnote-21).

The United States, the parties, and the Central American Market (CACM) countries - Guatemala, Honduras, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, and El Salvador - on the other side, signed an agreement in 2004 to form the Central American Free Trade Area (CLFTA).[[22]](#footnote-22). In 2006, the US signed a free trade agreement with Colombia and Peru [[23]](#footnote-23).

## 1.2 Latin American policy of US at the beginning of the 21st century. (George Bush Jr. and Barack Obama)

### 1.2.1Latin American policy of George Bush Jr.

 In the 21st century, relations between the US and Latin America are showing a change in attitude. New challenges and new political leaders will write a new chapter in US Latin American politics.

The central point in inter-American relations remains a huge power asymmetry. The US remains much more important to any Latin American country than any Latin American country is to the US. Latin American countries remain highly vulnerable to events and decisions and rarely have a significant impact on issues outside the region, although Brazil, pre-21st century Cuba, Chile and, more recently, Venezuela are important exceptions.

After taking office in 2001, George W. Bush Jr. was tasked with revitalizing the stagnant inter-American relationship. His political strategy promoted Latin America as one of his top foreign policy concerns. So, in August 2000, he declared that the coming century will be the Century of the Americas while addressing at a campaign event in Miami[[24]](#footnote-24).

The region found itself outside of US national interests after the events of September 11, 2001, which resulted in significant changes to Bush Jr.'s foreign policy agenda. However, due to their close proximity, trade and economic links, and other factors including security threats (crime, drug trafficking, illegal immigration, etc.), the United States were unable to entirely sever ties with their southern neighbors. After September 11, Washington began to place a high priority on the war against terrorism and began to view the nations of Latin America through the lens of this conflict. It then began to use these countries as pawns in a global power struggle to advance its own goals.

The Pan-American Free Trade Area, a superproject of integration, was one of Washington's top ambitions in the early 2000s. According to the White House, the initiative would serve as the foundation for the future Community of Western Hemisphere nations, which would be governed like the EU but with American leadership. However, Latin American nations addressed ALCA from their own perspectives, as their main objective was to use diplomatic and commercial relations with Washington to address issues related to socioeconomic growth[[25]](#footnote-25).

J. Bush Jr. dealt a severe blow to the policy of establishing ALCA in the spring of 2002. His "commitment" to the ideals of free trade was overshadowed by domestic political reasons relating to his intentions for re-election for a second term as president. As a result, Washington implemented a number of protectionist policies, drawing ire from its southern neighbors. On the other hand, Washington's hopes that the economic "binding" to the integration projects it leads will automatically force the countries of the region to follow US foreign policy were little supported by Latin American states' refusal to support the American resolution on a military action against Baghdad, such as Mexico, Chile, Brazil, Argentina, etc[[26]](#footnote-26).

In other words, the conflict between methods of global integration and the deployment of foreign policy tools was made abundantly obvious by the friction that already existed between the nations of the regions over the creation of the All-American Free Trade Area. The United States sought to represent liberalism, openness, and multilateralism. The White House has avoided positive integration in favor of expanding economic regionalism[[27]](#footnote-27).

The incapacity of Latin American governments to maintain control over their respective nations' borders was seen by Washington as the biggest threat to US security faced by its southern neighbor. Washington's primary goal was to establish "effective sovereignty" over the unruly areas, which resulted in the justifiable discontent of Latin Americans[[28]](#footnote-28).

In the second term of his presidency, George W. Bush Jr. began to pursue a softer policy of rapprochement with respect to Latin America[[29]](#footnote-29). The Republican administration tried to take steps to strengthen ties with the nations of the region of Latin America. Despite the fact that Washington's actions were largely symbolic in nature[[30]](#footnote-30), this was due to the fact that the Bush administration, Jr. was unable to resist the left turn.

Washington nevertheless took acts that angered Latin Americans, such as the 2008 re-creation of the US Fourth Fleet, which served during the Second World War, in spite of the more "soft" stance. The goals of Washington's reconstruction of it were to fight the drug trade, carry out humanitarian missions, perform deeds of kindness, and engage in cooperative training with allies for regional security in Latin America. This was interpreted by the nations in the region as growing hostility on the part of the United States, a desire to maintain constant control over them, and a danger to these states' independence.[[31]](#footnote-31)

Regarding relations between the US and Mexico, due to their close proximity, these two countries engage in a variety of interactions. It is well known that Mexicans were ecstatic to see George W. Bush Jr. win the presidential election in November 2000. The improvement of US-Mexican relations was also a top concern for the new owner of the White House, who had previously served as the governor of Texas. The issue of illegal immigration was the main topic of discussion at six meetings between the presidents of the two nations in 2001. Even attempts at liberalizing the immigration regime were made by the parties. However, a perfectly reasonable procedure of "closing the border" started as a result of the September 11 attacks in the United States. As a result, there has been no advancement in the negotiations to solve the migration issue for 2002–2003. Additionally, the bilateral relations only got worse in the years that followed. G. Bush Jr. signed into law the construction of a double metal wall on the US-Mexico border in October 2006, going against the FTZ's rules. The wall will be 1100 km long and 6 m high. Additionally, he mandated an increase in border patrol personnel (to 18.3 thousand by 2008), with the support of 6,000 National Guard members. The Mexican authorities had a very unfavorable response to this. In Mexico City, the White House's claims that the guardsmen would just gather information met with little success[[32]](#footnote-32).

### 1.2.2. Latin American policy of B.Obama

 In Latin America, as well as throughout the world, Barack Obama's candidacy was extremely popular because he proposed changing the image of the United States before the world. B. Obama's Latin American policy was based on what voters expected from him[[33]](#footnote-33), this was noticeable during his campaign, although it is worth paying attention to the fact that during his campaign the candidate spoke little about Latin America. Unlike his opponent, Senator John McCain, Obama did not visit the region. His views on Latin America can be seen in a speech he delivered in Miami on May 23rd in a New Partnership for the Americas document[[34]](#footnote-34), which is part of his election platform. His foreign policy plan is based on the opposite, which belonged to the previous leader, the George W. Bush administration, which did not pay enough attention to the Latin American region. Obama pursued his goal of restoring power to the southern region. Although, it cannot be said that as a result, B. Obama's plan was very different from the previous administration.

The ideals of US foreign policy toward the developing world as a whole and domestic demands are the root of many of these problems. It would be challenging to argue that they serve as a comprehensive strategy for a particular Latin American policy in this way. These policies are very similar to those already in place for Latin America in terms of priorities.

When President Barack Obama became President of the United States in January 2009, he focused his work agenda on addressing domestic problems, in particular, overcoming the serious economic crisis left by his predecessor as a result of interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq. His policies were successful because, at the end of his term, he averted a crisis, demonstrated levels of economic growth, his currency was consolidated as a world reserve, and the banking system demonstrated robustness[[35]](#footnote-35).

However, it must be said that all of the above facts point to the destruction of US hegemony in its foreign policy rhetoric. Because Obama was convinced that the US should not remain the guarantor of the global order, as it had been since the Second World War, until it was economically viable, thereby confirming its vocation for multilateralism.

An important step in inter-American relations on the part of Obama was the fact when he pointed out to the countries of the Western Hemisphere to form a single society, mutually respect each other and form common values[[36]](#footnote-36).

However, it will be during his second term that Barack Obama will resume some leadership in the region by taking a series of actions that will be supported by all or a large part of his membership. The first of these was the refusal to recognize Nicolás Maduro's victory in 2013 before the recount, prompting the European Union and the OAS to do so. Subsequently, the Obama administration imposed a series of sanctions on various authorities in the Venezuelan regime, accusing them of violating the rights of civilians during the social protests that took place in Venezuela in 2014, or of their links to drug trafficking. Washington even went so far as to call Venezuela an "unusual and extraordinary threat" to US national security[[37]](#footnote-37).

Despite the fact that President Nicolas Maduro readily attributes nearly all of his country's problems to the Washington administration, the United States has refrained from directly interfering in Venezuela's internal affairs. Additionally, Washington immediately offered to retract B. Obama's demonstrably false claim that Venezuela posed a threat to the security of the United States in March 2015, which prompted the prosecutor of the Venezuelan authorities. Additionally, Washington assigned one of its seasoned Latin American diplomats, America, Thomas Shannon, to work closely with the Venezuelan side to normalize relations and, in particular, restore them to the status of a friendly one. In addition, it was disclosed that T. Shannon was assigned to the position of presidential adviser in several additional regions in addition to Europe in September 2015[[38]](#footnote-38).

With regard to Colombia, the Obama administration has provided clear diplomatic support for the peace process in that country. Indeed, Obama supported negotiations between the Colombian government and FARC[[39]](#footnote-39), aimed at the peaceful settlement of the armed conflict. Thus, he appointed Bernie Aronson as his government's special representative for these negotiations.

One of the most unpredictable scenarios for the development of US Latin American policy was the establishment of US-Cuban relations. Ever since the Cold War, the state has been a sworn enemy.

At a gathering of the Cuban-American National Foundation in 2008, Barack Obama discussed the need to change U.S. policy towards Cuba since it is irrelevant and produces no results. He specifically referred to the implementation of policies like the freedom for Cuban Americans to visit the island and the lifting of limits on sending money from the United States of America to family members in Cuba. Barack Obama supported a change in Cuba policy, but the embargo remained still important in American political circles. It serves as the main lever of pressure on the Cuban government, the purpose of which is to encourage the state to democratic change[[40]](#footnote-40). Barack Obama understood that Cuba was in a difficult economic situation and was interested in establishing bilateral relations. The need to meet the needs of the United States of America can be explained by the economic difficulties in Cuba, as well as the increasing emigration of the young Cuban generation.

In 2011, the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR) was formed and formed, in which Brazil and Argentina, among others, contributed to imparting an anti-American tone. If the White House generally ignored Buenos Aires, then Buenos Aires represented the Argentine debt lawsuit as imperialist aggression against the US. Washington sought to maintain a climate of cooperation with Ecuador and Bolivia, and, of course, with Nicaragua, which further changed its position[[41]](#footnote-41).

Re-elected for a second term, Barack Obama outlined his vision of US foreign policy in the Cuban direction, which was to involve Cuba in the system of international relations and was subsequently implemented. This decision was favored by some structural reforms carried out by the Cuban government.

2013 saw the start of covert negotiations between the US and Cuba, mediated by Canada and the Vatican. Pope Francis and Vatican diplomats reportedly contributed significantly to the restoration of diplomatic ties between the US and Cuba, according to US and Cuban news sources. Francis urged the two presidents in letters to "resolve the humanitarian issues concerning both countries, including the situation with certain prisoners, then to begin a new phase of bilateral relations" with them. He sent the letters to Barack Obama and Raul Castro[[42]](#footnote-42).

A law passed in 2014 reduced income tax from 30% to 15% for most businesses and eliminated the 25% tax on labor costs. Investors investing in joint ventures received an eight-year tax break on all profits. Thus, the new law showed that Cuba recognizes the need for foreign investment for economic growth[[43]](#footnote-43).

On December 17, 2014, the decision to restore diplomatic relations with Cuba: removing the island from the list of states that promote terrorism, lifting the ban on the entry of Americans and gradually ending the isolation of the island. In addition, Barack Obama lifted restrictions on Cuban Americans sending remittances to relatives in Cuba and created conditions for bilateral trade and banking[[44]](#footnote-44).

After extensive talks, the heads of state declared the start of diplomatic ties in December 2014. Three of the so-called "Cuban Five" spies from Cuba were released by the United States of America along with this decision. In response, Cuba freed 53 political prisoners, including Alan Gross. Cuba has also promised to work with the United Nations and International Committee of the Red Cross on issues related to prison conditions and human rights. President Barack Obama also sent a letter to Congress removing Cuba from the list of nations supporting terrorism and invited Cuba to attend the 2015 Organization of American States summit (Cuba's participation in summits had previously been blocked, which caused discontent among most Latin American countries). The decision to resume full diplomatic relations between Cuba and the United States of America was by far the most important one[[45]](#footnote-45).

This rapprochement culminated in a meeting at the Summit of the Americas held in Panama, with a historic presidential meeting between Barack Obama and Raul Castro on April 11, 2015[[46]](#footnote-46), a bilateral meeting that has not been held since 1959, when President Fidel Castro met with Vice President Richard Nixon. A year later, Barack Obama officially visited Cuba [[47]](#footnote-47). A total of 22 bilateral agreements were signed with Cuba at the end of his reign, which included topics as diverse as combating drug trafficking, establishing regular air links, protecting marine species, fighting cancer and the Ebola epidemic, among others.

The political steps taken by Washington after the restoration of diplomatic relations were mainly aimed at improving the situation of Cuban society, the economic sphere and, to a certain extent, weakening the Cuban government within its own state. In 2015, some economic sanctions were lifted for the private sector of the Cuban economy, which was not done for state-owned enterprises. The main goal of such a strategy is to create a layer of society in Cuba that will not depend on the Cuban government and will seek greater changes, including political ones. In 2016, the United States Department of State noted that the number of Cubans employed in the private sector of the economy is growing, and as of 2016 they represent 25% of the total labor force. Regulatory changes implemented by the President of the United States have allowed American businesses to establish mutually beneficial relationships with Cuban counterparts. Subsequently, the changes affected, however, trade at the state level, and were already aimed at building long-term trade relations. However, the main reason preventing the normalization of relations - the embargo - has not been eliminated. Congress largely did not support the lifting of economic sanctions, and Barack Obama was unable to agree on the promotion of this decision[[48]](#footnote-48).

In general, it is worth noting that the so-called “soft power” policy was implemented in relation to Cuba. Beginning in the second half of the 20th century, Washington for the first time abandoned active pressure on the Cuban government, in particular, on the issue of the political regime, and made some concessions. It can be concluded that B. Obama decided to establish bilateral relations with Cuba in connection with the decrease in the importance of the participation of the United States of America in the Latin American region. The normalization of relations with the Cuban government allowed the Latin American countries to have a positive attitude towards Washington, since the acceptance of Cuba as an independent state with its own interests and respect for the political system that exists there can inspire confidence among Latin American countries. In addition, such a strategy is especially important, since other states are beginning to penetrate the region more and more[[49]](#footnote-49).

However, despite all of this, B. Obama was unable to prevent significant issues from cropping up during the emancipation of the Western Hemisphere's nations. The truth is that since 2006, a true "war on the street" between American drug cartels and the local military forces has been raging in Mexico's border regions with the United States. Organizations estimate that more than 70.000 people have died as a result of military activities, the majority of them were civilians.

In these circumstances, B. Obama was in a position where he didn't have many options. There were Mexican regions, almost unsupervised expeditions, or shipments of illicit substances that were actually provided directly by drug dealers along the Mexican border with the United States. The President of the United States has formally admitted that drug cartels are a significant issue that poses a threat to the lives of adjacent communities for the first time in the history of US-Mexican relations. The presidents of the United States and Mexico hastily established a special panel in May 2010 to track down crimes in the real world. Washington reiterated its desire to choose Mexico by the end of 2011 for an additional $500 million under the Merida Plan, a function coordinating US, Mexican, and natural resources on the premise of security, in the second phase, which will take place in 2012[[50]](#footnote-50).

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In light of this, the US carried out a massive deportation of illegal immigrants. According to figures provided by the presidential services, more persons were deported from the country under the administration of Barack Obama than during the two terms of George W. Bush Jr.

While still a candidate, Obama supported a comprehensive reform that could give undocumented workers a "path to citizenship" and promised to make it a priority during his first year in office. However, like the 2007 reform law, he opposed the establishment of guest worker programs, especially in areas with high unemployment. Moreover, the Obama administration has recognized that reforming US immigration laws is a critical step in shaping relations with neighbors to the south. Thus, he promised his Latin American counterparts, especially those from Mexico and Central America, that his administration would work on immigration reforms that would provide a path to citizenship for thousands of illegal Latin American immigrants. The Obama administration's immigration reform proposals were a clear illustration of its commitment to repair America's damaged relationship with Latin America[[51]](#footnote-51).

The president's immigration policy still needs to be changed during his second term. The Border Security, Economic Opportunity, and Immigration Policy Modernization Bill was approved by the US Senate on June 27, 2013.

B. Obama's immigration reform has the following effects:

- preventing illegal immigration,

- demonstrating border control, and expanding federal responsibilities for border security; - enhancing systems for gathering information on immigrants and giving asylum;

- preventing society from being accepted into a group based on ethnic, religious, cultural, or linguistic influence;

 - attracting qualified and in-demand specialists to the country;

 - protecting the internal labor market;

 - preventing entry of people posing a threat to the country's national security [[52]](#footnote-52).

A new immigration policy that includes a "amnesty" mechanism will need to make significant strides toward resolving controversial problems and reducing any potential drawbacks. The issue of the migration crisis became one of the top agenda items on the eve of the November 2014 congressional elections. The US Congress' House of Representatives, led by J. Boner, officially informed the president that the chamber did not intend to seek the adoption of a new law on legislation after the Senate declared its approval of the initiative.

In recent years, US-Mexican ties have generally shown signs of harmonization, if we set aside contentious areas. Several members of Congress suggested expanding cooperation between the senses to include the defense sphere during hearings on relations with Mexico held in May 2014 by the Foreign Affairs Committee of the US House of Representatives. The hearings focused on the problem of drug trafficking and Washington's efforts to tackle it. The annual gatherings of the three countries' storage facilities have been happening on a regular basis since 2012. The most recent one, held in Mexico City in May 2014, included a wide range of topics, including the security of North America's future, the state of the labor border, and the adoption of measures to mitigate the effects of natural disasters. B. Obama welcomed the Mexican President into his captivity to discuss beneficial reforms in the fields of energy, telecommunications, and education[[53]](#footnote-53).

Counting on the idea that "access" to the monopolistic state-owned Mexican oil business "Pemex" will result from earnings from Mexico, which is the country with the oil reserves. The reform of the International Foreign Company, carried out by Mexican structures in 2013, has the opportunity to invest in the country's oil sector, in which foreign monopolies were primarily interested.

Another notable development in the Obama administration was the creation of Plan Alianza para la Prosperidad del Triángulo Norte - APTN[[54]](#footnote-54), prepared by the governments of Guatemala, El Salvador, and Honduras with US advice and funding from the IDB. which was approved in Washington, DC in December 2014 and aimed to address the causes that caused the mass migration of minors from Central America (more than 60,000 people) to the United States without their families. In 2015, Obama requested $1 billion from Congress in support of the plan; in December 2016, $750 million was approved, with another $655 million in 2017.

The last element to note was the intensive contacts between the Latin American and Caribbean heads of state with President Obama, as well as with his Secretary of State Hillary Clinton (she alone made 24 trips to 18 countries in the region up to 2012), which showed a smooth dialogue between them and the superpower.

It was, no doubt, a period of rapprochement and greater concern on the part of the United States towards the region.

## Chapter 2. The US Latin American Policy of the Donald Trump Administration.

## 2.1 Features of the election program of D. Trump in relation to the Latin American region.

For the Trump administration (2017-2021), Latin America was a peripheral part of the international agenda. The exceptions were the strategic relationship with Mexico, the problems of migration in Central America, drug trafficking, the political crisis in Venezuela and its links with Cuba and Nicaragua, and at certain points - during the government of Mauricio Macri - the Argentine economic crisis.

With the advent of Trump to the presidency of the United States, numerous researchers suggested a change in relations with Latin and Caribbean America, predicted a reduction in economic ties (due to protectionist measures), and even warned of a lack of interest in the region from the Republican government, which proclaimed the thesis of the insignificance of the LCA for US foreign policy . However, ever since the campaign, the LCA has been the focus of Trump's speeches, from the wall on the border with Mexico and the "immigration problem" to the alleged "communist threat" from Venezuela, Nicaragua and Cuba.

One of the controversial questions of the election campaign was the following: will traditional issues such as the economy, jobs, health and education be significant, or will foreign policy issues come to the fore?[[55]](#footnote-55). The final decision of the electorate largely depended on this. Despite the fact that the leaders of the election race Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump did not focus on foreign policy, nevertheless, they even offered a solution to some domestic problems in the context of the Latin American course. For example, D. Trump spoke out sharply against Mexican migrants. He claimed that Mexico was sending people involved in criminal activities to the US and called the situation "crazy"[[56]](#footnote-56).

The US economy is in crisis, thus the US elections could be significant for Latin America in another fundamental sense. It was crucial for the United States, Latin America, and the rest of the globe to see how effectively the new White House administrator could address these issues. Additionally, remittances from inhabitants of these nations to their families constitute a significant source of foreign exchange revenue in the majority of countries, particularly in Mexico, Central America, the Caribbean, and even certain Andean countries, frequently amounting to about US$ 40 billion on a regional level. In this regard, Donald Trump's claim that he could compel Mexico's government to stop accepting remittances from the United States stoked unrest among both Mexican immigrants living in the United States and Mexico's general populace.

Mexican President Enrique Peña Nieto has repeatedly criticized D. Trump's election platform. So, regarding the idea of D. Trump to divide the two countries with a wall, he said that Mexico would not finance this project. The symbolic burning of an effigy of the Republican candidate by the Mexican population was also resonant.

Regarding relations with Cuba, Donald Trump took a different position from his predecessor, Barack Obama. It is known that in 2016, after a long-term political, economic and cultural boycott of Cuba, B. Obama decided to normalize bilateral relations between states. The situation changed when, a year later, D. Trump became President of the United States. It is obvious that during the Obama administration it was beneficial for the democrats to pursue a liberal economic policy in Cuba for their own development and successful marketing of American consumer goods (medical equipment and electronics), regardless of its communist past. Cuba at that time was already on the path of reforming its economy, which could help improve US-Cuban relations. D. Trump, on the contrary, being a Republican and an adherent of their usual strategy of "pressure", considered this vector of development of relations inappropriate. However, it cannot be said that he completely departed from the direction set by his predecessor. Relations with Cuba continued in the field of digitalization, but some sectors of the economy in which the island is traditionally strong, namely the tourism business and the service sector, have been significantly affected. Penalties have been filed against some private companies in Cuba, and the ability of US citizens to travel to the island is limited due to new regulations.[[57]](#footnote-57) It is worth noting that the US Embassy in Havana, opened during the presidency of B. Obama and displeased by at least 15 Republican senators, continued its work.[[58]](#footnote-58) Restrictions also affected financial transactions related to interaction with Cuban companies that had ties to the military and intelligence services of the country.[[59]](#footnote-59)

In this context, it is necessary to consider the dynamics of trade between the United States and Cuba from 2020 to 2022 in order to track the transition from the Trump administration to the George Biden administration. According to trade statistics for the development of international business, US exports to Cuba increased by about 2 times (from $176,823 thousand in 2020 to $371,719 thousand in 2022)[[60]](#footnote-60) Imports, on the contrary, decreased from $14,090 thousand in 2020 to $5,608 thousand in 2022.[[61]](#footnote-61)

All this suggests some improvement in US relations with Cuba, but still, the Biden administration and the president himself have not deviated from the course set by Trump.

## 2.2 U.S.-Mexican relations under the Trump administration.

Mexico has become the first object of a sharp tightening of the policy of the US Republican administration in Latin America. D. Trump accompanied his moves with unheard-of anti-Mexican rhetoric, threatening to pull American corporations' branches out of Mexico if the country did not halt the flow of immigrants into the country. The process of deporting illegal immigrants accelerated, fundraising efforts to build a 3,000-kilometer wall on the border with Mexico were started, and it was also stated that remittances from migrants to family members would be subject to tax[[62]](#footnote-62).

Before Trump came to the White House, everything indicated that relations with Mexico could be explosive. During the 2016 election campaign, verbal attacks on Mexicans and D. Trump's proposal to build a border wall paid for by Mexico created a tense atmosphere. However, relations between Trump and Andrés Manuel López Obrador (AMLO) — since he took office in December 2018 — have turned out better than expected. In most cases, pragmatism prevailed over loud and provocative statements, which both treat with love.

From the anti-Mexican perspective, expressed in the campaign and repeated as government, the general panorama of the relationship was overlooked, and for concrete and short-term interests, Mexico was blamed for nearly everything bad that happened in the United States. In particular, behind the poor control of the common border. The arrival of AMLO as president of Mexico only added to this scenario[[63]](#footnote-63).

When Donald Trump began to implement harsh tactics and use derogatory language toward Mexico, Porfirio Diaz famously said, "Poor Mexico, so far from God and so close to the USA"[[64]](#footnote-64) renewed his strength. Republican Party candidate slandered Mexicans with terms like "criminals", "rapists" and "drug dealers" during his campaign[[65]](#footnote-65) and boasted of the idea of making his neighbors pay for the construction of the Wall on the common frontier.

Trump's verbal attacks on the neighboring country, according to former Mexican Foreign Minister Jorge Castañeda - a unique act among developed democracies, the consequences of which go far beyond the borders of Mexico - did not go unanswered. Castañeda demanded to cancel anti-drug cooperation with the United States, that is, with the as a pressure measure and allow migrants from Central America to cross the border. The government also discussed the possibility of withdrawing from NAFTA[[66]](#footnote-66). Peña Nieto, for whom Trump's victory represented a geopolitical, economic and commercial disaster, tried to maintain good relations by accepting Trump's invitation to Washington and meeting with him (2016)

 Peña Nieto was one of the first rulers with whom Trump had a telephone conversation after his election as President of the United States. In the message after a conversation with Trump, which he already hosted in his country when the American representative was as a presidential candidate. After a telephone conversation, Peña Nieto spread optimistic views on the further development of bilateral relations[[67]](#footnote-67).

During his election campaign in 2015-2016, Donald Trump made a number of high-profile statements about his plans for US domestic and foreign policy.

One of the most famous was his promise to build a wall on the border with Mexico to stop the uncontrolled flow of illegal migrants to the United States through the south of the country. At the same time, Trump initially stated that the Mexicans themselves would pay for the construction of the wall.

The estimated cost of the wall has risen gradually from the roughly $8 billion that Trump initially named to $21.6 billion, according to Department of Homeland Security (DSN) calculations.

As of March 2017, 582 companies have expressed interest in building the wall[[68]](#footnote-68). In August, four North American companies were finally awarded a contract to build a trial wall in the San Diego area near the Tijuana border, with costs ranging from $400,000 to $500,000. These 9-meter walls must be armed with anti-climbing devices to prevent surreptitiously climbing them. It was in February 2018 that the president visited these walls[[69]](#footnote-69).

In response to Trump's threats, the Mexican side made it clear from the very beginning that they did not intend to pay a penny for this wall. Mexican businessmen called for a boycott of the purchase of North American products. All this suggests that Trump's statements after his victory in the elections did not bring them closer to the Mexican population.

If we take Trump's vow to erect a wall seriously, we might conclude that this is essentially a symbolic move against the Mexican president who, in contrast to the American leader, did not enjoy the same popularity or advantages. Implementing the project is equally challenging. It is dangerous to cross the border in many places along the border, including close to the Rio Grande, and it will be highly expensive to construct a wall along these areas. Private traders also control a portion of the border region. A number of congressmen denounced Trump's policies as cruel.

However, this project failed to materialize. In December 2018, the inability to agree on the allocation of $ 5 billion from the federal budget for the construction of the wall led to a shutdown of the government - the so-called shutdown. Later, Trump tried to use Pentagon funds and other budgetary flows, but they were not enough. According to the US Customs and Border Protection, from January 2017 to December 18, 2020, 704 km of the wall were built. At the same time, the length of the border between the United States and Mexico is 3.1 thousand km[[70]](#footnote-70).

In early 2019, US President Donald Trump declared a state of emergency in the country[[71]](#footnote-71) in order to carry out the construction of a wall on the border with Mexico. And then he announced additional tariffs on Mexican goods to encourage the neighbor to start fighting illegal migration[[72]](#footnote-72).

The American president constantly emphasized during his election campaign that the country's severe immigration issue needs to be resolved right away. Trump focused particularly on illegal immigration, highlighting the necessity for systemic reform owing to its utter inefficiency.

The construction of a wall along the border with Mexico was included as one of the top recommendations because Trump was certain that the accumulated issues could only be resolved by enacting dramatic reforms, especially in the immigration system[[73]](#footnote-73).

Relations between the new US administration and Mexico only deteriorated after one week of bilateral communication. It was evident during the initial joint discussions between Mexican officials and the Trump administration in Washington that the new US president would follow his own set of rules, and Mexico would have to follow them regardless of her opinion of them. President Donald Trump's actions strained international relations and threatened trade and economic ties that were mutually beneficial. While the Trump administration has unilaterally taken drastic political action, including abandoning the North American Trade Agreement, building a border wall, and deporting unauthorized immigrants, the Mexican government has worked to find effective bilateral solutions to every issue on the table.

The Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) and Temporary Protected Status (TPS) temporary protection programs were established by previous administrations, and the Trump administration has made significant progress in extending the application of immigration law and lowering the number of people enrolled in them. The number of those who were later granted citizenship has dramatically decreased as a result of these actions. In the first two years of President Trump's administration, the number of people receiving visas for permanent entrance into the United States decreased by 13%, according to an examination of statistics from the Washington State Department[[74]](#footnote-74).

NAFTA will be the next issue that Trump would prioritize in his foreign policy. The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which has been in effect between the United States, Canada, and Mexico since 1994, was drastically revised by D. Trump.

It appeared that the American president was not entirely content with NAFTA after Donald Trump won the election, who frequently attacked the trade agreement and threatened to pull the United States from it. He accused his NAFTA partners of "pulling" American manufacturing operations onto their soil, de-industrializing the US economy, and amassing a trade surplus with the US. However, unlike the situation in US-China relations, the White House spokesperson did not charge Mexico and Canada with "unfair trade practices" but instead vehemently advocated for changes to the North American integration treaty[[75]](#footnote-75). Donald Trump pledged to change NAFTA during his presidential campaign in 2016, calling it "the worst trade deal ever made."[[76]](#footnote-76) When he became president, he just did that.

However, despite Trump's criticism and claims that NAFTA solely helps Canada and Mexico, the benefits for the economies of the three nations, including the United States, outweighed the "dissolved" effects of their trade and economic association. Principally, these are:

 First. Trade between NAFTA participants increased fourfold from $297 billion to $1,170 billion between 1993 and 2017, resulting in gains in manufacturing, employment, corporate income, and tax receipts for the United States, Mexico, and Canada. American exports of goods to neighbors increased from $142 billion to $525 billion over this time, and imports from same nations increased from $151 billion to $614 billion. Washington's trade deficit with NAFTA partners did expand, but it did so at a considerably slower rate than the decline in the US trade deficit with the rest of the world[[77]](#footnote-77).

Second, the cost of imported goods decreased as a result of the NAFTA's reduction (or elimination) of import duties. This reduced the inflationary process and allowed the Federal Reserve System (FRS) of the United States and the Central Banks of Canada and Mexico to maintain key rates at a relatively low level. Since the American market was heavily dependent on the purchase of "black gold" abroad, the cheaper import of Mexican and Canadian oil was of particular importance for the United States. Similarly, North American integration has assisted in lowering the prices of various food commodities, including meat products, fresh vegetables, and fruits (due to more intensive intra-zonal exchanges).

Third, researchers estimate that the United States "added" 0.5 percentage points of GDP annually as a result of joining NAFTA[[78]](#footnote-78). Businesses in the automotive, agricultural, and service sectors were also the biggest winners at the same time. In instance, the lower than usual Mexican import taxes on food allowed American farmers to provide the Mexican market with much more pork, rice, soy products, apples, corn, vegetable oil, and other goods. As a result, Mexico and Canada have emerged as the major consumers of US agricultural goods. In addition, the integration of North American markets made a significant contribution to the modernization of the American automobile sector, which in the 1980s and 1990s significantly lagged behind Western European and Japanese automakers in terms of competitiveness. Within the framework of NAFTA, a competitive manufacturing chain of the North American automobile industry has emerged, with its businesses being technologically closely interconnected, from the Canadian province of Ontario via American Detroit to the northern states of Mexico. For instance, 70% of the parts and components used to construct the HONDA CR-V crossover, which is done at a facility in the Mexican state of Jalisco, were produced by companies in the USA and Canada[[79]](#footnote-79).

Fourth, NAFTA participation as a whole had a positive impact on the American labor market, contrary to what D. Trump asserted. Five million new jobs have been created in the US thanks to the increase in manufacturing for export to Canada and Mexico. Over 130,000 businesses, or 43% of all US exporting companies, sell their goods in Canada and Mexico. Even imports from these nations have increased employment in the US, as 40% of goods bought in Mexico are created and produced in US research facilities and design hubs[[80]](#footnote-80).

Fifth, the guarantee system established by NAFTA for private foreign investment has significantly altered the situation. If formerly the Mexican and Canadian authorities restricted the influx of investments by American businesses out of concern for external control over the national economy, today Mexico and Canada have almost eliminated all obstacles to transnational capital. The cumulative amount of American TNCs' direct investments in neighboring countries increased by 5.3 times between 1993 and 2016: from 85.1 to 451.5 billion dollars, or from 8 to 16% of the combined GDP of the two states for the corresponding years. As a result, American TNCs had almost complete freedom of action.[[81]](#footnote-81)

Trump's main goal on the NAFTA issue was not to talk about new issues such as digital trade or technologies compatible with environmental protection, but to significantly reduce the trade deficit and move jobs to the United States. Negotiations are more than justified for Trump, given the fact that the Rust Belt states crucial to his victory - Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin - seemed to him the most affected by the relocation of factories and job losses after the implementation of NAFTA. So much so that Mexico has become a cluster of various industries: automotive, aerospace, mold manufacturing, medical devices and machinery. However, penalizing American companies that invested in Mexico would reduce the competitiveness of American companies, accelerate the decline of an industry that was already in decline, and create greater financial problems for the government.

The parties made their initial stances known in advance of talks on modernizing the North American Integration Treaty. The Mexicans were the first to do this, having previously drawn the proper inferences from Donald Trump's obnoxious and inflammatory electoral rhetoric[[82]](#footnote-82).

Regarding the objectives, the Mexican government concentrated on a number of crucial topics, some of which had nothing to do with the NAFTA disputes but yet had an impact on the most tense features of ties between the two neighbors. The position of immigrants in the United States, the need to maintain their rights, especially the freedom of money transfers to Mexico, were the focus of three items on the Mexican agenda in particular. Another point focused on Mexico City and Washington's coordinated efforts to support the socioeconomic growth of Central American nations, which are the principal entry points for illegal immigrants and drug traffickers into the United States. The illegal importation of weapons from the United States, which were used by Mexican criminal organizations, was discussed in the fifth paragraph[[83]](#footnote-83).

In order to counter the efforts of the Washington administration to limit trade and economic cooperation between the three surrounding states, the Mexican side was thus concentrated on pushing for a comprehensive approach to the advancement of North American integration. At the same time, the Mexicans, who had a stake in the continued existence of the free trade zone, were adamant about engaging in negotiations and seeking out reasonable compromises on new sensitive subjects.

D. Trump informed Congress in a document dated May 18, 2017, that his administration intended to request a review of the trade arrangements with Canada and Mexico[[84]](#footnote-84). In July of that year, the United States released its NAFTA reform negotiating platform. The document consisted of 22 sections and about 100 points, which mainly reflected critical views on the results of the functioning of NAFTA for the American economy[[85]](#footnote-85).

Negotiations to revise the terms of North American integration started on August 16, 2017. Positive expectations were continually replaced by melancholy and the sense of impending failure throughout the protracted and challenging procedure.

On one hand, D. Trump's desire to advance US interests, which is quite understandably what seriously hampered the achievement of mutually acceptable agreements, did not make the task any easier. On the other hand, the majority of the difficulties the negotiators faced were related to changes in most of the articles of the agreement, some of which needed to be thoroughly revised.

On August 27, 2018, D. Trump declared that all disagreements had been resolved and that the preliminary text of a new bilateral agreement had been created by the representatives of the United States and Mexico during the negotiations on the reform of the conditions of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). A further point made by the American leader was that "America... has finally turned the page on decades of unfair trade that have sacrificed our prosperity and destroyed our companies, jobs, and the wealth of our nation."[[86]](#footnote-86).

Midway through September, D. Trump brought up the subject of talks to reform North American integration once more and declared his intention to change the name of NAFTA to the "US-Mexico-Canada Pact" (SSMC - USMC). At the same time, the White House's owner approved the potential of expanding this association's membership to include Mexico and the United States (USM-USM).[[87]](#footnote-87)

Considering everything mentioned above, we draw the conclusion that Donald Trump's election as president of the United States had a major effect on the country's relations with Mexico. Relations have gotten worse and bonds have weakened as a result of harsh campaign slurs, stricter immigration laws, and efforts to build a wall to stop illegal immigration. The only way to rebuild trust between the American and Mexican administrations is through future economic collaboration. Of course, only if Donald Trump refrains from making premature claims and adopts a sensible, successful strategy that considers the interests of both nations. Regardless, the direction of the history of the development of US-Mexican relations will only be determined by the time and decisions made by the administrations of the heads of both governments.

## 2.3 Convergence policy

A significant intensification of US diplomacy in the Latin American region was observed in 2018, which D. Trump declared the “Year of America”. After a number of states held presidential elections, the political climate in the area shifted to the right, and the Trump administration profited from this. As a result, several new presidents took office: J. Bolsonaro in Brazil (2019), S. Piera in Chile (2018), Ivan Duque Marquez in Colombia (2018), and M. Macri in Argentina (2016). These "four" initially expressed a desire to forge a strategic alliance with Washington. M. Macri and J. Bolsonaro stood out particularly in this way. The first in July 2018 approved the deployment by Washington of three military sites on its soil, a situation unheard of in Latin America's recent history.

Brazil, Argentina, Chile, and Colombia were frequently visited by Vice President Mike Pence, Secretary of State Rex Tillerson, and Secretary of Defense James Mattis during their travels throughout the region. He had previously met a Pentagon policeman who had not been to Latin America in two months, so his trip was particularly significant.

Under Trump and Macri, Argentina has become one of the US allies in Latin America. Improved relations with the United States were an opportunity for Argentina to advance on the world stage. This raised the status of the country, which for a long time had a confrontational relationship with the United States in connection with the conduct of a weak economic policy[[88]](#footnote-88).

In February 2017, President D. Trump and Vice President Mike Pence spoke separately by telephone with President M. Macri. It is reported that President D. Trump and President M. Macri expressed their common concern about the political situation in Venezuela. According to the White House report, President D. Trump emphasized the strong and stable ties between their countries, emphasized the leading role that, in his opinion, President M. Macri plays in the region, and invited him to visit Washington[[89]](#footnote-89).

President M. Macri visited the United States on April 27, 2017 and met with President D. Trump at the White House. According to a joint statement, the leaders of the two countries discussed ways of partnership between the United States and Argentina. Both presidents agreed to establish a bilateral working group on cyberspace to protect security and economic interests. President D. Trump even presented a tranche of declassified documents relating to human rights violations in Argentina during its military dictatorship[[90]](#footnote-90), which were originally presented by B. Obama during his first visit to Argentina [[91]](#footnote-91).

August 14, 2017 US Vice President Mike Pence arrived in Argentina [[92]](#footnote-92) as part of a tour that, in addition to Argentina, included Colombia, Chile and Panama. After a meeting with M. Macri, during which M. Pence highly appreciated the economic policy pursued by M. Macri, they announced an agreement allowing the export of pork meat to Argentina, which led to dissatisfaction with local producers, who reported the risk of losing up to 35,000 work places[[93]](#footnote-93).

In addition to the changes in economic cooperation that followed the triumph of D. Trump, the government, headed by M. Macri, continued the dialogue with the States. Since January 2017, they have almost desperately sought contact with the American leader - both presidents spoke briefly by phone in February 2017[[94]](#footnote-94) and negotiated a visit to the White House, which finally took place on April 27. Meanwhile, the new US administration reversed some of Obama's concessions to Argentina in January: it suspended imports of Argentine lemons to the United States - announcing in December 2016 an end to phytosanitary restrictions that blocked those exports 15 years ago - and easing visas for Argentines[[95]](#footnote-95).

Under D. Trump and M. Macri, despite the troubling moments in the joint economic activity, Argentina has become one of the US allies in Latin America. Improved relations with the United States gave Argentina the opportunity to advance on the world stage. This raised the status of the country, which for a long time had a confrontational relationship with the United States in connection with the conduct of a weak economic policy[[96]](#footnote-96).

With the arrival of the President of Argentina Alberto Fernandez on December 10, 2019, the foreign policy of the state was waiting for change. The new centre-left faced several challenges: breaking with the previous administration under Mauricio Macri and continuing the previously defined course of the Kirchnerist era, in which the current president relies on greater Argentine autonomy as the fundamental axis of his course. In this context, bilateral relations with the US are becoming more complicated.

The possible transition from friendly relations with Washington, which developed under the administration of M. Macri, was evidenced by the fact that even before taking office as president, A. Fernandez expressed his dissatisfaction with the coming to power of D. Trump in the United States. However, Trump was uncharacteristically silent throughout the fall of 2019 Argentina presidential campaign, and after Fernandez's decisive victory in October, Trump congratulated the president-elect in a telephone call and pledged assistance in working with the International Monetary Fund, and in a statement by US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo talked about "common democratic values and priorities"[[97]](#footnote-97). Alberto Fernandez and Trump clashed after Argentine President's stance on Nicolás Maduro and claims that the populist regime in Venezuela is operating on the basic rules of a democratic system, calling into question the systematic violation of human rights, according to the US, thereby raising the alarm of the administration D. Trump.

There were disagreements on the Organization of American States (OAS) regional agenda, the Paris Climate Change Agreement, and the institutional crisis in Bolivia[[98]](#footnote-98).

Washington's geopolitical options in the Western Hemisphere appeared to be further expanded by the election of a far-right contender in the Brazilian presidential election. In addition, J. Bolsonaro immediately attempted to implement the "tacit partnership" between Brazil and the United States proposed by the Brazilian chancellor Baron Rio Branco at the start of the previous century[[99]](#footnote-99).

Not everything, though, unfolded as the Trump administration had envisioned. Thus, the new Brazilian president who stated that his nation was prepared to join a military operation with the United States and their new allies in Latin America against the Maduro regime in Venezuela was "corrected" right away and in a rather harsh manner by Brazil's vice president, retired general G. Mourau, who said that Brazil would not take part in any hostilities.

According to claims that surfaced on August 1, 2019, D. Trump "appointed" Brazil as the United States' primary strategic ally outside of NATO. Remember that the Clinton administration also designated Argentina as an ally outside of NATO, albeit not the primary one, 25 years ago. Anti-Americanism, which over the past century has become a fundamental component of the political culture of the ruling elites on the left and right, was the "pitfall" on the path to strategic collaboration between the United States and the leading states of the area. At the same time, it became clear that the D. Trump administration was powerless to stop this influence.

The true severing of Brazil's ties with Venezuela, the reduction of collaboration with Cuba, and the retreat from actively promoting integration projects in the Latin American region were the White House's primary accomplishments. The political opportunities for left-leaning groups in the region have been greatly diminished as a result of J. Bolsonaro's position, while American influence has grown. Likewise, Brazil hosted the 11th BRICS summit successfully in November 2019, maintaining its full financial and economic ties with China, retaining its status as Russia's top trading partner in Latin America, and reaffirming the strategic nature of the Russian-Brazilian partnership[[100]](#footnote-100).

With regard to Colombia, President Juan Manuel Santos visited his American counterpart on May 18, 2017, with the dual purpose of maintaining commercial relations, which are part of a bilateral agreement in force since 2012, as well as assisting the US Peace Plan in this country. Everything indicates that on both points D. Trump will adhere to the policy of succession in relation to his predecessors[[101]](#footnote-101). However, the presidency of D. Trump mainly took place under another President of Colombia - Ivan Duca.

Ivan Duque, who ran for president in 2018, finds an ally in US President Donald Trump. Backed by Trump, Duque is bringing Bogota politics back to anti-drugs as Colombian cocaine production is valued at around $2.7 billion and United Nations estimates coca cultivation is at 'all-time high'[[102]](#footnote-102). Both countries later reaffirm their commitment to halving coca cultivation and cocaine production over the next five years.

At their first meeting, President D. Trump pressured Duque to step up anti-drug efforts and resume aerial fumigation of coca crops[[103]](#footnote-103). They also discuss efforts to support Venezuelan opposition leader Juan Guaidó and respond to the ongoing Venezuelan refugee crisis[[104]](#footnote-104). Meanwhile, domestically, Duque is facing growing public anger over government corruption and his proposed tax reforms [[105]](#footnote-105) and lack of support for the 2016 peace agreement.

Under the Trump administration, Colombian-American relations have become ambiguous because, on the one hand, the Republican president congratulated Ivan Duque on his confession and actions in favor of the Venezuelan Juan Guaidó, but at the same time criticized Colombia, saying that the drug business grew "by 50 %" and that in recent years he has been sending criminals to the United States: "I have no doubt that Honduras, Guatemala, El Salvador and Colombia (...) are sending them to the United States because they don't want them"[[106]](#footnote-106) . It can be said that US-Colombian relations during the Republican rule of D. Trump were, in principle, characterized by a discussion of problems in the field of drug trafficking and the fight against crime, in relation to which Trump spoke quite harshly. The slogan "America First" made it possible to put American priorities, especially its national security, above the security of other states. The same policy could justify tough measures in relation to the settlement of these issues. In contrast, one can see that now the Biden administration prefers to speak more streamlined and is more loyal to Colombia, believing that the problem of its internal instability can be solved with the help of a comprehensive approach and consensus. It should also be noted that in the US Country Strategy, dedicated to Colombia and developed during the time of D. Trump, the emphasis was only on the welfare of the United States, while now the relationship with Colombia in the Strategy is aimed at deepening bilateral cooperation to improve the welfare of both states[[107]](#footnote-107). Special attention is devoted to the impact of third countries on Colombia, namely China and Russia, which is associated with the changed international situation and the struggle for hegemony. Also important is the climate and environmental agenda, which D. Trump neglected. Thus, the position of the United States in relation to Colombia is aimed at strengthening partnership and leveling potential risks after G. Petro, a supporter of leftist ideas, comes to power.

The President of Chile, Sebastian Piera, spoke by phone with President Trump in January 2018 in connection with his election. They discussed the economic situation of the Andean nation, the Free Trade Agreement between the two states, tax reform that had been approved by the US Senate, the protests in Iran, and the situation in Venezuela. Piera was welcomed to the White House by Trump, who emphasized the importance of their collaboration on areas of common interest[[108]](#footnote-108).

Trump had intended to strike a trade agreement with Chile to end the trade war during the initial 2019 APEC meeting in Chile, but there were protests there[[109]](#footnote-109). While speaking with Piera over the phone, President Trump decried "foreign attempts to undermine Chile's institutions, democracy, or society" and referred to Chile as "an important ally as it works to peacefully restore national order." Prior to the event's eventual cancellation, Trump urged supporters to visit Chile, saying, "I realize you're having some troubles right now, but I know the Chileans and I'm sure they can figure it out... We're thinking about signing an essential portion of the agreement with China much earlier than expected[[110]](#footnote-110). Piera and Trump are discussing COVID-19 in 2020, and those discussions have been successful. In order to aid Chile in its fight against the COVID-19 epidemic, the US government has sent two field hospitals, ventilators, personal protective equipment (PPE), and other support to regional organizations. Numerous initiatives, including the donation of medical supplies, personal protective equipment (PPE), food, and sanitary goods, have been launched by the US private sector and US businesses operating in Chile.[[111]](#footnote-111)

American experts from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention also worked with Chilean experts from various ministries. Together they launched a capacity building program as early as April 2021 to strengthen genome sequencing capabilities to track novel COVID-19 variants in labs and universities across Chile.[[112]](#footnote-112)

The United States and Chile also conduct joint military exercises and exchanges and cooperate in combating drug trafficking and terrorism. As such, the two countries often consult at a high level on issues of mutual interest, including international trade, multilateral diplomacy, security, academic exchanges, military cooperation, science, and public health. One of the most important US interests in Chile is strengthening regional security cooperation and helping Chile maintain democracy and maintain a healthy and sustainable economy.

 The Caribbean area, which has grown in geo-economic and geopolitical relevance for the Trump administration as a result of a number of variables, is where US Latin American policy is obviously turning. A prime example is the upgraded Panama Canal, a vital passageway for the United States' strategically significant export goods, such as liquefied gas. According to projections for 2020, this volume should have climbed five times and surpassed 30 million tons. In 2017, its passage to Asian nations was 6 million tons[[113]](#footnote-113). The expanding political, diplomatic, commercial, and economic influence of Russia and, particularly, China, disturbs the White House.

Simple tactics are typically used to ensure US supremacy in the coastal sea basin, but the administration's main focus has been on increasing pressure on Washington's primary allies in this part of the world, Venezuela and Cuba.

## 2.4 Destabilization of relations

The US's approach to Cuba has changed significantly. And that's not even mentioning how frequently D. Trump criticized the Cuban government for doing little to advance democracy and uphold human rights while Washington took a number of moves to improve relations. This was especially demonstrated by his statement given in May 2017 in Miami at the commemoration for the alleged "brigade 2506," which made an utterly unsuccessful attempt to land on Playa Giron in 1961 in order to engage the Cuban revolutionary troops in combat. The Trump administration chose to expel more than 20 diplomats and their families from the United States in September 2017 after what appears to have been a purposeful escalation of the issue surrounding the claimed "electronic attack" on American embassy workers in Havana.

Cuban officials responded in kind, regretting the abrupt deterioration in relations and insisting that it was unrelated to the incident. By the way, most worldwide experts, including American ones, have corroborated this. In the end, FBI agents who later traveled to Havana and collaborated with the Cuban security service did not disclose the precise motives for the "attack," but they did acknowledge that the Cuban side was not involved[[114]](#footnote-114).

But the tightening of the trade and economic embargo on Cuba dealt a much bigger blow[[115]](#footnote-115). And on May 2, 2019, the Trump administration implemented Article III of the Helms-Burton Act of 1996, which allowed former Cuban citizens whose land was expropriated after the Cuban revolution to file claims in American courts. For more than 20 years, past American presidents have not implemented this law[[116]](#footnote-116), recognizing how great of a challenge it can be to the strategic alliance with Western Europe. J. Borrell, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Spain who was appointed in October of that same year to the position of High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Policy, strongly advised against putting this article into effect during a meeting with M. Pompeo and M. Pence in April 2019. Washington, though, disregarded its partner in Western Europe's advise[[117]](#footnote-117). The EU has vowed to take action against US businesses who do business in European markets as a result.

There were perhaps 350 of them overall from 2015 to 2019, according to Acting Vice President of the country D. Rodriguez, who spoke at the 74th session of the UN General Assembly in September 2019[[118]](#footnote-118).

The D. Trump administration labeled the N. Maduro regime in Venezuela as yet another "hostile regime" in Latin America. Massive sanctions and a foreign policy offensive against Caracas started under Trump. Just a week after taking office (on January 20, 2017), the new president asked his advisers for information about the situation in Venezuela. Soon after, he assembled a presidential "team of hawks" and started making plans to depose N. Maduro. Vice President Mike Pence, influential Republican Senator Marco Rubio, Congressman Mario Diaz-Balart, National Security Advisor John Bolton, Secretary of State Michael Pompeo, and well-known opponent of the policy of normalizing relations with Cuba, attorney Mauricio Claver-Carone, joined the team a little later[[119]](#footnote-119).

The first target of the sanctions was the national oil corporation PDVSA. At first, they had an impact on the company's management, and in May 2019, a boycott for buying Venezuelan oil was even declared. But it only persisted for a short while before being partially discontinued. especially around the river basin. Orinoco has been given permission to continue working with the enormous Chevron, which has some of the largest oil reserves in the world. The United States aimed to keep its presence in this oil-rich region despite all the sanctions. Remember that Venezuela was the third-largest oil supplier to the United States at the start of this year.

And when J. Guaido, a member of the opposition, declared himself interim president of Venezuela in January 2019, Washington acted swiftly to organize for the assistance of some of its allies in the area. But the N. Maduro regime's assistance from powerful nations like China, Russia, and India prevented the Trump administration from successfully destabilizing the situation in this nation. South Africa, Turkey. J. Guaido's attempt in September 2019 to enforce the 1947 Inter-American Mutual Assistance Treaty against the N. Maduro administration, which has long since been blatantly anachronistic of the inter-American system, also failed. The oppositionist "team" did not even attempt to read this document's core idea, which amounted to the maxim "an attack on one American republic is an attack on all." The opposition leader mispronounced it as a "military assistance agreement" and revealed to be ignorant of its precise nomenclature.[[120]](#footnote-120).

Consider the position of the Russian Federation in this scenario separately. Russia continues to aid Venezuela, in particular, by sending a group of military experts to train Venezuelan military troops in the use of Russian military equipment in March 2019. This was done in accordance with the Agreement on military-technical cooperation that was signed back in 2011. Despite the fact that D. Trump and other members of his administration have frequently acknowledged the prospect of military intervention in Venezuela, he ordered the recall of Russian experts in almost an ultimatum-like manner. In response to the requests made by Washington, Moscow made it very obvious that all of its activities were in accordance with international law. Additionally, an agreement was reached to send two more aircraft with Russian military technical professionals to Venezuela during President N. Maduro's trip to Russia in September 2019.

Generally speaking, the American policy of "precise strikes" against "hostile regimes" did not produce the anticipated consequences and, in some circumstances, merely strained US relations with its allies[[121]](#footnote-121).

In Bolivia, a severe political crisis broke out in October 2019[[122]](#footnote-122), It is unlikely that this circumstance will enhance D. Trump's standing. Then, the "leftist" President E. Morales was denounced by the Bolivian opposition for winning. He was compelled to retire as a result of pressure from the military command, which was seen by many Latin American leaders as a coup d'état. In addition to openly applauding the crisis and its illegitimate "resolution," D. Trump decided to use it as a model for how the Venezuelan opposition and military forces ought to have responded to N. Maduro's ouster.

However, there are substantial differences between these two countries' situations. Washington was successful in inciting J. Guaido to declare himself interim president of Venezuela in violation of the constitution and effectively putting the nation under the threat of violent intervention. This was detrimental for D. Trump and his supporters because it only served to support President N. Maduro among the military.

Bolivia has a unique circumstance that led to a slightly distinct course of development. It appears that E. Morales himself and his staff erred by dismissing the outcomes of the referendum he personally organized in 2016 on the prospect of being re-elected. After receiving a negative response from the majority of voters, he yet decided to hold further elections, which likely caused some of the populace to have doubts about the results of the first round, which the opposition quickly exploited[[123]](#footnote-123).

Evidently, D. Trump was not troubled by the fact that Bolivia found itself on the verge of civil war as a result of these events, which were largely sparked by Washington's diplomacy.

# Глава 3. Латиноамериканская политика США при администрации Джо Байдена.

## 3.1 Features of the election program of J. Biden in relation to the Latin American region.

When Biden took the presidency of the United States, he planned to conduct his policy in the field of ensuring peace and democracy, he also gave great preference to human rights and building relationships with partner countries. The new American President has extensive and many years of experience in the field of Latin American politics. Even under the Obama administration, Biden's position was the Latin American vector of the United States. Therefore, upon taking up their new position, many expected the beginning of a new chapter between the US and Latin America.

Some of those expectations were fulfilled during Biden's first year in office. One could see a positive shift in perspective and rhetoric, with a focus on cooperation and alliances rather than the threats and transactional approach of foreign policy that characterized the Trump years. The Biden administration has imposed targeted sanctions on individuals and entities involved in corruption, those who undermine democracy, and those who violate human rights. It granted extensions of Temporary Protection Status (TPS) to immigrants[[124]](#footnote-124), eligible, and added to the list of immigrants from Venezuela. She has developed strategies to address the drivers of migration out of Central America and increase access to regional protection. It donated over 55 million COVID-19 vaccines to Latin America and the Caribbean[[125]](#footnote-125) and provided over $614 million to support the region's response to the pandemic. In many areas, however, the administration has not taken the bold steps needed to honor Biden's campaign commitments and clearly separate this new administration from the policies and practices of the Trump era.

When Biden took office, the situation in Latin America was drastically different from when he was vice president four years earlier, making it difficult to advance his administration's foreign policy priorities. During the Trump years, promising anti-corruption efforts were dismantled in several countries, authoritarian tendencies continued to expand, as well as government efforts to weaken the rule of law and expand the use of the military in domestic, traditionally civilian roles. Political instability and repression, violence, growing economic and social inequalities exacerbated by COVID-19, and devastating natural disasters have led to mass movements of people in search of protection and improved living conditions. Trump's policies and actions have helped expose the worst tendencies of many leaders across the region. The decline in U.S. support for democracy, human rights standards, multilateralism, and international cooperation during Trump's tenure has made it imperative for the Biden administration to restore and reaffirm America's ability to support and protect those who defend these ideals around the world[[126]](#footnote-126).

When Joe Biden took office, the situation in Latin America was drastically different from when he was vice president four years earlier, making it difficult to advance his administration's foreign policy priorities. During the Trump years, authoritarian tendencies continued to expand, which also provoked mass migration from Mexico. Added to this is the growing economic and social inequality, the negative consequences of the coronavirus, the political instability caused by the widening gap between voters, which Biden has to contend with at the present time.

## 3.2 US-Mexican relations under the Biden administration.

With Biden's accession to the presidency, great prospects were expected in US-Mexican relations. Due to the rather negative effects of the previous administration, it was expected that the US and Mexico would begin a new period of their bilateral relations based on negotiations, economic management and interagency ties[[127]](#footnote-127).

Mexico was the Latin American country Biden visited most frequently during his vice presidential years and the most mentioned country in the region during his campaign.

On the economic front, 2021 began with several thorny issues between the Mexican and US governments. Continued uncertainty in the energy sector, the cancellation of an American-owned Mexicali brewery project, and a series of looming trade disputes ranging from tomatoes to electric cars seemed to portend tense relations between the two countries.

However, over the course of a year, the Biden administration worked with Mexican counterparts to redesign the institutional basis for these economic relations. Anniversary of the US-Mexico-Canada Agreement (USMCA) and November's North American Leaders' Summit (NALS), the first in five years. Much more significant, however, was the revival of the High-Level Economic Dialogue (HEL) during the first year of the Biden administration, which is important because it provides a platform and channel for exploring new directions in bilateral economic relations, while at the same time allowing discussion of potentially sensitive issues. questions[[128]](#footnote-128). This approach to viewing economic opportunities and challenges in bilateral relations was an important element during the Peña Nieto and Obama administrations, but was completely ignored during the Trump years.

Over the past 12 months, the combination of USMCA, HLED and the global supply chain crisis has led to continued investment in Mexico as manufacturers have sought to relocate their production facilities ashore. AMLO acknowledged this in his comments at the November 2021 NALS meeting, where he spoke in uncharacteristic detail about supply chains, competition with China, and the need for increased North American economic cooperation. The institutional structure of economic relations provided investors with greater confidence in times of economic instability and less friendly policies from the Mexican government.

A meeting in January 2022 between Mexican Deputy Economy Minister Luz Maria de la Mora and US Deputy Trade Representative Jamie White highlighted the benefits of an institutional approach. At a meeting ahead of the USMCA Deputy Trade Representatives meeting, White stressed the importance of free and fair competition in the energy sector with his Mexican counterpart[[129]](#footnote-129). This complex issue, so often neglected in public discussions of bilateral economic relations, is seen as critical to the future prosperity of North America as well as to addressing climate change mitigation. US Secretary of Energy Jennifer Granholm's visit to Mexico puts more pressure on the AMLO administration to reform the electricity sector.

With just two weeks to go until 2021, Mexico has sparked controversy in bilateral security relations by rehabilitating former defense minister Salvador Cienfuegos Cepeda after he was arrested on U.S. soil for drug trafficking[[130]](#footnote-130). His extradition came only after the Mexican government threatened to stop cooperating with the US military in the fight against drug trafficking, a threat that cast a shadow over bilateral security cooperation. A few months later, in August, the Mexican government sued several major US arms manufacturers, citing sloppy business practices that facilitated arms trafficking across the border and into Mexico.

There has been both continuity and change on the migration front. To many, Biden gave hope for a change in migration policy on the southwestern border, a rejection of the draconian policies that have characterized the Trump administration's approach[[131]](#footnote-131). However, two key Trump administration policies remain in place: Section 42 and the Migrant Protection Protocols (aka "Stay in Mexico")[[132]](#footnote-132). The Biden administration continues to use the pandemic as an excuse to deny entry to the US and remove Section 42 border asylum seekers, despite calls from public health experts that the policy is "scientifically unsound and politically motivated" and that it interferes with The United States will fulfill its obligations to protect asylum seekers. However, the Biden administration exempted minors from removal under Section 42[[133]](#footnote-133).

The lawsuits have made it difficult to reverse another of Trump's migration policies, the MPP. Although from the early days of the presidential campaign and presidency, the Biden administration announced plans to end the MPP, the US courts enforced the policy, eventually leading to the program's resumption in December 2021. Since then, more than 200 migrants have been returned to Mexico, and the number is likely to rise as the program expands to additional border towns in 2022. Efforts have been made to make the policy more humane, including better access to legal counsel, but the Biden administration is still taking steps to end the program, most recently filing a motion with the Supreme Court to end the MPP.

There has been an increase in official high-level interactions from both countries, including an increase in the number of visits and meetings of high-ranking officials from the National Security Ministry, the NSC and the State Department. Perhaps most notable are the few direct contacts between Vice President Harris! and President López Obrador, when both governments reaffirmed their mutual commitment to addressing the root causes of migration.

Collaboration between the Biden administrations and AMLO has largely focused on addressing the root causes of illegal migration, with a particular focus on Central America's Northern Triangle and southeastern Mexico. Both governments launched Sembrando Oportunidades, a program led by USAID and AMEXCID (Mexican Agency for International Development and Cooperation) to develop skills for long-term employment in the Northern Triangle to reduce illegal migration flows from the region. As part of this framework, USAID will help expand market access for regional farmers and will also pilot conditional cash transfers[[134]](#footnote-134).

In the short term, however, the AMLO administration's bilateral cooperation on Biden's migration strategy took the form of mass deportations of Central Americans. In the first 11 months of 2021, Mexico detained over a quarter of a million migrants (an increase of 206% compared to 2020), 192,000 of whom were from Central America, the vast majority from Honduras and Guatemala. During the same period, Mexico deported over 80,000 migrants. At the behest of the President, the Mexican migration management strategy is becoming increasingly militarized.

Not only is this in line with the priorities of US governments in recent decades (especially since the signing of NAFTA, now the USMCA), but it also lends continuity to the importance that Obama has placed on his southern neighbor, seen through the number of visits the president has made during his tenure. However, Biden's Mexican-American agenda falls under traditional themes: migration, drugs, and economic prosperity. During the presidential campaign and transition, Biden and his team have not spoken out on democracy/human rights and anti-corruption issues, especially sensitive issues in Mexico.

However, there were many voices that criticized this project as a tool to stop drug trafficking, since in fact ports of entry (POE) are the main smuggling routes, and, faced with a wall, drug traffickers would respond by “moving smuggling under, over or over barriers, and also around them, even changing their cover-up methods to move illegal drugs through the POE more efficiently."[[135]](#footnote-135). Biden thought the wall was a waste of money, which led him to promise in his first 100 days in office to end "the so-called national emergency that diverts federal funds from the Department of Defense for activities related to illegal immigration and the war on drugs. Trump made the building of a "big and beautiful wall" the emblem of his administration, for which Mexico would pay directly or indirectly. When Biden contacted Andres Manuel López Obrador, the president-elect of Mexico, on December 19, 2020, it marked the beginning of improved ties between the two countries. The President-elect "emphasized the need for revitalized cooperation between the United States and Mexico to ensure safe and orderly migration, contain the spread of COVID-19, revive the North American economy, and secure our shared border," according to the press release. These issues are customary and frequently discussed on the bilateral agenda, with the exception of COVID-19, which is a temporary state of emergency. In conclusion, all signs point to Mexico continuing to be the next administration's top focus when it comes to Latin America. Even when questioned about which countries in the area he would travel to first following his inauguration, Biden said, "It would be presumptuous to announce a visit without contacting the host. I do, however, intend to have a meeting with the president of Mexico, Andrés Manuel López Obrador, soon to work on a cooperative economic and security agenda.[[136]](#footnote-136)

An important moment in relations between Mexico and the United States is the meeting of the leaders of Mexico, the United States and Canada under the USMCA agreement on November 18, 2021 in Mexico City. This was the first meeting in 5 years to discuss the COVID-19 pandemic as well as opportunities to increase the competitiveness of supply chains in North America[[137]](#footnote-137). There was also an issue that worried the President of Mexico and the Prime Minister of Canada. It consisted in the fact that Biden, as an adherent of the "green policy", set a tax deduction of $ 7.5 thousand from the income tax of individuals who bought an American electric car[[138]](#footnote-138). This was contrary to the USMCA free trade agreement and put the national production of cars of the US partner countries in non-competitive conditions. Biden, in turn, assured that the claims would be taken into account, although in the end, the interests of Mexican car manufacturers were not satisfied.[[139]](#footnote-139)

Then, in June 2022, there was a scandal at the summit of the Americas when Cuba, Venezuela and Nicaragua were not invited to it, which were considered “not democratic enough”[[140]](#footnote-140). As a sign of US protest and support of Latin American states, the leader of Mexico, A.M. Lopez Obrador, also refused to attend the summit. It makes no sense to talk about the success of the negotiation process in the event that the first persons of the leading countries of Latin America do not come to it.

Summing up, we can say that the presidency of D. Trump left behind a lot of problems and put rough pressure on the Mexican government. In order to somehow counter this, A. M. Lopez Obrador was forced to carry out various socio-political reforms ahead of time, without preparing the “ground” for them. J. Biden, although he did not follow the vector set by his predecessor, still continued a rather discriminatory policy towards Mexico. Despite the fact that states cooperate closely within the USCMA free trade area, it cannot be said unequivocally that this interaction is built on an equal basis. In the future, the deepening of Mexican-American relations is expected.

## 3.3 New priorities of the Latin American policy of US.

Migration, sanctions, different bilateral concerns, corruption, climate change, awareness of the pandemic, democracy, and other topics have been Biden's top priorities in reports, calls, statements, and tours that have shaped the agenda with the area since he took office.

These issues were addressed mainly in the countries of the Greater Caribbean, including Mexico, Cuba, Colombia and the Northern Triangle of Central America.

Throughout the campaign, the Northern Triangle has been positioned as a high priority on Biden's agenda in Latin America. It is important to remember that the Democrat's vast knowledge in this area is not new, but he developed it throughout his political career: as a senator, Biden closely followed the countries that make up the Northern Triangle.

Biden is aware of the situation in the most disadvantaged countries of Central America - Guatemala, Honduras and El Salvador. The Obama administration had already proposed a "Plan Columbia" for the subregion, dubbed the Alliance for Prosperity, which Biden oversaw as vice president. In March 2015, he visited Guatemala, where, at a meeting with the leaders of Central American states, he said that American corporations would like to invest here, and that capital from other countries will soon flow into the subregion[[141]](#footnote-141). At the request of the White House, the 2016 US budget allocated $750 million to implement the plan, with almost half of it intended to improve the security situation, modernize government institutions and fight corruption[[142]](#footnote-142). In this sense, Biden recalled that “the most effective and sustainable way to reduce migration from the Northern Triangle is to comprehensively address its root causes, the factors that push people to leave their countries.”[[143]](#footnote-143) For this reason, a "Biden Plan to Enhance Security and Prosperity in Cooperation with the Peoples of Central America" has also been proposed, with the main themes being improving security, fighting corruption, and promoting economic prosperity, all backed by $4 billion over four years, money , which are not a reward but a condition for governments to "make specific commitments to fight corruption".

Similarly, Biden pledged to convene a regional meeting between the countries of the Northern Triangle (Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador) and North America (US, Mexico, and Canada) to address the drivers of migration in a multi-stakeholder manner and implement a comprehensive strategy that involves all parties. The commitment was to hold said meeting within the first 100 days of the new administration[[144]](#footnote-144).

The most important of these three countries for Washington, due to its geographical location, is Guatemala, and it is with it that Biden pins most of his hopes. It is no coincidence that in June 2021, Vice President Harris, who is responsible for migration issues, visited this country. During the visit, she met with President Alejandro Giammattei, with whom she had, according to sources, a constructive dialogue. The Guatemalan leader praised Harris for his integrity in matters of cooperation[[145]](#footnote-145).

However, already in September 2021, the United States imposed sanctions against the leadership of El Salvador and Guatemala, accusing officials of undermining the principles of democracy and bribery. The list of persons non grata included the Attorney General of Guatemala, Maria Consuelo Porras, and the Secretary General of the Prosecutor's Office, Angel Arnoldo Pineda Avila[[146]](#footnote-146).

Further in November 2022, the US imposed sanctions on some Guatemalan nickel mining companies, such as Compania Guatemalteca de Niquel, Compania Procesadora de Niquel and Mayaniquel, who are accused of corruption and links to the Russian group Solway[[147]](#footnote-147).

It should be noted that at least the United States continues the practice of extraterritorial sanctions even against the supposedly friendly countries of Latin America.

## 3.4 Changes in the policy of rapprochement of relations

During the reign of Alvaro Uribe, Colombia established itself as one of the United States' most dependable and strategic allies in South America, and the country became a model of communication.[[148]](#footnote-148) However, under the Trump administration, relations between Colombia and the United States have become murky because, on the one hand, the Republican president praised Ivan Duque for his admission and support of the Venezuelan Juan Guaido while, on the other, criticizing Colombia, claiming that the drug trade has increased "by 50%" and that he has been smuggling criminals into the country in recent years: "I have no doubt that Honduras, Guatemala, El Salvador and Colombia (and) have been sending criminal[[149]](#footnote-149). Biden, though, has very different knowledge of the nation in South America than does Trump. Colombia is the cornerstone of US policy in Latin America and the Caribbean, Biden said often during his campaign[[150]](#footnote-150). However, President Ivan Duca will need to make changes before Colombian-American relations may resume. In a report he gave in May 2000 while serving on the Committee on Foreign Relations, Biden stated that "a critical opportunity in the fight against drug trafficking in Colombia may be missed unless Congress takes swift action to approve funding for this plan."[[151]](#footnote-151) President Clinton gave the go-ahead for $1.3 billion for Plan Columbia three months later, and later, under the George W. Bush administration, he was given even additional funding. This is why "Plan Colombia" is regarded as one of Biden's most significant initiatives in terms of US foreign policy toward Latin America.

Colombia remained relevant to Biden during his years as vice president, as the country was one of the most visited countries during his administration during his first visit, in May 2013, he held a bilateral meeting with President Juan Manuel Santos. c, who acknowledged his country's notable successes in matters of security and commercial relations with the United States; During his second visit in June 2014, he had another bilateral meeting with Santos and both discussed the regional prosperity and security agenda; During the third visit in 2016 with Donald Trump as president-elect and in the context of the transformation of Plan Colombia into Paz Colombia[[152]](#footnote-152). Biden assured that Colombia is a strategic partner for hemispheric cooperation and expressed that bilateral relations with Colombia will not weaken in the coming years. In recent decades, Colombia has positioned itself as one of the most strategic and loyal partners of the United States in South America, becoming a paradigm example of communication during the rule of Alvaro Uribe Russell, Roberto, y Juan Tokatlian. "Modelos de politica exterior y opciones estratégicas[[153]](#footnote-153). However, Biden's knowledge of the South American country is very different from Trump's. During his campaign, Biden repeatedly stated that "Colombia is the cornerstone of US policy in Latin America and the Caribbean." Thus, for a possible resumption of Colombian-American relations, President Gustavo Petro had to make adjustments. Even during his election campaign, he promised to revise relations with the United States, in particular the free trade agreement. In addition, his election promises included an agenda that has a special role in America: protecting the rights of women and various sexual minorities, switching to "green energy" and combating social inequality, which gave the President of Colombia a tangible advantage not only over the people of his country, but also before the USA. G. Petro also suggested that J. Biden find "a new way of understanding each other", especially in the field of "green transition"[[154]](#footnote-154). One proposal was to take joint responsibility for the Amazon jungle, which absorbs greenhouse gases. He also called on Latin America to further integrate on the basis of cultural, linguistic and historical identity. It is noteworthy that the President of Colombia also mentioned the scandal at the summit of the Americas, emphasizing that in order to build a constructive dialogue, one cannot discriminate against any nation[[155]](#footnote-155).

Be that as it may, it is necessary to observe the further actions of the leftist President of Colombia, G. Petro, in order to make a more accurate forecast about the future relations between the United States and Colombia, since it is obvious that the neoliberal model of the economy has exhausted itself, and this may lead to a deterioration in relations with the USA.

In 2020, during the presidential campaign, the relationship between Biden and Brazilian President Jair Bolsonaro entered into a conflict situation. Putting climate change as one of his priorities, Biden proposed the creation of a $20 billion international fund to save the Amazon in Brazil and at the same time warned that “President Bolsonaro must know that if Brazil is not the responsible custodian of the Amazon rainforest my administration will unite the world to protect the environment.” This drew a mixed response from the President of Brazil, who responded on Twitter: “Brazil has changed. Today, its president, unlike the left, no longer accepts bribes, criminal demarcations, or unfounded threats. Our sovereignty is non-negotiable."[[156]](#footnote-156)

At the beginning of the new government led by Biden, Brazil started in a very unfavorable position because of its disagreements on environmental issues and because it was one of the most Americanist governments in the entire region with a "blind" alliance with Trump[[157]](#footnote-157). Be that as it may, during the presidency of Bolsonaro, relations between Brazil and the United States improved in 2019, because Brazil was recognized as the main ally of the United States outside NATO, and under Biden, the interaction became cooler, because Bolsonaro was always closer to Trump.

After Luis Inacio Lula da Silva (Lula da Silva) came to power in Brazil, US-Brazilian relations acquired a new format, given that Brazil first supported Russia in a special military operation in Ukraine, and then did not want to become even an indirect participant in the conflict and changed your opinion to neutral. Now adheres to partnerships with both the United States and the BRICS countries.

As for Chile, it was one of the most important countries in South America for Biden because, after Colombia and Brazil, it was the most visited country during his years as vice president: for the first time in 2009, he attended the inauguration ceremony of President Michelle Bachelet and dialogue with outgoing President Sebastian Piñera; and second, in 2014, to attend a conference on progressive governance sponsored by Bachelet, before which she said: “Let me tell you that Chile is more than a partner. They are the leader. They are leaders in this entire hemisphere."[[158]](#footnote-158). Given pre-existing good relations, Chile's President Sebastián Piñera quickly became the first Latin American leader to make a phone call to President-elect Joe Biden, which took place on November 17, 2020. In their conversation, Biden expressed his desire for deepening Chile-U.S. relations and especially "working closely with Chile to help the Americas recover from economic and public health challenges caused by the COVID-19 pandemic, strengthen hemispheric institutions, govern regional migration and restore cooperation to address climate change”. This latter issue is an important meeting point for the two leaders, as Piñera co-hosted the 2020 Climate Ambition Summit, an occasion he took to invite Biden to "join the Climate Ambition Alliance and achieve carbon neutrality by 2050 together."[[159]](#footnote-159). It can be noted that Chile welcomes the climate and "green" agenda, which is so important for the democratic government of George Biden.

In 2022, center-left Gabriel Borich came to power in Chile. This was supposed to lead to a deterioration in relations with the United States, however, Boric did not remain neutral, as the leader of Brazil did, but spoke out against Russia's special military operation in Ukraine and condemned the human rights situation in Venezuela, when Bolsonaro's supporters seized some key government buildings.[[160]](#footnote-160) In general, due to such a policy of Chilean President Boric, relations with the United States continue to be quite stable.

In the case of Argentina, when Biden came to power, Argentine representative A. Fernandez, during a telephone conversation, admitted that the difficult period for Latin America with Trump's departure was over, and also added: "We wanted everything to change, and we see in you alternative"[[161]](#footnote-161).

The head of state maintained deep ideological differences with Trump and believes that Biden can contribute to Washington's interests in Latin America, as well as facilitate Argentina's negotiations with the International Monetary Fund (IMF). These Buenos Aires gestures are complemented by a shared friendship that could serve international relations and negotiations with the IMF with Biden and his staff.

This does not mean that the divisions in the crisis in Venezuela, the role of the OAS and the negotiations with the IMF are going smoothly and in line with the expectations of both sides.

Alberto Fernandez, unlike Biden, does not consider Maduro a dictator. Argentine president proposes to negotiate with the IMF, which will not have an automatic answer in favor of the State Department [[162]](#footnote-162).

In light of the political events of 2022, the United States and Argentina have kept in touch in the field of assistance to Ukraine. In March 2023, the leaders of the states "discussed cooperation between the United States and Argentina to further support the people of Ukraine and respond to the consequences" at a meeting in Washington.

In addition, Biden expressed support for Argentina in cooperation in the energy sector and the critical minerals sector.

The presidents "committed to deepening U.S.-Argentine collaboration on advanced technologies and working with other G20 countries to reform multilateral development banks to better respond to global challenges."

On February 11, the presidents of Argentina and Colombia, Alberto Fernandez and Gustavo Petro, called for stepping up measures to achieve a ceasefire in Ukraine. According to the heads of the two states, the Ukrainian conflict allowed the United States to strengthen NATO, as well as increase its influence on Europe in the framework of the “hegemonic dispute” with China[[163]](#footnote-163).

Based on the above facts, it is clear that Argentina is very dependent on US investment, especially in its energy sector. In addition, Argentina is known for its practice of nationalizing foreign corporations during its economic crisis and instability. Of course, A. Fernandez is not so concerned about NATO issues and the growing US influence on Europe. Most likely, he is worried about the state of the world economy after the conflict, because he has repeatedly noted in his speeches that the conflict in Ukraine could lead to a global food crisis and problems in Argentina itself. According to him, Russia's special military operation in Ukraine brought Argentina $5 billion in losses and increased unrest within the country and in Latin America as a whole[[164]](#footnote-164). Be that as it may, G. Petro and A. Fernandez call on Russia and Ukraine to sit down at the negotiating table, because it is not beneficial for them to break off diplomatic relations with the Russian Federation only to please the United States, given the friction between these two states and China for influence in the Latin American region and separately in the energy sector.

## 3.5 Destabilization of relations

Throughout his campaign, Biden has shown great willingness to renew the policy of dialogue and commitment to Cuba. "The administration's approach is not working," criticized the Democratic nominee. Indeed, the island has undergone internal changes under the government of Miguel Diaz-Canel, which promotes issues such as economic reform, recognition of private property, encouragement of foreign investment, transparency of political processes and the protection of citizens[[165]](#footnote-165), however, these advances were not valued by Trump. Moreover, during his administration, the White House increased sanctions against Havana, to which was added the reduction in tourism revenue due to the COVID-19 pandemic and the deep crisis in Venezuela, its best ally. For all these reasons, the Cuban people experienced one of the most difficult moments in 2020 after the special period.

True to the "smart strategies" deployed under the Obama administration, Biden will advocate a balance between commitments and sanctions to strengthen relations with Cuba. However, it is important to note that his speech remained in the traditional and rhetorical line of US foreign policy towards the island, arguing that “there are more political prisoners. The secret police are as brutal as ever. And Russia is again present in Cuba and Havana.” In this regard, it is important to remember that although Obama and Kerry visited Cuba in 2015 and 2016, Biden never set foot on the island and during his campaign did not position the Cuban issue as a priority among the Latin American community.

In addition, an issue that complicated US-Cuban relations in 2021 was that Trump declared Havana a "sponsor of terrorism" government just 9 days before the end of his term on the grounds that "the apparatus of the Cuban intelligence and security forces had infiltrated Venezuela ". military and security forces, helping Nicolás Maduro maintain his dominance over his people, allowing the organizations to operate. In this sense, Biden's relationship with Cuba is expected to change and become closer than in the Trump administration. However, there are some doubts about the depth that Cuban-American relations can reach, especially if Cuba's support for the government of Nicolás Maduro prevails[[166]](#footnote-166).

In the case of Venezuela, the Trump administration's policy of recognizing Juan Guaidó as the legitimate president of Venezuela was supported by various world leaders, but the sanctions that the United States promoted to overthrow Nicolás Maduro did not achieve their goal and, on the contrary, they ended up with a humanitarian crisis in Venezuela and other neighboring countries, especially Colombia.

On this occasion, during his party's primaries, Biden was the first Democratic candidate to voice his support for Guaidó, when he tweeted in February 2020, "The international community must support Juan Guaidó and the National Assembly. It's time for Maduro to step aside and allow for a democratic transition."[[167]](#footnote-167) Biden supports multilateral sanctions against Right now, Venezuelans in the United States enjoy temporary protected status thanks to Maduro, but unlike the Trump administration, he intends to multilaterally address the effects the Venezuelan crisis has had on South America.

However, while Biden's stance towards Maduro, whom he called a dictator, has been clarified, it is unlikely that the new administration will continue to treat Guaidó as the country's de facto leader because, in addition to lowering his image due to the lack of results, the Venezuelan Supreme Court recognized void the extension of the term of office of the National Assembly (2015-2020), which took the oath of "executive president" in January 2019 to the opponent. While not a top priority, the Venezuelan crisis will be the Biden government's biggest test of hemispheric cooperation, and it could mark the pulse of relations with other Latin American countries.

However, due to the aggravation of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict in early 2022, the situation in US-Venezuelan relations began to change.

Relations between the US and Venezuela appear to have improved slightly in 2022. As the war in Ukraine drags on, the US has been looking for new energy alternatives and turned to Venezuelan oil.

In addition to discussing a possible easing of economic sanctions and a prisoner exchange, the administration of US President Joe Biden granted energy company Chevron a license to operate for six months in Venezuela[[168]](#footnote-168).

The US also welcomes the fact that the opposition and Nicolás Maduro's regime recently resumed dialogue, while demanding free and democratic elections in this year's primaries and a presidential election in 2024[[169]](#footnote-169).

At the beginning of the current 2023, Maduro announced that "Venezuela is fully prepared to normalize relations with the United States." The next day, Washington responded that Maduro "is not the legitimate leader of Venezuela" and that he recognizes the 2015 National Assembly as the country's last democratic institution.

In this example, the Biden administration is being criticized for "double standards." Although he calls Maduro "illegitimate", he does business with him for Venezuelan oil[[170]](#footnote-170). For example, in 2022, the US lifted some sanctions and licensed Chevron and its subsidiaries to develop oil in Venezuela[[171]](#footnote-171), which is connected with the global energy crisis against the backdrop of Russia's special military operation in Ukraine. America officially explained its gesture by the fact that in November 2022, Maduro met with representatives of the opposition in Mexico City, where the parties agreed to invest billions of dollars for humanitarian purposes within the country, an infrastructure investment program that should be held under the auspices of the UN[[172]](#footnote-172). Given the current international situation, the United States and Venezuela have a chance to restore relations, because the United States will try to the last to increase oil supplies without affecting its reserves, thereby controlling inflation. However, Washington is not going to ease other sanctions against Venezuela yet. This factor allowed Venezuela to still choose the side of Russia in a special military operation. Until the United States stops playing a “double game” with Venezuela, based only on its own benefit, the situation will continue to stagnate.

# Conclusion

After a detailed analysis of US Latin American politics in the 21st century, it can be concluded that George Biden is perhaps one of the most experienced American politicians in the field of foreign relations in Washington, first as a senator and chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations. , and then as vice president when he was a key player in the Obama administration, making numerous trips that expanded and strengthened the US presence in the world.

However, despite the incumbent's solid experience in Latin American politics, he has so far failed to put the region at the forefront of his foreign policy rhetoric. Although the Latin American region is considered important for the US, in fact it fades into the background every time a new agenda emerges on the world stage in which the States are actively involved.

In Latin America, Biden was the first senior Obama administration official to visit Central America (Costa Rica) and South America (Chile) and the last to visit the region (Colombia). In addition, during his 19 visits to countries in the region, he learned first hand about the diverse and complex reality of the Southern Hemisphere.

The foreign policy part of John Biden's election program, including its Latin American part, was the thesis about the need for a radical revision of the Trump administration's course in international affairs, correcting the mistakes made, compensating for the damage done to US strategic interests and "returning to normal foreign policy", i.e. it is not obvious that Trump's policy towards Latin America was more confrontational than that of J. Biden.

Speaking about the differences between the policies of Biden and Trump, it is important to understand that J. Biden, unlike Trump, had extensive experience in foreign policy issues before coming to the White House. However, his method of conducting foreign policy was fundamentally different from Trump's foreign policy rhetoric, which, in turn, was focused on certain problems in the region, on economic and financial issues of concern to him. Trump did not seek absolute leadership, but sought to find ways to achieve personal gain. It is this moment that distinguishes the methods of conducting the foreign policy rhetoric of both leaders. Biden's example shows that he is simply striving for political leadership, even with the fact that military and economic tensions in the region have eased, the region does not play such a strategically important role for the States today. From which we can conclude that J. Biden, who had extensive experience in the US Latin American policy, was not of great importance.

As emphasized, D. Trump left behind a lot of problems and exerted strong pressure on many Latin American countries, especially Cuba, Venezuela and Mexico. J. Biden, although he did not follow the vector set by his predecessor, nevertheless continued a rather discriminatory policy towards Mexico.

When Joe Biden took office, the situation in Latin America was starkly different from when he was vice president four years ago, making it difficult for his administration to move forward with foreign policy priorities. Even during the Trump years, authoritarian tendencies continued to expand, leading to a massive migrant crisis from Mexico, to which was added economic and social inequality, the negative effects of the coronavirus, political instability caused by a widening voter gap, which Biden must fight now.

In any case, Biden's criticism of D. Trump's Latin American course, being a candidate, pointed to the inevitable intensification of the struggle in the US ruling circles on issues of relations with the southern neighbors. All this led to the need to reconsider important aspects of relations with Latin America.

There is always a desire to be the first in the rhetoric of the United States, this can be seen in the example of Venezuela and the ease with which the States apply double standards and the ease of changing their principles, as, for example, in the situation with Biden and Maduro for a political swing at the Venezuelan regime. Double standards also lie in the fact that the United States continues the practice of extraterritorial sanctions even against allegedly friendly countries of Latin America.

Thus, one can be convinced that the reasons for the conflict relations between the United States and the countries of Latin America are not based on several factors:

1. Striving for political hegemony in the region

2. political and personal ambitions of individual US leaders and their relationship with the administrations of Latin American countries

3. US Economic Benefits

But, if in the case of D. Trump, the leader firmly adhered to his position regarding many examples: a wall with Mexico, aggravation of relations with Cuba, then in the case of J. Biden, he was looking for workarounds and changed his rhetoric, such as in the case of Venezuela discussed earlier.

In conclusion, it should be emphasized that the evolution of the US Latin American policy has changed with each new leader. There was a certain trend of political swings, as evidenced by the transitions from the hostile rhetoric of one president to the sharply positive rhetoric of another. Today, Joe Biden is trying to move away from economic and sanctions impacts on the countries of the region, due to the greater interest in participating around the Russian-Ukrainian conflict. Although the beginning of the century, then the promising Latin American policy of B. Obama, and then the tense relations with Trump spoke about active inter-American relations both in a positive and not in a negative way.

Be that as it may, although Biden is pursuing a different political course from that of his predecessor Trump, he has not completely abandoned it, as can be seen in the examples of Cuba and Venezuela. The Summit of the Americas showed that the United States is losing allies from Latin America, which also obliges Washington to reconsider its foreign policy priorities. There is a risk that the US will further lobby for anti-Russian actions and sentiment in the region against the background of the Russian military operation in Ukraine, so new lucrative deals, investments and trade can be expected, especially in the energy sectors due to the growing popularity of the green economy and the expected global energy imbalance.

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