

PSC 244 LATIN AMERICAN-UNITED STATES RELATIONS Winter 2019
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In spite of the multidimensional linkages that connect the United States and Latin America, relations within this hemisphere have been regularly riddled with tensions. The recent challenges posed by economic integration, the legacies of the Cold War, the “war on drugs,” and the movement of migrants from South to North have all served to deepen and complicate international relations across the Americas.

In the United States, phases of heavy-handed and intense involvement in Latin American affairs have often been followed by periods marked by distancing and “benign” (or not so benign) neglect. Latin American leaders, for their part, have also vacillated in their foreign policy approaches to the U.S., and to each other. Close examination reveals recurring episodes in which Latin American officials pursued a privileged relationship with the U.S., sometimes at the expense of other neighbors. At the same time, Latin American leaders have regularly pursued alliances in which they turned away from the U.S. and promoted increased cooperation with each other or with other global powers. The division between those nations that favored closer alignment with the U.S. and those that pushed for greater separation has been one of the major fault lines in hemispheric relations.

The purpose of this course is to introduce you to this complex relationship. We will explore the dual thrust of Latin American and U.S. relations--toward hemispheric integration under U.S. leadership, on the one hand, and toward separation and sub-hemispheric regionalism, on the other. In the process, we take up three different interpretations of the central dynamic shaping hemispheric relations.

- The first approach presents the U.S. as a hegemonic power acting unilaterally and hierarchically in the region in pursuit of wealth and power. This approach tends to downplay the foreign policy initiatives of Latin American countries, which are seen as subordinate and inept, and hence ineffective and irrelevant to the analysis of international power dynamics.
- The second approach contends that the U.S. and major Latin American countries have moved beyond the historical pattern of domination/subordination to embrace a new dynamic of interdependence in the pursuit of mutual gain. This model identifies a recent shift toward shared dependence and mutual vulnerability that connects the United States and its Latin American partners like Mexico. This newer dynamic has been associated with the consolidation of cross-border industrial production and with entrenched patterns of labor migration, which have long reinforced regional cultural flows.
- The third approach, situated between the other two, highlights the concept of power asymmetry. The model acknowledges the significant power imbalance that exists between the United States and individual Latin

American countries and the tendency for the U.S. to impose policies on less powerful neighbors. But it also traces the ways in which Latin American countries have succeeded in checking or circumventing U.S. pressure in the pursuit of their own objectives.

To assess the usefulness of these interpretive frameworks, this course begins by analyzing the background of Latin American-U.S. relations as hemispheric relations developed in the late 19th and 20th centuries. We then turn to examine three broad controversies shaping hemispheric relations today: (1) the debate about the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and other free trade agreements between the U.S. and Latin American countries; (2) the debate about Latin American immigration to the U.S., analyzing push and pull factors and impacts in home, host and transit countries; and (3) the debate about policies related to illegal drug flows between Latin America and the U.S., including discussion of drug-related crime, violence, and security concerns. To understand these issues in their complexity, we adopt a multi-perspectival approach and grapple with the competing points of view that have emerged across the Americas. Discussion of each of these three topics will conclude with a class debate in which the positions of different countries and key actors are dissected, juxtaposed and analyzed.

Expected learning outcomes for students enrolled in courses in the Social, Cultural and Behavioral Studies learning domain include the ability to:

- Use the constructs of power, diversity, and/or culture to describe examples of where, why and how inequities exist in modern society.
- Frame a theory about the relationship between individuals and modern society.
- Analyze central institutions and/or underlying social structures and their impact on the larger society.
- Articulate an argument based on theory and empirical evidence regarding the modern world.
- Analyze critical research and arguments about the modern world.
- Reflect, in writing, upon their role in the modern world, including their relationship to their own and/or other communities.
- Analyze social problems and public policies on the basis of ethics and values.

READINGS:

1. Tom Long, *Latin America Confronts the United States: Asymmetry and Influence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017);
2. Andrew Selee, *Vanishing Frontiers: The Forces Driving Mexico and the United States Together* (New York: Public Affairs, 2018);
3. Additional readings linked to the syllabus or posted to the class D2L site.

GRADING:

Daily class participation (including debates)	10%
In-class midterm exam	20
Three quizzes (5% each)	15
Debate position paper (1-2 pages)	5
Debate issue paper (7-10 pages)	30
Final take home exam (5 pages)	20

CLASS PARTICIPATION and PREPARATION: Regular attendance and participation in class discussion is expected. Missing more than two class sessions will have a negative impact on your class participation grade. To prepare adequately for class discussion, you should plan to spend at least two hours working on this course for each hour of class time.

MIDTERM EXAM: The midterm exam is composed of a combination of short answer identifications and essay questions, which will be drawn from lectures, assigned readings and class discussions.

QUIZZES: Before each debate, we will have a short quiz covering the main concepts, policies, and actors discussed in the readings connected to that topic. These quizzes will be composed of multiple choice and fill-in-the-blank questions.

POSITION PAPERS AND DEBATES

Each of you will sign up to represent an actor or country in one of our three class debates (Free Trade, Immigration, or the Drug War). See the final part of this syllabus for a list of the roles that will be represented in each debate.

The position paper: A position paper is a 1-2 page summary of your actor's position on the issue. Your paper should describe this actor's identity, goals, and priorities; summarize their interpretation of the debate; and spell out any policy recommendations or proposed solutions they have to offer. To gather this information, begin with the assigned readings and then expand your search into a more specialized bibliography as needed. The position paper is due at the beginning of class on the day of the debate. (Late position papers will not help you prepare adequately for the experience and will not be accepted.)

The debate: In the debate you will need to (1) mobilize a body of information that explains and supports the position of your actor; (2) identify the weak points in the opposing arguments; and (3) anticipate the critiques your opponents will throw your way and prepare to rebut them. Review the list of actors involved in your debate and figure out who your allies and opponents are likely to be. Think about ways that you can coordinate your arguments with those of allies and collaborate to challenge the positions you oppose. Write key facts or statistics on note cards so you will have that information at your fingertips. If the accuracy of your claims is challenged, be prepared to identify and defend the sources you draw on during the debate.

ISSUE PAPER: This is a 7-10 page paper about your debate issue. This paper will give you a chance to summarize the conflicts under discussion, explain the positions of different actors on these issues, identify points of convergence and divergence in the resulting policy disputes, and define your own perspective and recommendations.

Issue papers should be uploaded to D2L before the class period following the debate. Late issue papers will be graded down $\frac{1}{2}$ letter grade for each day they are overdue. Issue papers that are more than a week late will not receive credit.

FINAL TAKE HOME PAPER: In this 5-page paper, you will use the conceptual framework discussed at the beginning of the quarter to analyze the three cases covered in the debates. Based on your conclusions about the models and concepts that best explain recent interactions between the U.S. and Latin America, you will construct your own interpretation of the trajectory of contemporary Latin American-US relations.

EXTRA CREDIT: Extra credit may be earned by attending one of the events announced in the syllabus and writing a 1-2 page report describing what transpired. You may also earn extra credit by volunteering for any additional debate roles that remain unfilled after everyone in the class has signed up.

OFFICE HOURS: My office is in Room 2102 in 990 W. Fullerton (phone: 773-325-1983). The best way to contact me is by email at rspaldin@depaul.edu. My office hours are TTh 1:00-2:00 and 4:30-5:30, and by appointment. I hope each of you will come by to talk with me at least once during the quarter.

SPECIAL ACCOMMODATIONS: Students who feel they may need an accommodation based on the impact of a disability should contact me privately to discuss their specific concerns. All discussions will remain confidential. To ensure that you receive reasonable accommodation based on your needs, contact me as early as possible in the quarter (preferably within the first week of class). Students seeking disability-related accommodations are required to register with DePaul's Center for Students with Disabilities (CSD) to access accommodations and support services. CSD has two office locations:

Lincoln Park Campus - Student Center #370 - (773) 325-1677

Loop Campus - Lewis Center #1420 - (312) 362-8002

The Dean of Students Office (DOS) helps students navigate the university, particularly during times of personal, financial, medical, and/or family need. This office can help students in crisis who may need absence notifications sent to faculty, late withdrawals, and Community Resource Referrals. DOS staff members support students both in and outside of the classroom. Additionally, this office has resources and programs to support health and wellness, violence prevention, substance abuse and drug prevention, and LGBTQ student services. For further information, please visit DOS at

<http://studentaffairs.depaul.edu/dos/>

DOS office locations are Lincoln Park Office, Student Center Suite 307, and Loop Office, 1 E Jackson Blvd., DePaul Center, Suite 11001.

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY: DePaul University is a learning community that fosters the pursuit of knowledge and the transmission of ideas within a context that emphasizes a sense of responsibility for oneself, for others, and for society at large. Violations of

academic integrity, in any of their forms, are detrimental to the values of DePaul, to your own development as a responsible member of society, and to the pursuit of knowledge and the transmission of ideas. Violations include but are not limited to the following categories: cheating; plagiarism; fabrication; falsification or sabotage of research data; destruction or misuse of the university's academic resources; alteration or falsification of academic records; and academic misconduct. There are strong sanctions against academic integrity violations at DePaul. If proven, an academic integrity charge could result in an automatic F in the course, formal notification of your college dean, and possible expulsion. Conduct that is punishable under the Academic Integrity Policy could result in additional disciplinary actions by other university officials and possible civil or criminal prosecution. Please refer to your Student Handbook or visit the Academic Integrity website at <https://offices.depaul.edu/academic-affairs/faculty-resources/teaching/academic-integrity/Pages/default.aspx>.

COURSE OUTLINE AND READINGS

Introduction to the course (Jan. 8)

I. Concepts and Theories (Jan. 8-17)

A. International Relations Theory I (Jan. 10)

1. Dominant Paradigms: Realism, Liberal Institutionalism and Dependency Theory
2. Modes of international interaction: Domination/Subordination, Interdependence, Isolationism, and Vacillation

Readings: Lars Schoultz, “Encountering Latin America,” *Beneath the United States* (PDF).

B. International Relations Theory II (Jan. 15)

1. “Establishment,” “Revisionist” and “Internationalist” Approaches
2. Smaller states and asymmetrical negotiation: Foreign policymaking by middle powers

Readings: Tom Long, *Latin America Confronts the United States*, Ch. 1.

C. International Relations Theory III (Jan. 17)

2. Post nation-state frameworks and grassroots forms of integration

Readings: Andrew Selee, *Vanishing Frontiers*, Introduction and Ch. 12.

II. Historical Trajectories: Interpretations and Debates (Jan. 22-29)

A. Interpreting the Monroe Doctrine (Jan. 22)

- 1 The age of imperialism
 - a. The case of the Panama Canal

Readings:

- Monroe Doctrine; http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/monroe.asp
- Long, Ch. 3, “Completing the Nation: Omar Torrijos and the Long Quest for the Panama Canal.”

- B. Asserting Hegemony in a Post-imperial World (Jan. 24)
1. Military intervention and national security
 2. “Strategic denial” and counterrevolutionary warfare during the Cold War

Readings and resources:

- Gregory B. Weeks, “The Communist Threat and U.S. Intervention, *U.S. and Latin American Relations*, 2nd ed. (Malden, Mass: Wiley Blackwell, 2015): 148-176 (PDF);
- “Americas in Transition” (Icarus Films 1982), 29 minutes.

<http://search.alexanderstreet.com.ezproxy.depaul.edu/dsco/view/work/3256845>

Extra credit event: Monday, January 28th, 5:15-6:30PM, Chicago Council on Global Affairs Conference Center, 130 E. Randolph St., \$20 admission

“America First Meets Mexico First?” Antonio Ortiz Mena, Andrew Selee, and Pamela Starr at the Chicago Council on Global Affairs panel

https://www.thechicagocouncil.org/event/america-first-meets-mexico-first?utm_source=wu&utm_campaign=events&utm_medium=email&utm_term=america-first-mexico-first&utm_content=text

C. Aid and development: alternative strategies

1. “Hard power” and “soft power” (Jan. 29)
2. Economic dimensions of international relations and foreign aid strategies
3. Democracy promotion and the emerging human rights agenda

Readings and resources:

- John F. Kennedy speeches announcing the Alliance for Progress and visiting Latin America (1961-1963) (13 minutes)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7Co6rjlprsg>;
- Evan D. McCormick, “Breaking with Statism? U.S. Democracy Promotion in Latin America, 1984-1988,” *Diplomatic History* 42, 5 (2018): 745-771 (PDF);
- Peter H. Smith and Cameron J. Sells, *Democracy in Latin America*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015): 92-117 (PDF).

Midterm exam: January 31

III. 21st Century Challenges

A. Trade Agreements (Feb. 5-12)

1. The “Washington Consensus,” neoliberal globalization and the regional debate about trade
 - a. Latin America’s neoliberal market transition
 - b. Free trade agreements: NAFTA, CAFTA-DR, and beyond
 - c. Alternatives to US-led regional integration: ALBA and beyond
 - d. Renegotiating NAFTA: What is the USMCA?

Readings and resources:

- Tom Long, Ch. 4, “A Recalculation of Interests: NAFTA and Mexican Foreign Policy”;
- Andrew Selee, Chs. 1-5;
- James McBride and Mohammed Aly Sergie, “NAFTA’s Economic Impact,” *Council on Foreign Relations Backgrounder*, Oct. 1, 2018; <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/naftas-economic-impact>
- Luz María de la Mora, “The NAFTA Negotiations: A Mexican Perspective,” Wilson Center: Mexico Institute, Sept. 2017; https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/the_nafta_negotiations_a_mexican_perspective.pdf
- Greg Gandin, “Don’t Expect Mexico’s Elites to Stand Up to Trump” *The Nation*, January 2017; <https://www.thenation.com/article/dont-expect-mexicos-elites-to-stand-up-to-trump/>
- Noam Chomsky, interview, “On the Economic War on Latin America,” 2015 (30 minutes); <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IZ6OEpRUtcw>
- George H. W. Bush speech to announce completion of NAFTA talks, August 1992 (7 minutes); <https://www.c-span.org/video/?30998-1/north-american-free-trade-agreement>
- Donald Trump, speech to announce completion of US, Mexico, Canada Agreement (USMCA), October 1, 2018 (first 40 minutes); <https://www.c-span.org/video/?7452348-1/president-trump-briefs-reporters-us-mexico-canada-trade-agreement>

FIRST DEBATE: Free Trade Agreements, Feb. 12

Issue papers for this topic are due on Feb. 14

- B. Immigration (Feb. 14-26)
1. Historical patterns and long-term migration trends: Latin American emigration to the US
 2. Sending and transit countries: theorizing contemporary hemispheric flows
 3. Remittances and circular migration: impacts on home countries
 4. US immigration reform: policy patches vs. comprehensive immigration reform
 - a. DACA
 - b. Border walls and “Secure Fencing”
 - c. Zero tolerance and family separation
 - d. Asylum, refugees and “safe third country” agreements

Readings and resources:

- Selee, chs.8 and 9;
- Gregory Weeks, “Latin American Immigration and US Policy” in Weeks, *US and Latin American Relations*. Malden, MA: Wiley, 2015 (PDF);

- “Transcript of Obama’s Immigration Speech,” November 20, 2014; http://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/transcript-obamas-immigration-speech/2014/11/20/14ba8042-7117-11e4-893f-86bd390a3340_story.html
- Jonathan Masters, “The U.S. Supreme Court and Obama’s Immigration Actions,” *Council on Foreign Relations Backgrounder*, June 23, 2016; <http://www.cfr.org/immigration/us-supreme-court-obamas-immigration-actions/p37630>
- Trump speeches on the wall; <http://time.com/4473972/donald-trump-amp/>
- Michelle Mittelstadt, “Top 10 of 2018 – Issue #3: Shaping a Narrative of ‘Crisis’ at Border,’ Trump Administration Takes Muscular Action,” MPI Report, December 19, 2018; <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/top-10-2018-issue-3-border-crisis-narrative-trump-administration-action>
- William A. Kandel, “The Trump Administration’s ‘Zero Tolerance’ Immigration Enforcement Policy,” *CRS Reports*, Updated July 20, 2018; <https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/R/R45266>
- Adam Isacson, Maureen Meyer and Hannah Smith, “Increased Enforcement at Mexico’s Southern Border: An Update on Security, Migration, and U.S. Assistance,” *WOLA Research Report*, Nov. 2015 https://www.wola.org/files/WOLA_Increased_Enforcement_at_Mexico's_Southern_Border_Nov2015.pdf
- Joshua Partlow and Nick Miroff, “Deal with Mexico paves way for asylum overhaul at U.S. border,” Washington Post, Nov. 24, 2018; https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/deal-with-mexico-paves-way-for-asylum-overhaul-at-us-border/2018/11/24/87b9570a-ef74-11e8-9236-bb94154151d2_story.html?utm_term=.70b7539a754c
- Jorge G. Castañeda. “Mexico Should Not Consent to do Washington’s Dirty Work,” New York Times, October 27, 2018; <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/27/opinion/mexico-caravan-trump-dirty-work.html>
- Andrew Selee, “Transnational Organized Crime Groups, Immigration and Border Security,” Congressional testimony, December 12, 2018; <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/transnational-organized-crime-groups-immigration-border-security>
- Doris Meissner, Faye Hipsman, and T. Alexander Aleinikoff, “The U.S. Asylum System in Crisis: Charting a Way Forward,” *MPI Reports*, September 2018; <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/us-asylum-system-crisis-charting-way-forward>
- Frontline, “Separated: Children at the Border,” July 31, 2018 (55 minutes) <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/film/separated-children-at-the-border/>

SECOND DEBATE: Immigration through Latin America to the US, Feb. 26

Issue papers for this topic are due on Feb. 28

C. Drugs, Violence and Security (Feb. 28-March 12)

1. The “prohibitionist” approach: Drug Wars, Crime and Violence
2. US policy responses: from Plan Colombia to the Mérida Initiative
3. Views from Latin America
4. New ways forward?

Readings and resources:

- Long, Ch.5, “An Urgent Opportunity: The Birth of Plan Colombia”;
- Selee, Chs. 6-7;
- Bruce Bagley, “Drug Trafficking and Organized Crime in the Americas: Major Trends in the Twenty-First Century,” *Woodrow Wilson Center Update on the Americas*, 2012;
<https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/BB%20Final.pdf>
- UNODC, Report on Drug Flows in Latin America (2012)
https://www.unodc.org/documents/toc/Reports/TOCTASouthAmerica/English/TOCTA_CACaribb_cocaine_SAmerica_US.pdf
- June S. Beittel, “Mexico: Organized Crime and Drug Trafficking Organizations,” *CRS Reports*, Updated July 3, 2018;
<https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/R/R41576>
- Laura Calderón, Octavio Rodríguez Ferreira, and David A. Shirk, *Drug Violence in Mexico*. San Diego: Justice in Mexico Project, UCSD, 2018;
https://justiceinmexico.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/180411_DrugViolenceinMexico-12mb.pdf
- Viridiana Ríos Contreras, “The Role of Drug-Related Violence and Extortion in Promoting Mexican Migration,” *Latin American Research Review*, 49, #3 (2014): 199-217;
<http://ezproxy.depaul.edu/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=a9h&AN=99069809&site=ehost-live&scope=site>
- Rocio Cara Labrador and Danielle Renwick, “Central America’s Violent Northern Triangle,” *CFR Backgrounder*, Last updated June 26, 2018
<https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/central-americas-violent-northern-triangle>
- Adam Isacson, “Four Common Misconceptions about US Bound Drug Flows Through Mexico and Central America,” WOLA, June 2017;
<https://www.wola.org/analysis/four-common-misconceptions-u-s-bound-drug-flows-mexico-central-america/>
- White House Executive Order, Feb. 2017;
<https://www.whitehouse.gov/presidential-actions/presidential-executive-order-enforcing-federal-law-respect-transnational-criminal-organizations-preventing-international-trafficking/>
- Global Commission on Drugs, *2018 Regulation Report*;
http://www.globalcommissionondrugs.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/ENG-2018_Regulation_Report_WEB-FINAL.pdf

Third DEBATE: Drugs, Violence and Security: How to Address Drug and Gun Flows, March 12

Issue papers for this topic are due on March 14.

IV. Conclusions (March 14)

1. Contemporary Latin American-US Relations Framework: Continuing impacts of economics, domestic politics, security and ethnocentrism
2. The shifting regional axis: the rise—and decline?—of China

Readings:

- Long, “Conclusions”;
 - Selee, Ch. 11 “We’ve Gone From Ethnic to Mainstream”
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Final take-home exam is due in the D2L Dropbox by 5:00PM on March 19.

First debate roles: FREE TRADE AGREEMENTS

1. Donald Trump (US)
2. Barrack Obama or Hillary Clinton (US)
3. Enrique Peña Nieto or Andrés Manuel López Obrador (Mexico)
4. Evo Morales (Bolivia)
5. American Chamber of Commerce (AMCHAM) representative
6. AFL-CIO leader (US)
7. EPZ (or *Maquiladora*) worker in Nicaragua

Additional extra credit roles:

8. Mexican auto worker
9. Environmental activist in Peru
10. Unemployed auto worker in the US
11. Subcomandante Marcos (now Galeano), of the former EZLN

Supplemental reading and viewing suggestions:

Michael Fleischmann, Keigh E. Hammond, and Amber Hope Wilhelm, “NAFTA Renegotiation and Modernization,” *CRS Report*, Updated July 26, 2018

<https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/R/R44981>

M. Angeles Villarreal, “U.S.-Mexico Economic Relations: Trends, Issues, and Implications,” *CRS Report*, Dec. 6, 2018

<https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/RL/RL32934>

Robin Young interviews Gordon Hanson, “Economist: NAFTA Benefits Economy Despite Job Losses,” April 27, 2016

<http://www.wbur.org/hereandnow/2016/04/27/economist-gordon-hanson-nafta>

Evo Morales, Hugo Chávez, Fidel Castro, “Agreement for the application of the Bolivarian Alternative” (2006) <http://www.venezuelanalysis.com/print/1869>;

Evo Morales, “10 Commandments against Capitalism for Life and Humanity” (2013). <https://climateandcapitalism.com/2013/01/15/evo-morales-ten-commandments-against-capitalism-for-life-and-humanity/>

Glenn Thrush, “In Overture to Democrats, Trump Administration May Challenge Peru on Deforestation,” *New York Times*, Dec. 19, 2018.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2018/12/19/us/politics/us-peru-forest-trade.html>

AFL-CIO, “Nafta Renegotiation: We’re Not Done Yet,” Oct. 3, 2018.

<https://aflcio.org/2018/10/3/nafta-renegotiation-were-not-done-yet>

John G. Murphy, “How We’ll Assess a New NAFTA,” August 20, 2018,

<https://www.uschamber.com/series/above-the-fold/how-we-will-assess-new-nafta>

Robert D. Putnam, “Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games,” *International Organization*, Vol. 42, No. 3 (Summer, 1988), pp. 427-460;

<https://www.law.upenn.edu/live/files/5154-putnamdiplomacy-and-doestic-politicspdf>

Public Citizen, “NAFTA at 25: Promises vs. Reality,” December 19, 2018.

<http://infographic.replacenafta.org/nafta-at-25-promises-vs-reality/>

Second debate roles: IMMIGRATION

1. Barrack Obama (former US president)
2. Donald Trump (current US president)
3. Enrique Peña Nieto or Andrés Manuel López Obrador (Mexico)
4. Juan Orlando Hernández (Honduras) or Jimmy Morales (Guatemala)
5. Undocumented immigrant from Central America, detained at the US-Mexican border
6. Andrew Selee or Doris Meissner
7. Unemployed construction worker from a “red state”

Additional extra credit roles:

8. Unaccompanied child immigrant from Guatemala
9. Mexican-American citizen of the US
10. ACLU lawyer
11. US employer hard pressed to find available workers

Supplemental reading and viewing suggestions:

Marc R. Rosenblum and Ariel G. Ruiz Soto, “An Analysis of Unauthorized Immigrants in the United States by Country and Region of Birth,” *Migration Policy Institute Report* (August 2015) <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/analysis-unauthorized-immigrants-united-states-country-and-region-birth>

Jie Zong and Jeanne Batalova, “Central American Immigrants in the US,” *MPI Spotlight*, Sept. 2, 2015 <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/central-american-immigrants-united-states>

Migration Policy Institute (MPI) Data Hub
<https://www.migrationpolicy.org/programs/migration-data-hub>

MPI Global Remittance Guide, database
<http://www.migrationpolicy.org/programs/data-hub/global-remittances-guide>

Reuters, “Mexico Blasts Trump Stance on Immigration Reform as Absurd, Racist,” August 17, 2015 <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/08/19/us-usa-election-trump-mexico-idUSKCN0QO1SZ20150819>

Gallup, “In U.S., 65% favor path to citizenship for illegal immigrants,” August 12, 2015 <http://www.gallup.com/poll/184577/favor-path-citizenship-illegal-immigrants.aspx?version=print>

Public Religion Research Institute, “How Immigration and Concerns about Cultural Changes are Shaping the 2016 Election,” Brookings, 2016 <http://www.prri.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/PRRI-Brookings-2016-Immigration-survey-report.pdf>

Jens Manuel Krogstad, “Five facts about Mexico and immigration to the U.S.,” Pew Research Center, Feb. 11, 2016 <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/02/11/mexico-and-immigration-to-us/>

Carroll Doherty, “5 facts about Trump supporters’ views of immigration,” Pew Research Center, August 25, 2016 <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/08/25/5-facts-about-trump-supporters-views-of-immigration/>

US Citizenship and Immigration Services, “Executive Actions on Immigration,” <https://www.uscis.gov/immigrationaction>

WOLA, "Migration through Mexico: A Humanitarian Emergency," Commentary, Feb. 8, 2016 <https://www.wola.org/analysis/migration-through-mexico-a-humanitarian-emergency/>

William A. Kandel, "A Primer on U.S. Immigration Policy," *CRS Reports*, Updated June 22, 2018 <https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/R/R45020>

Donald Trump presidential campaign, "Immigration Reform that Will Make America Great Again" <https://assets.donaldjtrump.com/Immigration-Reform-Trump.pdf>

Luisa Feline Freier and Nicolas Parent, "A South American Migration Crisis: Venezuela Outflows Test Neighbors' Hospitality," Migration Policy Institute, July 18, 2018 <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/print/16250#.XC-sKFxKiUk>

Kate Linthicum, "Mexican president calls Trump's ideas 'a threat to the future of Mexico,'" *Los Angeles Times*, September 1, 2016.

<http://www.latimes.com/world/mexico-americas/la-fg-trump-mexico-20160901-snap-story.html>

Muzaffar Chishti and Faye Hipsman, "Increased Central American Migration to the United States May Prove an Enduring Phenomenon," *Migration Policy Institute*, February 18, 2016 <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/print/15561#.V8OBh5grKUk>

Films: "Which Way Home" (Bullfrog Films, 2010), 1 hour 23 mins

<http://search.alexanderstreet.com.ezproxy.depaul.edu/dsco/view/work/3231632>

"Brother Towns / Pueblos Hermanos" (Bullfrog Films, 2010), 59 mins

<http://search.alexanderstreet.com.ezproxy.depaul.edu/dsco/view/work/3231772>

Third Debate: DRUGS, VIOLENCE, AND SECURITY

1. Donald Trump (US)
2. Enrique Peña Nieto or Andrés Manuel López Obrador (Mexico)
3. Iván Duque (Colombia)
4. Jair Bolsonaro (Brazil)
5. Leader of a Mexican or Colombian Drug Trafficking Organization (DTO)
6. Latin American Commission on Drugs & Democracy (Cardoso, Gaviria and Zedillo)
7. Relative of someone killed by drug violence in Mexico

Additional extra credit roles:

8. US weapons dealer near Mexican border
9. US cocaine user
10. José Mujica or Tabaré Vazquez (Uruguay)
11. Salvador Sánchez Cerén (El Salvador)

Supplemental reading and viewing suggestions:

- Frontline, “The Gang Crackdown,” Feb. 13, 2018 (55 minutes)
<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/film/the-gang-crackdown/>
- Frontline, “Drug Lord: The Legend of ‘Shorty,’” July 21, 2015 (85 minutes)
<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/film/drug-lord/>
- Peace/Violence map of Mexico:
<http://www.visionofhumanity.org/#/page/indexes/mexico-peace-index>
- Anne Konrad, “Security Strategies to Combat Drug Violence in Mexico,” Wilson Center, August 2015 <https://wilsoncenter.org/article/security-strategies-to-combat-drug-violence-mexico#>
- “Narcos,” Netflix TV show on Pablo Escobar, the Colombian government, and the US Drug Enforcement Agency (10 episodes) <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt2707408/>
- Claire Ribando Seelke, “Gangs in Central America,” CRS Report to Congress, August 29, 2016 www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL34112.pdf
- Ted Lewis and Janice Gallagher, “Inter-American Human Rights Commission Report Slams Mexican Government Version of Ayotzinapa Atrocities,” Sept. 8, 2015. <http://www.globalexchange.org/blogs/peopletopeople/2015/09/08/inter-american-human-rights-commission-report-slams-mexican-government-version-of-ayotzinapa-atrocities-10-key-points/>
- Anna Grace, “10 Years of the Mérida Initiative: Violence and Corruption,” Insight Crime, Dec. 26, 2018. <https://www.insightcrime.org/news/analysis/merida-initiative-failings-violence-corruption/>
- “Jorge G. Castañeda Portends Changing Times for Mexico,” Podcast, Feb. 27, 2017. <https://www.as-coa.org/articles/latam-focus-jorge-casta%C3%BDeda-portends-changing-times-mexico>
- June S. Beittel, “Colombia: Background and U.S. Relations,” *CRS Reports*, Updated December 14, 2018 <https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/R/R43813>
- UNODC, *World Drug Report 2018*, VOL. 3
https://www.unodc.org/wdr2018/prelaunch/WDR18_Booklet_3_DRUG_MARKETS.pdf

DEA, “Press Release on Conviction of Chapo Guzman Associates,” Dec. 20, 2018

<https://www.dea.gov/press-releases/2018/12/20/eight-week-federal-trial-results-conviction-chapo-associates-buffalo-ny>

Paul E. Knierim, DEA Deputy Chief of Operations, *Congressional Testimony*, Dec. 12, 2018

<https://www.dea.gov/sites/default/files/2018-12/DEA%20Testimony%20-%20Mexican%20Cartels%20-%20SJC-12-12-2018.pdf>

DEA, *Annual Report 2018*
<https://www.dea.gov/sites/default/files/2018-11/DIR-032-18%202018%20NDTA%20%5Bfinal%5D%20low%20resolution11-20.pdf>

Kristin Finklea, “Heroin Trafficking in the United States,” *CRS Report* Updated December 11, 2018 <https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/R/R44599>

Claire Ribando Seelke and Kristin Franklin, “U.S.-Mexican Security Cooperation: The Mérida Initiative and Beyond,” *Congressional Research Service Report for Congress*, February 22, 2016 <https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R41349.pdf>

Clay Boggs and Kristen Rand, “Gun-Running Nation: How Foreign-Made Assault Weapons are Trafficked from the United States to Mexico and What to Do About It,” Washington Office on Latin America, July 2015

http://www.wola.org/sites/default/files/Gun_Running_Nation.pdf

Jessica Farber, “War in Peace: Exploring the Roots of El Salvador’s Gang Violence,” Council on Hemispheric Affairs, July 18, 2016

<http://www.coha.org/war-in-peace-exploring-the-roots-of-el-salvadors-gang-vio-lence/>

Ernesto Lodoño, “A Defiant Interview in a Jail Cell, Soon to Turn Into a Murder Scene,” New York Times, Jan. 3, 2019.

https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/03/world/americas/marcelo-pinheiro-veiga-prison-killing-paraguay.html?emc=edit_th_190104&nl=todaysheadlines&nlid=359838580104

Films: “Cocaine Unwrapped” (Bullfrog Films, 2013), 1 hour 27 mins

<http://search.alexanderstreet.com.ezproxy.depaul.edu/dsco/view/work/3231200>