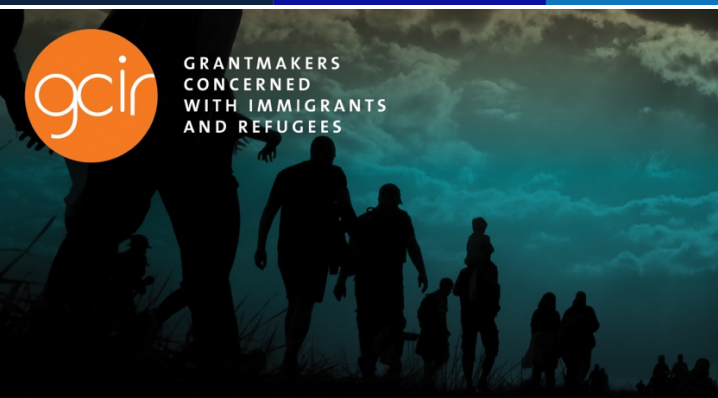


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# U.S. INTERVENTION & MODERN MIGRATION IN THE AMERICAS

## 1791–Present

### 1791–1903

## U.S. Expansion and the Introduction of the Monroe Doctrine



IMAGE DESCRIPTION: *Attack and take of the Crête-à-Pierrot* (4 - 24 March 24, 1802). Original illustration by Auguste Raffet, engraving by Ernst Hébert. *Creative Commons*.

### U.S. Independence Inspires the Haitian Revolution (1791-1804):

Haiti became the first free Black nation after free and enslaved Black people overthrew the French colonial leaders who had exploited the region for more than a century. Inspired by the French and American revolutions, Haiti also became the first nation in the world to permanently ban slavery in 1793. Previously known as Saint Domingue, the new leaders renamed it “Haiti” (or Ayiti in Kreyòl), its Taíno name.<sup>1</sup>

### The United States Fears the Haitian Revolution Would Inspire Uprisings (1791):

U.S. political leaders claimed the revolution was a “slave revolt” and had provided aid to suppress the rebellion, refusing to recognize Haiti’s independence until 1862 after the southern states left the Union. Following the revolution, the United

States stopped trade with Haiti from 1805-1806, decimating the already-weakened Haitian economy. Fearful that the Haitian Revolution would lead to similar uprisings in the United States, states passed Black laws—tighter restrictions on the movement of enslaved and free African Americans. Additionally, support rose for “colonization”—resettling Black people outside of the United States.<sup>2</sup> See [GCIR’s Who Gets to Be an American? Timeline](#) for more information on Black laws and the colonization movement.

**Refugees from the Haitian Revolution Flee to the United States (1791-1809):** During this time period, more than 25,000 Haitian refugees immigrated to the United States to escape the violent conflict, arriving in Philadelphia, Charleston, and New Orleans. Migrants included Creole whites, free Black people, and plantation owners who forced their enslaved people to accompany them. Over the next several years, refugees from Haiti continued to arrive in Virginia, South Carolina, Maryland, and Louisiana. However, accepting the Black refugees, of which there was more than 16,000, was met with resistance as many white Americans feared that they would inspire slave revolts in the American South. At one point, ships bound for New Orleans were stopped to prevent Black people from disembarking.<sup>3</sup>

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**African Americans Try to Migrate to Haiti (1823):** Haitian leaders promoted the idea of free Black Americans resettling in Haiti, which led to the migration of tens of thousands of African Americans, particularly in the 1820s and 1860s. Haitian President Jean Pierre Boyer called for migration to Haiti instead of West Africa and promised “fertile lands..., nourishment, tools, and other things of indispensable necessity” to free African Americans. As many as 13,000 free African Americans migrated to Haiti only to return to the United States. Only 13 remained in Haiti after facing resentment from the Haitian people. American Colonization Society members, meanwhile, were appalled at the prospect of emigration to Haiti, as they feared dealings with Haiti might lead to recognition of a country founded by former enslaved people. Boyer’s successor, Nicholas Geffrard, nevertheless later pursued emigration as a policy, with 2,000 free Black Americans migrating to Haiti between 1860–62. The proliferation of the diseases the resettled African Americans experienced in Haiti, however, combined with the U.S. Civil War discouraged prospective migrants from travelling, and the Haitian government eventually disengaged from the migration policy.<sup>4</sup>

**U.S. Congress Bans the Immigration of “Any Negro, Mulatto, or Other Person of Colour” (1803):** In response to the Haitian Revolution, Congress passed a law to restrict the migration of free Black people to the United States. The purpose was to “prevent the importation of *certain persons* into certain states, where, by the laws thereof, their admission is prohibited,” with “certain persons” being free Black people. Several states in the South passed similar laws that prohibited free Black people from entering their jurisdictions.<sup>5</sup>

**The Haitian Revolution Paves the Way for the Louisiana Purchase (1803):** Now known as Haiti, Saint Domingue’s brutal system of slavery had once produced so much sugar, coffee, indigo, cotton, and cocoa that it had become the most lucrative colony in the world. However, the loss of Haiti and its fruitful profits led France to reconsider its control of the Louisiana Territory—827,000 square miles of modern-day Arkansas, Iowa, Louisiana, Missouri, North Dakota, South Dakota, Wyoming, and Florida. The region had mainly served as a granary for Saint Domingue and was no longer considered as useful to French leaders. The United States later “purchased” the territory from France without involving the people indigenous to the territory for \$15 million (80 million francs), which doubled the size of the United States.<sup>6</sup>

**Cuba Becomes the New Center of Sugar Production in the Americas (1829):** After the Haitian Revolution, Cuba became the largest producer of sugar, and the island increasingly relied on slavery to support its sugar production.<sup>7</sup>

**Former Colonies in the Western Hemisphere Gain Independence after the American and Haitian Revolutions (1811–98):** After the United States in 1776 and Haiti in 1804, Colombia gained independence from European colonial powers in 1810; Venezuela, Paraguay, and Uruguay in 1811; Argentina in 1816; Chile in 1818; Mexico, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, and Peru in 1821; and Ecuador and Brazil in 1822.<sup>8</sup>

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IMAGE DESCRIPTION: *Keep Off! The Monroe Doctrine Must Be Respected.* In Victor Gillam's 1896 political cartoon, Uncle Sam stands with rifle between the Europeans and Latin Americans. *Creative Commons.*

### The United States Unveils the Monroe Doctrine, Unilaterally Declaring that Europe Should Not Interfere in the Western Hemisphere (1823):

By 1823, a number of nations in the Western Hemisphere had declared independence from European imperial countries. In response, U.S. President James Monroe declared unilaterally that Europe must not interfere with any independent state in the Americas. He asserted that it would not tolerate further European colonization in the Western Hemisphere, stating, “as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers...”<sup>9</sup>

**France Forces Haiti to Pay Reparations—a “Ransom of Independence”—in the “Greatest Heist in History” (1825):** France forced Haiti to pay 150 million francs to compensate for enslavers’ loss of income in exchange for France’s recognition of Haiti’s independence and to avoid another war. Notwithstanding the policy outlined by James Monroe just two years earlier and because the U.S. government refused to recognize Haiti’s independence until 1862, the United States did not intervene on Haiti’s behalf. In fact, international and U.S. banks managed and financed this debt. Upon the 1915 U.S. invasion of Haiti, the U.S. government extended Haiti a debt consolidation loan so it could pay France and essentially gain control of Haiti’s government and institutions. It took Haiti 122 years to pay the reparation debts off.<sup>10</sup>

***El Libertador* Simón Bolívar Becomes President of Newly Independent Bolivia (1826):** Born in modern-day Venezuela, Simón Bolívar, had been inspired by the American Revolution and envisioned a united South America. He opposed slavery and advocated for its abolition. Known as *El Libertador* (The Liberator) in South America, his leadership drove the Spanish out of the northern and western parts of the continent and led to the establishment of modern-day Colombia, Panama, Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia, and Venezuela. After Bolivia gained its independence, Bolívar became the new president. In 1826, at a conference in Panama City, representatives from the newly independent nations discussed, among other things, the idea of the Monroe Doctrine as a framework against threats of recolonization from Europe.<sup>11</sup>

**Americans Embrace the Concept of Manifest Destiny and Territorial Expansion of the United States (1845):** In 1845, an editor for *The United States Magazine, and Democratic Review* first coined the term “manifest destiny,” arguing that it was the destiny of the United States to stretch across the continent of North America. Some private actors, particularly Southerners who sought to expand slavery, set off to seize parts of Central and South America in a practice called filibustering or freebooting. Advocates of the concept of Manifest Destiny rationalized the U.S.-Mexican War and the subsequent acquisition of 55 percent of Mexico, including modern-day California, New Mexico, and Texas, through the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848. U.S. President James K. Polk interpreted the Monroe Doctrine through the lens of Manifest Destiny, declaring that Europe should not interfere with the expansion of the United States. Throughout the 1840s, the U.S. government emphasized that Europe should not attempt to colonize present-day Oregon, California, or the Yucatán Peninsula of Mexico, which could interfere with the potential expansion of the United States. See [GCIR’s Who Gets to Be an American? Timeline](#) for additional information about the acquisition of parts of Mexico through the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo.<sup>12</sup>



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**Congress Passes the Guano Islands Act to Enable the United States to Claim Uninhabited Islands (1856):** In 1856, Congress passed an act claiming any island with minable bird guano not yet claimed by another nation. Bird guano, the Peruvian word for bird manure, was a valuable fertilizer that significantly increased crop yields. Within eight years of the law’s passage, the U.S. government claimed 59 islands in the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Some islands of note include Baker Island (1857), Johnston Atoll (1858) on which the federal government tested nuclear and chemical weapons, Howland Island (1858) on which Amelia Earhart was scheduled to land, Palmyra Atoll (1859), Midway Atoll (1859), Navassa Island (1865), and Serranilla Bank (1879). The law provided that the United States could terminate its claim of any of the islands once they had been stripped of their resources, and just nine of the original guano islands remain today.<sup>13</sup>

**The United States Invokes the Monroe Doctrine to Intervene in Mexico (1867):** The U.S. government provided support to Mexico after the U.S. Civil War ended in 1867, helping Mexico push back against and resist occupation by France’s Ferdinand Maximilian von Habsburg.<sup>14</sup>

**The United States Admits More than 10,000 Cubans During Cuba’s First War for Independence from Spain (1868):** The United States admitted more than 10,000 people seeking refuge from Cuba over the course of its Ten Years’ War. After Cuba’s second war for independence from Spain—The Little War (1879–80)—about a quarter of Florida’s Key West population was Cuban.<sup>15</sup>



IMAGE DESCRIPTION: Political cartoon from *The New York Times*, 1903. Creative Commons / Public Domain.

**The U.S. Government Declares It Would Control Any Canal Connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans (1880):** In 1880, U.S. President Rutherford B. Hayes announced to Congress that, “The policy of this country is a canal under American control... while its relations to our power and prosperity as a nation, to our means of defense, our unity, peace, and safety, are matters of paramount concern to the people of the United States.” Any canal built through Mexico, Nicaragua, or Panama had to be under U.S. control or there would be no canal at all.<sup>16</sup>

**The United States Invokes the Monroe Doctrine and Fights the Spanish-American War (1898):** The U.S. government invoked the Monroe Doctrine in support of Cuban independence and ordered a naval blockade of Cuba against Spain. This led to the first overseas conflict fought by the United States. The U.S. and Spanish governments signed a treaty months later in which the United States took control of Guam and Puerto Rico as well as temporary control of Cuba as a protectorate after Spain relinquished its claims. The United States also paid Spain \$20 million to annex the Philippines. Filipinos, Guamanians, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans were not present at the signing of the treaty, which determined the fates of hundreds of millions of people. See [GCIR’s Who Gets to Be an American? Timeline](#) for additional information on U.S. treatment of the Philippines, Puerto Rico, Guam, and other U.S. territories.<sup>17</sup>

**The United States Agrees to End its Occupation, Under the Condition It Can Intervene in Cuba’s Political Affairs (1901):** In 1901, Cuba became independent from the United States, but in exchange for the end of U.S. occupation, the Platt Amendment gave the United States the unilateral right to intervene in Cuba’s political affairs. The United States, giving in to racial stereotypes, did not believe Cubans were able to protect U.S. interests and that Cuba would become unstable without U.S. guidance. Crafted in



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1898 at the beginning of the Spanish-American War, the Teller Amendment was a congressional mandate preventing the United States from annexing Cuba after hostilities ended. However, after the war ended and before the United States withdrew from Cuba, Congress introduced the Platt Amendment as a way for the U.S. government to maintain control over Cuba’s economic, political, and security interests.<sup>18</sup>

**U.S. Citizen Becomes First President of Cuba (1902):** In 1902, the United States withdrew its military occupation of the country. A U.S. citizen, Tomás Estrada Palma, became the first president of Cuba.<sup>19</sup>

**United States Gains Guantánamo as Military Base (1903):** A few months after the two countries signed a treaty incorporating the Platt Amendment, Cuba leased Bahía Honda as a coaling station and Guantánamo as a naval station to the United States. The Cuban government also agreed to lease areas around Guantánamo Bay, which would become the oldest U.S. base overseas.<sup>20</sup>

**U.S. Government Occupies Cuba for Three Years (1906):** Allegations of a rigged election in 1905— with Estrada Palma trying to remain in power—led to political turmoil in Cuba. From 1906 to 1909, the U.S. military occupied Cuba again to put down an insurrection and governed the island through a provisional government.<sup>21</sup>

**The United States Recognizes the Republic of Panama, Receives Exclusive and Permanent Possession of the Panama Canal Zone Days Later (1903):** The United States helped Panama secede from Colombia in 1903. Days later, the U.S. government bought rights to build the Panama Canal and received control of the Canal Zone in perpetuity through the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty after U.S.-backed Panama became fully independent from Colombia. The Monroe Doctrine served as the underpinning rationale for the canal’s construction. Nine years later, Panama received \$10 million and an annuity of \$250,000. The canal was completed in 1914, Panama ultimately ceased being a U.S. protectorate in 1939, and the Panama Canal passed into Panamanian control in 1999. [See GCIR’s Who Gets to Be an American? Timeline](#) for additional information about the sovereign-like status of the United States in Panama.<sup>22</sup>

**Panamanians Resist U.S. Sovereign-Like Status:** Protests against the United States having rights “as if sovereign” in the Panama Canal Zone came to a head in 1964. In response, the United States signed a treaty in 1977 committing to leave the zone by 2000. The Panamanian government received 60 percent of the Canal Zone in 1979. The canal had become “the poster child of American colonialism in Latin America,” and the handover of the canal back to Panama reduced tensions in Panama and the rest of Latin America.<sup>23</sup>

**The United States Invades Honduras Multiple Times (1903-1925):** Between 1903 and 1925, the United States interfered with Honduras multiple times, dispatching warships and negotiating treaties to quell insurrections and protect the business interests of U.S. banana growers. U.S.-based United Fruit Company, modern-day Chiquita, and other fruit companies built infrastructure in Honduras in exchange for land and became profoundly influential over Honduran politics, leading writers in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century to refer to Honduras as a “banana republic.”<sup>24</sup>

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## 1904–1946

### The Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine



IMAGE DESCRIPTION: *The World's Constable*. President Theodore Roosevelt is a constable standing between Europe, Latin America, Asia, and Africa with a Big Stick labeled The New Diplomacy. Puck Magazine cartoon of Jan. 14, 1905, The Everett Collection

**The United States Expands the Monroe Doctrine Through the Roosevelt Corollary (1904):** U.S. President Theodore Roosevelt declared that the United States would intervene in nations in the Western Hemisphere to protect U.S. interests and defend against “foreign aggression to the detriment of the entire body of American nations,” a strategy that would become known as “Big Stick” policy. In practice, the United States “exercise[d] international police power,” leading to interventions in the Dominican Republic (1904), Nicaragua (1911), Haiti (1915), Cuba (1962), and other nations.<sup>25</sup>

**The United States Uses Gunboat Diplomacy to Use or Threaten Force Against Other Nations:** This foreign policy approach, often equated with Roosevelt’s corollary, involved

the U.S. government employing a highly visible display of military power—usually naval—to threaten warfare and force cooperation. In 1903, Roosevelt sent warships to support Panamanian rebels fighting for independence from Colombia. The show of force helped Panama to secede, allowing the United States to gain the right to build and control the Panama Canal. In 1905, the United States also used gunboat diplomacy to secure U.S. control of the financial interests of the Dominican Republic. Ten years later, the U.S. deployed the Marines to Haiti and remained there until 1934. Gunboat diplomacy was also used during the U.S. military occupations of Cuba in 1906, Nicaragua in 1912, and Mexico in 1914. After a brief period of dollar diplomacy, the U.S. government returned to gunboat diplomacy, growing the number of naval bases to more than 450 globally by the mid-1950s.<sup>26</sup>

**The U.S. Temporarily Softens Its Use of the Roosevelt Corollary Through the Good Neighbor Policy (1933):** U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt’s administration strove to improve relations with Central and South America, stating that the U.S. government “from now on is one opposed to armed intervention,” and sought to distance the United States from policies such as the Roosevelt Corollary. His position was that direct occupation was too costly, counterproductive, and not necessary. U.S. Presidents Harry Truman (1945–1953) and Dwight D. Eisenhower (1953–1961) subsequently reversed the policies of military non-intervention.<sup>27</sup>

**The United States Sends Naval Ships to the Dominican Republic to Control the Country's Finances (1904):** The Dominican Republic owed multiple debts to France, Belgium, Italy, and Germany, and in 1904 the United States intervened by taking charge of Dominican customhouses to pay them off. The U.S. government deployed naval ships in 1905 to support U.S. control of Dominican finances.<sup>28</sup>

**The U.S. Government Occupies Cuba Again After Cuban President Resigns (1906–09):** The United States occupied the island following the resignation of President Tomás Estrada Palma amid a rebellion led by José Miguel Gómez. The U.S. government invoked the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine as the rationale for this occupation.<sup>29</sup>

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**The United States Briefly Uses Dollar Diplomacy to Stabilize Economies in the Western Hemisphere and Beyond (1909-13):** In an address to Congress, U.S. President William Taft announced that the U.S. government would “extend all proper support to every legitimate and beneficial American enterprise abroad,” especially in the Caribbean and the Western Hemisphere. The policy arose from U.S. President Theodore Roosevelt’s intervention in the finances of the Dominican Republic and sought to stabilize governments by attracting U.S. business investments. This policy, in 1909, led to the U.S. overthrow of José Santos Zelaya to prop up Adolfo Díaz as president in Nicaragua. The U.S. government subsequently promised loans to the new government.<sup>30</sup>

**The U.S. Government Supports a Coup in Nicaragua, Occupying the Nation Twice (1909):** U.S. troops helped depose Nicaragua’s José Santos Zelaya and occupied the nation until 1910, citing the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine. Two years later, in line with U.S. President Hayes’ promise that any canal in the Western Hemisphere would be controlled by the United States, the U.S. government sent 500 soldiers to Nicaragua to prevent other countries from constructing a proposed canal. From 1927 to 1933, Augusto César Sandino led guerrillas against U.S. military presence. Per U.S. President F.D. Roosevelt’s “Good Neighbor Policy,” the U.S. government removed the U.S. Marines from Nicaragua in 1933.<sup>31</sup>

**The United States Intervenes Militarily in Cuba Twice in Ten Years (1912):** In 1912, U.S. military forces helped to suppress an Afro-Cuban rebellion in Cuba, and the U.S. ceded Bahía Honda in exchange for larger facilities in Guantánamo Bay. Between 1917 and 1922, the United States again led a military intervention and occupied Cuba after a disputed presidential election.<sup>32</sup>

**The U.S. Government Invades Veracruz and Occupies Mexico for Six Months (1914):** In the throes of the Mexican Revolution, Mexican General Victoriano Huerta joined rebels in deposing Mexican President Francisco Madero in 1913, leading U.S. President Woodrow Wilson to support Huerta’s opposition and refusing to recognize Huerta’s leadership. Tensions between the United States and Mexico reached a head in 1914 after an initial misunderstanding involving U.S. sailors who were arrested for wandering into an area that was off-limits to foreigners near Tampico, Mexico. In response, the United States invaded Veracruz with 800 Marines and sailors and occupied the port of Veracruz for months to influence the Mexican Revolution in opposition to Huerta’s leadership. At least nineteen Americans and more than 150 Mexicans died in the fighting. Other nations denounced the invasion, and the ambassadors of Argentina, Brazil, and Chile helped to broker peace at the Niagara Falls Peace Conference in Canada.<sup>33</sup>

**The United States Occupies Haiti for Nearly Two Decades (1915-34):** On the day that Haitian President Vilbrun Guillaume Sam was assassinated in 1915, the U.S. government invoked the Monroe Doctrine and authorized the USS Washington to invade Haiti. The United States was concerned about imperial interests from France and Germany during WWI, and it had financial interests, including supporting a U.S. sugar company, Haitian-American Sugar Company (HASCO), which wanted to be able to own land there. U.S. officials modified the constitution of Haiti to permit foreigners to own land. The American acquisition of land led some Haitian farmers to be treated as cheap or unpaid labor, while other Haitians migrated to neighboring countries, such as Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and elsewhere, for better pay. During this 20-year occupation period, U.S. forces resurrected *corvée*, a practice where the state utilized unpaid labor to perform work on public projects. The U.S. Marines also exported racial segregation to Haiti, giving preference to light-skinned Haitians within the Haitian government. U.S. troops withdrew in 1934 under F.D. Roosevelt’s [above](#), but the United States maintained fiscal control until 1947, siphoning



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40 percent of Haiti’s national income to service debt repayments to the United States and France. By the time the U.S. withdrew, 15,000 Haitians had been killed.<sup>34</sup>

**Haitians Migrate to United States in Significant Numbers:** The U.S. invasion and subsequent occupation led to a second wave of emigration from Haiti. (The first occurred during the Haitian Revolution.) U.S. officials also enticed Haitians to migrate to Cuba and the Dominican Republic to work in U.S.-owned sugar factories. In 1920, 200 Haitians had migrated to Cuba; by 1970, Cuba’s population had 70,000 Haitians.<sup>35</sup>



IMAGE DESCRIPTION: W.E.B. Du Bois by James E. Purdy, 1907. *National Portrait Gallery, Creative Commons.*

**Opposition to Occupation of Haiti and Dominican Republic:** W.E.B. Du Bois wrote to U.S. President Woodrow Wilson days after the invasion expressing opposition to military intervention in Haiti. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) also opposed U.S. occupation of Haiti. By the 1920s, the U.S. occupations of Haiti and the Dominican Republic had become issues in the run-up to presidential elections.<sup>36</sup>

**The U.S. Government Occupies the Dominican Republic for Eight Years (1916-24):** Having already sent 750 Marines to the Dominican Republic in 1912, installed Adolfo Nouel as president in 1914, and attempted to install Juan Isidro Jimenez as president a year later, the United States deployed more Marines to the Dominican Republic and occupied the country for several years. U.S. intervention led the National City Bank of New York to take control of Dominican finances and enabled American sugar companies to acquire sugar plantations in the Dominican Republic. A U.S.-contracting system also led to the migration of Haitian farmworkers to the Dominican Republic. In 1924 the United States withdrew their forces on the condition that the U.S. government-maintained control of Dominican customs and the revenues would go to American creditors. The occupation

of both Haiti and the Dominican Republic, the entire island of Hispaniola, caused Haiti to lose some land, leading to Haitians living on Dominican soil.<sup>37</sup>

**Dominicans Migrate to United States and Other Nations:** Between 1910 and the 1940s, Dominicans migrated to the United States by way of Puerto Rico, Cuba, Panama, and other countries. Dominicans did agricultural work in Puerto Rico, and many also helped build the Panama Canal.<sup>38</sup>

**Dominican Migration Continues After Restrictive U.S. Immigration Law, Slows Considerably During Trujillo Regime:** After the Immigration Act of 1924 severely restricted immigration from the Eastern Hemisphere but not the Western Hemisphere, Dominicans continued to migrate to the United States. This slowed considerably after Dominican President Rafael Trujillo restricted emigration in 1930.<sup>39</sup>

**Dominican Immigration to United States Grows after 1950:** Dominican immigration increased after 1950 and accelerated in the 1960s.<sup>40</sup>

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**The United States and Other Governments Deploy Their Navies to Support the Salvadoran Suppression of the Indigenous Revolt in *La Matanza*** (The Massacre) (1932): In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, coffee became El Salvador’s dominant crop, prompting wealthy oligarchs in the country to kill Indigenous people and steal their land to cultivate it. The Great Depression impacted coffee exports, creating economic instability and leading thousands of Salvadorans to migrate. Salvadoran peasants, mostly Indigenous people, revolted against the loss of land and reduction in their wages following a precipitous drop in the price of coffee. The government responded by killing up to 30,000 people, or 4 percent of the population, in a matter of weeks in 1932. The United States, Great Britain, and Canada sent naval support to help quell the rebellion. The United States and Great Britain both had business interests in El Salvador, including investments in the nation’s infrastructure. After *La Mantanza*, El Salvador’s military government began requiring state identification cards and banned dissident literature as well as Indigenous culture, including language, traditional clothing, and music.<sup>41</sup>

**The United States Repeals the Platt Amendment But Continues to Maintain a Profound Presence in Cuba** (1934): In 1934, the United States annulled Cuba’s Platt Amendment—which gave the U.S. government the unilateral right to intervene in Cuba’s political affairs—but still maintained a naval base at Guantánamo. U.S. business interests also continued to dominate the Cuban economy, with American companies controlling 80-100 percent of Cuba’s utilities, mines, cattle ranches, and oil refiners; 40 percent of the sugar industry; and 50 percent of the public railways.<sup>42</sup>

**U.S.-Backed Dominican President Rafael Trujillo Orders the Parsley Massacre**<sup>43</sup> (1937): In what would become known as *El Corte*, “the cutting,” U.S.-backed Dominican leader Rafael Trujillo ordered the execution of 20,000-30,000 Haitians and Black *rayanos*, ethnically mixed Haitian and Dominican people, who lived along the Dominican-Haitian border. Driven by the long history of border disputes between the two nations, the drop in sugar prices and subsequent economic instability in the Dominican Republic, and Trujillo’s desire to “whiten” the Dominican population by reducing the Haitian population and welcoming European immigration, Trujillo characterized Haitians living in the agricultural borderlands as an occupation and ordered their extermination.<sup>44</sup>



IMAGE DESCRIPTION: Fort Amador, home of the SOA, entrance to Panama Canal, Panama City, Former Panama Canal Zone, CZ. Library of Congress.

**The U.S. Military Opens the School of the Americas (SOA) in Panama and Trained Thousands of Soldiers from Nations Throughout the Western Hemisphere** (1946): In 1946, the U.S. military opened the Latin American Training Center-Ground Division in Panama, modern-day Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation (WHINSEC). The school was a training facility for civilian, law enforcement, and military personnel from Latin American countries, with graduates going on to be involved in human rights abuses in El Salvador, Panama, Haiti, Bolivia, Argentina, and other countries. More than 63,000 from 21 countries were trained. A 1996 Pentagon investigation disclosed that the SOA’s training manuals encouraged the use of torture, false imprisonment, and executions. In 1990, the School of Americas Watch (SOAW) was founded after the 1989 killings

of priests in El Salvador. The SOAW has sought to raise awareness about how the U.S. government’s foreign policies have been a “principal root cause of migration, as well as [to emphasize] the devastating impact U.S. security and immigration policy has on refugees, asylum seekers and immigrant families all over the continent.”<sup>45</sup>

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## 1947–1980

### The Truman Doctrine and the Containment of Communism

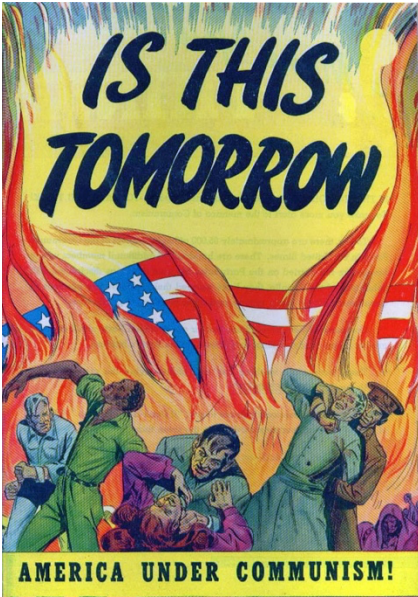


IMAGE DESCRIPTION: Cover page of the anti-communist propaganda comic book "Is this tomorrow." Public domain.

**After WWII, the U.S. Government Justifies Unilateral Intervention in the Western Hemisphere and Elsewhere to Prevent the Spread of Communism (1947):** In an address to Congress, U.S. President Harry Truman said the nation's foreign policy was to assist any country whose stability is threatened by communism.<sup>46</sup> In practice, the U.S. government sought to contain “Russian expansive tendencies” through military action and economic aid. It was a de facto declaration of the Cold War. Ten years later, following rising tensions in Southwest Asia, as Egypt grew increasingly close with the Soviet Union, U.S. President Dwight D. Eisenhower announced the Eisenhower Doctrine, in which a nation could request military or economic assistance to resist aggression from a communist country.

**The Kennan Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine Demands the United States Must Eliminate Communism in Latin America (1950):** American diplomat George F. Kennan stated that Latin American nations were vulnerable to Communism due to factors such as severe wealth stratification between the rich and poor. For the sake of U.S. national security and to protect U.S. influence through the Monroe Doctrine, the United States sought to prevent Communism from rising in Latin America. The corollary led to U.S. intervention in Guatemala in 1954, the Dominican

Republic in 1965, and Chile in the 1970s.<sup>47</sup>

**Reagan Doctrine Pushes the United States to Roll Back Communism (1980s):** Rather than merely containing communism, Reagan’s approach strived to “roll back” communism in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. In practice, this included supporting the Contra rebels in Nicaragua against the Cuban-backed Sandinista regime and the U.S. invasion of Grenada in 1983 against the Cuban- and Soviet-backed government.<sup>48</sup>

**The Organization of American States (OAS) Is Formed (1948):** At the ninth Pan-American Conference, the OAS was formed to prevent outside state interference in the Western Hemisphere, particularly as a response to the threat of communism in 1948. It was founded on the general acceptance of the Monroe Doctrine principles, particularly that an attack on any nation in the Western Hemisphere was an attack on all. However, the United States maintained the right to self-defense. OAS goals included strengthening the security of the Western Hemisphere, the settlement of disputes between member nations of the organization, and the cultivation of cooperation amongst member nations.<sup>49</sup>

**CIA Operation Supports a Coup Against the Democratically Elected President of Guatemala (1954):** Though the U.S. government initially supported Guatemalan President Jacobo Árbenz Guzmán, a CIA-supported coup overthrew his constitutional government in 1954. Guzmán had continued the U.S. New Deal-inspired reforms of Juan José Arévalo and nationalized the plantations of the U.S. corporation United Fruit Company (modern-day Chiquita Brands International). However, the United States saw



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United Fruit Company’s interests as representative of U.S. interests in Guatemala. By the following month, Castillo Armas became president, United Fruit Company’s lands were restored, and the U.S. Secretary of State declared that Guatemala had been saved from “communist imperialism.” Subsequently, the new regime executed hundreds and crushed unions. A civil war ensued between the U.S.-backed government and leftist rebels who were supported primarily by Indigenous Maya people. The uprising started in 1960 and did not end until 1996. Casualties of the civil war initially included students, workers, professionals, and opposition figures, but during the later portion of the war, they were mostly rural Indigenous farmers and non-combatants. More than 450 Maya villages were destroyed, and more than one million people became refugees or displaced. A United Nations-backed commission declared in 1999 that 93 percent of all documented violations of human rights were attributed to Guatemala’s military government, and 83 percent of the victims were the Indigenous Maya population. In 1999, Bill Clinton publicly apologized to Guatemalans.<sup>50</sup>



IMAGE DESCRIPTION: François Duvalier and Joel Barromi, Israeli ambassador to Haiti, surrounded by Haitian generals in 1963. Public domain.

**The United States Supports the Duvalier Regimes in Haiti (1957-86):** During this time period, Presidents François “Papa Doc” (1957-71) and Jean-Claude “Baby Doc” Duvalier (1971-86) ruled Haiti with U.S. support, counting the older Duvalier as an anti-communist ally. The U.S. government considered the regime a necessary counterpoint to communist Cuba, and it ignored Duvalier’s elimination of rivals and the violation of human rights in Haiti. In 1959, the United States flew teams of specialists to treat François Duvalier after he had a heart attack that almost killed him. Also that year, a U.S. Marine Mission trained the Haitian army and began supplying equipment to Haiti’s military. By 1961, the U.S. government had provided F. Duvalier’s government \$50 million in economic and military aid. A 1967 U.S. State Department study concluded that Duvalier “approached psychotic proportions at times” and that he was a “fitting President for Haitians, who were a ‘paranoid’ group as a whole, burdened by a generalized belief in ‘animism.’” When Jean-Claude Duvalier became president, the

United States and others poured millions of dollars into Haiti, much of which was stolen by the Duvalier family and his supporters. After the United States withdrew support due to increasing migration flows to the United States, continued human rights accusations, and protests across Haiti, the younger Duvalier fell from power months later.<sup>51</sup>

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IMAGE DESCRIPTION: Cuban refugees departing Freedom Flights in Miami, Florida. Courtesy of University of Miami Libraries via Sunshine State Digital Network.

**The Cuban Revolution Ends (1959):** Fidel Castro ousted the U.S.-backed Fulgencio Batista on January 1, 1959. In 1960, the Castro government nationalized all U.S. businesses in the country, and the United States subsequently imposed a partial trade embargo with Cuba. The U.S. government broke off diplomatic relations with Cuba in 1961, and the failure of the Bay of Pigs invasion followed months later. The CIA tried to assassinate Castro in Operation Mongoose in 1961, and U.S. intelligence later revealed there were more than eight failed CIA attempts to assassinate Castro between 1960 and 1965. The U.S. government invoked the Monroe Doctrine during the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962 and imposed a trade embargo leading to years of hardship for the Cuban people. In 1976, a CIA-trained anti-Castro activist was charged with bombing a Cuban airliner, which killed 73 people.<sup>52</sup>

**The U.S. Government Paroles Cubans to the United States, Provides Them Public Benefits (1960):** After 1959, the United States provided a special status for Cubans, making them arguably the beneficiaries of the largest refugee program in American history including access to college tuition, job training and placement, and many other benefits. Regardless of how they arrived in the United States after 1960, they could adjust their status and have a path to citizenship. The U.S. Attorney General admitted almost all Cuban migrants through a parole power, which immediately provided them immigration status. From 1960 to 1962, the U.S. government’s Operation Pedro Pan (Peter Pan) brought more than 14,000 unaccompanied Cuban children to the United

States. By 1962, more than 200,000 Cubans had migrated to the United States. Many were white and middle-class political exiles whose property was seized and nationalized by Castro. Between 1965 and 1973, even more Cubans migrated to the United States, but they were “less well-to-do.”<sup>53</sup>

**The Migration and Refugee Assistance Act Formalizes the Cuban Refugee Program (1962):** Ostensibly, this law authorized funds to assist foreign nationals from the Western Hemisphere who fled their origin countries because of persecution or fear of persecution on account of race, religion, or political opinion. It essentially formalized the Cuban Refugee Program, paroling in 20,000 refugees under the attorney general’s authority. The modern-day Department of Health and Human Services created a program to provide medical care, financial aid, help with education and resettlement, and child welfare services for Cuban refugees and others fleeing communist countries. Some 300,000 Cubans migrated to the United States by 1981.<sup>54</sup>

**The Cuban Airlift Shuttles Cubans to the United States Twice a Day for Eight Years (1965):** The U.S. government created an airlift program that allowed Cubans already in the United States to apply to have their relatives join them. Under the program, the U.S. government ran flights from Varadero, Cuba, to Miami, Florida, twice a day for eight years. More than 45,000 Cubans were flown to the U.S. in the first year alone. By 1973, and more than 3,000 flights later, more than 250,000 Cuban refugees had been admitted to the United States.<sup>55</sup>

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**The Cuban Refugee Act Provides a Path to Citizenship for Cuban Parolees (1966):** Also known as the Cuban Adjustment Act, this law allowed Cubans living in the United States as temporary parolees to become lawful permanent residents after residing in the United States for two years, though this was later reduced to one year. Unlike other adjustment of status policies, this law did not cap the number of Cuban parolees and did not include an end date, setting the stage for 50 years of special treatment of Cuban migrants. By 1990, one million Cubans had entered the United States since 1959. In 1995, the United States modified this policy, declaring that Cubans picked up at sea were to be sent back, and those who made it ashore were allowed to stay.<sup>56</sup>

**The United States Occupies Haiti for Nearly Two Decades (Starting Mid-1960s):** The Duvaliers’ reigns triggered massive emigration that created a Haitian diaspora in New York, Miami, Boston, and Montreal. The earliest emigrants were middle- and upper-class Haitians who had the means to travel by air. From 1970 to 1975, the Haitian government began curtailing emigration, and many of the Haitians that traveled via boat were working class, less educated, and rural. Their arrival in south Florida triggered a racist backlash that coincided with the racist backlash to the Civil Rights Movement. The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service framed the mostly rural, illiterate, and “semiskilled” Haitians as economic migrants from an underdeveloped country rather than as refugees fleeing a violent regime with patterns of persecution. Immigration officers pressured many of these migrants to sign “voluntary departure” forms and sent them back to Haiti.<sup>57</sup>

**The United States Incarcerates Haitians Fleeing Duvalier Regime in Guantánamo Bay (1972–79):** Some fleeing Haitian migrants reached the shores of the U.S. naval base at Guantánamo Bay. While the U.S. government flew the initial group to the U.S. mainland and screened some of them for asylum, U.S. officials ultimately repatriated 99 percent of those migrants back to Haiti, due in part to the fact that those incarcerated at the base had no access to legal counsel. This was the first time Guantánamo Bay was used as a migrant detention center, which continues to this day.<sup>58</sup>

**Members of the Duvaliers’ Regime—“Duvalierism After Duvalier”—Carry Out Coups, Spurring More Migration:** Following the fall of the Duvaliers, former members of their regime carried out military coups against the government. This led to more migration to the United States through the late 1980s and early 1990s. Migration flows from Haiti dropped significantly after the election of Jean-Bertrand Aristide to the presidency in 1990.<sup>59</sup>

**The United States Resumes Diplomatic Relations with the Anti-Communist Military Regime of Honduras (1963):** Honduran President Ramón Villeda Morales prioritized U.S. business interests, including United Fruit Company, now known as Chiquita Brands Int’l, and Standard Fruit Company, now known as Dole Food Company, over land reform for the rural population. In 1963, the Honduran military conducted a coup against Villeda Morales soon before elections were to take place, prompting U.S. President John F. Kennedy to suspend diplomatic relations for several weeks as a result. The U.S. government, however, resumed relations with the Honduran military regime because it opposed Communism. There were subsequently a series of military regimes in Honduras up through 1981.<sup>60</sup>

**The U.S. Supports Anti-Communist Military Coup Against a Democratically Elected President in Brazil (1964):** In 1964, the U.S. government backed a military coup against democratically elected Brazilian President João Goulart, who planned to engage in land reforms and nationalize petroleum refineries. The CIA encouraged street rallies against the government and provided fuel and arms to those backing the military. The new military government ended diplomatic relations with Cuba and the Soviet Union and went on to govern Brazil until 1985.<sup>61</sup>



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**Many Middle-Class Brazilians Migrate to United States:** Brazilians migrated to the United States in notable numbers in the 1960s, with many arriving overstaying their tourist visas. This flow consisted largely of Brazilians with middle-class backgrounds.<sup>62</sup>

**Brazilian Migration Peaks in 1980s:** Migration flows peaked between 1985 and 1987 as economic instability drove emigration.<sup>63</sup>

**The U.S. Government Invades the Dominican Republic Through Operation Power Pack (1965):** U.S.-backed Dominican President Rafael Trujillo was assassinated in 1961. In an attempt to prevent a “second Cuban Revolution,” the United States invaded the Dominican Republic with as many as 24,000 troops. Unrest grew between supporters for Juan Bosch—the elected president who was overthrown in a military coup in 1963—and U.S.-backed generals who controlled the capital. Critics charged that the U.S. invasion was a return to the U.S. government’s “gunboat diplomacy” of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. A provisional government was established months later, and elections followed in 1966. The U.S. government organized the election, which resulted in Joaquín Balaguer, former vice president during the Trujillo regime, becoming president. U.S. forces left the country in the fall of 1966 after the election.<sup>64</sup>

**Trujillo Assassination and U.S. Invasion Leads to Dominican Migration to the United States:** Large numbers of Dominicans began leaving in search of stability in the 1960s. After 1970, the U.S. government admitted about 25,000 Dominicans per year plus those who arrived via Puerto Rico or overstayed their visas. These migrants were largely political dissidents, students and academics, and members of the Dominican middle class.<sup>65</sup>

**Economic Decline Leads to Dominican Migration:** From the 1980s onward, the sharp decline of the Dominican economy in addition to the political turmoil led even more people to migrate. This migration flow consisted of a mix of Dominican professionals as well as the very poor.<sup>66</sup>

**U.S.-Backed Bolivian Forces Execute Argentine Ernesto “Che” Guevara (1967):** After unsuccessfully trying to support rebels in the Congo, Che Guevara went to Bolivia to support rebels who were trying to overthrow Bolivian President René Barrientos. There, U.S.-trained Bolivian rangers defeated and executed Guevara. Guevara had played a key role in Fidel Castro’s rise to power in Cuba. He opposed U.S. domination in Latin America and had advocated peasant-based revolutions to combat social injustice.<sup>67</sup>

**The United States Supports Anti-Communist Regimes Through Operation Condor (1970s):** The U.S. government supported the governments of Argentina, Chile, and other South American countries in putting down alleged leftist threats during this time period. Operation Condor was the code name for intelligence on leftists, communists, and Marxists in South America collected and exchanged by the governments of Chile, Uruguay, Argentina, Paraguay, Bolivia, Brazil, Peru, and Ecuador starting in 1975. Many of the men who executed Operation Condor attended the School of Americas, and the CIA provided the communications equipment for the operation. The operation led to state violence, murders, and disappearances through the 1980s.<sup>68</sup>

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## 1971–Present

### Declaration of the “War on Drugs”



IMAGE DESCRIPTION: President Richard Nixon giving the State of the Union Speech in the United States Capitol on January 22, 1971. *National Archives.*

**The United States Declares a “War on Drugs” (1971):** In 1971, U.S. President Richard Nixon declared a “war on drugs,” which launched an aggressive global campaign against illegal drugs and resulted in dramatic domestic and international consequences. He stated, “America’s public enemy number one in the United States is drug abuse,” and he added it was “necessary to wage a new, all-out offensive. ... This will be a worldwide offensive dealing with the sources of supply. ... It will be government-wide. ... And it will be nationwide.” In addition to the surge in the U.S. carceral population, U.S. efforts empowered violent regimes throughout Latin America, as demonstrated by U.S. programs such as Plan Colombia and the Mérida Initiative. Drug trafficking and repressive governmental actions wrought violence on the people of affected countries, such

as El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Mexico, driving displacement and pushing people to flee in search of safety.<sup>69</sup>

**A U.S.-Supported Coup in Chile Leads to 17-Year Military Rule under Augusto Pinochet (1973):** After using covert funds to prevent his election and then attempting to prevent Chile’s Congress from ratifying Salvador Allende’s victory in 1970, the CIA worked to foment a coup and overthrow the democratically elected Allende. After Allende’s election in 1970, he had begun to nationalize U.S. copper mining and banking, as well as “expand healthcare access and education, offer free milk for children, redistribute large land holdings, raise the minimum wage, support public work projects and public arts, and promote widespread voter participation.” In 1971, Allende had also welcomed Cuban Prime Minister Fidel Castro for his first visit to a Latin American country since 1959. In response to Allende’s nationalization efforts, the U.S. government plotted to reduce the price of copper and ordered a complete ban on economic aid. By 1973, the Chilean economy was in shambles, and the military led a coup against his government. After the coup, the Chilean government—now led by Augusto Pinochet— broke relations with Cuba. The United States offered military and economic aid to Pinochet, who stayed in power for 17 years. Pinochet’s regime killed, disappeared, and tortured thousands of Chileans on the grounds of combating communism.<sup>70</sup>

**U.S. Government Initially Does Not Admit Chilean Migrants Fleeing Pinochet Regime:** The U.S. State Department decided not to admit any of the hundreds of thousands of Chileans who fled the widespread repression after the military coup.<sup>71</sup>

**U.S. Government Paroles Fewer than 2,000 Chileans and Their Families:** The United States did parole 1,600 Chileans and their families between 1975 and 1977, and they were able to adjust their status to lawful permanent residency after Congress passed a law in fall 1978.<sup>72</sup>

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**Secret U.S.-Cuba Talks Lead to Softening Relations (1974):** The U.S. State Department began high-level secret talks with Cuban officials with the goal of opening diplomatic channels between the two countries. The following year, the United States allowed foreign subsidiaries of U.S. companies to do business in Cuba and dropped penalties to other nations for trade with Cuba. Later that year, the United States admonished Cuba for sending combat troops to fight alongside the communist-aligned movement for independence in Angola. In 1977, ignoring the previous administration’s position, the U.S. government allowed U.S. citizens to travel to Cuba and spend \$100 there. However, Cuba’s deployment of military advisers to Ethiopia soured U.S.-Cuban relations, and Castro demanded the eviction of U.S. military bases from Guantánamo Bay. In 1979, 100,000 Cuban Americans were allowed to visit their families in Cuba.<sup>73</sup>



IMAGE DESCRIPTION: Jubilant Sandinista rebels ride a small tank in the main square of Managua as junta arrives June 20, 1979 to take control of the government. *Bettmann / Getty Images.*

**U.S. Intervenes in Nicaragua and Honduras (1979):** In response to the 1979 Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN)’s ouster of U.S.-backed Nicaraguan President Anastasio Somoza Debayle, the U.S. government invoked the Monroe Doctrine to rationalize intervention. Between 1981 and 1986, the U.S. stationed troops in Honduras to train Contra right-wing rebels in their war against Nicaragua’s Sandinistas, named after Augusto Sandino.<sup>74</sup>

**Nicaraguans Flee to the United States and Costa Rica (1979):** After the Sandinistas deposed Anastasio Somoza Debayle, Nicaraguans—primarily those who supported Somoza from the economic and military elite—fled to the United States and neighboring Costa Rica. The U.S.

government supported the Contra rebels against the Sandinista government, and consequently more migrants (now increasingly middle-class and poorer Nicaraguans) fled in 1982 and 1985.<sup>75</sup>

**The U.S. Government Suspends Immigration Enforcement for Nicaraguans Present in the United States (1979):** The U.S. Attorney General granted Extended Voluntary Departure for Nicaraguans, protecting asylum seekers present in the United States from deportation or removal.<sup>76</sup>



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## 1980s-1990s

### Beyond Containment, the Rolling Back of Communism



IMAGE DESCRIPTION: A boat crowded with Cuban refugees arrives in Key West, Florida, during the 1980 Mariel Boatlift. U.S. Coast Guard, Public Domain.



IMAGE DESCRIPTION: Political cartoon from 1979. University of Miami Special Collections..

#### U.S. Treatment of Migrants Fleeing Governments Differs Significantly Between Cubans and Haitians (1980s):

An estimated 125,000 Cubans fled the country after Cuban President Fidel Castro said in 1980 that Cubans could migrate to Florida from the port of Mariel with their own arranged boat transport. At around the same time as the Mariel Boatlift, Haitian refugees fled U.S.-backed Jean-Claude “Baby Doc” Duvalier’s regime, but the U.S. government under Jimmy Carter labeled them “economic refugees,” despite initially granting them humanitarian parole in 1979. About 17 percent of asylum seekers that arrived in Florida at the time were from Haiti. The U.S. government placed both Cubans and Haitians in camps on military bases across the United States. While the federal government opened a “temporary” facility near Miami to house Haitians and Cubans, including the still-open Krome North Service Processing Center, Cubans had better living conditions in those facilities than Haitians. Furthermore, while Cubans for the most part were released and allowed to reunite with their family members and the Cuban community in the United States, Haitians languished in detention for much longer periods.<sup>77</sup>

#### Cubans Flee to the United States in What Became Known as the Mariel Boatlift (1980):

The 125,000 arriving *Marielitos* were paroled into the United States under the attorney general’s authority, and they were able to adjust to lawful permanent resident status through the Cuban Adjustment Act of 1966 and the Immigration Reform and

Control Act of 1986. The *Marielitos* were more diverse than previous Cuban migrants, particularly as Castro had released many people from Cuban prisons and mental institutions and put them on flotillas in response to a speech U.S. President Jimmy Carter made about welcoming refugees. The U.S. government jailed more than 1,700 of the 125,000 Cubans. Another 587 were detained until they could find sponsors.<sup>78</sup>

#### The Cuban-Haitian Entrant Program (CHEP) Permits Nationals from Both Countries to Parole into the United States (1980):

From June to October 1980 during the Mariel boatlift, the U.S. government granted temporary status, access to asylum processing, and community assistance to both Cubans and Haitians. CHEP provided clarity for supporting the large volume of asylum seekers arriving from these two nations, and the federal government paroled more than 125,000 Cubans and 25,000 Haitians through the program. However, the Haitians who arrived after the CHEP cut-off date of October 10, 1980, were excluded and barred just as before CHEP.<sup>79</sup>

#### The Refugee Education Assistance Act Provides Benefits to Cuban and Haitian Parolees (1980):

Otherwise known as the Fascell-Stone Act, this provided \$100 million in cash, medical and social services, and \$5 million per year to facilitate the Mariel refugees’ transition to American life. The

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intent and effect of this provision was to treat Cubans and Haitians in the same manner as refugees and asylees for purposes of the refugee resettlement program.<sup>80</sup>

**The U.S. Haitian Program Detains Haitians and Others, Denies Almost All Applications for Asylum (1981):** By 1981, the United States began a round of mass detentions in response to the migration of Cubans, Haitians, and Central Americans fleeing their governments and civil war. Haitians and Salvadorans bore the brunt of the restrictive policies with only five out of 503 Haitians getting their asylum applications granted (about 0.99 percent) and two out of 5,570 Salvadorans getting their applications granted (about 0.04 percent) in 1981. By mid-1981, the U.S. government began detaining all Haitians subject to deportation without the possibility of bond and conducted mass removal hearings often without attorneys for the Haitians present. The Immigration and Naturalization Service also arrested Haitians who applied for work authorization. A federal judge found the policy was racist and discriminatory.<sup>81</sup>

**Puerto Rico’s Ft. Allen Detention Center Detains Haitians (1981):** The U.S. government opened a detention facility on a former U.S. Navy base in Puerto Rico to detain Haitians, though it was originally opened to detain Cuban and Haitian refugees. The United States and Puerto Rico agreed to detain up to 800 Haitians for up to a year. There were allegations of abuse at the facility. In addition to Puerto Rico, the Immigration and Naturalization Service detained arriving Haitians in substandard facilities throughout the country where they were often denied access to counsel.<sup>82</sup>

**The U.S. Government Launches the Haitian Migrant Interdiction Operations (HMIO) Program (1981):** After brokering a deal with Haiti, U.S. President Ronald Reagan issued Executive Order 12324 which directed the U.S. Coast Guard to intercept Haitians fleeing by boat and repatriate them to Haiti. The order marked the first time that the United States patrolled international waters for the purpose of turning away migrants. This interdiction-at-sea approach included detaining individuals and holding expedited hearings. Haitians were the only group interdicted at sea and returned to their origin country.<sup>83</sup>

**Congress Links Stemming Tide of Migration with Foreign Assistance Funds to Haiti (1981-82):** During the same time period as Executive Order 12324, which authorized the U.S. Coast Guard to intercept vessels believed to be transporting Haitians, Congress adopted the Fascell-Mica-Chiles Amendment to the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1981. This amendment linked Haitian cooperation in stopping emigration, implementing development programs, and respecting its citizens’ human rights to the release of U.S. foreign assistance funds to Haiti.<sup>84</sup>

**The U.S. Government Rationalizes Interdiction on the Idea that Haitians Were Connected to HIV and AIDS (1982):** The federal government rationalized interdiction of Haitians by playing on the fear of HIV and AIDS, with the Centers for Disease Control naming four groups as “risk factors” for HIV infection. During this period, the media coined “the 4H Club,” which stood for “Haitians, Homosexuals, Hemophiliacs, and Heroin users,” before HIV or AIDS had an official name. Haitians were stigmatized for introducing HIV to North America even though there were no studies to support this perception. Haitians were not removed from the high-risk category for HIV until 1990.<sup>85</sup>

**The U.S. Government Agrees to Admit 20,000 Cubans Annually (1980s):** In 1984, Cuba agreed to accept nearly 3,000 Mariel emigrants with criminal records, and the U.S. agreed to admit up to

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20,000 Cuban immigrants per year. The following year, after the U.S. government launched a radio service for Cubans, Radio Martí, Cuba suspended the immigration agreement. A 1987 federal regulation extended parole to 7,000 Cubans who were in detention since the boatlift ended.<sup>86</sup>

**Over the Course of Nearly 10 Years, the U.S. Coast Guard Interdicts as Many as 25,000 Haitians (1980s):** From 1981-1990, nearly 23,000-25,000 Haitians were interdicted at sea (even though not everyone was bound for the United States), and the Immigration and Naturalization Service considered merely 11 of these Haitians—just 0.05 percent of migrants—qualified to apply for asylum. Mass removal hearings were conducted behind closed doors.<sup>87</sup>

**The CIA Trains Honduras’ Brutal Battalion 3-16 (1980):** Starting in 1980, CIA and FBI officials trained 25 Honduran army officers on interrogation techniques, surveillance, and how to follow suspects. It also provided them with lie detectors and other intelligence equipment. These officers went on to become Battalion 3-16, a secret division of Honduran military intelligence which detained or disappeared alleged leftists. Between 1981 and 1984, according to a judgment of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights, the military unit engaged in murder as well as the disappearances of 100-150 individuals.<sup>88</sup>



IMAGE DESCRIPTION: Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick visiting San Vicente, El Salvador, c. 1983. Loyola University Chicago Digital Special Collections.

### **The United States Supports the Salvadoran Government During Their Civil War (1980-92):**

Throughout the 1980s, the U.S. government invoked the Monroe Doctrine to rationalize intervention in El Salvador. In 1980, after the Salvadoran military raped and murdered four U.S. missionaries in 1980, the U.S. government initially cut off aid to El Salvador. However, to counter the perceived threat of a Salvadoran insurgency backed by communist influences, the United States increased its military assistance to the Salvadoran government in 1981, providing millions of dollars, military training, and weaponry, including helicopters. Some 60,000 people, including 22 U.S. military personnel, were killed in the conflict; 500,000 were internally displaced; and one million people fled the country as refugees. While the

Soviet Union-backed rebel group Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) carried out kidnappings, bombings, and bank robberies, a Truth Commission found that the FMLN was responsible for only five percent of the violence while state forces were responsible for the remaining 95 percent.<sup>89</sup>

**U.S.-Trained Salvadoran Military Unit Massacres Civilians in El Mozote (1981):** El Salvador’s U.S.-trained Atlácatl Battalion, formed in 1981 and largely trained at Ft. Bragg, North Carolina, was deployed to the Morazán province as part of Operation Rescate where FMLN was active. The battalion killed nearly 1,000 civilians, more than half of whom were children, in what became known as El Mozote massacre. Between 1980 and 1981, more than 35,000 Salvadorans fled to neighboring Honduras; after attacks in Morazán, 9,000 people fled from that province alone to Honduras.<sup>90</sup>

**Atlácatl Battalion Kills Six Clergy in the “Jesuit Massacre” (1989):** El Salvador’s Atlácatl Battalion killed six priests and others. The Jesuit priests had openly opposed U.S. support of the Salvadoran



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military, served poor and rural communities, and kept records of people who fled the country. Meanwhile, the right wing accused the priests of being communists and one of the priests, Ignacio Ellacuría, as “the brains behind the guerillas.” The battalion was disbanded in 1992.<sup>91</sup>

**Central Americans Flee to the United States (1980s):** During the 1980s, one million Central Americans, including Salvadorans, fled to the United States to seek safety.<sup>92</sup>



IMAGE DESCRIPTION: Guatemalan Army General Benedicto Lucas García uses a map to brief journalists about leftist guerrilla locations in the highlands outside of Santa Cruz de Quiche, Guatemala, January 1, 1982. *Robert Nickelsberg / Getty Images.*

**U.S. Supports Guatemalan Military in Civil War (1980s):** Amid a civil war in Guatemala that had raged for decades following a CIA-supported coup in 1954, the United States lifted a five-year arms embargo in 1983 and supported the Guatemalan government of Efraín Ríos Montt. Within weeks, military abuses increased against the rebels, including members of the Catholic clergy and Indigenous communities. In 1999, Bill Clinton expressed regret over U.S. involvement in the war during which more than 200,000 people were killed.<sup>93</sup>

**The U.S.-Backed Guatemalan Government Targets Indigenous Communities During the Civil War:** The Guatemalan military, with training and weapons from the United States, used scorched-earth techniques to destroy Indigenous communities, forcing the Maya people to flee their land or be taken into violent military communities. An estimated 1.5 million people were displaced by the Guatemalan military’s scorched-earth techniques in 1981 and 1982. Implementation of reparations and human rights standards under the 1996 Peace Accords have been largely unsuccessful.<sup>94</sup>

**The U.S. Government Suspends Military Aid Program for the Guatemalan Army After American Is Killed (1990):** The United States stopped a \$3.3 million military aid program to the Guatemalan military in 1990 after an American innkeeper was killed by five Guatemalan soldiers. A ceasefire for the 36-year civil war was finally declared in 1996, and the U.S. government suspended training the Guatemalan military. It subsequently lifted the ban on military aid in 2005.<sup>95</sup>

**The U.S. Government Treats Salvadorans and Guatemalans as Economic Migrants Rather than as Refugees or Asylees (1980s):** The U.S. government viewed its policy toward Central American migrants as part of its overall strategy in the region and subsequently the United States denied complicity in Salvadoran atrocities. The U.S. government characterized fleeing Salvadorans and Guatemalans as “economic migrants,” and the Department of Justice and Immigration and Naturalization Service actively discouraged Salvadorans and Guatemalans from applying for asylum. Meanwhile, Salvadoran and Guatemalan arrivals were detained at the U.S.-Mexico border and pressured to agree to “voluntarily return” to their origin countries. Turning away these migrants without affording them an opportunity to receive legal advice or to be informed about applying for asylum was likely a violation of U.S. obligations under the 1951 United Nations Convention, given the widely reported human rights violations in El Salvador and Guatemala.<sup>96</sup>

**Indigenous Migrants Settle in United States (1980s):** Indigenous Oaxacans, such as Zapotecs and Mixtecs, began to increasingly settle in the United States, especially California, after the

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devaluation of the Mexican peso. Many Indigenous Guatemalans, such as the Maya, also went to California to flee Guatemala’s civil war during this period.<sup>97</sup>

**The U.S. Government Denies 98 Percent of Guatemalan Applicants for Asylum (1980s):** The number of Guatemalan immigrants—both authorized and unauthorized—rose from nearly 14,000 in 1977 to a peak of nearly 46,000 in 1989. Guatemalans comprised the highest number of asylum applicants in fiscal year 1992 with 42 percent of all applications. Throughout the 1980s, the U.S. government denied 98 percent of asylum petitions of Guatemalans and 97 percent of Salvadoran petitions.<sup>98</sup>



IMAGE DESCRIPTION: Contras fighters train with instructors of the American army.  
Photo by Jason Bleibtreu/Sygma/Sygma via Getty Images

**U.S. Supports Contra Rebels in Honduras (1982):** In 1982, the U.S. government began supporting about 6,000 Contra rebels based in Honduras in order to oust the leftist Sandinista government in Nicaragua. Under the leadership of School of Americas graduate General Gustavo Álvarez Martínez, the Honduran military was actively involved in the Contra conflict and disappeared Honduran leftists and dissenters. The United States established a “semipermanent” base in Honduras’s Soto Cano Air Force Base, also known as Palmerola Air Base, which remains today. In 1983, the CIA planted mines in Nicaraguan harbors without congressional approval in a bid to help the Contras. Congress subsequently cut off funding for the mining while the White House continued

to fund the Contras by selling weapons to post-revolutionary Iran. In 1986, the Iran-Contra scandal began when Nicaraguan troops captured a former U.S. Marine who was transporting military supplies into Nicaragua for the Contras.<sup>99</sup>

**The U.S. Government Extends Immigration Relief for Nicaraguans Impacted by the Sandinista Government (1987):** The U.S. Attorney General announced that about 200,000 Nicaraguans would be protected from deportation if they demonstrated “a well-founded fear of persecution” from the leftist Sandinista government.<sup>100</sup>

**U.S. Bans Travel to Cuba, Designates the Nation as a State Sponsor of Terrorism (1982):** The U.S. government banned U.S. citizens from traveling to Cuba in 1982. It also designated Cuba a state sponsor of terrorism for Cuba’s support of revolutionary movements in Africa and Latin America, even though there were already heavy economic sanctions in place.<sup>101</sup>

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IMAGE DESCRIPTION: Protest against US involvement in the Salvadoran Civil War in Chicago, Illinois, in March 1989. *Creative Commons*.

**Faith-Based Groups Engage in Sanctuary Movement in Support of Guatemalans and Salvadorans Seeking Refuge (1984):** A Presbyterian church and a Quaker meeting in Tucson, Arizona, began providing humanitarian assistance to undocumented Salvadoran and Guatemalan refugees in 1980. After none of the refugees they assisted received asylum, the Presbyterian church announced that they would provide sanctuary to Central Americans in 1982. The Department of Justice prosecuted two activists in Texas in 1984 and 16 U.S. and Mexican activists in Arizona in 1985. In the Arizona case, activists turned the publicity surrounding the trial into an indictment of the U.S. involvement in Central America and its treatment of the subsequent refugees. Of the eight of the activists that went to trial, all were convicted of smuggling or harboring unauthorized immigrants, but

none of them received jail time. Other religious congregations soon joined the movement and by 1985, more than 150 congregations publicly supported undocumented Salvadoran and Guatemalan refugees. They provided bail and legal representation, food, medical care, and employment. Legal service providers established national standards for the treatment of detained asylum seekers, and a settlement agreement in 1991 with the U.S. government in *American Baptist Churches (ABC) v. Thornburgh* included language that government decisions on asylum cases would not be influenced by foreign policy considerations.<sup>102</sup>

**Guatemalans and Salvadorans Seek Safety in the United States:** In the 1980s, nearly one million people fled civil war in El Salvador and Guatemala, making the trek through Mexico to the United States. However, the U.S. government approved fewer than three percent of their asylum cases, compared to 60 percent of Iranian cases and 40 percent of Afghan cases. In 1987, the U.S. government rejected Salvadoran President José Napoleón Duarte’s plea to not return undocumented Salvadoran nationals to El Salvador who argued that the Salvadoran economy relies on remittances.<sup>103</sup>

**Cities Take Action to Become Safe Spaces for People Regardless of Immigration Status:** A number of cities demonstrated that they were not immigration officials and enforcement of federal immigration law was not within their purview by becoming “sanctuary cities.” By and large, these ordinances, executive orders, and resolutions forbade local government officials, including law enforcement, from inquiring about the citizenship or immigration status of residents.<sup>104</sup>

**Cities and States Adopt Policies to Be Safe Spaces in the New Sanctuary Movement (2016):** Cities, counties, and states adopted policies to protect immigrants after the 2016 election as a reaction to federal policies that were hostile to immigrants. Ten states and more than 180 cities and counties had adopted sanctuary policies as of 2022.<sup>105</sup>

**Detention and Mistreatment of Salvadoran Minor Jenny Lisette Flores Leads to *Flores* Settlement (1985):** After fleeing El Salvador’s civil war, 15-year-old Flores was arrested near San Ysidro, California. She was detained for two months in a detention facility with adults she did not know and was subjected to regular strip searches. A class action filed on behalf of Flores and others led to the *Flores* Settlement



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years later in 1997, which established minimal standards by which the federal government must treat migrant children in detention. The federal government has challenged the settlement over the years.<sup>106</sup>



IMAGE DESCRIPTION: President Ronald Reagan in The Roosevelt Room Signing S. 1200 Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986. White House Photographic Collection.

**Congress Passes Immigration Reform & Control Act of 1986 (IRCA)** (1986): Also known as the Simpson-Mazzoli Act, this law, among other things, provided legal status to nearly three million undocumented immigrants, including 1.1 million undocumented farmworkers; established employer sanctions; and increased border security.<sup>107</sup>

**Paroled Cubans and Haitians Allowed to Adjust to Lawful Permanent Status:** An adjustment of status provision was included in IRCA that enabled Cuban-Haitian Entrants, those the U.S. government paroled in during the 1980 Mariel Boatlift, to become lawful permanent residents. This applied to any Cuban or Haitian national who the Immigration and Naturalization

Service recorded as having arrived in the United States before 1982 and who was not admitted as a nonimmigrant, unless that noncitizen had applied for asylum before 1982.<sup>108</sup>

**IRCA Does Not Protect Most Salvadoran and Guatemalan Arrivals:** Most Salvadoran and Guatemalan arrivals were excluded from IRCA and vulnerable to removal because the U.S. government refused to recognize the nearly one million Salvadorans and Guatemalans who had arrived in the 1980s as asylees. Therefore, they lacked immigration status. Additionally, only undocumented immigrants who arrived before 1982 were eligible for IRCA.<sup>109</sup>

**The United States Invades Panama in Operation Just Cause** (1989): In 1989, the United States invaded Panama and deposed Manuel Noriega, a former CIA informant recruited to assist in the struggle against communism. While there was no longer a communist threat following the collapse of the Soviet government, the U.S. government invoked the Monroe Doctrine to rationalize intervention in Panama to oust Noriega. Some 27,000 U.S. troops invaded Panama and bombed the community of El Chorrillo. At least 300 Panamanian soldiers and 214 non-combatants died during the invasion. In 2018, the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR) called on the U.S. government to pay reparations to the victims and families harmed in the course of the “Operation Just Cause” invasion and for engaging in multiple human rights violations.<sup>110</sup>

**U.S. Becomes Involved in Nicaragua’s Presidential Election** (1990): In 1990, the U.S.-backed center-right National Opposition Union defeated Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega and the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) in elections, and Violeta Chamorro became president. The Contra rebels consequently halted their insurgent activities, and the U.S. government lifted its trade embargo against Nicaragua. The Nicaraguan populace elected Daniel Ortega and the Sandinistas back to leadership in 2006 and for subsequent consecutive terms through the 2021 election.<sup>111</sup>

**Advocates Push for Temporary Protected Status (TPS) for Salvadorans** (1991): Under the *American Baptist Churches (ABC)* settlement agreement, Salvadorans (and Guatemalans, who also were fleeing a civil war) were able to remain in the United States after the U.S. government agreed to use discretionary measures to protect them from deportation. As a result of advocacy from community and faith-based

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organizations, Congress created Temporary Protected Status (TPS) in 1990, permitting nationals from designated nations to live and work in the United States because they are unable to return due to armed conflict, natural disaster, or other strife in their origin countries. While the U.S. government denied 98 percent of the asylum applications, it granted Temporary Protected Status (TPS) for Salvadorans—the first recipients—fleeing violence of the war. By 1992, 187,000 Salvadorans with TPS lived in the United States. In 2018, U.S. President Trump ended TPS for 200,000 Salvadorans living in the United States. U.S. President Biden subsequently extended TPS for immigrants from El Salvador (as well as Honduras, Nepal, and Nicaragua) in 2023.<sup>112</sup>



IMAGE DESCRIPTION: Soldiers of C Company, 2nd Battalion 22nd Infantry, 10th Mountain Division securing Port-au-Prince Airport. *Creative Commons*.

**A Military Coup Ousts Haitian President Jean Bertrand Aristide (1991-94):** A 1991 military coup ousted democratically elected Haitian President Jean-Bertrand Aristide. Coup leader Raoul Cédras’ reign led to disappearances, torture, rape, and massacres of civilians. The Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR) concluded that the coup led to the killing of more than 1,000 Haitians. An estimated 300,000 people were eventually displaced.<sup>113</sup>

**The U.S. Government Expects Other Nations to Receive Haitians Instead of Providing Haitians Asylum Itself:** The coup led thousands to flee Haiti on makeshift vessels. Although the United States and the Organization of American States considered the ouster of Aristide a coup, the White

House nevertheless lobbied for other nations in the region to support the Haitians fleeing the Cédras regime rather than considering them for asylum in the United States. The U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) arranged for Belize, Honduras, Trinidad and Tobago, and Venezuela to provide temporary safe haven for the Haitians interdicted by the U.S. Coast Guard, outsourcing or offshoring the processing of migrants away from mainland United States.<sup>114</sup>

**U.S.-Operated Migrant Operations Center (MOC) Detains Haitians in Guantánamo Bay (1991):** Before Guantánamo Bay held prisoners indefinitely as part of the United States’s “War on Terror,” the U.S. opened an immigrant detention facility at the naval base in Cuba for asylum seekers and refugees. In the early 1990s, following the military coup in Haiti in 1991, the United States staged refugees in Guantánamo Naval Base, escalating interdiction-at-sea practices from the 1980s and transitioning the U.S. Coast Guard’s mission from search-and-rescue to law enforcement operations. The U.S. government processed 37,000 Haitians who fled the Cédras regime in the first year—including 213 unaccompanied children—and eventually paroled into the United States nearly 10,500 Haitians. The U.S. government did not grant asylum, however, to the vast majority of Haitians that the government intercepted and detained in Guantánamo and instead returned them to Haiti. The facility housed asylum seekers and refugees in appalling conditions, leading them to engage in a weeks-long hunger strike. Then-U.S. Attorney General William Barr oversaw the detention of 12,000 Haitians over the course of two years. The U.S. government last used the facility for this purpose in 2017 but considered reopening the facility in 2021.<sup>115</sup>

**U.S. Singles Out HIV-Positive Individuals in Detention:** Some of the detained individuals were HIV positive or had AIDS. The United States had banned HIV-positive foreign nationals from entering the United States in 1987, using public health as an immigration enforcement tactic, but a federal court noted that enforcement of this ban applied only to Haitian asylum seekers.

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Individuals who were HIV-positive were separated from other detained migrants and processed differently, such as being denied access to counsel. Women received birth control without their knowledge, and AIDS-infected patients did not receive critical medical care. One scholar called this “the carceral quarantine of Haitians for medical reasons.” Some of the Immigration and Naturalization Service and military staff told the individuals who were incarcerated that they could be in Guantánamo for decades “or until a cure for AIDS is found.” This was the first and only detention camp for migrants with HIV. A federal court eventually ruled that these detained individuals were entitled to constitutional protections, including the right to due process.<sup>116</sup>

**President Bush Enacts Executive Order to Enforce Interdiction of Illegal Aliens (1992):** U.S. President George H. W. Bush directed the Secretary of Transportation to issue instructions to the Coast Guard to enforce the suspension of entry of irregular migrants into the United States by sea and to interdict the vessels transporting them. Unlike Executive Order 12324, this policy did not require migrants interdicted at sea to be screened for asylum claims. The United States offered those who repatriated the option of in-country refugee processing. The policy survived legal challenges, with the Supreme Court finding that domestic and international law did not apply to migrants interdicted at sea and repatriating migrants—in this case Haitians—was permissible. Under a new administration in 1994 and in response to intense political pressure, the U.S. government began to screen Haitians’ claims for asylum on Coast Guard ships until on-ship processing was overwhelmed.<sup>117</sup>

**U.S. Military Launches Operation Restore Democracy to Depose Haitian Military Regime (1994):** Originally named Operation Uphold Democracy, U.S. troops led a multinational force in September 1994, ousting the military regime led by Raoul Cédras. Aristide returned to power in October 1994, after which the rate of Haitian emigration slowed, and the U.S. government began deporting thousands of people back to Haiti without screening them for asylum claims. However, the United States forced Haiti to lower tariffs, enabling U.S. crops to enter the Haitian market and adversely affecting Haitian farmers. Additionally, Haiti had to privatize its nationalized sectors, and Haiti became bound to the International Monetary Fund structural adjustment program.<sup>118</sup>

**Detained Cubans from Mariel Boatlift Refuse to Return to Cuba, Leading to the Talladega Uprising (1991):** In December 1984, 2,746 Cubans who came to the United States in 1980 as part of the Mariel Boatlift were on a secret list of those ineligible for legal admission to the United States, including men indefinitely detained at Talladega Federal Correctional Institution in Alabama. They had languished in federal prison without due process or any constitutional rights and were not charged with a crime. In 1991, a handful of men detained at Talladega overpowered a guard, took his keys, and began releasing other detained individuals. This was after they learned that they would be flown back to Cuba the next day. 119 detained individuals had been released from their cells, and they held 10 hostages (seven Bureau of Prisons guards and three Immigration and Naturalization Service employees). The uprising lasted two weeks. They demanded to speak to a member of the press, Cynthia Corzo of *El Nuevo Herald*, and that the deportation flights stop. The men were eventually deported or their whereabouts are unknown.<sup>119</sup>

**The U.S. Government Imposes More Economic Pressure on Cuba (1992):** Designed to “wreak havoc on the island,” the Cuban Democracy Act prevented foreign-based subsidiaries of U.S. businesses from trading with Cuba, U.S. citizens from traveling to Cuba, and families from transferring funds to Cuba. Many believe the act violated international law, with several nations protesting the extraterritorial provisions of the act, such as the European Commission. Four years later, in response to Cuba shooting down two U.S. civilian airplanes, Congress passed the Cuban Liberty Act, which provided that Cuban



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Americans could sue non-U.S. firms in U.S. courts for benefiting from property the Cuban government had taken from them.<sup>120</sup>

**Migration to the United States Increases Immediately After the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) Goes Into Effect (1994):** NAFTA reduced barriers to trade between the United States, Canada, and Mexico, including tariffs on products and other obstacles. While some argued that the agreement among the three North American countries would help Mexico’s economy and slow the rate of migration, the Mexican economy instead became weaker and migratory flows increased. The United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement (USMCA) updated NAFTA in 2020, including provisions for stronger worker protections.<sup>121</sup>

**U.S. Abruptly Shifts Policies for Admitting Cuban Migrants and Refugees (1994):** After the economic situation in Cuba worsened due to the fall of communism in 1989 and the tightening of the U.S. embargo in 1992, people fled from Cuba to the United States, including migrant rafters, or *balseros*, who tried to make their way to Florida on makeshift crafts. The U.S. government abruptly shifted policy in 1994 and ordered Cubans found at sea to be sent to Guantánamo Bay in Operation Sea Signal. In 1994 the United States agreed to admit 20,000 Cubans annually, excluding immediate relatives of U.S. citizens, in return for Cuba halting the exodus of refugees. The following year, the nations agreed that all rafters departing Cuba would be returned to Cuba.<sup>122</sup>

**Operation Sea Signal Interdicts Cubans and Haitians (1994):** The United States processed both Haitian and Cuban refugees intercepted under Operation Sea Signal at Guantánamo Bay. Some 21,000 Haitians and more than 3,000 Cubans were detained at any given time. In 1994, the U.S. Coast Guard interdicted more than 32,000 Cubans who were traveling by boat and took them to Guantánamo Bay—where there were already 15,000 Haitians detained at the base. The U.S. Navy and Marines coordinated the detention conditions at the base. While the majority of the Cubans who made it to Guantánamo were eventually resettled in the United States, the U.S. government invaded Haiti to restore Jean-Bertrand Aristide to power as part of Operation Restore Democracy and subsequently repatriated 20,000 Haitians. The United States agreed to admit 20,000 Cubans per year in exchange for Cuba halting its emigration.<sup>123</sup>

**The U.S. Enacts Wet Foot, Dry Foot Policy for Cuban Migrants Who Made Landfall on U.S. Soil (1995):** This policy granted Cubans who reached U.S. soil the right to stay and a fast track to citizenship—a privilege not afforded to other immigrants who came without a visa. Cubans who were caught at sea by the U.S. Coast Guard, however, were turned away from the United States. This bilateral accord allowed the more than 30,000 Cubans detained at Guantánamo to enter the United States on parole status. This policy ended in 2017, which meant that for the first time, there were undocumented Cubans. However, the policy of granting 20,000 visas annually to Cubans remained in effect, a relatively large number for a nation of 11 million people.<sup>124</sup>

**Operation Able Response Leads to Interdiction of More Than 9,500 Dominicans (1995-97):** Dominican President and Rafael Trujillo protégé Joaquín Balaguer was reelected president in 1990 and 1994 amid allegations of fraud. In the mid-1990s, the U.S. Coast Guard interdicted more than 9,500 Dominican migrants. While there was no formal repatriation agreement with the Dominican Republic, the Dominican Republic allowed repatriation of Dominicans.<sup>125</sup>

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## 1996–Present

### Enforcement and Externalization of Borders



IMAGE DESCRIPTION: Border Patrol agents process a group of 15 Central Americans and Mexicans who crossed the Rio Grande River without authorization to enter the U.S. Photo by Vic Hinterlang, Shutterstock.

**Series of Multilateral Operations Target Irregular Migration (1996):** The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) District Office in Mexico City, under Operation Disrupt, targeted migration activities in the Dominican Republic, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Honduras, and Canada to apprehend migrants in these countries before they reached the U.S.-Mexico border.<sup>126</sup>

**Operation Forerunner Becomes “Largest Anti-Smuggling Operation” (2000):** This program covered six nations in Latin America and interdicted 3,500 migrants trying to migrate to the United States. Forerunner was the eighth such operation since 1995 and the “largest anti-smuggling operation ever

conducted in the Western Hemisphere.” The U.S. Catholic Conference of Bishops (USCCB) criticized the operation for resulting in migrants being targeted more than the persons who transported them, resulting in many being placed in substandard U.S.-funded detention facilities without counsel or the opportunity to apply for asylum.<sup>127</sup>

**Operation Crossroads International Involves Migrant Interdictions From 39 Countries (2001):** This program resulted in the interdiction of 8,000 migrants from 39 countries. Directed from INS’s Mexico City District Office, law enforcement officers in Colombia, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Jamaica, Mexico, Panama, and Peru were all involved.<sup>128</sup>

**Operation Global Reach Extends Enforcement Efforts Overseas:** These operations were part of a larger initiative, Global Reach, where six nations collaborated with the United States starting in 1997, bolstering INS’s presence overseas. INS established 40 overseas offices with 150 U.S. positions to provide a permanent presence of immigration officers overseas. They trained more than 45,000 foreign officials and airline personnel on fraudulent document detection and tested various methods of deterring irregular migration in origin and transit countries. U.S. agencies collaborated with Greece, Spain, India, Turkey, Thailand, China, Vietnam, and others. The operation had the greatest impact in Latin America.<sup>129</sup>

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IMAGE DESCRIPTION: Bill Clinton signs the IIRIRA. Shutterstock.

**Congress Passes Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA) (1996):** This act, among other things, ramped up border enforcement, created an expedited deportation process, required immigrants to be detained during immigration proceedings, and expanded the list of crimes for which a person could be deported. In 2008, through the Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act, Congress provided that most minors apprehended by Border Patrol should be entitled to a full hearing in front of an immigration judge.<sup>130</sup>

**U.S. Marine Kills American Sophomore at the U.S.-Mexico Border (1997):** A camouflage-clad U.S. Marine shot and killed U.S. citizen Esequiel Hernandez, Jr., a high school sophomore who had turned 18 years old less than a week earlier, while he was herding goats near Big

Bend National Park in West Texas, near the southwest border with Mexico. The Marines were assisting the Border Patrol as part of an anti-drug surveillance team. Two months later, the federal government suspended anti-drug military operations on the border.<sup>131</sup>

**Beneficiaries of the Nicaraguan and Central American Relief Act (NACARA) Are Largely Nicaraguans and Cubans (1997):** This act permitted certain Nicaraguans and Cubans to obtain lawful permanent resident status—a path to legalization. Meanwhile, it merely protected Guatemalan, Salvadoran, and migrants from Soviet bloc countries from deportation, halting the deportations and canceling their removals. This law allowed certain registered asylum seekers, mostly Nicaraguans and some Cubans, to obtain legal status. As part of the *American Baptist Churches (ABC)* settlement, and partially to address the harsh impact of the 1996 IIRIRA law, this law provided that Salvadorans and Guatemalans would be able to adjust to lawful permanent residency status. After that year, asylum was rarely granted for migrants from those countries.<sup>132</sup>

**Flores Settlement Provides Certain Protections for Migrant Children (1997):** This court settlement agreement applied to the Immigration and Naturalization Service, which governed the treatment of migrant children. The government agreed to hold children in the “least restrictive” setting possible. In 2015, the U.S. government unsuccessfully sought to carve out an exception for minors arriving in the United States with their parents.<sup>133</sup>

**U.S. Deems Cuba As No Longer a Threat (1998):** The Pentagon decided Cuba was no longer a significant threat to the United States and urged dialogue with Cuban officials in 1998. The following year, 11 Cuban refugees died after their boat capsized in the Caribbean, and five-year-old Elián Gonzalez made headlines as the sole survivor. In 2001, Cuban officials offered to compensate Cuban Americans for properties seized during the revolution, but the U.S. government rejected the proposal. In 2002, the Treasury Department granted licenses for Cuban travel, and roughly 2,000 Americans made the trip.<sup>134</sup>

**Haitian Refugee Immigration Fairness Act (HRIFA) Provides Pathway for Haitians (1998):** The U.S. government had granted Haitians Deferred Enforced Departure (DED)—temporary protection from deportation at the president’s discretion—at the end of 1997. Subsequently, and in response to criticism that the Nicaraguan and Central American Relief Act (NACARA) failed to support Haitians, the act granted Haitians who applied for asylum before the end of 1995 with lawful permanent residency status. More than 20,000 individuals were able to adjust their status as a result.<sup>135</sup>



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**Hurricane Mitch Devastates Central America (1998):** This Category 1 hurricane led to heavy rain and severe flooding in Honduras, Nicaragua, Guatemala, and El Salvador. It was the deadliest storm in the hemisphere since 1780, killing more than 11,000 people. Severe property and crop damage was estimated over \$5 billion, and millions of people became homeless. In particular, the hurricane devastated Honduras, killing more than 5,000 people, injuring about 12,000, and destroying 70 percent of crops. Mitch also killed more than 3,000 people in Nicaragua. The storm is considered to be one of the first caused by climate change to adversely affect the “dry corridor,” a region stretching from southern Mexico to northern Costa Rica. Within months the U.S. and Mexican governments reported record numbers of apprehensions of Hondurans. In 1999, the U.S. government designated Temporary Protected Status (TPS) for immigrants from Honduras and Nicaragua following the damage. The U.S. Attorney General also halted deportation for Salvadorans and Guatemalans.<sup>136</sup>

**U.S. Pours Billions into 'Plan Colombia' Anti-Drug Campaign (1999):** As part of the “war on drugs,” the U.S. government signed and executed Plan Colombia: an \$8 billion project to reduce the production and trafficking of cocaine in Colombia, including the eradication of coca fields and the interception of drug smugglers. This involved training Colombia’s police and military on strategies for ending Colombia’s drug trade. However, years later, cocaine production continues. Nearly half a million people have died, tens of thousands have gone missing, and millions have been displaced because of the drug trade and subsequent enforcement efforts.<sup>137</sup>



IMAGE DESCRIPTION: Coast Guard interdicts 36 migrants from Haiti and the Dominican Republic...U.S. Coast Guard.

**The U.S. Government Repatriates Hundreds of Haitians and Dominicans (1999):** In 1999, the U.S. Coast Guard interdicted a boat carrying hundreds of Haitians from the Florida coast without conducting any interviews and assessing potential claims for asylum. Coast Guard vessels took on the passengers and returned them to Haiti. Despite protests from activists against the disparate treatment Haitians received compared to Cubans seeking to come to the United States, the news of the rescue of five-year-old Cuban Elián Gonzalez overshadowed their protests. That year, the Coast Guard encountered 363 Haitians and 406 Dominicans.<sup>138</sup>



IMAGE DESCRIPTION: Elián González with his father and family members that was taken a few hours after their reunion at Andrews Air Force Base on April 22nd, 2000. *Public domain.*

**U.S. Extends Temporary Protected Status to Salvadorans Following Seismic Activity (2001):** Following a series of hurricanes and tropical storms, heavy rains and flooding, volcanic and seismic activity, a fungus disease epidemic, and regional drought, the United States extended Temporary Protected Status (TPS) for immigrants from El Salvador.<sup>139</sup>

**U.S. Government Secretly Detains Haitian Asylum Seekers in Florida (2001):** The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) secretly detained Haitians, including those arriving at airports, with plausible asylum claims while all others were sent

back to Haiti. This policy applied only to Haitians arriving in South Florida and departed from INS’s policy of releasing asylum seekers to relatives or sponsors while they pursued their claims in immigration court. INS instituted the policy in December 2001, and by May of the following year, officials had detained nearly 300 Haitians. The release rate of Haitians dropped from 96 percent in November 2001 to six percent in March 2002. The U.S. government acknowledged that it had instructed field operations to

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“adjust parole criteria with respect to all inadmissible Haitians arriving in South Florida after December 3, 2001.”<sup>140</sup>

**Senior U.S. Government Officials Are Linked to Failed Coup in Venezuela (2002):** Senior officials in the U.S. government were linked to the attempted coup and ouster of Venezuelan President Hugo Chávez in 2002. Nicolás Maduro succeeded Chávez as president following the latter’s death in 2013 and severe economic and political instability led more than three million people—10 percent of the population—to leave Venezuela. The U.S. government imposed sanctions against Venezuelan officials in 2015, and then further tightened those restrictions two years later, the latest in a series of sanctions since 2006. By 2022, more than seven million Venezuelans, nearly a quarter of the population, had fled the country.<sup>141</sup>

**The U.S. and French Governments Work to Depose Haitian President Jean Bertrand Aristide (2004):** After Jean-Bertrand Aristide took office again in 2001, he demanded in 2003 that France pay restitution for the reparations France forced Haiti to pay in 1825. Shortly thereafter, the French and U.S. governments worked together to depose Aristide. The U.S. government asked for Aristide’s resignation amidst a rebellion in 2004 and transported the exiled president to the Central African Republic aboard a U.S. military plane.<sup>142</sup>

**The U.S. Government Typically Detains and Processes Haitians for Removal:** While the United States declared the illegitimacy of the military government that replaced Aristide, the U.S. government refused to accept asylum seekers from Haiti, even though the human rights atrocities after the coup were well-documented.<sup>143</sup>

**U.S. Coast Guard Denies Credible Fear Interviews for Haitians Interdicted at Sea (2004):** The U.S. Coast Guard did not provide credible fear interviews to Haitian migrants they encountered at sea unless they affirmatively sought them. However, the U.S. Coast Guard asked Cubans if they feared returning to Cuba.<sup>144</sup>

**Hurricane Stan’s Rains Are the Heaviest in Four Years Resulting in Hundreds of Deaths in Guatemala (2005):** In 2005, Hurricane Stan severely impacted El Salvador, Guatemala, Nicaragua, and Mexico. Guatemala experienced severe flooding and over 900 mudslides resulting in nearly 700 deaths and more than 70,000 made homeless by the storm. El Salvador also experienced volcanic eruptions, leading to more than 65,000 people displaced in total. Guatemala requested the United States designate the nation for Temporary Protected Status, but the request was denied.<sup>145</sup>

**U.S. Coast Guard Interdicts Thousands of Haitians and Cubans at Sea (2007-10):** The Coast Guard interdicted nearly 5,000 Haitians and 6,000 Cubans in three years.<sup>146</sup>

**Cuban Family Reunification Parole Program (CFRP) Permits Certain Family Members to Enter the United States Without Waiting for their Immigrant Visas to be Granted (2007):** This program allowed certain eligible U.S. citizens and lawful permanent residents to apply for parole for their family members in Cuba. If approved, the family members were paroled into the United States, and they could apply for work authorization while they waited for their immigrant visas to become available. The program ended after the Embassy in Havana closed in 2017, but the U.S. government announced in 2022 that it would restore the program.<sup>147</sup>

**The U.S. Government Launches the Mérida Initiative (2008):** Partly modeled on Plan Colombia, the U.S. government provided training, resources, and information to security forces to clamp down on the drug

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trade in Mexico and Central America as part of the Mérida Initiative. It expanded in 2011 through a separate program called the Central American Regional Security Initiative (CARSI). As U.S.-funded security assistance increased to the region, several countries saw a rise in violent crime. The Mérida Initiative did not mitigate violence or the flow of migrants, with homicide rates increasing in Honduras and Guatemala and children and youth from both nations entering the United States in large numbers in 2013 and 2014.<sup>148</sup>

**School of the Americas Graduate Leads Coup in Honduras (2009):** Romeo Vásquez Velásquez, a graduate of the U.S. Army’s School of the Americas—modern-day Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation, led a military coup against Honduran President Manuel Zelaya. Zelaya had announced intentions to hold a referendum to replace the 1982 constitution written during the U.S.-backed reign of Policarpo Paz García. Although he was democratically elected, the United States backed new elections rather than returning him to the presidency.<sup>149</sup>

**State and Interpersonal Violence Follow the Coup:** Since Zelaya was deposed, the Honduran government has expanded the military’s police powers, and security forces have been implicated in the killing of protestors and human rights defenders, such as Indigenous environmental leader and anti-coup resistance leader Berta Cáceras in 2016. Murder rates have also skyrocketed, leading the nation to have the highest homicide rate worldwide. Although 50 percent of U.S. aid to Honduras is contingent upon meeting certain human rights criteria, the U.S. State Department rubber-stamped Honduran compliance with these conditions and provided \$55 million in contingent funding to the country in 2016.<sup>150</sup>

**Turmoil from the Coup Leads to Migration from Honduras:** The political turmoil from the coup and subsequent military-imposed leadership contributed to migration flow from Honduras to the United States. Nearly one-third of unaccompanied minors identified by U.S. Border Patrol in 2014 were from Honduras.<sup>151</sup>



IMAGE DESCRIPTION: Deadly mudslide in San Miguel Escobar caused by Tropical Storm Agatha. *Creative Commons*.

**Tropical Storm Agatha Impacts Central America (2010):** Tropical Storm Agatha struck Guatemala, El Salvador, and Honduras, destroying thousands of homes. The storm claimed more than 150 Guatemalan lives and led to a sinkhole that swallowed a three-story building in Guatemala City. The Guatemalan president requested that the nation be designated for Temporary Protected Status by the United States but was denied.<sup>152</sup>



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IMAGE DESCRIPTION: Damaged buildings in Port-au-Prince after the 2010 earthquake in Haiti. *Creative Commons.*

**The Worst Earthquake in Centuries Hits Haiti (2010):** A 7.0 earthquake—the worst in 200 years—in Haiti killed 300,000. In total, the earthquake affected three million people. 1.5 million people were initially displaced, 250,000 of whom subsequently left the country and settled in Chile or Brazil.<sup>153</sup>

**Cholera Outbreak Worsens the Crisis After the Earthquake:** That year, international U.N. peacekeepers brought cholera to Haiti for the first time in nearly a century. By 2020, the cholera outbreak had killed nearly 10,000 people.<sup>154</sup>

#### **U.S. Designates Haiti for Temporary Protected Status:**

The U.S. designated Temporary Protected Status (TPS) for Haiti following the 2010 earthquake, allowing those who were already present in the United States to remain but warning that other Haitians should not follow.<sup>155</sup>

**Allegations of U.S. Interference with Haitian Election:** Allegations surfaced that the U.S. State Department had interfered with the 2010 presidential elections. The Organization of American States (OAS) analyzed the election results and recommended changing the official results by removing René Garcia Préval’s chosen successor from the race and including Michel Martelly in a run-off election. After the United States threatened to withhold foreign aid, the Haitian government followed the OAS recommendations, which led to Martelly becoming president.<sup>156</sup>

**Advocates Argue Against Deportation of Dozens to Haiti:** In 2011, Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) deported 27 Haitians, the majority of whom had criminal convictions. However, advocates argued that 1.3 million Haitians remained displaced as a result of the 2010 earthquake and that forced repatriation would fuel political turmoil on the island, while deportation would endanger the lives of deportees because Haitian jails were riddled with cholera.<sup>157</sup>

**Storms Subsequently Devastate Haiti:** Hurricane Sandy in 2012 and Hurricane Matthew in 2016, which was the strongest storm in the country in 50 years, both devastated Haiti. Hurricane Matthew killed hundreds and destroyed thousands of homes. The storm affected more than one million people, with 350,000 needing immediate assistance. It also destroyed crops and food reserves, and 80 percent of the buildings in the city of Jeremie were destroyed, including 30,000 homes.<sup>158</sup>

**Haitian Economy Relies on Remittances from Diaspora:** In 2018, Haitian expatriates sent \$3 billion in remittances to Haiti, accounting for almost one-third of the nation’s GDP. By 2019, the \$3.3 billion sent to Haiti in remittances accounted for 37 percent of the nation’s GDP, a larger share than every country except Tonga. During the pandemic, remittances to the nation increased 14 percent in 2020 compared to the previous year, outpacing the average 6 percent average growth in the Western Hemisphere. Haiti’s economy has become among the most dependent on remittances in the hemisphere.<sup>159</sup>

**U.S. Government Spends Nearly 60 Times More on Enforcement than on Adjudication of Immigration Claims (2012):** The U.S. government spent nearly 60 times more on immigration enforcement (\$18 billion)

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than on immigration courts (\$310 million) in the 2012 fiscal year. The \$18 billion that the federal government spent on immigration enforcement was more than its spending on all other federal law enforcement combined.<sup>160</sup>

**7.4-Magnitude Earthquake Devastates Guatemala (2012):** In 2012, a 7.4-magnitude earthquake damaged more than 10,000 homes in Guatemala and killed more than 40 people. Despite the series of storms and environmental events that have impacted the nation, the United States has never designated Guatemala for Temporary Protected Status (TPS) despite requests in 2005, 2008, 2010, 2013, 2018, and 2020.<sup>161</sup>

**U.S. Political Parties Divided on Explicit Reliance on the Monroe Doctrine Policy (2013):** In 2013, the Secretary of State under U.S. President Barack Obama stated that “the era of the Monroe Doctrine is over.” However, in 2019, the national security advisor under U.S. President Donald Trump declared that the “Monroe Doctrine is alive and well.”<sup>162</sup>



IMAGE DESCRIPTION: Migrants walk alongside the railroad tracks after dismounting from the ‘La Bestia’ train, which they rode through Mexico to reach the Mexico-U.S. border - Chihuahua, Mexico. Photo by David Peinado Romero, Shutterstock.

**Child Migration Escalates in 2014 (2014):** By the end of September 2014, the number of unaccompanied children apprehended at the U.S.-Mexico border totaled more than 68,500, representing a 77 percent increase compared to the previous fiscal year. Federal authorities also apprehended nearly as many family units (children with parents) in fiscal year 2014, three times the amount the previous year. This was due to a combination of increased violent conditions in El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras; economic insecurity; and opportunities to reunify with family in the United States.<sup>163</sup>

**Central American Minors Refugee and Parole Program (CAM) Provides In-Country Processing for Children (2014):** First announced in 2013, the program provided an

opportunity for Guatemalan, Honduran, or Salvadoran minors who had family with legal status in the United States to apply for reunification and protective status in the United States while in their origin country. As with other parole programs, it provided beneficiaries with temporary status in the United States, and legislation was still needed to provide them a pathway to lawful permanent residency status. The U.S. government ended the program in 2017, and a subsequent lawsuit led to an agreement that the government would reopen applications that were in the final stages of processing. The federal government restarted the program in 2021.<sup>164</sup>

**U.S. Externalizes the Border Through Mexico’s Southern Border Program (*Programa Frontera Sur* (PFS)) (2014):** Launched in mid-2014, the program’s stated objectives were to protect migrants who enter Mexico and to manage the ports of entry in a way that promotes the security and prosperity of the region. However, some scholars say the program “ended up being merely a program to contain in-transit, undocumented migrants, from a security standpoint.” Mexican authorities held migrants in a detention center in Tapachula, the largest migrant detention facility in Latin America. Three years into the program, it was found that migrants, including asylum seekers, who intended to stay in Mexico rather than travel to the United States had increased 311 percent in the first two years. Additionally, Mexico’s enforcement remained high even though there were decreased flows through Mexico in early 2017, and there were high rates of crimes and abuses against migrants traveling through Mexico. The U.S. government sent \$88 million to increase Mexico’s capacity to collect migrants’ biometric information and \$75 million to

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improve Mexico’s communications between its agencies in the nation’s southern border zone (though at lower levels than expected). The number of children and families fleeing the violence of the Northern Triangle sharply increased. By 2018, Mexico had apprehended more than 700,000 migrants traveling through the country, and the government checkpoints and patrols have increased the danger to migrants.<sup>165</sup>



IMAGE DESCRIPTION: Photo provided by Custom and Border Protection to reporter on tour of detention facility in McAllen, Texas. *Public Domain.*

**U.S. Resumes Immigrant Family Detention (2014):** After temporarily ending family detention in 2009, the U.S. government resumed family detention after there was an increase in migrant unaccompanied minors and women and children family units from Central America. Though the U.S. government asserted in 2014 that the apprehended families would be subject to deportation, U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Service (USCIS) found that nearly 90 percent of women and children detained in the three family detention centers met the minimum threshold to seek asylum in the United States. Hundreds were detained for months.<sup>166</sup>

**Berks County Residential Center (2001):** The 95-bed facility in Pennsylvania was converted into a detention center from a nursing home. The county received \$1.3 million annually from Immigration and Customs Enforcement to operate the facility. In 2016, a guard pled guilty to institutional sexual assault after repeatedly sexually assaulting a woman at the facility; she reached a \$75,000 settlement with the county days before the trial. While the facility has not permanently closed, the last family was released from Berks in spring 2021. The facility reopened in 2022 to incarcerate only adult women.<sup>167</sup>

**Karnes County Residential Center (2012):** The U.S. government opened this facility to expand its detention capacity for families. It briefly stopped holding families in Spring 2019, only to announce that it would resume exclusively detaining families in the fall. In 2021, there were reports that asylum-seeking families would be held at Dilley and Karnes long enough to administer COVID-19 tests and health screenings and to arrange for shelter and transportation. The U.S. government will no longer conduct asylum credible fear interviews inside Dilley or Karnes.<sup>168</sup>

**South Texas Family Residential Center (2014):** Also known as Dilly, this was the largest of the three facilities that detained women and children. Operated by Corrections Corporation of America (now known as CoreCivic), it had the capacity to detain 2,400 people. The last of the detained families were removed or released in 2021, and the facility shifted its focus to single adults. The Department of Homeland Security has now begun keeping track of migrant families through ankle monitors and other tracking technology.<sup>169</sup>

**Haitian Family Reunification Parole Program (HFRP) Facilitates Family Reunification (2014):** This program permitted certain U.S. citizens and lawful permanent residents to apply for parole for their family members in Haiti. This was created partly in response to the devastating 2010 earthquake.<sup>170</sup>

**U.S. Removes Cuba from Terrorism List (2015):** In 2015, the United States and Cuba agreed to restore ties, leading the U.S. State Department to remove Cuba from its list of state sponsors of terrorism. Later that year, the two nations formally resumed diplomatic relations and opened embassies.<sup>171</sup>



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**U.S. Customs and Border Protection Turns Back Asylum Seekers (2016):** In 2016, U.S. Customs and Border Protection (CBP) started “metering” primarily Haitian asylum seekers at the San Ysidro port of entry at the U.S.-Mexico border. After a brief decline in the number of asylum seekers in 2017, the U.S. government expanded the practice to all ports of entry along the U.S.-Mexico border in 2018. This process would become known as “asylum turnbacks.” In practice, CBP stopped asylum seekers from reaching U.S. Customs or limited the number of people who could access asylum on a daily basis at land ports of entry. The Strauss Center estimated that more than 21,000 individuals were waiting in border cities across northern Mexico by fall 2019.<sup>172</sup>

**Cuban Immigrants No Longer Able Enter United States Without a Visa (2017):** The United States ended its 20-year policy of granting Cuban immigrants the right to remain in the United States without a visa. Cuba subsequently agreed to accept Cubans who were turned away or deported from the United States.<sup>173</sup>

**Federal Penalties for Sanctuary Policies (2017):** U.S. President Donald Trump signed an executive order seeking to withdraw federal funds from any jurisdiction that indicated they would not assist Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) in identifying and arresting immigrants without legal documents. ICE also targeted these jurisdictions with “raids, employment audits, fines on immigrants, and a ban on New Yorkers participating in ‘trusted traveler’ programs.” At least five states and more than 600 cities and counties had “sanctuary” policies at the time of the executive order. Nearly all the courts that reviewed the issue blocked the administration’s denial of federal funds to these cities. The administration appealed to the Supreme Court, and the Court dismissed the case at the request of the new administration in 2021. Also in 2021, the executive order was rescinded, and the U.S. Attorney General issued a memo ordering the Department of Justice to resume grants that were denied under the previous policy.<sup>174</sup>

**U.S. Government Reinstates of Cuba-Related Travel and Business Restrictions (2017):** In 2017, the U.S. government reinstated restrictions on Americans traveling to Cuba and certain U.S. business dealings, but the policy left in place new direct flights from the United States, cruise ship routes, and hotel ventures. The administration removed most of the staff from the U.S. embassy in Havana due to mysterious illnesses among diplomats, which stopped the processing of almost all visa and parole applications. Cubans were directed to travel to Guyana for their visa interviews, but many could not afford to do that. The following year, the United States announced sanctions and made additional restrictions on travel to Cuba.<sup>175</sup>

**U.S. Government Temporarily Terminates Temporary Protected Status (2017):** In 2018, U.S. President Donald Trump referred to Haiti, El Salvador, and various African countries as “shithole countries.” The Department of Homeland Security (DHS) terminated the Temporary Protected Status (TPS) designations for Sudan, Haiti, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Nepal and Honduras around the time of this statement. The U.S. government announced the end of TPS for Liberians and people from Nepal as well. Advocates filed a number of lawsuits on behalf of TPS holders. Between January and October 2021, after a change in presidential administration, DHS reversed course and added Myanmar (Burma) and Venezuela to the TPS list. Benefits were extended into 2022 and beyond to eligible immigrants from El Salvador, Haiti, Honduras, Nepal, Nicaragua, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan, Syria, and Yemen. The total number of beneficiaries from all 12 countries was estimated to be at least 700,000 immigrants.<sup>176</sup>

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IMAGE DESCRIPTION: Seven-year-old Jakelin Caal died from a bacterial infection while detained by Customs and Border Control in December, 2018. Photo: Annunciation House.

### Deaths of Indigenous Migrants on the Rise in U.S. Detention Facilities

(2018): Between December 2018 and mid-2019, six minors between the ages of 6 and 16 died in U.S. detention facilities, with five from Guatemala and one from El Salvador. Seven-year-old Jakelin Amei Rosmery Caal Maquin was Maya Q’eqchi’ from Guatemala, and she died from a bacterial infection in 2018 while detained by Customs and Border Protection in El Paso, TX. Eight-year-old Felipe Gomez Alonzo was Maya Chuj from Guatemala, and he also died in 2018 from complications of the flu and a bacterial infection while in CBP custody in El Paso. A 16-year-old named Carlos Gregorio Hernández Vásquez was the fifth child to die in six months while in U.S. custody one day after being diagnosed with influenza A; he was from a remote village in Guatemala home to Indigenous Maya Achi. A 16-year-old and a two-year-old—both from the Maya Ch’orti’l region of Guatemala—also died in Spring 2019. Almost all migrants were interviewed in Spanish,

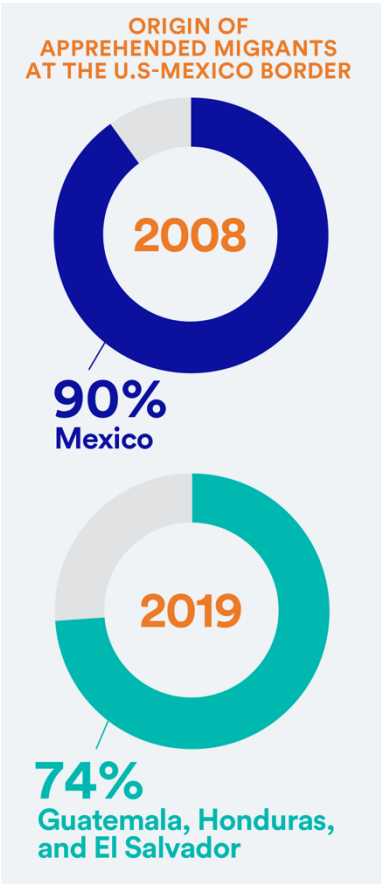
restricting access for Indigenous parents who spoke little or no Spanish to defend their stories or to protect their children. Additionally, in 2018 Border Patrol agent shot and killed unarmed 20-year-old Claudia Patricia Gómez González, who was Maya Mam from Guatemala; the family finally received answers six years later in 2024, when it was revealed U.S. Border Patrol Agent Romualdo Barrera shot her less than 12 inches from the back of her skull. Barrera had been allowed to return to work five days after the shooting with the district attorney declining to prosecute him.<sup>177</sup>

**Nations Split Over Recognition of Venezuela’s Leadership** (2019): After Nicolás Maduro was reelected to the Venezuelan presidency in a 2018 process that was widely dismissed as unfair, opposition leader Juan Guaidó declared himself “interim president” in January 2019. The United States and more than 50 other countries recognized Guaidó as the new leader while Russia, China, and Venezuela’s military recognized Maduro, who maintained power.<sup>178</sup>

**Migrant Protection Protocol Turns Away Asylum Seekers** (2019): Known as MPP or Remain in Mexico, this program turned certain asylum seekers back to Mexico while their cases were pending in immigration court. The policy created a population of sprawling migrant camps on the Mexican side of the border, and there were subsequently a number of kidnappings, rapes, and assaults of migrants who were waiting there for their asylum hearings. More than 71,000 non-Mexican asylum seekers had to stay in Mexico, and ultimately the U.S. government only granted asylum to one percent of those individuals. The U.S. government eventually announced the end of program in 2022.<sup>179</sup>

**U.S. Government Pressures Mexico to Stop Flow of Migrants** (2019): The United States threatened Mexico with tariffs if the latter failed to stop the northward flow of migrants entering through its southern border. In response, Mexico stopped issuing exit permits, blocking hundreds of African and Haitian migrants from leaving southern Mexico. Mexico subsequently resumed issuing exit permits with the requirement that migrants leave the country through the southern border and return to Guatemala. From April to June 2019, Mexico detained 73,400 migrants from multiple nations, more than twice the number detained during the first quarter of the year. Mexican national guards and immigration agents attempted to block migrants from migrating northward. Since 2019, the U.S. government has relied on Mexico to stem the north-bound flow of migrants to reduce the number that make it to the U.S.-Mexico border.<sup>180</sup>

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SOURCE: Capps, R., Meissner, D., Ruiz Soto, A. G., Bolter, J., & Pierce, S. (2019, August). *From Control to Crisis: Changing Trends and Policies Reshaping U.S.-Mexico Border Enforcement*. Migration Policy Institute.

**Shift in Demographics of Apprehended Irregular Migrants (2019):** In fiscal year 2008, more than 90 percent of apprehended migrants at the U.S-Mexico border were Mexican, but after the first nine months of fiscal year 2019, Guatemalans, Hondurans, and Salvadorans comprised 74 percent of apprehensions, including 66 percent composed of unaccompanied children or family units. In addition to ongoing violence and corruption in the region, the loss of revenue for poppy crops destroyed by the government of Guatemala with U.S. support amplified economic instability and poverty. The spike in child migrants was similar to 2014. By the end of 2020, the COVID-19 pandemic had further depressed the economies of the Northern Triangle nations plus Nicaragua, and Hurricanes Eta and Iota devastated all four nations, leading to further immigration from these countries.<sup>181</sup>

**United States Turns Away Hundreds of Families Through Asylum Cooperative Agreements (2019):** The United States threatened Guatemala with tariffs if it did not sign a migration agreement requiring migrants passing through Guatemala from El Salvador and Honduras to seek asylum there first. The agreement also allowed the United States to send non-Guatemalan migrants to Guatemala. Also known as ACAs or Safe Third Country Agreements, the United States signed similar agreements with Honduras and El Salvador, but only the agreement with Guatemala was put into effect. However, Guatemala and El Salvador did not meet the standards for a “safe third country” in that immigrants’ lives or freedom would be threatened on account of “race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion.” Nearly 950 Honduran and Salvadoran families were subject to the Guatemalan ACA between 2019 and 2020. In 2021, the U.S. government suspended the ACA and began the process of withdrawing from it. The U.S. government has facilitated the return of just a few of the Honduran and Salvadoran nationals who were deported under the ACA, and advocates have urged the administration to take prompt and concrete action to address the harm caused by the program.<sup>182</sup>

**U.S.-Backed Coup Deposed Indigenous Bolivian President (2019):** The U.S. government supported a coup against the democratically elected Evo Morales, the first Indigenous president of Bolivia.<sup>183</sup>



IMAGE DESCRIPTION: Migrants, mainly from Venezuela, seek asylum before Title 42 ends at Mexico-US border. Photo by David Peinado Romero, Shutterstock.

**U.S. Enacts Emergency Health Order Title 42 to Expel Migrants (2020):** In March 2020, the U.S. government enacted Title 42 of a 1944 public health law to turn away or expel migrants at the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic. Mexico agreed to take back expelled nationals from El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Cuba, Haiti, Nicaragua, and Venezuela. Under this policy, U.S. authorities turned away migrants nearly three million times by the time the order was ended in May 2023, exempting families and unaccompanied children.<sup>184</sup>



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**Hurricanes Eta and Iota Devastate Indigenous Communities in Honduras, Nicaragua, and Guatemala** (2020): Both Category 4 hurricanes impacted more than 7.5 million people in Central America, with Hurricane Eta causing 145 deaths. Honduras was hit the hardest, but Indigenous communities bore the brunt of the issues. Maya in the Guatemalan highland regions experienced landslides, the Afro-Indigenous Garifuna community in Honduras lost homes and subsistence crops, the Indigenous Miskito and Mayanga populations in Nicaragua were both directly impacted, and some residents of the Indigenous Ngäbe-Buglé community in Panama needed to relocate as a result of the storm. Hurricane Iota swept through Nicaragua, Honduras, and Guatemala two weeks after Eta, destroying homes and crops and causing more than 200 deaths. Guatemala again requested that it be designated for Temporary Protected Status for Guatemalan nationals in the United States, but the request was not granted. The following year, the United Nations Commissioner for Refugees shared analysis that the number of climate refugees—individuals displaced by natural disasters related to climate change—grew to 21.5 million since 2010.<sup>185</sup>

**U.S. State Department Lists Cuba as a Sponsor of Terrorism Again, Contributing to Rise in Emigration from Cuba** (2021): In U.S. President Donald Trump’s final days in office, the U.S. government redesignated Cuba as a state sponsor of terrorism because Cuba refused to extradite members of Colombia’s National Liberation Army. The U.S. government’s sanctions against Cuba remained in place after U.S. President Joe Biden took office, and new ones were added targeting Cuban regime officials and entities. Later in 2021, Cubans protested in response to the scarcity of food and other essential items. Also in 2021, Nicaragua ended its visa requirement for Cubans, which led to Cubans migrating to the U.S.-Mexico border via Nicaragua.<sup>186</sup>

**U.S. Extends Temporary Protected Status for Venezuelan Nationals** (2021): Some 323,000 Venezuelan nationals were eligible to apply for Temporary Protected Status (TPS) due to the country “facing a severe humanitarian emergency.” A few months before, they had become eligible for deportation relief and work authorization under Deferred Enforced Departure (DED).<sup>187</sup>

**The Assassination of Haitian President Jovenel Moïse, a 7.2 earthquake, and COVID-19 Prompts Haitians to Migrate** (2021): In 2021, the United States expelled Haitian families under Title 42, despite the assassination of Haitian President Jovenel Moïse and a 7.2 earthquake that killed more than 2,000 Haitians and damaged or destroyed more than 120,000 homes. Also that September, the United States started removing 15,000 Haitian migrants camped out at the U.S.-Mexico border at Del Rio, Texas—many of whom had traveled from Chile and Brazil following the 2010 earthquake and subsequent devastation—and summarily expelled at least 2,000 to Haiti in less than a week pursuant to Title 42. The State Department’s special envoy to Haiti resigned in protest after mere months in office in response to the expulsions. Between September 19 and October 19, 2021, the United States expelled or repatriated nearly 8,000 Haitians.<sup>188</sup>

**Mexico Similarly Announces It Would Deport Haitians:** Mexico also said it would begin deporting Haitians or transporting them to southern Mexico. Many of these Haitians had traveled through the country from Brazil and Chile after initially leaving Haiti following the 2010 earthquake and had not been in Haiti for 11 years.<sup>189</sup>

**Interdiction-at-Sea on the Rise:** After the assassination of Moïse but before the earthquake, the Department of Homeland Security confirmed that the U.S. Coast Guard would utilize interdiction-at-sea tactics for migrants, including those from Haiti and Cuba. In the first seven months of fiscal

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year 2022, the U.S. Coast Guard interdicted more Haitians at sea than during any previous full fiscal year since 1994.<sup>190</sup>

**Border Patrol Encounters Seven Times More Haitians in 2021 than in 2020:** The U.S. Border Patrol encountered nearly 28,000 Haitians in fiscal year 2021, compared to more than 4,000 the previous year and more than 2,000 in 2019.<sup>191</sup>

**Haiti Sees Highest Asylum Rate Denial During this Period:** Haiti had the highest rate of asylum denials in the United States between 2018 and 2021. During that time, the U.S. government only approved 194 out of more than 4,000 applications, amounting to a 4.6 percent approval rate. This is the lowest rate among 83 nationalities where asylum decision data is available.<sup>192</sup>

**U.S. Deports 20,000 Haitians in a Year:** By February 2022, the 198<sup>th</sup> flight from the United States to deport or expel people to Haiti included the 20,000<sup>th</sup> Haitian national since January 20, 2021. Two-thirds of Haitian nationals were expelled under Title 42, and more than half of those expulsions were of children or parents with children. GEO Group managed the first flights to Haiti after receiving a \$15 million no-bid contract. In fiscal year 2022, more than 56,000 Haitians had reached the U.S.-Mexico border.<sup>193</sup>

**Nicaraguans Reach the United States in Increasing Numbers (2021):** Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega won a third consecutive presidential term in 2016, and his wife became vice president. The couple retaliated against mass protests of their leadership in 2018. Economic decline and government repression led thousands to flee the country in 2018. By 2020, more than 100,000 had emigrated from Nicaragua. Ortega won a fourth consecutive presidential term in 2021, followed by renewed government repression. In fiscal year 2021, more than 50,000 Nicaraguans reached the United States. The U.S. government issued additional sanctions against Nicaragua after the elections that fall. In the following fiscal year, U.S. Customs and Border Protection encountered three times as many nationals from Nicaragua compared to the previous year, or almost 165,000 Nicaraguans.<sup>194</sup>

**Increase in Cuban Migration, More Pathways for Cuban Migrants (2022):** U.S. sanctions, the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020, and political instability in Cuba led Cubans to emigrate from the island in large numbers. In response, in May 2022, the United States reinstated the Cuban Family Reunification Parole Program (CFRP) and announced it would resume full immigrant visa processing in Cuba for the first time since 2017. Between October 2022 and the end of September 2023, 425,000 Cubans had entered the United States. Throughout 2022, Cubans sought to migrate to both Mexico and the United States, with Cubans, Nicaraguans, Venezuelans, Colombians, and Ecuadorians among the top enrollees in the U.S. Remain in Mexico program that year.<sup>195</sup>

**U.S. Coast Guard Interdicts Cuban Migrants:** Fiscal year 2022 was on track to be the second-highest year of Cuban interdictions at sea since 1994. As in the 1990s, they were either repatriated or held at Guantánamo Bay while the U.S. government looked to resettle them in a third country.<sup>196</sup>

**U.S. Customs and Border Protection Interdicts Cuban Migrants Traveling by Land:** U.S. Customs and Border Protection also reported that the agency encountered nearly 225,000 Cubans entering the United States without authorization during fiscal year 2022. The U.S. and Cuban governments engaged in migration talks starting in April 2022 with deportation flights to Cuba resuming a year later. Cuban interdictions abated by summer 2023 after the United States opened pathways in January 2023.<sup>197</sup>

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**U.S. President Expands Title 42 Expulsions on Non-Public-Health-Related Grounds (2022):** The U.S. president announced the use of Title 42 to expel some Venezuelans arriving at the U.S.-Mexico border, marking the first invocation of the policy not on public-health grounds. This announcement was the “stick” that was paired with the “carrot” program: the Venezuelan humanitarian parole program. The expansion of Title 42 to Venezuelans followed a high of 188,000 border encounters with Venezuelan migrants in fiscal year 2022, which represents a small percentage of the seven million Venezuelans that have left the nation since 2015. Under a U.S.-Mexico agreement, Mexico will accept up to 1,000 Venezuelans per day.<sup>198</sup>

**U.S. Grants Humanitarian Parole for some Venezuelans (2022):** Modeled after the humanitarian parole program for Ukrainians, this new program provided humanitarian parole for up to 24,000 Venezuelans who had a financial sponsor in the United States and arrived via airplane.<sup>199</sup> However, the program excluded those who arrived at the United States without authorization between land border ports of entry, and it is a quarter the size of the Uniting for Ukraine program. After the announcement of this program, the number of Venezuelans traveling via land between Colombia and Panama dropped 98 percent to fewer than 700 people over the course of a month.

**More Migrants from Venezuela, Cuba, and Nicaragua for First Time in Record Number of U.S.-Mexico Border Encounters (2022):** In fiscal year 2022, the U.S.-Mexico border documented a record 2.4 million encounters. For the first time, U.S. Customs and Border Protection (CBP) reported more migrants from Venezuela, Cuba, and Nicaragua than nationals from El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras. Compared to the Northern Triangle countries, the U.S. government has “strained diplomatic ties” with Venezuela, Cuba, and Nicaragua<sup>200</sup>



SOURCE: Ward, N. & Batalova, J. (2023, May 10). *Central American Immigrants in the United States*. Migration Policy Institute. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/central-american-immigrants-united-states#:~:text=The%20Salvadoran%20diaspora%20is%20the,the%20United%20States%20in%202021.>

**More than 7 Million Individuals with Central American Origins Live in the United States (2023):** There were more than seven million individuals with Central American ancestry living in the United States with nearly three million from El Salvador, more than two million from Guatemala, and more than one million from Honduras.<sup>201</sup>

**U.S. Expands Cuba, Haiti, Nicaragua, & Venezuela (CHNV) Parole (2023):** The CHNV parole process expanded the 2022 humanitarian parole program for Venezuelans. The U.S. government committed to use parole authority to facilitate the entry of up to 30,000 nationals per month from Cuba, Haiti, Nicaragua, and Venezuela with an annual ceiling of 360,000

parolees. Mexico agreed to accept a similar number of Cuban, Haitian, Nicaraguan, and Venezuelan nationals removed from the United States each month. To qualify for parole, they had to have an approved sponsor, pass background checks, and meet other requirements. Parole is a temporary measure, and those paroled into the United States through this program must still apply for asylum or another immigration pathway to stay in the United States. As of July 2023, the U.S. government had paroled more than 168,000 people from Latin America and the Caribbean with U.S. sponsors. As of March 2024, the Department of Homeland Security had authorized 357,000 Cubans, Haitians, Nicaraguans, and Venezuelans to be admitted through this program. 21 state attorneys general filed a



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federal lawsuit challenging the CHNV parole process, claiming that it was a financial burden to American communities, but in March 2024, a federal judge held that Texas and the other states did not have standing to bring those claims and upheld CHNV Parole.<sup>202</sup>

**Interdictions in Fiscal Year 2023** (2023): The U.S. Coast Guard interdicted more than 2,000 people trying to travel along the Mona Passage between the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico. Over 86 percent were from the Dominican Republic, 12 percent from Haiti, and the remainder from other nations.<sup>203</sup>

**U.S. Accepts Up to 100,000 People Through Humanitarian Parole** (2023): In 2023, the Department of Homeland Security announced Family Reunification Parole (FRP), allowing nationals from Colombia, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras to fly to the United States and get employment authorization through the sponsorship of certain relatives who were U.S. citizens or lawful permanent residents. The administration committed to admitting up to 100,000 Central Americans under this humanitarian parole authority.<sup>204</sup>

**U.S. Institutes New Asylum “Transit Ban” Rule** (2023): A new rule refused to process asylum applications for migrants who entered the United States between ports of entry and passed through other nations without first seeking asylum there on their way to the U.S.-Mexico border. As the U.S. government wound down Title 42, this new rule required asylum seekers to request an appointment to take place at a port of entry using a smartphone application, CBP One. Under this policy, U.S. officials screen CBP One appointments for their eligibility to enter the United States through humanitarian parole; if granted parole to enter the United States, they can subsequently apply for asylum in immigration court. Migrants from all over the world waiting in Mexico made over 64 million requests in the first year of the program’s implementation. However, in the first 13 months of the program, the U.S. government authorized fewer than 450,000 migrants to enter through humanitarian parole. The rule has been challenged in litigation, with immigrant advocacy groups arguing that it violates federal immigration law.<sup>205</sup>

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The implementation of the Monroe Doctrine... resulted in so many people from Latin America coming to the United States, especially in the late 20th century and the beginning of this century... In fact, **it’s precisely those countries in Latin America that the United States once intervened in, occupied, and executed regime changes in that have produced the most migrants to the United States.** So there’s a direct relationship between the empire the United States built in Latin America and the migration crisis that we continue to face here in this country.

— JUAN GONZALEZ, DEMOCRACY NOW! CO-HOST

**200<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Monroe Doctrine** (2023): The year 2023 marked the 200<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Monroe Doctrine’s inception. While Mexicans comprise the largest number of immigrants living in the United States, their proportion has been declining for more than 10 years. Between 2010 and 2023, the number of immigrants from other Latin American nations grew by 200,000, including nationals from the Dominican Republic, Venezuela, Guatemala, Honduras, Brazil, Colombia, and El Salvador. The Venezuelan immigrant population grew at the fastest rate. Political polarization in the United States has led some to believe the Monroe Doctrine remains critical to national security, while others in the United States and much of Latin America perceive it as unilateral and paternalistic. One commentator remarked, “the implementation of the Monroe Doctrine ... resulted in so many people from Latin

America coming to the United States, especially in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of this century.... In fact, it’s precisely those countries in Latin America that the United States once intervened in, occupied, and executed regime changes in that have produced the most migrants to the United States. So there’s a direct relationship between the empire the United States built in Latin America and the migration crisis that we continue to face here in this country.”<sup>206</sup>

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New Orleans after they were expelled from Cuba.

In 1810 alone, 10,000 refugees arrived in

This also details how Christian charities, French Benevolent societies in the United States, a New Orleans editorial, and the city of Charleston collected relief funds, provided lodging, and wrote in support of admitting white refugees from Haiti.

South Carolina lifted its ban on foreign enslaved people in 1804, particularly welcoming white refugees.

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Feldman, S. (2022, December 7). *Social Clubs and Secret Societies in Early Philadelphia*. Hidden City. <https://hiddencityphila.org/2022/12/social-clubs-and-secret-societies-in-early-philadelphia/>  
The growth of refugees from slavery in the American South and Haitian Revolution refugees in Philadelphia contributed to the growing need for mutual aid organizations such as the Free African Society.

See Francis, T. (2022, January 27). *West Indian Immigration to the United States (1900- )*. BlackPast.org. <https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/west-indian-immigration-to-the-united-states-1900/> Refugees from slavery also settled in Norfolk, VA, Baltimore, NY, and New York, NY.

Fouron, G. E. (2020, August 19). *Haiti’s painful evolution from promised land to migrant-sending nation*. Migration Policy Institute. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/haiti-painful-evolution-promised-land-migrant-sending-nation>

National Park Service. (n.d.). *African Americans in St. Augustine 1565-1821*. <https://www.nps.gov/casa/learn/historyculture/african-americans-in-st-augustine-1565-1821.htm>

See Delly, R. (2023, October 24). *Did you know? Cultural art[ifacts] to know to keep your Haitian card*. The Haitian Times. <https://haitiantimes.com/2023/10/24/haitian-music-entertainment-news-october2023-2/>  
Jorge Biassou, a former enslaved Haitian and leader in the Haitian Revolution, moved to St. Augustine in Spanish Florida. He later became a general in the Spanish military.

Jung, Moon-Ho. (2022, January 13). *Making sugar, making ‘coolies’: Chinese laborers toiled alongside Black workers on 19th-century Louisiana plantations*. The Conversation. <https://theconversation.com/making-sugar-making-coolies-chinese-laborers-toiled-alongside-black-workers-on-19th-century-louisiana-plantations-173831>  
Colonizers who escaped Saint Domingue with their enslaved workers fled to southern Louisiana where they established a sugar industry. By 1853, Louisiana produced nearly a quarter of all exportable sugar worldwide.

#### <sup>4</sup> African Americans Try to Migrate to Haiti (1823)

Fouron, G. E. (2020, August 19). *Haiti’s painful evolution from promised land to migrant-sending nation*. Migration Policy Institute. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/haiti-painful-evolution-promised-land-migrant-sending-nation>  
This quotes President Boyer.

Library Company of Philadelphia. (2011). Colonization and Emigration: Identity and Destiny. *Black Founders: The Free Black Community in the Early Republic*. <https://www.librarycompany.org/blackfounders/section10.htm>

#### <sup>5</sup> U.S. Congress Bans the Immigration of “Any Negro, Mulatto, or Other Person of Colour” (1803)

Berkeley Law. (n.d.). *Black Americans and the Law*. <https://www.law.berkeley.edu/library/legal-research/black-americans-and-the-law/>

Immigration History. (n.d.). *BAN ON “IMPORTATION” OF “ANY NEGRO, MULATTO, OR OTHER PERSON OF COLOUR” (1803) (EFFECTIVE 1808)*. <https://immigrationhistory.org/item/1803-ban-on-importation-of-any-negro-mulatto-or-other-person-of-colour-effective-1808/>

Chin, G. & Finkelman, P. (2021, April 9). Birthright Citizenship, Slave Trade Legislation, and the Origins of Federal Immigration Regulation. *UC David Law Review*, (54), 2215-2265. [https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=3822658](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3822658)  
Emphasis added.

Until 1808, the federal government did not interfere with the migration of people to states, but this 1803 law enabled the federal government to help enforce state exclusions.

An 1818 revision of the 1803 law clarified that any enslaved people who entered the United States in contravention of the federal law could be turned over to state governments and not be allowed to leave. Any free Black people who were interdicted would not be enslaved, and any who managed to enter the United States would have been essentially undocumented in the United States.

North Carolinians petitioned Congress to prevent the immigration of free Black Haitians.

See The Avalon Project. (2008). *An Act to Prevent the Importation of Certain Persons into Certain States, Where, by the Laws Thereof, Their Admission is Prohibited*. Yale Law School Lillian Goldman Law Library. [https://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th\\_century/sl003.asp](https://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/sl003.asp)



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#### <sup>6</sup> The Haitian Revolution Paves the Way for the Louisiana Purchase (1803)

Rosalsky, G. (2021, October 5). ‘The Greatest Heist in History’: How Haiti Was Forced To Pay Reparations For Freedom. *Planet Money*, NPR. <https://www.npr.org/sections/money/2021/10/05/1042518732/-the-greatest-heist-in-history-how-haiti-was-forced-to-pay-reparations-for-freed?fbclid=IwAR16rDtOR9utoWsdd63iGfc5S4LXqkuALX14DHGVbhJzERWW9v6Qk4dIqnQ>

Harriss, J. A. (2033, April). How the Louisiana Purchase Changed the World. <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/how-the-louisiana-purchase-changed-the-world-79715124/>

Blackemore, E. (2023, August 21). *The Louisiana Purchase Was Driven by a Slave Rebellion*. HISTORY. <https://www.history.com/news/louisiana-purchase-price-french-colonial-slave-rebellion>

Porter, C., Méheut, C., Apuzzo, M., & Gebrekidan, S. (2022, May 20). The Ransom: The Root of Haiti’s Misery: Reparations to Enslavers. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/20/world/americas/haiti-history-colonized-france.html>

Blakemore, E. (202, April 30). *The Louisiana Purchase was a bargain. But it came at a great human cost*. National Geographic. <https://www.nationalgeographic.com/history/article/louisiana-purchase-bargain-came-great-human-cost>  
In subsequent agreements between the United States and Indigenous nations in the territory, the United States paid them the modern-day equivalent of \$8.5 billion in 2020 U.S. dollars.

By 1840, the United States had forcibly removed tens of thousands of Indigenous people from their land, with thousands perishing along the Trail of Tears. See GCIR’s [Who Gets to Be an American?](#) Timeline.

#### <sup>7</sup> Cuba Becomes the New Center of Sugar Production in the Americas (1829)

Micale, J. (2022, February 15). *The landscapes of slavery: New book gives a visual history of 19th-century plantations*. Binghamton University. <https://www.binghamton.edu/news/story/3481/the-landscapes-of-slavery-new-book-gives-a-visual-history-of-19th-century-plantations#:~:text=While%2017th%2D%20and%2018th%2Dcentury,every%20decade%20until%20around%201870>

Bodenheimer, R. (2023, July 1). *Annexation Nation*. JSTOR Daily. <https://daily.istor.org/cuba-annexation-nation/>  
The U.S. government offered to “purchase” Cuba from Spain in 1848 for \$100 million and again in 1854 for \$130 million, but Spain declined both offers.

Abbott, E. (n.d.). *Haiti’s Revolution Fueled the Rise of Big Sugar in Cuba and Louisiana*. History News Network. <https://historynewsnetwork.org/article/125294>  
Louisiana also became a significant sugar producer, but it could not keep up with the demand. The United States imported the majority of Cuba’s sugar, as much as 82% of the island’s production after the U.S. Civil War. Cuba would not abolish slavery until 1886.

Rey, D. (2021, November 19). *Cuba: An American History Review*. NACLA. <https://nacla.org/cuba-american-history-review>  
This article describes the long, complicated history of the relationship of the United States with Cuba: how Cuban soldiers fought the British and sent funds to the rebel army during the American Revolutionary War, how American leaders wanted to purchase Cuba at least as early as 1820 given the shared interest in protecting the institution of slavery and Cuba’s strategic location, how Cuban elites were concerned about the British ban on the slave trade in 1807 and apparently welcomed the Monroe Doctrine to limit the influence of Great Britain and Spain, and how Cubans fought on both sides of the U.S. Civil war but primarily in support of the Confederacy.

Reuters. (2007, August 9). *CHRONOLOGY: Who banned slavery when?* <https://www.reuters.com/article/idUSEIC168691/>  
Cuba rejected Spain’s abolition of slavery in 1811 and continued to support slavery.

Fisher, M. (2016, March 21). *9 questions about Cuba you were too embarrassed to ask*. Vox. <https://www.vox.com/2014/12/18/7408819/cuba-deal-us-embargo>  
Southern states wanted to annex Cuba as a slave state before the U.S. Civil War.

#### <sup>8</sup> Former Colonies in the Western Hemisphere Gain Independence after the American and Haitian Revolutions (1811-98)

Becker, Marc. (n.d.). *Latin American Chronology*. Marc’s House of Knowledge, Yachana.org. <https://www.yachana.org/teaching/resources/chron.html>

Povey, O. (2023, April 10). *When did the Latin American countries gain independence from Spain and Portugal?*. AS USA. [https://en.as.com/latest\\_news/when-did-the-latin-american-countries-gain-independence-from-spain-and-portugal-n/](https://en.as.com/latest_news/when-did-the-latin-american-countries-gain-independence-from-spain-and-portugal-n/)

Kline, H. F., Garavito, C., Parsons, J. J., Gilmore, R. L., McGreevey, W. P., & the Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. (2024, April 16). Colombia: Revolution and independence. In the Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica (Ed.), *Britannica*. Retrieved May 17, 2024, from <https://www.britannica.com/place/Colombia/Revolution-and-independence>

British Broadcasting Corporation. (2023, December 4). *Venezuela country profile*. BBC. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-19649648>

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Office of the Historian. (n.d.). *A Guide to the United States' History of Recognition, Diplomatic, and Consular Relations, by Country, since 1776: Uruguay*. U.S. Department of State.  
<https://history.state.gov/countries/uruguay#:~:text=Uruguay%20became%20independent%20of%20Spain,an%20independent%20nation%20in%201828>

Johnson, J. J. & Drake, P. W. (2024, April 16). Chile: Struggle for independence. In the Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica (Ed.), *Britannica*. Retrieved May 17, 2024, from <https://www.britannica.com/place/Chile/Struggle-for-independence>

Library of Congress. (n.d.) *Today in History – September 16*.  
<https://www.loc.gov/item/today-in-history/september-16/>

Burr, R. N., Davies, T. M., & Kus, J. S. (2024, May 9). Peru: Achievement of independence. In the Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica (Ed.), *Britannica*. Retrieved May 17, 2024, from <https://www.britannica.com/place/Peru/Achievement-of-independence>

Webster, A., Nowell, C. E., Magdoff, H., & the Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. (2023, December 18). Spain's American empire. In the Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica (Ed.), *Britannica*. Retrieved May 17, 2024, from <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Western-colonialism/Spains-American-empire>

Erichsen, G. (2019, January 2). *10 Facts About the Spanish Language*. ThoughtCo.  
<https://www.thoughtco.com/spanish-language-facts-4136754>  
 Spanish is the second most spoken language in the world

Richard, K. S. (2019, September 9). *The Portuguese Empire*. ThoughtCo.  
<https://www.thoughtco.com/the-portuguese-empire-1435004>  
 Considered the first global empire, Portugal's last colony—Macau—returned to China in 1999. Portuguese is the sixth most spoken language in the world.

<sup>9</sup> **The United States Unveils the Monroe Doctrine, Unilaterally Declaring that Europe Should Not Interfere in the Western Hemisphere** (1823)

Woodward, R. L. & Bushnell, D. (2024, March 13). Central America: Independence (1808–23). In the Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica (Ed.), *Britannica*. Retrieved May 17, 2024, from <https://www.britannica.com/place/Central-America/Independence-1808-23>

Office of the Historian. (n.d.). *Monroe Doctrine, 1823*. U.S. Department of State.  
<https://history.state.gov/milestones/1801-1829/monroe>  
 Monroe declared, “The American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers.”

Brands, H. (2023, December 3). America's Best Strategy for Cold War II Is 200 Years Old. *Bloomberg*.  
<https://www.bloomberg.com/opinion/features/2023-12-03/america-s-best-strategy-for-cold-war-ii-the-200-year-old-monroe-doctrine>

History.com Editors. (2022, October 4). *Monroe Doctrine*. HISTORY.  
<https://www.history.com/topics/19th-century/monroe-doctrine>  
 The U.S. government recognized the independence of Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, and Peru in 1822.

New World Encyclopedia. (n.d.) Monroe Doctrine. In *NewWorldEncyclopedia.com*. Retrieved May 17, 2024, from [https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Monroe\\_Doctrine](https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Monroe_Doctrine)  
 The United States objected to Britain forming an alliance with Texas in 1836 based on the principle outlined by Monroe.

The U.S. government has invaded nations in Latin America more than 70 times, sometimes occupying those countries for decades.

In the 1870s, the United States declared that it would not allow European countries to transfer colonies in the Western Hemisphere among themselves.

Lindsay, J. (2012, March 12). TWE Remembers: The Truman Doctrine. *The Water's Edge, Council on Foreign Relations*. <https://www.cfr.org/blog/twe-remembers-truman-doctrine>  
 The term “Monroe Doctrine” was posthumously applied to this concept two years after Monroe died.

Ramírez Cañedo, E. (2023, July 18). *200 Years of the Monroe Doctrine: History and Present*. Resumen: Latinoamericano and the Third World. <https://resumen-english.org/2023/07/200-years-of-the-monroe-doctrine-history-and-present/>  
 John Quincy Adams, author of the Monroe Doctrine, had a theory of the Ripe Fruit, with the idea that Cuba, as the fruit, would be pulled into the control of the U.S. government should it ever gain independence from Spain.

National Archives. (n.d.). *Monroe Doctrine (1823)*.  
<https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/monroe-doctrine>  
 This provides the full transcript from President Monroe's seventh annual message to Congress in 1823.

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Vine, D. (2021, April 22). *175 Years of Border Invasions: The Anniversary of the U.S. War on Mexico and the Roots of Northward Migration*. Council on Hemispheric Affairs. <https://coha.org/175-years-of-border-invasions-the-anniversary-of-the-u-s-war-on-mexico-and-the-roots-of-northward-migration/>

Democracy Now. *The Monroe Doctrine, Revisited: How 200 Years of U.S. Policy Have Helped to Destabilize the Americas* [Interview transcript]. [https://www.democracynow.org/2023/4/27/monroe\\_doctrine](https://www.democracynow.org/2023/4/27/monroe_doctrine)

Chappell, B. (2023, March 30). *The Vatican repudiates ‘Doctrine of Discovery,’ which was used to justify colonialism*. NPR. <https://www.npr.org/2023/03/30/1167056438/vatican-doctrine-of-discovery-colonialism-indigenous>  
Also in 1823, the Supreme Court referred to the Doctrine of Discovery from 1452 and declared that the United States had inherited from Europe and other colonizing powers the discovery principle. Because Indigenous Americans only had the right of “occupancy” and not ownership over the land on which they lived, the U.S. government and Americans could take that land.

Fritchey, C. (1979, September 16). Misreading Monroe. *The Washington Post*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1979/09/17/misreading-monroe/0bbe7fe4-80e4-423b-9160-0a408994f796/>  
Monroe’s idea would not be referred to as a “doctrine” until 1854.

<sup>10</sup> **France Forces Haiti to Pay Reparations—a “Ransom of Independence”—in the “Greatest Heist in History” (1825)**

Rosalsky, G. (2021, October 5). ‘The Greatest Heist in History’: How Haiti Was Forced To Pay Reparations For Freedom. *Planet Money*, NPR. <https://www.npr.org/sections/money/2021/10/05/1042518732/-the-greatest-heist-in-history-how-haiti-was-forced-to-pay-reparations-for-freed?fbclid=IwAR16rDtOR9utoWsdd63iGfc5S4LXqkuALX14DHGVbhJzERWW9v6Qk4dlqn0>  
This amount was 10 times the amount the United States paid France for the Louisiana Purchase.

This article also provides the quotes in the entry’s title.

Porter, C., Méheut, C., Apuzzo, M., & Gebrekidan, S. (2022, May 20). The Ransom: The Root of Haiti’s Misery: Reparations to Enslavers. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/20/world/americas/haiti-history-colonized-france.html>  
In 1825, France sent 14 ships, of which at least 12 were warships, to enforce an ordinance demanding Haiti pay 150 million francs in reparations or risk military operations, even though Haiti was victorious against France 21 years prior. France had sold the Louisiana Purchase to the United States for 80 million francs. In 1837, France reduced the amount to 90 million francs.

The amount Haitians paid is estimated to be the equivalent of \$560 million in 2022 U.S. dollars, or potentially \$21 billion to \$115 billion in 2022 U.S. dollars if the money had remained in Haiti.

France became the first and only nation where descendants of slavery paid reparations to descendants of enslavers.

Haiti’s payments benefited the leaders of Brazil, Russia, Germany, and France as descendants of former enslavers.

Narea, N. (2021, July 29). *Biden is turning back Haitian migrants at sea, echoing a shameful chapter in US history*. Vox. <https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2021/7/29/22589316/biden-haiti-migrant-boat-guantanamo>

Porter, C., Méheut, C., Apuzzo, M., & Gebrekidan, S. (2022, May 20). Demanding Reparations, and Ending Up in Exile. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/20/world/americas/haiti-aristide-reparations-france.html>

See Cotrino, N. & Sawyer, I. (2023, August 14). “Living a Nightmare:” Haiti Needs an Urgent Rights-Based Response to Escalating Crisis. <https://www.hrw.org/report/2023/08/14/living-nightmare/haiti-needs-urgent-rights-based-response-escalating-crisis>  
France agreed to recognize Haiti’s independence in 1825 in exchange for Haiti paying France for the loss of property, including enslaved Haitians. Haiti, subsequently, borrowed money from a French bank in what became known as Haiti’s “double debt.”

Haiti’s debt to France was transferred to the United States in 1911 but was unable to pay off the loan until 1947. Due to the loan’s high interest rate, Haiti is estimated to have paid France between \$20 billion and \$115 billion.

Raby, J. (2023, November 26). *200 Years of the Monroe Doctrine Is 200 Too Many*. Common Dreams. <https://www.commondreams.org/opinion/200-years-of-the-monroe-doctrine>

See also History.com Editors. (2022, October 4). *Monroe Doctrine*. HISTORY. <https://www.history.com/topics/19th-century/monroe-doctrine>  
The U.S. government did not have the military power to invoke the Monroe Doctrine as demonstrated by its unwillingness to take action when Great Britain occupied the Falkland Islands in 1833.

But see De Loera-Brust, A. (2023, February 26). *The United States Has Never Recovered from the Falklands War*. Foreign Policy. <https://foreignpolicy.com/2023/02/26/the-united-states-has-never-recovered-from-the-falklands-war/>  
The U.S. government sided with Great Britain during the 1982 Falklands War—providing fuel, intel, and ammunition—against Argentina.



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Peñaloza, M. (2021, October 16). *Haiti faces disasters and chaos. Its people are most likely to be denied U.S. asylum*. NPR. <https://www.npr.org/2021/10/16/1043458530/haitians--u-s-asylum--racist>

# <sup>11</sup> *El Libertador* Simón Bolívar Becomes President of Newly-Independent Bolivia (1826)

National Geographic Society. (2023, October 19). Jul 24, 1783 CE: Simon Bolivar Day. <https://education.nationalgeographic.org/resource/simon-bolivar-day/>

Minster, C. (2019, May 24). Biography of Simon Bolivar, ‘Liberator of South America.’ ThoughtCo. <https://www.thoughtco.com/biography-of-simon-bolivar-2136407>

Beyer, G. (2023, February 7). *El Libertador: Who Was Simón Bolívar?*. The Collector. <https://www.thecollector.com/who-was-simon-bolivar-el-liberator/>

Fox, M. (2024, January 9). The Beginning: Monroe and Migration (1) [Audio podcast episode]. In *Under the Shadow*. The Real News Network & NACLA. <https://nacla.org/under-shadow-ep-1>

Fox, M. (2024, January 9). The Beginning: Monroe and Migration (1) [Podcast transcript]. In *Under the Shadow*. The Real News Network & NACLA. <https://therealnews.com/the-beginning-monroe-and-migration-under-the-shadow-episode-1>

Railton, B. (2023, December 5). Considering History: The History of a Hemispheric Vision of the U.S. *The Saturday Evening Post*. <https://www.saturdayeveningpost.com/2023/12/considering-history-the-history-of-a-hemispheric-vision-of-the-u-s/>  
Bolívar invited U.S. representatives to attend, but they were delayed in leaving for Panama because several southern states opposed collaborating with nations that had outlawed slavery.

# <sup>12</sup> Americans Embrace the Concept of Manifest Destiny and Territorial Expansion of the United States (1845)

Walters, K. (n.d.). *History Through a Native Lens* [Timeline overview]. Native Philanthropy. <https://nativephilanthropy.candid.org/wp-content/themes/native-philanthropy/timeline.pdf>

Heidler, J. T. & Heidler, D. S. (2024, April 17). Manifest Destiny. In the Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica (Ed.), *Britannica*. Retrieved May 17, 2024, from <https://www.britannica.com/event/Manifest-Destiny>

Heppler, J. A. (2022). Review: Timeline of Empire. *Reviews in Digital Humanities*, III(6). <https://doi.org/10.21428/3e88f64f.adc97467>

*See also* Phillips, K. & Macalester College. (n.d.). *Timeline of Empire* [Interactive timeline, entry titled “54-40 or Fight. Knight Lab. [https://cdn.knightlab.com/libs/timeline3/latest/embed/index.html?fbclid=IwAR13I2NRAKIArMj2cmRP9F1Wqmvku7X9N5r2nQ8fUAbJ3UZXZ1B5ua5gu0&font=Default&height=1000&initial\\_zoom=2&lang=en&source=1FoRrZY6Kn6SzKMTnQqchmuRm7pFOqaRrmZGY1hd8iF8](https://cdn.knightlab.com/libs/timeline3/latest/embed/index.html?fbclid=IwAR13I2NRAKIArMj2cmRP9F1Wqmvku7X9N5r2nQ8fUAbJ3UZXZ1B5ua5gu0&font=Default&height=1000&initial_zoom=2&lang=en&source=1FoRrZY6Kn6SzKMTnQqchmuRm7pFOqaRrmZGY1hd8iF8)  
This describes the phrase “54-40 or Fight” used during the James K. Polk presidency in the 1840s—an expansionist idea that the United States should have the entire Oregon territory, up to the 54<sup>th</sup> parallel.

Pruitt, S. (2019, March 7). *Hundreds of 19th Century Americans Tried to Conquer Foreign Lands. This Man Was the Most Successful*. HISTORY. <https://www.history.com/news/manifest-destiny-william-walker-filibuster-nicaragua-mexico-invasion>  
William Walker—a champion of manifest destiny and the most successful filibuster—managed to capture Grenada and declare himself president of Nicaragua for ten months. The U.S. government recognized him as such in 1856 after he had failed to annex Mexico and before he failed to capture Honduras. Filibusters were Americans, mainly Southerners, who sought to control countries with private armies though discouraged by the U.S. government.

*See also* Public Broadcasting Corporation. (n.d.) *The Filibuster Movement*. Oregon Public Broadcasting. <https://www.pbs.org/opb/historydetectives/feature/the-filibuster-movement/>  
William Walker legalized slavery during his brief reign in Nicaragua.

Wallenfeldt, J. & The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. (2024, May 3). Application and extension of the Monroe Doctrine. In the Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica (Ed.), *Britannica*. Retrieved May 17, 2024, from <https://www.britannica.com/event/Monroe-Doctrine/Application-and-extension-of-the-Monroe-Doctrine>  
President James Polk interpreted the Monroe Doctrine as a way to protect the United States’ Manifest Destiny aspirations.

New World Encyclopedia. (n.d.) Monroe Doctrine. In *NewWorldEncyclopedia.com*. Retrieved May 17, 2024, from [https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Monroe\\_Doctrine](https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Monroe_Doctrine)

*See* Ramírez Cañedo, E. (2023, July 18). *200 Years of the Monroe Doctrine: History and Present*. Resumen: Latinoamericano and the Third World. <https://resumen-english.org/2023/07/200-years-of-the-monroe-doctrine-history-and-present/>  
Polk also declared that no country in the Western Hemisphere could request European intervention, and Europe could not intervene if a nation in the Western Hemisphere wanted to join the United States.

<b>1791–1903</b> U.S. Expansion and the Introduction of the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1904–1946</b> The Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1947–1980</b> The Truman Doctrine and the Containment of Communism	<b>1971–Present</b> Declaration of the “War on Drugs”	<b>1980s–1990s</b> Beyond Containment, the Rolling Back of Communism	<b>1996–Present</b> Enforcement and Externalization of Borders
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See also Long, T. & Schulz, C. (2023, December 16). *The Return of the Monroe Doctrine*. Foreign Policy.

<https://foreignpolicy.com/2023/12/16/monroe-doctrine-united-states-latin-america-foreign-policy-interventionism-china-gop/>

In the decades that followed the announcement of the Monroe Doctrine, the U.S. government increasingly determined which European actions were threatening to countries in the Western Hemisphere and whether the United States had the right to respond to those threats.

See also Musgrave, P. (2021, September 19). *How Filibusters Moved from Piracy to Congress*. Foreign Policy.

<https://foreignpolicy.com/2021/09/19/how-filibusters-moved-from-piracy-to-congress/>

Pro-slavery interests supported the efforts of Narciso López, another filibuster, who tried to overthrow the Cuban government multiple times. Enslavers envisioned the eventual annexation of Cuba as a slave state.

### <sup>13</sup> Guano Islands Act (1856)

The Center for Land Use Interpretation. (n.d.). Unoccupied Territories: The Outlying Islands of America’s Realm.

<https://clui.org/projects/unoccupied-territories-outlying-islands-americas-realm/unoccupied-territories-outlying-islands-americas-realm-0>

The U.S. military operated a naval base in Midway Atoll from WWII until 1993. The U.S. Navy had a station in Palmyra Atoll from 1939 to 1959. The Nature Conservancy has operated a research center there since 2000 with some workers residing there since 2004.

A private mining company brought 140 workers to Navassa Island in the 1880s. In 1899, harsh conditions led to a rebellion by black laborers working under white supervisors, of which five were killed.

See also Nye, K. (2023, May 11). *Murder on Navassa Island, a Territory Claimed By Both Haiti and the United States*. America Is Weird.

<https://www.americaisweird.com/murder-on-navassa-island-a-territory-claimed-by-both-haiti-and-the-united-states/>

The resulting murder trials led to a court ruling that Navassa was indeed a U.S. territory. The black laborers sentenced to death were exonerated.

Garcia, E. (2019, April 16). *How Guano Islands Helped Build an American Empire*. WWTV.

<https://news.wttw.com/2019/04/16/how-guano-islands-helped-build-american-empire>

Underhill, K. (2014, July 8). [By Kevin Underhill:] The Guano Islands Act. *The Washington Post*.

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/voikh-conspiracy/wp/2014/07/08/by-kevin-underhill-the-guano-islands-act/>

The United States claimed nearly 100 uninhabited islands through this law.

Despite disputes over some of the islands, such as Navassa Island near Haiti, the U.S. government has not ceded claims.

The U.S. government can claim islands without relying on the Guano Islands Act.

Matthews, D. (2014, July 31). *This 1856 law makes it legal to seize islands for America if they have lots of bird crap*.

Vox. <https://www.vox.com/2014/7/31/5951731/bird-shit-imperialism>

Sodium nitrate had replaced guano as the preferred fertilizer by the 1870s.

Johnston, P. F. (2017, May 31). *The Smithsonian and the 19th century guano trade: This poop is crap*. National

Museum of American History. <https://americanhistory.si.edu/explore/stories/smithsonian-and-19th-century-guano-trade-poop-crap>

### <sup>14</sup> The United States Invokes the Monroe Doctrine to Intervene in Mexico (1867)

History.com Editors. (2022, October 4). *Monroe Doctrine*. HISTORY.

<https://www.history.com/topics/19th-century/monroe-doctrine>

Greenspan, J. (2024, May 3). 7 Things You May Not Know About Cinco de Mayo. HISTORY.

<https://www.history.com/news/cinco-de-mayo-facts-battle>

National Park Service. (n.d.). *General Grant and the Fight to Remove Emperor Maximilian from Mexico*.

<https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/general-grant-and-the-fight-to-remove-emperor-maximilian-from-mexico.htm>

DeLay, B. (2013, July 2). Mexico Benefitted From the Civil War. *The New York Times*.

<https://www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2013/07/02/who-won-the-civil-war/mexico-benefitted-from-the-civil-war>

Mexico, under Benito Juárez, established “Monroe Doctrine Societies” in the United States in an effort “to awaken Americans to their hemispheric responsibilities towards Mexico against the French.

Valenta, J. (2019, May 3). *The Monroe Doctrine for Venezuela*. Gatestone Institute.

<https://www.gatestoneinstitute.org/14178/venezuela-monroe-doctrine>

Kinnally, C. A. (2023, May 5). Cinco de Mayo is not a Mexican holiday. It’s an American one. *The Washington Post*.

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/made-by-history/2023/05/05/cinco-de-mayo-civil-war/>

Hernández-Sáenz, L. M. (2018, February 26). The French Intervention in Mexico and the Empire of Maximilian and

Carlota. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Latin American History*. Retrieved May 17, 2024 from

<https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199366439.013.573>

After Mexico reached settlements with England and Spain on Mexico’s debts, Mexico still had to contend with its large debts to France, which kept its troops in Mexico, from the expensive War of Reform (1857–61).

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- The New York Times*. (1865, July 17). MEXICO AND THE MONROE DOCTRINE; What is the Monroe Doctrine? Its Application to the French Invasion Indian Nationality in Mexico Our Diplomacy with Mexico. <https://www.nytimes.com/1865/07/17/archives/mexico-and-the-monroe-doctrine-what-is-the-monroe-doctrine-its.html>
- See also Tharoor, I. (2023, December 11). How the Venezuela-Guyana border almost started a U.S.-British war. *The Washington Post*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2023/12/11/venezuela-guyana-oil-borders-history-us-british-war/>  
U.S. Secretary of State Richard Olney invoked the Monroe doctrine during a border dispute between Venezuela and (British) Guyana, declaring that the United States was “practically sovereign on this continent.” The U.S. president implied that the U.S. government would assert military action to enforce the boundary established by a Congress-appointed boundary commission.
- <sup>15</sup> **The United States Admits More than 10,000 Cubans During Cuba’s First War for Independence from Spain** (1868)
- Cuban Research Institute. (n.d.). *Chronology of U.S.-Cuba Relations*. Florida International University. <https://cri.fiu.edu/us-cuba/chronology-of-us-cuba-relations/>  
By 1890, about 44 percent of residents of Tampa, Florida, were Cuban.
- <sup>16</sup> **The U.S. Government Declares It Would Control Any Canal Connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans** (1880)
- Johnston, R. D. (n.d.). *Rutherford B. Hayes: Foreign Affairs*. Miller Center. <https://millercenter.org/president/hayes/foreign-affairs>
- Ramírez Cañedo, E. (2023, July 18). *200 Years of the Monroe Doctrine: History and Present*. Resúmen: Latinoamericano and the Third World. <https://resumen-english.org/2023/07/200-years-of-the-monroe-doctrine-history-and-present/>  
Some have dubbed this the Hayes Corollary.
- <sup>17</sup> **The United States Invokes the Monroe Doctrine and Fights the Spanish-American War** (1898)
- Public Broadcasting Corporation. (n.d.). *The Spanish-American War in the Philippines and the battle for Manila*. PBS. <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/macarthur-spanish-american-war-philippines-and-battle-for-manila/>
- Weber, B. (2023, December 2). *The lesser-known history of the Monroe Doctrine*. Salon. <https://www.salon.com/2023/12/02/the-lesser-known-history-of-the-monroe-doctrine/>  
The “convict clause” of the 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment to the Constitution, which states that “Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime...shall exist within the United States, or **any place under their jurisdiction**” (emphasis original), made it possible for the U.S. government to send prison labor to U.S. territories (which otherwise outlawed slavery. The U.S. government, for instance, established Iwahig Prison and Penal Farm in the Philippines in 1904.
- Roos, D. (2023, August 23). *How Many Times Has the US Officially Declared War?*. HISTORY. <https://www.history.com/news/united-states-official-declarations-war>, <https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/monroe-doctrine-declared>
- History.com Editors. (2023, December 1). *Monroe Doctrine declared*. HISTORY. <https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/monroe-doctrine-declared>
- Augustyn, A. & The Editors of the Encyclopaedia Britannica. (2024, April 14). Spanish-American War. In the Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica (Ed.), *Britannica*. Retrieved May 17, 2024, from <https://www.britannica.com/event/Spanish-American-War>
- Nation Park Service. (2015, February 28). Spanish American War - “A Splendid Little War.” <https://www.nps.gov/prsf/learn/historyculture/spanish-american-war-a-splendid-little-war.htm#:~:text=The%20reasons%20for%20war%20were,Maine%20in%20Havana%20Harbor.>
- Bodenheimer, R. (2023, July 1). *Annexation Nation*. JSTOR Daily. <https://daily.jstor.org/cuba-annexation-nation/>
- Cuban Research Institute. (n.d.). *Chronology of U.S.-Cuba Relations*. Florida International University. <https://cri.fiu.edu/us-cuba/chronology-of-us-cuba-relations/>  
Author of the Monroe Doctrine, John Quincy Adams wrote to the U.S. Minister of Spain in 1823—the same year of the Monroe Doctrine—about the significance of Cuba to the United States and speculated that the United States would annex Cuba within 50 years.
- Grandin, G. (2014, December 22). How the US Created a ‘Little Hiroshima’ in Central America. *The Nation*. <https://www.thenation.com/article/archive/how-us-created-little-hiroshima-central-america/>  
Between 1898 and 1994, the United States ostensibly overthrew 41 Latin American governments.
- Library of Congress. (n.d.). *World of 1898: International Perspectives on the Spanish American War*. <https://loc.gov/rr/hispanic/1898/treaty.html>
- History.com Editors. (2023, December 8). *Treaty of Paris ends Spanish-American War*. HISTORY. <https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/treaty-of-paris-ends-spanish-american-war>



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Zinn Education Project. (n.d.). *Dec. 10, 1898: Treaty of Paris*.

[https://www.zinnedproject.org/news/tdih/treaty-of-paris/?fbclid=IwAR3zr0u2haC-6CiJCGrtP-TXrzgfJCxqzd9OCMiWx5TS1vPyRt2hfH9O\\_DO](https://www.zinnedproject.org/news/tdih/treaty-of-paris/?fbclid=IwAR3zr0u2haC-6CiJCGrtP-TXrzgfJCxqzd9OCMiWx5TS1vPyRt2hfH9O_DO)

Around the same time, American missionaries and pineapple plantation owners conspired to annex Hawaii, and the U.S. government occupied Wake Island.

#### <sup>18</sup> **The United States Agrees to End its Occupation, Under the Condition It Can Intervene in Cuba's Political Affairs** (1901)

Lipman, J. (2022, January 5). The United States has long sought to exploit Guantánamo's legal contradictions. *The*

*Washington Post*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2022/01/05/united-states-has-long-sought-exploit-guantanamos-legal-contradictions/>

Theodore Roosevelt Center. (n.d.). *Platt Amendment*.

<https://www.theodorerooseveltcenter.org/Learn-About-TR/TR-Encyclopedia/Foreign-Affairs/Platt-Amendment>

Fisher, M. (2016, March 21). *9 questions about Cuba you were too embarrassed to ask*. Vox.

<https://www.vox.com/2014/12/18/7408819/cuba-deal-us-embargo>

The Teller Amendment was a win for anti-imperial Americans, but the Platt Amendment was a victory for pro-imperial Americans.

#### <sup>19</sup> **U.S. Citizen Becomes First President of Cuba**

Cuban Research Institute. (n.d.). *Chronology of U.S.-Cuba Relations*. Florida International University.

<https://cri.fiu.edu/us-cuba/chronology-of-us-cuba-relations/>

Bodenheimer, R. (2020, March 20). *The Insular Cases: History and significance*. ThoughtCo.

<https://www.thoughtco.com/the-insular-cases-history-and-significance-4797736>

Public Broadcasting Service. (1999). *February 6, 1899: Treaty of Paris ratified*.

<https://www.pbs.org/crucible/tl18.html>

#### <sup>20</sup> **United States Gains Guantánamo as Military Base**

Cuban Research Institute. (n.d.). *Chronology of U.S.-Cuba Relations*. Florida International University.

<https://cri.fiu.edu/us-cuba/chronology-of-us-cuba-relations/>

In 1912, the U.S. relinquished Bahía Honda in return for larger facilities in Guantánamo Bay.

Packard, S. (2013, September 4). How Guantanamo Bay Became the Place the U.S. Keeps Detainees. *The Atlantic*.

<https://www.theatlantic.com/national/archive/2013/09/how-guantanamo-bay-became-the-place-the-us-keeps-detainees/279308/>

Cohen, J. (2018, August 30). *6 Things You May Not Know About the Spanish American War*. HISTORY.

<https://www.history.com/news/6-things-you-may-not-know-about-the-spanish-american-war>

*See also* Vine, D. (2021, April 22). *175 Years of Border Invasions: The Anniversary of the U.S. War on Mexico and the Roots of Northward Migration*.

Council on Hemispheric Affairs. <https://coha.org/175-years-of-border-invasions-the-anniversary-of-the-u-s-war-on-mexico-and-the-roots-of-northward-migration/>

[northward-migration/](https://coha.org/175-years-of-border-invasions-the-anniversary-of-the-u-s-war-on-mexico-and-the-roots-of-northward-migration/)

In many ways, Guantánamo Bay was more of a U.S. colony than the Panama Canal Zone. *See also* GCIR's [Who Gets to Be an American? Timeline](#).

#### <sup>21</sup> **U.S. Government Occupies Cuba for Three Years**

ACN Special Service. (2023, September 27). Estrada Palma's reelection and second U.S. intervention. Cuban News

Agency. <http://www.cubanews.acn.cu/cuba/22494-estrada-palma-s-reelection-and-second-u-s-intervention>

Cuban Research Institute. (n.d.). *Chronology of U.S.-Cuba Relations*. Florida International University.

<https://cri.fiu.edu/us-cuba/chronology-of-us-cuba-relations/#:~:text=1906%E2%80%931906%20The%20U.S.%20military,Magoon>

*See* Vine, D. (2021, April 22). *175 Years of Border Invasions: The Anniversary of the U.S. War on Mexico and the Roots of Northward Migration*.

Council on Hemispheric Affairs. <https://coha.org/175-years-of-border-invasions-the-anniversary-of-the-u-s-war-on-mexico-and-the-roots-of-northward-migration/>

[northward-migration/](https://coha.org/175-years-of-border-invasions-the-anniversary-of-the-u-s-war-on-mexico-and-the-roots-of-northward-migration/)

Levinson, S. H., Knight, F. W., & The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. (2024, March 13). The Republic of Cuba. In

the Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica (Ed.), *Britannica*. Retrieved May 20, 2024, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Cuba/The-Republic-of-Cuba#ref1256760>

#### <sup>22</sup> **The United States Recognizes the Republic of Panama, Receives Exclusive and Permanent Possession of the Panama Canal Zone Days Later** (1903)

British Broadcasting Corporation. (2018, May 28). *Panama profile - timeline*. BBC.

<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-19889251>

New World Encyclopedia. (n.d.) Monroe Doctrine. In *NewWorldEncyclopedia.com*. Retrieved May 17, 2024,

from [https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Monroe\\_Doctrine](https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Monroe_Doctrine)

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History.com Editors. (2022, September 6). *Panama Canal*. HISTORY.

<https://www.history.com/topics/landmarks/panama-canal>

Many Panamanian people did not support the new country's treaty with the United States and opposed the canal rights.

Ameringer, C. D. (1966, February 1). Philippe Bunau-Varilla: New Light on the Panama Canal Treaty. *Hispanic*

*American Historical Review* 46(1), 28-52. <https://doi.org/10.1215/00182168-46.1.28>

No Panamanians signed the Hay-Bunau-Varilla treaty. One of the signatories and the first minister of Panama, Philippe Bunau-Varilla, was a French citizen who had not been to Panama since 1887.

Vulliamy, Ed. (2016, April 9). How a US president and JP Morgan made Panama: and turned it into a tax haven.

*The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/apr/10/panama-canal-president-jp-morgan-tax-haven>

U.S.-backed Panama seceded from Colombia in 1903.

*See also* HISTORY. (n.d.). 1903: Panama declares independence from Colombia. <https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/panama-declares-independence>

The United States aided the Panamanian rebels.

Van Wagtendonk, A. (2014, August 15). *How the Panama Canal helped make the U.S. a world power*. PBS.

<https://www.pbs.org/newshour/world/panama-canal-helped-make-u-s-world-power>

Vine, D. (2021, April 22). *175 Years of Border Invasions: The Anniversary of the U.S. War on Mexico and the*

*Roots of Northward Migration*. Council on Hemispheric Affairs. <https://coha.org/175-years-of-border-invasions-the-anniversary-of-the-u-s-war-on-mexico-and-the-roots-of-northward-migration/>

Between 1856 and 1989, the United States invaded Panama 24 times.

*See also* Durns, S. (2023, June 23). *How the US lost Latin America*. Washington Examiner.

<https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/policy/foreign-policy/186017/how-the-us-lost-latin-america/>

Between 1856 and 1903, the U.S. government intervened in Panama at least 13 times.

*See also* Francis, T. (2022, January 27). *West Indian Immigration to the United States (1900- )*. BlackPast.org.

<https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/west-indian-immigration-to-the-united-states-1900/>

More than 250,000 workers moved from the West Indies to Central America to build the Panama Canal and then eventually migrated again to the United States between 1881 and 1915, settling in Massachusetts, New York, and South Florida.

*See also* Gandhi, L. (2013, November 25). A history of indentured labor gives ‘coolie’ its sting. *NPR, Code Switch*.

<https://www.npr.org/sections/codeswitch/2013/11/25/247166284/a-history-of-indentured-labor-gives-coolie-its-sting>

The Roosevelt administration allowed Asian workers to work on the canal in 1906, hiring them through contractors so that the United States could use Chinese labor within interacting with the Chinese government.

*See also* Nugent, C. & Campell, C. (2021, February 4). The U.S. and China are battling for influence in Latin America, and the pandemic has raised the stakes. *Time*. <https://time.com/5936037/us-china-latin-america-influence/>

Chinese labor in helping to construct the canal led to a significant Chinese Panamanian population.

*See also* Drost, N. (2020, April 2). “When can we really rest?”. *The California Sunday Magazine*.

<https://story.californiasunday.com/darien-gap-migration/>

One potential route that U.S. Navy engineers considered for the canal was through the Darién, a region in Panama that extends to northwest Colombia. However, the region was so inhospitable that seven of the engineers starved to death in 1854. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, an attempt to establish a Scottish colony, and in the 1930s, the Pan-American Highway was never completed through the Darién. The missing portion of the highway is called the Darién Gap. Long considered one of the most dangerous regions in the world, migrants who travel northbound by land risk death by venturing through this region.

## <sup>23</sup> Panamanians Resist U.S. Sovereign-Like Status

Dailey, K. (2014, August 11). *Who on Earth are the Zonians?*. BBC.

<https://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-28594016>

Van Wagtendonk, A. (2014, August 15). *How the Panama Canal helped make the U.S. a world power*. PBS.

<https://www.pbs.org/newshour/world/panama-canal-helped-make-u-s-world-power>

This source quotes the canal as “the poster child of American colonialism in Latin America.”

## <sup>24</sup> The United States Invades Honduras Multiple Times (1903-1925)

Fox, P. D. (2022, September 25). *The ‘immigrant problem’ goes back more than just a few decades south of the*

*border*. Daily Montanan. <https://dailymontanan.com/2022/09/25/the-immigrant-problem-goes-back-more-than-just-a-few-decades-south-of-the-border/>

Vine, D. (2021, April 22). *175 Years of Border Invasions: The Anniversary of the U.S. War on Mexico and the*

*Roots of Northward Migration*. Council on Hemispheric Affairs. <https://coha.org/175-years-of-border-invasions-the-anniversary-of-the-u-s-war-on-mexico-and-the-roots-of-northward-migration/>

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*The Washington Post*. (1994, September 18). U.S. INTERVENTIONS IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE.

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1994/09/19/us-interventions-in-the-western-hemisphere/74d678d5-c52c-4dc7-b9dd-659f7d75963c/>

Federal Research Division. (1993, December). *Honduras: A Country Study* (Edited by Merrill, T. L.). Library of Congress.

<https://apps.dtic.mil/sti/pdfs/ADA294789.pdf>

See page 20 for how U.S. Marines landed in Puerto Cortés in 1907 to protect U.S. banana growers’ interests, and U.S. naval units engaged Nicaraguan forces that had invaded Honduras.

See page 23 for how, after there was a general strike in 1920 by workers in the banana industry, the United States dispatched a warship to Honduras.

See pages 18-27 for an in-depth description of the United States’ involvement in Honduras during this time period including the refinancing of \$120 million in debt, mostly to Great Britain, headed by J. P. Morgan.

Baldor, L. C. (2023, November 2). ‘The Few, the Proud’ aren’t so few: Marines recruiting surges while other services struggle.

*The Buffalo News*. [https://buffalonews.com/news/nation-world/government-politics/the-few-the-proud-arent-so-few-marines-recruiting-surges-while-other-services-struggle/article\\_795b3862-1ab7-55bf-9966-96df0d5851f2.html](https://buffalonews.com/news/nation-world/government-politics/the-few-the-proud-arent-so-few-marines-recruiting-surges-while-other-services-struggle/article_795b3862-1ab7-55bf-9966-96df0d5851f2.html)

The United States deployed the Marines to Honduras in 1924 to protect American lives as well as business interests.

Eschner, K. (2017, January 18). *Where We Got the Term “Banana Republic.”* Smithsonian Magazine.

<https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smart-news/where-we-got-term-banana-republic-180961813/>

Nevins, J. (2021, January 13). The Irony Of Calling America A ‘Banana Republic.’ *Cognoscenti, wbur*.

<https://www.wbur.org/cognoscenti/2021/01/13/mob-capitol-banana-republic-joseph-nevins>

See also ABC4. (2021, January 11). *What is a ‘Banana Republic’ and are we even using the term correctly?*

<https://www.abc4.com/news/what-is-a-banana-republic-and-are-we-even-using-the-term-correctly/>

One dictionary defines a “banana republic” as a small, impoverished nation with a government marked by corruption, exploitation, and domination by foreign companies and frequently reliant on a single export, or a government that supports a narrow class of people while harming the rest of its population.

## <sup>25</sup> The United States Expands the Monroe Doctrine Through the Roosevelt Corollary (1904)

The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. (2024, April 30). Big Stick policy. In the Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica

(Ed.), *Britannica*. Retrieved May 20, 2024, from

<https://www.britannica.com/event/Big-Stick-policy>

Roosevelt’s “Big Stick” policy came to be associated with his approach to foreign policy, especially with respect to nations in the Western Hemisphere, several of which were indebted to European countries.

National Archives. (n.d.). *Theodore Roosevelt’s Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine (1905)*.

<https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/roosevelt-corollary>

Little, B. (2022, May 5). *How Theodore Roosevelt Changed the Way America Operated in the World*. HISTORY.

<https://www.history.com/news/theodore-roosevelt-important-foreign-policy-big-stick>

Roosevelt’s corollary was driven by concern that European countries would use the excuse of Venezuela or other Latin American countries defaulting on their debts as a rationale for recolonizing those nations.

Public Broadcasting Corporation. (n.d.). Interview: Walter LaFeber. *American Experience, PBS*.

<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americalexperience/features/tr-lafeber/>

Roosevelt sought to defend the Panama Canal, which reduced the travel distance between the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans by 5,000 miles.

National Archives. (n.d.). *Monroe Doctrine (1823)*.

<https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/monroe-doctrine>

History.com Editors. (2022, October 4). *Monroe Doctrine*. HISTORY.

<https://www.history.com/topics/westward-expansion/monroe-doctrine>

Vine, D. (2021, April 22). *175 Years of Border Invasions: The Anniversary of the U.S. War on Mexico and the Roots of Northward Migration*. Council on Hemispheric Affairs.

<https://coha.org/175-years-of-border-invasions-the-anniversary-of-the-u-s-war-on-mexico-and-the-roots-of-northward-migration/>

The United States occupied the Dominican Republic three times between 1903 and 1924 and invaded Nicaragua seven times between 1853 and 1899.

See also Theodore Roosevelt Center. (n.d.). *Venezuela Debt Crisis*.

<https://www.theodorerooseveltcenter.org/Learn-About-TR/TR-Encyclopedia/Foreign-Affairs/Venezuela-Debt-Crisis.aspx>

The U.S. government intervened after Germany, Britain, and Italy set up a naval blockade of Venezuela when Venezuela paid failed to repay its debts to the European countries in 1902. The United States helped the parties settle the matter in 1903 when Venezuela agreed that 30 percent of its customs duties would be used to pay off its debts.



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See also Valenta, J. (2019, May 3). *The Monroe Doctrine for Venezuela*. Gatestone Institute.  
<https://www.gatestoneinstitute.org/14178/venezuela-monroe-doctrine>

## <sup>26</sup> The United States Uses Gunboat Diplomacy to Use or Threaten Force Against Other Nations

Longley, R. (2022, April 16). *Gunboat Diplomacy: Teddy Roosevelt's 'Big Stick' Policy*. ThoughtCo.  
<https://www.thoughtco.com/gunboat-diplomacy-4774988>

In 1904, the Roosevelt administration added ten battleships and four cruisers to the U.S. Navy. In 1907, the U.S. “Great White Fleet” of 16 battleships and seven destroyers sailed to six continents over 14 months.

National Museum of American Diplomacy. (n.d.). *Gunboat Diplomacy*.

<https://diplomacy.state.gov/online-exhibits/diplomacy-is-our-mission/prosperity/gunboat-diplomacy/>

The United States sent four warships to Japan in 1853. As a result, Japan opened itself to trade with the West for the first time in more than 200 years.

Masters, J. (2019, August 19). *Sea Power: The U.S. Navy and Foreign Policy*. Council on Foreign Relations.

<https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/sea-power-us-navy-and-foreign-policy>

The U.S. Navy has deployed the Marine Corps and the Coast Guard all over the world.

Smith, G. (1994, July 17). Returning to Haiti: Is It All Over for the Monroe Doctrine?. *Los Angeles Times*.

<https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1994-07-17-op-16533-story.html>

The United States was concerned that Germany would try to install a naval base that threatened the development of the Panama Canal.

Phillips, K. & Macalester College. (n.d.). *Timeline of Empire* [Interactive timeline]. Knight Lab.

[https://cdn.knightlab.com/libs/timeline3/latest/embed/index.html?fbclid=IwAR13I2NRAKIArMj2cmRP9F1Wqmvku7X9N5r2nQ8fUAAbJ3UZxz1IB5ua5gu0&font=Default&height=1000&initial\\_zoom=2&lang=en&source=1FoRrZY6Kn6SzKMTNqchmuRm7pFOqaRrmZGY1hd8iF8](https://cdn.knightlab.com/libs/timeline3/latest/embed/index.html?fbclid=IwAR13I2NRAKIArMj2cmRP9F1Wqmvku7X9N5r2nQ8fUAAbJ3UZxz1IB5ua5gu0&font=Default&height=1000&initial_zoom=2&lang=en&source=1FoRrZY6Kn6SzKMTNqchmuRm7pFOqaRrmZGY1hd8iF8)

Smith, G. (1984, September 9). The Legacy of Monroe's Doctrine. *The New York Times Magazine*.

<https://www.nytimes.com/1984/09/09/magazine/the-legacy-of-monroes-doctrine.html>

The United States invaded the Dominican Republic after its perceived instability on the island would disrupt the Panama Canal, which was under construction.

The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. (2022, November 1). Dollar Diplomacy. In the Editors of Encyclopaedia

Britannica (Ed.), *Britannica*. Retrieved May 20, 2024, from <https://www.britannica.com/event/Dollar-Diplomacy>

Roosevelt's successor, William Howard Taft, attempted to establish financial stability in foreign nations by providing U.S. loans instead of using military force. This approach came to be disparagingly known as “dollar diplomacy.”

## <sup>27</sup> The U.S. Temporarily Softens Its Use of the Roosevelt Corollary Through the Good Neighbor Policy (1933)

Office of the Historian. (n.d.). *Good Neighbor Policy, 1933*. U.S. Department of State.

<https://history.state.gov/milestones/1921-1936/good-neighbor>

History.com Editors. (2022, October 4). *Monroe Doctrine*. HISTORY.

<https://www.history.com/topics/19th-century/monroe-doctrine>

The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. (2014, August 5). Good Neighbor Policy. In the Editors of Encyclopaedia

Britannica (Ed.), *Britannica*. Retrieved May 20, 2024, from

<https://www.britannica.com/event/Good-Neighbor-Policy-of-the-United-States>

Longley, R. (2021, September 13). *The Good Neighbor Policy: History and Impact*. ThoughtCo.

<https://www.thoughtco.com/good-neighbor-policy-4776037>

Secretary of State Cordell Hull stated in 1933 that “No country has the right to intervene in the internal or external affairs of another” and that “The definite policy of the United States from now on is one opposed to armed intervention.”

New World Encyclopedia. (n.d.) Monroe Doctrine. In *NewWorldEncyclopedia.com*. Retrieved May 17, 2024, from

[https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Monroe\\_Doctrine](https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Monroe_Doctrine)

In 1928, the Clark Memorandum had stated that the United States would only intervene in Latin America if there was a threat by a European nation. It was released two years later, reversing the Roosevelt Corollary.

Elia Valori, G. (2022, February 2). *The Monroe Doctrine between the United States and Asia*. Modern Diplomacy.

<https://modern diplomacy.eu/2022/02/02/the-monroe-doctrine-between-the-united-states-and-asia/>

The Good Neighbor Policy's non-military approach was a counterweight to the influence of Germany and Italy at that time.

Fatton, Jr., R. (2015, July 22). *Killing Haitian Democracy*. Jacobin.

<https://jacobin.com/2015/07/monroe-doctrine-1915-occupation-duvalier/>

<b>1791–1903</b> U.S. Expansion and the Introduction of the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1904–1946</b> The Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1947–1980</b> The Truman Doctrine and the Containment of Communism	<b>1971–Present</b> Declaration of the “War on Drugs”	<b>1980s–1990s</b> Beyond Containment, the Rolling Back of Communism	<b>1996–Present</b> Enforcement and Externalization of Borders
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*But see* Durns, S. (2023, June 23). *How the US lost Latin America*. Washington Examiner.

<https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/policy/foreign-policy/186017/how-the-us-lost-latin-america/>

Notwithstanding Roosevelt’s good neighbor posture, the Federal Bureau of Investigation had 700 agents collecting intelligence throughout Latin America.

## <sup>28</sup> **The United States Sends Naval Ships to the Dominican Republic to Control the Country’s Finances** (1904)

American Foreign Relations. (n.d.). *Loans and Debt Resolution - The dominican receivership*.

<https://www.americanforeignrelations.com/E-N/Loans-and-Debt-Resolution-The-dominican-receivership.html>

Library of Congress. (n.d.). Theodore Roosevelt: His Life and Times on Film [Timeline of Theodore Roosevelt’s Life:

1900-1905]. <https://www.loc.gov/collections/theodore-roosevelt-films/articles-and-essays/timeline-of-theodore-roosevelts-life/1900-to-1905/>

Encyclopedia.com. (n.d.). Gunboat Diplomacy. In *Encyclopedia.com*. Retrieved May 20, 2024, from

<https://www.encyclopedia.com/history/modern-europe/albanian-history/gunboat-diplomacy>

Augustyn, A. & The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. (2022, January 31). Roosevelt Corollary: United States

[1904]. Good Neighbor Policy. In the Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica (Ed.), *Britannica*. Retrieved May 20, 2024, from

<https://www.britannica.com/event/Roosevelt-Corollary>

Dominican Leader Ulises Heureaux engaged in refinancing agreements with European creditors, and the Dominican Republic subsequently became heavily indebted to them. After his assassination, the island nation was unable to repay the debts, leading the British and French governments to send warships to the Caribbean.

## <sup>29</sup> **The U.S. Government Occupies Cuba Again After Cuban President Resigns** (1906-09)

British Broadcasting Corporation. (2012, October 11). *Timeline: US-Cuba Relations*. BBC.

<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-12159943>

Cuban Research Institute. (n.d.). *Chronology of U.S.-Cuba Relations*. Florida International University.

<https://cri.fiu.edu/us-cuba/chronology-of-us-cuba-relations/>

The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. (2024, February 29). Tomás Estrada Palma. In the Editors of Encyclopaedia

Britannica (Ed.), *Britannica*. Retrieved May 20, 2024, from <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Tomas-Estrada-Palma>

New World Encyclopedia. (n.d.) Monroe Doctrine. In *NewWorldEncyclopedia.com*. Retrieved May 17, 2024,

from [https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Monroe\\_Doctrine](https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Monroe_Doctrine)

## <sup>30</sup> **The United States Briefly Uses Dollar Diplomacy to Stabilize Economies in the Western Hemisphere and Beyond** (1909-13)

The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. (2022, November 1). Dollar Diplomacy. In the Editors of Encyclopaedia

Britannica (Ed.), *Britannica*. Retrieved May 20, 2024, from <https://www.britannica.com/event/Dollar-Diplomacy>

This quotes President Taft.

The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. (2024, May 13). José Santos Zelaya. In the Editors of Encyclopaedia

Britannica (Ed.), *Britannica*. Retrieved May 20, 2024, from <https://www.britannica.com/event/Dollar-Diplomacy>

Office of the Historian. (n.d.). *Dollar Diplomacy, 1909-1913*. U.S. Department of State.

<https://history.state.gov/milestones/1899-1913/dollar-diplo>

The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. (2022, November 1). Dollar Diplomacy. In the Editors of Encyclopaedia

Britannica (Ed.), *Britannica*. Retrieved May 20, 2024, from <https://www.britannica.com/event/Dollar-Diplomacy>

The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. (2022, November 1). Dollar Diplomacy. In the Editors of Encyclopaedia

Britannica (Ed.), *Britannica*. Retrieved May 20, 2024, from <https://www.britannica.com/event/Dollar-Diplomacy>

OpenStaxCollege. (n.d.). *Taft’s “Dollar Diplomacy”*. University of Hawaii Pressbooks.

<https://pressbooks-dev.oer.hawaii.edu/ushistory/chapter/tafts-dollar-diplomacy/>

After Nicaragua refused to accept U.S. loans to pay off its debt to Great Britain, the U.S. government ultimately sent the military to Nicaragua to pressure the government to agree.

*See also* Longley, R. (2021, August 2). *What Is Dollar Diplomacy? Definition and Examples*. ThoughtCo. <https://www.thoughtco.com/dollar-diplomacy-4769962>

Per the Lodge Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, the U.S. government stated it would prevent any foreign government or business from interfering with nations in the Western Hemisphere that might result in that government obtaining “practical power of control.” It also stopped Mexico from selling land in Baja California to Japan in 1912.

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Kinzer, S. (2018, March 12). *Overthrow: 100 Years of U.S. Meddling & Regime Change, from Iran to Nicaragua to Hawaii to Cuba*. Democracy Now. [https://www.democracynow.org/2018/3/12/100\\_years\\_of\\_us\\_interference\\_regime](https://www.democracynow.org/2018/3/12/100_years_of_us_interference_regime)  
Santos Zelaya led infrastructure improvements for Nicaragua and sought to diversify the nation’s creditors by seeking loans from Great Britain and France. However, the U.S. government preferred to be the sole lender for Nicaragua and subsequently deposed Santos Zelaya.

<sup>31</sup> **The U.S. Government Supports a Coup in Nicaragua, Occupying the Nation Twice** (1909)

Vine, D. (2021, April 22). *175 Years of Border Invasions: The Anniversary of the U.S. War on Mexico and the Roots of Northward Migration*. Council on Hemispheric Affairs. <https://coha.org/175-years-of-border-invasions-the-anniversary-of-the-u-s-war-on-mexico-and-the-roots-of-northward-migration/>,

New World Encyclopedia. (n.d.) Monroe Doctrine. In *NewWorldEncyclopedia.com*. Retrieved May 17, 2024, [https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Monroe\\_Doctrine](https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Monroe_Doctrine)

Nilsson, J. (2022, November 30). 7 of America’s Forgotten Wars. *The Saturday Evening Post*. <https://www.saturdayeveningpost.com/2022/11/7-of-americas-forgotten-wars/>

Longley, R. (2021, September 13). *The Good Neighbor Policy: History and Impact*. ThoughtCo. <https://www.thoughtco.com/good-neighbor-policy-4776037>

Minster, C. (2019, January 6). *Biography of José Santos Zelaya*. <https://www.thoughtco.com/biography-of-jose-santos-zelaya-2136484>  
The United States made Nicaragua a protectorate in 1916.

Zinn Education Project. (n.d.). *Nov. 18, 1909: U.S. War Ships Sent to Nicaragua*. <https://www.zinnproject.org/news/tdih/warships-nicaragua/>

Grant, W. (2019, July 18). Nicaragua mothers mourn on eve of Sandinista revolution’s anniversary. *BBC*. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-49004523>

Longley, R. (2021, September 13). *The Good Neighbor Policy: History and Impact*. ThoughtCo. <https://www.thoughtco.com/good-neighbor-policy-4776037>

<sup>32</sup> **The United States Intervenes Militarily in Cuba Twice in Ten Years** (1912)

British Broadcasting Corporation. (2012, October 11). *Timeline: US-Cuba Relations*. BBC. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-12159943>

Jervis, R. (2021, December 20). New book ‘Cuba: An American History’ upends misconceptions of Cuban history, US relationship. *USA TODAY*. <https://www.usatoday.com/story/entertainment/books/2021/12/15/cuba-american-history-book-explores-pasts-of-cuba-and-united-states/8891616002/>  
The Cuban military and white militias repressed Black protestors with an estimated 6,000 Black Cubans killed.

*See also* Waweru, Nduta. (2018, September 1). *How Cuba’s first black Senate president caused the massacre of over 2000 Afro-Cubans in 1912*. Face2Face Africa. <https://face2faceafrica.com/article/how-cubas-first-black-senate-president-caused-the-massacre-of-over-2000-afro-cubans-in-1912>

Afro-Cubans formed the Independent Party of Color in 1908, but the Cuban president banned the party under Morúa Law. The Afro-Cuban rebellion was sparked after the political party reorganized in 1912.

*See also* Benson, D. S. (2017, June 12). *Fears of Black Political Activism in Cuba and Beyond, 1912–2017*. Black Perspectives. <https://www.aaihs.org/fears-of-black-political-activism-in-cuba-and-beyond-1912-2017/>  
The *Partido Independiente de Color* (PIC) protested the exclusion of Black Cubans from national office.

Cuban Research Institute. (n.d.). *Chronology of U.S.-Cuba Relations*. Florida International University. <https://cri.fiu.edu/us-cuba/chronology-of-us-cuba-relations/>

Vine, D. (2021, April 22). *175 Years of Border Invasions: The Anniversary of the U.S. War on Mexico and the Roots of Northward Migration*. Council on Hemispheric Affairs. <https://coha.org/175-years-of-border-invasions-the-anniversary-of-the-u-s-war-on-mexico-and-the-roots-of-northward-migration/>

Baldor, L. C. (2023, November 2). ‘The Few, the Proud’ aren’t so few: Marines recruiting surges while other services struggle. *The Buffalo News*. [https://buffalonews.com/news/nation-world/government-politics/the-few-the-proud-arent-so-few-marines-recruiting-surges-while-other-services-struggle/article\\_795b3862-1ab7-55bf-9966-96df0d5851f2.html](https://buffalonews.com/news/nation-world/government-politics/the-few-the-proud-arent-so-few-marines-recruiting-surges-while-other-services-struggle/article_795b3862-1ab7-55bf-9966-96df0d5851f2.html)  
The United States deployed the Marines to Cuba in 1917 to protect the production and shipping of sugar.



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### <sup>33</sup> The U.S. Government Invades Veracruz and Occupies Mexico for Six Months (1914)

Lindsay, J. M. (2014, April 21). TWE Remembers: The U.S. Invasion of Veracruz, Mexico. *The Water's Edge, Council on Foreign Relations*. <https://www.cfr.org/blog/twe-remembers-us-invasion-veracruz-mexico>

Goodman, M. A. (2022, February 1). *The United States of hypocrisy: Revisiting the Monroe Doctrine*. Canadian Dimension. <https://canadiandimension.com/articles/view/the-united-states-of-hypocrisy-revisiting-the-monroe-doctrine>  
The United States alluded to the Roosevelt Corollary of the Monroe Doctrine to rationalize intervention in Mexico.

Dasandi, N. (2024, April 14). United States Occupation of Veracruz. In the Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica (Ed.), *Britannica*. Retrieved May 20, 2024, from <https://www.britannica.com/event/United-States-occupation-of-Veracruz>  
The United States had instituted an arms embargo on Mexico. However, a German steamer, SS *Ypiranga*, tried to deliver arms to Mexico at Veracruz, which contributed to the U.S. government sending the U.S. military to Veracruz. The *Ypiranga* eventually delivered the arms at a different Mexican port. During this occupation, Mexican President Victoriano Huerta went into exile, and Venustiano Carranza took over the government.

The Associated Press. (2019, January 25). *Before Venezuela, US had long involvement in Latin America*. <https://apnews.com/article/2ded14659982426c9b2552827734be83>

See also Vine, D. (2021, April 22). *175 Years of Border Invasions: The Anniversary of the U.S. War on Mexico and the Roots of Northward Migration*. Council on Hemispheric Affairs. <https://coha.org/175-years-of-border-invasions-the-anniversary-of-the-u-s-war-on-mexico-and-the-roots-of-northward-migration/>  
The U.S. government has invaded Mexico as least 10 times since 1806, including the U.S.-Mexico War.

### <sup>34</sup> The United States Occupies Haiti for Nearly Two Decades (1915–34)

Saint Paul, J. E. (2021, August 27). *Assassinations and invasions – how the US and France shaped Haiti’s long history of political turmoil*. The Conversation. <https://www.upi.com/Voices/2021/08/27/haiti-US-France-shape-Haiti-turmoil/3591630067571/>

Sciolino, E. (1994, August 7). The World: U.N. Speaks Out on Haiti; Monroe's Doctrine Takes Another Knock. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/1994/08/07/weekinreview/the-world-un-speaks-out-on-haiti-monroe-s-doctrine-takes-another-knock.html>

Suggs, D. (2021, August 6). As U.S. Navigates Crisis in Haiti, a Bloody History Looms Large. *The Washington Post*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/history/2021/08/06/haiti-us-occupation-1915/>  
In 1868, U.S. President Andrew Johnson considered annexing Haiti and the Dominican Republic for military reasons. U.S. lawmakers also feared that Haiti could be vulnerable to European intervention.

Fatton, Jr., R. (2015, July 22). *Killing Haitian Democracy*. Jacobin. <https://jacobin.com/2015/07/monroe-doctrine-1915-occupation-duvalier/>  
In 1914, U.S. Marines removed Haiti’s gold reserve from the Banque Nationale and transported it to the National City Bank in New York (modern-day Citigroup). This was one of several times in which U.S. Marines had arrived in Haiti before 1915 to “protect American lives and property.”

Cameron, C. (2021, December 19). As U.S. Navigates Crisis in Haiti, a Bloody History Looms Large. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/19/us/politics/us-haiti-intervention.html>  
The U.S. Marines killed thousands of Haitians.

Cottrino, N. & Sawyer, I. (2023, August 14). *“Living a Nightmare:” Haiti Needs an Urgent Rights-Based Response to Escalating Crisis*. <https://www.hrw.org/report/2023/08/14/living-nightmare/haiti-needs-urgent-rights-based-response-escalating-crisis>  
The U.S. government has not been held accountable for taking the \$500,0000 in gold reserve from Haiti.

Sexton, R. (2010, January 13). *Haiti and United States Inextricably Linked*. FiveThirtyEight. <https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/haiti-and-united-states-inextricably/>

Porter, C., Méheut, C., Apuzzo, M., & Gebrekidan, S. (2022, May 20). The Ransom: Invade Haiti, Wall Street Urged. The U.S. Obligated. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/20/world/haiti-wall-street-us-banks.html>  
HASCO paid workers merely \$0.20 per day in Haiti, compared to \$1.75 per day per worker in Cuba.

This source also details how U.S. soldiers tied up Haitian non-combatants and forced them to work without pay.

Longley, R. (2021, September 13). *The Good Neighbor Policy: History and Impact*. ThoughtCo. <https://www.thoughtco.com/good-neighbor-policy-4776037>  
The assassination of pro-American Haitian president Vilbrun Guillaume Sam was another reason for U.S. military intervention.

Smith, G. (1994, July 17). Returning to Haiti: Is It All Over for the Monroe Doctrine?. *Los Angeles Times*. <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1994-07-17-op-16533-story.html>  
The United States was concerned that Germany might try to settle Haiti’s debts in exchange for establishing a military base in Haiti, and the U.S. government invoked the Monroe Doctrine to prevent any European powers interfering with Haiti.

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García Peña, L. (2016, May 25). *One Hundred Years After the Occupation*. NACLA.

<https://nacla.org/news/2016/05/25/one-hundred-years-after-occupation>

The United States also created a Hispaniola temporary labor program, which had temporary Haitian migrant workers travel to the Dominican Republic to cut cane.

Morrison, A., Galvan, A. & Lo, J. (2021, September 24). *Haitians see history of racist policies in migrant*

*treatment*. Associated Press. [https://apnews.com/article/immigration-race-and-ethnicity-mexico-haiti-asylum-seekers-](https://apnews.com/article/immigration-race-and-ethnicity-mexico-haiti-asylum-seekers-a81ac1148118db38824d2d8f62139b87?fbclid=IwAR1R9bs4wkmxqkz_N4Kn4QIDcHCeLISabJvdE4HmbJcaOTWyyYzIOS9W9Y)

[a81ac1148118db38824d2d8f62139b87?fbclid=IwAR1R9bs4wkmxqkz\\_N4Kn4QIDcHCeLISabJvdE4HmbJcaOTWyyYzIOS9W9Y](https://apnews.com/article/immigration-race-and-ethnicity-mexico-haiti-asylum-seekers-a81ac1148118db38824d2d8f62139b87?fbclid=IwAR1R9bs4wkmxqkz_N4Kn4QIDcHCeLISabJvdE4HmbJcaOTWyyYzIOS9W9Y)

Byrd, B. (2018, January 15). *François Duvalier and the Misuse of Martin Luther King, Jr.* Black Perspectives.

<https://www.aaihs.org/francois-duvalier-and-the-misuse-of-martin-luther-king-jr/>

Rosalsky, G. (2021, October 5). ‘The Greatest Heist in History’: How Haiti Was Forced To Pay Reparations For

Freedom. *Planet Money*, NPR. [https://www.npr.org/sections/money/2021/10/05/1042518732/-the-greatest-heist-in-history-how-haiti-was-forced-to-](https://www.npr.org/sections/money/2021/10/05/1042518732/-the-greatest-heist-in-history-how-haiti-was-forced-to-pay-reparations-for-freed?fbclid=IwAR16rDtOR9utoWsdd63iGfc5S4LXqkuALX14DHGVbhJzERWW9v6Qk4dlqnQ)

[pay-reparations-for-freed?fbclid=IwAR16rDtOR9utoWsdd63iGfc5S4LXqkuALX14DHGVbhJzERWW9v6Qk4dlqnQ](https://www.npr.org/sections/money/2021/10/05/1042518732/-the-greatest-heist-in-history-how-haiti-was-forced-to-pay-reparations-for-freed?fbclid=IwAR16rDtOR9utoWsdd63iGfc5S4LXqkuALX14DHGVbhJzERWW9v6Qk4dlqnQ)

Danticat, E. (2015, July 28). The Long Legacy of Occupation in Haiti. *The New Yorker*.

<https://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/haiti-us-occupation-hundred-year-anniversary>

*See also* Dubois, L. (2014, October 6). How Will Haiti Reckon with the Duvalier Years?. *The New Yorker*.

<https://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/will-haiti-reckon-duvalier-years>

François Duvalier, his father, and his son were products of the occupation.

### <sup>35</sup> **Haitians Migrate to United States in Significant Numbers**

Fouron, G. E. (2020, August 19). *Haiti’s painful evolution from promised land to migrant-sending nation*.

Migration Policy Institute. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/haiti-painful-evolution-promised-land-migrant-sending-nation>

The Haitian Times. (2023, June 29). *Distant Neighbors | Haitian flows across Hispaniola since 1915*. The Haitian

Times. <https://haitiantimes.com/2023/06/29/inflows-and-outflows-across-hispaniola/>

Thousands of Haitians moved to the Dominican Republic to work on sugar plantations and other agricultural products through the U.S.-created seasonal farmworker contracting program.

### <sup>36</sup> **Opposition to Occupation of Haiti and Dominican Republic**

Eddins, C. (2020, January 28). *W.E.B. Du Bois, Haiti, and US Imperialism*. Black Perspectives.

<https://www.aaihs.org/w-e-b-du-bois-haiti-and-us-imperialism/>

Institute of Haitian Studies. (n.d.). *HAITI: A Brief History of a Complex Nation*. The University of Kansas.

<https://haitianstudies.ku.edu/haiti-brief-history-complex-nation>

### <sup>37</sup> **The U.S. Government Occupies the Dominican Republic for Eight Years (1916–24)**

U.S. Department of State [2001–2009 Archive]. (n.d.). *Dominican Republic, 1916–1924*.

[https://2001-](https://2001-2009.state.gov/r/pa/ho/time/wwi/108649.htm#:~:text=In%201912%2C%20following%20the%20assassination,of%20Santo%20Domingo%2C%20as%20president)

[2009.state.gov/r/pa/ho/time/wwi/108649.htm#:~:text=In%201912%2C%20following%20the%20assassination,of%20Santo%20Domingo%2C%20as%20president](https://2001-2009.state.gov/r/pa/ho/time/wwi/108649.htm#:~:text=In%201912%2C%20following%20the%20assassination,of%20Santo%20Domingo%2C%20as%20president)

Mcclellan, E. N. (1921, February). Operations Ashore In The Dominican Republic. *U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings*,

47/2/216. <https://www.usni.org/magazines/proceedings/1921/february/operations-ashore-dominican-republic>

García Peña, L. (2016, May 25). *One Hundred Years After the Occupation*. NACLA.

<https://nacla.org/news/2016/05/25/one-hundred-years-after-occupation>

U.S. occupation led to the creation of the Guardia Nacional Dominicana (GND), whose officers were trained by the Marines. The GND went on to have a long history of deploying repressive tactics on the Dominican people.

History.com Editors. (2009, March 8). *Rafael Trujillo*. HISTORY.

<https://www.history.com/topics/1960s/rafael-trujillo>

During the U.S. occupation of the nation, the Marines trained Rafael Trujillo, who joined the Constabulary Guard. By 1927, he became commander in chief of the National army. He would go on to create an infamous track record of human rights abuses.

Porter, C., Méheut, C., Apuzzo, M., & Gebrekidan, S. (2022, May 20). The Ransom: The Root of Haiti’s Misery:

Reparations to Enslavers. *The New York Times*.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/20/world/americas/haiti-history-colonized-france.html>

The National City Bank of New York eventually became Citigroup.

<b>1791–1903</b> U.S. Expansion and the Introduction of the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1904–1946</b> The Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1947–1980</b> The Truman Doctrine and the Containment of Communism	<b>1971–Present</b> Declaration of the “War on Drugs”	<b>1980s–1990s</b> Beyond Containment, the Rolling Back of Communism	<b>1996–Present</b> Enforcement and Externalization of Borders
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Nilsson, J. (2022, November 30). 7 of America’s Forgotten Wars. *The Saturday Evening Post*.

<https://www.saturdayeveningpost.com/2022/11/7-of-americas-forgotten-wars/>

The leaders of other nations in Latin America pressured the US government to withdraw its forces.

The Haitian Times. (2023, September 27). *Policies and politics behind today’s Haiti-Dominican Republic Relations*.

<https://haitiantimes.com/2023/09/27/policies-and-politics-behind-todays-haiti-dominican-republic-relations/>

Mottale, M. (2013, November). *Leveraging American Security Policy in the Caribbean*. American Diplomacy.

<https://americandiplomacy.web.unc.edu/2013/11/leveraging-american-security-policy-in-the-caribbean/>

The United States withdrew on the condition that the U.S. government controlled Dominican customs and the revenues would go to American creditors.

Danticat, E. (2015, July 28). The Long Legacy of Occupation in Haiti. *The New Yorker*.

<https://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/haiti-us-occupation-hundred-year-anniversary>

### <sup>38</sup> Dominicans Migrate to United States and Other Nations

Immigration to United States. (2011, October 4). *Dominican Immigrants*.

<https://immigrationtounitedstates.org/465-dominican-immigrants.html>

### <sup>39</sup> Dominican Migration Continues After Restrictive U.S. Immigration Law, Slows Considerably During Trujillo Regime

Immigration to United States. (2011, October 4). *Dominican Immigrants*.

<https://immigrationtounitedstates.org/465-dominican-immigrants.html>

### <sup>40</sup> Dominican Immigration to United States Grows after 1950

Immigration to United States. (2011, October 4). *Dominican Immigrants*.

<https://immigrationtounitedstates.org/465-dominican-immigrants.html>

### <sup>41</sup> The United States and Other Governments Deploy Their Navies to Support the Salvadoran Suppression of the Indigenous Revolt in *La Matanza* (The Massacre) (1932)

British Broadcasting Corporation. (2024, February 13). *El Salvador country profile*. BBC.

<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-19401932>

Musa, M. (2022, November 14). *El Salvador’s History Shows Migration Isn’t the Problem, Imperialism Is*. The Real

News Network. <https://therealnews.com/el-salvadors-history-shows-migration-isnt-the-problem-imperialism-is>

NACLA. (2007, September 25). *In the Beginning There Was the Coffee Oligarchy*.

<https://nacla.org/article/beginning-there-was-coffee-oligarchy>

Until the 1950s, 90 percent of all Salvadoran exports was coffee.

The United States and Great Britain invested in Salvadoran railroads, electricity, and communications networks.

40 percent of the workforce at United Fruit Company’s plantations in neighboring Honduras were Salvadoran.

California Migration Museum. (n.d.). *El Salvador’s Early History: Coffee and Conflict*.

<https://www.calmigration.org/elsalvador>

Augustín Farabundo Martí was the leader of the farmworkers, demanding better working conditions.

Britain’s James Hill and Americans Austin and Rueben Hills—of modern-day Hills Bros Coffee in San Francisco—are among the businessmen who relied on El Salvador’s coffee.

The vast majority of the nation’s wealth was and continues to be concentrated among a small, elite group of “fourteen families.”

Zinn Education Project. (n.d.). *Jan. 22, 1932: La Matanza (“The Massacre”) Begins in El Salvador*.

<https://www.zinnedproject.org/news/tdih/la-matanza>,

Steffanoni, C. (2023, June 18). *The Story of El Salvador’s 1932 La Matanza Massacre*. Medium.

[https://medium.com/@chris\\_steff/the-story-of-el-salvadors-1932-la-matanza-massacre-8ea3eb7d267](https://medium.com/@chris_steff/the-story-of-el-salvadors-1932-la-matanza-massacre-8ea3eb7d267)

The United States recognized Maximiliano Hernández Martínez as president of El Salvador in 1934.

The number of Salvadorans who identified as Indian or Indigenous dropped precipitously after 1932.

Milner, M. (2006, March 1). *The Invasion Of El Salvador: Navy, Part 14*. Legion.

<https://legionmagazine.com/the-invasion-of-el-salvador/>

Many of the coffee plantations and railways were owned by Anglo-American parties.

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<sup>42</sup> **The United States Repeals the Platt Amendment But Continues to Maintain a Profound Presence in Cuba (1934)**

Zinn, H. (1980). *A People's History of the United States*. Harper & Row Publishers.  
<https://web.viu.ca/davies/H323Vietnam/zinn.htm>

Longley, R. (2021, September 13). *The Good Neighbor Policy: History and Impact*. ThoughtCo.  
<https://www.thoughtco.com/good-neighbor-policy-4776037>

The U.S. government's continued involvement in Cuba contributed to the Cuban Revolution in 1958 and eventual rise of Fidel Castro. Subsequently, the population of Cubans who lived in the United States grew from 79,000 to 439,000 between 1959 and 1970.

Office of the Historian. (n.d.). *Good Neighbor Policy, 1933*. U.S. Department of State.  
<https://history.state.gov/milestones/1921-1936/good-neighbor>

Abrogation of the Platt Amendment was an example of the US government's “Good Neighbor” policy.

Lipman, J. (2022, January 5). The United States has long sought to exploit Guantánamo's legal contradictions. *The Washington Post*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2022/01/05/united-states-has-long-sought-exploit-guantanamos-legal-contradictions/>  
 Even after the Cuban Revolution in 1959, the United States maintained its base at Guantánamo Bay. However, over time, it increasingly hired workers from Jamaica, the Philippines, and other countries to replace the Cuban workers.

<sup>43</sup> **U.S.-Backed Dominican President Rafael Trujillo Orders the Parsley Massacre (1937)**

British Broadcasting Corporation. (2012, October 13). *The massacre that marked Haiti-Dominican Republic ties*. BBC.  
<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-19880967>

It is called the Parsley Massacre because Dominican soldiers asked individuals that might be Haitian to pronounce *perejil*, the Spanish word for parsley, to determine whether they should be targeted as Haitian.

Zinn Education Project. (n.d.). *Oct. 2, 1937: Parsley Massacre*.  
<https://www.zinnedproject.org/news/t dih/parsley-massacre/>

Fouron, G. E. (2020, August 19). *Haiti's painful evolution from promised land to migrant-sending nation*.

Migration Policy Institute. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/haiti-painful-evolution-promised-land-migrant-sending-nation>

While the Dominican Republic agreed to pay reparations to the survivors of the massacre and the victims' families, few of the survivors or families received their settlements.

This estimates 30,000 victims.

García Peña, L. (2016, May 25). *One Hundred Years After the Occupation*. NACLA.  
<https://nacla.org/news/2016/05/25/one-hundred-years-after-occupation>

*Rayanos* are ethnically mixed people from the borderlands of Haiti and the Dominican Republic.

The U.S. Marines trained Trujillo to lead the Guardia Nacional Dominicana in 1918 and advanced him to become the commander-in-chief of the Dominican National Army in 1927. Trujillo went on to lead a coup against Dominican President Horacio Vasquez in 1930. Relations between Haitians living in the Dominican Republic and Dominicans continues to be fraught, as demonstrated by the fact that the Dominican Republic denationalized more than 20,000 Haitians who were living in the country in 2013 leaving them stateless.

Dominican Today. (2023, July 23). *The Parsley Massacre: The massacre of Haitians in 1937... How many actually died?*. <https://dominantoday.com/dr/local/2023/07/23/the-parsley-massacre-the-massacre-of-haitians-in-1937-how-many-actually-died/>

New World Encyclopedia. (n.d.) Monroe Doctrine. In *NewWorldEncyclopedia.com*. Retrieved May 17, 2024, from [https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Monroe\\_Doctrine](https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Monroe_Doctrine)

The U.S. government did not intervene during this period of the Good Neighbor policy because there was no threat from a European nation.

Bishop, M. & Fernandez, T. (2017, October 7). 80 Years On, Dominicans And Haitians Revisit Painful Memories Of

Parsley Massacre. *NPR, Parallels*. <https://www.npr.org/sections/parallels/2017/10/07/555871670/80-years-on-dominicans-and-haitians-revisit-painful-memories-of-parsley-massacre>

As part of Trujillo's “Dominicanization” process, his regime brought new Dominican settlers to live near the Dominican-Haitian border after the massacre.

The Haitian Times. (2023, June 29). *Distant Neighbors | Haitian flows across Hispaniola since 1915*.

<https://haitiantimes.com/2023/06/29/inflows-and-outflows-across-hispaniola/>

Between 1929 and 1963, the Dominican Republic's constitutions limited “Dominican” identity to those born in the Dominican Republic.

Wucker, M. (1998, November). *The River Massacre: The Real and Imagined Borders of Hispaniola*. Windows on

Haiti [Originally published in Tikun magazine]. <https://windowsonhaiti.com/windowsonhaiti/wucker1.shtml>

Dominicans refer to the massacre as *El Corte*, the cutting.

United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. (n.d.). Refuge in Latin America. *Holocaust Encyclopedia*.

Retrieved on May 28, 2024, from <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/refuge-in-latin-america>



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- Mottale, M. (2013, November). *Leveraging American Security Policy in the Caribbean*. American Diplomacy. <https://americandiplomacy.web.unc.edu/2013/11/leveraging-american-security-policy-in-the-caribbean/> After the massacre, Trujillo set up a Jewish colony in Sosúa and offered to accept 50,000 to 100,000 Jew refugees, possibly to rehabilitate his image after the massacre and to “whiten” the Dominican Republic. However, only a few hundred Jew refugees resettled there.
- <sup>45</sup> **The U.S. Military Opens the School of the Americas (SOA) in Panama and Trained Thousands of Soldiers from Nations Throughout the Western Hemisphere** (1946)
- Viscarra, A. J. & Prentice, M. (2014, August 15). *Children of the Monroe Doctrine*. Latino Rebels. <https://www.latinorebels.com/2014/08/15/children-of-the-monroe-doctrine/>  
Some of the graduates of SOA went on to commit human rights violations through Central America.
- Laderman, S. (2023, May 15). Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation. In the Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica (Ed.), *Britannica*. Retrieved May 28, 2024, from <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Western-Hemisphere-Institute-for-Security-Cooperation>  
This lists Roberto d’Aubuisson in El Salvador and Hugo Bánzer Suárez in Bolivia as SOA graduates.
- Rine, B. (2020, December 17). *Close the School of the Americas, Again. Glimpse from the Globe*. <https://www.glimpsefromtheglobe.com/topics/human-security/close-the-school-of-the-americas-again/#:~:text=Under%20the%20Panama%20Canal%20Treaty,Spanish%20to%20accommodate%20foreign%20students>
- Reuters. (2002, December 17). School of the Americas Closes. *The Washington Post*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/2000/12/17/school-of-the-americas-closes/92746b1f-cf46-4763-a73d-5f558ea48a47/>  
This lists Raoul Cédras in Haiti as a graduate of the SOA.
- Wilkins, B. (2019, July 17). *Five Men Sentenced to Life for Operation Condor Killings Trained at School of the Americas*. Common Dreams. <https://www.commondreams.org/views/2019/07/17/five-men-sentenced-life-operation-condor-killings-trained-school-americas>  
This lists 11 Latin American leaders plus former Bolivian interior minister Luis Arce Gomez and Uruguayan captain Luis Alfredo Maurente as graduates of the SOA.
- Hess, J. (2014, December 9). *Infamous US military school still draws fire*. Al Jazeera. <https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2014/12/9/infamous-us-military-school-still-draws-fire>  
This lists Hugo Banzer from Bolivia as a graduate of the SOA.
- ABC News. (2000, December 14). *The school of Latin America's dictators*. <https://abcnews.go.com/International/story?id=81917&page=1>  
The SOA shifted from the U.S. Army to the Department of Defense in 2000 when it became WHINSEC.  
  
This lists Manuel Noriega and Omar Torrijos from Panama and Leopoldo Galtieri from Argentina as graduates of the SOA.
- Livingstone, G. (2010, November 19). The school of Latin America's dictators. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/cifamerica/2010/nov/18/us-military-usa>  
It was renamed the U.S. Army Caribbean School in 1949, renamed the School of Americas in 1963, and relocated to Ft. Benning, GA, in the United States in 1984. It was renamed the Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation (WHINSEC).  
  
This also lists Juan Melgar Castro and Policarpo Paz Garcia from Honduras and Efraín Montt from Guatemala as SOA graduates.
- School of the Americas Watch. (n.d.). *About SOA Watch*. <https://soaw.org/about-soa-watch>  
This quotes the SOA Watch.
- <sup>46</sup> **After WWII, the U.S. Government Justifies Unilateral Intervention in the Western Hemisphere and Elsewhere to Prevent the Spread of Communism** (1947)
- History.com Editors. (2023, March 29). *Vietnam War Timeline*. HISTORY. <https://www.history.com/topics/vietnam-war/vietnam-war-timeline>
- Lindsay, J. (2012, March 12). TWE Remembers: The Truman Doctrine. *The Water’s Edge, Council on Foreign Relations*. <https://www.cfr.org/blog/twe-remembers-truman-doctrine>  
In an effort to expand U.S. leadership beyond the Western Hemisphere, Truman stated: “It must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.  
  
*See also* Gillooly, S. & Porres, S. (2023, October 12). *A Tale of Two Attitudes Toward Leftist Governments in Latin America*. E-International Relations. <https://www.e-ir.info/2023/10/12/a-tale-of-two-attitudes-toward-leftist-governments-in-latin-america/>  
Truman argued that national security required stopping the rise of Soviet power, including intervening in nations that could be influenced or “corrupted” by communism.

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The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. (2023, May 8). containment. In the Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica (Ed.), *Britannica* <https://www.britannica.com/topic/containment-foreign-policy>

Jones, S. (2019, October 16). The Truman Doctrine: Containing Communism During the Cold War. <https://www.thoughtco.com/the-truman-doctrine-3310122>

The economic portion of the Truman Plan in Europe was the Marshall Plan, or the Economic Cooperation Act, which offered economic aid to help rebuild cities after WWII.

See, e.g., Emiridge, J. (2017, January 12). *The Forgotten Interventions*. Jacobin. <https://jacobin.com/2017/01/russia-hacks-election-meddling-iran-mossadegh-chile-allende-guatemala-arbenz-coup>

The CIA deposed leaders in Iran, Guatemala, the Congo, and Chile because they nationalized industries, threatened U.S. business interests, or impeded American concerns.

HISTORY. (n.d.). *President Truman announces the Truman Doctrine*. <https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/truman-doctrine-is-announced>

History.com Editors. (2024, April 4). *Communism Timeline*. HISTORY.

<https://www.history.com/topics/european-history/communism-timeline>

In addition to U.S. interventions in the Western Hemisphere, the Truman Doctrine led to U.S. wars in Vietnam and Korea and formed the basis for U.S. Cold War policy.

See also Tye, L. (2020, July 17). Five myths about McCarthyism. *The Washington Post*.

[https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/five-myths/five-myths-mccarthyism-joe-mccarthy/2020/07/17/7f063970-c77c-11ea-b037-f971f89ee46\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/five-myths/five-myths-mccarthyism-joe-mccarthy/2020/07/17/7f063970-c77c-11ea-b037-f971f89ee46_story.html)

Truman’s Loyalty Order in 1947 required the background checks of millions of federal workers and applicants.

See also Schorr, D. (1987, March 12). Truman Doctrine to Reagan Doctrine, the fatal flaws. *The Christian Science Monitor*.

<https://www.csmonitor.com/1987/0312/edoc.html>

Truman’s loyalty orders contributed to McCarthyism.

New World Encyclopedia. (n.d.) Truman Doctrine. In *NewWorldEncyclopedia.com*. Retrieved May 29, 2024, [https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Truman\\_Doctrine](https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Truman_Doctrine)

The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. (2023, May 8). Containment. In the Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica (Ed.), *Britannica* <https://www.britannica.com/topic/containment-foreign-policy>

Jones, S. (2019, October 16). The Truman Doctrine: Containing Communism During the Cold War. <https://www.thoughtco.com/the-truman-doctrine-3310122>

The economic portion of the Truman Plan in Europe was the Marshall Plan, or the Economic Cooperation Act, which offered economic aid to help rebuild cities after WWII.

See, e.g., Emiridge, J. (2017, January 12). *The Forgotten Interventions*. Jacobin. <https://jacobin.com/2017/01/russia-hacks-election-meddling-iran-mossadegh-chile-allende-guatemala-arbenz-coup>

The CIA deposed leaders in Iran, Guatemala, Congo, and Chile because they nationalized industries, threatened U.S. business interests, or impeded American concerns.

History.com Editors. (2018, August 21). *Eisenhower Doctrine*. HISTORY.

<https://www.history.com/topics/cold-war/eisenhower-doctrine>

Office of the Historian. (n.d.). *The Eisenhower Doctrine, 1957*. U.S. Department of State.

<https://history.state.gov/milestones/1953-1960/eisenhower-doctrine#:~:text=Eisenhower%20announced%20the%20Eisenhower%20Doctrine,armed%20aggression%20from%20another%20state>

Danin, R. (2012, January 5). *Remembering the Eisenhower Doctrine*. Council on Foreign Relations. <https://www.cfr.org/blog/remembering-eisenhower-doctrine>

Bryan, D. (2012, March 7). *The Cold War in 1,000 Words*. American History USA.

<https://www.americanhistoryusa.com/coldwar-summary/>

Proxy conflicts arose worldwide, including in Greece, China, Korea, Iran, Hungary, Vietnam, Czechoslovakia, Afghanistan, and throughout Latin America.

Kelly, M. (2019, May 9). *Top 6 Key U.S. Presidential Foreign Policy Doctrines*. ThoughtCo.

<https://www.thoughtco.com/top-six-foreign-policy-doctrines-105473>

In the 1980s, Ronald Reagan provided direct assistance to those resisting communist governments, such as providing support to the Contras in Nicaragua and the Iran-Contra Scandal.

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<sup>47</sup> **The Kennan Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine Demands the United States Must Eliminate Communism in Latin America** (1950)

Smith, G. (1984, September 9). The Legacy of Monroe’s Doctrine. *The New York Times Magazine*.  
<https://www.nytimes.com/1984/09/09/magazine/the-legacy-of-monroes-doctrine.html>

Wolfe, T. (2005, January 30). The Doctrine That Never Died. *The New York Times*.  
<https://www.nytimes.com/2005/01/30/opinion/the-doctrine-that-never-died.html>  
 Opposing Communism in Latin America involved ignoring dictatorships in nations that opposed Communism.

Crandall, B. & Crandall, R. (2023, July 25). *The Monroe Doctrine Turns 200. Why Won’t It Go Away?*. Americas Quarterly.  
<https://www.americasquarterly.org/article/the-monroe-doctrine-turns-200-why-wont-it-go-away/>  
 Even if the Monroe Doctrine was not explicitly invoked, many in the Western Hemisphere believed that the doctrine was the rationale for U.S.-backed coups, CIA interventions, and military operations in response to the alleged threat of communism.

Ramírez Cañedo, E. (2023, July 18). *200 Years of the Monroe Doctrine: History and Present*. Resumen: Latinoamericano and the Third World. <https://resumen-english.org/2023/07/200-years-of-the-monroe-doctrine-history-and-present/>

Organization of American States. (2013, September 12). *OAS Secretary General was received in private audience by Pope Francis*. The Bahamas Weekly. [http://www.thebahamasweekly.com/publish/oas-media-releases/OAS\\_Secretary\\_General\\_was\\_received\\_in\\_private\\_audience\\_by\\_Pope\\_Francis30451.shtml](http://www.thebahamasweekly.com/publish/oas-media-releases/OAS_Secretary_General_was_received_in_private_audience_by_Pope_Francis30451.shtml)  
 The authoritarian regimes the U.S. government went on to support were called “national security dictatorships.”

<sup>48</sup> **Reagan Doctrine Pushes the United States to Roll Back Communism** (1980s)

Longley, R. (2019, May 8). *The Reagan Doctrine: To Wipe Out Communism*. ThoughtCo.  
<https://www.thoughtco.com/the-reagan-doctrine-and-communism-4571021>

Cannon, L. (n.d.). *Ronald Reagan: Foreign Affairs*. Miller Center.  
<https://millercenter.org/president/reagan/foreign-affairs>  
 Reagan invoked this doctrine selectively: continuing the previous administration’s support of El Salvador’s government during that nation’s civil war, supporting the Contra rebels in Nicaragua, and supporting military intervention in Grenada as well as Afghanistan and Angola.

<sup>49</sup> **The Organization of American States (OAS) Is Formed** (1948)

The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. (2024, April 29). Organization of American States. In the Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica (Ed.), *Britannica*. Retrieved May 20, 2024, from <https://www.britannica.com/money/topic/Organization-of-American-States>  
 After WWII, all 21 independent countries in the Western Hemisphere signed the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance in 1947, and they signed the OAS Charter in 1948 in Bogotá. Most of the independent Caribbean nations joined in the 1960s, and Canada joined in 1990.

Backer, M. (2021, December 9). *The Imperialist Agenda of the Organization of American States (OAS)*. Common Dreams. <https://www.commondreams.org/views/2021/12/09/imperialist-agenda-organization-american-states-oas>  
 The United States led a convening of 18 governments from the Western Hemisphere in 1890, which founded the International Union of American Republics. This eventually became the Pan-American Union. At the Pan-American Conference in Bogota, Colombia, the United States Secretary of State prioritized the passing of a resolution that stated that intervention was needed to stave communism.

Railton, B. (2023, December 5). Considering History: The History of a Hemispheric Vision of the U.S. *The Saturday Evening Post*. <https://www.saturdayeveningpost.com/2023/12/considering-history-the-history-of-a-hemispheric-vision-of-the-u-s/>  
 Arguably, the OAS stemmed from decades of hemispheric meetings, dating back to Simón Bolívar’s Congress of Panama in 1826, a Pan-American Conference in Washington, DC in 1881, the First International Conference of American States in Washington, DC in 1889 and 1890, the creation of the International Breaud of American Republics, and eight more convenings over the next 50 years.

<sup>50</sup> **CIA Operation Supports a Coup Against the Democratically Elected President of Guatemala** (1954)

Stuster, J. D. (2013, August 20). *Mapped: The 7 Governments the U.S. Has Overthrown*. Foreign Policy.  
<https://foreignpolicy.com/2013/08/20/mapped-the-7-governments-the-u-s-has-overthrown/>

Kane, R. J. (2019, Winter). Operation PBSUCCESS: U.S. Covert Action in Guatemala. *Infinity Journal*, 6(3), 27-30.  
<https://www.militarystrategymagazine.com/article/operation-pbsuccess-u-s-covert-action-in-guatemala/> The \$2.7 million operation included “psychological warfare and political action,” “subversion,” and other components of a “small paramilitary war.”

Emiridge, J. (2017, January 12). *The Forgotten Interventions*. Jacobin.  
<https://jacobin.com/2017/01/russia-hacks-election-meddling-iran-mossadegh-chile-allende-guatemala-arbenz-coup>  
 The U.S. government distributed propaganda and deployed other tactics to turn popular support against Árbenz.

<b>1791–1903</b> U.S. Expansion and the Introduction of the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1904–1946</b> The Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1947–1980</b> The Truman Doctrine and the Containment of Communism	<b>1971–Present</b> Declaration of the “War on Drugs”	<b>1980s–1990s</b> Beyond Containment, the Rolling Back of Communism	<b>1996–Present</b> Enforcement and Externalization of Borders
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Federal Research Division. (1993, December). *Honduras: A Country Study* (Edited by Merrill, T. L.). Library of Congress. <https://apps.dtic.mil/sti/pdfs/ADA294789.pdf>  
See pages 33-34. Fruit companies in Honduras blamed rising labor tensions at the time on the influence of Guzmán’s reform policies in Guatemala. Workers of the United Fruit Company and Standard Fruit Company in Honduras went on strike, demanding better pay and working conditions. The United States reached a military assistance agreement with Honduras, with the former shipping arms to latter and transferring arms to Castillo Armas’ rebels.

Kinzer, S. (2018, April 1). Efraín Ríos Montt, Guatemalan Dictator Convicted of Genocide, Dies at 91. *The New York Times*.  
<https://www.nytimes.com/2018/04/01/obituaries/efrain-rios-montt-guatemala-dead.html>

Phillips, K. & Macalester College. (n.d.a). *Timeline of Empire* [Interactive timeline, entry titled “US Backed Coup in Guatemala”]. Knight Lab.  
[https://cdn.knightlab.com/libs/timeline3/latest/embed/index.html?fbclid=IwAR13I2NRAKIArMj2cmRP9F1Wqmvku7X9N5r2nQ8fUAbJ3UZXZ1B5ua5gu0&font=Default&height=1000&initial\\_zoom=2&lang=en&source=1FoRrZY6Kn6SzKmtNqchmuRm7pFOqaRrrmZGY1hd8iF8](https://cdn.knightlab.com/libs/timeline3/latest/embed/index.html?fbclid=IwAR13I2NRAKIArMj2cmRP9F1Wqmvku7X9N5r2nQ8fUAbJ3UZXZ1B5ua5gu0&font=Default&height=1000&initial_zoom=2&lang=en&source=1FoRrZY6Kn6SzKmtNqchmuRm7pFOqaRrrmZGY1hd8iF8)  
After Guatemalan workers tried to seek better working conditions at United Fruit Company in the 1950s, the company convinced U.S. policymakers that this was a sign of communism, which led to the CIA intervening and contributing to the nation’s decades-long civil war.

Phillips, K. & Macalester College. (n.d.b). *Timeline of Empire* [Interactive timeline, entry titled “United Fruit Company Workers Strike in Colombia and the Masacre de Las Bananeras / “Banana Massacre”]. Knight Lab.  
[https://cdn.knightlab.com/libs/timeline3/latest/embed/index.html?fbclid=IwAR13I2NRAKIArMj2cmRP9F1Wqmvku7X9N5r2nQ8fUAbJ3UZXZ1B5ua5gu0&font=Default&height=1000&initial\\_zoom=2&lang=en&source=1FoRrZY6Kn6SzKmtNqchmuRm7pFOqaRrrmZGY1hd8iF8](https://cdn.knightlab.com/libs/timeline3/latest/embed/index.html?fbclid=IwAR13I2NRAKIArMj2cmRP9F1Wqmvku7X9N5r2nQ8fUAbJ3UZXZ1B5ua5gu0&font=Default&height=1000&initial_zoom=2&lang=en&source=1FoRrZY6Kn6SzKmtNqchmuRm7pFOqaRrrmZGY1hd8iF8)  
The Colombian military fired upon and killed anywhere from 60 to 2,000 Colombian workers who launched a strike in 1928 against the United Fruit Company’s working conditions in what came to be known as the Banana Massacre or 1928 United Fruit Massacre.

Raby, J. (2023, November 26). *200 Years of the Monroe Doctrine Is 200 Too Many*. Common Dreams.  
<https://www.commondreams.org/opinion/200-years-of-the-monroe-doctrine>  
The U.S. Secretary of State and CIA head were major stockholders of United Fruit Company and had a financial interest in protecting the company.

See also José Calderón, M. (n.d.). Timeline: Guatemala’s History of Violence. *FRONTLINE/World*, PBS.  
<https://www.pbs.org/frontlineworld/stories/guatemala704/history/timeline.html>  
United Fruit Company was the largest landowner and employer in Guatemala, and some Guatemalans called it *el pulpo* (“the octopus”) for its significant influence in the nation.

See also History.com Editors. (2023, April 25). *Che Guevara*. HISTORY.  
<https://www.history.com/topics/latin-america/che-guevara>  
Argentine Ernesto “Che” Guevara was part of an armed effort to defend Árbenz against the CIA-backed coup.

Long, T. & Schulz, C. (2023, December 16). *The Return of the Monroe Doctrine*. Foreign Policy.  
<https://foreignpolicy.com/2023/12/16/monroe-doctrine-united-states-latin-america-foreign-policy-interventionism-china-gop>  
The U.S. government helped to overturn democratic leaders to establish U.S.-friendly dictators.

Vaughan, D. (2023, November 9). Banana Massacre. In the Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica (Ed.), *Britannica*. Retrieved May 20, 2024, from <https://www.britannica.com/event/Banana-Massacre>

HISTORY. (n.d.). Colonel Castillo Armas takes power in Guatemala.  
<https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/colonel-castillo-armas-takes-power-in-guatemala>

PBS News Hour. (2011, March 7). *Timeline: Guatemala’s Brutal Civil War*. PBS.  
[https://www.pbs.org/newshour/health/latin\\_america-jan-june11-timeline\\_03-07#:~:text=About%2083%20percent%20of%20those,conflict%20were%20carried%20out%20by](https://www.pbs.org/newshour/health/latin_america-jan-june11-timeline_03-07#:~:text=About%2083%20percent%20of%20those,conflict%20were%20carried%20out%20by)  
Castillo Armas reversed Árbenz’s land reforms and eliminated the voting rights of Guatemalans who were illiterate.

John, T. & Valdés, I. (2024, April 15). *General goes on trial for genocide, 40 years after Guatemala’s bloody civil war*. CNN. <https://www.cnn.com/2024/04/13/americas/guatemala-genocide-trial-maya-ixil-indigenous-intl-latam/index.html>

Longley, R. (2021, September 13). *The Good Neighbor Policy: History and Impact*. ThoughtCo.  
<https://www.thoughtco.com/good-neighbor-policy-4776037>

Nugent, C. (2019, January 25). Why the Threat of U.S. Intervention in Venezuela Revives Historical Tensions in the Region. *Time*. <https://time.com/5512005/venezuela-us-intervention-history-latin-america/>  
U.S. State Department officials and CIA agents trained the security forces of the Guatemalan government.

See, e.g., Grandin, G & Oglesby, E. (2019, January 25). *Washington Trained Guatemala’s Killers for Decades*. The Nation.  
<https://www.thenation.com/article/archive/border-patrol-guatemala-dictatorship/> CIA officer and former US Border Patrol Agent John Longan trained local intelligence and police agencies to deploy tactics, and the resulting paramilitary unit in 1966 went on to execute Operation Cleanup, or Operación Limpieza, which conducted raids and the assassinations of more than 30 left-wing leaders.



<b>1791–1903</b> U.S. Expansion and the Introduction of the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1904–1946</b> The Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1947–1980</b> The Truman Doctrine and the Containment of Communism	<b>1971–Present</b> Declaration of the “War on Drugs”	<b>1980s–1990s</b> Beyond Containment, the Rolling Back of Communism	<b>1996–Present</b> Enforcement and Externalization of Borders
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Jonas, S. (2013, March 27). *Guatemalan Migration in Times of Civil War and Post-War Challenges*. Migration Policy.

<https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/guatemalan-migration-times-civil-war-and-post-war-challenges>

At the beginning of the civil war, emigrants from Guatemala were primarily middle-class political exiles who fled to Mexico. By the late 1970s, the war had spread to the western Mayan highlands, which forcibly displaced Guatemalans to UNHCR refugee camps in Southern Mexico. Many engaged in onward travel to the United States in search of asylum for fear of political or ethnic persecution, but the United States did not recognize them as asylees. By the early 1990s, Mexico started deporting Guatemalans and other Central Americans, in collaboration with the U.S. government.

Compared to other Central American migrant-sending nations, Guatemala has a high level of diversity, mainly Indigenous Maya and mixed Indigenous-Maya population (*Ladino*).

The majority of the victims of the war were the Mayas. The “Maya population has experienced historical and ongoing discrimination, segregation, higher indicators of poverty, and far less access to resources and services such as land, education, and health care.”

Central Intelligence Agency. (2024, May 22). *The world factbook: Guatemala*. Cia.gov.

<https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/guatemala/>

As of 2018, about 56 percent of the Guatemalan population is *Ladino*, nearly 42 percent is Indigenous Maya, nearly 2 percent is Indigenous Xinca, 0.2 percent is of African descent, 0.1 percent is Garifuna (mixed West and Central African, Island Carib, and Arawak), and 0.2 percent is foreign.

Women Against Violence Europe. (2019, March 14). *Inspiring Thursday: Rigoberta Menchú*.

<https://wave-network.org/inspiring-thursday-rigoberta-menchu/#:~:text=In%2036%20years%20of%20war,from%20a%20very%20early%20age>

Chadalavada, S. (n.d.). *The Guatemalan Civil War And Its Impact On Indigenous Communities*. TalkDiplomacy.

<https://www.talkdiplomacy.com/post/panthers-win-missouri-valley-conference>

#### <sup>51</sup> **The United States Supports the Duvalier Regimes in Haiti (1957-86)**

Krebs, A. (1971, April 23). Papa Doc, a Ruthless Dictator, Kept the Haitians in Illiteracy and Dire Poverty. *The New York Times*.

<https://www.nytimes.com/1971/04/23/archives/papa-doc-a-ruthless-dictator-kept-the-haitians-in-illiteracy-and.html>

Byrd, B. (2018, January 15). *François Duvalier and the Misuse of Martin Luther King, Jr.* Black Perspectives.

<https://www.aaihs.org/francois-duvalier-and-the-misuse-of-martin-luther-king-jr/>

Archibold, R. C. (2014, October 5). Jean-Claude Duvalier Dies at 63; Ruled Haiti in Father’s Brutal Fashion. *The New York Times*.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2014/10/05/world/americas/jean-claude-duvalier-haitis-baby-doc-dies-at-63.html>

Porter, C., Méheut, C., Apuzzo, M., & Gebrekidan, S. (2022, May 20). The Ransom: Invade Haiti, Wall Street Urged.

The U.S. Obligated. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/20/world/haiti-wall-street-us-banks.html>

Espinoza Pedraza, L. (2023, December 3). *From Vietnam to Videla: Henry Kissinger and the Forgotten Horrors of US*

*Foreign Policy*. Modern Diplomacy. <https://moderndiplomacy.eu/2023/12/03/from-vietnam-to-videla-henry-kissinger-and-the-forgotten-horrors-of-us-foreign-policy/>

The U.S. National Security Advisor negotiated peace talks with North Vietnam representatives at the Paris Peace Talks in 1969 while simultaneously advocating for expanding hostilities into Cambodia in 1970—the Cambodian Incursion.

Dubois, L. (2014, October 6). How Will Haiti Reckon with the Duvalier Years?. *The New Yorker*.

<https://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/will-haiti-reckon-duvalier-years>

This quotes the U.S. State Department.

Loescher, G., & Scanlan, J. (1984). Human Rights, U.S. Foreign Policy, and Haitian Refugees. *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*, 26(3), 313–356.

<https://doi.org/10.2307/165673>

Morrison, A., Galvan, A. & Lo, J. (2021, September 24). *Haitians see history of racist policies in migrant*

*treatment*. Associated Press. [https://apnews.com/article/immigration-race-and-ethnicity-mexico-haiti-asylum-seekers-a81ac1148118db38824d2d8f62139b87?fbclid=IwAR1R9bs4wkmxuqkz\\_N4Kn4QIDcHcELISabJvdE4HmbJcaOTWyyYzIOS9W9Y](https://apnews.com/article/immigration-race-and-ethnicity-mexico-haiti-asylum-seekers-a81ac1148118db38824d2d8f62139b87?fbclid=IwAR1R9bs4wkmxuqkz_N4Kn4QIDcHcELISabJvdE4HmbJcaOTWyyYzIOS9W9Y)  
Duvalier’s regime resulted in 30,000 deaths.

Saint Paul, J. E. (2021, August 27). *Assassinations and invasions – how the US and France shaped Haiti’s long history*

*of political turmoil*. The Conversation. <https://www.upi.com/Voices/2021/08/27/haiti-US-France-shape-Haiti-turmoil/3591630067571/>

Duvalier created the Tontons Macoutes in 1959, a paramilitary group which the U.S. Marines trained, which killed more than 60,000 Haitians.

Roth, C. (2009, June 19). *Jean-Claude “Baby Doc” Duvalier (1951-2014)*.

<https://www.blackpast.org/global-african-history/people-global-african-history/duvalier-jean-claude-baby-doc-1951/>

Cameron, C. (2021, December 19). As U.S. Navigates Crisis in Haiti, a Bloody History Looms Large. *The New York Times*.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/19/us/politics/us-haiti-intervention.html>

The U.S. government had poured \$900 million into both Duvalier regimes by 1986.

<b>1791–1903</b> U.S. Expansion and the Introduction of the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1904–1946</b> The Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1947–1980</b> The Truman Doctrine and the Containment of Communism	<b>1971–Present</b> Declaration of the “War on Drugs”	<b>1980s–1990s</b> Beyond Containment, the Rolling Back of Communism	<b>1996–Present</b> Enforcement and Externalization of Borders
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Porter, C., Méheut, C., Apuzzo, M., & Gebrekidan, S. (2022, May 20). The Ransom: The Root of Haiti’s Misery: Reparations to Enslavers. *The New York Times*.  
<https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/20/world/americas/haiti-history-colonized-france.html>  
 When Jean-Claude Duvalier fled, an American plane took the Duvaliers to France.

Baron, A. (2021, October 4). Former Haitian dictator Jean-Claude Duvalier dies at 63. *Reuters*.  
<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-haiti-duvalier/former-haitian-dictator-jean-claude-duvalier-dies-at-63-idUSKCN0HTOKI20141004/>

## <sup>52</sup> The Cuban Revolution Ends (1959)

History.com Editors. (2023, August 9). *Cuban Revolution*. HISTORY.  
<https://www.history.com/topics/latin-america/cuban-revolution>

Davies, N. J. S. (2014, March 8). *35 countries where the U.S. has supported fascists, drug lords and terrorists*. Salon.  
[https://www.salon.com/2014/03/08/35\\_countries\\_the\\_u\\_s\\_has\\_backed\\_international\\_crime\\_partner/](https://www.salon.com/2014/03/08/35_countries_the_u_s_has_backed_international_crime_partner/)

The American Presidency Project. (n.d.). *Speech of Senator John F. Kennedy, Cincinnati, Ohio, Democratic Dinner* [Transcript of speech given on October 6, 1960]. <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/speech-senator-john-f-kennedy-cincinnati-ohio-democratic-dinner>  
 Fulgencio Batista killed 20,000 Cubans within seven years.

Public Broadcasting Corporation. (n.d.). *Post-Revolution Cuba*. PBS.  
<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/post-revolution-cuba/>  
 The United States supported Batista until 1958.

The United States placed embargos on sugar, oil, and guns and called on Cuban exiles to attack Cuba to overthrow Castro.

Shirk, D. A. (2021, July 27). Opinion: The U.S. and Cuba have a complicated diplomatic history. Here’s a primer. *The San Diego Union-Tribune*. <https://www.sandiegouniontribune.com/opinion/commentary/story/2021-07-27/cuba-us-relations-biden-david-a-shirk>  
 Under Castro’s leadership, the government killed, tortured, and imprisoned opponents and homosexual individuals. Still, the country provided universal education and public healthcare.

History.com Editors. (2022, October 4). *Monroe Doctrine*. HISTORY.  
<https://www.history.com/topics/19th-century/monroe-doctrine>

Minster, C. (2019, August 28). *A Brief History of the Cuban Revolution*. ThoughtCo.  
<https://www.thoughtco.com/the-cuban-revolution-2136372>

British Broadcasting Corporation. (n.d.). The Cuban Missile Crisis – CCEA: The Monroe Doctrine. *Bitesize, BBC*.  
<https://www.bbc.co.uk/bitesize/guides/zwk7rwx/revision/2>  
 The Soviet Union rejected the Monroe Doctrine and proclaimed its demise, while the United States indicated that there would be consequences for Soviet interference in the Western Hemisphere.

Valenta, J. (2019, May 3). *The Monroe Doctrine for Venezuela*. Gatestone Institute.  
<https://www.gatestoneinstitute.org/14178/venezuela-monroe-doctrine>  
 In 1960, Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev declared, “We consider that the Monroe Doctrine has outlived its time, has outlived itself, has died, so to say, a natural death.”

New World Encyclopedia. (n.d.) Monroe Doctrine. In *NewWorldEncyclopedia.com*. Retrieved May 17, 2024, from [https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Monroe\\_Doctrine](https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Monroe_Doctrine)  
 The United States invoked the Monroe Doctrine in 1962 as the rationale for cutting off trade with Cuba.

Nilsson, J. (2022, March 12). *75 Years Ago, The Truman Doctrine Launched the Cold War*. *The Saturday Evening Post*. <https://www.saturdayeveningpost.com/2022/03/75-years-ago-the-truman-doctrine-launched-the-cold-war/>  
 The U.S. Navy confronted Soviet ships that were enroute to Cuba with missiles.

*See also* The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. (2024, April 30). Cuban missile crisis. In the Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica (Ed.), *Britannica*. Retrieved May 30, 2024, from <https://www.britannica.com/event/Cuban-missile-crisis>  
 The standoff ended with the Soviet Union agreeing to stop working on the missile sites and to retrieve the missiles that were already in Cuba. The United States agreed to withdraw its missiles that were based in Turkey.

*See also* History.com Editors. (2023, April 25). *Che Guevara*. HISTORY.  
<https://www.history.com/topics/latin-america/che-guevara>  
 Argentine Ernesto “Che” Guevara was part of Fidel Castro’s attack against Batista’s regime in 1956, and he subsequently became a comandante in Castro’s armed force. After Castro seized Cuba, Guevara became a Cuban citizen for several years before ceding his citizenship to work against imperialism in other nations.

<b>1791–1903</b> U.S. Expansion and the Introduction of the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1904–1946</b> The Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1947–1980</b> The Truman Doctrine and the Containment of Communism	<b>1971–Present</b> Declaration of the “War on Drugs”	<b>1980s–1990s</b> Beyond Containment, the Rolling Back of Communism	<b>1996–Present</b> Enforcement and Externalization of Borders
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See also HISTORY. (n.d.). *President Kennedy proposes Alliance for Progress*.

<https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/kennedy-proposes-alliance-for-progress>

In response to strained relations with the Cuban government, the U.S. government launched the Alliance for Progress in 1961, which was to address the perceived threat of communism in the Western Hemisphere and included foreign assistance funding for housing, health care, and related projects as well as military assistance to the region.

### <sup>53</sup> The U.S. Government Paroles Cubans to the United States, Provides Them Public Benefits (1959):

Brown, J. (2022, August 1). *Why Is the Cuban Immigrant Story in the US So Different from Others*. BU Today.

<https://www.bu.edu/articles/2022/cuban-immigrant-story-in-us-is-different-from-others/>

The middle- and upper-class people leaving Cuba were opponents of Castro and supporters of the U.S. embargo of the island. They would emerge to have profound influence on U.S.-Cuban relations.

Rey, D. (2021, November 19). *Cuba: An American History Review*. NACLA.

<https://nacla.org/cuba-american-history-review>

Cubans received work authorization, job training and referrals, English classes, loans, subsidized childcare, and assistance for housing.

Pew Research Center. (2006, August 25). *Cubans in the United States*.

<https://www.pewresearch.org/hispanic/2006/08/25/cubans-in-the-united-states/>

Public Broadcasting Corporation. (n.d.). *Post-Revolution Cuba*. PBS.

<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/post-revolution-cuba/>

Library of Congress. (n.d.). *Immigration and relocation in U.S. History: Global Timeline*.

<https://www.loc.gov/classroom-materials/immigration/global-timeline/>

U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services. (n.d.). *Refugee Timeline*.

<https://www.uscis.gov/about-us/our-history/history-office-and-library/featured-stories-from-the-uscis-history-office-and-library/refugee-timeline>

More than 58,000 were paroled through the attorney general's authority.

Florida, A. (2017, January 15). End Of 'Wet-Foot, Dry-Foot' Means Cubans Can Join Ranks Of 'Undocumented'. *Code Switch, NPR*.

<https://www.npr.org/sections/codeswitch/2017/01/15/509895837/end-of-wet-foot-dry-foot-means-cubans-can-join-ranks-of-the-undocumented>

Zhao, X. (2016, July 7). Immigration to the United States after 1945. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of American History*.

Retrieved May 30, 2024, from <https://oxfordre.com/americanhhistory/display/10.1093/acrefore/9780199329175.001.0001/acrefore-9780199329175-e-72>

### <sup>54</sup> The Migration and Refugee Assistance Act Formalizes the Cuban Refugee Program (1962)

Migration Policy Institute. (2013, March). *Timeline: Major US immigration laws, 1790 – Present*.

<https://www.migrationpolicy.org/sites/default/files/publications/CIR-1790Timeline.pdf>

U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services. (n.d.). *Refugee Timeline*.

<https://www.uscis.gov/about-us/our-history/history-office-and-library/featured-stories-from-the-uscis-history-office-and-library/refugee-timeline>

Desilver, D. (2014, November 21). *Executive actions on immigration have long history*. Pew Research Center.

<https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2014/11/21/executive-actions-on-immigration-have-long-history/>

President John F. Kennedy created the Cuban Refugee Program in 1961 by directing the Health, Education and Welfare Secretary to provide federal assistance to Cuban refugees. The program led to a complex lawsuit where non-Cuban immigrants argued that the program unfairly took slots from the Western Hemisphere allocation. In 1977 a federal court ordered the Immigration and Naturalization Service to issue “Silva letters” to 250,000 people, nearly all Mexicans, to protect them from deportation while the case pended. About 145,000 Silva letter holders received visas. The rest were able to apply for lawful permanent residence under the Immigration Reform and Control Act in 1986.

Pew Research Center. (2015, September 28). *Chapter 1: The Nation's Immigration Laws, 1920 to Today*.

<https://www.pewresearch.org/hispanic/2015/09/28/chapter-1-the-nations-immigration-laws-1920-to-today/>

Library of Congress. (n.d.). *Immigration and relocation in U.S. History: Global Timeline*.

<https://www.loc.gov/classroom-materials/immigration/global-timeline/>

### <sup>55</sup> The Cuban Airlift Shuttles Cubans to the United States Twice a Day for Eight Years (1965)

U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services. (n.d.). *Refugee Timeline*.

<https://www.uscis.gov/about-us/our-history/history-office-and-library/featured-stories-from-the-uscis-history-office-and-library/refugee-timeline>

Chisti, M. & Bolter, J. (2022, May 25). *Rise in Maritime Migration to the United States Is a Reminder of Chapters Past*. Migration Policy Institute.

<https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/maritime-migration-united-states-rise>

<b>1791–1903</b> U.S. Expansion and the Introduction of the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1904–1946</b> The Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1947–1980</b> The Truman Doctrine and the Containment of Communism	<b>1971–Present</b> Declaration of the “War on Drugs”	<b>1980s–1990s</b> Beyond Containment, the Rolling Back of Communism	<b>1996–Present</b> Enforcement and Externalization of Borders
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McCollum, M. & Granados, O. (2022, October 12). *‘Uprooted’ Ep. 3: Failed Dreams and Embassy Breaks*. Wisconsin Public Radio. <https://www.wpr.org/shows/uprooted/mass-exoduses-followed-cuban-revolution>

In 1965, the Camarioca Boatlift helped nearly 3,000 people fled Cuba via boat after Castro said Cubans with U.S.-based relatives could leave.

Public Broadcasting Corporation. (n.d.). Post-Revolution Cuba. PBS.

<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/post-revolution-cuba/>

U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services. (n.d.). *Refugee Timeline*.

<https://www.uscis.gov/about-us/our-history/history-office-and-library/featured-stories-from-the-uscis-history-office-and-library/refugee-timeline>

#### <sup>56</sup> **The Cuban Refugee Act Provides a Path to Citizenship for Cuban Parolees** (1966)

Florida, A. (2017, January 15). End Of ‘Wet-Foot, Dry-Foot’ Means Cubans Can Join Ranks Of ‘Undocumented’. *Code Switch, NPR*.

<https://www.npr.org/sections/codeswitch/2017/01/15/509895837/end-of-wet-foot-dry-foot-means-cubans-can-join-ranks-of-the-undocumented>

Bruno, A. (2020, October 15). *Immigration Parole* [R46570]. Congressional Research Service.

<https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/R/R46570>

Chisti, M. & Bolter, J. (2022, May 25). *Rise in Maritime Migration to the United States Is a Reminder of Chapters Past*. Migration Policy Institute.

<https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/maritime-migration-united-states-rise>

Canedy, D. & Schmitt, E. (2022, May 13). In Florida, a Limbo for Haitians Only. *The New York Times*.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/13/us/in-florida-a-limbo-for-haitians-only.html>

#### <sup>57</sup> **The Duvalier Regime Leads to Haitian Emigration** (began mid-1960s)

Dubois, L. (2014, October 6). How Will Haiti Reckon with the Duvalier Years?. *The New Yorker*.

<https://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/will-haiti-reckon-duvalier-years>

Loescher, G., & Scanlan, J. (1984). Human Rights, U.S. Foreign Policy, and Haitian Refugees. *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*, 26(3), 313–356. <https://doi.org/10.2307/165673>

The first wave of Haitian emigrants were primarily former government officials, politicians, professionals, businessmen, and other urban or middle-class persons who had the ability to purchase a passport and exit visa, compulsory travel insurance, pay exit and other taxes, and travel by air.

Cineas, F. (2021, September 24). Why America keeps turning its back on Haitian migrants. *Vox*.

<https://www.vox.com/22689472/haitian-migrants-asylum-history-violence>

During the 1940s, 50s, and 60s, many came to the United States as political exiles. Most Haitians arrived in the United States on student or tourist visas. If they could not adjust their status to remain in the United States, they overstayed their visas.

Hirsi, I. (2021, October 12). *America’s Long History of Mistreating Haitian Migrants*. The Nation.

<https://www.thenation.com/article/world/haiti-immigration-mistreatment/>

Between 1972 and 1977, about 3,500 Haitians arrived in Florida.

Sontag, D. (1994, June 3). Haitian Migrants Settle In, Looking Back. *The New York Times*.

<https://www.nytimes.com/1994/06/03/nyregion/haitian-migrants-settle-in-looking-back.html>

Thousands of Haitian New Yorkers moved to Miami in the early 1980s.

Alexander, O. (2022, January 26). *HAÏTIEN IMMIGRATION TO THE U.S. (1972- )*. BlackPast.

<https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/haitien-immigration-to-the-u-s-1972/#:~:text=By%201980%2C%20between%20300%2C000%20and,were%20deported%20back%20to%20Haiti>

By 1980, 300,000 to 400,000 Haitians had arrived in the United States. However, the federal government categorized them as “economic refugees” instead of recognizing them as asylum seekers and detained and deported the majority of those arrivals back to Haiti.

#### <sup>58</sup> **The United States Incarcerates Haitians Fleeing Duvalier Regime in Guantánamo Bay** (1972–79)

Chisti, M. & Bolter, J. (2022, May 25). *Rise in Maritime Migration to the United States Is a Reminder of Chapters Past*. Migration Policy Institute.

<https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/maritime-migration-united-states-rise>

Kahn, J. S. (2021, October 15). *Guantánamo’s Other History*. Boston Review.

<https://www.bostonreview.net/articles/guantanamos-other-history/>

In 2021, the Department of Homeland Security solicited for Creole speaking unarmed security contractors to work at the Migrant Operations Center at Guantánamo Bay.

Smith, N. (2024, March 14). *Biden Administration Explores Guantánamo Bay Facility for Processing Haitian Migrants Amid Crisis*. MSN.

<https://www.msn.com/en-us/news/world/biden-administration-explores-guantanamo-bay-facility-for-processing-haitian-migrants-amid-crisis/ar-BB1jVtUh>

Recent mention of the Migrant Operations Center as active from January 2024.



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Pfeiffer, S. Intagliata, C., Contreras, G. & Klein, E. (2024, January 11). *Guantánamo Bay is still open. This week, pressure ramped up to close it.* NPR. <https://www.npr.org/2024/01/11/1223926279/guantanamo-bay-joe-biden-cuba-september-11>

<sup>59</sup> **Members of the Duvaliers’ Regime - “Duvalierism After Duvalier” – Carry Out Coups, Spurring More Migration**

Dubois, L. (2014, October 6). How Will Haiti Reckon with the Duvalier Years?. *The New Yorker*.  
<https://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/will-haiti-reckon-duvalier-years>

Gavigan, P. (1997). *Migration Emergencies and Human Rights in Haiti* [Paper prepared for the Conference on Regional Responses to Forced Migration in Central America and the Caribbean, September 30–October 1]. Organization of American States.  
<https://www.oas.org/juridico/english/gavigane.html>

Congressional Research Service. (2011, May 17). *U.S. Immigration Policy on Haitian Migrants* [Congressional Research Service Report RS21349]. <https://www.everycrsreport.com/reports/RS21349.html>

<sup>60</sup> **The United States Resumes Diplomatic Relations with the Anti-Communist Military Regime of Honduras (1963)**

Encyclopedia.com. (n.d.). Ramon Villeda Morales. In *Encyclopedia.com*. Retrieved May 30, 2024, from  
<https://www.encyclopedia.com/people/history/honduran-history-biographies/ramon-villeda-morales>  
Villeda Morales moved away from radical land reform in return for loans from the United States.

After Villeda Morales advocated for a more radical successor to his presidency, the CIA supported the military coup, led by Oswaldo López Arellano.

British Broadcasting Corporation. (2019, June 26). *Honduras v El Salvador: The football match that kicked off a war.* BBC.  
<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-48673853>

El Salvador, a nation of three million people in 1969, and neighboring Honduras, then a nation of 2.3 million but with five times the territory of El Salvador, went to war with each other for several days after Honduras began to deport thousands of the 300,000 Salvadorans that lived in Honduras and worked for the U.S. fruit companies. By the time of the ceasefire that ended the “Football War” four days later, about 3,000 mostly Honduran civilians had died and many more were displaced.

Federal Research Division. (1993, December). *Honduras: A Country Study* (Edited by Merrill, T. L.). Library of Congress. <https://apps.dtic.mil/sti/pdfs/ADA294789.pdf>  
See page 37. The Honduran military had become increasingly concerned with more frequent rural uprisings and rising radical influences among labor groups. It ostensibly moved to seize power to prevent a candidate more left than Villeda Morales from being elected to the presidency. The Honduran military regime also targeted communist and pro-Castro groups.

See page 40 as well. As many as 130,000 Salvadorans fled Honduras or were expelled due to the hostilities between the two nations.

Lowenthal, A. (2009, July 5). *The Coup in Honduras: Can the Obama Administration’s Promising Start in the Americas be Sustained?* The Brookings Institution. <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/the-coup-in-honduras-can-the-obama-administrations-promising-start-in-the-americas-be-sustained/>  
The U.S. government restored diplomatic relations less than two months later, since the military regime was anti-Communist.

*The New York Times*. (1971, October 9). Dr. Ramon Villeda Morales Dies; Former President of Honduras.  
<https://www.nytimes.com/1971/10/09/archives/dr-ramon-villedamorales-dies-former-president-of-honduras.html>

Office of the Historian. (n.d.). *FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES, 1964–1968, VOLUME XXXI, SOUTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA; MEXICO*. U.S. Department of State.  
<https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1964-68v31/d10>  
Thomas C. Mann, a member of the Johnson administration, advocated that the federal government should prioritize U.S. business interests while continuing to oppose communism instead of concerning itself with dictators in Latin America.

Ramnarayan, A. (2009, June 29). Timeline: Honduras. *The Guardian*.  
<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/jun/29/honduras-timeline-history>

<sup>61</sup> **The U.S. Supports Anti-Communist Military Coup Against a Democratically Elected President in Brazil (1964)**

Stuster, J. D. (2013, August 20). *Mapped: The 7 Governments the U.S. Has Overthrown*. Foreign Policy.  
<https://foreignpolicy.com/2013/08/20/mapped-the-7-governments-the-u-s-has-overthrown/>

Toussaint, E. (2019, March 26). *Brazil: 55 years after the overthrow of democratically elected president Joao Goulart, the new far-right President, Jair Bolsonaro has announced a celebration of the 1964 military coup.* Committee for the Abolition of Illegitimate Debt.  
<https://www.cadtm.org/Brazil-50-years-after-the>  
The United States recognized the military regime the day after the coup. The military government went on to outlaw strikes, disbanded unions, and engaged in torture and other repressive tactics.

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The National Security Archive. (2014, April 2). *Brazil Marks 50th Anniversary of Military Coup* [Edited by Hershberg, J. G. & Kornbluh, P.]. <https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB465/>  
This details the U.S. military activities against Goulart in Operation Brother Sam.

NACLA. (2014, April 1). *Remembering Brazil's Military Coup 50 Years Later* [Excerpt reprint of Burbach, R., Fox, M., & Fuentes, F. (2013). *Latin America's Turbulent Transitions: the Future of Twenty-First Century Socialism*. Zed Books]. <https://nacla.org/news/2014/4/1/remembering-brazils-military-coup-50-years-later>  
The military regime disappeared hundreds of people, imprisoned thousands, and tortured about 30,000 people. The CIA trained Brazilian military and law enforcement officers on torture techniques.

British Broadcasting Corporation. (2019, April 4). *Brazil textbooks 'to be revised to deny 1964 coup.'* <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-47813480>  
Until 1985, Brazil's military regime disappeared or killed 400 people.

Absher, S., Grier, R., & Grier, K. (2024, February 21). *The Consequences of CIA-Sponsored Regime Change in Latin America*. Cato Institute. <https://www.cato.org/research-briefs-economic-policy/consequences-cia-sponsored-regime-change-latin-america>  
In addition to the CIA intervention in Brazil in 1964, the CIA was also involved in regime change in Ecuador (1963), Chile (1964), Bolivia (1964), and Panama (1981).

## <sup>62</sup> Many Middle-Class Brazilians Migrate to United States

Guglielmo, J. (n.d.). *A History of Domestic Work and Worker Organizing* [Timeline entry, “The First Major Wave of Brazilian Immigration”]. <https://www.dwherstories.com/timeline/the-first-major-wave-of-brazilian-immigration#>

## <sup>63</sup> Brazilian Migration Peaks in 1980s

Guglielmo, J. (n.d.). *A History of Domestic Work and Worker Organizing* [Timeline entry, “The First Major Wave of Brazilian Immigration”]. <https://www.dwherstories.com/timeline/the-first-major-wave-of-brazilian-immigration#>

Global Boston. (n.d.). *Brazilians*. <https://globalboston.bc.edu/index.php/home/ethnic-groups/brazilians/>

## <sup>64</sup> The U.S. Government Invades the Dominican Republic Through Operation Power Pack (1965)

HISTORY. (n.d.). *U.S. troops land in the Dominican Republic in attempt to forestall a “communist dictatorship.”* <https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/u-s-troops-land-in-the-dominican-republic>

Montgomery, P. L. (1975, June 23). Plotters Against Trujillo Doubt Any C.I.A. Involvement in Assassination of Dictator. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/1975/06/23/archives/plotters-against-trujillo-doubt-any-cia-involvement-in.html>  
The United States praised Trujillo for being an anti-Communist leader and providing stability in the Caribbean, but American attitudes shifted in the 1950s when Trujillo was suspected of ordering the assassination of U.S.-backed Guatemalan President Carlos Castillo Armas in 1957.

*See also* Office of the Historian. (n.d.). *FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES, 1958–1960, AMERICAN REPUBLICS, VOLUME V. U.S. Department of State*. <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1958-60v05/d305>

The Eisenhower administration tried to convince Trujillo to step down in 1960 as it became difficult to brand Cuba's Fidel Castro a dictator while Trujillo was still in power. The U.S. State Department suggested that the assassination of Trujillo might be called for. The following year, Trujillo was assassinated.

British Broadcasting Corporation. (2011, May 28). *'I shot the cruellest dictator in the Americas.'* BBC. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-13560512>

The U.S. government withdrew its ambassador and closed its embassy in the Dominican Republic after Trujillo ordered an assassination attempt against Venezuelan President Rómulo Betancourt in 1960.

*See also* Stuster, J. D. (2013, August 20). *Mapped: The 7 Governments the U.S. Has Overthrown*. Foreign Policy. <https://foreignpolicy.com/2013/08/20/mapped-the-7-governments-the-u-s-has-overthrown/>  
The CIA was likely involved in supporting the ambush and assassination of Trujillo.

Central Investigation Agency. (n.d.). RAFAEL TRUJILLO, THE DOMINICAN DICTATOR, WAS ASSASSINATED AT ABOUT TEN P.M. ON THE NIGHT OF 30 MAY 1961. [Classified document approved for release on April 2, 2019]. <https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/RAFAEL%20TRUJILLO%2C%20THE%20DOMI%5B15603377%5D.pdf>  
A declassified memo describes how the CIA monitored the plot against Trujillo, but it is unclear whether the CIA provided weapons in the assassination of Trujillo.

O'Shea, B. J. (2010, April 20). *“OPERATION POWER PACK - U.S. Military Intervention in the Dominican Republic.”* U.S. Army Peace Keeping and Stability Operations Institute. [https://www.army.mil/article/37660/operation\\_power\\_pack\\_u\\_s\\_military\\_intervention\\_in\\_the\\_dominican\\_republic](https://www.army.mil/article/37660/operation_power_pack_u_s_military_intervention_in_the_dominican_republic)

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- Kirk, J. & Kimber, S. (2023, September 11). Fifty years after Chile’s coup, the region still not safe from US meddling. *Al Jazeera*. <https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2023/9/11/fifty-years-after-chiles-coup-the-region-still-not-safe-from-us-meddling>
- Danticat, E. (2015, July 28). The Long Legacy of Occupation in Haiti. *The New Yorker*. <https://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/haiti-us-occupation-hundred-year-anniversary>
- Democracy Now. *The Monroe Doctrine, Revisited: How 200 Years of U.S. Policy Have Helped to Destabilize the Americas* [Interview transcript]. [https://www.democracynow.org/2023/4/27/monroe\\_doctrine](https://www.democracynow.org/2023/4/27/monroe_doctrine)  
This argues that the revolution in the Dominican Republic was not a communist revolution but rather a democratic revolution against the military dictatorship.
- Longley, R. (2021, September 13). *The Good Neighbor Policy: History and Impact*. ThoughtCo. <https://www.thoughtco.com/good-neighbor-policy-4776037>
- Crandall, B. & Crandall, R. (2023, July 25). *The Monroe Doctrine Turns 200. Why Won’t It Go Away?*. *Americas Quarterly*. <https://www.americasquarterly.org/article/the-monroe-doctrine-turns-200-why-wont-it-go-away/>  
The U.S. president did not explicitly reference the Monroe Doctrine in 1965 with regards to the U.S. invasion of the Dominican Republic.
- Gleijeses, P. (2011, October 28). *The United States Invasion of the Dominican Republic, 1961–1966*. Oxford Bibliographies. <https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/display/document/obo-9780199766581/obo-9780199766581-0071.xml>  
Documents declassified by the U.S. government since the 1980s show that the U.S. government forced a diktat on the elections.
- Office of the Historian. (n.d.). *FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES, 1964–1968, VOLUME XXXII, DOMINICAN REPUBLIC; CUBA; HAITI; GUYANA*. U.S. Department of State. <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1964-68v32/d152>  
A memo submitted to the U.S. State Department requested that the 303 Committee identify the candidate preferred by the U.S. government—Juan Bosch or Joaquin Balaguer—and a decision as to whether “a covert election operation” should be taken on behalf of the candidate.
- Wheaton, P. E. (2077, September 25). *Dominican Republic: Elections*. NACLA. <https://nacla.org/article/dominican-republic-elections>  
The United States groomed Balaguer to head the Dominican Republic.
- Roddy, D. (2019, February 24). Trujillo’s ghost: The effects of the dictator’s bloody reign still linger in the Dominican Republic. *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*. <https://www.post-gazette.com/opinion/Op-Ed/2019/02/24/Rafael-Trujillo-ghost-dictator-bloody-reign-Dominican-Republic-Dennis-Roddy-Next-Page/stories/201902240030>  
The United States installed Balaguer in 1965.
- The Haitian Times. (2023, September 27). *Policies and politics behind today’s Haiti-Dominican Republic Relations*. <https://haitiantimes.com/2023/09/27/policies-and-politics-behind-todays-haiti-dominican-republic-relations/>  
Joaquín Balaguer ordered the deportation of foreign sugarcane workers who were under 16 years old and over 60 years old in 1991, resulting in 6,000 deportations of Haitians and Dominicans of Haitian descent as well as tens of thousands of people feeling the country.
- U.S. Army Center of Military History. (n.d.). *Armed Forces Expeditionary Campaigns: Dominican Republic*. [https://history.army.mil/html/reference/army\\_flag/dominican.html#:~:text=On%2021%20September%201966%2C%20after,were%20killed%20and%20172%20wounded](https://history.army.mil/html/reference/army_flag/dominican.html#:~:text=On%2021%20September%201966%2C%20after,were%20killed%20and%20172%20wounded)
- <sup>65</sup> **Trujillo Assassination and U.S. Invasion Leads to Dominican Migration to the United States**
- Scotto, M. (2019, October 10). *How Washington Heights Became Known as ‘Little Dominican Republic’*. Spectrum News 1. <https://ny1.com/nyc/manhattan/news/2019/10/10/how-washington-heights-became-known-as--little-dominican-republic->
- Babich, E. & Batalova, J. (2021, April 15). *Immigrants from the Dominican Republic in the United States*. Migration Policy Institute. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/dominican-immigrants-united-states-2019>  
Migration from the Dominican Republic to the United States continued in the 1970s and beyond.
- The Haitian Times. (2023, September 27). *Policies and politics behind today’s Haiti-Dominican Republic Relations*. <https://haitiantimes.com/2023/09/27/policies-and-politics-behind-todays-haiti-dominican-republic-relations/>
- Zhao, X. (2016, July 7). Immigration to the United States after 1945. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of American History*. Retrieved May 30, 2024, from <https://oxfordre.com/americanhhistory/display/10.1093/acrefore/9780199329175.001.0001/acrefore-9780199329175-e-72>
- <sup>66</sup> **Economic Decline Leads to Dominican Migration in the 1980s**
- Immigration to United States. (2011, October 4). *Dominican Immigrants*. <https://immigrationtounitedstates.org/465-dominican-immigrants.html>

<b>1791–1903</b> U.S. Expansion and the Introduction of the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1904–1946</b> The Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1947–1980</b> The Truman Doctrine and the Containment of Communism	<b>1971–Present</b> Declaration of the “War on Drugs”	<b>1980s–1990s</b> Beyond Containment, the Rolling Back of Communism	<b>1996–Present</b> Enforcement and Externalization of Borders
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Babich, E. & Batalova, J. (2021, April 15). *Immigrants from the Dominican Republic in the United States*. Migration Policy Institute. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/dominican-immigrants-united-states-2019>

Glass, R. (2017, March). A Timeline of Dominican History. *Social Justice Books*.  
[https://socialjusticebooks.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/ccdr\\_timeline.pdf](https://socialjusticebooks.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/ccdr_timeline.pdf)  
 Some 800,000 Dominicans migrated to the United States and Puerto Rico by 1985.

#### <sup>67</sup> **U.S.-Backed Bolivian Forces Execute Argentine Ernesto “Che” Guevara** (1967)

History.com Editors. (2023, April 25). *Che Guevara*. HISTORY.  
<https://www.history.com/topics/latin-america/che-guevara>

McFarren, P. J., Arnade, C. W., & The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. (2023, April 28). Return to Military Rule [Within Bolivia entry]. In the Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica (Ed.), *Britannica*. Retrieved June 4, 2024, from <https://www.britannica.com/place/Bolivia/Post-1952-regimes#ref149137>  
 The U.S. military trained and the CIA supported the Bolivian Armed Forces that defeated Guevara.

Encyclopedia.com. (n.d.). Barrientos Ortuño, René (1919–1969). In *Encyclopedia.com*. Retrieved June 4, 2024, from <https://www.encyclopedia.com/humanities/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/barrientos-ortuno-rene-1919-1969>  
 Barrientos opposed organized labor.

Public Broadcasting Corporation. (n.d.). *Post-Revolution Cuba*. PBS.  
<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/post-revolution-cuba/>

De Loera-Brust, A. (2023, February 26). *The United States Has Never Recovered from the Falklands War*. Foreign Policy.  
<https://foreignpolicy.com/2023/02/26/the-united-states-has-never-recovered-from-the-falklands-war/>

HISTORY. (n.d.). *Che Guevara is executed*. <https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/che-guevara-is-executed>

*See also* Sinclair, A. A. & The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. (2024, May 27). The Congo, Bolivia, and death of Che Guevara. In the Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica (Ed.), *Britannica*. Retrieved June 4, 2024, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Che-Guevara/The-Congo-Bolivia-and-death>  
 CIA advisors supported the special detachment of the Bolivian army involved with Guevara’s death.

Guevara tried to help the Patrice Lumumba Battalion in modern-day Democratic Republic of the Congo.

*See also* Stuster, J. D. (2013, August 20). *Mapped: The 7 Governments the U.S. Has Overthrown*. Foreign Policy.  
<https://foreignpolicy.com/2013/08/20/mapped-the-7-governments-the-u-s-has-overthrown/>

The U.S.-supported Belgian military helped push out the first prime minister of the Republic of the Congo, Patrice Lumumba, and the CIA was complicit in the Congolese troop’s capture of Lumumba in 1960, who was killed the following year.

*See also* Emiridge, J. (2017, January 12). *The Forgotten Interventions*. Jacobin. <https://jacobin.com/2017/01/russia-hacks-election-meddling-iran-mossadegh-chile-allende-guatemala-arbenz-coup>  
 The CIA tried to assassinate Lumumba.

*See also* Little, B. (2022, June 7). *10 Times America Helped Overthrow a Foreign Government*. HISTORY <https://www.history.com/news/us-overthrow-foreign-governments>

A five-year crisis followed and, in 1965, the CIA supported a coup led by Mobutu Sese Seko, rationalizing that this would contain the spread of communism.

*See also* Nzongola-Ntalaja, G. (2011, January 17). Patrice Lumumba: the most important assassination of the 20th century. *The Guardian*.  
<https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/poverty-matters/2011/jan/17/patrice-lumumba-50th-anniversary-assassination>

#### <sup>68</sup> **The United States Supports Anti-Communist Regimes Through Operation Condor** (1970s)

The Associated Press. (2019, January 25). *Before Venezuela, US had long involvement in Latin America*.  
<https://apnews.com/article/2ded14659982426c9b2552827734be83>

Espinoza Pedraza, L. (2023, December 3). *From Vietnam to Videla: Henry Kissinger and the Forgotten Horrors of US Foreign Policy*. Modern Diplomacy. <https://moderndiplomacy.eu/2023/12/03/from-vietnam-to-videla-henry-kissinger-and-the-forgotten-horrors-of-us-foreign-policy/>

Tremlett, G. (2020, September 3). Operation Condor: the cold war conspiracy that terrorised South America. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2020/sep/03/operation-condor-the-illegal-state-network-that-terrorised-south-america>

*Buenos Aires Times*. (2023, November 30). Henry Kissinger, diplomat who defined US foreign policy, dies at 100.  
<https://www.batimes.com.ar/news/world/henry-kissinger-diplomat-who-defined-us-foreign-policy-dies-at-100.phtml>

Former U.S. Secretary of State and National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger was accused of being involved in Operation Condor in the 1970s.



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- Wilkins, B. (2019, July 17). *Five Men Sentenced to Life for Operation Condor Killings Trained at School of the Americas*. Common Dreams. <https://www.commondreams.org/views/2019/07/17/five-men-sentenced-life-operation-condor-killings-trained-school-americas>  
The United States provided military aid, technical support, and torture training across five presidential administrations.
- Smith, D. (2023, September 2). AOC urges US to apologize for meddling in Latin America: ‘We’re here to reset relationships.’ *The Guardian*.  
<https://amp.theguardian.com/us-news/2023/sep/02/aoc-us-apology-latin-america-coup-chile>
- Smith, B. T. (2021, August 24). New Documents Reveal the Bloody Origins of America’s Long War on Drugs. *Time*.  
<https://time.com/6090016/us-war-on-drugs-origins/>  
Operation Condor was also involved in the U.S. “war on drugs.”
- <sup>69</sup> **The United States Declares a “War on Drugs” (1971)**
- Hodge, J. & Dholakia, N. (2021, June 17). *Fifty Years Ago Today, President Nixon Declared the War on Drugs*. Vera.  
<https://www.vera.org/news/fifty-years-ago-today-president-nixon-declared-the-war-on-drugs>  
The “war on drugs” has led to the incarceration of millions of mostly Black and Latinx individuals, growing from 50,000 in 1980 to more than 400,000 in 1997, with little evidence that incarceration reduces drug consumption in the long-term.
- Smith, B. T. (2021, August 24). New Documents Reveal the Bloody Origins of America’s Long War on Drugs. *Time*.  
<https://time.com/6090016/us-war-on-drugs-origins/>  
The former Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs (BNDD) and the newly created Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) coordinated with Mexican soldiers and police engaged in killings and torture in Mexico.
- Vulliamy, E. (2011, July 23). Nixon’s ‘war on drugs’ began 40 years ago, and the battle is still raging. *The Guardian*.  
<https://www.theguardian.com/society/2011/jul/24/war-on-drugs-40-years>  
The war has harmed Colombia, Central America, Bolivia, Peru, Venezuela, and Afghanistan.
- Abbott, J. (2023, December 14). *Forging a New Path as Partners with Latin America*. The Progressive Magazine.  
<https://progressive.org/magazine/forging-a-new-path-as-partners-with-latin-america-abbott-20231214/> The “war on drugs” in the Western Hemisphere is perceived by some as an application of the Monroe Doctrine.
- Diaz Pascual, I. (2021, June 29). *America’s War on Drugs — 50 Years Later*. The Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights. <https://civilrights.org/blog/americas-war-on-drugs-50-years-later/>
- Lee, J. (2021, June 17). *America has spent over a trillion dollars fighting the war on drugs. 50 years later, drug use in the U.S. is climbing again*. CNBC.  
<https://www.cnbc.com/2021/06/17/the-us-has-spent-over-a-trillion-dollars-fighting-war-on-drugs.html>
- Connors, L. (2022, May 26). *A Brief History of the War on Drugs*. The Alliance for Citizen Engagement.  
<https://ace-usa.org/blog/research/research-criminaljustice/a-brief-history-of-the-war-on-drugs/>
- Stephens, A. M. (2021, October 27). Reagan’s war on drugs also waged war on immigrants. *The Washington Post*.  
<https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2021/10/27/reagans-war-drugs-also-waged-war-immigrants/>
- Raisbeck, D. & Vásquez, I. (2022). *The International War on Drugs*. Cato Institute.  
<https://www.cato.org/cato-handbook-policymakers/cato-handbook-policymakers-9th-edition-2022/international-war-drugs#toward-constructive-approach>
- History.com Editors. (2019, December 17). *War on Drugs*. HISTORY.  
<https://www.history.com/topics/crime/the-war-on-drugs>  
Former U.S. Domestic Policy Chief John Ehrlichman stated that the Nixon campaign’s enemies were “the antiwar left and black people” demonstrating that criminalizing drugs and escalating state actions against drug use would “disrupt those communities.”  
  
*See also* Perry, M. J. (2021, June 16). *The Shocking Story Behind Nixon’s Declaration of a ‘War on Drugs’ in 1971 That Targeted Blacks and Anti-war Activists*. American Enterprise Institute.  
<https://www.aei.org/carpe-diem/the-shocking-story-behind-nixons-declaration-of-a-war-on-drugs-on-this-day-in-1971-that-targeted-blacks-and-anti-war-activists-2/>  
Ehrlichman stated that the administration could disrupt both communities by associating marijuana use with the antiwar left and heroin use with African Americans.
- PBS. (n.d.) *Thirty Years of America’s Drug War: A Chronology*. FRONTLINE.  
<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/drugs/cron/>
- Richard Nixon Foundation. (2016, April 29). *President Nixon Declares Drug Abuse “Public Enemy Number One”* [Video]. YouTube. <https://youtu.be/y8TGLLQID9M?si=WKBhwBgfGdAc7SiO>

<b>1791–1903</b> U.S. Expansion and the Introduction of the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1904–1946</b> The Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1947–1980</b> The Truman Doctrine and the Containment of Communism	<b>1971–Present</b> Declaration of the “War on Drugs”	<b>1980s–1990s</b> Beyond Containment, the Rolling Back of Communism	<b>1996–Present</b> Enforcement and Externalization of Borders
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Farber, D. (2021, June 17). The War on Drugs turns 50 today. It’s time to make peace. *The Washington Post*.  
<https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2021/06/17/war-drugs-turns-50-today-its-time-make-peace/>

Zakaria, F. (2023, July 7). Declaring war on Mexican cartels is popular. That doesn’t mean it’s smart. *The Washington Post*.  
<https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2023/07/07/us-republicans-war-mexico-cartels-drugs/>

Fryklund, I. (2021, March 31). THE U.S. WAR ON DRUGS IS DRIVING THE DISPLACEMENT CRISIS. Foreign Policy in Focus.  
<https://fpif.org/the-u-s-war-on-drugs-is-driving-the-displacement-crisis/>

#### <sup>70</sup> A U.S.-Supported Coup in Chile Leads to 17-Year Military Rule under Augusto Pinochet (1973)

Office of the Historian. (n.d.). The Allende Years and the Pinochet Coup, 1969–1973. U.S. Department of State.  
<https://history.state.gov/milestones/1969-1976/allende>

LeoGrande, W. M. (2018, February 26). *Washington has meddled in elections before*. The Conversation.  
<https://theconversation.com/washington-has-meddled-in-elections-before-92167>  
 The CIA funded Chile’s Christian Democrats in 1962 to prevent Salvador Allende from being elected in 1964.

Doubek, J. (2023, September 10). The U.S. set the stage for a coup in Chile. It had unintended consequences at home. *Moments in history*, NPR.  
<https://www.npr.org/2023/09/10/1193755188/chile-coup-50-years-pinochet-kissinger-human-rights-allende>  
 The U.S. government supported Allende’s opponent in the 1964 election and spent “massively,” which likely contributed to Allende’s loss that year.

Between 1970 and 1973, the U.S. government spent \$8 million in covert actions against Allende. The U.S. government worked to create the conditions to make a coup possible and “probably gave the impression that it would not look with disfavor on a military coup.”

Congress passed a law in 1976 to ban U.S. arms sales and military aid to Chile in an attempt to check U.S. executive power in foreign policy. Also in 1976, a car bomb in Washington, DC, on the orders of Pinochet, assassinated a former Chilean ambassador to the United States under the Allende administration. By 1979, a new presidential administration had implemented sanctions against Chile.

The Pinochet regime targeted communists and socialists, shut down universities, and arrested political opponents.

Bonnefoy, P. (2017, October 14). Documenting U.S. Role in Democracy’s Fall and Dictator’s Rise in Chile. *The New York Times*.  
<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/14/world/americas/chile-coup-cia-museum.html>

Public Broadcasting Corporation. (n.d.). *Post-Revolution Cuba*. PBS.  
<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/post-revolution-cuba/>

Longley, R. (2021, September 13). *The Good Neighbor Policy: History and Impact*. ThoughtCo.  
<https://www.thoughtco.com/good-neighbor-policy-4776037>

Kirk, J. & Kimber, S. (2023, September 11). Fifty years after Chile’s coup, the region still not safe from US meddling. *Al Jazeera*.  
<https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2023/9/11/fifty-years-after-chiles-coup-the-region-still-not-safe-from-us-meddling>  
 The U.S. president, CIA director, and national security advisor took actions as early as 1970 to oust Allende.

During Pinochet’s reign, his administration tortured 40,000, killed more than 3,000, and “disappeared” more than 1,000 people.

Zinn Education Project. (n.d.). *Nov. 3, 1970: Salvador Allende Became President of Chile*  
<https://www.zinnedproject.org/news/tdih/salvador-allende/?fbclid=IwAR1sGg9aBahqC6RAxo4cwq1XzRUK40RjI5O6KhjMCI4v3USw1r86GF0YXtQ>  
 This provides the quote: “expand healthcare access and education, offer free milk for children, redistribute large land holdings, raise the minimum wage, support public work projects and public arts, and promote widespread voter participation.”

HISTORY. (n.d.). *Chilean president Salvador Allende dies in coup*.  
<https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/allende-dies-in-coup>

Kahn, C. (2023, August 31). *Chile will search for 1,000+ victims of forced disappearance by Pinochet dictatorship*. NPR.  
<https://www.npr.org/2023/08/31/1197019905/chile-search-disappeared-victims-pinochet-dictatorship>  
 The Chilean government announced in 2023 that it would search for the more than 1,000 people who went missing during Pinochet’s regime.

See also Long, T. & Schulz, C. (2023, December 16). *The Return of the Monroe Doctrine*. Foreign Policy.  
<https://foreignpolicy.com/2023/12/16/monroe-doctrine-united-states-latin-america-foreign-policy-interventionism-china-gop/>  
 The U.S. government helped oust democratic leaders and installed U.S.-friendly dictators, such as Pinochet.

Reyes, R. A. (2023, November 30). *Henry Kissinger’s policies on Chile, Vietnam had deep impact on Latin America*, *U.S. Latinos*. NBC News.  
<https://www.nbcnews.com/news/latino/henry-kissinger-policies-chile-vietnam-deep-impact-latin-america-us-l-rcna127356>  
 According to the National Security Archive’s director of the Cuba and Chile Documentation Projects, Henry Kissinger was the “chief enabler” of Pinochet when he rose to power in 1973.

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Migration flows from Chile were “part of a broader pattern throughout Central and South America, whereby U.S. intervention in Latin America led to waves of immigration to cities like Los Angeles, Miami and Washington, D.C.

Vergara, E. & Politi, D. (2023, September 5). *A half-century after Gen. Augusto Pinochet’s coup, some in Chile remember the dictatorship fondly*. Associated Press. <https://apnews.com/article/chile-pinochet-dictatorship-5d500715f016804990d0898ff6d89907>

#### <sup>71</sup> U.S. Government Initially Does Not Admit Chilean Migrants Fleeing Pinochet Regime

Loescher, G., & Scanlan, J. (1984). Human Rights, U.S. Foreign Policy, and Haitian Refugees. *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*, 26(3), 313–356. <https://doi.org/10.2307/165673>

Doña-Reveco, C. (2022, May 18). *Chile’s Welcoming Approach to Immigrants Cools as Numbers Rise*. Migration Policy Institute. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/chile-immigrants-rising-numbers>  
More than half a million Chileans migrated from Chile during Pinochet’s reign, going to Argentina, Australia, Canada, France, Sweden, and Venezuela.

Sharnak, D. (2019, December 8). Why Mexico is a haven for political exiles like Bolivia’s former president Evo Morales. *The Washington Post*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2019/12/08/why-mexico-is-haven-political-exiles-like-bolivas-former-president-evo-morales/>  
Thousands of Chileans fled to Mexico, and Allende’s family initially sought asylum in Mexico.

#### <sup>72</sup> U.S. Government Paroles Fewer than 2,000 Chileans and Their Families

Bier, D. J. (2023, July 17). *126 Parole Orders over 7 Decades: A Historical Review of Immigration Parole Orders*. *Cato Institute*. <https://www.cato.org/blog/126-parole-orders-over-7-decades-historical-review-immigration-parole-orders>  
In mid-1978, another 2,000 people from Chile as well as from Brazil and Argentina were paroled into the United States.

Reyes, R. A. (2023, November 30). *Henry Kissinger’s policies on Chile, Vietnam had deep impact on Latin America, U.S. Latinos*. NBC News. <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/latino/henry-kissinger-policies-chile-vietnam-deep-impact-latin-america-us-l-rcna127356>

#### <sup>73</sup> Secret U.S.-Cuba Talks Lead to Softening Relations (1974)

Public Broadcasting Corporation. (n.d.). *Post-Revolution Cuba*. PBS. <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/post-revolution-cuba/>

#### <sup>74</sup> U.S. Intervenes in Nicaragua and Honduras (1979)

History.com Editors. (2022, October 4). *Monroe Doctrine*. HISTORY. <https://www.history.com/topics/19th-century/monroe-doctrine>.

Smith, G. (1984, September 9). The Legacy of Monroe’s Doctrine. *The New York Times Magazine*. <https://www.nytimes.com/1984/09/09/magazine/the-legacy-of-monroes-doctrine.html>  
In 1981, Richard Nixon said, invoking the Monroe Doctrine, “We cannot allow the Soviet Union to get a further foothold in Latin America. Cuba and Nicaragua is enough.”

Longley, R. (2021, September 13). *The Good Neighbor Policy: History and Impact*. ThoughtCo. <https://www.thoughtco.com/good-neighbor-policy-4776037>

Little, B. (2022, June 7). *10 Times America Helped Overthrow a Foreign Government*. HISTORY <https://www.history.com/news/us-overthrow-foreign-governments>

Public Broadcasting Corporation. (n.d.). *Post-Revolution Cuba*. PBS. <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/post-revolution-cuba/>

*See also* British Broadcasting Corporation. (2023, April 4). *Nicaragua country profile*. BBC. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-19735631>  
The U.S.-backed Somoza family ruled Nicaragua from 1937 through 1979.

*See also* Espinoza Pedraza, L. (2023, December 3). *From Vietnam to Videla: Henry Kissinger and the Forgotten Horrors of US Foreign Policy*. Modern Diplomacy. <https://moderndiplomacy.eu/2023/12/03/from-vietnam-to-videla-henry-kissinger-and-the-forgotten-horrors-of-us-foreign-policy/>  
The volatile U.S.-backed Somoza regime led to the Sandinistas coming to power.

*See also* Minster, C. (2019, July 28). *Biography of Anastasio Somoza García, President of Nicaragua*. ThoughtCo. <https://www.thoughtco.com/biography-of-anastasio-somoza-garcia-2136349>

Sandino had opposed the presence of U.S. Marines in Nicaragua and resisted U.S. occupation between 1927 and 1933. After the U.S. Marines left in 1933, he agreed to lay down his arms, but Nicaraguan President Anastasio Somoza García still perceived him as a threat and had the National Guard execute him in 1934.

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<sup>75</sup> **Nicaraguans Flee to the United States and Costa Rica** (1979)

Ripley, III, C. G. (2023, March 7). *Crisis Prompts Record Emigration from Nicaragua, Surpassing Cold War Era*. Migration Policy Institute. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/record-emigration-nicaragua-crisis>

<sup>76</sup> **The U.S. Government Suspends Immigration Enforcement for Nicaraguans Present in the United States** (1979)

Wasem, R. E. & Ester, K. (2006, January 27). *Temporary Protected Status: Current Immigration Policy and Issues* [Congressional Research Service Order Code RS20844]. Transactional Records Access Clearinghouse. <https://trac.syr.edu/immigration/library/P332.pdf>

See pages 3–4. Before Temporary Protected Status (TPS) was available, the U.S. Attorney General had the ability to suspend immigration enforcement on a discretionary basis for particular groups, including Deferred Enforced Departure (DED) and Extended Voluntary Departure (EVD). Nicaraguans received EVD between 1979 and 1980.

See also page 5.

See also Goodfriend, H. (2017, February 17). *A Demand for Sanctuary*. Jacobin.

<https://www.jacobinmag.com/2017/02/sanctuary-movement-central-america-el-salvador-trump-deportations/>

Arrivals seeking asylum from socialist Nicaragua received immigration relief, while Salvadorans and Guatemalans seeking asylum from US-backed regimes were denied relief.

<sup>77</sup> **U.S. Treatment of Refugees Fleeing Anti-Communist Governments Differs Significantly Between Cubans and Haitians** (1980s)

HISTORY. (n.d.). *Fidel Castro announces Mariel Boatlift, allowing Cubans to emigrate to U.S.*

<https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/castro-announces-mariel-boatlift>

Ramón, C. & Gutierrez, Y. (2019, January 22). *History Shows the U.S. Doesn’t Do Well at Preparing for Migration*

*Crises*. Bipartisan Policy Center. <https://bipartisanpolicy.org/blog/history-shows-the-u-s-doesnt-do-well-at-preparing-for-migration-crises/>

Gavigan, P. (1997). *Migration Emergencies and Human Rights in Haiti [Paper prepared for the Conference on*

*Regional Responses to Forced Migration in Central America and the Caribbean, September 30–October 1]*. Organization of American States.

<https://www.oas.org/juridico/english/gavigane.html>

The Carter administration did not categorize the 18,000 Haitians and 125,000 Cubans seeking refuge as refugees or asylees but rather as “entrants”—a temporary designation until subsequent legislation determined their status.

The World. (2019, July 11). *Trump’s hard-line immigration policies build on the history of former US presidents.*

<https://www.pri.org/stories/2019-07-12/trumps-hard-line-immigration-policies-build-history-former-us-presidents>

Taylor, A. & Parker, C. (2021, July 14). Cuba and Haiti upheaval could mean twin migration crises. *The Washington*

*Post*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2021/07/14/cuba-haiti-migration/>

Sinclair, W. & Denton, H. (1980, July 3). Haitians Win Round on U.S. Asylum. *The Washington Post*.

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1980/07/03/haitians-win-round-on-us-asylum/d39e8741-a554-4b71-9819-27ded809746e/>

A U.S. District Judge ruled in 1980 that the Immigration and Naturalization Service illegally denied the asylum claims of thousands of Haitians in 1978 and 1979. He stated that, “This case involves thousands of black Haitian nationals” and “the brutality of their government, and the prejudice of ours.”

Charles, J. & Wilner, M. (2021, September 24). Image of agent on horseback is reminder of U.S. immigration

mistreatment, Haitians say. *Miami Herald*. <https://www.miamiherald.com/news/nation-world/world/americas/haiti/article254414318.html>

Wasem, R. E. (2005, January 21). *U.S. Immigration Policy on Haitian Migrants* [Congressional Research Service

Order Code RS21349]. Transactional Records Access Clearinghouse.

[https://tracfed.syr.edu/tracker/dynadata/2006\\_09/47153.pdf](https://tracfed.syr.edu/tracker/dynadata/2006_09/47153.pdf)

Of the more than 150,000 asylum seekers who arrived in South Florida in 1980 during the Mariel Boatlift, about 25,000 were Haitian nationals.

Cineas, F. (2021, September 24). Why America keeps turning its back on Haitian migrants. *Vox*.

<https://www.vox.com/22689472/haitian-migrants-asylum-history-violence>

Aguilera, J. (2021, September 30). How History Is Repeating Itself for Haitian Migrants Trying to Enter the U.S.

*Time*. <https://time.com/6102229/haitian-migrants-us-border-texas/>

Van Selm, J. & Cooper, B. (2006, January). *The New “Boat People:” Ensuring Safety and Determining Status*.

Migration Policy Institute. [https://www.migrationpolicy.org/pubs/Boat\\_People\\_Report.pdf](https://www.migrationpolicy.org/pubs/Boat_People_Report.pdf)

See page 12. The U.S. Coast Guard has treated Cuban and Chinese migrants differently from other migrants when intercepted. Cubans are read a statement offering a credible fear interview. Chinese migrants are given written questionnaires allowing them to express if they have fears of return to China. The Coast Guard only subjected Haitians and other migrants, however, to credible fear interviews if those migrants showed or stated they had fears of returning to their origin nations—the “shout test”—without prompting from the Coast Guard.



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<sup>78</sup> **Cubans Flee to the United States in What Became Known as the Mariel Boatlift** (1980)

HISTORY. (n.d.). *Fidel Castro announces Mariel Boatlift, allowing Cubans to emigrate to U.S.* <https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/castro-announces-mariel-boatlift>

U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services. (n.d.). *Refugee Timeline.* <https://www.uscis.gov/about-us/our-history/history-office-and-library/featured-stories-from-the-uscis-history-office-and-library/refugee-timeline>

Pew Research Center. (2006, August 25). *Cubans in the United States.* <https://www.pewresearch.org/hispanic/2006/08/25/cubans-in-the-united-states/>

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Under the Cuban Adjustment Act, most Cubans are presumed to be refugees and have been able to become lawful permanent residents after 366 days. This pathway to citizenship has enabled Cuban Americans, who largely identify as conservative or Republican, to exercise tremendous voting power, especially in Florida.

<sup>79</sup> **The Cuban-Haitian Entrant Program (CHEP) Permits Nationals from Both Countries to Parole into the United States** (1980)

Immigration History. (n.d.). *Mariel Boatlift of 1980.* <https://immigrationhistory.org/item/mariel-boatlift/>  
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<sup>80</sup> **The Refugee Education Assistance Act Provides Benefits to Cuban and Haitian Parolees** (1980)

Glass, A. (2018, April 20). *Castro launches Mariel boatlift, April 20, 1980.* POLITICO. <https://www.politico.com/story/2018/04/20/castro-launches-mariel-boatlift-april-20-1980-528819>

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#### <sup>81</sup> **The U.S. Haitian Program Detains Haitians and Others, Denies Almost All Applications for Asylum (1981)**

Freedom for Immigrants. (n.d.). *A short history of immigration detention*.  
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 See pages 340, 344–345.

In *Haitian Refugee Center v. Civiletti*, the federal court refuted the government’s argument that all Haitians were economic migrants and found that much of Haiti’s poverty was a result of Duvalier’s efforts to maintain power. Their economic situation was a “political condition.” The court stated, “The decision was made among high INS officials to expel Haitians, despite whatever claims to asylum individual Haitians might have. ... The Program resulted in wholesale violations of due process and only Haitians were affected. ... This Program ... is offensive to every notion of constitutional due process and equal protection.”

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<https://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=1350&dat=19810930&id=8owxAAAAIBAJ&sjid=oQIEAAAAIBAJ&pg=2817%2C8050769&hl=en>  
 The U.S. government negotiated an agreement with the Duvalier regime in 1981 to return interdicted Haitians because they “threatened the welfare and safety and communities” in the United States.

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#### <sup>82</sup> **Puerto Rico’s Ft. Allen Detention Center Detains Haitians (1981)**

Fialho, C. (2019, January 22). Small but powerful amendment could lessen immigration detention. *The Hill*.  
<https://thehill.com/opinion/immigration/425886-small-but-powerful-amendment-could-lessen-immigration-detention>

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<https://www.nytimes.com/1981/08/13/us/first-haitians-taken-to-puerto-rico.html>

United Press International. (1981, October 19). *Two Haitian boat people in the Fort Allen detention....* UPI.  
<https://www.upi.com/Archives/1981/10/19/Two-Haitian-boat-people-in-the-Fort-Allen-detention/4522372312000/>  
 This describes allegations of immigration employees throwing two Haitians against a fence and choking them.

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 See page 345.

#### <sup>83</sup> **The U.S. Government Launches the Haitian Migrant Interdiction Operations (HMIO) Program (1981)**

Narea, N. (2021, July 29). *Biden is turning back Haitian migrants at sea, echoing a shameful chapter in US history*. Vox. <https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2021/7/29/22589316/biden-haiti-migrant-boat-guantanamo>

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<https://www.nytimes.com/1981/09/30/us/reagan-orders-aliens-stopped-on-the-high-sea.html>

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Lescaze, L. (1981, September 29). Coast Guard to Intercept Aliens’ Ships. *The Washington Post*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1981/09/30/coast-guard-to-intercept-aliens-ships/1ee08458-3116-4608-b017-ed683e3c0504/>

Between 1972 and 1981, an estimated 60,000 Haitians had arrived in the United States without authorization by sea, but the United States admitted 125,000 Cubans who arrived in 1980 seeking refuge.

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The program was changed from the Haitian Migrant Interdiction Operations (HMIO) program to the Alien Migrant Interdiction Operations (AMIO) program in 1989. Other nations have since started their own interdiction-at-sea programs, such as the European Union in the Mediterranean and the Atlantic and Australia in the Pacific.

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<sup>84</sup> **Congress Links Stemming Tide of Migration with Foreign Assistance Funds to Haiti** (1981–1982)

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<sup>85</sup> **The U.S. Government Rationalizes Interdiction on the Idea that Haitians Were Connected to HIV and AIDS** (1982)

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Dubois, L. (2014, October 6). How Will Haiti Reckon with the Duvalier Years?. *The New Yorker*. <https://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/will-haiti-reckon-duvalier-years>  
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To open this source, please go to the link provided, and search for “Document ID: cqal81-1172072.”

<sup>86</sup> **The U.S. Government Agrees to Admit 20,000 Cubans Annually** (1980s)

Schmidt, W. E. (1984, December 16). FOR CUBANS EXCLUDED, A WAY OUT-OR IN. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/1984/12/16/weekinreview/for-cubans-excluded-a-way-out-or-in.html>

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<sup>87</sup> **Over the Course of Nearly 10 Years, the U.S. Coast Guard Interdicts As Many As 25,000 Haitians** (1980s)

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<https://southsideweekly.com/op-ed-america-owes-haitian-migrants-asylum/>

<sup>88</sup> **The CIA Trains Honduras’ Brutal Battalion 3-16** (1980s)

Manuel, A. (1993, November 27). DEATH SQUAD DEBRIS: HONDURAS STRUGGLES WITH THE LEGACY OF CIA-TRAINED RIGHTS ABUSERS. *The Washington Post*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/opinions/1993/11/28/death-squad-debris/5bec5a3f-76a9-4eb5-a3f1-e31ed6deb79a/>

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<sup>89</sup> **The United States Supports the Salvadoran Government During Their Civil War** (1980–92)

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<https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/united-states-calls-situation-in-el-salvador-a-communist-plot>

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Some estimate more than 75,000 civilians died at the hands of the Salvadoran government alone.  
Another estimate is that as much as 25 percent of the Salvadoran population was displaced.

The Truth Commission for El Salvador attributed 95 percent of the killings, disappearances and abductions, and torture to the Salvadoran government or right-wing death squads.

Chomsky, A. (2021, July 8). The root cause of Central American migration? The United States. *The Washington Post*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2021/07/08/root-cause-central-american-migration-united-states/>

Kazdin, C. (2018, June 28). *The Violence Central American Migrants Are Fleeing Was Stoked by the US*. Vice. <https://www.vice.com/en/article/qvnyzq/central-america-atrocities-caused-immigration-crisis>  
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United States Institute of Peace. (1992, July 1). *Truth Commission: El Salvador*. <https://www.usip.org/publications/1992/07/truth-commission-el-salvador>

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#### <sup>90</sup> **U.S.-Trained Salvadoran Military Massacres Civilians in El Mozote (1981)**

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Brigida, A. (2021, May 2). Victims renew calls for justice as El Mozote trial moves ahead. *Al Jazeera*. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/5/2/victims-renew-calls-justice-el-mozote-trial-moves-ahead-el-salvador>

Cagan, S. (2016, February 4). Salvadoran Refugees in the Camp at Colomoncagua, Honduras, 1980-1991. *ReVista*, XI(3). <https://revista.drclas.harvard.edu/salvadoran-refugees-in-the-camp-at-colomoncagua-honduras-1980-1991/>

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Ten graduates of the School of Americans (modern-day WHINSEC) were involved in the 1981 massacre of civilians in El Mozote, El Salvador.

Wilkins, B. (2021, December 11). *40 Years Later, El Mozote Massacre Victims Vow to ‘Keep Demanding Justice.’* Common Dreams. <https://www.commondreams.org/news/2021/12/11/40-years-later-el-mozote-massacre-victims-vow-keep-demanding-justice>  
The Atlácatl Battalion was trained at Fort Bragg, North Carolina, by Army Green Berets.

<b>1791–1903</b> U.S. Expansion and the Introduction of the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1904–1946</b> The Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1947–1980</b> The Truman Doctrine and the Containment of Communism	<b>1971–Present</b> Declaration of the “War on Drugs”	<b>1980s–1990s</b> Beyond Containment, the Rolling Back of Communism	<b>1996–Present</b> Enforcement and Externalization of Borders
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Rauda, N. & Washington, J. (2021, May 12). The U.S. role in the El Mozote massacre echoes in today’s immigration.

*The Washington Post*.

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2021/05/13/us-role-el-mozote-massacre-still-echoes-immigration-today/>

The day after the El Mozote massacre was exposed in the media, the U.S. government defended the Salvadoran government’s human rights record and ignored the U.S. Embassy’s interviews with refugees about the massacre.

Washington Office on Latin America. (2021, December 9). *On 40th Anniversary, Search for Justice in El Mozote Massacre Must Continue*.

<https://www.wola.org/2021/12/el-mozote-justice-40-years/>

A U.S. military advisor was in the Morazán province with an Atlacatl Battalion commander during the massacre.

<sup>91</sup> **Atlacatl Battalion Kills Six Clergy in the “Jesuit Massacre”** (1989)

Wilkins, T. (1992, December 9). Notorious Salvadoran Battalion Is Disbanded: Military: U.S.-trained Atlacatl unit was famed for battle prowess but was also implicated in atrocities. *Los Angeles Times*.

<https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1992-12-09-mn-1714-story.html>

The battalion was also involved in the massacre of hundreds of civilians in 1981 in El Mozote and other mass killings.

Chomsky, N. (2014, July 1). *Noam Chomsky: America's corporate doctrine of power a grave threat to humanity*.

Salon. [https://www.salon.com/2014/07/01/noam\\_chomsky\\_americas\\_corporate\\_doctrine\\_of\\_power\\_a\\_grave\\_threat\\_to\\_humanity/](https://www.salon.com/2014/07/01/noam_chomsky_americas_corporate_doctrine_of_power_a_grave_threat_to_humanity/)

Clarke, K. (2020, February 21). *State Department sanctions 13 suspected in 1989 slaying of Jesuits in El Salvador*.

*Why now?* America: The Jesuit Review. <https://www.americamagazine.org/politics-society/2020/02/21/state-department-sanctions-13-suspected-1989-slaying-jesuits-el>

19 of the 26 members of the unit that killed the six priests and others were trained at the School of the Americas.

Hajek, D. (2019, November 16). *‘I Miss Them, Always’: A Witness Recounts El Salvador's 1989 Jesuit Massacre*. NPR.

<https://www.npr.org/2019/11/16/774176106/i-miss-them-always-a-witness-recounts-el-salvador-s-1989-jesuit-massacre>

This quotes Ignacio Ellacuría.

Christian, S. (1992, December 9). Salvador Battalion Ends in Praise and Protest. *The New York Times*.

<https://www.nytimes.com/1992/12/09/world/salvador-battalion-ends-in-praise-and-protest.html>

U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement. (2020, September 21). *Spain convicts, sentences Salvadoran man to 133 years for 1989 ‘Jesuit Massacre.’*

<https://www.ice.gov/news/releases/spain-convicts-sentences-salvadoran-man-133-years-1989-jesuit-massacre#:~:text=An%20elite%20Salvadoran%20military%20unit,housekeeper%20and%20her%20teenage%20daughter>

The National Criminal Court of Spain sentenced a former Salvadoran military officer in 2020 to more than 100 years in prison for his role in the assassination. Five of the six priests were Spanish citizens, while the sixth priest, housekeeper, and her daughter were Salvadoran citizens. The United States had previously granted him Temporary Protected Status until a U.S. federal court convicted him in 2013 of immigration fraud and other charges. He was extradited to Spain in 2017.

<sup>92</sup> **Central Americans Flee to the United States**

Rodriguez, E. A. (2023, November). *Hope And Community In The Capital: Salvadorans In The Washington, DC,*

*Metropolitan Area*. The Metropole. <https://themetropole.blog/2023/11/15/hope-and-community-in-the-capital-salvadorans-in-the-washington-dc-metropolitan-area/>

The largest and second largest populations of Salvadorans are based in California and the Washington, DC, metropolitan area.

*See also* Pirtle, D. (2024, April 30). Mara Salvatrucha. In the Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica

(Ed.), *Britannica*. Retrieved June 5, 2024, from

<https://www.britannica.com/topic/Mara-Salvatrucha>

Some Salvadoran refugees and former FMLN members sought to protect themselves from Mexican gangs in Los Angeles by forming the Mara Salvatrucha gang.

*See also* Musa, M. (2022, November 14). El Salvador’s History Shows Migration Isn’t the Problem, Imperialism Is. The Real News Network.

<https://therealnews.com/el-salvadors-history-shows-migration-isnt-the-problem-imperialism-is>

Mara Salvatrucha, influenced by heavy police enforcement in the Los Angeles area, eventually became MS-13 in the 1990s after forming an alliance with the Mexican Mafia.

*See also* British Broadcasting Corporation. (207, April 19). *MS-13 gang: The story behind one of the world's most brutal street gangs*. BBC.

<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-39645640>

The FBI formed a special taskforce against MS-13 in 1994.

Jarquín, M. (2024, May 2). The Man Who Made Ronald Reagan ‘See Red’ Is Still in Power. *Time*.

<https://time.com/6957847/nicaragua-history-politics/>

U.S. financing of right-wing forces in Central America left the region impoverished, violent, and traumatized. “This, in turn, is one reason why so many people leave the region and come to the United States.”

<b>1791–1903</b> U.S. Expansion and the Introduction of the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1904–1946</b> The Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1947–1980</b> The Truman Doctrine and the Containment of Communism	<b>1971–Present</b> Declaration of the “War on Drugs”	<b>1980s–1990s</b> Beyond Containment, the Rolling Back of Communism	<b>1996–Present</b> Enforcement and Externalization of Borders
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### <sup>93</sup> U.S. Supports Guatemalan Military in Civil War (1980s)

Gwertzman, B. (1983, January 8). U.S. LIFTS EMBARGO ON MILITARY SALES TO GUATEMALANS. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/1983/01/08/world/us-lifts-embargo-on-military-sales-to-guatemalans.html>

Public Broadcasting Corporation. (2023, May 10). As Rios Montt Trial Nears End, a Look Back at U.S. Role in Guatemala’s Civil War. *News Hour, PBS*. <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/science/from-the-vault-will-ending-an-embargo-in-guatemala-fuel-or-endorse-the-violence>  
Human rights groups opposed lifting the embargo due to government massacres, kidnappings, and the resulting forced displacement.

The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. (2024, May 7). *Big Stick policy*. In the Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica (Ed.), *Britannica*. Retrieved June 5, 2024, from <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Jose-Efrain-Rios-Montt>

Bracken, A. (2016, December 29). *Why you need to know about Guatemala’s civil war*. <https://theworld.org/stories/2016-12-29/why-you-need-know-about-guatemalas-civil-war>  
In order to pressure the Guatemalan government to stop targeting rebels and those sympathetic to their cause such as clergy and Indigenous communities, the U.S. government imposed an arms embargo in 1978 and extended the embargo to all commercial sales in 1980.

Rahman, A. (2019, June 8). *The sordid history of US intervention in Guatemala*. Peoples Dispatch. <https://peoplesdispatch.org/2019/06/08/the-sordid-history-of-us-intervention-in-guatemala/>  
The U.S. government supported the Guatemalan government between 1960 and 1996, which largely targeted Maya Mam Indigenous communities. A 1999 United Nations report declared that the Guatemalan government was responsible for the more than 200,000 people who died as a result of the civil war during that period.

Broder, J. M. (1999, March 11). Clinton Offers His Apologies to Guatemala. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/1999/03/11/world/clinton-offers-his-apologies-to-guatemala.html#:~:text=For%20the%20United%20States%2C>  
The CIA was involved in the targeting of Indigenous and leftist rebels, and the U.S. government trained the Guatemalan military in counterinsurgency.

Burt, J. (2018, October 15). *Imperfect Justice in Guatemala*. Washington Office on Latin America. <https://www.wola.org/analysis/imperfect-justice-guatemala/>  
Rios Montt’s reign is widely considered the most violent period during the 36-year civil war.

### <sup>94</sup> The U.S.-Backed Guatemalan Government Targets Indigenous Communities During the Civil War

Hamilton, K. (2019, July 8). *Five Indigenous Children Have Died at Border Patrol Since December 2018*. Cultural Survival. <https://www.culturalsurvival.org/news/five-indigenous-children-have-died-border-patrol-december-2018>

Gunson, P. (2018, April 2). Gen Efraín Ríos Montt obituary. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/apr/02/gen-efrain-rios-montt-obituary>  
This describes Efraín Ríos Montt’s U.S. training at Ft. Gulick in the Panama Canal Zone, Ft. Bragg in North Carolina, and the Army School of War in Italy. Ríos Montt went on to head a three-person ruling junta in March 1982. His notorious scorched-earth policy against the highland Indigenous communities destroyed Mayan villages and massacred thousands and drove tens of thousands to flee.

Grandin, G. & Oglesby, E. (2019, January 25). *Washington Trained Guatemala’s Killers for Decades*. The Nation. <https://www.thenation.com/article/archive/border-patrol-guatemala-dictatorship/>

Holocaust Museum Houston. (n.d.). *Genocide in Guatemala*. <https://hnhm.org/library/research/genocide-in-guatemala-guide/>  
The Guatemalan army’s Operation Sophia targeted Mayan civilians, whom the government perceived as supporting the rebels.

Kazdin, C. (2018, June 28). *The Violence Central American Migrants Are Fleeing Was Stoked by the US*. Vice. <https://www.vice.com/en/article/qvnyzq/central-america-atrocities-caused-immigration-crisis>  
U.S. tolerance, concealment, or direct funding of violence and political persecution in Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, and Nicaragua in the 1980s contributed to the displacement of people and creation of conditions of forced migration from the region.

### <sup>95</sup> The U.S. Government Suspends Military Aid Program for the Guatemalan Army After American Is Killed (1990)

Dillon, S. (1995, March 28). On Her Guatemalan Ranch, American Retraces Slaying. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/1995/03/28/world/on-her-guatemalan-ranch-american-retraces-slaying.html> Guatemalan Col. Julio Roberto Alpirez, a paid informant of the CIA, knew about the killing of American Michael DeVine and helped cover it up, and the CIA continued to pay Alpirez until 1992.

José Calderón, M. (n.d.). Timeline: Guatemala’s History of Violence. *FRONTLINE/World, PBS*. <https://www.pbs.org/frontlineworld/stories/guatemala704/history/timeline.html>

Thompson, G. (2005, March 25). U.S. to Lift Ban on Military Aid to Guatemala. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2005/03/25/world/americas/us-to-lift-ban-on-military-aid-to-guatemala.html>

<b>1791–1903</b> U.S. Expansion and the Introduction of the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1904–1946</b> The Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1947–1980</b> The Truman Doctrine and the Containment of Communism	<b>1971–Present</b> Declaration of the “War on Drugs”	<b>1980s–1990s</b> Beyond Containment, the Rolling Back of Communism	<b>1996–Present</b> Enforcement and Externalization of Borders
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<sup>96</sup> **The U.S. Government Treats Salvadorans and Guatemalans as Economic Migrants Rather than as Refugees or Asylees (1980s)**

Gzesh, S. (2006, April 1). *Central Americans and Asylum Policy in the Reagan Era*. Migration Policy Institute.  
<https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/central-americans-and-asylum-policy-reagan-era>

Jonas, S. (2013, March 27). *Guatemalan Migration in Times of Civil War and Post-War Challenges*. Migration Policy.  
<https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/guatemalan-migration-times-civil-war-and-post-war-challenges>  
 The U.S. government denied 98 percent of Guatemalan and 97 percent of Salvadoran applications for asylum in the 1980s.

Coutin, S. (2007, September 25). *The Odyssey of Salvadoran Asylum Seekers*. NACLA.  
<https://nacla.org/article/odyssey-salvadoran-asylum-seekers>  
 While the federal government rejected 97 percent of Salvadoran asylum applications between 1983 and 1986, the same government approved the asylum applications of nationals from regimes not friendly to the United States—Iran, Romania, Czechoslovakia, Afghanistan, Poland, and Hungary—at rates ranging from 32 percent to 60 percent.

Hodge, J. (2014, November 18). *SOA Watch marks 25th year of speaking out against ‘School of Assassins’*. National Catholic Reporter. <https://www.ncronline.org/news/accountability/soa-watch-marks-25th-year-speaking-out-against-school-assassins>

Rosal, M. L. & Viscarra, A. J. (n.d.). *Report: Moving Solidarity*. NACLA.  
<https://nacla.org/news/2016/05/19/report-moving-solidarity>  
 The United Nations-sponsored report found that two-thirds of the military responsible for human rights violations in El Salvador were trained at the US Army School of Americas, now known as the Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation.

<sup>97</sup> **Indigenous Migrants Settle in United States (1980s)**

Miller, L. (2021, July 7). Zapotec in 90006, K’iche’ in 90057: New map highlights L.A.’s Indigenous communities. *Los Angeles Times*. <https://www.latimes.com/california/story/2021-07-07/la-me-indigenous-map-los-angeles>

Hansen, B. (2002, May 1). The Oaxaca Connection. *Los Angeles Times*.  
<https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2002-may-01-fo-oaxaca1-story.html>

Cohen, J. (2005, January 1). *The Oaxaca-U.S. Connection and Remittances*. Migration Policy Institute.  
<https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/oaxaca-us-connection-and-remittances#:~:text=Contemporary%20Oaxacan%20migration%20is%20rooted,work%20through%20the%20Bracero%20Program>

Beauregard, L. P. (2021, December 29). *The Zapotec woman building indigenous communities in Los Angeles*. El País.  
<https://english.elpais.com/usa/2021-12-29/the-zapotec-woman-building-indigenous-communities-in-los-angeles.html>  
 Some 1.2 million Oaxacans lived in California as of 2021, including an estimated 200,000 Zapotecs in the Los Angeles area.

Yescas, C. (2010, March 31). *Hidden in Plain Sight: Indigenous Migrants, Their Movements, and Their Challenges*. Migration Policy Institute. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/hidden-plain-sight-indigenous-migrants-their-movements-and-their-challenges>  
 Guatemalan Maya settled in California, Florida, and southern Mexico after fleeing the civil war in the 1980s.

Petit, V. (2004, January 31). Guatemalan Mayans Settle In S. Florida. *The Washington Post*.  
<https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/2004/02/01/guatemalan-mayans-settle-in-s-florida/5752d170-ff65-432d-95d6-003a525bd601/>  
 Maya from Guatemala migrated to southeastern Florida in the early 1980s.

Oglesby, E. (2020, September 6). *Opinion: How Central American Migrants Helped Revive the U.S. Labor Movement*. Maryland Matters.  
<https://www.marylandmatters.org/2020/09/06/opinion-how-central-american-migrants-helped-revive-the-u-s-labor-movement/>  
 Some 20,000 Guatemalans, many who spoke Indigenous Mayan languages, arrived in Florida in the 1980s and worked in agriculture.

<sup>98</sup> **The U.S. Government Denies 98 Percent of Guatemalan Applicants for Asylum (1980s)**

Jonas, S. (2013, March 27). *Guatemalan Migration in Times of Civil War and Post-War Challenges*. Migration Policy Institute. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/guatemalan-migration-times-civil-war-and-post-war-challenges>

Gunson, P. (2006, May 29). General Romeo Lucas García. *The Guardian*.  
<https://www.theguardian.com/news/2006/may/30/guardianobituaries.mainsection>  
 Murders and disappearances targeting the Indigenous Mayan peasantry started during Romeo Lucas García’s presidency in 1978.

USAGov. (n.d.). *The federal budget process*.  
<https://www.usa.gov/federal-budget-process#:~:text=The%20federal%20government's%20fiscal%20year,September%2030%20of%20the%20next>  
 The end of the federal fiscal year was September 30, 1992.

Jonas, S. (2013, March 27). *Guatemalan Migration in Times of Civil War and Post-War Challenges*. Migration Policy.  
<https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/guatemalan-migration-times-civil-war-and-post-war-challenges>



<b>1791–1903</b> U.S. Expansion and the Introduction of the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1904–1946</b> The Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1947–1980</b> The Truman Doctrine and the Containment of Communism	<b>1971–Present</b> Declaration of the “War on Drugs”	<b>1980s–1990s</b> Beyond Containment, the Rolling Back of Communism	<b>1996–Present</b> Enforcement and Externalization of Borders
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<sup>99</sup> **U.S. Supports Contra Rebels in Honduras (1982)**

Kirk, J. & Kimber, S. (2023, September 11). Fifty years after Chile’s coup, the region still not safe from US meddling.

*Al Jazeera*. <https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2023/9/11/fifty-years-after-chiles-coup-the-region-still-not-safe-from-us-meddling>

Rossinow, D. (2019, October 4). Politics saved Ronald Reagan from impeachment. That might happen again for

Donald Trump. *The Washington Post*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2019/10/04/politics-saved-ronald-reagan-impeachment-that-might-happen-again-donald-trump/>

U.S. President Reagan’s activities—secret, illegal, and above-board—included having Israel agree to provide weapons to the Contra rebels, Saudi Arabia to finance them, Honduras to have Contras be based in Honduras, and Guatemala to hide the fact that U.S. weapons were destined for the Contra rebels.

The United States sold weapons to Iran, even though the former categorized the latter as a terrorist state, in an attempt to have Shiite forces release U.S. hostages.

Viscarra, A. J. & Prentice, M. (2014, August 15). *Children of the Monroe Doctrine*. Latino Rebels.

<https://www.latinorebels.com/2014/08/15/children-of-the-monroe-doctrine/>

Many members of Nicaragua’s U.S. Marine-trained and deposed National Guard went on to become Contra rebels.

Vine, D. (2015, July/August). Where in the World is the U.S. Military?. *Politico Magazine*.

<https://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2015/06/us-military-bases-around-the-world-119321/>

MilitaryBases.us. (n.d.). *Soto Cano Air Base*. <http://www.militarybases.us/air-force/soto-cano-air-base/>

Glass, A. (2017, April 9). *Goldwater condemns CIA mining of Nicaraguan harbors: April 10, 1984*. POLITICO.

<https://www.politico.com/story/2017/04/goldwater-condemns-cia-mining-of-nicaraguan-harbors-april-10-1984-237037>

The CIA reasoned that the mines would support the Contra rebels who were planning an attack against the Nicaraguan government.

President Ronald Reagan approved the mining ignoring a legal requirement to report such covert actions without notifying lawmakers.

Viscarra, A. J. & Prentice, M. (2014, August 15). *Children of the Monroe Doctrine*. Latino Rebels.

<https://www.latinorebels.com/2014/08/15/children-of-the-monroe-doctrine/>

New World Encyclopedia. (n.d.) Monroe Doctrine. In *NewWorldEncyclopedia.com*. Retrieved May 17, 2024,

from [https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Monroe\\_Doctrine](https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Monroe_Doctrine)

The International Court of Justice ruled in 1985 that the United States had to pay reparations to Nicaragua for supporting the Contra rebels as well as mining Nicaragua’s harbor, but the United States ignored the verdict.

British Broadcasting Corporation. (2022, January 10). *Daniel Ortega: From revolutionary leader to opposition hate figure*. BBC.

<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-15544315>

Stuenkel, O. & Feldmann, A. E. (2017, November 16). *The Unchecked Demise of Nicaraguan Democracy*. Carnegie Endowment for International Piece.

<https://carnegieendowment.org/2017/11/16/unchecked-demise-of-nicaraguan-democracy-pub-74761> Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN)

member Daniel Ortega was first elected to the presidency in 1984—credited with bringing down Anastasio Somoza Debayle. He lost power to Violeta Chamorro in 1990. He was elected to the presidency again in 2006 and has served consecutive terms through the 2021 election.

Zinn Education Project. (n.d.). Oct. 5, 1986: Eugene Hasenfus Captured During Iran-Contra Scandal.

<https://www.zinnedproject.org/news/tdih/iran-contra-hasenfus/?fbclid=IwAR2sUXA1xLy7AdLqJM7ZVwdp8-elnhwlcYnqRI-UXJZkaqgPJBOBple91Eo>

LeoGrande, W. M. (2018, February 26). *Washington has meddled in elections before*. The Conversation.

<https://theconversation.com/washington-has-meddled-in-elections-before-92167>

The Center for Justice & Accountability. (n.d.). *CJA Litigation: Reyes v. Lopez Grijalba*.

<https://cja.org/where-we-work/honduras/>

<sup>100</sup> **The U.S. Government Extends Immigration Relief for Nicaraguans Impacted by the Sandinista Government (1987)**

Desilver, D. (2014, November 21). *Executive actions on immigration have long history*. Pew Research Center.

<https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2014/11/21/executive-actions-on-immigration-have-long-history/>

This source provides the language “a well-founded fear of persecution.”

Washington Post Staff Writer. (1987, July 9). MEESE SIGNS ORDER GIVING NICARAGUANS HAVEN IN U.S. *The*

*Washington Post*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1987/07/09/meese-signs-order-giving-nicaraguans-haven-in-us/3041bc0a-814f-4b69-bdd1-2a7e390d0d3d/>

AP. (1987, July 9). IMMIGRATION RULES ARE EASED FOR NICARAGUAN EXILES IN U.S. *The New York Times*.

<https://www.nytimes.com/1987/07/09/world/immigration-rules-are-eased-for-nicaraguan-exiles-in-us.html>

Immigration and Naturalization Service expedited Nicaraguans’ applications for work permits and encouraged Nicaraguans with denied asylum claims or withholding of deportation to reapply. This form of immigration relief fell short of what the presidential administration had been advocating for, which was automatic asylum for Nicaraguans based on the idea that they were fleeing a Communist government.

<b>1791–1903</b> U.S. Expansion and the Introduction of the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1904–1946</b> The Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1947–1980</b> The Truman Doctrine and the Containment of Communism	<b>1971–Present</b> Declaration of the “War on Drugs”	<b>1980s–1990s</b> Beyond Containment, the Rolling Back of Communism	<b>1996–Present</b> Enforcement and Externalization of Borders
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#### <sup>101</sup> U.S. Bans Travel to Cuba, Designates the Nation as a State Sponsor of Terrorism (1982)

Public Broadcasting Corporation. (n.d.). *Post-Revolution Cuba*. PBS.

<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/post-revolution-cuba/>

Council on Foreign Relations. (n.d.). *1959–2023: U.S.–Cuba Relations*.

<https://www.cfr.org/timeline/us-cuba-relations>

Cuban Research Institute. (n.d.). *Chronology of U.S.–Cuba Relations*. Florida International University.

<https://cri.fiu.edu/us-cuba/chronology-of-us-cuba-relations/>

Marques, N. (n.d.). *Against all reason, Cuba remains on the US State Sponsors of Terrorism list*. Peoples Dispatch.

<https://peoplesdispatch.org/2023/06/21/against-all-reason-cuba-remains-on-the-us-state-sponsors-of-terrorism-list/>

The designation as a “state sponsor of terrorism” was removed in 2015.

Nodarse Venancie, M. & Bare, A. (2023, March 28). *The Human Cost of Cuba’s Inclusion on the State Sponsor of Terrorism List*. Washington Office on Latin America.

<https://www.wola.org/analysis/human-cost-cuba-state-sponsor-of-terrorism-list/>

Other countries with this designation include North Korea, Iran, and Syria for nations that have “repeatedly provided support for acts of international terrorism,” but the designation has not been imposed on nations that engage in human rights abuses. Cuba was the first country added to the U.S. State Department’s State Sponsors of Terrorism list.

#### <sup>102</sup> Faith-Based Groups Engage in Sanctuary Movement in Support of Guatemalans and Salvadorans Seeking Refuge (1984)

Gzesh, S. (2006, April 1). *Central Americans and Asylum Policy in the Reagan Era*. Migration Policy Institute.

<https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/central-americans-and-asylum-policy-reagan-era>

Washington Post Staff Writer. (1987, July 9). MEESE SIGNS ORDER GIVING NICARAGUANS HAVEN IN U.S. *The*

*Washington Post*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1987/07/09/meese-signs-order-giving-nicaraguans-haven-in-us/3041bc0a-814f-4b69-bdd1-2a7e390d0d3d/>

Coutin, S. (2007, September 25). *The Odyssey of Salvadoran Asylum Seekers*. NACLA.

<https://nacla.org/article/odyssey-salvadoran-asylum-seekers>

While faith-based groups provided sanctuary, community groups and allies engaged in advocacy with Congress and promoted the “Moakley-DeConcini” bill to provide immigration relief for Salvadorans.

Gzesh, S. (2006, April 1). *Central Americans and Asylum Policy in the Reagan Era*. Migration Policy Institute.

<https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/central-americans-and-asylum-policy-reagan-era>

The Texas trial resulted in one conviction and one acquittal.

The Presbyterian Historical Society [Author David S.]. (2022, April 19). *Finding and Providing Sanctuary*. The

National Archives of the PC(USA). <https://www.history.pcusa.org/blog/2022/04/finding-and-providing-sanctuary>

Bishop, K. (1985, May 8). SANCTUARY GROUPS SUE TO HALT TRIALS . *The New York Times*.

<https://www.nytimes.com/1985/05/08/us/sanctuary-groups-sue-to-halt-trials.html>

The director of a Catholic shelter was convicted of assisting and transporting undocumented aliens in the Texas case.

Mathews, J. (1986, May 1). Jury Convicts 8 Sanctuary Defendants. *The Washington Post*.

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1986/05/02/jury-convicts-8-sanctuary-defendants/9ff588f6-56a0-4716-ad3b-f2e731cf0761/>

The jury found them guilty on 18 out of 40 counts of conspiracy, illegal smuggling, transporting, and harboring.

Library of Congress. (n.d.). *1991: American Baptist Churches (ABC) v. Thornburgh*. A Latinx Resource Guide: Civil

Rights Cases and Events in the United States. [https://guides.loc.gov/latinx-civil-rights/abc-v-](https://guides.loc.gov/latinx-civil-rights/abc-v-thornburgh#:~:text=American%20Baptist%20Churches%20v.,Guatemalan%20and%20Salvadoran%20asylum%20seekers)

[thornburgh#:~:text=American%20Baptist%20Churches%20v.,Guatemalan%20and%20Salvadoran%20asylum%20seekers](https://guides.loc.gov/latinx-civil-rights/abc-v-thornburgh#:~:text=American%20Baptist%20Churches%20v.,Guatemalan%20and%20Salvadoran%20asylum%20seekers)

The settlement from the *ABC* case also provided that the 300,000 Salvadoran and Guatemalan migrants who entered the United States before 1990 and had their claims for asylum and other forms of relief denied could reapply for asylum, get work authorization, and receive protection from deportation.

#### <sup>103</sup> Guatemalans and Salvadorans Seek Safety in the United States

The Southern Poverty Law Center. (2018, October 2). *A HISTORY: ASYLUM IN THE UNITED STATES*.

<https://www.splcenter.org/20181002/history-asylum-united-states>

Gzesh, S. (2006, April 1). *Central Americans and Asylum Policy in the Reagan Era*. Migration Policy Institute.

<https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/central-americans-and-asylum-policy-reagan-era>

Washington Post Staff Writer. (1987, July 9). MEESE SIGNS ORDER GIVING NICARAGUANS HAVEN IN U.S. *The*

*Washington Post*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1987/07/09/meese-signs-order-giving-nicaraguans-haven-in-us/3041bc0a-814f-4b69-bdd1-2a7e390d0d3d/>

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LeoGrande, W. M. (2018, February 26). *Washington has meddled in elections before*. The Conversation.

<https://theconversation.com/washington-has-meddled-in-elections-before-92167>

Duarte was a paid informant of the CIA and the agency provided funds for his unsuccessful bid for president in 1982. The CIA supported him again for his 1984 election bid, and he won.

#### <sup>104</sup> **Cities Take Action to Become Safe Spaces for People Regardless of Immigration Status**

Alston, P. & Siegel, J. (2022, September 26). *What is a sanctuary city? The history of immigrant sanctuary and how the term became a 'dirty word'*. GBH News.

<https://www.wgbh.org/news/local/2022-09-26/what-is-a-sanctuary-city-the-history-of-immigrant-sanctuary-and-how-the-term-became-a-dirty-word>

Vitiello, D. (2022, September 15). As red states send migrants to blue states, sanctuary cities are crucial. *The*

*Washington Post*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/made-by-history/2022/09/15/red-states-send-migrants-blue-states-sanctuary-cities-are-crucial/>

San Francisco's 1985 resolution restricted the collaboration between local government officials and federal immigration authorities.

More cities adopted sanctuary policies in reaction to Congress passing the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act in 1996. Clause 287g of the act permitted local law enforcement to enforce federal immigration laws (e.g. Philadelphia in 2001). Meanwhile, as of 2022, 142 local police departments have 287g agreements.

City of Takoma Park. (2017, January 25). TAKOMA PARK, A SANCTUARY CITY.

<https://takomaparkmd.gov/news/takoma-park-a-sanctuary-city/#:~:text=In%201985%2C%20the%20ordinance%20was,residents%20about%20their%20citizenship%20or>

Takoma Park, MD passed its ordinance in 1985.

DeBat, D. (2023, November 22). *Are Chicagoans growing weary of the sanctuary city crisis?*. Loop North News.

<https://www.loopnorth.com/news/sanctuary1122.htm>

Chicago forbade local government officials from inquiring about the citizenship or immigration status of residents in 1985, unless required to do so.

Crowley, S. (2023, May 23). *NYC's status as a sanctuary city draws thousands of asylum seekers weekly*. Fox5 New

York. <https://www.fox5ny.com/news/nycs-status-as-a-sanctuary-city-draws-thousands-of-asylum-seekers-weekly>

New York forbade law enforcement from disclosing the immigration status of residents to federal immigration agents in 1989, unless required to do so.

Maryland Immigrant Rights Coalition. (n.d.). “Sanctuary” Information.

<https://marylandimmigrantrightscoalition.org/resources/resources-on-sanctuary-policies/>

Baltimore, MD limits the immigration detainers it honors to more serious crimes. A “detainer” is a request from Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) to hold a “noncitizen up to 48 hours *beyond* the time they would normally be released.”

#### <sup>105</sup> **Cities and States Adopt Policies to Be Safe Spaces in the New Sanctuary Movement (2016)**

Vitiello, D. (2022, September 15). As red states send migrants to blue states, sanctuary cities are crucial. *The*

*Washington Post*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/made-by-history/2022/09/15/red-states-send-migrants-blue-states-sanctuary-cities-are-crucial/>

Other cities, counties, and states adopted hostile policies, such as Hazleton, PA in 2006, but courts have struck down such immigration restrictions. Sanctuary policies, in contrast, have not been struck down as the federal government cannot compel municipalities to engage in federal responsibilities, per the Constitution.

#### <sup>106</sup> **Detention and Mistreatment of Salvadoran Minor Jenny Lisette Flores Leads to *Flores* Settlement (1985)**

NBC News. (2014, July 24). *When Migrant Children Were Detained Among Adults, Strip Searched*.

<https://www.nbcnews.com/storyline/immigration-border-crisis/when-migrant-children-were-detained-among-adults-strip-searched-n161956>

Immigration History. (n.d.). *The Flores Settlement*. <https://immigrationhistory.org/item/the-flores-settlement/>

Johnson, K. (2019, June 27). *The Flores settlement: A 1985 case that sets the rules for how government can treat*

*migrant children*. The Conversation. <https://theconversation.com/the-flores-settlement-a-1985-case-that-sets-the-rules-for-how-government-can-treat-migrant-children-119501>

Stracqualursi, V., Sands, G., Elkin, E. & Rocha, V. (2019, August 23). *What is the Flores settlement that the Trump*

*administration has moved to end?* CNN Politics. <https://www.cnn.com/2019/08/21/politics/what-is-flores-settlement/index.html>

The *Flores v. Reno* agreement requires the federal government to release all minors from detention to related adult guardians or licensed programs. The agreement set a 20-day limit for holding children.

Wasem, R. E. (2021, December 13). *Unauthorized Aliens Residing in the United States: Estimates Since 1986* [CRS

RL33874]. Congressional Research Service. <https://sgp.fas.org/crs/misc/RL33874.pdf>

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Anderson, C. (2024, July 10). US judge partially terminates 1997 settlement agreement for migrant children. *Daily Journal*.  
<https://www.dailyjournal.com/articles/379624-us-judge-partially-terminates-1997-settlement-agreement-for-migrant-children>

Flores, R. (2024, July 2). *Judge partially terminates agreement governing conditions for migrant children in US custody*. CNN.  
<https://www.cnn.com/2024/07/02/politics/judge-terminates-agreement-migrant-children/index.html>  
 In 2024, a federal court approved the presidential administration’s request to end the 1997 agreement, which argued that the new Unaccompanied Children Program Foundational Rule would adequately protect migrant minors. The *Flores* Agreement required that migrant children be placed in state-licensed programs. However, Texas, which has the majority of the United States’ bed capacity for unaccompanied migrant minors, and Florida stopped licensing programs that serve unaccompanied minors under federal custody in 2021. The judge reasoned that, because the new regulation requires unlicensed programs to meet state licensing requirements, the regulation sufficiently meet the needs for housing migrant minors. Nevertheless, the *Flores* Settlement Agreement remains in effect until counsel for unaccompanied minor plaintiffs decide whether to appeal the decision.

#### <sup>107</sup> Congress Passes Immigration Reform & Control Act of 1986 (IRCA) (1986)

Chisti, M., Meissner, D., Bergeron, C. (2011, November 16). *At Its 25th Anniversary, IRCA’s Legacy Lives On*. Migration Policy Institute. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/its-25th-anniversary-ircas-legacy-lives> In 1977, U.S. President Jimmy Carter requested Congress to pass a law that would add 2,000 Border Patrol agents, penalize employers for hiring unauthorized immigrants, and provide a pathway to legalization for undocumented immigrants. Instead of passing legislation, Senator Edward Kennedy spearheaded the passage of a law that created a bipartisan commission that made a series of recommendations in 1981. Those recommendations formed the basis for what would eventually become IRCA.

#### <sup>108</sup> Paroled Cubans and Haitians Allowed to Adjust to Lawful Permanent Status

Wasem, R. E. (2005, January 21). *U.S. Immigration Policy on Haitian Migrants* [Congressional Research Service Order Code RS21349]. Transactional Records Access Clearinghouse.  
[https://tracfed.syr.edu/tracker/dynadata/2006\\_09/47153.pdf](https://tracfed.syr.edu/tracker/dynadata/2006_09/47153.pdf)

An Act to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to revise and reform the immigration laws, and for other purposes. (1986, November 6). Public Law 85-616—Aug. 8, 1958, 100 Stat. 3359. <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/STATUTE-100/pdf/STATUTE-100-Pg3445.pdf>

#### <sup>109</sup> IRCA Does Not Protect Most Salvadoran and Guatemalan Arrivals

Rodriguez, E. A. (2023, November). *Hope And Community In The Capital: Salvadorans In The Washington, DC, Metropolitan Area*. The Metropole. <https://themetropole.blog/2023/11/15/hope-and-community-in-the-capital-salvadorans-in-the-washington-dc-metropolitan-area/>

Smith, J. (2006, April 1). *Guatemala: Economic Migrants Replace Political Refugees*. Migration Policy Institute. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/guatemala-economic-migrants-replace-political-refugees>  
 Nearly 60,000 Guatemalans benefited from IRCA.

Jonas, S. (2013, March 27). *Guatemalan Migration in Times of Civil War and Post-War Challenges*. Migration Policy. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/guatemalan-migration-times-civil-war-and-post-war-challenges> In federal fiscal year 1992 ending September 30, 1992, Guatemalans comprised 42 percent of all asylum applicants—the highest number of asylum applicants that year at nearly 44,000 applications.

Terrazas, A. (2010, January 5). Salvadoran Immigrants in the United States in 2008. Migration Policy Institute. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/salvadoran-immigrants-united-states-2008>  
 The Salvadoran immigrant population grew from 94,000 to 465,000 during the 1980s.

Gammaga, S. (2007, July 26). *El Salvador: Despite End to Civil War, Emigration Continues*. Migration Policy Institute. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/el-salvador-despite-end-civil-war-emigration-continues>  
 About 146,000 Salvadorans benefited from IRCA. However, about 334,000 Salvadorans entered the United States between 1985 and 1990, arriving too late to qualify for IRCA.

#### <sup>110</sup> The United States Invades Panama in Operation Just Cause (1989)

British Broadcasting Corporation. (2018, May 28). *Panama profile - timeline*. BBC.  
<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-19889251>

HISTORY. (n.d.). *The U.S. invades Panama*. <https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/the-u-s-invades-panama>

Graham, D. A. (2017, May 30). The Death of Manuel Noriega—and U.S Intervention in Latin America. *The Atlantic*. <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2017/05/manuel-noriega-obituary-monroe-doctrine/518982/>  
 Noriega attended the U.S. Army School of Americas, a Panama-based training center operated by the US military.



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- Grandin, G. (2014, December 22). *How the US Created a ‘Little Hiroshima’ in Central America*. The Nation. <https://www.thenation.com/article/archive/how-us-created-little-hiroshima-central-america/>  
Noriega was a CIA asset who was against communism and part of the Iran-Contra scandal, until a 1986 exposé connected Noriega to drug trafficking and the U.S. government discovered ostensibly that he was sharing intelligence with Cuba.
- Some residents referred to the bombings, which were measured to be nearly 450 explosions in the first 12 hours of the invasion, as “Guernica.”
- Baldor, L. C. (2023, November 2). ‘The Few, the Proud’ aren’t so few: Marines recruiting surges while other services struggle. *The Buffalo News*. [https://buffalonews.com/news/nation-world/government-politics/the-few-the-proud-arent-so-few-marines-recruiting-surges-while-other-services-struggle/article\\_795b3862-1ab7-55bf-9966-96df0d5851f2.html](https://buffalonews.com/news/nation-world/government-politics/the-few-the-proud-arent-so-few-marines-recruiting-surges-while-other-services-struggle/article_795b3862-1ab7-55bf-9966-96df0d5851f2.html)
- Chomsky, N. (2014, July 1). *Noam Chomsky: America’s corporate doctrine of power a grave threat to humanity*. Salon. [https://www.salon.com/2014/07/01/noam\\_chomsky\\_americas\\_corporate\\_doctrine\\_of\\_power\\_a\\_grave\\_threat\\_to\\_humanity/](https://www.salon.com/2014/07/01/noam_chomsky_americas_corporate_doctrine_of_power_a_grave_threat_to_humanity/)
- History.com Editors. (2022, October 4). *Monroe Doctrine*. HISTORY. <https://www.history.com/topics/19th-century/monroe-doctrine>
- History.com Editors. (2024, April 4). *Communism Timeline*. HISTORY. <https://www.history.com/topics/european-history/communism-timeline>  
The Berlin Wall fell in November 1989, and the U.S. government invaded Panama the following month.
- Sciolino, E. (1994, August 7). The World: U.N. Speaks Out on Haiti; Monroe’s Doctrine Takes Another Knock. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/1994/08/07/weekinreview/the-world-un-speaks-out-on-haiti-monroe-s-doctrine-takes-another-knock.html>  
The U.S. president argued that the safety of U.S. troops based in Panama was the pretext for sending additional U.S. military to oust Panama’s Noriega.
- NPR. (2007, April 2). Timeline: America’s War on Drugs. *The Forgotten War on Drugs*. <https://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=9252490>  
Noriega surrendered to the Drug Enforcement Agency in 1990 in Panama, and he received a 40-year imprisonment sentence for drug trafficking, money laundering, and racketeering.
- Martinez, K. (2019, December 19). *30 Years After US Invasion, Panamanian Families Seek Answers*. NBC Miami. <https://www.nbcmiami.com/news/national-international/30th-anniversary-us-invasion-panama/2166534/>
- France 24. (2022, December 20). *Panama mourns US invasion 33 years ago*. France 24. <https://www.france24.com/en/live-news/20221220-panama-mourns-us-invasion-33-years-ago>  
Others estimate the true number of deaths to be in the thousands.
- Fernández, B. (2024, January 24). Letter from Panama’s ‘Little Hiroshima.’ *Al Jazeera*. <https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2024/1/24/letter-from-panamas-little-hiroshima>  
Local ambulance drivers called the bombing campaign of the neighborhood “Little Hiroshima.”
- Cohen, J. & Cook, M. (1990, January 1). *How Television Sold the Panama Invasion*. FAIR. <https://fair.org/extra/how-television-sold-the-panama-invasion/>  
The invasion left 10,000 people without homes.
- France 24. (2018, November 17). *Rights group calls for US reparations over 1989 Panama invasion*. <https://www.france24.com/en/20181117-rights-group-calls-us-reparations-over-1989-panama-invasion>
- Inter-American Commission on Human Rights. (2018, December 3). *IACHR Publishes Report No. 121/18, Case 10.573—José Isabel Salas Galindo and Others, Concerning the United States*. OAS. [https://www.oas.org/en/iachr/media\\_center/PReleases/2018/258.asp](https://www.oas.org/en/iachr/media_center/PReleases/2018/258.asp)
- Russell, G. (2022, December 22). *When Will The U.S. Pay Reparations To Survivors Of 1000s Of Victims Of The 1989 “Operation Just Cause” Invasion Of Panama?*. Rights Action. <https://rightsaction.org/emails/when-will-the-us-pay-reparations-to-survivors-of-1000s-of-victims-of-the-1989-operation-just-cause-invasion-of-panama>  
This challenges the low number of deaths of Panamanian civilians to be in the thousands instead of the hundreds.
- Fernández, B. (2016, January 31). The truth behind US’ Operation Just Cause in Panama. *Al Jazeera*. <https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2016/1/31/the-truth-behind-us-operation-just-cause-in-panama>
- <sup>111</sup> **U.S. Becomes Involvement in Nicaragua’s Presidential Election** (1990)
- LeoGrande, W. M. (2018, February 26). *Washington has meddled in elections before*. The Conversation. <https://theconversation.com/washington-has-meddled-in-elections-before-92167>

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Viscarra, A. J. & Prentice, M. (2014, August 15). *Children of the Monroe Doctrine*. Latino Rebels. <https://www.latinorebels.com/2014/08/15/children-of-the-monroe-doctrine/>

Little, B. (2022, June 7). *10 Times America Helped Overthrow a Foreign Government*. HISTORY. <https://www.history.com/news/us-overthrow-foreign-governments>  
There were reports that the U.S. government provided funding to support Chamorro’s election.

NBC News. (2006, September 19). *Nicaragua’s Ortega is back again, upsetting U.S.* <https://www.nbcnews.com/id/wbna14906937>  
The U.S. government openly opposed another Ortega presidency.

Glass, A. (2017, April 9). *Goldwater condemns CIA mining of Nicaraguan harbors: April 10, 1984*. POLITICO. <https://www.politico.com/story/2017/04/goldwater-condemns-cia-mining-of-nicaraguan-harbors-april-10-1984-237037>

Viscarra, A. J. & Prentice, M. (2014, August 15). *Children of the Monroe Doctrine*. Latino Rebels. <https://www.latinorebels.com/2014/08/15/children-of-the-monroe-doctrine/>  
Nicaragua’s Sandinista leadership at various periods since 1979 likely contributed to Nicaraguans not migrating in as large numbers compared to other populations in Latin America.

Associated Press. (2022, January 11). *Daniel Ortega sworn in for 4th straight term as Nicaragua’s leader*. NBC News. <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/latino/daniel-ortega-sworn-4th-straight-term-nicaraguas-leader-rcna11761>

<sup>112</sup> **Advocates Push for Temporary Protected Status (TPS) for Salvadorans** (1991)

Gzesh, S. (2006, April 1). *Central Americans and Asylum Policy in the Reagan Era*. Migration Policy Institute. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/central-americans-and-asylum-policy-reagan-era>

Vitiello, D. (2022, September 15). As red states send migrants to blue states, sanctuary cities are crucial. *The Washington Post*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/made-by-history/2022/09/15/red-states-send-migrants-blue-states-sanctuary-cities-are-crucial/>

Moriarty, A. (2024, February 29). *Temporary Protected Status (TPS): 5 Things to Know*. Fwd.us. <https://www.fwd.us/news/temporary-protected-status-tps-5-things-to-know/>

Gómez Cervantes, A. & Menjívar, C. (2018, August 29). *El Salvador: Civil War, Natural Disasters, and Gang Violence Drive Migration*. Migration Policy Institute. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/el-salvador-civil-war-natural-disasters-and-gang-violence-drive-migration>

Library of Congress. (n.d.). *1990: Temporary Protection Status (TPS)*. <https://guides.loc.gov/latinx-civil-rights/tps>

Messick, M. & Bergeron, C. (2014, July 2). *Temporary Protected Status in the United States: A Grant of Humanitarian Relief that Is Less than Permanent*. Migration Policy Institute. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/temporary-protected-status-united-states-grant-humanitarian-relief-less-permanent>

Jordan, M. (2018, January 8). Trump Administration Says That Nearly 200,000 Salvadorans Must Leave. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/01/08/us/salvadorans-tps-end.html#:~:text=LOS%20ANGELES%20%E2%80%94%20Nearly%20200%2C000%20people,the%20most%20consequential%20to%20date>

Montoya-Galvez, C. (2023, June 13). *U.S. extends temporary legal status for over 300,000 immigrants that Trump sought to end*. CBS News. <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/temporary-protected-status-extension-el-salvador-honduras-nepal-nicaragua/>

Pirtle, D. (2024, April 30). Mara Salvatrucha. In the Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica (Ed.), *Britannica*. Retrieved June 5, 2024, from <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Mara-Salvatrucha>  
In the 1990s, the United States deported Salvadorans who were involved in gang activity, and those repatriated Salvadorans brought their gang organizing back with them.

Kinosian, S. (2017, July 18). *Seven Facts about MS-13 and How to Combat the Gang*. Washington Office on Latin America. <https://www.wola.org/analysis/ms-13-not-immigration-problem/>  
The United States deported nearly 31,000 formerly incarcerated people to Central American between 1996 and 2002; 12,000 of them were sent to El Salvador.

Wilson, D. L. (2018, June 10). *The delusion of deporting the country’s troubles away by banishing “criminal aliens.”* Salon. [https://www.salon.com/2018/06/10/the-delusion-of-deporting-the-countrys-troubles-away-by-banishing-criminal-aliens\\_partner/](https://www.salon.com/2018/06/10/the-delusion-of-deporting-the-countrys-troubles-away-by-banishing-criminal-aliens_partner/)  
This describes how suspected Mara Salvatrucha (MS-13) members who were removed to El Salvador connected to gangs in El Salvador after facing few other options, leading to an “international crisis.”

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#### <sup>113</sup> A Military Coup Ousts Haitian President Jean Bertrand Aristide (1991-94)

Peñaloza, M. (2021, October 16). *Haiti faces disasters and chaos. Its people are most likely to be denied U.S. asylum*. NPR. [https://www.npr.org/2021/10/16/1043458530/haitians--u-s-asylum--racist?fbclid=IwAR0R6uQQevqMOV17s5LxQePRdfRE87ofJ2G1tSis5fld60sTdtFys\\_LM](https://www.npr.org/2021/10/16/1043458530/haitians--u-s-asylum--racist?fbclid=IwAR0R6uQQevqMOV17s5LxQePRdfRE87ofJ2G1tSis5fld60sTdtFys_LM)  
The military coup was supported by the US government.

Caribbean National Weekly. (2016, September 29). *This Day in History: The 1991 coup d'état in Haiti took place*. <https://www.caribbeannationalweekly.com/caribbean-breaking-news-featured/day-history-1991-coup-detat-haiti-took-place/>  
There are allegations that the CIA paid key members of the coup regime from the mid-1980s until at least the coup, but the CIA has denied prior knowledge of the coup.

Bunyan, R. (2019, September 24). 25 Years After ‘Operation Uphold Democracy,’ Experts Say the Oft-Forgotten U.S. Military Intervention Still Shapes Life in Haiti. *Time*. <https://time.com/5682135/haiti-military-anniversary/>  
The CIA had at least one key member of the military regime, Emmanuel Constant, on its payroll.

As many as 5,000 people were killed during the three-year reign of the military regime.

*Al Jazeera*. (2020, June 24). US deports ex-paramilitary leader ‘Toto’ Constant to Haiti. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2020/6/24/us-deports-ex-paramilitary-leader-toto-constant-to-haiti> Constant led a group that killed at least 3,000 Aristide supporters.

Robinson, N. J. (2016, October 22). *Haiti’s Clinton Problem*. Jacobin. <https://jacobin.com/2016/10/haiti-clinton-quantanamo-hiv-aristide-constant>

Paik, A. N. (2018, June 28). *US turned away thousands of Haitian asylum-seekers and detained hundreds more in the 90s*. The Conversation. <https://theconversation.com/us-turned-away-thousands-of-haitian-asylum-seekers-and-detained-hundreds-more-in-the-90s-98611>

Cameron, C. (2021, December 19). As U.S. Navigates Crisis in Haiti, a Bloody History Looms Large. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/19/us/politics/us-haiti-intervention.html>  
Militias killed dissidents, burned crops, and took hostages.

Desrosier, Frederique. (2021, October 14). *Op-ed: America Owes Haitian Migrants Asylum*. South Side Weekly. <https://southsideweekly.com/op-ed-america-owes-haitian-migrants-asylum/>

Ramón, C. & Gutierrez, Y. (2019, January 22). *History Shows the U.S. Doesn’t Do Well at Preparing for Migration Crises*. Bipartisan Policy Center. <https://bipartisanpolicy.org/blog/history-shows-the-u-s-doesnt-do-well-at-preparing-for-migration-crises/>

Desrosier, Frederique. (2021, October 14). *Op-ed: America Owes Haitian Migrants Asylum*. South Side Weekly. <https://southsideweekly.com/op-ed-america-owes-haitian-migrants-asylum/>  
As many as more than 40,000 Haitians fled the country after Cédras’ military coup.

Costello, P. (1995, September 1). *Haiti: Prospects for Democracy*. Refworld. <https://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6a6c30.html>

#### <sup>114</sup> The U.S. Government Expects Other Nations to Receive Haitians Instead of Providing Haitians Asylum Itself

Gavigan, P. (1997). *Migration Emergencies and Human Rights in Haiti* [Paper prepared for the Conference on Regional Responses to Forced Migration in Central America and the Caribbean, September 30–October 1]. Organization of American States. <https://www.oas.org/juridico/english/gavigane.html>  
The U.S. Coast Guard interdicted more than 38,000 Haitians within the first six months after the coup. 30,000 Haitians fled to the Dominican Republic, and 300,000 Haitians were internally displaced—fleeing the large cities to the mountains.

Wasem, R. E. (2005, January 21). *U.S. Immigration Policy on Haitian Migrants* [Congressional Research Service Order Code RS21349]. Transactional Records Access Clearinghouse. [https://tracfed.syr.edu/tracker/dynadata/2006\\_09/47153.pdf](https://tracfed.syr.edu/tracker/dynadata/2006_09/47153.pdf)  
The United States returned 538 Haitians on November 18, 1991.

National Immigrant Justice Center. (n.d.). *Pushing Back Protection: How Offshoring and Externalization Imperil the Right to Asylum* [Chapter 4: Laying the Foundation Of U.S. Offshoring: From Angel Island to Guantánamo Bay]. [https://immigrantjustice.org/sites/default/files/content-type/research-item/documents/2021-11/Offshoring%20Asylum%20Report\\_Chapter4%20%281%29.pdf](https://immigrantjustice.org/sites/default/files/content-type/research-item/documents/2021-11/Offshoring%20Asylum%20Report_Chapter4%20%281%29.pdf)

The U.S. government also had a brief agreement with Jamaica and the United Kingdom to process Haitians who were intercepted on a vessel off the coast of Jamaica and Turks and Caicos Islands, respectively.

<b>1791–1903</b> U.S. Expansion and the Introduction of the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1904–1946</b> The Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1947–1980</b> The Truman Doctrine and the Containment of Communism	<b>1971–Present</b> Declaration of the “War on Drugs”	<b>1980s–1990s</b> Beyond Containment, the Rolling Back of Communism	<b>1996–Present</b> Enforcement and Externalization of Borders
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#### <sup>115</sup> U.S.-Operated Migrant Operations Center (MOC) Detains Haitians in Guantánamo Bay (1991)

Freedom for Immigrants. (n.d.). *A short history of immigration detention*.  
<https://www.freedomforimmigrants.org/detention-timeline>

Borger, J. (2021, September 22). Biden administration to reopen migrant detention camp near Guantánamo Bay prison. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2021/sep/22/guantanamo-bay-migrant-camp-biden-reopen>  
 While the facility was originally designed to detain Cuban migrants, it ultimately held migrants from both Cuba and Haiti—about 34,000 from each nation.

Burrows, J. A. (2019, July 31). *The Origin of Concentration Camps: The long, silenced history of oppression*. Medium.  
<https://medium.com/jill-burrows/the-origin-of-concentration-camps-f7ba681cf452>

Narea, N. (2021, July 29). *Biden is turning back Haitian migrants at sea, echoing a shameful chapter in US history*. Vox. <https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2021/7/29/22589316/biden-haiti-migrant-boat-guantanamo>  
 This is a violation of the principle of non-return in international refugee law and an infringement on the law of international waters where the United States has turned international waters into borderlands that the U.S. government polices.

Kahn, J. S. (2021, October 15). *Guantánamo’s Other History*. Boston Review.  
<https://www.bostonreview.net/articles/guantanamos-other-history/>  
 Interdicted individuals had to pass a “credible fear” interview aboard the U.S. Coast Guard vessel. They subsequently moved onto a second screening at Guantánamo where they had a second interview to see whether they had a “well-founded fear of persecution,” and then the U.S. Department of State resettled anyone who passed the second screening in a third country rather than the United States.

United States Coast Guard Aviation History. (n.d.). *1995 – Migrant Interdiction- Operation ABLE RESPONSE and Beyond*. <https://cgaviationhistory.org/1995-migrant-interdiction-operation-able-response-and-beyond/>

Paik, A. N. (2018, June 28). *US turned away thousands of Haitian asylum-seekers and detained hundreds more in the 90s*. The Conversation. <https://theconversation.com/us-turned-away-thousands-of-haitian-asylum-seekers-and-detained-hundreds-more-in-the-90s-98611>  
 There were garbage bags over the windows, the food was sometimes spoiled, and the medical care was poor and sometimes performed without informed consent.

Burrows, J. A. (2019, July 31). *The Origin of Concentration Camps: The long, silenced history of oppression*. Medium.  
<https://medium.com/jill-burrows/the-origin-of-concentration-camps-f7ba681cf452>

Palmer, Gary W. “Guarding the Coast: Alien Migrant Interdiction Operations at Sea.” *International Law Studies*, 72(VIII), 157-79. <https://digital-commons.usnwc.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1463&context=ils>  
 During fiscal year 1992, the interdiction of Haitian migrants under Operation Able Manner was at the time the largest single peacetime operation in the history of the Coast Guard.

USAGov. (n.d.). *The federal budget process*.  
<https://www.usa.gov/federal-budget-process#:~:text=The%20federal%20government's%20fiscal%20year,September%2030%20of%20the%20next>  
 The end of the federal fiscal year 1992 was September 30, 1992.

Charles, J. & Wilner, M. (2021, September 24). Image of agent on horseback is reminder of U.S. immigration mistreatment, Haitians say. *Miami Herald*. <https://www.miamiherald.com/news/nation-world/world/americas/haiti/article254414318.html>  
 Guantánamo Bay processed as many as 60,000 Haitians.

Charles, J. & Wilner, M. (2021, September 24). Image of agent on horseback is reminder of U.S. immigration mistreatment, Haitians say. *Miami Herald*. <https://www.miamiherald.com/news/nation-world/world/americas/haiti/article254414318.html>

Flynn, M. (2014, April). *How and Why Immigration Detention Crossed the Globe*. Refworld.  
<https://www.refworld.org/pdfid/545b41254.pdf>  
 Australia cited the use of Guantánamo when proposing the “Pacific Solution” to interdict vessels before they reached national waters and detaining asylum seekers and irregular migrants in offshore facilities in Nauru and Papua New Guinea. Spain established a detention center in Mauritania in 2006 to stem the flow of migrants to the Canary Islands and is sometimes referred to as *El Guantamito*.

Wasem, R. E. (2005, January 21). *U.S. Immigration Policy on Haitian Migrants* [Congressional Research Service Order Code RS21349]. Transactional Records Access Clearinghouse.  
[https://tracfed.syr.edu/tracker/dynadata/2006\\_09/47153.pdf](https://tracfed.syr.edu/tracker/dynadata/2006_09/47153.pdf)

National Immigrant Justice Center. (n.d.). *Pushing Back Protection: How Offshoring and Externalization Imperil the Right to Asylum* [Chapter 4: Laying the Foundation Of U.S. Offshoring: From Angel Island to Guantánamo Bay].  
[https://immigrantjustice.org/sites/default/files/content-type/research-item/documents/2021-11/Offshoring%20Asylum%20Report\\_Chapter4%20%281%29.pdf](https://immigrantjustice.org/sites/default/files/content-type/research-item/documents/2021-11/Offshoring%20Asylum%20Report_Chapter4%20%281%29.pdf)  
 See page 3.



<b>1791–1903</b> U.S. Expansion and the Introduction of the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1904–1946</b> The Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1947–1980</b> The Truman Doctrine and the Containment of Communism	<b>1971–Present</b> Declaration of the “War on Drugs”	<b>1980s–1990s</b> Beyond Containment, the Rolling Back of Communism	<b>1996–Present</b> Enforcement and Externalization of Borders
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- Fouron, G. E. (2020, August 19). *Haiti's painful evolution from promised land to migrant-sending nation*. Migration Policy Institute. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/haiti-painful-evolution-promised-land-migrant-sending-nation#:~:text=During%20the%201990s%2C%20thousands%20of,were%20instead%20returned%20to%20Haiti>
- McAlevey, P. C. (1994, June 10). Invisible No More: Randall Robinson Is a Quiet Force for Change--Consider His Recent Hunger Strike and Our About-Face on Haiti. *Los Angeles Times*. <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1994-06-10-ls-2784-story.html>
- Carter, N. M. (2021, September 23). Democratic and Republican administrations have long agreed on one thing — discriminating against Haitian refugees. *The Washington Post*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2021/09/23/us-is-deporting-haitian-asylum-seekers-thats-longstanding-american-policy/>  
Randall Robinson's hunger strike to shed light on U.S. interdiction operations against Haitians ended in 1992 after the U.S. president spoke about offshore hearings for asylum seekers.
- Narea, N. (2021, July 29). *Biden is turning back Haitian migrants at sea, echoing a shameful chapter in US history*. Vox. <https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2021/7/29/22589316/biden-haiti-migrant-boat-guantanamo>  
Some Haitians remained detained in Guantánamo for years even though they passed their asylum interviews because they or their family members were HIV positive. Eventually a judge ruled they had to improve the living conditions of the camp or release the migrants to anywhere but Haiti. The U.S. government subsequently paroled those who passed their asylum interviews.
- Fontanilla, R. (2021, February 11). *Immigration Enforcement and the Afterlife of the Slave Ship*. Boston Review. <https://www.bostonreview.net/articles/ryan-fontanilla-immigration-enforcement-and-afterlife-slave-ship/>
- Soboroff, J. & Dilanian, K. (2021, September 22). *DHS seeks contractor to run migrant detention facility at Gitmo, guards who speak Haitian Creole*. NBC News. <https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/immigration/biden-admin-seeks-contractor-run-migrant-detention-facility-gitmo-guards-n1279886>
- Weber, P. (2021, September 23). DHS says it 'is not and will not send' the Haitian migrants in Texas to Guantanamo Bay. *The Week*. <https://theweek.com/immigration/1005219/dhs-says-it-is-not-and-will-not-send-the-haitian-migrants-in-texas-to>  
The U.S. government detained as many as 12,000 Haitians in Guantánamo Bay between 1991 and 1993.
- Isacson, A. (2021, September 27). *Weekly U.S.-Mexico Border Update: A Large Group of Haitian Migrants in Del Rio, Texas Faces Horses, Hunger, Expulsion Flights, &—for Some—“Notices to Report” in the U.S.* Washington Office on Latin America. [https://www.wola.org/2021/09/weekly-border-update-large-group-haitian-migrants-del-rio-texas-faces-horses-hunger-expulsion-flights-some-notices-report-in-us/?fbclid=IwAR2TctvqdkV\\_1azT4KrnVUgLj6eA3LpL6ttwn4cdkk-\\_il4veYes9rE8B4](https://www.wola.org/2021/09/weekly-border-update-large-group-haitian-migrants-del-rio-texas-faces-horses-hunger-expulsion-flights-some-notices-report-in-us/?fbclid=IwAR2TctvqdkV_1azT4KrnVUgLj6eA3LpL6ttwn4cdkk-_il4veYes9rE8B4)
- <sup>116</sup> **U.S. Singles Out HIV-Positive Individuals in Detention**
- Feder, J. L., Geidner, C., & Watkins, A. (2016, March 20). *Would-Be Asylum Seekers Are Stuck At Guantanamo Bay*. BuzzFeed.News. <https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/lesterfeder/would-be-asylum-seekers-are-stuck-at-guantanamo-bay>
- National Immigrant Justice Center. (n.d.). *Pushing Back Protection: How Offshoring and Externalization Imperil the Right to Asylum* [Chapter 4: Laying the Foundation Of U.S. Offshoring: From Angel Island to Guantánamo Bay]. [https://immigrantjustice.org/sites/default/files/content-type/research-item/documents/2021-11/Offshoring%20Asylum%20Report\\_Chapter4%20%281%29.pdf](https://immigrantjustice.org/sites/default/files/content-type/research-item/documents/2021-11/Offshoring%20Asylum%20Report_Chapter4%20%281%29.pdf)
- Toledo Blade*. (1981, September 30). Halt Ordered to Alien Flow From Caribbean. <https://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=1350&dat=19810930&id=8owxAAAAIBAJ&sjid=oQIEAAAAIBAJ&pg=2817%2C8050769&hl=en>
- Robinson, N. J. (2016, October 22). *Haiti's Clinton Problem*. Jacobin. <https://jacobin.com/2016/10/haiti-clinton-guantanamo-hiv-aristide-constant>
- Cineas, F. (2021, September 24). *Why America keeps turning its back on Haitian migrants*. Vox. <https://www.vox.com/22689472/haitian-migrants-asylum-history-violence>  
This provides the quote, “the carceral quarantine of Haitians for medical reasons.”
- Paik, A. N. (2018, June 28). *US turned away thousands of Haitian asylum-seekers and detained hundreds more in the 90s*. The Conversation. <https://theconversation.com/us-turned-away-thousands-of-haitian-asylum-seekers-and-detained-hundreds-more-in-the-90s-98611>  
This source provides the quote “or until a cure for AIDS is found.”
- This quotes Haitian Centers Council, Inc. v. Sale. 823 F. Supp. 1028 (E.D.N.Y. 1993). <https://law.justia.com/cases/federal/district-courts/FSupp/823/1028/2248130/>  
A federal district judge called the facility “nothing more than an HIV prison camp.”
- Morrison, A., Galvan, A. & Lo, J. (2021, September 24). Haitians see history of racist policies in migrant treatment. Associated Press. [https://apnews.com/article/immigration-race-and-ethnicity-mexico-haiti-asylum-seekers-a81ac1148118db38824d2d8f62139b87?fbclid=IwAR1R9bs4wkmxuqkz\\_N4Kk4QIDcHCElISabJvdE4HmbJcaOTWyyYzIOS9W9Y](https://apnews.com/article/immigration-race-and-ethnicity-mexico-haiti-asylum-seekers-a81ac1148118db38824d2d8f62139b87?fbclid=IwAR1R9bs4wkmxuqkz_N4Kk4QIDcHCElISabJvdE4HmbJcaOTWyyYzIOS9W9Y)

<b>1791–1903</b> U.S. Expansion and the Introduction of the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1904–1946</b> The Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1947–1980</b> The Truman Doctrine and the Containment of Communism	<b>1971–Present</b> Declaration of the “War on Drugs”	<b>1980s–1990s</b> Beyond Containment, the Rolling Back of Communism	<b>1996–Present</b> Enforcement and Externalization of Borders
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#### <sup>117</sup> President Bush Enacts Executive Order to Enforce Interdiction of Illegal Aliens (1992)

Flynn, M. (2014, April). *How and Why Immigration Detention Crossed the Globe*. Refworld.  
<https://www.refworld.org/pdfid/545b41254.pdf>

American Presidency Project. (n.d.). *Executive Order 12807—Interdiction of Illegal Aliens* [President George Bush’s executive order on May 24, 1992]. <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/executive-order-12807-interdiction-illegal-aliens>

Van Selm, J. & Cooper, B. (2006, January). *The New “Boat People:” Ensuring Safety and Determining Status*. Migration Policy Institute. [https://www.migrationpolicy.org/pubs/Boat\\_People\\_Report.pdf](https://www.migrationpolicy.org/pubs/Boat_People_Report.pdf)  
 See page 73. By fiscal year 1992, which ended September 30, 1992, the U.S. coast Guard had interdicted nearly 38,000 Haitians.

Desrosier, Frederique. (2021, October 14). *Op-ed: America Owes Haitian Migrants Asylum*. South Side Weekly.  
<https://southsideweekly.com/op-ed-america-owes-haitian-migrants-asylum/>  
 U.S. President George H. W. Bush argued that interdiction was necessary after 18 Haitians died enroute to Florida when their boat capsized.

Palmer, Gary W. “Guarding the Coast: Alien Migrant Interdiction Operations at Sea.” *International Law Studies*, 72(VIII), 157-79. <https://digital-commons.usnwc.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1463&context=ils>.

National Immigrant Justice Center. (n.d.). *Pushing Back Protection: How Offshoring and Externalization Imperil the Right to Asylum* [Chapter 4: Laying the Foundation Of U.S. Offshoring: From Angel Island to Guantánamo Bay]. [https://immigrantjustice.org/sites/default/files/content-type/research-item/documents/2021-11/Offshoring%20Asylum%20Report\\_Chapter4%20%281%29.pdf](https://immigrantjustice.org/sites/default/files/content-type/research-item/documents/2021-11/Offshoring%20Asylum%20Report_Chapter4%20%281%29.pdf)  
 See page 3. This executive order declared that the U.S. government’s obligation not to return refugees to harm did not apply to asylum seekers that were intercepted outside of the United States.

Wasem, R. E. (2005, January 21). *U.S. Immigration Policy on Haitian Migrants* [Congressional Research Service Order Code RS21349]. Transactional Records Access Clearinghouse.  
[https://tracfed.syr.edu/tracker/dynadata/2006\\_09/47153.pdf](https://tracfed.syr.edu/tracker/dynadata/2006_09/47153.pdf)  
 The U.S. government ordered the Coast Guard to intercept all Haitians at sea and immediately return them to Haiti without interviews that would determine whether they were at risk of persecution.

This repatriation policy continued for two years.

Kahn, J. S. (2021, October 15). *Guantánamo’s Other History*. Boston Review.  
<https://www.bostonreview.net/articles/guantanamos-other-history/>  
 Guantánamo Bay’s status was one in which the United States had control but was not a sovereign territory of the United States.

Burrows, J. A. (2019, July 31). *The Origin of Concentration Camps: The long, silenced history of oppression*. Medium.  
<https://medium.com/jill-burrows/the-origin-of-concentration-camps-f7ba681cf452>  
 The Supreme Court ruled that only refugees who made it to U.S. soil could apply for asylum.

Sale v. Haitian Centers Council, Inc., 509 U.S. 155 (1993).  
<https://www.oyez.org/cases/1992/92-344>  
 This cites a June 21, 1993, decision.

Gavigan, P. (1997). *Migration Emergencies and Human Rights in Haiti* [Paper prepared for the Conference on Regional Responses to Forced Migration in Central America and the Caribbean, September 30-October 1]. Organization of American States.  
<https://www.oas.org/juridico/english/gavigane.html>  
 The news of on-ship asylum processing spurred more than 10,000 Haitians to emigrate in a 10-day period. After determining other options were limited, the U.S. government consequently decided to restore the democratically elected government.

Feltovic, M. & O’Donnell, R. (1921, February). Coast Guard Migrant Interdiction Operations Are in a State of Emergency. *U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings*, 149/2/1,440.  
<https://www.usni.org/magazines/proceedings/2023/february/coast-guard-migrant-interdiction-operations-are-state-emergency>  
 Bush revalidated Executive Order 12324 in 1992.

#### <sup>118</sup> U.S. Military Launches Operation Restore Democracy to Depose Haitian Military Regime (1994)

Clinton Digital Library. (n.d.). *Haiti: Restoring a Democracy*.  
<https://clinton.presidentiallibraries.us/haiti-topic-guide>

Sciolino, E. (1994, August 7). The World: U.N. Speaks Out on Haiti; Monroe’s Doctrine Takes Another Knock. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/1994/08/07/weekinreview/the-world-un-speaks-out-on-haiti-monroe-s-doctrine-takes-another-knock.html>  
 The United States sought United Nations approval for invading Haiti in 1994 but this did not necessarily signify the end of the Monroe Doctrine. While the U.S. government used the Monroe Doctrine less frequently as pretext for intervention in countries in the Western Hemisphere, the United States nevertheless continued to intervene.

<b>1791–1903</b> U.S. Expansion and the Introduction of the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1904–1946</b> The Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1947–1980</b> The Truman Doctrine and the Containment of Communism	<b>1971–Present</b> Declaration of the “War on Drugs”	<b>1980s–1990s</b> Beyond Containment, the Rolling Back of Communism	<b>1996–Present</b> Enforcement and Externalization of Borders
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Taylor, A. (2024, March 7). The history of foreign intervention in Haiti is ugly. *The Washington Post*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2024/03/07/haiti-foreign-intervention-history-peacekeeper/> 20,000 U.S. troops joined the United Nations peacekeeping force. They stayed in Haiti until 2000.

Sexton, R. (2010, January 13). *Haiti and United States Inextricably Linked*. FiveThirtyEight. <https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/haiti-and-united-states-inextricably/> U.S. forces remained in Haiti for six months.

Danticat, E. (2015, July 28). The Long Legacy of Occupation in Haiti. *The New Yorker*. <https://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/haiti-us-occupation-hundred-year-anniversary>

Cameron, C. (2021, December 19). As U.S. Navigates Crisis in Haiti, a Bloody History Looms Large. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/19/us/politics/us-haiti-intervention.html> Then-Senator Joe Biden spoke against U.S. intervention in Haiti because it was not particularly important to U.S. interests, saying, “If Haiti — a God-awful thing to say — if Haiti just quietly sunk into the Caribbean or rose up 300 feet, it wouldn’t matter a whole lot in terms of our interest.”

*Al Jazeera*. (2021, July 7). Haiti’s turbulent political history – a timeline. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/7/7/haitis-turbulent-political-history-a-timeline>

Saint Paul, J. E. (2021, August 27). *Assassinations and invasions – how the US and France shaped Haiti’s long history of political turmoil*. The Conversation. <https://www.upi.com/Voices/2021/08/27/haiti-US-France-shape-Haiti-turmoil/3591630067571/> The U.S. government apparently coerced Aristide to sign l’Accord de Paris, an agreement which reduced Haiti’s influence over the economy, privatizing social services.

Bunyan, R. (2019, September 24). 25 Years After ‘Operation Uphold Democracy,’ Experts Say the Oft-Forgotten U.S. Military Intervention Still Shapes Life in Haiti. *Time*. <https://time.com/5682135/haiti-military-anniversary/> The U.S. government made support for Aristide contingent upon him signing an agreement with the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, which led to Haiti needing to import most of their food. Aristide was not able to implement the radical programs he had planned.

Cameron, C. (2021, December 19). As U.S. Navigates Crisis in Haiti, a Bloody History Looms Large. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/19/us/politics/us-haiti-intervention.html>

Gavigan, P. (1997). *Migration Emergencies and Human Rights in Haiti* [Paper prepared for the Conference on Regional Responses to Forced Migration in Central America and the Caribbean, September 30-October 1]. Organization of American States. <https://www.oas.org/juridico/english/gavigane.html>

Frelick, B. (2004, March 5). Denying Haiti’s Refugees. *The Washington Post*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/opinions/2004/03/06/denying-haitis-refugees/5c8821a6-a851-417f-b852-99586049be17/>

Suro, R. (1995, January 10). U.N. REFUGEE AGENCY SAYS U.S. VIOLATES STANDARDS IN REPATRIATING HAITIANS. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1995/01/11/un-refugee-agency-says-us-violates-standards-in-repatriating-haitians/fa5fd302-4cba-4169-aac0-3b751ae84f63/> The U.N. High commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) criticized the U.S. government for failing to process Haitians who were detained at Guantánamo Bay.

Desrosier, Frederique. (2021, October 14). *Op-ed: America Owes Haitian Migrants Asylum*. South Side Weekly. <https://southsideweekly.com/op-ed-america-owes-haitian-migrants-asylum/>

<sup>119</sup> **Detained Cubans from Mariel Boatlift Refuse to Return to Cuba, Leading to Talladega Uprising** (1991)

*White Lies*, NPR. (2023, January 26). < The Men on the Roof [Interview transcript]. <https://www.npr.org/transcripts/1149875059>

Phillips, D. (1991, August 21). CUBAN REFUGEES SEIZE FEDERAL PRISON UNIT. *The Washington Post*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1991/08/22/cuban-refugees-seize-federal-prison-unit/2538dc9c-cbbb-4b23-9f72-2597407709b9/> Talladega was designed to house just 510 individuals, but it had nearly 1,000 detainees.

Detained Cubans also took over facilities in Atlanta, GA and Oakdale, LA in 1987. The U.S. government consequently placed a moratorium on deportations to Cuba and agreed to have Immigration and naturalization Service review individual cases. 3,800 individuals were paroled as a result of this review.

32 of the 120 detained individuals were scheduled to be flown to Cuba as part of a process of sending more than 2,000 nationals back to the island.

Davis, M. (2012, November 22). 25 years later, Atlanta prison riots live on in captive’s memory. *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*. <https://www.ajc.com/news/state--regional/years-later-atlanta-prison-riots-live-captive-memory/QdNBVQN3jba6o2Mim86pBO/> Some were detained for crimes they had committed while others were detained because they did not have identification or other documents.

<b>1791–1903</b> U.S. Expansion and the Introduction of the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1904–1946</b> The Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1947–1980</b> The Truman Doctrine and the Containment of Communism	<b>1971–Present</b> Declaration of the “War on Drugs”	<b>1980s–1990s</b> Beyond Containment, the Rolling Back of Communism	<b>1996–Present</b> Enforcement and Externalization of Borders
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The federal prison in Atlanta detained 1,400 Cubans and the federal facility in Oakdale held 1,000 Cubans. Both facilities experienced uprisings within days of each other after the Bureau of Prisons announced in 1987 it would deport 2,500 Cubans back to the island.

<sup>120</sup> **The U.S. Government Imposes More Economic Pressure on Cuba** (1992)

Public Broadcasting Corporation. (n.d.). *Post-Revolution Cuba*. PBS.

<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/post-revolution-cuba/>

This source provides the quote, “wreak havoc on the island.”

Gratius, S. (2023, April 8). The European Union and Cuba: A Low Profile Strategic Partnership. *Cuba Capacity*

*Building Project, Columbia Law School.* <https://horizontecubano.law.columbia.edu/news/european-union-and-cuba-low-profile-strategic-partnership>

Devroy, A. (1996, March 12). CLINTON ADDS TO PRESSURE ON CUBA. *The Washington Post*.

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1996/03/13/clinton-adds-to-pressure-on-cuba/a06e4052-2532-4d38-a653-a1778f44f059/>

The purpose was to pressure Canada, several European nations, and others to stop investing in Cuba.

Bershteyn, B., Fisch, E. J., Kwok, S., & Nelson, T. G. *Under Helms-Burton Act, Entities With Business Ties to Cuba*

*Now at Risk of Lawsuits.* Skadden Publication. <https://www.skadden.com/insights/publications/2019/05/under-helms-burton-act>

The Cuban Liberty Act is also known as the Helms-Burton Act.

Oliver, I. & Nodarse Venancio, M. (2022, February 4). *Understanding the Failure of the U.S. Embargo on Cuba.*

Washington Office on Latin America. <https://www.wola.org/analysis/understanding-failure-of-us-cuba-embargo/>

The president could not undo sanctions against Cuba without Congress due to the Helms-Burton Act.

DePetrís, D. R. (2023, June 21). On Cuba-China Ties, the U.S. Should Look in the Mirror | Opinion. *Newsweek*.

<https://www.newsweek.com/cuba-china-ties-us-should-look-mirror-opinion-1808259>

This codification of the trade embargo kept U.S. presidents from lifting the embargo until a free-market democracy was established in Cuba.

<sup>121</sup> **Migration to the United States Increases After the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) Goes Into Effect** (1994)

Irwin, N. (2017, April 27). What is Nafta? *The Upshot, The New York Times*.

<https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2017/upshot/what-is-nafta.html>

Partington, R. (2018, August 30). Nafta: what is it and why is Trump trying to renegotiate?. *The Guardian*.

<https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2018/aug/30/nafta-what-is-it-why-is-trump-trying-to-renegotiate>

Jácome, M. E. (2020). Human Rights on the Border: A Critical Race Analysis of Hernandez v. Mesa. *U.C.L.A. Law*

*Review*, 67(1268), 1270–319. [https://www.uclalawreview.org/wp-content/uploads/securepdfs/2021/03/67-5\\_Jacome.pdf](https://www.uclalawreview.org/wp-content/uploads/securepdfs/2021/03/67-5_Jacome.pdf)

Audley, J. J., Papademetriou, D. G., Polaski, S., & Vaughan, S. (2004). *NAFTA’s Promise and Reality: Lessons from Mexico for the Hemisphere.* Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

<https://www.migrationpolicy.org/sites/default/files/publications/nafta1%5B1%5D.pdf>

Ten years after NAFTA went into effect, there was a rise in the number of migrants coming to the United States from Mexico. More than a million agricultural jobs were lost in Mexico.

Bacon, D. (2017, November 7). *NAFTA, the Cross-Border Disaster.* The American Prospect.

<https://prospect.org/power/nafta-cross-border-disaster/>

Millions of people have migrated as a result of NAFTA. Before NAFTA, 4.5 million migrants of Mexican descent lived in the United States, but that number grew to nearly 13 million by 2008. The U.S. temporary worker program has grown since NAFTA, with temporary workers constituting 10 percent of the agricultural workforce. U.S. investment in Mexico rose more than 500 percent from \$17 billion in 1994 to \$104 billion in 2012, but Mexican wages dropped after NAFTA went into effect and extreme rural poverty in Mexico rose significantly.

Chatzky, A., McBride, J., & Sergie, M. A. (2020, July 1). *NAFTA and the USMCA: Weighing the Impact of North*

*American Trade.* Council on Foreign Relations. <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/naftas-economic-impact>

Mexican unemployment rose since NAFTA, especially in the corn industry, and migration rose reaching a peak in 2007.

Charest, J., Haley, J., Heredia, C., Heyman, B., Jasson, G., Miller, E., Norton, R., Rubio, L., Sanders, R. Starr, P., &

Goldfarb, D. (2024, January 5). *NAFTA at 30: Canada Institute and Mexico Institute Experts Reflect.* Wilson Center.

<https://www.wilsoncenter.org/article/nafta-30-canada-institute-and-mexico-institute-experts-reflect>

30 years after NAFTA went into effect, which became the United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement (USMCA) in 2020, workers have not become upwardly mobile with the U.S. economy’s high demand for cheap labor—particularly workers from Mexico and other nations—without providing a pathway for regularizing their immigration status.

Council on Foreign Relations. (n.d.). *1810–2023: U.S.-Mexico Relations.*

<https://www.cfr.org/timeline/us-mexico-relations>



<b>1791–1903</b> U.S. Expansion and the Introduction of the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1904–1946</b> The Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1947–1980</b> The Truman Doctrine and the Containment of Communism	<b>1971–Present</b> Declaration of the “War on Drugs”	<b>1980s–1990s</b> Beyond Containment, the Rolling Back of Communism	<b>1996–Present</b> Enforcement and Externalization of Borders
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## <sup>122</sup> U.S. Abruptly Shifts Policies for Admitting Cuban Migrants and Refugees (1994)

Pew Research Center. (2006, August 25). *Cubans in the United States*.

<https://www.pewresearch.org/hispanic/2006/08/25/cubans-in-the-united-states/>

Román, I. (2023, August 17). *A Timeline of US-Cuba Relations*. HISTORY.

<https://www.history.com/news/timeline-us-cuba-relations>

More than 31,000 Cubans traveled in makeshift crafts in five weeks.

Public Broadcasting Corporation. (n.d.). *Post-Revolution Cuba*. PBS.

<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/post-revolution-cuba/>

Congressional Research Service. (2009, June 2). Cuban Migration to the United States: Policy and Trends

[Congressional Research Service Report R40566]. <https://www.everycrsreport.com/reports/R40566.html>

The Coast Guard or Border Patrol intercepted nearly 40,000 Cubans in 1994.

## <sup>123</sup> Operation Sea Signal Interdicts Cubans and Haitians (1994)

Burrows, J. A. (2019, July 31). *The Origin of Concentration Camps: The long, silenced history of oppression*. Medium.

<https://medium.com/jill-burrows/the-origin-of-concentration-camps-f7ba681cf452>

Public Broadcasting Corporation. (n.d.). *Post-Revolution Cuba*. PBS.

<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/post-revolution-cuba/>

Cuban Heritage Collection. (2011). *A New Challenge for the United States' Oldest Military Base Overseas*. University

of Miami Libraries. <https://scholar.library.miami.edu/digital/exhibits/show/guantanamo/guantanamo>

Román, I. (2023, August 17). *A Timeline of US-Cuba Relations*. HISTORY.

<https://www.history.com/news/timeline-us-cuba-relations>

Between 16,000 to 100,000 Cubans died at sea.

Chisti, M. & Bolter, J. (2022, May 25). *Rise in Maritime Migration to the United States Is a Reminder of Chapters*

*Past*. Migration Policy Institute. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/maritime-migration-united-states-rise>

This crisis came to be called the *balsero*, “rafter,” crisis.

Graham, B. (1994, August 15). MELEE ERUPTS AT GUANTANAMO BAY. *The Washington Post*.

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1994/08/16/melee-erupts-at-guantanamo-bay/daabaf09-52bd-41bf-b080-1384fc67e574/>

Williams, D. & Devroy, A. (1994, August 18). U.S. TO SEND CUBANS RESCUED AT SEA TO GUANTANAMO. *The*

*Washington Post*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1994/08/19/us-to-send-cubans-rescued-at-sea-to-guantanamo/5e3cd1d0-1a74-44ad-aa48-534e4e4fd949/>

Pensack, M. (2018, July 19). *Remembering Haitian Internment in Trump’s America*. NACLA.

<https://nacla.org/news/2018/07/20/remembering-haitian-internment-trump%E2%80%99s-america>

Taylor, A. & Parker, C. (2021, July 14). Cuba and Haiti upheaval could mean twin migration crises. *The Washington*

*Post*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2021/07/14/cuba-haiti-migration/>

Public Broadcasting Corporation. (n.d.). *Post-Revolution Cuba*. PBS.

<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/post-revolution-cuba/>

Palmer, Gary W. “Guarding the Coast: Alien Migrant Interdiction Operations at Sea.” *International Law Studies*,

72(VIII), 157-79. <https://digital-commons.usnwc.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1463&context=ils>

A 1995 agreement with Cuba allowed the “direct repatriation of 75% of Cubans intercepted at sea, with the remainder going to Guantanamo or to the US at the direction of INS.”

Chisti, M. & Bolter, J. (2022, May 25). *Rise in Maritime Migration to the United States Is a Reminder of Chapters*

*Past*. Migration Policy Institute. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/maritime-migration-united-states-rise>

Cuban Research Institute. (n.d.). *Chronology of U.S.-Cuba Relations*. Florida International University.

<https://cri.fiu.edu/us-cuba/chronology-of-us-cuba-relations/>

## <sup>124</sup> The U.S. Enacts Wet Foot, Dry Foot Policy for Cuban Migrants Who Made Landfall on U.S. Soil (1995)

Florida, A. (2017, January 15). End Of ‘Wet-Foot, Dry-Foot’ Means Cubans Can Join Ranks Of ‘Undocumented’. *Code*

*Switch*, NPR.

<https://www.npr.org/sections/codeswitch/2017/01/15/509895837/end-of-wet-foot-dry-foot-means-cubans-can-join-ranks-of-the-undocumented>

<b>1791–1903</b> U.S. Expansion and the Introduction of the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1904–1946</b> The Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1947–1980</b> The Truman Doctrine and the Containment of Communism	<b>1971–Present</b> Declaration of the “War on Drugs”	<b>1980s–1990s</b> Beyond Containment, the Rolling Back of Communism	<b>1996–Present</b> Enforcement and Externalization of Borders
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Cuban Research Institute. (n.d.). *Chronology of U.S.-Cuba Relations*. Florida International University.  
<https://cri.fiu.edu/us-cuba/chronology-of-us-cuba-relations/>

Council on Foreign Relations. (n.d.). *1959-2023: U.S.-Cuba Relations*.  
<https://www.cfr.org/timeline/us-cuba-relations>

American Immigration Council. (2024, April 8). *The Use of Parole Under Immigration Law*.  
<https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/research/use-parole-under-immigration-law>

Florida, A. (2017, January 15). End Of 'Wet-Foot, Dry-Foot' Means Cubans Can Join Ranks Of 'Undocumented'. *Code Switch, NPR*.  
<https://www.npr.org/sections/codeswitch/2017/01/15/509895837/end-of-wet-foot-dry-foot-means-cubans-can-join-ranks-of-the-undocumented>

#### <sup>125</sup> **Operation Able Response Leads to Interdiction of More Than 9,500 Dominicans (1995-97)**

Wiarda, H. J. (2024, April 30). Big Stick policy. In the Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica (Ed.), *Britannica*. Retrieved June 11, 2024, from  
<https://www.britannica.com/topic/history-of-Dominican-Republic>

United States Coast Guard Aviation History. (n.d.). *1995 – Migrant Interdiction- Operation ABLE RESPONSE and Beyond*. <https://cgaviationhistory.org/1995-migrant-interdiction-operation-able-response-and-beyond/>

Van Selm, J. & Cooper, B. (2006, January). *The New “Boat People:” Ensuring Safety and Determining Status*. Migration Policy Institute. [https://www.migrationpolicy.org/pubs/Boat\\_People\\_Report.pdf](https://www.migrationpolicy.org/pubs/Boat_People_Report.pdf)  
 See page 75.

*Tampa Bay Times*. (1995, April 6). Dominicans are new wave of immigrants [Updated 2005, October 3].  
<https://www.tampabay.com/archive/1995/04/06/dominicans-are-new-wave-of-immigrants/>  
 The U.S. Coast Guard interdicted more than 2,000 Dominicans in the Caribbean or off the coast of Florida between late October 1994 and spring 1995.

OECD/CIECAS. (2017, June 22). Interrelations between Public Policies, Migration and Development in the Dominican Republic. OECD Development Centre. <https://doi.org/10.1787/9789264276826-en>  
 Economic instability drove living standards down in the Dominican Republic, leading to increased emigration from the island nation through the mid-1990s.

#### <sup>126</sup> **Series of Multilateral Operations Target Irregular Migration (1996)**

Freedom for Immigrants. (n.d.). *A short history of immigration detention*.  
<https://www.freedomforimmigrants.org/detention-timeline>

Flynn, M. (2014). There and Back Again: On the Diffusion of Immigration Detention. *Journal of Migration and Human Security*, 2(3), 165-97. <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/233150241400200302>

#### <sup>127</sup> **Operation Forerunner Becomes “Largest Anti-Smuggling Operation” (2000)**

Immigration Daily. (2000, October 17). *Jose Leon Castillo, Infamous Alien Smuggler, Arrested by INS* [INS news release]. ILW.com. <https://ilw.com/immigrationdaily/news/2000,1019-Smuggling.shtm>

Office of the Inspector General. (2001, March). *Survey of INS's Anti-Smuggling Units* [Report number I-2001-003]. U.S. Department of Justice. <https://oig.justice.gov/reports/INS/e0103/intro.htm>

Flynn, M. (2014, April). *How and Why Immigration Detention Crossed the Globe*. Refworld.  
<https://www.refworld.org/pdfid/545b41254.pdf>  
 This provides the quote, ““largest anti-smuggling operation ever conducted in the Western Hemisphere.”

#### <sup>128</sup> **Operation Crossroads International Involves Migrant Interdictions From 39 Countries (2001)**

Flynn, M. (2014, April). *How and Why Immigration Detention Crossed the Globe*. Refworld.  
<https://www.refworld.org/pdfid/545b41254.pdf>

Thompson, C. W. (2001, June 27). 7,898 From 39 Nations Held in Anti-Smuggling Raids. *The Washington Post*.  
<https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/2001/06/28/7898-from-39-nations-held-in-anti-smuggling-raids/00547b1f-5e0d-42c7-9928-cf7ab41cbf26/>

*But see* Desert News & Cox New Service. (2001, June 30). *U.S. operation has Mexicans perplexed*. Deseret News.  
<https://www.deseret.com/2001/6/30/19594058/u-s-operation-has-mexicans-perplexed/>  
 In contrast to U.S. government statements, Mexican government officials indicated that they were not informed of or asked to collaborate in the anti-smuggling operation.

<b>1791–1903</b> U.S. Expansion and the Introduction of the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1904–1946</b> The Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1947–1980</b> The Truman Doctrine and the Containment of Communism	<b>1971–Present</b> Declaration of the “War on Drugs”	<b>1980s–1990s</b> Beyond Containment, the Rolling Back of Communism	<b>1996–Present</b> Enforcement and Externalization of Borders
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#### <sup>129</sup> **Operation Global Reach Extends Enforcement Efforts Overseas**

Immigration Daily. (2000, October 17). *Jose Leon Castillo, Infamous Alien Smuggler, Arrested by INS* [INS news release]. ILW.com. <https://ilw.com/immigrationdaily/news/2000,1019-Smuggling.shtm>

Flynn, M. (2014, April). *How and Why Immigration Detention Crossed the Globe*. Refworld. <https://www.refworld.org/pdfile/545b41254.pdf>

Freedom for Immigrants. (n.d.). *A short history of immigration detention*. <https://www.freedomforimmigrants.org/detention-timeline>

*Chicago Tribune*. (2002, December 1). *Drawn to the Dollar* [Updated 2021, August 20]. <https://www.chicagotribune.com/news/ct-xpm-2002-12-01-0212010530-story.html>.

Office of the Inspector General. (n.d.). *INTRODUCTION: The Inspections Division, Office of the Inspector General, Department of Justice, has completed an inspection of the Immigration and Naturalization Service's (INS) efforts to combat harboring and employing illegal aliens in sweatshops*. U.S. Department of Justice. <https://oig.justice.gov/reports/INS/e9608/i9608p1.htm>  
Global Reach's deterrence program involved deploying nearly 60 additional INS officers overseas.

Flynn, M. (2014). There and Back Again: On the Diffusion of Immigration Detention. *Journal of Migration and Human Security*, 2(3), 165-97. <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/233150241400200302>

#### <sup>130</sup> **Congress Passes Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA) (1996)**

Lastra, P. (2014, August 11). *Who Counts as a Refugee in US Immigration Policy—and Who Doesn't*. The Nation. <https://www.thenation.com/article/archive/who-counts-refugee-us-immigration-policy-and-who-doesnt/> Under the newly introduced expedited deportation process, Customs and Border Protection could deport an immigrant who did not claim asylum. A 2005 report found that Border Patrol agents encouraged the withdrawal of applications for asylum or refused the opportunity for arrivals to apply for asylum.

Coutin, S. (2007, September 25). *The Odyssey of Salvadoran Asylum Seekers*. NACLA. <https://nacla.org/article/odyssey-salvadoran-asylum-seekers>  
In 1996, Congress also passed the Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act (AEDPA), which also ramped up border enforcement. The 1996 laws created “cancellation of removal,” which required applicants to show that they have been continuously present in the United States for 10 years and would experience “extreme and exceptional hardship” if they were removed from the United States. The number of annual cancellation cases was capped at 4,000.

#### <sup>131</sup> **U.S. Marine Kills American Sophomore at the U.S.-Mexico Border (1997)**

Baldor, L. C. (2023, November 2). 'The Few, the Proud' aren't so few: Marines recruiting surges while other services struggle. *The Buffalo News*. [https://buffalonews.com/news/nation-world/government-politics/the-few-the-proud-arent-so-few-marines-recruiting-surges-while-other-services-struggle/article\\_795b3862-1ab7-55bf-9966-96df0d5851f2.html](https://buffalonews.com/news/nation-world/government-politics/the-few-the-proud-arent-so-few-marines-recruiting-surges-while-other-services-struggle/article_795b3862-1ab7-55bf-9966-96df0d5851f2.html)

Fernandez, M. (2018, November 27). U.S. Troops Went to the Border in 1997. They Killed an American Boy. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/27/us/esequiel-hernandez-death-border-mexico.html>  
The Marine was part of an antidrug surveillance team that was supporting the U.S. Border Patrol.

Schmidt, S. (2018, April 6). How the tragic killing of an American teenager halted the military border presence in 1997. *The Washington Post*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/morning-mix/wp/2018/04/06/how-the-tragic-killing-of-an-american-teenager-halted-the-military-border-presence-in-1997/>  
The autopsy contradicted the Marines' assertion that Hernandez was facing them when they shot Hernandez.

#### <sup>132</sup> **Beneficiaries of the Nicaraguan and Central American Relief Act (NACARA) Are Largely Nicaraguans and Cubans (1997)**

U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services. (n.d.). *Refugee Timeline*. <https://www.uscis.gov/about-us/our-history/history-office-and-library/featured-stories-from-the-uscis-history-office-and-library/refugee-timeline>

Jonas, S. (2013, March 27). *Guatemalan Migration in Times of Civil War and Post-War Challenges*. Migration Policy. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/guatemalan-migration-times-civil-war-and-post-war-challenges> Nicaraguan and Cuban immigrants received automatic legalization, while Guatemalan and Salvadoran immigrants received protection from deportation.

Coutin, S. (2007, September 25). *The Odyssey of Salvadoran Asylum Seekers*. NACLA. <https://nacla.org/article/odyssey-salvadoran-asylum-seekers>  
Salvadoran and Guatemalan advocates worked with Nicaraguan advocates to campaign for the passage of NACARA.

The U.S. government likely treated Nicaraguans—who fled a government unfriendly to the United States—differently from Salvadorans and Guatemalans, who fled regimes that the U.S. government supported – due to those government relationships.

<b>1791–1903</b> U.S. Expansion and the Introduction of the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1904–1946</b> The Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1947–1980</b> The Truman Doctrine and the Containment of Communism	<b>1971–Present</b> Declaration of the “War on Drugs”	<b>1980s–1990s</b> Beyond Containment, the Rolling Back of Communism	<b>1996–Present</b> Enforcement and Externalization of Borders
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Due to the law’s distinct treatment of different Central American nationalities, advocates argued for equitable treatment under the regulations. The regulations under NACARA, subsequently, gave asylum officials the ability to adjudicate NACARA suspension cases. There was a presumption that ABC class members would suffer hardship if they were deported, and officials had to consider a variety of hardship factors such as the length of applicants’ residence in the United States.

Gzesh, S. (2006, April 1). *Central Americans and Asylum Policy in the Reagan Era*. Migration Policy Institute. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/central-americans-and-asylum-policy-reagan-era>

Jonas, S. (2013, March 27). *Guatemalan Migration in Times of Civil War and Post-War Challenges*. Migration Policy. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/guatemalan-migration-times-civil-war-and-post-war-challenges>

Massey, D. S. & Pren, K. A. (2012). Unintended consequences of US immigration policy: explaining the post-1965 surge from Latin America. *Population and Development Review*, 38(1), 1–29. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1728-4457.2012.00470.x>

Library of Congress. (n.d.). *1991: American Baptist Churches (ABC) v. Thornburgh*. A Latinx Resource Guide: Civil Rights Cases and Events in the United States. <https://guides.loc.gov/latinx-civil-rights/abc-v-thornburgh> More than 83,000 Salvadorans and Guatemalans were able to adjust their status to lawful permanent residency under the *American Baptist Churches (ABC)* settlement.

Zhao, X. (2016, July 7). Immigration to the United States after 1945. Oxford Research Encyclopedia of American History. Retrieved May 30, 2024, from <https://oxfordre.com/americanhhistory/display/10.1093/acrefore/9780199329175.001.0001/acrefore-9780199329175-e-72>

### <sup>133</sup> **Flores Settlement Provides Certain Protections for Migrant Children** (1997)

All Things Considered. (2018, June 22). *The History Of The Flores Settlement And Its Effects On Immigration* [Interview transcript]. NPR. <https://www.npr.org/2018/06/22/622678753/the-history-of-the-flores-settlement-and-its-effects-on-immigration>

Dias, I. (2021, March 4). *Biden Might Reopen a Child Migrant Shelter With a Troubling Past of Sexual Abuse Allegations*. Mother Jones. <https://www.motherjones.com/politics/2021/03/biden-homestead-unaccompanied-minors-border-superfund/> This provides the quote, “least restrictive.”

### <sup>134</sup> **U.S. Deems Cuba As No Longer a Threat** (1998)

Public Broadcasting Corporation. (n.d.). *Post-Revolution Cuba*. PBS. <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americalexperience/features/post-revolution-cuba/>

Council on Foreign Relations. (n.d.). *1959-2023: U.S.-Cuba Relations*. <https://www.cfr.org/timeline/us-cuba-relations> After months of litigation, Elián Gonzalez returned to his family in Cuba.

### <sup>135</sup> **Haitian Refugee Immigration Fairness Act (HRIFA) Provides Pathway for Haitians** (1998)

Wasem, R. E. & Ester, K. (2006, January 27). *Temporary Protected Status: Current Immigration Policy and Issues* [Congressional Research Service RS20844]. Transactional Records Access Clearinghouse. <https://trac.syr.edu/immigration/library/P332.pdf>

U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services. (n.d.). Refugee Timeline. <https://www.uscis.gov/about-us/our-history/history-office-and-library/featured-stories-from-the-uscis-history-office-and-library/refugee-timeline>

U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services. (n.d.). *Temporary Protected Status and Deferred Enforced Departure*. <https://www.uscis.gov/i-9-central/completing-form-i-9/temporary-protected-status-and-deferred-enforced-departure> Deferred Enforced Departure is authorized at the discretion of the U.S. President. Those eligible are protected from deportation for the time period provided. DED may or may not allow eligible individuals to request employment authorization.

Ramón, C. & Gutierrez, Y. (2019, January 22). *History Shows the U.S. Doesn’t Do Well at Preparing for Migration Crises*. Bipartisan Policy Center. <https://bipartisanpolicy.org/blog/history-shows-the-u-s-doesnt-do-well-at-preparing-for-migration-crises/>

Zhao, X. (2016, July 7). Immigration to the United States after 1945. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of American History*. Retrieved May 30, 2024, from <https://oxfordre.com/americanhhistory/display/10.1093/acrefore/9780199329175.001.0001/acrefore-9780199329175-e-72>

Moslimani, M. (2024, March 29). *How Temporary Protected Status has expanded under the Biden administration*. Pew Research Center. <https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2024/03/29/how-temporary-protected-status-has-expanded-under-the-biden-administration/>

### <sup>136</sup> **Hurricane Mitch Devastates Central America** (1998)

National Environmental Satellite, Data, and Information Service. (2023, October 27). *25 Years Later: Looking Back at the October Monster Named Mitch*. NOAA. <https://www.nesdis.noaa.gov/news/25-years-later-looking-back-the-october-monster-named-mitch>



<b>1791–1903</b> U.S. Expansion and the Introduction of the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1904–1946</b> The Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1947–1980</b> The Truman Doctrine and the Containment of Communism	<b>1971–Present</b> Declaration of the “War on Drugs”	<b>1980s–1990s</b> Beyond Containment, the Rolling Back of Communism	<b>1996–Present</b> Enforcement and Externalization of Borders
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History.com Editors. (2019, November 11). *Hurricane Mitch*. HISTORY.

<https://www.history.com/topics/natural-disasters-and-environment/hurricane-mitch>

Ramnarayan, A. (2009, June 29). Timeline: Honduras. The Guardian.

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/jun/29/honduras-timeline-history>

Durand, J., & Massey, D. S. (2010). New World Orders: Continuities and Changes in Latin American Migration. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 630(1), 20–52.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716210368102>

Ernst, J. (2020, November 15). Scientists link record-breaking hurricane season to climate crisis. *The Guardian*.

<https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2020/nov/15/scientists-link-record-breaking-hurricane-season-to-climate-crisis>

The longer and more frequent droughts in the region followed by heavier rainfall has led to flash floods, which devastate crop production.

Cuffe, S. (2020, November 16). *Hurricane Eta Devastates Central America as U.S. Withdraws from Climate Accord*.

The Intercept. <https://theintercept.com/2020/11/16/hurricane-eta-central-america/>

There was significant migration from Honduras and El Salvador. Both countries were designated for Temporary Protected Status.

Messick, M. & Bergeron, C. (2014, July 2). *Temporary Protected Status in the United States: A Grant of Humanitarian Relief that Is Less than Permanent*. Migration Policy Institute.

<https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/temporary-protected-status-united-states-grant-humanitarian-relief-less-permanent>

Wasem, R. E. & Ester, K. (2006, January 27). *Temporary Protected Status: Current Immigration Policy and Issues*

[Congressional Research Service RS20844]. Transactional Records Access Clearinghouse. <https://trac.syr.edu/immigration/library/P332.pdf>

Cohn, D., Passel, J. S., & Bialik, K. (2019, November 27). *Many immigrants with Temporary Protected Status face uncertain future in U.S.* Pew Research Center.

<https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2019/11/27/immigrants-temporary-protected-status-in-us/>

Library of Congress. (n.d.). *1990: Temporary Protection Status (TPS)*. <https://guides.loc.gov/latinx-civil-rights/tps>

### <sup>137</sup> U.S. Pours Billions into 'Plan Colombia' Anti-Drug Campaign (1999)

Thornton, C. (2022, September 7). The U.S. Has Led the War on Drugs Abroad for Decades, and It's Been a

Staggering Failure. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/07/opinion/colombia-drug-war-us.html>

Main, A. (2014, July 3). *The U.S. Re-militarization of Central America and Mexico*. NACLA.

<https://nacla.org/news/2014/7/3/us-re-militarization-central-america-and-mexico-0>

NPR. (2007, April 2). Timeline: America's War on Drugs. *The Forgotten War on Drugs*.

<https://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=9252490>

The eradication of coca fields involves the aerial spraying of toxic herbicides.

Velazquez, N. M. (2023, September 29). *It's Time to Move On From the Monroe Doctrine | Opinion*. Newsweek.

<https://www.newsweek.com/its-time-move-monroe-doctrine-opinion-1830936>

Under Plan Colombia, the U.S. government deployed resources to the Colombian government against the left-wing Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) and the National Liberation Army (ELN). The United Nations estimates that right-wing paramilitary groups committed about 80 percent of the killings in Colombia.

Longley, K. (2021, June 8). The U.S. war on drugs helped unleash the violence in Colombia today. *The New York Times*.

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2021/06/08/us-war-drugs-helped-unleash-violence-colombia-today/>

The U.S. government originally combatted FARC and ELN as leftist organizations in the 1960s but have since characterized both groups as terrorist groups post 9/11.

Council on Foreign Relations. (2022, February 8). U.S. Foreign Policy: The Americas. *CFR Education*.

<https://world101.cfr.org/rotw/americas/us-foreign-policy#united-states-takes-war-on-drugs-to-colombia>

See entry, “United States Takes on War on Drugs to Colombia.”

Ruiz, H. (2022, December 1). *Colombians Flee War Without End*. Migration Policy Institute.

<https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/colombians-flee-war-without-end>

This source states, “The Clinton administration and Congress approved a two-year, \$1.3 billion package that provided \$519 million to the Colombian military [and] \$123.8 million to the police.” U.S. support for the Colombian military has been a contributing factor to displacement and emigration.

Thornton, C. (2022, September 7). The U.S. Has Led the War on Drugs Abroad for Decades, and It's Been a

Staggering Failure. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/07/opinion/colombia-drug-war-us.html>

Viscarra, A. J. & Prentice, M. (2014, August 15). *Children of the Monroe Doctrine*. Latino Rebels.

<https://www.latinorebels.com/2014/08/15/children-of-the-monroe-doctrine/>

Colombia's military conducted more than 6,000 assassinations since 2000.

<b>1791–1903</b> U.S. Expansion and the Introduction of the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1904–1946</b> The Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1947–1980</b> The Truman Doctrine and the Containment of Communism	<b>1971–Present</b> Declaration of the “War on Drugs”	<b>1980s–1990s</b> Beyond Containment, the Rolling Back of Communism	<b>1996–Present</b> Enforcement and Externalization of Borders
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Main, A. (2014, July 3). *The U.S. Re-militarization of Central America and Mexico*. NACLA.

<https://nacla.org/news/2014/7/3/us-re-militarization-central-america-and-mexico-0>

Nearly six million Colombians were forcibly displaced as a result of Plan Colombia.

See also Zakaria, F. (2023, July 7). Declaring war on Mexican cartels is popular. That doesn’t mean it’s smart. *The*

*Washington Post*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2023/07/07/us-republicans-war-mexico-cartels-drugs/>

A consequence of Plan Colombia was pushing production to Peru and Bolivia.

#### <sup>138</sup> **The U.S. Government Repatriates 400 Haitians** (1999)

Pressley, S. A. (2000, January 14). In Little Haiti, the Elian Fight Sheds a Painful Light. *The Washington Post*.

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/2000/01/15/in-little-haiti-the-elian-fight-sheds-a-painful-light/5821c395-a5a0-4ca3-962f-600c774092ce/>

Carter, N. M. (2021, September 23). Democratic and Republican administrations have long agreed on one thing —

discriminating against Haitian refugees. *The Washington Post*.

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2021/09/23/us-is-deporting-haitian-asylum-seekers-thats-longstanding-american-policy/>

The news of six-year-old Elián Gonzalez, a sole survivor found off the coast of Florida after a boat filled with Cubans journeying to the U.S. capsized, overshadowed the plight of the hundreds of Haitians also bound for Florida.

British Broadcasting Corporation. (2000, January 3). *Haitian boat people repatriated*. BBC.

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/589520.stm>

Associated Press. (2000, January 1). Over 400 Migrants Intercepted. CBS News.

<https://www.cbsnews.com/news/over-400-migrants-intercepted/>

#### <sup>139</sup> **U.S. Extends Temporary Protected Status to Salvadorans Following Seismic Activity** (2001)

Cohn, D., Passel, J. S., & Bialik, K. (2019, November 27). *Many immigrants with Temporary Protected Status face*

*uncertain future in U.S.* Pew Research Center. <https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2019/11/27/immigrants-temporary-protected-status-in-us/>

Jordan, M. (2021, January 8). Trump Administration Says That Nearly 200,000 Salvadorans Must Leave. *The New*

*York Times*. [https://www.nytimes.com/2018/01/08/us/salvadorans-tps-](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/01/08/us/salvadorans-tps-end.html#:~:text=LOS%20ANGELES%20E2%80%94%20Nearly%20200%2C000%20people,the%20most%20consequential%20to%20date)

[end.html#:~:text=LOS%20ANGELES%20E2%80%94%20Nearly%20200%2C000%20people,the%20most%20consequential%20to%20date](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/01/08/us/salvadorans-tps-end.html#:~:text=LOS%20ANGELES%20E2%80%94%20Nearly%20200%2C000%20people,the%20most%20consequential%20to%20date)

Two earthquakes in 2001 killed more than 1,000 people in El Salvador and left hundreds of thousands of people homeless.

Coutin, S. (2007, September 25). *The Odyssey of Salvadoran Asylum Seekers*. NACLA.

<https://nacla.org/article/odyssey-salvadoran-asylum-seekers>

The violence since the civil war combined with the natural disasters that continued to plague El Salvador shifted the makeup of those migrating from El Salvador. Instead of farmworkers and factory workers, more professionals began leaving El Salvador by 2001. By 2003, remittances to El Salvador from the Salvadoran diaspora comprised 14 percent of the nation’s gross domestic product in 2003.

Lustgarten, A. (2020, July 23). The Great Climate Migration. *The New York Times*.

<https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/07/23/magazine/climate-migration.html>

In 2012, climate change worsened blight on El Salvador’s crops, reducing harvests by 70 percent. The UN describes the country’s drought and storms as contributing to Salvadorans’ “progressive deterioration.”

American University. (2017, December). *Report: Extending Temporary Protected Status for El Salvador: Country*

*Conditions and U.S. Legal Requirements*. [https://www.american.edu/centers/latin-american-latino-studies/extending-tps-for-el-](https://www.american.edu/centers/latin-american-latino-studies/extending-tps-for-el-salvador.cfm#:~:text=In%20March%202001%2C%20the%20U.S.,in%20January%20and%20February%202001)

[salvador.cfm#:~:text=In%20March%202001%2C%20the%20U.S.,in%20January%20and%20February%202001](https://www.american.edu/centers/latin-american-latino-studies/extending-tps-for-el-salvador.cfm#:~:text=In%20March%202001%2C%20the%20U.S.,in%20January%20and%20February%202001)

This source writes, “In March 2001, the U.S. government announced the designation of El Salvador for Temporary Protected Status (TPS). This designation was premised on the significant disruptions and damage caused by two earthquakes that had ravaged El Salvador in January and February 2001.”

Immigration and Naturalization Service. (2001, March 9). *Designation of El Salvador Under Temporary Protected*

*Status Program [Federal Register citation 66 FR 14214]*. Federal Register. [https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2001/03/09/01-](https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2001/03/09/01-5818/designation-of-el-salvador-under-temporary-protected-status-program)

[5818/designation-of-el-salvador-under-temporary-protected-status-program](https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2001/03/09/01-5818/designation-of-el-salvador-under-temporary-protected-status-program)

#### <sup>140</sup> **U.S. Government Secretly Detains Haitian Asylum Seekers in Florida** (2001)

Canedy, D. & Schmitt, E. (2022, May 13). In Florida, a Limbo for Haitians Only. *The New York Times*.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2002/05/13/us/in-florida-a-limbo-for-haitians-only.html>

Associated Press. (2002, November 1). Leaders in Florida and elsewhere push to end detention of Haitians. *The*

*Gainesville Sun*. [https://www.gainesville.com/story/news/2002/11/02/leaders-in-florida-and-elsewhere-push-to-end-detention-of-](https://www.gainesville.com/story/news/2002/11/02/leaders-in-florida-and-elsewhere-push-to-end-detention-of-haitians/31618272007/)

[haitians/31618272007/](https://www.gainesville.com/story/news/2002/11/02/leaders-in-florida-and-elsewhere-push-to-end-detention-of-haitians/31618272007/)

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Little, C. & al-Sahli, C. N. (2004, May 1). *Haitian Refugees: A People In Search Of Hope*. Florida Immigrant Advocacy Center. <https://aiijustice.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/HaitianRefugeesAPeopleinSearchofHope.pdf>  
See page 41. Some Haitian migrants were detained for as long as two years.

See also page 2.

See page 20 and endnote 89 on page 59. The federal government continued to detain two Haitians even after their asylum applications were approved. One was released after nearly a year and a half in detention. The other was released after several months.

Wasem, R. E. (2005, January 21). *U.S. Immigration Policy on Haitian Migrants* [Congressional Research Service Order Code RS21349]. Transactional Records Access Clearinghouse. [https://tracfed.syr.edu/tracker/dynadata/2006\\_09/47153.pdf](https://tracfed.syr.edu/tracker/dynadata/2006_09/47153.pdf)  
This source provides the quote, “adjust parole criteria with respect to all inadmissible Haitians arriving in South Florida after December 3, 2001.”

Swarns, R. L. (2003, July 25). Haitians Are Held in U.S. Despite Grant of Asylum. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2003/07/25/us/haitians-are-held-in-us-despite-grant-of-asylum.html>

<sup>141</sup> **Senior U.S. Government Officials Are Linked to Failed Coup in Venezuela** (2002)

Vulliamy, E. (2002, April 21). Venezuela coup linked to Bush team. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2002/apr/21/usa.venezuela>  
The U.S. government recognized the new government under Pedro Carmona, but the coup failed two days later.

One of the appointees to President George W. Bush’s administration was Elliot Abrams, the senior director of the National Security Council, who had a “conviction for misleading Congress” in regards to the Iran-Contra affair.

Ellner, M. (2023, April 12). ‘Every 11th Has Its 13th’: Time To Dismantle Monroe Doctrine Politics. Common Dreams. <https://www.commondreams.org/opinion/every-11th-has-its-13th-time-to-dismantle-monroe-doctrine-politics>  
During the attempted ouster, 19 people were killed, more than 100 people were injured, and a U.S. ambassador paid a visit.

Forero, J. (2004, December 3). Documents Show C.I.A. Knew Of a Coup Plot in Venezuela. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2004/12/03/washington/world/documents-show-cia-knew-of-a-coup-plot-in-venezuela.html>  
Declassified documents showed that the CIA was aware there would be a coup attempted against Chávez, but the presidential administration denied knowing about the threat.

*Al Jazeera*. (2015, March 10). Obama declares Venezuela a national security threat. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2015/3/10/obama-declares-venezuela-a-national-security-threat>  
The United States and Venezuela stopped having full diplomatic representation in 2008 after Chávez expelled the U.S. ambassador.

Nugent, C. (2019, January 25). Why the Threat of U.S. Intervention in Venezuela Revives Historical Tensions in the Region. *Time*. <https://time.com/5512005/venezuela-us-intervention-history-latin-america/>

Buschschlüter, V. (2024, January 31). *Venezuela crisis in brief*. BBC. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-48121148>  
After the price of oil dropped shortly after Maduro was elected, Venezuela entered a seven-year recession.

Londoño, E. & Casey, N. Trump Administration Discussed Coup Plans With Rebel Venezuelan Officers. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/08/world/americas/donald-trump-venezuela-military-coup.html>  
The U.S. government met with members of the Venezuelan military in 2017 and 2018, including a commander on the U.S. sanctions list of corrupt officials in Venezuela, to discuss ousting Maduro from the presidency.

Elia Valori, G. (2022, February 2). *The Monroe Doctrine between the United States and Asia*. Modern Diplomacy. <https://modern diplomacy.eu/2022/02/02/the-monroe-doctrine-between-the-united-states-and-asia/> Between 2017 and 2021, the U.S. government continued to encourage the opposition in Venezuela.

Roy, D. (2022, November 4). *Do U.S. Sanctions on Venezuela Work?*. Council of Foreign Relations. <https://www.cfr.org/in-brief/do-us-sanctions-venezuela-work>  
The U.S. government tightened those sanctions in 2017, and they largely remained in place through 2022. Opponents of sanctions argued that they increased the nation’s emigration rate, increased Venezuela’s mortality rates, and worsened hunger while others argued that mismanagement of the economy made the country less stable. All agree that oil sanctions hurt Venezuela.

Fox, M. (2024, January 9). The Beginning: Monroe and Migration (1) [Audio podcast episode]. In *Under the Shadow*. The Real News Network & NACLA. <https://nacla.org/under-shadow-ep-1>

Fox, M. (2024, January 9). The Beginning: Monroe and Migration (1) [Podcast transcript]. In *Under the Shadow*. The Real News Network & NACLA. <https://therealnews.com/the-beginning-monroe-and-migration-under-the-shadow-episode-1>  
Critics of U.S. sanctions of Venezuela argued that they had caused more than 40,000 deaths in Venezuela. The sanctions also caused shortages of food, medicine, and other products.

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Finnegan, C. (2022, December 14). *Where historic number of migrants is coming from and why: ANALYSIS*. ABC News. <https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/data-historic-number-migrants-reaching-us-borders-reasons/story?id=95198577>

<sup>142</sup> **The U.S. and French Governments Work to Depose Haitian President Jean Bertrand Aristide** (2004)

Porter, C., Méheut, C., Apuzzo, M., & Gebrekidan, S. (2022, May 20). The Ransom: The Root of Haiti’s Misery: Reparations to Enslavers. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/20/world/americas/haiti-history-colonized-france.html>  
Aristide demanded \$21,685,135,571.48 from France for Haiti, which was on the conservative end of what economists estimated to be the value of Haiti’s loss.

The French ambassador Thierry Burkard said that France and the United States planned “a coup” against Aristide.

Bunyan, R. (2019, September 24). 25 Years After ‘Operation Uphold Democracy,’ Experts Say the Oft-Forgotten U.S. Military Intervention Still Shapes Life in Haiti. *Time*. <https://time.com/5682135/haiti-military-anniversary/>

Cato, D. (2022, October 11). *Haiti’s request for troops resurrects troubled history of foreign interventions*. PBS. <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/world/how-haitis-request-for-troops-resurrects-troubled-history-of-foreign-interventions>  
Canada and Chile also sent troops to Haiti. The UN Stabilization Mission replaced the U.S., Canadian, French, and Chilean troops and remained there until 2017. The UN peacekeeping mission faced allegations of sexual assault and admitted that peacekeeper troops from Nepal had introduced cholera into Haiti’s largest river in 2010.

Porter, C., Méheut, C., Apuzzo, M., & Gebrekidan, S. (2022, May 20). Demanding Reparations, and Ending Up in Exile. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/20/world/americas/haiti-aristide-reparations-france.html>  
The French government pleaded with multiple African countries to accept Aristide, as the U.S. military plane that carried him had no destination, until former French colony Central African Republic agreed. Haiti’s Western-backed leader Gérard Latortue dropped the demands for restitution.

The United States and French governments collaborated to depose Aristide. <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/20/world/americas/haiti-history-colonized-france.html>

The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. (2024, April 30). Big Stick policy. In the Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica (Ed.), *Britannica*. Retrieved May 20, 2024, from <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Jean-Bertrand-Aristide>  
Aristide returned to power in 2001, and he fled Haiti in 2004 in response to protests against the government. The U.S. tried to keep Aristide in South Africa after having initially taken him to the Central African Republic.

<sup>143</sup> **The U.S. Government Typically Detains and Processes Haitians for Removal**

Cineas, F. (2021, September 24). *Why America keeps turning its back on Haitian migrants*. Vox. <https://www.vox.com/22689472/haitian-migrants-asylum-history-violence>

Chisti, M. & Bolter, J. (2022, May 25). *Rise in Maritime Migration to the United States Is a Reminder of Chapters Past*. Migration Policy Institute. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/maritime-migration-united-states-rise>

Porter, C., Méheut, C., Apuzzo, M., & Gebrekidan, S. (2022, May 20). The Ransom: The Root of Haiti’s Misery: Reparations to Enslavers. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/20/world/americas/haiti-history-colonized-france.html>  
Shortly after Aristide requested in 2003 that France repay the reparations it had demanded from Haiti in 1825, the French government helped depose Aristide.

<sup>144</sup> **U.S. Coast Guard Denies Credible Fear Interviews for Haitians Interdicted at Sea**

Chisti, M. & Bolter, J. (2022, May 25). *Rise in Maritime Migration to the United States Is a Reminder of Chapters Past*. Migration Policy Institute. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/maritime-migration-united-states-rise>

Congressional Research Service. (2011, May 17). *U.S. Immigration Policy on Haitian Migrants* [Congressional Research Service Report RS21349]. [https://www.everycrsreport.com/reports/RS21349.html#\\_Ref222737659](https://www.everycrsreport.com/reports/RS21349.html#_Ref222737659)  
The Coast Guard interdicted 1,610 Haitians in fiscal year 2007, 1,782 in fiscal year 2009, and 1,377 Haitians in fiscal year 2010. The Coast Guard interdicted 2,868 Cubans in fiscal year 2007.

Congressional Research Service. (2009, June 2). *Cuban Migration to the United States: Policy and Trends* [Congressional Research Service Report R40566]. <https://www.everycrsreport.com/reports/R40566.html>  
The Coast Guard interdicted 2,868 Cubans in fiscal year 2007 and 2,199 Cubans in fiscal year 2008.

Congressional Research Service. (2014, December 29). *Cuba: U.S. Policy and Issues for the 113<sup>th</sup> Congress*. [Congressional Research Service Report R43024]. <https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/R/R43024>  
The Coast Guard interdicted 799 Cubans in fiscal year 2009 and 422 Cubans in fiscal year 2010.



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<sup>145</sup> **Hurricane Stan’s Rains Are the Heaviest in Four Years Resulting in Hundreds of Deaths in Guatemala** (2005)

Norwegian Church Aid. (2005, November 8). *Guatemala: Hurricane Stan - one month on*. Reliefweb. <https://reliefweb.int/report/guatemala/guatemala-hurricane-stan-one-month>

Fwd.us. (2023, November 29). *The Urgent Need for (Re)Designating El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Nepal, and Guatemala for Temporary Protected Status (TPS)*. <https://www.fwd.us/news/the-urgent-need-for-re-designating-el-salvador-honduras-nicaragua-nepal-and-guatemala-for-temporary-protected-status-tps/> Guatemala requested that it be designated Temporary Protected Status in 2005 but did not receive it.

UN Children’s Fund. (2005, October 11). *Hurricane Stan - Worst disaster to hit Central America and Mexico since 1998*. Reliefweb. <https://reliefweb.int/report/costa-rica/hurricane-stan-worst-disaster-hit-central-america-and-mexico-1998>

LADB Staff. (2008, May 1). *Guatemala Given Little Chance At Temporary Protected Status For Its Citizens In U.S.* UNM Digital Repository. <https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=10603&context=noticen>

<sup>146</sup> **U.S. Coast Guard Interdicts Thousands of Haitians and Cubans at Sea** (2007-10)

Acer, E. (2010, February 10). *A SYSTEM DESIGNED TO FAIL HAITIANS*. Humans Rights First. <https://www.humanrightsfirst.org/2010/02/10/a-system-designed-to-fail-haitians>

<sup>147</sup> **Cuban Family Reunification Parole Program (CFRP) Permits Certain Family Members to Enter the United States Without Waiting for their Immigrant Visas to be Granted** (2007)

Chisti, M. & Bolter, J. (2022, May 25). *Rise in Maritime Migration to the United States Is a Reminder of Chapters Past*. Migration Policy Institute. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/maritime-migration-united-states-rise>

U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services. (n.d.). The Cuban Family Reunification Parole Program. <https://www.uscis.gov/humanitarian/humanitarian-parole/the-cuban-family-reunification-parole-program>

American Immigration Council. (2024, April 8). *The Use of Parole Under Immigration Law*. <https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/research/use-parole-under-immigration-law>

Read, F. G. (2022, September 6). *USCIS Resumes the Cuban Family Reunification Parole Program*. The National Law Review. <https://www.natlawreview.com/article/uscis-resumes-cuban-family-reunification-parole-program>

U.S. Department of Homeland Security. (2022, June 9). *Fact Sheet: DHS Resumes Cuban Family Reunification Parole (CFRP) Program and Haitian Family Reunification Parole (HFRP) Program Operations*. <https://www.dhs.gov/news/2022/06/09/fact-sheet-dhs-resumes-cuban-family-reunification-parole-cfrp-program-and-haitian>

<sup>148</sup> **The U.S. Government Launches the Mérida Initiative** (2008)

Main, A. (2014, July 3). *The U.S. Re-militarization of Central America and Mexico*. NACLA. <https://nacla.org/news/2014/7/3/us-re-militarization-central-america-and-mexico-0>

Paley, D. (2015, February 5). *Obama's Central American Rescue Plan Will Only Make Life There Worse*. The New Republic. <https://newrepublic.com/article/120962/alliance-prosperity-wont-help-central-american-violence>

Brewer, S. (2021, December 3). *The Bicentennial Framework: opportunities and challenges as U.S.-Mexico security cooperation begins a new chapter*. Washington Office on Latin America. <https://www.wola.org/analysis/the-bicentennial-framework-opportunities-and-challenges-as-u-s-mexico-security-cooperation-begins-a-new-chapter/>  
The Mexican government noted that it wanted to “leave behind the failed, warlike security approach associated with the launch of the Merida Initiative and to prioritize more effective anti-violence strategies.”

MIRA. (2023, December 22). *THE IMPACT OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE IN MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA AND HOW WE CAN CHANGE IT*. <https://www.americas.org/monroe-doctrine/>  
The Bicentennial Framework for Security, Public Health, and Safe Communities replaced the Mérida Initiative in 2021.

Avila, L. & Meyer, M. (2022, May 26). *Beyond the U.S.-Mexico Border: Migration Trends in the Americas, Explained*. Washington Office on Latin America. <https://www.wola.org/analysis/beyond-the-u-s-mexico-border-migration-trends-in-the-americas-explained/>  
Although the Bicentennial Framework has provisions related to combatting human smuggling, it does not provide migrant protections.

Selee, A., Arnson, C. J., & Olson, E. L. (2013, January). *Crime and Violence in Mexico and Central America: An Evolving but Incomplete US Policy Response*. The Regional Migration Study Group. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/sites/default/files/publications/RMSG-EvolvingPolicyResponse.pdf>  
See footnote 2 of this source for more information on CARSI.

<b>1791–1903</b> U.S. Expansion and the Introduction of the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1904–1946</b> The Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1947–1980</b> The Truman Doctrine and the Containment of Communism	<b>1971–Present</b> Declaration of the “War on Drugs”	<b>1980s–1990s</b> Beyond Containment, the Rolling Back of Communism	<b>1996–Present</b> Enforcement and Externalization of Borders
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<sup>149</sup> **School of the Americas Graduate Leads Coup in Honduras (2009)**

Johnston, J. (2017, August 29). *How Pentagon Officials May Have Encouraged a 2009 Coup in Honduras*. The Intercept. <https://theintercept.com/2017/08/29/honduras-coup-us-defense-department-center-hemispheric-defense-studies-chds/>  
Hundreds of Hondurans took courses at the National Defense University at Ft. McNair in Washington, DC over the years. The U.S. and Honduran militaries were so close that the night before the coup, American military officers and diplomats were at a party at the US defense attaché’s house with their Honduran counterparts.

Some in the U.S. government regarded Zelaya as an acolyte of Venezuela’s Hugo Chávez.

Nevins, J. (2021, January 13). The Irony Of Calling America A 'Banana Republic.' *Cognoscenti*, wbur. <https://www.wbur.org/cognoscenti/2021/01/13/mob-capitol-banana-republic-joseph-nevins>  
The U.S. government did not challenge the coup and worked to prevent Zelaya from returning to power.

Weiss, L. (2019, April 1). *The Aid Paradox*. NACLA. <https://nacla.org/news/2021/04/18/aid-paradox>

Democracy Now!. (2019, July 12). *Ousted Honduran President Zelaya: The 2009 U.S.-Backed Coup Helped Cause Today’s Migrant Crisis* [Transcript]. Democracy Now!. [https://www.democracynow.org/2019/7/12/manuel\\_zelaya\\_honduras\\_coup\\_immigration\\_crisis](https://www.democracynow.org/2019/7/12/manuel_zelaya_honduras_coup_immigration_crisis)  
The Honduran military and Honduran elites orchestrated the coup with the support of the White House in 2009.

When Zelaya was president, the U.S. government warned him to cease his relationship with Hugo Chávez. He was deposed six months later.

Democracy Now!. (2018, March 12). *Overthrow: 100 Years of U.S. Meddling & Regime Change, from Iran to Nicaragua to Hawaii to Cuba* [Transcript]. [https://www.democracynow.org/2018/3/12/100\\_years\\_of\\_us\\_interference\\_regime](https://www.democracynow.org/2018/3/12/100_years_of_us_interference_regime)  
Zelaya was trying to help Honduras become more independent from the United States, but members of U.S. Congress celebrated Velásquez’s successful ouster from office.

SOA Watch. (2019, March 6). *Notorious SOA Graduates from Honduras*. <https://soaw.org/notorious-soa-graduates-from-honduras>  
Policarpo Paz García was also an alumnus of the School of Americas, and the Battalion 3-16 formed under his regime.

The Southern Poverty Law Center. (2018, October 2). *A History: Asylum in the United States*. <https://www.splcenter.org/20181002/history-asylum-united-states>

Kinosian, S. (2017, December 7). Crisis of Honduras democracy has roots in US tacit support for 2009 coup. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/dec/07/crisis-of-honduras-democracy-has-roots-in-us-tacit-support-for-2009-coup>  
The U.S. government only briefly froze aid to Honduras after the coup and supported Juan Orlando Hernández’s leadership.

The Associated Press. (2017, December 18). *Organization of American States calls for re-do of Honduras elections after controversial results*. NBC News. <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/latino/organization-american-states-calls-re-do-honduras-elections-after-controversial-n830706>  
When Honduras held elections in 2017, the two candidates were incumbent President Juan Orlando Hernandez and Manuel Zelaya ally, Salvador Nasralla. Nasralla alleged the election was rife with fraud. The Organization of American States concurred and called for new general elections because of irregularities in the election process and “extreme statistical improbability regarding levels of participation.” In contrast, the U.S. government did not call for new elections, and Juan Orlando Hernández remained president of Honduras and a U.S. ally until 2022.

Méndez Dardón, A. M. *What’s Next for Honduras after Juan Orlando Hernández’ Conviction?*. Washington Office on Latin America. <https://www.wola.org/analysis/honduras-after-juan-orlando-hernandez-conviction/>  
In 2022, a U.S. federal court found former Honduran President Juan Orlando Hernández guilty of conspiring to import cocaine into the United States amongst other charges.

<sup>150</sup> **State and Interpersonal Violence Follow the Coup**

The Southern Poverty Law Center. (2018, October 2). *A HISTORY: ASYLUM IN THE UNITED STATES*. <https://www.splcenter.org/20181002/history-asylum-united-states>

Democracy Now!. (2019, July 12). *Ousted Honduran President Zelaya: The 2009 U.S.-Backed Coup Helped Cause Today’s Migrant Crisis* [Transcript]. Democracy Now!. [https://www.democracynow.org/2019/7/12/manuel\\_zelaya\\_honduras\\_coup\\_immigration\\_crisis](https://www.democracynow.org/2019/7/12/manuel_zelaya_honduras_coup_immigration_crisis)  
Tens of thousands of Hondurans have been killed, including more than 300 LGBTQ and queer-identified people, 60 journalists, and hundreds of human rights defenders and environmentalists.

Lakhani, N. (2023, December 2). Honduras: arrest warrant issued over murder of activist Berta Cáceres. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2023/dec/02/honduras-arrest-warrant-issued-over-of-activist-berta-caceres>  
Cáceres successfully led a campaign to block the building of an internationally financed dam that would have flooded her Indigenous homeland. The president of the dam company, along with many others, have been convicted for ordering and planning her assassination.

<b>1791–1903</b> U.S. Expansion and the Introduction of the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1904–1946</b> The Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1947–1980</b> The Truman Doctrine and the Containment of Communism	<b>1971–Present</b> Declaration of the “War on Drugs”	<b>1980s–1990s</b> Beyond Containment, the Rolling Back of Communism	<b>1996–Present</b> Enforcement and Externalization of Borders
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Eulich, W. (2019, July 16). Honduras coup: Why the 10-year anniversary matters today. *The Christian Science Monitor*. <https://www.csmonitor.com/World/Americas/2019/0716/Honduras-coup-Why-the-10-year-anniversary-matters-today>

Johnston, J. (2017, August 29). *How Pentagon Officials May Have Encouraged a 2009 Coup in Honduras*. The Intercept. <https://theintercept.com/2017/08/29/honduras-coup-us-defense-department-center-hemispheric-defense-studies-chds/>

Viscarra, A. J. & Prentice, M. (2014, August 15). *Children of the Monroe Doctrine*. Latino Rebels. <https://www.latinorebels.com/2014/08/15/children-of-the-monroe-doctrine/>  
Since the coup against Zelaya, the U.S. military has increased aid and training to Honduran security forces.

Main, A. (2018, January 11). *Dirty Elections in Honduras, with Washington’s Blessing*. NACLA. <https://nacla.org/news/2018/03/13/dirty-elections-honduras-washington%E2%80%99s-blessing> Between 2010 and 2016, U.S. support for Honduras’s military and police grew by 250 percent.

The United States and Organization of American States backed the election of Juan Orlando Hernández in the disputed 2017 presidential election. Tens of thousands protested in outrage, which also contributed to migration.

Vine, D. (2021, April 22). *175 Years of Border Invasions: The Anniversary of the U.S. War on Mexico and the Roots of Northward Migration*. Council on Hemispheric Affairs. <https://coha.org/monroeism-is-the-other-side-of-jim-crow-the-side-facing-south/>

#### <sup>151</sup> **Turmoil from the Coup Leads to Migration from Honduras**

Nevins, J. (2021, January 13). The Irony Of Calling America A 'Banana Republic.' *Cognoscenti, wbur*. <https://www.wbur.org/cognoscenti/2021/01/13/mob-capitol-banana-republic-joseph-nevins>

Kinosian, S. (2017, December 7). Crisis of Honduras democracy has roots in US tacit support for 2009 coup. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/dec/07/crisis-of-honduras-democracy-has-roots-in-us-tacit-support-for-2009-coup>  
Gang activity and migration from Honduras to the United States increased.

Eulich, W. (2019, July 16). Honduras coup: Why the 10-year anniversary matters today. *The Christian Science Monitor*. <https://www.csmonitor.com/World/Americas/2019/0716/Honduras-coup-Why-the-10-year-anniversary-matters-today>  
Political repression, violence, corruption, lack of opportunity and poverty were all contributing factors to people emigrating from the country.

Viscarra, A. J. & Prentice, M. (2014, August 15). *Children of the Monroe Doctrine*. Latino Rebels. <https://www.latinorebels.com/2014/08/15/children-of-the-monroe-doctrine/>

#### <sup>152</sup> **Tropical Storm Agatha Impacts Central America** (2010)

Llana, S. M. (2010, June 1). Tropical Storm Agatha floods kill 150, cause giant sinkhole in Guatemala City. *The Christian Science Monitor*. <https://www.csmonitor.com/World/Americas/2010/0601/Tropical-Storm-Agatha-floods-kill-150-cause-giant-sinkhole-in-Guatemala-City>

NPR. (2010, June 3). *Guatemala Suffers String Of Natural Disasters* [Transcript]. <https://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=127405878>

Fwd.us. (2023, November 29). *The Urgent Need for (Re)Designating El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Nepal, and Guatemala for Temporary Protected Status (TPS)*. <https://www.fwd.us/news/the-urgent-need-for-redesignating-el-salvador-honduras-nicaragua-nepal-and-guatemala-for-temporary-protected-status-tps/> Guatemala requested that it be designated for Temporary Protected Status in 2010 but did not receive it.

LADB Staff. (2008, May 1). *Guatemala Given Little Chance At Temporary Protected Status For Its Citizens In U.S.* UNM Digital Repository. <https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=10603&context=noticen>

#### <sup>153</sup> **The Worst Earthquake in Centuries Hits Haiti** (2010)

Fouron, G. E. (2020, August 19). *Haiti’s painful evolution from promised land to migrant-sending nation*. Migration Policy Institute. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/haiti-painful-evolution-promised-land-migrant-sending-nation>

Cineas, F. (2021, September 24). *Why America keeps turning its back on Haitian migrants*. Vox. <https://www.vox.com/22689472/haitian-migrants-asylum-history-violence>

Cable News Network. (2023, January 9). *Haiti Earthquake Fast Facts*. CNN. <https://www.cnn.com/2013/12/12/world/haiti-earthquake-fast-facts/index.html>

McDonnell, P. (2017, September 17). Tens of thousands of Haitian migrants are trapped in southern Mexico. *Los Angeles Times*. <https://www.latimes.com/world-nation/story/2021-09-17/tapachula-mexico-dead-end-for-haitians-and-other-u-s-bound-migrants>

<b>1791–1903</b> U.S. Expansion and the Introduction of the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1904–1946</b> The Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1947–1980</b> The Truman Doctrine and the Containment of Communism	<b>1971–Present</b> Declaration of the “War on Drugs”	<b>1980s–1990s</b> Beyond Containment, the Rolling Back of Communism	<b>1996–Present</b> Enforcement and Externalization of Borders
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The Haitian Times. (2023, September 27). *Policies and politics behind today’s Haiti-Dominican Republic Relations*.  
<https://haitiantimes.com/2023/09/27/policies-and-politics-behind-todays-haiti-dominican-republic-relations/>  
 About 200,000 Haitians fled to the Dominican Republic.

#### <sup>154</sup> Cholera Outbreak Worsens the Crisis After the Earthquake

Lantagne, D., Balakrish Nair, G., Lanata, C. F., & Cravioto, A. (2014). The cholera outbreak in Haiti: where and how did it begin?. *Current topics in microbiology and immunology*, 379, 145–164. [https://doi.org/10.1007/82\\_2013\\_331](https://doi.org/10.1007/82_2013_331)

Knox, R. (2011, May 6). Verdict: Haiti’s Cholera Outbreak Originated In U.N. Camp. *Shots, NPR*.  
<https://www.npr.org/sections/health-shots/2011/05/06/136049974/verdict-haitis-cholera-outbreak-originated-in-u-n-camp>

*Al Jazeera*. (2010, October 30). UN troops blamed for Haiti cholera.  
<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2010/10/30/un-troops-blamed-for-haiti-cholera>

Sanon, E. & Lederer, E. M. (2020, October 21). *A decade after deadly cholera epidemic, Haiti awaits help*. Associated Press. <https://apnews.com/article/epidemics-cholera-haiti-united-nations-a8cf22181e49dfac8800713b95f7969e>

#### <sup>155</sup> U.S. Designates Haiti for Temporary Protected Status

Messick, M. & Bergeron, C. (2014, July 2). *Temporary Protected Status in the United States: A Grant of Humanitarian Relief that Is Less than Permanent*. Migration Policy Institute. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/temporary-protected-status-united-states-grant-humanitarian-relief-less-permanent>

Cohn, D., Passel, J. S., & Bialik, K. (2019, November 27). *Many immigrants with Temporary Protected Status face uncertain future in U.S.* Pew Research Center. <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2019/11/27/immigrants-temporary-protected-status-in-us/>

Fouron, G. E. (2020, August 19). *Haiti’s painful evolution from promised land to migrant-sending nation*. Migration Policy Institute. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/haiti-painful-evolution-promised-land-migrant-sending-nation>

Cameron, C. (2021, December 19). As U.S. Navigates Crisis in Haiti, a Bloody History Looms Large. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/19/us/politics/us-haiti-intervention.html>  
 Following the 2010 earthquake, the United States and other governments pressured Haiti to hold elections, which were considered illegitimate. When Haiti held a second election round, the U.S. Secretary of State advocated for Michel Martelly, the U.S.-preferred candidate who received fewer votes in the election, to be put on the ballot. Martelly subsequently won in a landslide and endorsed Jovenel Moïse to be his successor.

#### <sup>156</sup> Allegations of U.S. Interference with Haitian Election

Danticat, E. (2015, July 28). The Long Legacy of Occupation in Haiti. *The New Yorker*.  
<https://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/haiti-us-occupation-hundred-year-anniversary>

Grandin, G. (2011, May 4). Martelly: Haiti’s second great disaster. *Al Jazeera*.  
<https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2011/5/4/martelly-haitis-second-great-disaster>

Roy, D. & Labrador, R. C. (2024, March 4). Haiti’s Troubled Path to Development. *Council on Foreign Relations*.  
<https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/haitis-troubled-path-development>  
 There were allegations that the United States interfered with the election.

Moran, K. & Shahshahani, A. (2015, October 13). Haiti: U.S. interference wins elections. *Foreign Policy, The Hill*.  
<https://thehill.com/blogs/congress-blog/foreign-policy/256679-haiti-us-interference-wins-elections/>  
 45 members of Congress warned the State Department against recognizing an illegitimate election in Haiti, but the U.S. government nevertheless largely funded the deeply flawed elections.

Ricardo Seitenfus, a special representative of the OAS to Haiti, was abruptly ousted in 2010. He had criticized the 2010 electoral process in Haiti.

Hamm, T. (2017, April 13). *How Hillary Helped Ruin Haiti*. Daily Beast.  
<https://www.thedailybeast.com/how-hillary-helped-ruin-haiti>  
 The U.S. Secretary of State threatened to cut foreign aid to Haiti if Haitian President Préval did not force his chosen successor, Jude Celestin, to drop out of the race. After Celestin dropped out of the race, the third-place finisher from the first round Michel Martelly was able to participate in the run-off election and defeat Duvalier-exile Mirlande Manigat.

Jacobin. (2024, March 12). *How US “Foreign Aid” Has Helped Destabilize Haiti* [Interview with Jake Johnston].  
<https://jacobin.com/2024/03/us-foreign-aid-destabilize-haiti>



<b>1791–1903</b> U.S. Expansion and the Introduction of the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1904–1946</b> The Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1947–1980</b> The Truman Doctrine and the Containment of Communism	<b>1971–Present</b> Declaration of the “War on Drugs”	<b>1980s–1990s</b> Beyond Containment, the Rolling Back of Communism	<b>1996–Present</b> Enforcement and Externalization of Borders
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#### <sup>157</sup> Advocates Argue Against Deportation of Dozens to Haiti

Wasem, R. E. (2005, January 21). *U.S. Immigration Policy on Haitian Migrants* [Congressional Research Service Order Code RS21349]. Transactional Records Access Clearinghouse. [https://tracfed.syr.edu/tracker/dynadata/2006\\_09/47153.pdf](https://tracfed.syr.edu/tracker/dynadata/2006_09/47153.pdf)

#### <sup>158</sup> Storms Subsequently Devastate Haiti

Earth Observatory. (2016, October 4). *Hurricane Matthew Hits Haiti*. <https://earthobservatory.nasa.gov/images/88870/hurricane-matthew-hits-haiti>

Schreyer, N. (2016, October 7). *Is Hurricane Matthew the New Normal?* Mother Jones. <https://www.motherjones.com/environment/2016/10/hurricanes-floods-climate-change-hurricane-matthew/>

Howe, M. (2016, October 7). *Hurricane Matthew: How are Haiti and Florida coping?* BBC. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-37584632>

#### <sup>159</sup> Haitian Economy Relies on Remittances from Diaspora

Rosalsky, G. (2021, October 5). ‘The Greatest Heist in History’: How Haiti Was Forced To Pay Reparations For Freedom. *Planet Money*, NPR. <https://www.npr.org/sections/money/2021/10/05/1042518732/-the-greatest-heist-in-history-how-haiti-was-forced-to-pay-reparations-for-freed?fbclid=IwAR16rDtOR9utoWsdd63iGfc5S4LXqkuALX14DHGVbhJzERWW9v6Qk4dIqn0>

Fouron, G. E. (2020, August 19). *Haiti’s painful evolution from promised land to migrant-sending nation*. Migration Policy Institute. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/haiti-painful-evolution-promised-land-migrant-sending-nation>

Bojarski, S. (2021, May 14). *Remittances to Haiti surged in 2020 as kidnappings, other crises rose*. *The Haitian Times*. <https://haitiantimes.com/2021/05/14/remittances-to-haiti-surged-in-2020-as-kidnappings-other-crises-rose/>

Plaza, S. (2023, July 20). *Remittances to Latin America still growing*. World Bank Blogs. <https://blogs.worldbank.org/en/peoplemove/remittances-latin-america-still-growing>  
In 2022, Haiti received \$4.5 billion in remittances, which was 22.1 percent of the nation’s GDP.

#### <sup>160</sup> U.S. Government Spends Nearly 60 Times More on Enforcement than on Adjudication of Immigration Claims (2012)

Lastra, P. (2014, August 11). *Who Counts as a Refugee in US Immigration Policy—and Who Doesn’t*. The Nation. <https://www.thenation.com/article/archive/who-counts-refugee-us-immigration-policy-and-who-doesnt/>  
The lack of funding for immigration courts led to a 1.5-year backlog of cases.

Migration Policy Institute. (2013, January 7). *U.S. Spends More on Immigration Enforcement than on FBI, DEA, Secret Service & All Other Federal Criminal Law Enforcement Agencies Combined*. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/news/us-spends-more-immigration-enforcement-fbi-dea-secret-service-all-other-federal-criminal-law#:~:text=WASHINGTON%20%E2%80%94%20The%20U.S.%20government%20spends,FBI%2C%20Drug%20Enforcement%20Administration%2C%20Secret>  
U.S. government expenditures in fiscal year 2012 were 24 percent more than the total spending for the FBI, the Drug Enforcement Administration, the Secret Service, the Marshals Service, and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms, and Explosives.

Costa, D. (2019, June 20). Immigration enforcement is funded at a much higher rate than labor standards enforcement—and the gap is widening. *Working Economics Blog*, *Economic Policy Institute*. <https://www.epi.org/blog/immigration-enforcement-is-funded-at-a-much-higher-rate-than-labor-standards-enforcement-and-the-gap-is-widening/>  
In 2018, the federal government spent 11 times more on immigration enforcement than on enforcing labor standards to protect nearly 150 million workers in 10 million workplaces.

#### <sup>161</sup> 7.4-Magnitude Earthquake Devastates Guatemala (2012)

Swensen, J. (2012, November 17). *Guatemala earthquake of 7.4-magnitude damages more than 10,000 homes*. Church News. <https://www.thechurchnews.com/2012/11/17/23224970/guatemala-earthquake-of-7-4-magnitude-damages-more-than-10-000-homes/>

Jonas, S. (2013, March 27). *Guatemalan Migration in Times of Civil War and Post-War Challenges*. Migration Policy. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/guatemalan-migration-times-civil-war-and-post-war-challenges>

Fwd.us. (2023, November 29). *The Urgent Need for (Re)Designating El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Nepal, and Guatemala for Temporary Protected Status (TPS)*. <https://www.fwd.us/news/the-urgent-need-for-re-designating-el-salvador-honduras-nicaragua-nepal-and-guatemala-for-temporary-protected-status-tps/>

<b>1791–1903</b> U.S. Expansion and the Introduction of the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1904–1946</b> The Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1947–1980</b> The Truman Doctrine and the Containment of Communism	<b>1971–Present</b> Declaration of the “War on Drugs”	<b>1980s–1990s</b> Beyond Containment, the Rolling Back of Communism	<b>1996–Present</b> Enforcement and Externalization of Borders
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## <sup>162</sup> U.S. Political Parties Divided on Explicit Reliance on the Monroe Doctrine Policy (2013)

U.S. Department of State. (2013, November 21). *Remarks on U.S. Policy in the Western Hemisphere* [Transcript of speech by Secretary of State John Kerry to the Organization of American States].

<https://2009-2017.state.gov/secretary/remarks/2013/11/217680.htm>

This source provides the quote, “the era of the Monroe Doctrine is over.”

Long, T. & Schulz, C. (2023, December 16). *The Return of the Monroe Doctrine*. Foreign Policy.

<https://foreignpolicy.com/2023/12/16/monroe-doctrine-united-states-latin-america-foreign-policy-interventionism-china-gop/>

Ellis, E. (2023, December 2). *The Monroe Doctrine, Then and Now*. The Dispatch.

<https://thedispatch.com/article/the-monroe-doctrine-then-and-now/>

Elia Valori, G. (2022, February 2). *The Monroe Doctrine between the United States and Asia*. Modern Diplomacy.

<https://moderndiplomacy.eu/2022/02/02/the-monroe-doctrine-between-the-united-states-and-asia/> The U.S. government’s methods merely became more subtle forms of intervention, such as engaging in information warfare, financing private military, and continuing to sanction Cuba.

*The Economist*. (2019, May 9). John Bolton and the Monroe Doctrine.

<https://www.economist.com/leaders/2019/05/09/john-bolton-and-the-monroe-doctrine>

This source provides the quote, “Monroe Doctrine is alive and well.”

Taylor, A. (2019, March 4). What is the Monroe Doctrine? John Bolton’s justification for Trump’s push against

Maduro. *The Washington Post*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2019/03/04/what-is-monroe-doctrine-john-boltons-justification-trumps-push-against-maduro/>

In 2019, the U.S. national security advisor said, “In this administration, we’re not afraid to use the phrase ‘Monroe Doctrine.’” He continued, “This is a country in our hemisphere; it’s been the objective of presidents going back to Ronald Reagan to have a completely democratic hemisphere,” referring to Venezuela under Nicolás Maduro.

Abbott, J. (2024, January 5). Is This The End Of The Monroe Doctrine?. *The Progressive Magazine*.

<https://progressive.org/latest/is-this-the-end-of-the-monroe-doctrine-abbott-20240105/>

In 2024, Republican primary candidates continued to praise the Monroe Doctrine, while Democratic members of Congress spoke against the doctrine after a 2023 delegation visited South America.

Han, Z. (2023, March 17). *US official visits Honduras ‘to soothe DPP’ out of outdated Monroe Doctrine*. Global

Times. <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/202303/1287493.shtml>

Global Times. (2023, March 20). *US should abandon outdated Monroe Doctrine and respect countries’ independent*

*foreign policy: Chinese FM*. <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/202303/1287627.shtml>

Leiva, D. (2018, February 14). The Monroe Doctrine revival. *The Interpreter, The Lowy Institute*.

<https://www.loyyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/monroe-doctrine-revival>

Modern interpretations of the U.S. invocation of the Monroe Doctrine have included U.S. interference with Latin American nations’ cultivation of relationships with other countries, such as China.

## <sup>163</sup> Children Migration Escalates in 2014 (2014)

Lind, D. (2014, October 10). *The 2014 Central American migrant crisis*. Vox.

<https://www.vox.com/2014/10/10/18088638/child-migrant-crisis-unaccompanied-alien-children-rio-grande-valley-obama-immigration>

Rosenblum, M. R. (2015, April). Unaccompanied Child Migration to the United States: The Tension between

Protection and Prevention. *Transatlantic Council on Migration, Migration Policy Institute*.

<https://www.migrationpolicy.org/sites/default/files/publications/TCM-Protection-UAC.pdf>

Chomsky, N. (2014, July 1). *Noam Chomsky: America’s corporate doctrine of power a grave threat to humanity*.

Salon. [https://www.salon.com/2014/07/01/noam\\_chomsky\\_americas\\_corporate\\_doctrine\\_of\\_power\\_a\\_grave\\_threat\\_to\\_humanity/](https://www.salon.com/2014/07/01/noam_chomsky_americas_corporate_doctrine_of_power_a_grave_threat_to_humanity/)

In 2014, Indigenous Mayans continued to flee from Guatemalan military campaigns with attacks against human rights defenders sharply increasing that year, as the government and private industries—mining, palm, and sugar cane—ousted Indigenous people from their land.

Dick Durbin, United States Senator. (2016, January 22). *Durbin, Leahy, Senators Call On Administration To Halt*

*Deportation Raids & Consider Temporary Protected Status For Vulnerable Families*. <https://www.durbin.senate.gov/newsroom/press-releases/durbin-leahy-senators-call-on-administration-to-halt-deportation-raids-and-consider-temporary-protected-status-for-vulnerable-families>

Between 2008 and 2014, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees reported that there was a 1,185 percent increase in asylum applications from these three nations filed in Belize, Costa Rica, Mexico, Nicaragua, and Panama.

Vine, D. (2021, April 22). *175 Years of Border Invasions: The Anniversary of the U.S. War on Mexico and the*

*Roots of Northward Migration*. Council on Hemispheric Affairs. <https://coha.org/alliance-for-prosperity-plan-in-the-northern-triangle-not-a-likely-final-solution-for-the-central-american-migration-crisis/>

<b>1791–1903</b> U.S. Expansion and the Introduction of the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1904–1946</b> The Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1947–1980</b> The Truman Doctrine and the Containment of Communism	<b>1971–Present</b> Declaration of the “War on Drugs”	<b>1980s–1990s</b> Beyond Containment, the Rolling Back of Communism	<b>1996–Present</b> Enforcement and Externalization of Borders
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Chomsky, A. (2021, July 8). The root cause of Central American migration? The United States. *The Washington Post*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2021/07/08/root-cause-central-american-migration-united-states/>

Goodfriend, H. (2017, June 14). *An Alliance for Insecurity?* NACLA.

<https://nacla.org/news/2017/06/14/alliance-insecurity>

Part of the U.S. response to this was providing congressional funding for a 2014 plan, the Alliance for Prosperity Plan. This was released by El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and the Inter-American Development Bank. It aimed to boost the economies of these nations as well as increase militarized policing to prevent people from emigrating from these countries.

Roy, D. & Cheatham, A. (2023, July 13). *Central America’s Turbulent Northern Triangle*. Council on Foreign

Relations. <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/central-americas-turbulent-northern-triangle>

The outcomes of the Alliance for Prosperity Plan have been disputed.

#### <sup>164</sup> **Central American Minors Refugee and Parole Program (CAM) Provides In-Country Processing for Children** (2014)

U.S. Citizenship and Immigration services. (n.d.). *Central American Minors (CAM) Program*.

<https://www.uscis.gov/CAM>

National Immigration Forum. (2021, March 19). *Fact Sheet: Central American Minors (CAM) Program*.

<https://immigrationforum.org/article/fact-sheet-central-american-minors-cam-program/>

Bruno, A. (2020, October 15). *Immigration Parole* [Congressional Research Service Order Code R46570].

Congressional Research Service. <https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/R/R46570>

International Refugee Assistance Project. (n.d.). *Central American Minors (CAM): Restarting Program for Certain*

*Applicants*. <https://refugeerights.org/news-resources/central-american-minors-cam-restarting-program-for-certain-applicants>

Boroto, G. (2023, April 27). *Expansion of Central American Minors Program Offers New Opportunities for Families*

*to Reunite*. Immigration Impact. <https://immigrationimpact.com/2023/04/27/central-american-minors-program-expansion-offers-families-to-reunite/>

In 2023, the program was expanded for children whose parent or guardian has a pending T visa application for survivors of human trafficking, in addition to those whose parents or guardians have underlying asylum or U visa applications.

#### <sup>165</sup> **U.S. Externalizes the Border Through Mexico’s Southern Border Program (Programa Frontera Sur (PFS))** (2014)

Wilson, C. & Valenzuela, P. (2014, July 11). *Mexico’s Southern Border Strategy: Programa Frontera Sur*. Mexico

Institute, Wilson Center. <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/publication/mexicos-southern-border-strategy-programa-frontera-sur>

Arriola Vega, L. A. (2017, June 23). Policy Adrift: Mexico’s Southern Border Program. Baker Institute for Public

Policy. <https://www.bakerinstitute.org/media/files/files/fa7ac127/MEX-pub-FronteraSur-062317.pdf>

This source provides the quote, “ended up being merely a program to contain in-transit, undocumented migrants, from a security standpoint.”

Holman, J. (2017, February 16). Mexico’s ‘invisible wall’, a migrant double standard. *Al Jazeera*.

<https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2017/2/16/mexicos-invisible-wall-a-migrant-double-standard>

Migrants faced dangers in Veracruz and Tamaulipas, with tens of thousands of people having disappeared.

Isacson, A., Meyer, M., & Smith, H. (2017, June). *Mexico’s Southern Border: Security, Central American Migration,*

*and U.S. Policy*. Washington Office on Latin America. [https://www.wola.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/WOLA-Summary\\_Mexicos-Southern-](https://www.wola.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/WOLA-Summary_Mexicos-Southern-Border-2017.pdf)

[Border-2017.pdf](https://www.wola.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/WOLA-Summary_Mexicos-Southern-Border-2017.pdf)

Bartelt, D. D., Paz Carrasco, M. G., Villatoro González, S., Meyer, M., & Restrepo, D. (2018, December 11). *Mexico’s*

*Southern Wall* [Event video recording]. Center for American Progress. [https://www.americanprogress.org/events/2018/11/26/461416/the-southern-](https://www.americanprogress.org/events/2018/11/26/461416/the-southern-wall/)

[wall/](https://www.americanprogress.org/events/2018/11/26/461416/the-southern-wall/)

Adabala, S. (2020, March 5). *WHAT IS THE NORTHERN TRIANGLE?*. The Borgen Project.

<https://borgenproject.org/what-is-the-northern-triangle/>

The Northern Triangle describes the three contiguous nations of El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras in Central America.

#### <sup>166</sup> **U.S. Resumes Immigrant Family Detention** (2014)

Freedom for Immigrants. (n.d.). *A short history of immigration detention*.

<https://www.freedomforimmigrants.org/detention-timeline>

Sakuma, A. (2015, August 3). *The Failed Experiment of Immigrant Family Detention*. NBC News.

<https://www.nbcnews.com/news/latino/failed-experiment-immigrant-family-detention-n403126>

<b>1791–1903</b> U.S. Expansion and the Introduction of the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1904–1946</b> The Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1947–1980</b> The Truman Doctrine and the Containment of Communism	<b>1971–Present</b> Declaration of the “War on Drugs”	<b>1980s–1990s</b> Beyond Containment, the Rolling Back of Communism	<b>1996–Present</b> Enforcement and Externalization of Borders
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<sup>167</sup> **Berks County Residential Center (2001)**

Sakuma, A. (2015, August 3). *The Failed Experiment of Immigrant Family Detention*. NBC News. <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/latino/failed-experiment-immigrant-family-detention-n403126>

Kight, S. W. (2021, December 15). *Scoop: Biden to stop holding undocumented families in detention centers*. Axios. <https://www.axios.com/2021/12/16/biden-ends-migrant-family-detention-border-immigration>  
The facility was renamed Berks Family Staging Center.

Hall, P. (2021 March 3). Last family released from Berks County immigration detention center. *The Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*. <https://www.post-gazette.com/news/state/2021/03/03/Last-family-released-from-Berks-County-immigration-detention-center-pennsylvania/stories/202103030106>

Benshoff, L. (2022, February 9). *Berks Co. immigrant detention center reopens as women-only facility*. WHYY, PBS. <https://whyy.org/articles/berks-co-immigrant-detention-center-reopens-as-women-only-facility/>

<sup>168</sup> **Karnes County Residential Center (2012)**

Sakuma, A. (2015, August 3). *The Failed Experiment of Immigrant Family Detention*. NBC News. <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/latino/failed-experiment-immigrant-family-detention-n403126>

Kight, S. W. (2021, December 15). *Scoop: Biden to stop holding undocumented families in detention centers*. Axios. <https://www.axios.com/2021/12/16/biden-ends-migrant-family-detention-border-immigration>  
Karnes County Residential Center was renamed Karnes County Staging Center.

Martinez, F. & Schwellenbach, N. (2023, August 21). *DHS’s Secret Reports on ICE Detention*. Project on Government Oversight. <https://www.pogo.org/investigations/dhss-secret-reports-on-ice-detention>  
ICE failed to provide sufficient language access for medical services at Karnes in 2014, 2015, and again in 2016. The GEO Group-run facility did not comply with ICE’s sexual assault prevention standards.

Sacchetti, M & The Washington Post. (2019, September 22). *ICE to resume detaining migrant families at South Texas facility*. The Texas Tribune. <https://www.texastribune.org/2019/09/22/ice-karnes-migrant-detention-facility/>

Foster-Frau, S. (2019, September 23). *Karnes detention center to start holding immigrant families again*. My San Antonio. <https://www.mysanantonio.com/news/local/article/Karnes-detention-center-to-start-holding-14461644.php>

Echavarri, F. (2021, February 25). Two Controversial Detention Centers Will Reportedly Stop Holding Families Long Term. *MojoWire, Mother Jones*. <https://www.motherjones.com/mojo-wire/2021/02/immigration-family-detention-centers-change-dilley-karnes/>

<sup>169</sup> **South Texas Family Residential Center (2014)**

Echavarri, F. (2021, February 25). Two Controversial Detention Centers Will Reportedly Stop Holding Families Long Term. *MojoWire, Mother Jones*. <https://www.motherjones.com/mojo-wire/2021/02/immigration-family-detention-centers-change-dilley-karnes/>

Washington, J. (2015, July 6). *The U.S. Is Locking Up Immigrant Children in Private Prisons Under Inhumane Conditions. In These Times*. <https://inthesetimes.com/article/locking-up-immigrant-kids>  
Bond prices to exit Dilley while awaiting asylum hearings ranged from \$1,500-\$12,000. One woman with a four-year-old son attempted suicide. Though she survived, she was deported four days later.

Kight, S. W. (2021, December 15). *Scoop: Biden to stop holding undocumented families in detention centers*. Axios. <https://www.axios.com/2021/12/16/biden-ends-migrant-family-detention-border-immigration>

<sup>170</sup> **Haitian Family Reunification Parole Program (HFRP) Facilitates Family Reunification (2014)**

U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services. (n.d.). *The Haitian Family Reunification Parole (HFRP) Program*. <https://www.uscis.gov/humanitarian/humanitarian-parole/the-haitian-family-reunification-parole-hfrp-program>

American Immigration Council. (2024, April 8). *The Use of Parole Under Immigration Law*. <https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/research/use-parole-under-immigration-law>

Cruz, M. (2021, October 15). *USCIS Brings Back Family Reunification Programs for Haitians and Filipino Veterans*. Immigration Impact. <https://immigrationimpact.com/2021/10/15/family-reunification-programs-haitians-filipino-veterans/#.YYk-q2DMK4Q>

Valverde, H. (2021, October 22). *USCIS REINSTATES FAMILY REUNIFICATION PROGRAMS FOR FILIPINO VETERANS AND HAITIANS*. Valverde Law PLLC. <https://www.valverdelaw.com/uscis-reinstates-family-reunification-programs-for-filipino-veterans-and-haitians>

U.S. Department of Homeland Security. (2022, June 9). *Fact Sheet: DHS Resumes Cuban Family Reunification Parole (CFRP) Program and Haitian Family Reunification Parole (HFRP) Program Operations*. <https://www.dhs.gov/news/2022/06/09/fact-sheet-dhs-resumes-cuban-family-reunification-parole-cfrp-program-and-haitian>



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<sup>171</sup> **U.S. Removes Cuba from Terrorism List (2015)**

Council on Foreign Relations. (n.d.). *1959–2023: U.S.-Cuba Relations*.  
<https://www.cfr.org/timeline/us-cuba-relations>

Cuban Research Institute. (n.d.). *Chronology of U.S.-Cuba Relations*. Florida International University.  
<https://cri.fiu.edu/us-cuba/chronology-of-us-cuba-relations/>

Chappell, B. (2021, January 11). *U.S. Puts Cuba Back On List Of State Sponsors of Terrorism*. NPR.  
<https://www.npr.org/2021/01/11/955641839/u-s-puts-cuba-back-on-list-of-state-sponsors-of-terrorism>

<sup>172</sup> **U.S. Customs and Border Protection Turns Back Asylum Seekers (2016)**

American Immigration Council. (2021, March 8). *Metering and Asylum Turnbacks*.  
<https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/research/metering-and-asylum-turnbacks>  
*See also* the PDF of this source. Asylum turnbacks started in 2016 when a number of Haitians started entering via San Diego. After a brief decline, Trump brought the program back in full force in April 2018 at all ports of entry.

<sup>173</sup> **Cuban Immigrants No Longer Able Enter United States Without a Visa (2017)**

British Broadcasting Corporation. (2017, January 13). US visa-free residency for Cubans ends. BBC.  
<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-38605338>  
The “wet foot, dry foot” policy only applied to Cubans, which permitted tens of thousands to enter the United States, until the program ended in 2017.

<sup>174</sup> **Federal Penalties for Sanctuary Policies (2017)**

McDaniel, J. (2017, February 21). *The Sanctuary Movement, Then and Now*. Religion & Politics.  
<https://religionandpolitics.org/2017/02/21/the-sanctuary-movement-then-and-now/>

Murda, K. (2021, May 4). *Biden Moves to End Trump’s War on ‘Sanctuary Cities.’* Immigration Impact.  
<https://immigrationimpact.com/2021/05/04/biden-sanctuary-city-policy/#.YZZ1mDMK4Q>

Winger, E. (2020, February 10). *Trump Bars New Yorkers From Traveler Programs Over State’s Refusal to Cooperate With ICE*. Immigration Impact. <https://immigrationimpact.com/2020/02/10/new-york-traveler-programs-ice/#.YJCKH7VKi70>  
The Department of Homeland Security barred New Yorkers from enrolling in Global Entry, NEXUS, Sentri, and FAST programs.

Lee, J. C., Omri, R., & Preston, J. (2017, February 6). What Are Sanctuary Cities?. *The New York Times*.  
[https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2016/09/02/us/sanctuary-cities.html?\\_r=0](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2016/09/02/us/sanctuary-cities.html?_r=0)

<sup>175</sup> **U.S. Government Reinstates of Cuba-Related Travel and Business Restrictions (2017)**

Council on Foreign Relations. (n.d.). *1959–2023: U.S.-Cuba Relations*.  
<https://www.cfr.org/timeline/us-cuba-relations>

Chisti, M. & Bolter, J. (2022, May 25). *Rise in Maritime Migration to the United States Is a Reminder of Chapters Past*. Migration Policy Institute. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/maritime-migration-united-states-rise>

Nodarse Venancio, M. & Oliver, I. (2022, March 25). *Cuban Migration is Changing, the U.S. Must Take Note*. Washington Office on Latin America. <https://www.wola.org/analysis/cuban-migration-is-changing-us-must-note/>  
The embassy closure impacted tens of thousands of Cubans who were waiting for their visas to be processed.

Richardson, D. (2019, April 17). John Bolton Reaffirms America’s Commitment to the Monroe Doctrine With New Sanctions. Observer. <https://observer.com/2019/04/john-bolton-monroe-doctrine-sanctions-venezuela-nicaragua-cuba/amp/>  
The U.S. government announced new sanctions against Venezuela, Cuba, and Nicaragua in 2019 and referred to their leaders—Nicolás Maduro, Miguel Díaz-Canel, and Daniel Ortega, respectively—as the “troika of tyranny.”

<sup>176</sup> **U.S. Government Terminates Temporary Protected Status (2018)**

Woodhouse, L. A. (2018, June 28). *Trump’s “Shithole Countries” Remark is at the Center of Lawsuit to Reinstate Protections for Immigrants*. The Intercept.  
<https://theintercept.com/2018/06/28/trump-tps-shithole-countries-lawsuit/>

Jordan, M. (2018, January 8). Trump Administration Says That Nearly 200,000 Salvadorans Must Leave. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/01/08/us/salvadorans-tps-end.html#:~:text=LOS%20ANGELES%20%E2%80%94%20Nearly%20200%2C000%20people,the%20most%20consequential%20to%20date>  
At this time, 200,000 Salvadorans had TPS, and 45,000 Haitians had Temporary Protected Status. The Salvadoran TPS beneficiaries lived in the United States for more than 10 years. In 2016, remittances from the Salvadoran diaspora comprised 17 percent of the Salvadoran economy.

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- Lind, D. (2018, May 4). *Trump tells 57,000 Hondurans who’ve lived in the US for 20 years to get out*. Vox. <https://www.vox.com/2018/5/4/17320352/tps-honduras-cancel-trump-temporary-protected-status>
- Library of Congress. (n.d.). *1990: Temporary Protection Status (TPS)*. <https://guides.loc.gov/latinx-civil-rights/tps>  
TPS holders and their children from El Salvador, Nicaragua, Haiti, Sudan, Nepal, and Nicaragua filed class action suits in 2018 and 2019 against DHS for terminating those TPS designations without public notice.
- Moslimani, M. (2024, March 29). *How Temporary Protected Status has expanded under the Biden administration*. Pew Research Center. <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2021/10/28/biden-administration-widens-scope-of-temporary-protected-status-for-immigrants/>
- Associated Press. (2023, May 4). *250 evacuated as Volcano of Fire erupts in Guatemala*. <https://apnews.com/article/guatemala-volcano-of-fire-evacuations-eruption-b22fdf6c05426e3cef922d15b9cc5714>
- Giaritelli, A. (2018, July 8). No sign on how DHS plans to handle Guatemala’s TPS request. *Washington Examiner*. <https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/news/1520453/no-sign-on-how-dhs-plans-to-handle-guatemalas-tps-request/>  
After Volcán de Fuego erupted and affected 100,000 people, the Guatemalan president again requested TPS for Guatemalan nationals, but was denied.
- Executive Office of Immigration Review. (n.d.). *Temporary Protected Status (TPS)*. U.S. Department of Justice. <https://www.justice.gov/eoir/temporary-protected-status>
- Castillo, A. & Aleaziz, H. (2022, October 26). As temporary protected status settlement talks stall, more than 250,000 risk deportation. *Los Angeles Times*. <https://www.latimes.com/politics/story/2022-10-26/settlement-talks-fail-in-tps-lawsuit-leaving-hundreds-of-thousands-vulnerable-to-deportation>  
Since the termination of TPS for these countries, TPS holders have been embroiled in litigation with DHS. DHS consequently has continued to protect TPS holders pending resolution of their cases.
- National Immigration Forum. (2023, October 3). *Fact Sheet: Temporary Protected Status (TPS)*. <https://immigrationforum.org/article/fact-sheet-temporary-protected-status/>  
Some of the cases against the termination of TPS were still being litigated as of the end of 2023.
- Castellanos-Canales, A. (2023, February 9). *The Reasons Behind the Increased Migration from Venezuela, Cuba, and Nicaragua*. National Immigration Forum. <https://immigrationforum.org/article/the-reasons-behind-the-increased-migration-from-venezuela-cuba-and-nicaragua/>  
The United States, along with nearly 60 other countries, recognized Juan Guaidó as the interim leader of Venezuela after the 2018 election. The incumbent Venezuelan President Nicolás Maduro refused to relinquish power, and the U.S. government subsequently imposed an embargo on the country in 2019.
- ACLU SoCal Communications & Media Advocacy. (2023, June 13). *TPS HOLDERS AND LAWYERS RESPOND TO DHS ANNOUNCEMENT RESCINDING TRUMP TPS TERMINATIONS*. American Civil Liberties Union Southern California. <https://www.aclusocal.org/en/press-releases/tps-holders-and-lawyers-respond-dhs-announcement-rescinding-trump-tps-terminations>  
Trump rescinded TPS for these El Salvador, Haiti, Nicaragua, Sudan and later for Nepal and Honduras in 2017 and 2018.
- <sup>177</sup> **Deaths of Indigenous Migrants on the Rise in U.S. Detention Facilities** (2018)
- Rahman, A. (2019, June 8). *The sordid history of US intervention in Guatemala*. Peoples Dispatch. <https://peoplesdispatch.org/2019/06/08/the-sordid-history-of-us-intervention-in-guatemala/>
- Walker, J. L. & Foley, C. (n.d.). *Violence Against Indigenous Women Migrating to the United States*. National Indigenous Women’s Resource Center. <https://www.niwr.org/restoration-magazine/october-2021/violence-against-indigenous-women-migrating-united-states-o>
- Vera, A. (2019, March 30). *Autopsy determines 7-year-old Guatemalan girl died from sepsis while in US custody*. CNN. <https://www.cnn.com/2019/03/29/us/guatemala-jakelin-caal-maquin-autopsy/index.html>
- Silva, D. (2019, May 22). *Migrant boy who died in U.S. custody wanted to help brother with special needs, family says*. NBC News. <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/latino/migrant-boy-who-died-u-s-custody-wanted-help-brother-n1008826>
- Moore, R., Schmidt, S., & Jameel, M. (2019, December 5). *Inside the Cell Where a Sick 16-Year-Old Boy Died in Border Patrol Care*. ProPublica. <https://www.propublica.org/article/inside-the-cell-where-a-sick-16-year-old-boy-died-in-border-patrol-care>
- American Immigration Lawyers Association. (2023, September 5). *Deaths in CBP Custody* [AILA Doc. No. 21032932]. <https://www.aila.org/infonet/deaths-in-cbp-custody>  
This lists death announcements of migrants while in the custody of CBP.
- Lind, D. (2019, May 22). *The crisis of children dying in custody at the border, explained*. Vox. <https://www.vox.com/2019/5/22/18632936/child-died-border-toddler-patrol-three-five>

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Hamilton, K. (2019, July 8). *Five Indigenous Children Have Died at Border Patrol Since December 2018*. Cultural Survival. <https://www.culturalsurvival.org/news/five-indigenous-children-have-died-border-patrol-december-2018>

Lakhani, N. (2019, May 22). ‘I want justice’: a year on, family of Guatemalan woman shot dead in Texas wait for answers. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2019/may/22/guatemala-woman-claudia-gomez-texas-border-agents>

#### <sup>178</sup> Nations Split Over Recognition of Venezuela’s Leadership (2019)

Buschschlüter, V. (2024, January 31). *Venezuela crisis in brief*. BBC. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-48121148>

Buschschlüter, V. (2024, January 30). *US threatens to reimpose sanctions on Venezuelan oil sector*. BBC. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-68139518>  
The U.S. government imposed oil sanctions on Venezuela after Maduro was sworn in for a second term in 2019.

Buschschlüter, V. (2024, January 31). *Venezuela crisis in brief*. BBC. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-48121148>

Jones, S. & Wintour, P. (2019, February 4). EU countries recognise Juan Guaidó as interim Venezuelan leader. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/feb/04/juan-guaido-interim-venezuela-leader-europe>

Reuters. (2021, January 25). *EU states no longer recognise Guaido as Venezuela’s interim president*. <https://www.reuters.com/article/idUSKBN29U1A2/>  
By 2021, 27 nations no longer recognized Guaidó as interim president after he lost his position as the head of parliament in December 2020.

#### <sup>179</sup> Migrant Protection Protocol Turns Away Asylum Seekers (2019)

American Immigration Council. (2024, February 1). *The “Migrant Protection Protocols.”* <https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/research/migrant-protection-protocols>

Ainsley, J. (2021, October 15). *Biden administration plans to restart Trump’s ‘Remain in Mexico’ policy at border in mid-November*. NBC News. <https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/immigration/biden-admin-plans-restart-trump-s-remain-mexico-policy-border-n1281580>

Constantino, A. K. (2021, December 2). White House reaches deal to reinstate Trump-era ‘Remain-in-Mexico’ asylum policy after court order. CNBC. <https://www.cnbc.com/2021/12/02/white-house-reaches-deal-to-reinstate-trump-era-remain-in-mexico-asylum-policy.html>  
This lists 1,500+ documented cases of rape, kidnapping, assault, and other crimes committed against individuals sent back to Mexico under MPP through February 2021. Several people, including at least one child, died after being sent back to Mexico under the policy.

Baddour, D. (2020, February 12). A refugee camp grows on the US-Mexico border. *Al Jazeera*. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2020/2/12/a-refugee-camp-grows-on-the-us-mexico-border>  
This describes the encampment in Matamoros, Mexico, which had 2000-3000 migrants and asylum seekers in 2020.

Baddour, D. (2021, December 3). In Mexico border camps, families ‘wait for US doors to open.’ *Al Jazeera*. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/12/3/in-mexico-border-camps-families-wait-for-us-doors-to-open> This describes the camp in Reynosa, Mexico, which has nearly 1 million people.

*Al Jazeera*. (2021, November 11). At US-Mexico border, asylum seekers maintain hope amid hardships. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/11/11/us-mexico-border-asylum-seekers-maintain-hope-amid-hardships>  
40 percent of the migrants at El Chaparral, a migrant camp with nearly 770 people in Tijuana, Mexico, are minors, and some of those children are US-born.

Isacson, A. (2021, September 10). *Weekly U.S.-Mexico Border Update: Mexico Solidifies Role as Bulwark Against U.S.-Bound Migration*. Washington Office on Latin America. <https://www.wola.org/2021/09/weekly-border-update-mexico-solidifies-role-as-bulwark-against-bound-migration/>

National Immigrant Justice Center. (n.d.). *Pushing Back Protection: How Offshoring and Externalization Imperil the Right to Asylum* [Chapter 4: Laying the Foundation Of U.S. Offshoring: From Angel Island to Guantánamo Bay]. [https://immigrantjustice.org/press-releases/niic-condemns-biden-administration-expanding-and-reinstating-dangerous-and-inhumane?utm\\_source=suppnewsletter\\_dec21&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_content=textlink&eType=EmailBlastContent&eld=49521756-4fb8-4505-b8bc-b87dac5400bb](https://immigrantjustice.org/press-releases/niic-condemns-biden-administration-expanding-and-reinstating-dangerous-and-inhumane?utm_source=suppnewsletter_dec21&utm_medium=email&utm_content=textlink&eType=EmailBlastContent&eld=49521756-4fb8-4505-b8bc-b87dac5400bb)

Yilek, C. (2024, January 3). House Speaker Mike Johnson urges Biden to use executive action at the southern border. CBS News. <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/mike-johnson-us-border-migrants-remain-in-mexico/>  
The federal government ended MPP in 2021, yet months of litigation led courts to order the reinstatement of the program. The Supreme Court finally ruled in 2022 that the president had the authority to end the program.

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- Sullivan, E. & Lopez, O. (2021, December 12). Mexico to Allow U.S. ‘Remain in Mexico’ Asylum Policy to Resume. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/02/us/politics/asylum-seekers-immigration-mexico-usa.html?referringSource=articleShare>  
Mexico reluctantly agreed to restart the program after the United States agreed to provide vaccines for migrants, limit immigration proceedings to six months for asylum applicants, and improve access to counsel for migrants who fear persecution in Mexico. Unaccompanied minors and other vulnerable asylum seekers would not be included in the program. Immigration proceedings for asylum applicants under the Biden administration lasted years and merely 1.6 percent of applicants to-date have received asylum approval.
- Garcia, A. & Owen, Q. (2023, February 7). *Mexico rejects any effort to reinstate ‘remain in Mexico’ policy for asylum-seekers*. ABC News. <https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/mexico-rejects-effort-reinstate-remain-mexico-policy-asylum/story?id=96939554>  
In early 2023, Mexico flat-out refused the third time the U.S. wanted to implement the “Remain in Mexico” policy.
- National Immigrant Justice Center. (n.d.). *Pushing Back Protection: How Offshoring and Externalization Imperil the Right to Asylum* [Chapter 4: Laying the Foundation Of U.S. Offshoring: From Angel Island to Guantánamo Bay]. [https://immigrantjustice.org/press-releases/nijc-condemns-biden-administration-expanding-and-reinstating-dangerous-and-inhumane?utm\\_source=suppnewsletter\\_dec21&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_content=textlink&eType=EmailBlastContent&eld=49521756-4fb8-4505-b8bc-b87dac5400bb](https://immigrantjustice.org/press-releases/nijc-condemns-biden-administration-expanding-and-reinstating-dangerous-and-inhumane?utm_source=suppnewsletter_dec21&utm_medium=email&utm_content=textlink&eType=EmailBlastContent&eld=49521756-4fb8-4505-b8bc-b87dac5400bb)  
The U.S. government also expanded, for the first time, the nationalities subject to returns to Mexico, including Haitians, Brazilians, and others from the Western Hemisphere.
- Sullivan, E. & Lopez, O. (2021, December 12). Mexico to Allow U.S. ‘Remain in Mexico’ Asylum Policy to Resume. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/02/us/politics/asylum-seekers-immigration-mexico-usa.html?referringSource=articleShare>  
MPP applied to migrants whom the U.S. government was unable to expel under Title 42. Title 42 was a public health rule that the U.S. federal government used to expel migrant arrivals during the COVID-19 pandemic. Brazil, Cuba, Nicaragua, and Venezuela were nations that typically did not repatriate their citizens.
- Mathur, S. (2023, March 24). *Where the ‘Migrant Protection Protocols’ Stand, Four Years After Going Into Effect*. Immigration Impact. <https://immigrationimpact.com/2023/03/24/where-the-migrant-protection-protocols-stand-four-years/>  
U.S. President Joe Biden announced the end of MPP a second time in August 2022, but a federal court in December stopped the termination of the program. Plaintiffs in another federal class action suit, *Immigrant Defenders Law Center v. Mayorkas*, asked the court to declare MPP unlawful and to permit the migrants waiting in Mexico to apply for asylum.
- <sup>180</sup> **U.S. Government Pressures Mexico to Stop Flow of Migrants** (2019)
- McDonnell, P. J. (2021, September 17). Tens of thousands of Haitian migrants are trapped in southern Mexico. *Los Angeles Times*. <https://www.latimes.com/world-nation/story/2021-09-17/tapachula-mexico-dead-end-for-haitians-and-other-u-s-bound-migrants>
- Jonas, S. (2013, March 27). *Guatemalan Migration in Times of Civil War and Post-War Challenges*. Migration Policy. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/guatemalan-migration-times-civil-war-and-post-war-challenges>  
In the 1990s through the early 2000s, Mexico deported to Guatemala all Central Americans it apprehended as they crossed into Mexico’s southern border.
- Yates, C. & Bolter, J. (2021, October). *African Migration through the Americas: Drivers, Routes, and Policy Responses*. Migration Policy Institute. [https://www.migrationpolicy.org/sites/default/files/publications/mpi-african-migration-americas-eng\\_final.pdf](https://www.migrationpolicy.org/sites/default/files/publications/mpi-african-migration-americas-eng_final.pdf)
- McDonnell, P. (2017, September 17). Tens of thousands of Haitian migrants are trapped in southern Mexico. *Los Angeles Times*. <https://www.latimes.com/world-nation/story/2021-09-17/tapachula-mexico-dead-end-for-haitians-and-other-u-s-bound-migrants>
- Sample, K. (2019, August 3). Overflowing Toilets, Bedbugs and High Heat: Inside Mexico’s Migrant Detention Centers. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/08/03/world/americas/mexico-migration-conditions.html>
- McDonnell, P. (2017, September 17). Tens of thousands of Haitian migrants are trapped in southern Mexico. *Los Angeles Times*. <https://www.latimes.com/world-nation/story/2021-09-17/tapachula-mexico-dead-end-for-haitians-and-other-u-s-bound-migrants>
- Narea, N. (2021, July 29). *Biden is turning back Haitian migrants at sea, echoing a shameful chapter in US history*. Vox. <https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2021/7/29/22589316/biden-haiti-migrant-boat-guantanamo>  
Australia and Europe are starting to model their interdiction practices after that of the United States, externalizing their borders.
- Frelick, B., Kysel, I. M., & Podkul, J. *The Impact of Externalization of Migration Controls on the Rights of Asylum Seekers and Other Migrants*. Human Rights Watch. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2016/12/06/impact-externalization-migration-controls-rights-asylum-seekers-and-other-migrants#>  
Externalization of borders is framed as a security imperative or a life-saving humanitarian endeavor rather than merely as a strategy of migration containment and control. There have been increased use of unilateral, bilateral, and multilateral agreements between states under the guise of building capacity in transition countries.



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Montoya-Galvez, C. & Gómez, F. (2021, November 18). *U.S. officials say border policy won't be focus of talks with Mexico at three-way summit, despite lingering issues*. CBS News. <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/three-way-summit-border-issues-biden-trudeau-andres-manuel-lopez-obrado/>  
In August and September 2021, Mexican immigration officials' apprehensions sharply increased.

Human Rights Watch. (2021, September 8). *Mexico: Mass Expulsion of Asylum Seekers to Guatemala*. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2021/09/08/mexico-mass-expulsion-asylum-seekers-guatemala>  
The U.S. government flew migrants from the United States and northern Mexico to southern Mexico, and Mexican immigration agents. The National Guard transported them by bus to the Mexico-Guatemala border and forced them to walk across.

National Immigrant Justice Center. (n.d.). *Pushing Back Protection: How Offshoring and Externalization Imperil the Right to Asylum* [Chapter 4: Laying the Foundation Of U.S. Offshoring: From Angel Island to Guantánamo Bay]. [https://immigrantjustice.org/sites/default/files/content-type/research-item/documents/2021-11/Offshoring%20Asylum%20Report\\_Chapter4%20%281%29.pdf](https://immigrantjustice.org/sites/default/files/content-type/research-item/documents/2021-11/Offshoring%20Asylum%20Report_Chapter4%20%281%29.pdf)  
The Department of Homeland Security provided Panama significant support for their migration enforcement operations, and the latter detained foreign national asylum seekers, including 2,000 Haitians in Darién Province, Panama, as of 2020.

Ainsley, J. & Atkins, C. (2024, May 15). *Mexico is stopping nearly three times as many migrants now, helping keep U.S. border crossings down*. NBC News. <https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/immigration/mexico-stopping-three-times-as-many-migrants-as-last-year-rcna146821>  
In early 2023, Mexico interdicted 100,000 migrants per month while the United States encountered more than 193,000 monthly. In March 2024 alone, Mexico interdicted more than 280,000 migrants while the United States encountered 189,000.

#### <sup>181</sup> **Shift in Demographics of Apprehended Irregular Migrants** (2019)

Capps, R., Meissner, D., Ruiz Soto, A. G., Bolter, J., & Pierce, S. (2019, August). *From Control to Crisis: Changing Trends and Policies Reshaping U.S.-Mexico Border Enforcement*. Migration Policy Institute. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/sites/default/files/publications/BorderSecurity-ControltoCrisis-Report-Final.pdf>

USAGov. (n.d.). *The federal budget process*. <https://www.usa.gov/federal-budget-process#:~:text=The%20federal%20government's%20fiscal%20year,September%2030%20of%20the%20next>  
The end of the federal fiscal year 2008 was September 30, 2008, and the end of the fiscal year for 2019 was September 30, 2019.

Gonzalez, D. (2019, December 16). A dangerous red flower is driving record numbers of migrants to flee Guatemala. *USA Today*. <https://www.usatoday.com/in-depth/news/nation/2019/09/23/immigration-issues-migrants-mexico-central-america-caravans-smuggling/2026039001/>  
Mexican drug operations pressured Indigenous farmers in the highlands of Guatemala to cultivate poppies, which is used to make heroin. The U.S. government pressured Guatemala to destroy poppy fields, including providing financial support to the Guatemalan government. In 2018, eradication efforts destroyed 31 million poppy plants in a single month—a value of \$105 million.

Romero, S. (2024, April 28). How Fentanyl Laid Waste to Guatemala's Time-Worn Opium Trade. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/04/28/world/americas/guatemala-fentanyl-opium-poppy.html>  
Guatemala eradicated more than 2000 acres of poppy fields in 2017. The demand for poppies also dropped significantly due to how cheaply Mexican drug operations can produce fentanyl. The loss of revenue disproportionately impacted Indigenous Mayan farmers and their families.

Chishti, M. & Pierce, S. (2021, April 1). *Border Déjà Vu: Biden Confronts Similar Challenges as His Predecessors*. Migration Policy Institute. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/border-deja-vu-biden-challenges>

Flemion, P. F. & Schultze-Kraft, M. (2024, April 30). History of El Salvador. In the Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica (Ed.), *Britannica*. Retrieved July 4, 2024, from <https://www.britannica.com/topic/history-of-El-Salvador>  
In 2012, Catholic clerics successfully mediated a truce between the gangs in El Salvador, which dramatically reduced violent crime and the homicide rate. However, the truce collapsed in 2013, and violence surged, driving large numbers of Salvadoran youth to flee in 2014.

Adabala, S. (2020, March 5). *WHAT IS THE NORTHERN TRIANGLE?*. The Borgen Project. <https://borgenproject.org/what-is-the-northern-triangle/>  
The Northern Triangle describes the three contiguous nations of El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras in Central America.

#### <sup>182</sup> **United States Turns Away Hundreds of Families Through Asylum Cooperative Agreements** (2019)

Human Rights Watch. (2020, May 19). *Deportation with a Layover: Failure of Protection under the US-Guatemala Asylum Cooperative Agreement*. <https://www.hrw.org/report/2020/05/19/deportation-layover/failure-protection-under-us-guatemala-asylum-cooperative>

Reichlin-Melnick, A. (2021, February 8). *Biden Administration Ends 'Safe Third Country' Agreements*. Immigration Impact. <https://immigrationimpact.com/2021/02/08/safe-third-country-agreement-biden/#.YWjtXrMJdg>

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- Navarro, F. (2023, April). *Far from Safety: Dangers and Limits to Protection for Asylum Seekers Transiting through Latin America*. Center for Gender and Refugee Studies. [https://cgrs.uclawsf.edu/sites/default/files/Transit%20Countries%20Report\\_4.21.23\\_FINAL.pdf](https://cgrs.uclawsf.edu/sites/default/files/Transit%20Countries%20Report_4.21.23_FINAL.pdf)  
See pages 3, 11, and 12. U.S. and international law requires “access to full and fair asylum proceedings; ensuring the country does not pose a risk to the life or freedom of asylum seekers based on their race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion; and entering in into a formal agreement with the United States.” Guatemala and El Salvador fail to meet the requirements to be considered safe third countries under U.S. and international law.
- Refugees International. (2021, July 9). *Biden Administration: Redress ACA’s Wrongful Return of Asylum Seekers to Guatemala*. <https://www.refugeesinternational.org/advocacy-letters/biden-administration-redress-acas-wrongful-return-of-asylum-seekers-to-guatemala/>
- <sup>183</sup> **U.S.-Backed Coup Deposed Indigenous Bolivian President** (2019)
- Weisbrot, M. (2020, September 18). Silence reigns on the US-backed coup against Evo Morales in Bolivia. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2020/sep/18/silence-us-backed-coup-evo-morales-bolivia-american-states>
- Democracy Now. *The Monroe Doctrine, Revisited: How 200 Years of U.S. Policy Have Helped to Destabilize the Americas* [Interview transcript]. [https://www.democracynow.org/2023/4/27/monroe\\_doctrine](https://www.democracynow.org/2023/4/27/monroe_doctrine)
- Boguslaw, D. (2022, October 12). *Biden State Department Embraces Flawed Logic for Bolivian Coup in Leaked Report*. The Intercept. <https://theintercept.com/2022/10/12/bolivia-election-coup-oas-congress/>  
The U.S. government under Joe Biden has continued to support electoral fraud claims of the Bolivian election that paved the way for a right-wing coup in 2019, but a 2020 MIT analysis demonstrated that that there was not a statistically significant difference between the vote counts.
- Hill, L., Carballo, N., Fischer, K., Kime, K., Baird, S., Thorne, C., & Russell, C. *Title 42, Asylum Seekers, and American Public Health in 2024 Election*. Think Global Health. <https://www.thinkglobalhealth.org/article/title-42-asylum-seekers-and-american-public-health-2024-election>  
There is no evidence that asylum seekers and asylees that carry infectious diseases at rates different than residents in the United States.
- <sup>184</sup> **U.S. Enacts Emergency Health Order Title 42 to Expel Migrants** (2020)
- Long, C. (2023, May 12). *Title 42 has ended. Here’s what it did, and how US immigration policy is changing*. Associated Press. <https://apnews.com/article/immigration-biden-border-title-42-mexico-asylum-be4e0b15b2adb9bede87b9bbefb798d>
- The New York Times*. (2023, March 10). Coronavirus World Map: Tracking the Global Outbreak. <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/world/covid-cases.html>  
The United States and Canada had the highest infection rate again from the end of June to August 2020 and alternated with Europe for the highest or second highest infection rate from October 2020 to April 2021 and from July 2021 through March 2023.
- Isacson, A. (2023, May 9). *10 Things to Know About the End of Title 42*. Washington Office on Latin America. <https://www.wola.org/analysis/end-title-42/>  
There were three previous attempts to end Title 42: in 2021 and twice in 2022.
- <sup>185</sup> **Hurricanes Eta and Iota Devastate Indigenous Communities in Honduras, Nicaragua, and Guatemala** (2020)
- International Federation of Red Cross And Red Crescent Societies. (2022, December 6). *Central America: Hurricanes Eta & Iota - Final Report (MDR43007)*. Reliefweb. <https://reliefweb.int/report/guatemala/central-america-hurricanes-eta-iota-final-report-mdr43007>  
Iota affected nearly 5 million people in Honduras alone, with more than one million evacuated and 1,000 destroyed homes.
- Cuffe, S. (2021, November 16). *Hurricane Eta Devastates Central America as U.S. Withdraws from Climate Accord*. The Intercept. <https://theintercept.com/2020/11/16/hurricane-eta-central-america/>  
Indigenous communities were impacted by the storm in addition to ongoing violence, harmful mining industries, and other harms that disproportionately affected their territories.
- Ernst, J. (2021, November 15). Scientists link record-breaking hurricane season to climate crisis. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2020/nov/15/scientists-link-record-breaking-hurricane-season-to-climate-crisis>  
Hurricane Eta impacted more than 2.5 million people, including 1.7 million Hondurans.
- EFE & Havana Times. (2023, October 27). *Central America Now “More Vulnerable”, 25 Years after Mitch*. Philanthropy News Digest. <https://philanthropynewsdigest.org/news/other-sources/article/?id=14071906&title=Central-America-Now-%E2%80%9CMore-Vulnerable%E2%80%9D,-25-Years-after-Mitch>  
Both Eta and Iota impacted more than 7 million, including 4 million Hondurans, Nicaraguans, and Guatemalans.
- Narea, N. (2021, March 22). *Migrants are heading north because Central America never recovered from last year’s hurricanes*. Vox. <https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2021/3/22/22335816/border-crisis-migrant-hurricane-eta-iota>

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World Food Program USA. (n.d.). *The Dry Corridor in Central America*. UN WFP

<https://www.wfpusa.org/countries/dry-corridor/>

The region of El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras is called the “Dry Corridor,” which is vulnerable to extreme climate events. 3.5 million people in the region faced food insecurity since 2010 due to droughts. Extreme weather events, together with COVID-19, and the resulting economic impact have led to a food crisis in the region.

Fwd.us. (2023, November 29). *The Urgent Need for (Re)Designating El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Nepal, and Guatemala for Temporary Protected Status (TPS)*. <https://www.fwd.us/news/the-urgent-need-for-redesignating-el-salvador-honduras-nicaragua-nepal-and-guatemala-for-temporary-protected-status-tps/>

Ida, T. (2021, June 18). *Climate refugees – the world’s forgotten victims*. World Economic Forum.

<https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2021/06/climate-refugees-the-world-s-forgotten-victims/>

Lakhani, N. (2024, February 29). People displaced by climate crisis to testify in first-of-its-kind hearing in US. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2024/feb/29/hearing-forced-migration-climate-change-us-central-america>

While the majority of nations in Central America have nominally contributed to climate change, the mix of geography, economic and political instability, and limited ability to mitigate harms due to climate change have rendered countries in the region as among the most vulnerable.

<sup>186</sup> **U.S. Statement Department Lists Cuba as a Sponsor of Terrorism Again, Contributing to Rise in Emigration from Cuba** (2021)

Cuban Research Institute. (n.d.). *Chronology of U.S.-Cuba Relations*. Florida International University.

<https://cri.fiu.edu/us-cuba/chronology-of-us-cuba-relations/>

Nodarse Venancio, M. & Oliver, I. (2022, March 25). *Cuban Migration is Changing, the U.S. Must Take Note*.

Washington Office on Latin America. <https://www.wola.org/analysis/cuban-migration-is-changing-us-must-note/>  
Designation as a sponsor of terrorism impacted the Cuban economy.

U.S. Department of State. (n.d.). *State Sponsors of Terrorism*. <https://www.state.gov/state-sponsors-of-terrorism/>

The presidential administration has not lifted that designation as of July 1, 2024.

Rodriguez, S. & Caputo, M. (2021, August 19). *White House sticks with hardline approach to Cuba*. POLITICO.

<https://www.politico.com/news/2021/08/19/cuban-americans-biden-administration-adds-cuba-sanctions-506319>

Associated Press. (2022, September 8). *Cuba: U.S. keeping the country on terrorism list is ‘illegitimate’ and ‘immoral’*. NBC News.

<https://www.nbcnews.com/news/latino/cuba-us-keeping-country-terror-list-illegitimate-immoral-rcna46835>

Nodarse Venancio, M. & Bare, A. (2023, December 20). *Five Key Trends in Cuban Migration in 2023*. Washington Office on Latin America. <https://www.wola.org/analysis/developments-cuban-migration-2023/>

Nicaragua’s 2021 policy change enabled Cubans to fly to Managua, Nicaragua to make their way to the United States without traveling by sea or via the Darién Gap in Panama.

<sup>187</sup> **U.S. Extends Temporary Protected Status for Venezuelan Nationals** (2021)

Moslimani, M. (2024, March 29). *How Temporary Protected Status has expanded under the Biden administration*.

Pew Research Center. <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2021/10/28/biden-administration-widens-scope-of-temporary-protected-status-for-immigrants/>

United States Citizenship and Immigration Services. (2022, July 8). *Temporary Protected Status (TPS) for Venezuela*

- *Senator Menendez* [Letter from Senator Robert Menendez and others to Secretaries Blinken and Mayorkas and USCIS response].

[https://www.uscis.gov/sites/default/files/document/foia/Temporary\\_Protected\\_Status\\_for\\_Venezuela-Senator\\_Menendez.pdf](https://www.uscis.gov/sites/default/files/document/foia/Temporary_Protected_Status_for_Venezuela-Senator_Menendez.pdf)

This provides the quote “facing a severe humanitarian emergency.”

<sup>188</sup> **The Assassination of Haitian President Jovenel Moïse, a 7.2 earthquake, and COVID-19 Prompts Haitians to Migrate** (2021)

Rosalsky, G. (2021, October 5). ‘The Greatest Heist in History’: How Haiti Was Forced To Pay Reparations For

Freedom. *Planet Money*, NPR. <https://www.npr.org/sections/money/2021/10/05/1042518732/-the-greatest-heist-in-history-how-haiti-was-forced-to-pay-reparations-for-free?fbclid=IwAR16rDtOR9utoWsdd63iGfc5S4LXqkuALX14DHGVBhJzERWW9v6Qk4dlqn0>

Some of the assassins received training from the U.S. military.

Executive Office of Immigration Review. (n.d.). *Temporary Protected Status (TPS)*. U.S. Department of Justice.

<https://www.justice.gov/eoir/temporary-protected-status>

Moïse was assassinated in July, and the Department of Homeland Security designated Haiti for Temporary Protected Status (TPS) in August 2021.

Bernal, R. (2021, September 16). *Advocates ‘in utter disbelief’ after Biden resumes Haitian repatriations*. The Hill.

<https://thehill.com/latino/572588-advocates-in-utter-disbelief-after-biden-resumes-haitian-repatriations>

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- Chisti, M. & Bolter, J. (2022, May 25). *Rise in Maritime Migration to the United States Is a Reminder of Chapters Past*. Migration Policy Institute. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/maritime-migration-united-states-rise>  
The assassination added to the already existing challenges the nation faced, such as gang violence and kidnappings. There was also already a political crisis with Moise’s legitimacy as leader was in dispute.
- The Guardian*. (2021, September 20). White House criticizes border agents who rounded up migrants on horseback. <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2021/sep/20/us-begins-deportation-flights-haitians-texas-border-town>
- Herrera, J. (2021, September 23). Why 15,000 Migrants Ended Up in One Spot on the U.S.-Mexico Border. *POLITICO*. [https://www.politico.com/news/magazine/2021/09/23/del-rio-desperation-dysfunction-immigration-513978?fbclid=IwAR1-Fa1uUfitwk85BV\\_wBhu\\_V1e-JfgrmHbZF6Yvobwojnd7nyXxTwGMqjk](https://www.politico.com/news/magazine/2021/09/23/del-rio-desperation-dysfunction-immigration-513978?fbclid=IwAR1-Fa1uUfitwk85BV_wBhu_V1e-JfgrmHbZF6Yvobwojnd7nyXxTwGMqjk)  
Migrants traveled based on a rumor that September 16—Mexican Independence Day—was the best day to travel because Mexican authorities would be preoccupied.
- The Associated Press. (2021, September 24). *Officials: All Migrants Are Gone From Texas Border Camp*. Latino Rebels. <https://www.latinorebels.com/2021/09/24/officialsallmigrantsgonefromtexasbordercamp/?fbclid=IwAR28stUeU-sJpnF57Mj9iUJ2oBMKculpFVtY-n8uxO6HnWAhtX02vvGmqbY>
- Isacson, A. (2021, September 27). *Weekly U.S.-Mexico Border Update: A Large Group of Haitian Migrants in Del Rio, Texas Faces Horses, Hunger, Expulsion Flights, &—for Some—“Notices to Report” in the U.S.* Washington Office on Latin America. [https://www.wola.org/2021/09/weekly-border-update-large-group-haitian-migrants-del-rio-texas-faces-horses-hunger-expulsion-flights-some-notices-report-in-us/?fbclid=IwAR1-Fa1uUfitwk85BV\\_wBhu\\_V1e-JfgrmHbZF6Yvobwojnd7nyXxTwGMqjk](https://www.wola.org/2021/09/weekly-border-update-large-group-haitian-migrants-del-rio-texas-faces-horses-hunger-expulsion-flights-some-notices-report-in-us/?fbclid=IwAR1-Fa1uUfitwk85BV_wBhu_V1e-JfgrmHbZF6Yvobwojnd7nyXxTwGMqjk)
- Bernal, R. & Robertson, N. (2024, March 13). *Haiti crisis boils over, forcing pivot in US policy*. The Hill. <https://thehill.com/policy/international/4527284-haiti-ariel-henry-blinken-us-policy/>
- Isacson, A. (2021, October 22). *Weekly U.S.-Mexico Border Update: 2021 migrant encounters, reports on border agencies’ inhumane culture, Remain in Mexico protested, Senate appropriation*. Washington Office on Latin America. <https://www.wola.org/2021/10/weekly-u-s-mexico-border-update-2021-migrant-encounters-reports-on-border-agencies-inhumane-culture-remain-in-mexico-protested-senate-appropriation/>
- Human Rights Watch. (2021, December 1). *Joint Letter from Civil and Human Rights Organizations Regarding United States Compliance with the Convention against Torture*. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2021/12/01/joint-letter-civil-and-human-rights-organizations-regarding-united-states#>  
This describes how the U.S. government removed 8,500 Haitians between September and early December 2021. The vast majority were expelled under Title 42.
- Aguilera, J. (2022, June 23). The U.S. Coast Guard Is Rescuing Haitian Migrants at Sea in Record Numbers. *Time*. <https://time.com/6189923/haitian-migrants-coast-guard-rescue/>  
Between September 2021 and summer 2022, the U.S. government expelled more than 28,500 Haitians pursuant to Title 42.
- <sup>189</sup> **Mexico Similarly Announces It Would Deport Haitians**
- The Guardian*. (2021, September 20). White House criticizes border agents who rounded up migrants on horseback. <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2021/sep/20/us-begins-deportation-flights-haitians-texas-border-town>
- Isacson, A. (2021, September 27). *Weekly U.S.-Mexico Border Update: A Large Group of Haitian Migrants in Del Rio, Texas Faces Horses, Hunger, Expulsion Flights, &—for Some—“Notices to Report” in the U.S.* Washington Office on Latin America. [https://www.wola.org/2021/09/weekly-border-update-large-group-haitian-migrants-del-rio-texas-faces-horses-hunger-expulsion-flights-some-notices-report-in-us/?fbclid=IwAR1-Fa1uUfitwk85BV\\_wBhu\\_V1e-JfgrmHbZF6Yvobwojnd7nyXxTwGMqjk](https://www.wola.org/2021/09/weekly-border-update-large-group-haitian-migrants-del-rio-texas-faces-horses-hunger-expulsion-flights-some-notices-report-in-us/?fbclid=IwAR1-Fa1uUfitwk85BV_wBhu_V1e-JfgrmHbZF6Yvobwojnd7nyXxTwGMqjk)
- Douyon, E. (2023, July 5). *Haitians Flee a Nation Nearing Collapse*. Migration Policy Institute. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/haitians-flee-collapse>
- <sup>190</sup> **Interdiction-at-Sea on the Rise**
- Narea, N. (2021, July 29). *Biden is turning back Haitian migrants at sea, echoing a shameful chapter in US history*. Vox. <https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2021/7/29/22589316/biden-haiti-migrant-boat-quantanamo>
- Fontanilla, R. (2021, February 11). *Immigration Enforcement and the Afterlife of the Slave Ship*. Boston Review. <https://www.bostonreview.net/articles/ryan-fontanilla-immigration-enforcement-and-afterlife-slave-ship/>  
The U.S. Coast Guard has interdicted at least an estimated 120,000 Haitians between 1981 and 2021.
- Chisti, M. & Bolter, J. (2022, May 25). *Rise in Maritime Migration to the United States Is a Reminder of Chapters Past*. Migration Policy Institute. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/maritime-migration-united-states-rise>



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USAGov. (n.d.). *The federal budget process.*

<https://www.usa.gov/federal-budget-process#:~:text=The%20federal%20government's%20fiscal%20year,September%2030%20of%20the%20next>  
The end of the federal fiscal year 2022 was September 30, 2022.

Aguilera, J. (2022, June 23). The U.S. Coast Guard Is Rescuing Haitian Migrants at Sea in Record Numbers. *Time*.

<https://time.com/6189923/haitian-migrants-coast-guard-rescue/>

Between October 2021 and June 2022, the media documented that the U.S. Coast Guard interdicted an estimated 6,000 Haitians, 300 percent more than the federal fiscal year 2021, and the Coast Guard immediately returned the majority of those migrants to Haiti.

Loop News. (2022, December 23). *US Coast Guard repatriates people to Haiti.*

<https://caribbean.loopnews.com/content/us-coast-guard-repatriates-people-haiti>

The U.S. Coast Guard interdicted 7,175 Haitian nationals in fiscal year 2022.

Isacson, A. (2021, September 27). *Weekly U.S.-Mexico Border Update: A Large Group of Haitian Migrants in Del*

*Rio, Texas Faces Horses, Hunger, Expulsion Flights, &—for Some—“Notices to Report” in the U.S.* Washington Office on Latin America.

[https://www.wola.org/2021/09/weekly-border-update-large-group-haitian-migrants-del-rio-texas-faces-horses-hunger-expulsion-flights-some-notices-report-in-us/?fbclid=IwAR1-Fa1uUfitwk85BV\\_wBhu\\_V1e-JfgmHbZF6Yvobwojnd7nyXxTwGMqjk](https://www.wola.org/2021/09/weekly-border-update-large-group-haitian-migrants-del-rio-texas-faces-horses-hunger-expulsion-flights-some-notices-report-in-us/?fbclid=IwAR1-Fa1uUfitwk85BV_wBhu_V1e-JfgmHbZF6Yvobwojnd7nyXxTwGMqjk)

The U.S. government sought a private contractor to operate its Migrant Operations Center in Guantánamo, which had not been used for that purpose since 2017, to potentially detain Haitians through interdiction-at-sea as it had done in the 1990s.

#### <sup>191</sup> **Border Patrol Encounters Seven Times More Haitians in 2021 than in 2020**

Jordan, M. & Sullivan, E. (2021, September 18). Biden Administration to Deport Haitians in South Texas. *The New*

*York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/18/us/politics/biden-administration-haiti-texas.html?fbclid=IwAR2kKCbSxQXTCRC5uq28KZYaCnGJJdXLtpTJGfslJ7e5pWiFsrq3osVtu64>

The fiscal year 2021 ended September 30, 2021, and the fiscal year 2020 ended September 30, 2020.

Morrison, A., Galvan, A. & Lo, J. (2021, September 24). *Haitians see history of racist policies in migrant*

*treatment.* Associated Press. [https://apnews.com/article/immigration-race-and-ethnicity-mexico-haiti-asylum-seekers-a81ac1148118db38824d2d8f62139b87?fbclid=IwAR1R9bs4wkmxugqz\\_N4Kn4QIDcHCElISabJvdE4HmbJcaOTWyyZlOS9W9Y](https://apnews.com/article/immigration-race-and-ethnicity-mexico-haiti-asylum-seekers-a81ac1148118db38824d2d8f62139b87?fbclid=IwAR1R9bs4wkmxugqz_N4Kn4QIDcHCElISabJvdE4HmbJcaOTWyyZlOS9W9Y)

In fiscal year 2019, Department of Homeland Security apprehended more than 2,000 Haitian migrants and more than 4,500 Haitian migrants in fiscal year 2020, which includes Title 8 apprehensions and Title 42 expulsions, compared to just 166 Haitian migrants in fiscal year 2018. Fiscal year 2020 ended September 30, 2020, fiscal year 2019 ended September 30, 2019, and fiscal year 2018 ended September 30, 2018.

#### <sup>192</sup> **Haiti Sees Highest Asylum Rate Denial During this Period**

Peñaloza, M. (2021, October 16). *Haiti faces disasters and chaos. Its people are most likely to be denied U.S.*

*Asylum.* NPR. <https://www.npr.org/2021/10/16/1043458530/haitians--u-s-asylum--racist#:~:text=Haiti%20is%20the%20country%20with,were%20granted%20during%20this%20period>

<https://www.cnn.com/2018/05/03/world/us-asylum-denial-rates-by-nationality/index.html>

Haitian and Mexican asylum seekers received more denials than nationals from Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, and other countries.

Yan, H. (2018, May 3). *Which nationalities get rejected the most for US asylum?* CNN.

<https://www.cnn.com/2018/05/03/world/us-asylum-denial-rates-by-nationality/index.html>

Haitian and Mexican asylum seekers received more denials than nationals from Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, and other countries.

Peñaloza, M. (2021, October 16). *Haiti faces disasters and chaos. Its people are most likely to be denied U.S.*

*Asylum.* NPR. [https://www.npr.org/2021/10/16/1043458530/haitians--u-s-asylum--racist?fbclid=IwAR0R6uQQevqMOV17s5LxQePRdfrRE87ofJ2G1ttSis5fld60sTtdFys\\_LM](https://www.npr.org/2021/10/16/1043458530/haitians--u-s-asylum--racist?fbclid=IwAR0R6uQQevqMOV17s5LxQePRdfrRE87ofJ2G1ttSis5fld60sTtdFys_LM)

<https://www.cnn.com/2018/05/03/world/us-asylum-denial-rates-by-nationality/index.html>

Haitian and Mexican asylum seekers received more denials than nationals from Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, and other countries.

Morrison, A., Galvan, A. & Lo, J. (2021, September 24). *Haitians see history of racist policies in migrant*

*treatment.* Associated Press. [https://apnews.com/article/immigration-race-and-ethnicity-mexico-haiti-asylum-seekers-a81ac1148118db38824d2d8f62139b87?fbclid=IwAR1R9bs4wkmxugqz\\_N4Kn4QIDcHCElISabJvdE4HmbJcaOTWyyZlOS9W9Y](https://apnews.com/article/immigration-race-and-ethnicity-mexico-haiti-asylum-seekers-a81ac1148118db38824d2d8f62139b87?fbclid=IwAR1R9bs4wkmxugqz_N4Kn4QIDcHCElISabJvdE4HmbJcaOTWyyZlOS9W9Y)

By comparison, El Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico, and Honduras had acceptance rates ranging from 6.21 percent to 14.12 percent during that time period.

#### <sup>193</sup> **U.S. Deports 20,000 Haitians in a Year**

Isacson, A. (2022, February 17). *A tragic milestone: 20,000th migrant deported to Haiti since Biden inauguration.*

Washington Office on Latin America.

<https://www.wola.org/analysis/a-tragic-milestone-20000th-migrant-deported-to-haiti-since-biden-inauguration/>

Finnegan, C. (2022, December 14). *Where historic number of migrants is coming from and why: ANALYSIS.* ABC

*News.* <https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/data-historic-number-migrants-reaching-us-borders-reasons/story?id=95198577>

Fiscal year 2022 ended September 30, 2022.

#### <sup>194</sup> **Nicaraguans Reach the United States in Increasing Numbers (2021)**

BBC. (2018, May 31). *Nicaragua profile – Timeline.* British Broadcasting Corporation.

<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-19909695>

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Oré, D. (2021, November 5). *Ortega and Murillo, the presidential couple with an iron grip on Nicaragua*. Reuters. <https://www.reuters.com/world/americas/ortega-murillo-presidential-couple-with-an-iron-grip-nicaragua-2021-11-05/>

Vine, D. (2021, April 22). *175 Years of Border Invasions: The Anniversary of the U.S. War on Mexico and the Roots of Northward Migration*. Council on Hemispheric Affairs. <https://coha.org/the-us-contracts-out-its-regime-change-operation-in-nicaragua/>  
Allegations has surfaced that the U.S. government fomented animosity against Ortega’s administration.

Associated Press. (2023, November 30). *About Half of Nicaragua’s Population Wants to Emigrate, Study Says*. VOA News. <https://www.voanews.com/a/about-half-of-nicaragua-s-population-wants-to-emigrate-study-says-/7379826.html>  
By 2023, a study found that half of the Nicaraguan population wanted to leave, with nearly a quarter considering themselves to be “very prepared” to leave the country.

Ripley, C. G. (2023, March 7). *Crisis Prompts Record Emigration from Nicaragua, Surpassing Cold War Era*. Migration Policy Institute. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/record-emigration-nicaragua-crisis>  
In 2018, the Nicaraguan government also reduced social security pensions for seniors, which led to protests. The government responded with violence and imprisoned political opponents. Though the government rescinded the law, protests against Ortega’s regime continued.

Most Nicaraguans initially fled to adjacent Costa Rica. However, Costa Rica added restrictions for asylum seekers in 2022. By 2022, about 200,000 people had fled Nicaragua.

Ruiz Soto, A. G. (2022, October). *Record-Breaking Migrant Encounters at the U.S.-Mexico Border Overlook the Bigger Story*. Migration Policy Institute. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/news/2022-record-migrant-encounters-us-mexico-border>  
Nicaraguans have historically migrated to neighboring Costa Rica.

*Al Jazeera*. (2021, November 10). Biden signs bill urging Nicaragua sanctions after contested vote. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/11/10/biden-signs-bill-urging-more-sanctions-on-nicaragua-after-vote>

Human Rights Watch. (n.d.). *Nicaragua: Events of 2023*. <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2024/country-chapters/nicaragua>  
U.S. sanctions were imposed on the Nicaraguan attorney general and parliamentary leaders as well as asset-blocking sanctions on 11 entities and 43 individuals.

Finnegan, C. (2022, December 14). *Where historic number of migrants is coming from and why: ANALYSIS*. ABC News. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/record-emigration-nicaragua-crisis>  
In early 2023, the Nicaraguan government unilaterally sent 222 former political prisoners to the United States and denationalized them.

#### <sup>195</sup> Increase in Cuban Migration, More Pathways for Cuban Migrants (2022)

Finnegan, C. (2022, December 14). *Where historic number of migrants is coming from and why: ANALYSIS*. ABC News. <https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/data-historic-number-migrants-reaching-us-borders-reasons/story?id=95198577>

Nodarse Venancio, M. & Bare, A. (2023, December 20). *Five Key Trends in Cuban Migration in 2023*. Washington Office on Latin America. <https://www.wola.org/analysis/developments-cuban-migration-2023/>  
Economic and political instability led to protests in Cuba in July 2021, and the government responded with imprisonment and detention. The Cuban government informed the public to expect food shortages and interruptions to electricity and transportation.

Sanger, D. E. (2022, May 16). Biden Administration Lifting Some Trump-Era Restrictions on Cuba. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/16/us/politics/biden-cuba-policy.html>

Finnegan, C. (2022, December 14). *Where historic number of migrants is coming from and why: ANALYSIS*. ABC News. <https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/data-historic-number-migrants-reaching-us-borders-reasons/story?id=95198577>

Nodarse Venancio, M. & Bare, A. (2023, December 20). *Five Key Trends in Cuban Migration in 2023*. Washington Office on Latin America. <https://www.wola.org/analysis/developments-cuban-migration-2023/>  
The number of Cubans arriving in the United States were equivalent to more than 4% of the Cuban population, and that number did not include the thousands who migrated to Brazil, Russia, Uruguay, and other countries in 2022-2023.

Nodarse Venancio, M. & Oliver, I. (2022, March 25). *Cuban Migration is Changing, the U.S. Must Take Note*. Washington Office on Latin America. <https://www.wola.org/analysis/cuban-migration-is-changing-us-must-note/>

Cuban Research Institute. (n.d.). *Chronology of U.S.-Cuba Relations*. Florida International University. <https://cri.fiu.edu/us-cuba/chronology-of-us-cuba-relations/>  
Additionally in 2022, the U.S. government began allowing remittances greater than \$1,000 per quarter to Cuba and permitted some travel there.

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<sup>196</sup> **U.S. Coast Guard Interdicts Cuban Migrants**

Chisti, M. & Bolter, J. (2022, May 25). *Rise in Maritime Migration to the United States Is a Reminder of Chapters Past*. Migration Policy Institute. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/maritime-migration-united-states-rise>

USAGov. (n.d.). *The federal budget process*. <https://www.usa.gov/federal-budget-process#:~:text=The%20federal%20government's%20fiscal%20year,September%2030%20of%20the%20next>  
The end of the federal fiscal year was September 30, 2002.

<sup>197</sup> **U.S. Customs and Border Protection Interdicts Cuban Migrants Traveling by Land**

Cuban Research Institute. (n.d.). *Chronology of U.S.-Cuba Relations*. Florida International University. <https://cri.fiu.edu/us-cuba/chronology-of-us-cuba-relations/>

USAGov. (n.d.). *The federal budget process*. <https://www.usa.gov/federal-budget-process#:~:text=The%20federal%20government's%20fiscal%20year,September%2030%20of%20the%20next>  
The end of the federal fiscal year was September 30, 2022.

Nodarse Venancio, M. & Bare, A. (2023, December 20). *Five Key Trends in Cuban Migration in 2023*. Washington Office on Latin America. <https://www.wola.org/analysis/developments-cuban-migration-2023/>

<sup>198</sup> **U.S. President Expands Title 42 Expulsions on Non-Public-Health-Related Grounds (2022)**

Chishti, M. & Bush-Joseph, K. (2022, October 27). *Amid Record Venezuelan Arrivals, Biden Administration Embraces Border Expulsions Policy*. Migration Policy Institute. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/venezuelan-expulsions-policy-biden?eType=EmailBlastContent&eld=38ac08a5-80cb-4d5f-b67f-0639a7143ca2>

84 percent of the 7 million displaced Venezuelans remain in Latin America and the Caribbean.

As part of the U.S.-Mexico agreement, the Department of Homeland Security also increased the number of H-2B seasonal nonagricultural visas, which are mostly used by Mexicans, by 65,000.

<sup>199</sup> **U.S. Grants Humanitarian Parole for some Venezuelans (2022)**

Chishti, M. & Bush-Joseph, K. (2022, October 27). *Amid Record Venezuelan Arrivals, Biden Administration Embraces Border Expulsions Policy*. Migration Policy Institute. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/venezuelan-expulsions-policy-biden?eType=EmailBlastContent&eld=38ac08a5-80cb-4d5f-b67f-0639a7143ca2>

Finnegan, C. (2022, December 14). *Where historic number of migrants is coming from and why: ANALYSIS*. ABC News. <https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/data-historic-number-migrants-reaching-us-borders-reasons/story?id=95198577>

<sup>200</sup> **More Migrants from Venezuela, Cuba, and Nicaragua for First Time in Record Number of U.S.-Mexico Border Encounters (2022)**

Finnegan, C. (2022, December 14). *Where historic number of migrants is coming from and why: ANALYSIS*. ABC News. <https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/data-historic-number-migrants-reaching-us-borders-reasons/story?id=95198577>  
Fiscal Year 2022 ended September 30, 2022.

Ruiz Soto, A. G. (2022, October). *Record-Breaking Migrant Encounters at the U.S.-Mexico Border Overlook the Bigger Story*. Migration Policy Institute. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/news/2022-record-migrant-encounters-us-mexico-border>  
The 2.38 million encounters represented a 37 percent increase compared to the number of encounters in the previous fiscal year.

There were also significant numbers of nationals from Brazil, Ecuador, Haiti, Ukraine, India, and Turkey. The location of encounters also shifted, with the majority of all migrant encounters during this period occurring in the Rio Grande Valley and Del Rio, Texas, and the Yuma sector in Arizona.

Adabala, S. (2020, March 5). *WHAT IS THE NORTHERN TRIANGLE?*. The Borgen Project. <https://borgenproject.org/what-is-the-northern-triangle/>  
The Northern Triangle describes the three contiguous nations of El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras in Central America.

<sup>201</sup> **More than 7 Million Individuals with Central American Origins Live in the United States (2023)**

Ward, N. & Batalova, J. (2023, May 10). *Central American Immigrants in the United States*. Migration Policy Institute. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/central-american-immigrants-united-states#:~:text=The%20Salvadoran%20diaspora%20is%20the,the%20United%20States%20in%202021>

<b>1791–1903</b> U.S. Expansion and the Introduction of the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1904–1946</b> The Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1947–1980</b> The Truman Doctrine and the Containment of Communism	<b>1971–Present</b> Declaration of the “War on Drugs”	<b>1980s–1990s</b> Beyond Containment, the Rolling Back of Communism	<b>1996–Present</b> Enforcement and Externalization of Borders
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- Council on Foreign Relations. (2022, February 8). U.S. Foreign Policy: The Americas. *CFR Education*.  
<https://world101.cfr.org/rotw/americas/us-foreign-policy#u-s-foreign-policy-has-contributed-to-migration-and-could-mitigate-it>  
 See entry, “U.S. Foreign Policy Has Contributed to Migration—and Could Mitigate It.” Most of the 3.8 million Central American immigrants residing in the United States in 2021 originated from El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras.
- Viscarra, A. J. & Prentice, M. (2014, August 15). *Children of the Monroe Doctrine*. Latino Rebels.  
<https://www.latinorebels.com/2014/08/15/children-of-the-monroe-doctrine/>  
 The number of migrants from Central America tripled between 1980 and 1990 and surpassed two million by 2000. The desire to reunite with family members who arrived in the United States during earlier migration waves was a reason for migration in addition to violence and economic instability in Central America.
- Roy, D. & Cheatham, A. (2023, July 13). *Central America’s Turbulent Northern Triangle*. Council on Foreign Relations.  
<https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/central-americas-turbulent-northern-triangle>  
 By 2015, El Salvador had the highest homicide rate in the Western Hemisphere – 105 homicides per 100,000 people.
- Women fled El Salvador and Honduras in 2021 due, in part, to both nations having the highest rates of femicide on the continent and the COVID pandemic exacerbating the rates of gender-based violence in both countries.
- Jonas, S. (2013, March 27). *Guatemalan Migration in Times of Civil War and Post-War Challenges*. Migration Policy.  
<https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/guatemalan-migration-times-civil-war-and-post-war-challenges>  
 Guatemala, since 2000, has had one of the highest femicide rates in the world.
- Lastra, P. (2014, August 11). *Who Counts as a Refugee in US Immigration Policy—and Who Doesn’t*. The Nation.  
<https://www.thenation.com/article/archive/who-counts-refugee-us-immigration-policy-and-who-doesnt/> The Department of Homeland Security started recognizing, and immigrant judges started granting, some asylum claims of women fleeing gender-based violence in 2004 and 2009 given how pervasive gender-based violence was in Central America and that El Salvador had the highest femicide rate in the world.
- Plaza, S. (2023, July 20). Remittances to Latin America still growing. *People Move, World Bank Blogs*.  
<https://blogs.worldbank.org/en/peoplemove/remittances-latin-america-still-growing>  
 In 2022, Guatemala received \$18.2 billion in remittances (19.4 percent of the country’s GDP), Honduras received \$8.5 billion in remittances (26.9 percent of the nation’s GDP), and El Salvador received \$7.7 billion in remittances (24.3 percent of the country’s GDP).
- <sup>202</sup> **U.S. Expands Cuba, Haiti, Nicaragua, & Venezuela (CHNV) Parole** (2023)
- Montoya-Galvez, C. (2023, July 18). *U.S. has welcomed more than 500,000 migrants as part of historic expansion of legal immigration under Biden*. CBS News.  
<https://www.cbsnews.com/news/immigration-parole-migrants-us-expansion-biden/>  
 The US government also paroled in more than 141,000 people from Ukraine with U.S. sponsors, 22,000 Ukrainians who were processed at the U.S.-Mexico border, 133,000 asylum seekers who are waiting for an appointment in Mexico, and 77,000 people from Afghanistan. In all, these total 541,000 parolees.
- Jawetz, T. (2023, April 19). *The Biden Administration’s Use of Immigration Parole Authority Is a Smart and Lawful Approach to Today’s Migration Challenges*. CAP 20.  
<https://www.americanprogress.org/article/the-biden-administrations-use-of-immigration-parole-authority-is-a-smart-and-lawful-approach-to-todays-migration-challenges/>
- Castellanos-Canales, A. (2023, February 9). *The Reasons Behind the Increased Migration from Venezuela, Cuba, and Nicaragua*. National Immigration Forum. <https://immigrationforum.org/article/the-reasons-behind-the-increased-migration-from-venezuela-cuba-and-nicaragua/>  
 Since 2018, economic and political turmoil, exacerbated by the COVID pandemic and Hurricane Ian in 2022, have accelerated Cuban migration to the United States, particularly at the U.S.-Mexico land border seeking asylum. In Nicaragua, Daniel Ortega has continued to hold the presidency despite perceived election flaws, and his government has suppressed mass protests to quell dissent. The U.S. government subsequently imposed an embargo in 2022, which impacted the Nicaraguan economy in addition to the COVID pandemic and two hurricanes in 2020. The combined political and economic instability led to Nicaraguans migrating to Costa Rica, and increasing numbers are migrating to the U.S.-Mexico border to seek asylum.
- Vine, D. (2021, April 22). *175 Years of Border Invasions: The Anniversary of the U.S. War on Mexico and the Roots of Northward Migration*. Council on Hemispheric Affairs. <https://coha.org/the-us-contracts-out-its-regime-change-operation-in-nicaragua/>  
 This article speculates that the U.S. government engaged in tactics to foment political turmoil in 2018 in Nicaragua.
- Rozen, C. (2023, March 28). *Biden’s Southwest Border Strategy Threatened by GOP-Led Lawsuit*. Bloomberg Law.  
<https://news.bloomberglaw.com/immigration/bidens-southwest-border-strategy-threatened-by-gop-led-lawsuit>
- Gore, D. (2024, March 14). *The Humanitarian Parole Program for Cubans, Haitians, Nicaraguans and Venezuelans*. FactCheck.Org. <https://www.factcheck.org/2024/03/the-humanitarian-parole-program-for-cubans-haitians-nicaraguans-and-venezuelans/>



<b>1791–1903</b> U.S. Expansion and the Introduction of the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1904–1946</b> The Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1947–1980</b> The Truman Doctrine and the Containment of Communism	<b>1971–Present</b> Declaration of the “War on Drugs”	<b>1980s–1990s</b> Beyond Containment, the Rolling Back of Communism	<b>1996–Present</b> Enforcement and Externalization of Borders
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Litigation Tracker, Justice Action Center. (n.d.). *Texas v. DHS (TX CHNV Parole) - District Court*. [https://litigationtracker.justiceactioncenter.org/cases/texas-v-dhs-tx-chnv-parole-district-court?link\\_id=1&can\\_id=8522fe942a538125aff6a7d37bfc3c95&source=email-victory-federal-court-upholds-chnv-parole-programs-2&email\\_referrer=email\\_2237280&email\\_subject=victory-federal-court-upholds-chnv-parole-programs](https://litigationtracker.justiceactioncenter.org/cases/texas-v-dhs-tx-chnv-parole-district-court?link_id=1&can_id=8522fe942a538125aff6a7d37bfc3c95&source=email-victory-federal-court-upholds-chnv-parole-programs-2&email_referrer=email_2237280&email_subject=victory-federal-court-upholds-chnv-parole-programs)  
The judge found that Texas was actually spending less money, not more, and consequently did not establish that it suffered harm as a result of CHNV parole.

MIRA. (2023, December 22). *THE IMPACT OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE IN MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA AND HOW WE CAN CHANGE IT*. <https://www.americas.org/monroe-doctrine/>  
The U.S. government has intervened in Cuba, Nicaragua, and Venezuela through sanctions and other foreign policy practices that have contributed to the political and economic instability in all three nations.

<sup>203</sup> **Interdictions in Fiscal Year 2023** (2023)

United States Coast Guard News. (2023, December 4). *Coast Guard repatriates 85 migrants to Dominican Republic, following 2 unlawful migration voyage interdictions in the Mona Passage*. <https://www.news.uscg.mil/Press-Releases/Article/3605225/coast-guard-repatriates-85-migrants-to-dominican-republic-following-2-unlawful/>

USAGov. (n.d.). *The federal budget process*. <https://www.usa.gov/federal-budget-process#:~:text=The%20federal%20government's%20fiscal%20year,September%2030%20of%20the%20next>  
The end of the federal fiscal year was September 30, 2023.

*Compare* Chishti, M., Bush-Joseph, K., & Putzel-Kavanaugh, C. (2023, October 25). *Can the Biden Immigration Playbook Be Effective for Managing Arrivals via Sea?* <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/biden-migration-sea>  
In fiscal year 2022, U.S. officials interdicted 7,000 Haitians and 6,000 Cubans at sea.

<sup>204</sup> **U.S. Accepts Up to 100,000 People Through Humanitarian Parole** (2023)

Montoya-Galvez, C. (2023, July 7). *U.S. opens new immigration path for Central Americans and Colombians to discourage border crossings*. CBS News. <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/immigration-colombia-central-america-border-us-relatives-border-crossings/>  
There were 17,400 Colombians, 32,600 Salvadorans, 12,800 Guatemalans, and 10,700 Hondurans waiting in the family-based immigrant visa backlog with approved petitions. If invited into the program, one could legally enter the U.S. and receive employment authorization.

U.S. Department of Homeland Security. (2023, July 7). *DHS Announces Family Reunification Parole Processes for Colombia, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras*. <https://www.dhs.gov/news/2023/07/07/dhs-announces-family-reunification-parole-processes-colombia-el-salvador-guatemala>  
This press release states, “The new processes allow for parole only on a discretionary, case-by-case, and temporary basis upon a demonstration of urgent humanitarian reasons or significant public benefit, as well as a demonstration that the beneficiary warrants a favorable exercise of discretion.”  
  
The family member must be invited by the Department of State.

Taufa, E. (2023, September). *Practice Update: Special Parole Programs*. Immigrant Legal Resource Center. <https://www.ilrc.org/sites/default/files/2023-09/Special%20Parole%20Programs%20-%20Final%209.5.23.pdf>  
Historically, this program was only available for Cubans (beginning in 2007) and Haitians (beginning in 2014).

<sup>205</sup> **U.S. Institutes New Asylum “Transit Ban” Rule** (2023)

Isacson, A. (2023, May 9). *10 Things to Know About the End of Title 42*. Washington Office on Latin America. <https://www.wola.org/analysis/end-title-42/>

American Immigration Council. (2023, May 10). *New Asylum Transit Ban Is Dangerous and Shortsighted*. <https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/news/new-asylum-transit-ban-dangerous-and-shortsighted#:~:text=WASHINGTON%E2%80%94Today%2C%20the%20Biden%20administration,of%20entry%20or%20meet%20a>  
The rule required migrants to make an appointment at a port of entry by using a smartphone application, CBP One.

Montoya-Galvez, C. (2024, February 12). *Migrants in Mexico have used CBP One app 64 million times to request entry into U.S.* CBS News. <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/immigration-cbp-one-app-migrants-mexico-64-million/>  
The top origin countries of migrants admitted through the program were Venezuela, Mexico, Haiti, Cuba, Honduras, Russia, El Salvador, Colombia, Chile, and Guatemala. The application was available in English, Spanish, Haitian Creole, Portuguese, and Russian languages.  
*But see* Bernal, R. (2024, March 21). *House Democrats demand improvements to CBP One app for asylum-seekers*. The Hill. <https://thehill.com/latino/4547195-house-democrats-cbp-one-app-asylum-seekers/>  
There were complaints about poor translations in the non-English translations. The application was inaccessible for migrants who speak Indigenous languages, such as Mayan. Additionally, there is the ongoing challenge of digital literacy for migrant users.

Wiessner, D. (2023, November 7). *Biden administration urges US court to uphold asylum restrictions*. Reuters. <https://www.reuters.com/world/us/biden-administration-urges-us-court-uphold-asylum-restrictions-2023-11-08/>

<b>1791–1903</b> U.S. Expansion and the Introduction of the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1904–1946</b> The Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine	<b>1947–1980</b> The Truman Doctrine and the Containment of Communism	<b>1971–Present</b> Declaration of the “War on Drugs”	<b>1980s–1990s</b> Beyond Containment, the Rolling Back of Communism	<b>1996–Present</b> Enforcement and Externalization of Borders
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Hodgman, L. (2023, August 3). *9th Circuit allows Biden asylum policy to proceed for now*. POLITICO.

<https://www.politico.com/news/2023/08/03/federal-court-biden-asylum-policy-00109797>

In other words, with some exceptions, an individual is barred from applying for asylum if they entered the United States between ports of entry or if they did not first seek asylum in another nation before arriving in the United States.

<sup>206</sup> **200<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Monroe Doctrine** (2023)

Shoichet, C. E. (2023, April 15). *Where immigrants come from and where they go after reaching the US*. CNN.

<https://amp.cnn.com/cnn/2023/04/15/us/where-immigrants-come-from-cec/index.html>

Immigrants from India and China round out the top three.

Batalova, J. (2024, March 13). *Frequently Requested Statistics on Immigrants and Immigration in the United States*.

Migration Policy Institute.

<https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/frequently-requested-statistics-immigrants-and-immigration-united-states>

Nigeria and the Philippines were also significant countries of origin for immigrants.

American Immigration Council. (2024, February 27). *Temporary Protected Status: An Overview*.

<https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/research/temporary-protected-status-overview#:~:text=Congress%20created%20Temporary%20Protected%20Status,or%20extraordinary%20and%20temporary%20conditions>

As of May 2023, the government designated the following countries in the Western Hemisphere for Temporary Protected Status: El Salvador (extended through March 2025), Haiti (extended through August 2024), Honduras (extended through July 2025), Nicaragua (extended through July 2025), and Venezuela (extended through April 2025).

Long, T. & Schulz, C. (2023, December 16). *The Return of the Monroe Doctrine*. Foreign Policy.

<https://foreignpolicy.com/2023/12/16/monroe-doctrine-united-states-latin-america-foreign-policy-interventionism-china-gop/>

Fox, M. (2024, January 9). The Beginning: Monroe and Migration (1) [Audio podcast episode]. In *Under the*

*Shadow*. The Real News Network & NACLA. <https://nacla.org/under-shadow-ep-1>

Fox, M. (2024, January 9). The Beginning: Monroe and Migration (1) [Podcast transcript]. In *Under the Shadow*. The

Real News Network & NACLA. <https://therealnews.com/the-beginning-monroe-and-migration-under-the-shadow-episode-1>

This source provides commentator’s Juan González’s quote.

MIRA. (2023, December 22). *THE IMPACT OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE IN MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA AND*

*HOW WE CAN CHANGE IT*. <https://www.americas.org/monroe-doctrine/>

U.S. interventions led to military actions that contributed to economic and political instability in the region, extraction of resources from the region, and recruitment of labor from the region to support U.S. commercial interests. Violence, economic and political instability, and poverty are all common drivers— or root causes—of migration. A substantial portion of \$3 billion in U.S. foreign aid to 33 Latin American and Caribbean nations was for combatting drug trafficking and training their militaries, which further contribute to migration from the region. The U.S. presidential administration requested \$25 billion for immigration enforcement, instead of funding to address the drivers of migration, for fiscal year 2024.