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PROPOSAL FOR THESIS

MASTER OF ARTS IN LATIN AMERICAN AND CARIBBEAN STUDIES

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

LATIN AMERICAN AND CARIBBEAN CENTER

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I propose to the Major Professor and to the Committee Members a study of the following topic to be conducted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Latin American and Caribbean Studies: **BOLIVIAN-PERUVAN POLITICAL BILATERAL RELATIONS UNDER EVO MORALES AND ALAN GARCÍA**

General Statement of Problem Area

Recently, the South American nations of Bolivia and Peru have elected new presidents. Bolivia, in December 2005, elected former coca grower Evo Morales Ayma while Peru, in June 2006, reelected former president Alan García Pérez. In both administrations, the issue of bilateral relations with their fellow South American neighbors has been one of their key policy issues. The problem to be examined in this study is to determine how bilateral relations in the realm of politics between Bolivia and Peru will function under these two new presidents.

Research Purpose

The primary purpose of this research is to assess how political bilateral relations between Bolivia and Peru will function during the current administrations of Evo Morales and Alan García.

Significance of Study

The study is significant for three reasons. Firstly, Bolivian foreign policy has been determined since the late 19th century by its demand for an access to the Pacific Ocean, which it lost in a war where it allied with Peru against Chile. As such, because of past land agreements and stipulations between Peru and Chile, Peru has always needed to be considered in any bilateral deals between Bolivia and Chile. For this reason, Bolivia's relationship with Peru is just as important as its relationship with Chile in determining whether or not Bolivia's major foreign policy goal, one of the longest standing disputes in South American history, will meet with success. Secondly, Evo Morales, as Bolivia's president, has demonstrated on many occasions of his anti-United States attitude and has moved Bolivia towards a closer political alliance with Venezuela and its president, Hugo Chávez and further away from the previous close alliance with the United States and its allies. However, Peruvian president Alan García has had a somewhat cool relationship with the Venezuelan president since his reelection in June 2006, and has constituted to better relations with other nations, such as the United States and Chile, as exhibited by his push for a free trade agreement with both nations. As such, each president demonstrates two different styles of foreign policy focus, suggesting that a study of the relationship between the two nations under these presidents will demonstrate a worth-while comparison/contrast of bilateral relationships, particularly between those nations with close political ties to the United States and those that are forging new political alliances. Finally, an analysis of recent foreign policy relations between the two Andean republics may allow further research in developing future research of bilateral relations in other regions of the world, such as in "hot" spots in Africa, Eastern Europe, and the Middle East, particularly when dealing with the influence third party nations policies, such as the United States, have on local foreign policies.

Theoretical Perspective

The theoretical perspective for the proposed study is a causal model based on the concept of regionalism to best describe the political aspects of the bilateral relationship between Bolivia and Peru under Evo Morales and Alan García. Mace & Thérien (1996) in their chapter “Foreign Policy and Regionalism in the Americas” propose that recent developments in Latin America have created an environment that has enabled the establishment of stronger regional ties, particularly after the end of the Cold War (Mace & Thérien, pg 1). Within their chapter, they argue that viewpoints of regionalism is a evolution from the concepts of regional integration as proposed by researches such as Ernst Haas and Karl Deutsch (Mace & Thérien 1996, pg. 2), though they focus less on institutional and automatic theoretical analyses. Hurrell (1992), in her focus on regionalism, also demonstrates the importance of third parties and their influence on relationships between two state bodies such as, in this case, states of Bolivia and Peru, which is also mentioned in detail in Mace & Thérien (1996). Other authors, such as Ferguson (1987) and Hey (1998) have also mentioned how the concept of regionalism, that includes arguments relating to Hurrell and Mace & Thérien, has increased in popularity in recent years in their analysis of various books on Latin American foreign policy, particularly as past theoretical analyses on Latin America have used theories that were best used to describe international relations during the Cold War.

Both Morales (2003) and Berríos (2003) in their chapters on Bolivian and Peruvian foreign policy also demonstrate how in specific cases regional integration has been used to drive foreign policy initiatives in both nations such as Bolivia’s demand for Pacific sea access, which it lost in the War of the Pacific to neighbor Chile (Morales 2003, pg. 230, Klein 1992 pg. 149). Recent events that have taken place in Bolivia and Peru have also demonstrated a sense of regional integration between nations, such as in the Andean regional economic bloc, the Andean Community, and its importance to both Bolivia and Peru (El Deber 2006).

This study proposes that Bolivian/Peruvian bilateral relations under Evo Morales and Alan Garcia will continue to follow recent events in which regionalism has continued to shape the foreign policies within each nation vis-à-vis each other, even with influence of third party parties such as Chile, the United States, or Venezuela. This study further proposes that in cases in which regionalism seems to be descending into conflict, the governments of both nations will work to better soften the conflict that may exist. There are four variables associated with this model that this study will use: (1) Bolivia’s demand of access to the Pacific Ocean, (2) the warming of Bolivian-Venezuelan relations vis-à-vis Peru’s frosting bilateral relations with Venezuela, (3) Peru’s signing a free trade agreement with the United States; (4) changes of Bolivian-Peruvian

political bilateral relations. Bolivia's demand for access to the Pacific, Bolivian-Venezuelan bilateral relations, and Peru's signing of a free trade agreement with the United States are the independent variables. Change in Bolivian-Peruvian political bilateral relations is the dependent variable.

Implicit in this study is recognition of the influences of other nations on the bilateral relationship between Bolivia and Peru, specifically Chile, Venezuela, and the United States. Because of its importance in both Bolivian and Peruvian foreign policy (as seen in Morales 2003, Paredes 2006, St. John 1992), the variable of sea access will be the control variable. As such, because Chile is an intervening variable in this variable ever since Bolivia lost its sea access to Chile in the War of the Pacific, Chile will remain an important variable throughout this study, determining current Bolivian-Peruvian bilateral relations vis-à-vis its bilateral relations with both Bolivia and Peru.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

Question #1: How have Bolivian-Peruvian bilateral relations been determined in recent years?"

Question #2: How have political influences from locally important foreign powers and foreign policy goals affected Bolivian-Peruvian political bilateral relations under the Evo Morales and Alan García governments so far?"

Hypothesis #1: Bolivian-Peruvian bilateral relations have been determined in recent years by an increase in the concept of regionalism that focuses more so on cooperation rather than competition in order to best succeed with foreign policy goals.

Hypothesis #2: Through third party political influence of Chile, the United States, and Venezuela, Bolivian-Peruvian political bilateral relations under the Evo Morales and Alan García governments have been determined by policies that, although focuses on how to best drive their foreign policy interests, have tried to bring the two nations closer together.

Methods

The study will utilize a qualitative methodology with case studies of Bolivia and Peru. The unit of analysis is the government.

Design and Instrumentation

Qualitative data for the case studies will be gathered through books, journals, newspaper articles, and interviews. This will be accomplished through library research and field work in La Paz, Bolivia. The sampling approach will be a purposive sampling method. The data collection instrument will consist with semi-structured interviews with various analysts and governmental officials in Bolivia.

Further data collection will be done by a content analysis of daily newspaper research from newspapers in Bolivia, Chile, and Peru beginning from the time period of the presidential inauguration of Evo Morales in January 2006 and continuing from there until the present day. Data analysis will utilize pattern matching, to test the patterns in the case studies vis-à-vis the concept of regionalism and to develop sufficient validity to enable descriptive inference.

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