

Special Topic on Diplomacy around Major Powers

The evolution of the “Monroe Doctrine” and the U.S. strategy toward Latin America*

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Abstract: The "Monroe Doctrine", which is about to celebrate its 200th anniversary, is still regarded as the cornerstone of the United States' policy towards Latin America. This not only reflects the stability of the United States' strategic goals in Latin America, but also reflects the flexibility of the Monroe Doctrine. The Monroe Doctrine has been continuously given new connotations in the process of accompanying the evolution of U.S. hegemony. While serving the goals of U.S. hegemony, the Monroe Doctrine has also become the basis for the United States to expand its territory in Latin America, intervene in and control Latin America, exclude foreign powers, and achieve U.S. globalization. A tool of expansion. The U.S. strategy toward Latin America based on the Monroe Doctrine has been adjusted with the changes in U.S. hegemony. In the era dominated by U.S. hegemony, the United States lacks a long-term strategy for Latin America. The U.S. policy toward Latin America shows a "neglect-stress response" cyclical cycle. In the post-hegemonic period, the strategic objectives and strategic framework of the United States toward Latin America have not changed much. However, the U.S. strategy toward Latin America has shown a trend of contraction. The differences in the Latin America strategies between the two major parties in the United States have expanded. From the Monroe Doctrine From this perspective, it explores how the United States handles relations with neighboring countries in the process of its rise, establishment, and decline, and how China, as the largest extraterritorial influence in the Western Hemisphere, avoids the risk of U.S. containment. It is of enlightenment and practical value to China. Keywords : Monroe

Doctrine, U.S.-Latin America Relations, U.S. Diplomacy and International Strategy About the author: He

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Implementing it is a "wise discovery of the trend of the times", that is, the United States has become "a great power on the American continent" and made a strategic oath to bring the Americas into its own sphere of influence. It solved the problems in the U.S. diplomatic strategy in the early 19th century. A fundamental question is, "Does the United States want to become an empire within the European political system, or does it want to become the sun of a completely independent system?" It can be said that the Monroe Declaration established the goal of the United States to build a monopolistic regional hegemony in the Western Hemisphere, and set this goal. This goal runs through the entire U.S. diplomacy with Latin America.

(2) The "Monroe Doctrine" and the territorial expansion of the United

States. The Monroe Declaration was rarely mentioned for many years after it was issued in 1823. In order to support the territorial expansion since the 1840s, President James Polk (1845- 1849) and other expansionists resurrected the principles of the Monroe Declaration, coined the term "Monroe Doctrine", and developed the "Polk Corollary" of the Monroe Doctrine. In 1845, President Polk stated in his State of the Union Address No. Once cited the principles of the Monroe Declaration to defend the United States' rights to the Oregon Territory, claiming that the concept of a "balance of power" in the Americas proposed by Britain and France (a strong Mexico, an independent Texas, a strong British North America including the Oregon Coast A large part of the United States, even an independent California) and especially British claims to the Oregon Territory, were inconsistent with the principles of the Monroe Declaration, which proposed that action must be taken before British influence became dominant to the detriment of American security. The U.S. annexed Texas, occupied "all of Oregon," extended the Texas border to the Rio Grande, and acquired California and the Yucatan Peninsula. The Polk corollary of the Monroe Doctrine was not only a response to the U.S.'s The basis for intervention against existing threats also made it rational to take action against possible threats. The Monroe Doctrine thus started the United States' offensive policy towards the Americas, especially towards Latin America. In the 19th century, the United States continued to be motivated by territorial expansion. The question cited the Monroe Doctrine. In 1870, Ulysses S. Grant, who attempted to annex Dominica, proposed the "Grant Corollary" of

the Monroe Doctrine to the Senate in order to promote this goal, declaring that "no territory on this continent can be transferred to European countries" In 1895, in the process of resolving the border dispute between British Guiana and Venezuela, the then US Secretary of State Richard Olney proposed the "Olney Corollary" of the Monroe Doctrine.

Claiming that "Today, the United States has de facto sovereignty over this continent, and its orders are law."

(Review) in The Canadian Historic Review Universe of Toronto Press Vol 49 No 1 1968 p 74 [US] Written by Henry Kissinger, translated by Gu Shuxin and Lin Tianguai: "Grand Diplomacy", Haikou: Hainan Publishing House, 2012, p. 21 pages Dexter Perkins A History of the Monroe Do ctrine Boston: Little 58-159

For the benefit of all mankind, the American people should eventually exclude Mexicans from their sparsely populated northern provinces." y
Roosevelt's corollary also combined the security issues of the United States with the assumption of inferiority in Latin America, believing that
preventive measures should be taken against Latin American countries. Intervention in order to prevent Latin America from becoming "prey for
revolutionaries, corrupt governments and predatory foreigners"y. President Woodrow Wilson even regarded the United States' intervention in
Latin America as "the country's civilizing mission" and "converting the benefits of republican government to The purpose of extending to the
uncivilized and poorly governed countries of the world is to create stability and remove the basis for European intervention."y

(4) The strong return of the "New Monroe Doctrine" and the "Old Monroe Doctrine" At the

beginning of the 20th century, the United States had become a global power economically and militarily. On December 16, 1907, the
U.S. Navy's Great White Fleet launched from Virginia Set off from Hampton Anchorage and began sailing around the world, the United States
appeared on the world stage as a powerful country. With the growth of American hegemony, American foreign policy began to get rid of
isolationism and actively participate in international affairs. The Monroe Doctrine also became the basis of American hegemony. A tool for world
expansiony

As the United States moves toward the world stage, the United States is no longer satisfied with exercising international police power
in Latin America. Instead, it wants to exercise police power around the world. When Theodore Roosevelt spoke in Congress in 1902, he said,
"International political and economic relations are becoming increasingly complex and complex. Interdependence makes all powerful powers on
the track of civilization increasingly obliged to insist on appropriate police behavior on world tasks." y During World War I, President Wilson
interpreted the Monroe Doctrine as "a global political principle without regional spatial restrictions. y Thus providing justification for America's
global influence" The Monroe Doctrine began to evolve into "American World" yy

The Cold War ended in 1991, the Soviet Union collapsed, and the United States became the only superpower in the world. The United
States' global hegemony enabled the Monroe Doctrine to realize a true "American world." The United States and Western countries promoted
humanitarianism and defense in the post-Cold War period. New interventionism under the pretext of universal values is essentially an expanded
version of the Monroe Doctrine. After the "9 11 Incident", the Bush administration, which pursued the theory of neo-imperialism, borrowed the U.S.

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y [US] Written by Henry Kissinger, translated by Gu Shuxin and Lin Tiangu: "Grand Diplomacy", Haikou: Hainan Publishing House, 2012, page

y 24, written by Zhang Yongle: "This Frontier: "Monroe Doctrine" and Modern Space Politics » Shanghai: New Knowledge on Life and Reading
Sanlian Bookstore, 2021, Page 25

On the one hand, in the face of the collective rise of left-wing governments in Latin America, the United States is unable to confront most Latin American countries. Therefore, curbing the temptation of the Monroe Doctrine will test the strategic determination of the Obama administration. Regarding the presence of China and other foreign countries in Latin America, the Obama administration The monitoring and contact policy (EngageMent) policy was implemented without adopting Monroe's exclusion policy . It launched sanctions against Venezuela. It can be said that the United States never really gave up the Monroe Doctrine, but implemented the "Monroe Doctrine without the name of the Monroe Doctrine." In a sense, this is a "new door" "Roe Doctrine", which is a deformed product of the "old Monroe Doctrine" based on the hegemony of the US empire in the era of globalization.

Whether the "post-Monroe Doctrine" era will come is not a true proposition. As U.S. President Grover Cleveland asserted as early as 1895, "The principles of the Monroe Doctrine apply to every stage of our national life. As long as our republic If it exists, it will never become obsolete." When the political foundation of post-Monroe doctrine is shaken, the return of the old Monroe doctrine will become a historical necessity. As early as the 2000 US election, Patrick Buchanan (Patrick Buchanan) Buchaanan), as a candidate for the third party reform party (The REFORM PARTY) of the United States and politics, proposed the political foundation of the backdoorism. Global police work denationalizes the United States by decentralizing U.S. power and opening its borders to unbalanced trade, illegal immigration, and terrorism. The United States must return to the Monroe Doctrine because "the Monroe Doctrine is a form of non-intervention . Isolationism in distant conflicts" At the same time, the improved Monroe Doctrine he proposed pushed the United States further toward isolationism. In Buchanan's view, "The most immediate and serious problem facing the United States in the Western Hemisphere is mass immigration. "What is more important is to "maintain a country and a nation", and we must adopt new immigration restrictions to end illegal immigration, especially illegal immigrants from Mexico. The policy suggestion he gave is, "Deployment at the Mexican border "military" to prevent "terrible refugees, immigrants, and terrorists" and promote Cuba's transfer of power. He even advocated the separation of the United States from Latin America, believing that as long as "no hostile regime builds a fortress in this hemisphere," the United States should not care.

Why is the Monroe Doctrine still relevant today? Is it still a valid principle of international relations? (Why is the Monroe Doctrine still relevant today? Is it still a valid principle of international relations?)

Quoted from Denneth M Modeste's "The Monroe Doctrine in a Contemporary Perspective" (outledge) 2020

The Monroe Doctrine is a policy of opposing European colonialism in the Americas. It is a policy of opposing European colonialism in the Americas.

Governments of Central and South America

President Trump's anti-globalization, anti-free trade, anti-immigration and return to the Monroe Doctrine ideas and practices are exactly the same as Buchanan's thoughts. In September 2018, Trump spoke at the opening ceremony of the general debate of the United Nations General Assembly in New York. Claiming to once again adopt the Monroe Doctrine principle as a formal foreign policy of the United States and rejecting other countries' interference in the Western Hemisphere and the United States' own affairs. In 2018, then US Secretary of State Rex Tillerson said in the question and answer session after giving a speech on Western Hemisphere issues at the University of Texas in 2018, "The Monroe Doctrine is an achievement." He believes that the Monroe Doctrine has maintained democratic values in the Western Hemisphere. Bolton, who served as Trump's national security adviser, said in a speech to Cuban exile groups, "The Monroe Doctrine is still alive and well. Very good." At the same time, the Trump administration has adopted a Latin American policy with the characteristics of the old Monroe Doctrine or the traditional Monroe Doctrine. First, it has adopted a policy of exclusion and containment mainly targeting China, treating China as a threat to the United States. The biggest threat to the leadership position and U.S. interests in Latin America. The second is to re-strengthen the intervention policy in Latin America. On the Cuban issue, the Trump administration has overturned the policy of engagement with Cuba implemented during the Obama administration and increased its economic support for Cuba. sanctions, and in January 2021, the Cuban government was once again included in the list of countries supporting international terrorism. On the Venezuela issue, the Trump administration recognized the opposition government and exerted maximum pressure on the Maduro government. The third is on the immigration issue. Trump has adopted more extreme measures than Buchanan, such as building a border wall and deporting refugees on a large scale. Many Chinese and foreign scholars call Trump's Latin American policy the "New Monroe Doctrine", but in fact his policies are more like traditional The Return of the Monroe Doctrine

Although the Biden administration, which has high-profile criticism of Trumpism, rarely mentions the Monroe Doctrine directly, it still regards Latin America as the sphere of influence of the United States. This is different from Trump, who likened Latin America to the backyard of the United States. He said that "south of the Mexican border" Everything is the front yard of the United States." In its Latin American policy, the Biden administration has basically maintained Trump's policy and excluded the influence of major foreign countries such as China. It has also basically continued its policy on Cuba, Venezuela, and other countries.

Marcos C. Pires, Lucas G. de Nascimento: "The New Monroe Doctrine and the Trilateral Relations between China, the United States and Latin America", published in "Latin American Studies", Issue 4, 2020, Page 34, "Secretary Tiller son Delivers Addresses on U S Engagement in the Wes
 "Ambassador Bolton Remarks to the Bay of Pigs Veterans Association - Brigade 2506" U S Embassy in Cuba 17 2019
 https:// mbassador - bolton - bay - of - pigs - veterans - ass occiation - brigade - 2506 / [2022-12-02] See Marcos C. Pires, Lucas G. de Nascimento: "The New Monroe Doctrine and the Trilateral Relations between China, the United States and Latin America", published in "Latin American Studies", Issue 4, 2020 y Li Qingsi, Qiu Longyu: «U.S. "New Monroe Doctrine" Latin American Policy and Challenges», published in «Latin American Studies», Issue 2, 2020, "Joe Biden Says That Lat in Americans Not the Backyard of the US "but the front"

Policies in Latin America and Nicaragua

2. The evolution of U.S. hegemony and the characteristics of U.S. Latin America strategy

Many famous scholars who discuss "strategy" or "Grand Strategy" tend to start from the perspective of goals and means, defining it as the science and art of comprehensively using various means to achieve some grand goal, focusing on strategic goals and strategic means. The core of the U.S. Latin America strategy is to use different policy means to achieve U.S. regional hegemony. But in essence, the definition of goals and the use of strategic means and resources are subject to the actual national strength and status. Therefore, the United States' Latin American strategy has evolved with its hegemonic status.

(1) Characteristics of the U.S. strategy toward Latin America in

the era of hegemony. For a long time after the Monroe Declaration was proposed, the U.S.'s goals of prevention and hegemonic expansion in the Western Hemisphere were mainly aimed at European powers, not Latin America. The original intention of the United States in building the Pan-American system in 1889 was "Prevent inter-American war" to avoid "inducing European invasion and thus jeopardizing the Monroe Declaration." In 1930, J. Reuben Clark, then the U.S. Under Secretary of State, complained in the "Clark Memorandum" written by his organization. The Monroe Doctrine was a U.S. policy directed toward Europe, not Latin America.

After World War I, the Western Hemisphere entered an era dominated by American hegemony. Since there were no hegemonic challengers and obvious internal threats, the United States carried out unscrupulous interference in Latin America, especially some neighboring countries. On the other hand, it ignored the development aspirations of Latin American countries. Because Latin America The country was generally dissatisfied with the interventionist policy of the Monroe Doctrine, and taking into account the international tensions before World War II, the Franklin Roosevelt (Franklin Delano Roosevelt) administration proposed the "Good Neighbor" in 1933. policy, which was the first U.S. attempt to go beyond the Monroe Doctrine of interventionist policy pull strategy.

After the Second World War, the United States further consolidated its hegemonic position in Latin America and the world. Latin America's status in U.S. diplomacy declined. The United States did not have a long-term, overall strategy for Latin America, especially the lack of a lasting strategy to lead the development of Latin America. Strategy. Only when U.S. hegemony is challenged, the United States will make a preventive and reactive response. The U.S.'s reactive policy toward Latin America is passive.

See William C Martely Grand Strategy in Theory and Practice: The Need for an Effective American Policy New York: Cambridge University Press 2015 pp 31-37 Li Jingzhi, Luo Tianhong et al.: «International Strategy» Beijing: Renmin University of China Press 2003, pages 12-13.

Edited by Hong Yuyi: "An Outline of the History of Latin American International Relations", Beijing: Foreign

Language Teaching and Research Press, 1998, Page 50, Joseph Smith, The United States and Latin America: A History of America and Diplomacy 1776-2000 London and New York: Routledge 2005 p 92 Gene Sessions "The Clark Memorandum Myth" in The Americas Vol 34 No 1 1977 pp 46 - 58

and one-way, there are two main types of policy means: one is to increase aid or provide more trade preferences and other policies to promote development; the other is to impose sanctions or intervention on Latin American countries. These two approaches can be combined with "carrots and sticks" corresponding to the traditional saying. After the victory of the Cuban Revolution in 1959, the "Alliance for Progress" promoted by President Kennedy mainly focused on aiding and promoting the development of Latin America. In the 1980s, in order to deal with the Soviet Union in Central America, President Reagan as a result, the country adopted a "carrot and stick" policy, and while increasing its intervention in Central American countries, it also implemented some aid and trade preferential policies for the region, such as the 1983 Caribbean Basin Plan (CBI), etc. However, when the external threat was eliminated, the U.S. policy towards Latin America returned to the old policy of neglect and interference, and thus fell into a cycle of neglect and stress reaction. In 1973, an American scholar published an article on "Foreign Affairs" The publication pointed out, "The United States has no Latin American policy, except for a policy of benign neglect." The United States' benign neglect of Latin America is determined by its hegemonic status, because benign neglect will not bring political or economic consequences to the United States. Negative consequences in areas such as security and security. In the era of hegemony, the United States' policy towards Latin America was

mainly based on realism. Intervention was the main means for the United States to implement coercive power in Latin America and one of the main features of the Monroe Doctrine. At the beginning of the Cold War, the European Recovery Plan was implemented, providing huge aid to Europe through the Marshall Plan, but there was no similar plan for Latin America, and telling Latin American countries to rely on trade rather than aid, which "caused deep resentment in Latin America". In addition, the U.S. intervention in Latin America has led to tensions in U.S.-Latin America relations and strong anti-American sentiment in Latin American countries. "From independence to the mid-20th century, anti-American sentiment touched every major social group in Latin America: farmers, workers, middle classes, and elites. At some point, all members of the United States are dissatisfied with being exploited or looked down upon by the United States." However, the United States' interference in Latin America may not necessarily be beneficial to the interests of the United States. Sometimes, while safeguarding some of the interests of the United States, it infringes on other interests of the United States. The United States' intervention and invasion of small Central American and Caribbean countries such as Guatemala, Nicaragua, Cuba, Panama, and Haiti often led the United States into "dangerous whirlpools". The Cuban missile crisis in 1962 and the Reagan administration in the 1980s The competition with the Soviet Union in Central America almost dragged the United States into the vortex of war.

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It is no longer possible to continue to pursue the Monroe Doctrine or the slogan 'America is American.' Although there is still debate on whether the US hegemony has declined, it is recognized that the dominance of US hegemony has declined significantly at the global and regional levels.

Fact: In this sense, it can also be said that the U.S. Latin America strategy has entered the "post-hegemony era." 2. The adjustment of the focus of the U.S. Latin America

strategy in the post-hegemony era. The post-hegemony era was started by

the Obama administration. At this time, the focus of U.S. diplomatic strategy From major power cooperation and counter-terrorism to major power competition, China has become the most important target of the United States' great power competition strategy. In response to China's rapid rise, the Obama administration implemented a rebalancing strategy against China after taking office in 2009. However, in 2008, the international In the context of the financial crisis, the United States needs China's help. Therefore, the Obama administration has adopted a hybrid strategy (hybrid strategy) towards China: on the one hand, it adopts policies including contact, integration and inclusion; on the other hand, it adopts policies including implicit strategy of containment, balance or deterrence. In Latin America, although "China's rising role in Latin America was regarded by the United States as a new challenge it faced in the Western Hemisphere", due to the limited influence of China in Latin America at that time, it was mainly concentrated in the field of trade. The Obama administration does not regard Sino-Latin America cooperation as a huge threat. It just takes a wait-and-see and vigilant attitude towards whether China can transform its economic influence in Latin America into political influence in the future. The Obama administration passed the China-US strategic consultation on Latin America affairs. Hoping to enhance China's transparency in Latin American trade and investment through engagement, William Burns, the Obama administration's deputy secretary of state, said in 2011, "We should not worry about Asia's (China's) economic interests in our Western Hemisphere. The relationship is transparent and the rules are followed."

As the strategic competition between China and the United States intensifies, the United States increasingly regards China as its biggest competitor and threat. The two parties in the United States

have basically reached a consensus on this. In 2017 On December 18, the first "National Security Strategy Report" released by the Trump administration proposed that "strategic competition among countries, not terrorism, is the primary issue of U.S. national security." At the same time, the United States has focused on China-Latin America relations. development as a threat to the United States. In 2018, then-U.S. Secretary of State Rex Tillerson openly accused China of "pursuing short-term profits and long-term dependence" in Latin America, saying that China

China is the main "strategic competitor" Latin America, saying that China

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The United States is a "predatory actor in our hemisphere." The Biden administration has continued Trump's great power competition strategy and regards China as "a competitor that poses a serious challenge to U.S. prosperity, security, and democratic values."

In addition, the United States has always regarded the collective rise of left-wing forces in Latin America, especially the anti-American policies pursued by the Latin American radical left, the strategy of diversifying foreign relations, and the soft balancing policy against the United States (Soft Balancing), as a threat to U.S. hegemony and interests. As the strategic autonomy of Latin American countries strengthens, the United States' control over Latin America's domestic and foreign affairs is weakening, and it is increasingly difficult for the United States to obtain the full cooperation of Latin American countries in its global strategy. Take the Russia-Ukraine conflict as an example. Although most Latin American countries criticized Russia's military action against Ukraine, but did not closely follow the United States on sensitive issues such as sanctions against Russia and military assistance to Ukraine, and maintained a relatively independent stance. Therefore, in the post-hegemonic era, it strengthened its influence and control over Latin America and re-incorporated Latin America. The strategic trajectory of the United States is an important challenge facing the United States.

Non-traditional security issues such as immigration and drug smuggling brought to the United States by globalization are also important challenges currently faced by the United States. The immigration issue has caused not only security issues, but also political and cultural conflicts. Some conservatives are worried about the decline of the Latino population in the United States. The rapid growth of the United States has challenged the mainstream culture and national identity of the United States. This has also led conservative politicians such as Buchanan and Trump to advocate the adoption of a more isolationist Monroe Doctrine. Since 2013, due to the continued economic downturn in Latin America and the As a result of the 2019 coronavirus pandemic and the ensuing economic recession, as well as the impact of the United States' maximum pressure policy on Venezuela, irregular migration to the United States has reached unprecedented

levels and has become an important issue affecting U.S. national

security. 3 Post-Hegemony Graham Alison, a scholar who proposed the "Thucydides Trap" for the contraction of the United States' Latin America strategy in the era, believes that "the essence of strategy is to use resources to respond to overwhelming challenges."

5 With the growth of U.S. hegemony, As the country declines and resources are limited, the U.S. Latin America strategy is shrinking and becoming increasingly North American. Its policies are mainly reflected in two aspects: First, Mexico plays an increasingly important role in the U.S. Latin America strategy.

“National Security Strategy” White House October 2022 https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2022-12-23/Soft-balancing-refers-to-the-use-of-non-military-means-by-small-and-medium-sized-countries-to-improve-the-ability-of-a-powerful-country-to-use-its-hard-power.

And limit its ability to achieve desired results.

[U.S.] Samuel Huntington, translated by Cheng Kexiong: "Who We Are: The Challenge to America's National Identity", Beijing: Xinhua Publishing

House, 2005, Graham Alison, "The New Sp heres of Information: Sharing the Globe with Oth erGreat Powers" 3

The United States has made the North American economy more and more integrated through the North American Free Trade Agreement in 1994 and the United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement revised in 2020. This not only basically meets the important concerns of the United States in industrial security and energy security, but also makes the North American economy more and more integrated. U.S.-Latin America trade and investment are increasingly concentrated in North America. In 2021, 76% of the country's imports come from this region. Mexico accounted for 61% of U.S. exports. In the economic competition between China and the United States, the U.S. strategy of reshaping the global industrial chain will make Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean near-shore. This will further promote North American economic integration. Second, the Greater Caribbean region has attracted the United States' security attention and most of its aid. After Obama came to power, the United States signed a number of agreements to promote development and security with countries in the region, and a large amount of funds has been provided. Among them, the United States provided US\$12 billion in aid to Plan Colombia in the fiscal year 2000-2021, and invested a total of US\$3.3 billion in the "Mérida Initiative" (Mérida Initiative) for Mexico and Central America in the fiscal year 2008-2021. US\$300 million After the expiration of the Merida Plan, the United States and Mexico renewed the "U.S.-Mexico Bicentennial Framework for Security Communities" 2010. The United States separated Central America from the Merida Plan to implement the Central American Regional Security Initiative (CARSI) and the Caribbean Basin Security Initiative (CBSI) were implemented. When Biden took office, he promised to provide at least US\$4 billion in aid to promote development in Central America and southern Mexico.

The contraction of the United States' Latin American strategy is a realistic reflection of the decline of American hegemony. The spatial scope of the Monroe Doctrine is determined by the hegemonic strength of the United States. When the Monroe Declaration was proposed in 1823, the United States' hegemonic goal "is not aimed at the entire continent, but only at North America." and the Caribbean. The famous American strategist and geopolitical theorist Alfred Thayer Mahan once proposed, "The security concerns of the United States end at the Amazon River, and there is no need to implement the Monroe Doctrine south of the Amazon river." Due to geography, up close, north The security and stability of the U.S. region has always been valued by the United States. During the Central American crisis in the 1980s, then-U.S. Secretary of State Shultz called this region the "third border" of the United States, saying "if This region (Central America) is ruled by a regime that is hostile to us, or if it becomes a long-term

Research Service / gov / [2022-12-17] The greater Caribbean region includes North America and the northernmost countries of South America such as Colombia and Venezuela. Carlos Gustavo Poggio Teixeira política para o Continente: Reinterpretando a Doutrina

A prosperous, secure and democratic region." But within this framework, the Obama, Trump and Biden administrations adopted different policies and strategies.

(1) Promoting democracy strategy

Promoting democracy is not only in line with the ideological characteristics of the Monroe Doctrine, but also one of the strategies of the United States to promote the global international liberal order in the post-Cold War period. Under this strategy, the United States is committed to building Latin America into a "potential democratic backstop." (potential democratic backsliders), and implemented a series of actions to promote democracy through the Organization of American States, including in 2001 The "American Democratic Charter" adopted by the Organization of American States in September has created a collective institutional guarantee for democratization in the Western Hemisphere. Through this mechanism As well as its unilateral commitment to promoting democracy in the Western Hemisphere, the United States has played a "responsible steward" role in promoting democracy in the Americas

However, the U.S. strategy of promoting democracy has also brought certain challenges to the U.S. strategy toward Latin America. Since Venezuelan President Chávez won the election in 1998, a number of Latin American left-wing governments came to power through democratic elections, which has brought some political challenges to the United States. Although President Trump has expressed doubts about the benefits of promoting democracy to the United States, conservatives in the United States still believe that promoting democracy in Latin America is in the interest of the United States. In 2022, Colombia, the main ally of the United States in South America, achieved a historic left turn, causing There is strong unease in the United States. However, conservative U.S. Senator Marco Rubio believes that "as long as there is democracy, Colombia will be fine. They may elect someone we disagree with, and we may not like every decision they make. But ultimately they will have to govern themselves through voter discipline, and voters will punish them and their parties. Without democracy, they can do whatever they want, which is often the cause of wars and crises." In addition, conservatives He also believes that promoting democracy in Latin America is a strategic choice that the United States has to make in the post-hegemonic era. In the era of globalization, strengthening economic ties between Latin American countries and external powers is an inevitable choice. The United States cannot provide Latin America with alternatives for trade, investment, and financial loans. When making a choice, the United States cannot ask Latin American countries to give up cooperation with China and other major powers outside the region. On the other hand, when Latin American countries interact with China, the United States supervises through anti-corruption initiatives, security cooperation, and security assistance to ensure that it does not The United States poses a major security challenge. In fact, the United States is promoting democracy as a hegemony.

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The narrative of "democracy" and "authoritarianism," or "democracy" and "autocracy," helps the United States suppress China and Russia, strengthen alliance unity, and attack Cuba, Venezuela, and Nicaragua, which Trump calls the "tyranny triangle." It provided an excuse to exert maximum pressure. The then US Secretary of State Pompeo said in his speech on December 2, 2019, "We are trying to clearly recognize, both morally and strategically, that authoritarianism is a threat in our hemisphere. "It is a threat to us in the United States. We cannot tolerate these regimes inviting bad people in and trying to turn allied democracies into dictatorships." In the strategy of promoting democracy, the United States particularly needs to win over Latin American countries in order to expand "camp of "democratic" countries. At the Global Democracy Summit convened by the Biden administration in December 2021, 25 governments and civil society activists from Latin American countries were invited to participate. The United States supported Costa Rica, Panama, and Dominica in 2021 to establish the Alliance for Democratic Development (ADD), in July 2022, the United States took the lead in signing an agreement to promote supply chains with the Democratic Alliance countries as "the most practical way to stimulate the growth of the Democratic Alliance for Development while promoting U.S. interests"

However, promoting democracy as a strategic tool of the United States in the global liberal order is also a double-edged sword. Since democracy is the basis of political legitimacy on the American continent, the possibility of direct military intervention by the United States in the region has declined. Faced with the need to pass democratic elections With the Latin American leftist governments that came to power, the United States had to expand its tolerance to Latin America's diverse democracies. The United States has long been dissatisfied with the radical left-wing forces in Venezuela that have been in power for more than 20 years. However, the Obama administration was relatively

restrained towards the Chavez government. It was only in the later stages that Sanctions were launched against the Maduro government only after it was launched. In fact, the promotion of democracy strategy will not hinder the United States from interfering in Latin America and breaking its commitment to democracy. Since the beginning of the 21st century, many Latin American governments with left-wing tendencies have encountered "coups." or controversial political crises, including Venezuela (2002), Honduras (2009), Paraguay (2012), Brazil (2016), Bolivia (2019) and Peru (2022). Faced with these situations The United States often does not delve into the legality of the procedures. Instead, it supports governments that come to power after coups or crises based on U.S. interests to varying degrees.

The focus of the US democracy promotion strategy has shifted from promoting democratic elections to democratic governance. Strengthening judicial governance and fighting corruption have become the focus of the Biden administration to promote democratic governance in Latin America, especially in Central America.

The purpose of this shift is to improve the governance level of Latin American countries. Create a good environment for nearshore investment by U.S. and corporate companies

“民主”和“威权主义”或“民主”和“专制”的叙事帮助美国抑制中国和俄罗斯，加强联盟团结，并攻击古巴、委内瑞拉和尼加拉瓜，特朗普称之为“暴政三角”。它提供了一个借口，以施加最大压力。蓬佩奥在2019年12月2日的演讲中说：“我们正试图清楚地认识到，从道德上和战略上讲，威权主义都是我们半球的一个威胁。‘它对我们在美国是一个威胁。我们不能容忍这些政权邀请坏人进来并试图将盟国民主国家变成独裁国家。’在促进民主的策略中，美国特别需要赢得拉丁美洲国家，以扩大“民主”国家的“阵营”。在拜登政府于2021年12月召开的全球民主峰会上，25个政府和民间社会活动家来自拉丁美洲国家受邀参加。美国支持哥斯达黎加、巴拿马和多米尼加在2021年建立民主发展联盟（ADD），2022年7月，美国带头签署了一项协议，以促进供应链，将民主联盟国家作为“刺激民主发展联盟增长的最实际方式，同时促进美国利益”

然而，在美国全球自由秩序中将民主作为一种战略工具，也是一把双刃剑。由于民主是美洲大陆政治合法性的基础，美国在该地区进行直接军事干预的可能性已经下降。面对需要通过民主选举上台的拉丁美洲左翼政府，美国不得不扩大对拉丁美洲多样化民主的容忍度。美国长期以来对委内瑞拉的激进左翼势力感到不满，这些势力已经执政超过20年。然而，奥巴马政府相对

The most eye-catching thing is the Engel list launched by the United States in December 2020. It has become an important means for the United States to crack down on corrupt officials in Central America. Those who are included in the Engel list will not only be prohibited from entering. The United States may also be subject to additional sanctions such as freezing assets in the United States. The United States has imposed unprecedented judicial sanctions on corrupt officials in Latin America, including current senior government officials and former heads of government in Latin America, such as Paraguay's Vice President Ade Alberto (Hugo Alberto Velazquez Moreno), former President of Honduras Hernandez (Juan Or Lando Hernández y 2014-2022), former Paraguayan President Horacio Cartes y 2013-2018 years in office) and former Panamanian President Ricardo Martinelli). However, the Biden administration's long-term goal of democratic governance has also caused tensions between the United States and its traditional allies such as El Salvador and Guatemala in the short term. (2) Promoting prosperity strategy Prosperity and stability in Latin American countries is in the interests of

the United States This is the

consensus of all U.S. governments. This is considered an important means to promote U.S. prosperity and reduce security threats such as illegal immigration and drug smuggling from Latin American countries to the United States. It is also a need to respond to the penetration and expansion of foreign powers into Latin America. Nonetheless, The United States still has not continued to pay attention to the development of Latin America, and the U.S. strategy of promoting Latin American prosperity serves more of the U.S. global strategy and domestic economic development. China is the largest external influence on the Latin American region, especially on the economic development of Latin America, other than the United States. One of the factors is that the main goal of the U.S. government's strategy to promote Latin America's prosperity is to respond to China's challenges.

The Obama administration regards free trade as a means to hedge against China's strategic competition. In November 2009 and June 2013, it successively promoted the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement (TPP) and the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership Agreement (TTIP).) negotiations, hoping to establish cross-regional multilateral trade and investment arrangements that exclude China. As part of the U.S. global trade strategy, Obama hopes to include Latin American countries in U.S. cross-regional agreement arrangements, especially joining the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement. Thus, "the fast-growing Asian market is connected to the powerful democracies of the Americas". To this end, President Obama, who originally opposed free trade, pushed for the approval of the bilateral free trade agreements between the United States and Colombia and Panama (2012). The United States also supported The "Pacific Arc Initiative" (PAI, 2009) supports the establishment of the Pacific Alliance, a Latin American regional organization that favors free trade, and hopes to integrate Latin American and Pacific countries into the U.S.-led economic circle through them.

The Trump and Biden administrations' strategies for promoting Latin America's prosperity share many similarities, with both moving away from trade.

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The answer to huge short-term gains is no, with perhaps the exception of Mexico. (3) Security

Strategy Security is the

main pillar of the U.S. policy toward Latin America. Starting from the Obama administration, the United States no longer lists terrorism as a priority security issue. Non-traditional security issues such as drug smuggling, organized crime, and illegal immigration caused by open borders are important threats to U.S. security.

In resolving these non-traditional security issues, especially the issue of combating illegal immigration, Trump had great strategic conflicts with the previous Obama administration and the succeeding Biden administration. When the Obama administration came to power, it proposed to carry out immigration reform and illegal immigration. Regularizing immigration. The Biden administration is committed to establishing a fair, orderly and humane immigration system, strengthening assistance to immigrant-sending countries, and "addressing the root causes of human insecurity and irregular migration, including poverty, criminal violence and Corruption". The Biden administration also signed the "Los Angeles Declaration on Immigration and Protection" with some Latin American countries in June 2022, seeking the support of Latin American countries in solving immigration issues and advocating responsibility sharing. However, the Trump administration has It has shown a strong isolationist tendency, promoted the construction of the US-Mexico border wall, tried to exclude immigrants from the US border, and adopted tough measures. For example, in 2019, it threatened to reduce immigration to the Central American "Northern Triangle" countries El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras. aid, trying to force the governments of these countries to curb the flow of immigrants into the United States, and to sign third-party security agreements with the United States, allowing the United States to transfer refugee applicants from third countries to these countries. However, if the economic development problems between the United States and Latin American countries are not resolved, balance and the governance deficit problem in Latin American countries. No matter which strategy is adopted, it cannot solve the security problems plaguing the United States.

Four Conclusions

Since its birth nearly 200 years ago, the "Monroe Doctrine" has always been the core clue of the United States' Latin American policy. In this sense, it is successful as a regional strategy of the United States. However, the success of the Monroe Doctrine is difficult to replicate because it is Determined by special geopolitical conditions, the United States is geographically far away from the center of world politics. As the American offensive realist scholar Mearsheimer said, "It is difficult for external competitors to

Ÿ "The evolution of the Monroe Doctrine and the U.S. strategy toward Latin America" is a machine-translated document. The content is a summary of the evolution of the Monroe Doctrine and the U.S. strategy toward Latin America. It discusses the historical context, the evolution of the doctrine, and the impact of the doctrine on U.S. policy. The document is a machine-translated document and may contain errors. The content is a summary of the evolution of the Monroe Doctrine and the U.S. strategy toward Latin America. It discusses the historical context, the evolution of the doctrine, and the impact of the doctrine on U.S. policy. The document is a machine-translated document and may contain errors.

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President, "Our responsibility is not limited to the Western Hemisphere, it is in Central Europe, Asia, the Middle East and Africa. We have multiple focuses." In the early days of taking office, President Biden promised to invest 4 billion US dollars to help the development of Central America to prevent illegal immigration, but as of mid-2022, the United States has not yet cashed in on any investment, which is evident from the stretched U.S. policy toward Latin America. The return of the Monroe

Doctrine means the resurgence of U.S. power politics. And China, as the largest extraterritorial factor affecting the Western Hemisphere economy, is returning to The main target of the subsequent Monroe Doctrine. Therefore, China should avoid making China-Latin America cooperation fall into the geopolitical trap of the Monroe Doctrine. At the same time, we must also see that to a large extent, the United States regards China as a major player in the Western Hemisphere. The main threats are based on fear and strategic anxiety, rather than China's actual actions. China's main goal in Latin America is to promote economic and trade cooperation. It does not seek to establish hegemony in Latin America, nor does it hope to use Latin American countries to harm U.S. security. China-Latin America cooperation can Promote the prosperity and stability of Latin American countries, and the prosperity and stability of Latin America is in the interest of the United States. Therefore, strengthening the Sino-US strategic dialogue and striving to change the United States' perception rather than direct confrontation is more in line with the interests of China and the United States as well as Latin American countries.

(Editor-in-charge Wang Shuai)

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