

William J. Perry Center for Hemispheric Defense Studies Information Resources

FDLP Academy

September 15, 2022

Professor Bert Chapman

Purdue University Libraries & School of Information Studies



<https://williamjperrycenter.org/>



WILLIAM J. PERRY

CENTER FOR HEMISPHERIC DEFENSE STUDIES

ABOUT ACADEMICS FORUMS ALUMNI LIBRARY



Historical Background

- 1946-2000 Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation (WHINSEC)/ School of the Americas at Fort Benning, GA.
- Institution controversial because its alums included controversial political and military figures such as Argentina's Leopoldo Galtieri and Panama's Manuel Noriega and Omar Torrijos.
- Human rights violations by these individuals and others were a key reason contributing to this institution's closure.



William J. Perry 1927-



- Born in Vandergrift, PA Oct. 11, 1927.
- B.S. 1949 & M.A.-1950-from Stanford
- Ph.D 1957 in mathematics from Penn State.
- Director-Sylvania/GTE Electronic Defense Laboratories in California 1954-1964
- Director ESL Electronics (founded 1964-1977)

More Perry biography

- 1977-1981 Undersecretary of Defense for Research & Engineering handling weapons systems procurement research & development including introducing stealth technology.
- 1981-1993 Banking and high tech firms in San Francisco area.
- 1993-1994 Deputy Secretary of Defense
- Secretary of Defense 1994-1997.
- Served on various academic and governmental advisory boards addressing national and international security subjects since.

Perry Center Origins & Evolution

- Originated in 1995 at Williamsburg, VA Defense Ministerial of Americas involving most North, Central, and South American Ministers of Defense.
- Perry convened this meeting for hemispheric discussion of mutual defense and security matters.
- Sept. 17, 1997-Center for Hemispheric & Defense Studies opens.
- April 2, 2013-Becomes known as William Perry Center for Hemispheric Defense Studies-Located at Washington, DC's National Defense University (NDU)
- Educates policymakers, practitioners, and academics from throughout the Americas in the security and defense sectors to maintain the Americas a zone of peace. Over 12,000 students have passed through these doors, many of whom have gone on to lead the most prestigious defense and security institutions in their respective countries as ministers, senior policymakers, and military commanders. Perry Center graduates and partner institutions have developed and implemented national-level security strategies, promoted policies to institutionalize respect for human rights, and authored academic research that informs public policy decisions.

Academics

- Offers 6-10 courses annually on topics such as cybersecurity, human rights, & rule of law.

Eligibility Requirements:

CIVILIAN CANDIDATES

The majority of civilian candidates are identified in partnership with the ministries of the host-nation's government, including the police and security forces. Government and non-government civilian candidates may also apply directly to the Perry Center.

MILITARY CANDIDATES

All military participants are selected by the US Security Cooperation Office (SCO) / US Military Liaison Office (MLO) in partnership with the host-nation's Ministry of Defense. Military candidates must submit their application through these channels. The preferred rank for resident courses is Lieutenant Colonel/Commander (O5) or Colonel/Captain (O6). US military officers or their training office should contact the Perry Center Registrar office directly.

- PERRY CENTER ALUMNI (CIVILIAN AND MILITARY)
- Graduates of Perry Center resident courses must wait a minimum of eighteen (18) months to apply to a new course. Example: if you graduated from a resident course that began in October 2016 you may apply to a resident course that begins in April 2018 or later.
- Graduates of Perry Center resident courses are eligible to apply to the Strategy and Defense Policy (SDP) or Caribbean Defense and Security (CDSC) courses. Graduates of previous DPRM, SDPe, SDPm, and SDP courses are INELIGIBLE to apply to upcoming SDP courses.

EDUCATIONAL REQUIREMENTS

All candidates must possess a university degree or equivalent practical experience. Military and police personnel must have completed a command and staff course or equivalent.

Exceptions are evaluated on a case-by-case basis. Please make sure to review specific course pages for any additional requirements, educational or otherwise.

LANGUAGE REQUIREMENTS

Resident courses are conducted in either Spanish or English, with no interpretation. Participants in all specialized courses conducted in Spanish must also be capable of reading and analyzing graduate-level English. Except for courses entirely in English, English writing and speaking skills are not required.

During the application process for certain courses you are required to submit current (within five years) test results from an English reading proficiency test (TOEFL, TOEIC, ECL, etc.) or an explanation of how you acquired your English reading skills. Courses requiring English skills are identified in the course description.

SUBMITTING YOUR APPLICATION

All supporting documents must be submitted simultaneously via e-mail. The subject line should be your last name, country, and the acronym for the course to which you are applying. (e.g. Subject: Martínez – Mexico – SDP 2019)

DOCUMENTS AND ATTACHMENTS

A complete application consists of:

- Application form

- Curriculum vitae (not to exceed four pages)

- Letter of recommendation from supervisor

- Second letter of recommendation

- Up to two additional letters of recommendation (optional)

- Documentation of English-reading proficiency (when required)...

LETTERS OF RECOMMENDATION

Two letters of recommendation are mandatory for all courses. One letter must be from your supervisor/chain of command and specifically indicate, should you be selected to participate, what you would be contributing to the course, and what benefits you and/or your organization would derive from your attendance. The second letter should address the same points. All letters must be addressed between 60 days of applying. Individuals who are independent contractors or sole proprietors must still submit two letters of recommendation.

SCHOLARSHIPS

The Perry Center grants full scholarships to individuals selected to attend resident courses in Washington, DC. Scholarships include round-trip airfare, lodging for the duration of the course, and all meals (combination of contracted meals and per diem payments). There is no cost (tuition) to attend the course itself. While the current fiscal environment has significantly reduced the overall number of scholarships available, the Perry Center remains dedicated to providing opportunities equitably to a diverse audience. Scholarships are not available for certain courses such as the Washington Security and Defense Seminar (WSDS).

Specific Perry Center Courses

Defense Governance (DG 2022)



Defense Governance (DG) explores relevant concepts, institutions, norms, values, processes, and methodologies related to the functioning and effectiveness of Defense Governance within a democratic state.

Due to the focus of this course and the limited number of slots available to self-nominated candidates, we will not be accepting applications from non-government civilians (e.g. university professors, consultants, researchers, etc.) or retired military officers who do not currently work as government civilians in a ministry level decision-making capacity.

IMPORTANT INFORMATION

In accordance with Department of Defense policy, citizens of countries with designated income levels established by the World Bank are not eligible for scholarships. At this time, this restriction applies to the following Western Hemisphere nations: Antigua and Barbuda, Bahamas, Barbados, Canada, Chile, St. Kitts and Nevis, Trinidad and Tobago, and Uruguay. Citizens of these countries may still apply to courses, but in a self-funded status.

Online Phase Dates:

Aug 22, 2022 to Sep 02, 2022

Residential Phase Dates:

Sep 12, 2022 to Sep 23, 2022

Application Dates:

CLOSED

Language Requirements:

Course given in Spanish

COURSE FACULTY

Course Director:

Dr. Luis Bitencourt

Learning Objectives

The DG course teaches concepts, methodologies, and tools allowing participants to:

- Define defense governance
- Discuss the applications of governance within security and defense establishments
- Explain the nature of defense and the peculiarities of the military culture
- Characterize the impact of “crises” for defense governance
- Discuss the relevance of leadership to defense governance
- Explain the role of defense institutions and of defense documents within a democratic environment
- Propose models for defense institution building in different democracies
- Analyze the strategic planning models and their respective relevance to defense governance

Structure

This is a four-week course, with a two-week online phase followed by a two-week residential phase. Participants use National Defense University's (NDU) distance learning system Blackboard, to download reading material, submit assignments and participate in video conferences. The resident phase is conducted using a combination of individual study, discussions of the readings, small-group discussions and panels, case studies and exercises.

Policy Goals

The course content is tailored in response to the policy priorities of both the Western Hemisphere Affairs and the Security Cooperation offices in the Office of the Secretary of Defense, as well as the objectives of US Southern and Northern Commands. In particular, the DG course focuses on subject areas addressing improved ministerial capacity through better institutional governance of the security and defense sectors, in order to have these produce more effective and sustainable contributions. The DG course thus contributes to the larger DoD enterprise focus on Defense Institution Building (DIB).

Candidate Profile

Participants should be senior-level practitioners (O-5/O-6 and civilian equivalents, e.g., Director-level) from security and defense establishments, understood broadly, with responsibilities for advising and/or contributing to the improvement of security and defense decision-making processes. Particular emphasis should be placed on individuals who are either currently in positions of influencing change (e.g., legislative defense committee chairs) or are expected to move into positions of influence in the near future (e.g., O-6 level officers expected to become flag officers and assume key positions in the institution).

Due to the focus of this course and the limited number of slots available to self-nominated candidates, we will not be accepting applications from non-government civilians (e.g. university professors, consultants, researchers, etc.) or retired military officers who do not currently work as government civilians in a ministry level decision-making capacity.

Educational Requirements

Candidates must possess a university degree; military and police personnel must have completed a war-college course or equivalent. Exceptions to the above will be made on a case-by-case basis with minimum requirements including command and staff college (or equivalent), or substantial professional work experience in the case of civilians without an appropriate degree.

Language Requirements

The DG course is conducted in Spanish. Lectures and discussions are all conducted in Spanish. All required/recommended readings are in Spanish

Dr. Luis Bitencourt

PROFESSOR

Dr. Luis Bitencourt is Professor of International Security. Prior to rejoining the William J. Perry Center for Hemispheric Defense Studies in August 2020, he was a consultant professor for the Global Defense Reform Program-sponsored Defense Education Cooperation Program between the Perry Center and Brazil's Escola Superior de Guerra. He was also a Visiting Professor at the Brazilian Navy War College and a Visiting Professor, for over 25 years, at Georgetown University. From June 2005 to November 2017, he was Professor, Dean of Academic Affairs, and Deputy Director at the Perry Center. Prior to joining the Perry Center, Dr. Bitencourt was respectively a Senior Fellow at the Atlantic Council and the Director of the Brazil Institute at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

Dr. Bitencourt has dedicated his entire professional life to adult education in both the public and the private sectors. While working for the Brazilian federal government, he performed several functions related to research and training in strategic planning, international security, public administration, and Congressional intelligence oversight. At the Catholic University of Brasília, Dr. Bitencourt was a professor and dean of the Social Sciences College for over a decade. He also worked for the United Nations as a Regional Coordinator in East Timor, as a member of the Electoral Team of Experts in Tajikistan, and as a rapporteur for the "Responsibility to Protect" initiative with the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty.

Dr. Bitencourt holds a doctorate degree and an MA in World Politics from the Catholic University of America and an MA in Political Science from the Universidade de Brasília. His bachelor's degree is in mathematics. Besides hemispheric security, his research interests include strategic planning, defense governance, international trade, and business, marketing, innovation, and leadership in times of globalization.

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS

- Bitencourt, Luis. "Brazil: The Evolution of Civil-Military Relations and Security." In *Democracy and Security in Latin America: State Capacity and Governance under Stress*, edited by Gabriel Marcella, Orlando J. Perez, and Brian Fonseca. Oxfordshire: Routledge, 2021.
- Bitencourt, Luis. "Prologue." in *Serpientes y Terremotos: Apuntes sobre Seguridad y Defensa en el Siglo XXI*, by Mariano Bartolomé. Buenos Aires: 1884 Editorial, 2021.



MEDIA

[Hi-Res Photo](#)

CONTACT

+1.240.938.2110

bitencourt.luis@gmail.com

CURRENT / UPCOMING

Course Director - [DG 2022](#)

Resident Courses

Strategy and Defense Policy (SDP 2022)



The principal objective of this course is to offer participants the theoretical foundations and analytical tools to help them develop and/or expand their ability to be active participants in the processes of security and defense strategy and policy formulation, decision-making, implementation, and control and oversight. Using the international and hemispheric security and defense environment as a framework for reference, the course deals with the challenges faced by Latin American countries to provide security and to improve defense administration.

Participants analyze, at the political level, the links and the different perspectives in dealing with security challenges at global, regional and national levels. The curriculum also deals with concepts and theories that allow for a better understanding of the national decision-making process, international cooperation, and the implementation of directives in response to priorities in the classical and non-traditional use of the armed forces in democratic societies.

IMPORTANT INFORMATION

In accordance with Department of Defense policy, citizens of countries with designated income levels established by the World Bank are not eligible for scholarships. At this time, this restriction applies to the following Western Hemisphere nations: Antigua and Barbuda, Bahamas, Barbados, Canada, Chile, St. Kitts and Nevis, Trinidad and Tobago, and Uruguay. Citizens of these countries may still apply to courses, but in a self-funded status.

Online Phase Dates:

Sep 26, 2022 to Oct 07, 2022

Residential Phase Dates:

Oct 17, 2022 to Oct 28, 2022

Application Dates:

CLOSED

Language Requirements:

Course given in Spanish

COURSE FACULTY

Course Director:

[Dr. David Spencer](#)

UPCOMING COURSES

- Strategy and Defense Policy (SDP 2022)

[Washington Security and Defense Seminar](#)

Learning Objectives

The principal objective is to serve as an introductory course to the work of ministries of defense and security by examining four areas that are principle tasks of most ministries of defense or security. These are: Policy Writing, Strategic Plans, Institutional Reform and Resource Management. Each topic is developed through conceptual discussions, case studies and tested through a practical table-top exercise in which the students perform each of the tasks and then are evaluated on their performance.

Structure

This is a four-week course, with a two-week distance learning phase and two-week resident phase. Participants use National Defense University's (NDU) distance learning system [Blackboard](#), to download reading material, submit assignments and participate in video conferences. The resident phase is conducted using a combination of individual study, discussions of the readings, small-group discussions and panels, case studies and exercises.

Policy Goals

This course is tailored in response to the defense policy goals of the Office of the Secretary of Defense for Western Hemisphere Affairs, and the objectives of the Combatant Commands, particularly those related to the critical mission of the US Government and the Department of Defense to strengthen whole-of-government approaches to the promotion of democratic accountability, respect for human rights, and the rule of law.

Dr. David Spencer

PROFESSOR

Dr. David Spencer is a professor at the William J. Perry Center. From 2014-2017 he was on detail as the Colombia/South America desk officer at the Office of the Secretary of Defense Counternarcotics & Global Threats. He also served from 2011-2012 as the Colombia Policy Director in the Office of the Secretary of Defense Western Hemisphere Affairs. Dr. Spencer earned his doctorate in Political Science from George Washington University in 2002 where he studied Latin American Politics, specializing in regional insurgency and terrorism. He earned his MA and BA (both in International Relations) from Brigham Young University in 1992 and 1988 respectively.

Before accepting his current position at the Perry Center, Dr. Spencer was Director of Combating Terrorism at Hicks & Associates. In this position he supported several USOUTHCOM projects. For the last 15 years he has worked in a variety of positions in Support of Plan Colombia. He spent five years in El Salvador as a consultant to the Ministry of Defense during the recent civil war.

Dr. Spencer has worked for a number of think-tanks and consulting firms, such as Center for Naval Analyses (CNA) and Science Applications International Corporation (SAIC). Dr. Spencer was raised in Latin America, living in Chile, Costa Rica, Colombia, Venezuela, and Guatemala. Dr. Spencer served in the US Army and National Guard as an Infantryman. He attained the rank of Sergeant and was mobilized for the First Gulf War in 1990-1991. In June 2011, he published the study *Colombia's Road to Recovery: Security and Governance 1982-2010*. He was awarded the Exceptional Public Service Medal in 2013. He is a military history and archaeology buff.

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS

- Spencer, David. "Security Challenges of the New Colombian Administration." *PRISM* 8(1). Washington, DC: National Defense University, 2019. pp. 96-113.  [Download](#)



MEDIA

- [Hi-Res Photo](#)
- [Official Biography \(English\)](#)
- [Official Biography \(Spanish\)](#)

CONTACT

david.e.spencer.civ@ndu.edu

CURRENT / UPCOMING COURSES

Course Director - [SDP 2022](#)

Regional Governance Seminars

NATIONAL SECURITY PLANNING WORKSHOP (NSPW)

This workshop is scheduled at the request of a country's senior political leaders and is carefully developed in close coordination with the United States Embassy, plus host-nation officials, considering country-unique requirements. Participation in an NSPW is by invitation only.

REGIONAL GOVERNANCE SEMINAR (RGS)

The Perry Center offers a deployable, tailored, governance seminar which is oriented either bilaterally or regionally and conducted in locations outside of the United States. Regional Governance Seminars will build on partner nation requirements and interests, in concert with US stakeholder discussions, and will have content which is tailored from other Perry Center Governance Program products or developed specifically for the approved engagement. The overall focus will be to expose security and defense professionals to the concept of governance and its application to the defense and security sectors.

REGIONAL SEMINAR TO COMBAT TRANSNATIONAL THREAT NETWORKS (CTTN)

This is a one-week seminar. During the seminar each invited country's CTOC strategy will be introduced and examined.

REGIONAL TRANSNATIONAL THREATS SEMINAR (RTNT)

The Regional Transnational Threat Seminars will be conducted at different locations throughout the hemisphere. A primary goal of these seminar is to expand a Community of Interest on combatting transnational threats, including international terrorism, transnational organized crime, cybersecurity and emerging technologies. For that reason the target audience for each seminar will primarily be graduates of Regional Center courses from the Perry Center, the George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies, and the Daniel K. Inouye Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies.

Hemispheric Forums (Webcast programs)

HEMISPHERIC FORUMS



The links below will take you to the individual Hemispheric Forum event page. There, you will find a brief synopsis of the event, a list of speakers and video recordings (when available)

- [4th Annual Security Challenges in Latin America Forum](#)
- [Hemispheric Forum: Cuba's Continuing Regional Influence](#)
- [Security Challenges in Latin America: Are Institutions Ready to Respond?](#)
- [Security in the Western Hemisphere](#)
- [Central American Maras: Tier 1 Threat?](#)
- [National and International Efforts to Address the Opioids Crisis and Transnational Organized Crime](#)
- [Special Jurisdiction for Peace: The Colombian Transitional Justice Program](#)
- [Livestream Panel: Global Defense and Security Trends in the Caribbean](#)
- [Command Update: Military and Policy Operations During the Colombian Peace Process](#)
- [Beyond Convergence: World Without Order](#)

Central American Maras: Tier 1 Threat?



June 26, 2018 - 10:00 to 12:00 (Eastern)

Proceres Lecture Hall (Building 62, Room 3212)

National Defense University

Fort Lesley J. McNair Washington, DC 20319 United States

On-Demand Video (English):

<https://livestream.com/PerryCenter/events/7013547/videos/176884963>

On-Demand Video (Spanish):

<https://livestream.com/PerryCenter/events/7237919/videos/176884960>

Department of Homeland Security Secretary Kirstjen M. Nielsen has identified MS-13 as the first gang dangerous enough to be classified as a transnational criminal organization. Yet the gang's history, evolution from a localized violent gang to brutal transnational structure driving massive immigration flows to the United States while shredding the social fabric, democratic institutions and rule of law in Central America's Northern Triangle is little understood. The growing territorial control, ties to drug trafficking and multiple criminal activities, increasing military sophistication and growing political ambitions have transformed the MS-13 into a de facto state in much of the region despite millions of dollars spent on multiple failed strategies to combat the group. The impact of the gang's growing strength has significant harmful spillover effects across the region, through Mexico and inside the United States. The Forum will focus on the transformation of the MS-13 and its growing criminal/political/economic force.

This event is open to the public; simultaneous English-Spanish interpretation will be provided.

| | |
|-------------|--|
| 0930 - 1000 | Icebreaker/Refreshments |
| 1000 - 1005 | Opening Remarks <ul style="list-style-type: none"> LTG (ret.) Frederick S. Rudesheim, USA, <i>Director, William J. Perry Center for Hemispheric Defense Studies</i> |
| 1005 - 1020 | Gangs and Transnational Threats in the Western Hemisphere <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mr. Thomas Alexander, <i>Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Counternarcotics and Global Threats, Department of Defense</i> |
| 1020 - 1030 | Panelist Introductions <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Dr. Scott Tollefson, <i>Academic Dean, William J. Perry Center for Hemispheric Defense Studies</i> |
| 1030 - 1045 | Early Spread of MS-13 in Central America <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ms. Ana Arana, <i>Knight International Journalism Fellow for Mexico, Colombia, and Panama, International Center for Journalists</i> |
| 1045 - 1100 | Transformation of the MS-13 in Honduras and El Salvador into a Political/Criminal Force <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mr. Douglas Farah, <i>Senior Fellow, Center for Strategic Research, Institute for National Strategic Studies, National Defense University</i> |
| 1100 - 1115 | Different Perspective of the MS-13 as a Social Organization <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mr. Steven Dudley, <i>Co-Director, InSight Crime</i> |
| 1115 - 1125 | Break |
| 1125 - 1155 | Question and Answers <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Moderator: Mr. Thomas Alexander, <i>Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Counternarcotics and Global Threats, Department of Defense</i> |
| 1155 - 1200 | Closing Remarks <ul style="list-style-type: none"> LTG (ret.) Frederick S. Rudesheim, USA, <i>Director, William J. Perry Center for Hemispheric Defense Studies</i> |

June 26, 2018 - Central American Maras: Tier 1 Threat?



4th Annual Security Challenges in Latin America Forum

SECURITY, DEFENSE, AND GENDER IN LATIN AMERICA: WHAT ARE THE IMPACTS?



JOHNS HOPKINS
SCHOOL of ADVANCED
INTERNATIONAL STUDIES



William J. Perry Center for
Hemispheric Defense Studies

THURSDAY, MARCH 10, 2022
9:00AM - 5:15PM (EST)

March 10, 2022 - 09:00 to 17:00 (Eastern)
Kenney-Herter Auditorium
1740 Massachusetts Avenue NW
Washington, DC 20036

On-Demand Video (English):
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EX0bGZ1F8hc>

- 0915 - 1045 **Panel I - Women in Security and Defense Institutions**
- Ms. Cori Fleaser, *Senior Advisor on Women, Peace, and Security, Office of the Secretary of Defense, United States Department of Defense*
 - [VADM Alexandre Rebello de Faria](#), *Chairman of the Council of Delegates, Inter-American Defense Board*
 - Lt Col Duilia Mora Turner, *Chief of the Women, Peace, and Security Program, United States Southern Command*
 - **Moderator:** [Dr. Fabiana Sofia Perera](#), *Assistant Professor, William J. Perry Center for Hemispheric Defense Studies*
- 1045 - 1100 **Break**
- 1100 - 1230 **Panel II - Violence Against Women**
- [Dr. Guadalupe Correa Cabrera](#), *Associate Professor, George Mason University*
 - [Dr. Alice Driver](#), *Journalist*
 - Ms. Leora Falk, *Foreign Affairs Officer - Office of Global Women's Issues, United States Department of State*
 - **Moderator:** [Dr. William Godnick](#), *Professor of Practice, William J. Perry Center for Hemispheric Defense Studies*

Library (including publications & videos) SuDoc stems for Perry Center Publications. (D 5.419/2)

Library



More content regarding our library resources is forthcoming.

Publications



Videos



Publication Categories



Annual & Quarterly Publications

The Perry Center publishes an annual report and an interactive *Alumni Spotlight* every year. These, along with other quarterly publications, cover the educational programs, outreach activities, and achievements of the Center and its graduates that occurred throughout the fiscal year. These reports serve as a foundational primer on who we are, what we do, and the impact we have in the Western Hemisphere.



Occasional Papers

Occasional Papers are stand-alone publications that cover a broad range of topics and showcase a new perspective, insight, or analysis of a historical theme or current event.



Regional Insights

Regional Insights offer a brief analysis of regional events, trends, or themes, tying events in one country of government to their broader regional implications.



External Faculty and Staff Publications

In addition to writing for the Perry Center, our faculty and staff are also featured in other institutions' publications. A selection of these pieces are available here.



1325 Stories

1325 Stories collects essays on women, peace, and security in the Western Hemisphere. It is a way for the Perry Center to continue to engage on this topic following the publication of "Twenty Years, Twenty Stories" in October 2020. The series welcomes submissions from people working in defense and security across the region.



Perspectivas eJournal

Perspectivas is a digital publication that contains an array of articles, commentaries, and policy statements in English, Spanish, and Portuguese. *Perspectivas* thrives on the diversity of "perspectives" that make up the defense and security community of interest. Valuable insights from Perry Center alumni, high-level government leaders, members of academia, and journalists serve as the foundation of each issue.



Proceedings

The Perry Center produces a written record called *Proceedings*, prepared without attribution due to Chatham House Rules, of its major multilateral seminars, in the form of a 10+ page summary of the presentations and discussions. They are available electronically here, and a printed version may be available by request (limited quantities).



Security and Defense Studies Review

The *Security and Defense Studies Review* journal (SDSR) is the Perry Center's flagship publication. The SDSR contains articles on a diverse range of timely topics: international security, Western Hemisphere affairs, country-specific studies, and perspectives on regional history. Each issue contains an assortment of scholarly articles, commentaries from top policymakers and security practitioners, and book reviews of works of interest to the Perry Center community.

Perry Center Annual Report



Publication Dates:

2011 - Present

Language Availability

English

The Perry Center has published a fiscal year (FY) Annual Report since 2011. Each report covers the educational programs, outreach activities, and achievements of the Center that occurred throughout the year. The Annual Reports serve as a foundational primer on who we are, what we do, and the impact we have in the Western Hemisphere.

Associated Files:

-  [Annual Report 2019](#)
-  [Annual Report 2018](#)
-  [Annual Report 2017](#)
-  [Annual Report 2016](#)
-  [Annual Report 2015](#)
-  [Annual Report 2014](#)
-  [Annual Report 2013](#)
-  [Annual Report 2012](#)
-  [Annual Report 2011](#)

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REGIONAL SEMINARS

COUNTERING TRANSNATIONAL THREATS IN THE AMERICAS

JULY 15—16, 2019 • BUENOS AIRES, ARGENTINA



Above: Participants at the two-day seminar “Countering Transnational Threats in the Americas” in Buenos Aires, Argentina.



Above: The closing ceremony was given by the Minister of Security, Patricia Bullrich (right).

The Perry Center and the Argentine Ministry of Security co-sponsored the two-day seminar “Countering Transnational Threats in the Americas” for over 80 participants in Buenos Aires from July 15-16, 2019. Seminar sessions addressed narcotics trafficking, border security, the convergence of terrorism and crime, countering terrorist financing and money laundering, cybersecurity, cyber-crime, external actors in the Americas, and interagency and interagency cooperation. Expert panelists and seminar participants discussed strategies and policies to help counteract these regional threats with a specific focus on how Argentina is responding nationally to these issues. Over 30 Perry Center alumni participated in the seminar both as participants and as speakers.

VIRTUAL LEARNING

DR. FABIANA PERERA ENGAGES CEDEYAC COURSE PARTICIPANTS VIA VTC

MAY 14, 2019 • WASHINGTON, DC • CALLAO, PERÚ



Dr. Fabiana Perera, Assistant Research Fellow at the William J Perry Center for Hemispheric Defense Studies, addressed an audience of approximately 25 students enrolled in the Peruvian Navy's Postgraduate War College's CEDEYAC (Strategic Leadership for Defense and Crisis Management) Course on May 14. This program includes students of various backgrounds, including government officials, officers from the armed forces and national police, and entrepreneurs. The Perry Center has partnered with the War College for over seven years, providing subject matter expert lectures and other academic assistance.

Dr. Perera presented on global threats, emphasizing the diffuse nature of power and the need to cooperate to address these challenges. Throughout the presentation the students engaged with Dr. Perera sharing their experiences and perspectives on the topic. The lecture was part of a series of exchanges that Perry Center faculty have had with students from CEDEYAC using the distance education modality.

PERRY CENTER
OCCASIONAL PAPER

JUNE 2022

**Vaccination Against COVID-19 Among the
Armed Forces of the Western Hemisphere:
Readiness, Force Protection, and
International Cooperation**

William Godnick, Ph.D.



Soldiers from Brazilian Army 4th Military Region clean & disinfect municipal market in Belo Horizonte, Brazil-August 2020

For a variety of reasons including population density, multi-generation households, health co-morbidities and the large numbers of people who work in the informal sector with limited access to social benefits, the Western Hemisphere was extremely hard hit by the pandemic. Table 2 illustrates the range of death rates per 100,000 in the Western Hemisphere over the course of the pandemic as well as the percentage of the population considered fully vaccinated as of late January 2022. According to recent data, Peru was the country with the highest death toll due to the coronavirus with the Dominican Republic and Venezuela being the least affected, although alternative sources for Venezuela suggest the death rate is really 240 per 100,000 placing it closer to neighboring Colombia.⁸ The percentage of the population considered fully vaccinated in Chile is among the highest in the world at 89 percent while countries like Jamaica demonstrate very low rates of vaccination despite relatively abundant access.⁹

Table 2: COVID-19 in the Americas (as of 19 January 2022)

| Country | Cumulative Deaths per 100,000 | Fully Vaccinated (%) |
|---------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Argentina | 263 | 75 |
| Bolivia | 176 | 43 |
| Brazil | 294 | 70 |
| Canada | 95 | 82 |
| Chile | 208 | 89 |
| Colombia | 261 | 59 |
| Costa Rica | 147 | 72 |
| Cuba | 74 | 86 |
| Dominican Republic | 40 | 54 |
| Ecuador | 197 | 75 |
| El Salvador | 59 | 65 |
| Guatemala | 97 | 30 |
| Guyana | 141 | 39 |
| Honduras | 107 | 45 |
| Jamaica | 87 | 20 |
| Mexico | 236 | 59 |
| Panama | 178 | 59 |
| Paraguay | 239 | 43 |
| Peru | 626 | 69 |
| Suriname | 210 | 40 |
| Trinidad and Tobago | 231 | 49 |
| Uruguay | 181 | 78 |
| Venezuela | 19 | 41 |
| United States | 282 | 65 |

Jamaica

In May 2021, the Jamaica Defence Force issued a memorandum indicating that vaccination was encouraged but voluntary for its members.⁵² At this time, approximately 92 percent of JDF personnel had received at least one dose of vaccine. Unless exempted on medical or religious grounds, the Chief of Defence Staff stated there would be administrative, but not disciplinary consequences, to refusing vaccination including the loss of promotional and training opportunities.⁵³ Under prevailing interpretations of national jurisprudence, vaccines can only be required of children entering schools and not the general population. An initial statement that JDF members who refused to be vaccinated would have to waive liability from the institution in case of infection and related costs was eventually rescinded.⁵⁴

The JDF has also worked with one of the country's largest private security companies to make progress in vaccinating its 6,000 employees.⁵⁵ Jamaica, in particular among countries of the Western Hemisphere, has experienced high levels of vaccine hesitancy that has included frontline and essential workers in the health, defense and security sectors.⁵⁶

Honduras

As of September 2021, 90 percent of the Honduran military was reported to have received a first dose of a two-dose vaccination regimen.⁷⁵ Because of the limited supply of vaccines and the relatively low-risk age of most soldiers, the military was not one of the initial groups targeted for vaccination.



Photo title: Representatives from U.S. Southern Command donate personal protective equipment (PPE) to Honduran government officials as part of its bilateral efforts through Joint Task Force Bravo.

Photo credit: U.S. Army

Future implications and additional research

The first question that needs to be asked of any military vaccination policy is does it work? Does military vaccination contribute to force protection by reducing infection, illness, hospitalization, spread, and in turn does it strengthen readiness? And secondly, do vaccine mandates achieve greater levels of vaccination and force protection than do voluntary regimes? This is something that needs to be researched in more detail.

Third, do vaccination resistance and refusal undermine military discipline and in turn undercut readiness? By definition, joining the military implies placing one's body at the service of the country and accepting the lawful authority of commanders. Prior to the current pandemic, individuals by and large acceded to mandatory vaccination against polio and a wide range of diseases without much controversy. Do mandatory vaccination policies against the current pandemic unnecessarily generate distrust against authority to a degree above and beyond the marginal increase in vaccination rates?

Fourth and finally, would the discussion about vaccination of the armed forces be any different if a virus were even more contagious and/or significantly more lethal for young, healthy individuals? To date, the direct impact of COVID-19 on the members of the armed forces of the Western Hemisphere has resulted in low levels of illness, hospitalization, and death because the military population is relatively young and healthy. If another airborne virus were to cause levels of mortality similar to that of the Ebola virus, the nature of these policy discussions would likely be very different.

While the Western Hemisphere has been hit particularly hard by the pandemic, the members of our armed forces have not in terms of direct death and morbidity, and this reality has allowed them to be major force multipliers in the collective response. We might not be so lucky next time.

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Photo caption: The amount of cocaine produced in South American Andean region has surged in the past few years. In this photo, Ecuadorian police from the National Police's Special Mobile Anti-narcotics Group guard eight tons of cocaine from the Guayas province on January 17, 2022.

Photo credit: Dialogo Magazine and Ecuadorian National Police

The Colombia Coca Bloom, the Mexican Heroin Surge, and the Fentanyl Crisis

By Daniel Chang and Patrick Paterson, Ph.D.

Introduction

Revenue from illegal drugs is the principal source of income for transnational organized crime groups in the Americas. The money is used to pay off corrupt officials, buy lethal arms, and contributes to other problems such as corruption, weak government institutions, and money laundering. In that sense, the illicit drug industry – worth an estimated \$30-50 billion dollars per year – is the fuel that drives the high levels of crime and violence that make Central and South America the most dangerous regions in the world.

Of all the illegal drugs produced, transported, and marketed through the Americas, cocaine is the biggest revenue generator. The cocaine market is worth billions of dollars per year and, in a region that suffers from chronic poverty, severe inequality, and an extensive informal economy, the illicit drug market can be a

of choice, displacing opium growers and heroin traffickers in Mexico.

The Fentanyl Crisis

The third part of the opioid crisis began in 2013 and involves perhaps the deadliest of the narcotics in the Western Hemisphere: fentanyl. Often used as a painkiller for severe cases of cancer, fentanyl has legitimate, legal uses. It is estimated to be 30-50 times stronger than heroin so a tiny amount can serve as a powerful, euphoric stimulant. Ingesting too much can be fatal. Only two milligrams of fentanyl – whether injected, inhaled, or absorbed through the skin – can kill a human. To put that in perspective, a sweetener packet provided at restaurants or coffee shops contains about 1,000 milligrams.¹⁵

Fentanyl is also less expensive than heroin, so

drug traffickers seeking to maximize profits have been “cutting” heroin with fentanyl.¹⁶ In response to the reduction of opium cultivation in Mexico, drug dealers have had to resort to creative means by which to meet the demand of users in North America and other heroin markets. In 2013, U.S. border agents seized only two pounds of the powerful synthetic opioid. In 2018, that amount had skyrocketed to 2,463 pounds in 2018 and almost 4,000 pounds in 2020.¹⁷ Somewhat paradoxically, the drug provides such a potent “high” that traffickers are lacing heroin to meet the fentanyl demand from users. In other words, fentanyl is both deadlier and cheaper than heroin, a truly frightening combination.

¹⁶ According to the DEA, a kilogram of heroin costs about \$90,000 but a kilogram of fentanyl costs only \$3,500 to \$7,000. Paige Winfield Cunningham, “Skyrocketing fentanyl seizures illustrate its growing contribution to opioid crisis,” *Washington Post*, 06 December 2017.

¹⁷ “CBP Border Security Report: Fiscal Year 2018,” U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 05 Dec 2018; “CBP Enforcement Statistics Fiscal Year 2020; Paige Winfield Cunningham, “Skyrocketing fentanyl seizures illustrate its growing contribution to opioid crisis,” *Washington Post*, 06 December 2017.

¹⁵ Opening statement of Congressman Tim Murphy (R-PA), “Fentanyl: The Next Wave of the Opioid Crisis.” Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations, U.S. House of Representatives, March 21, 2017.

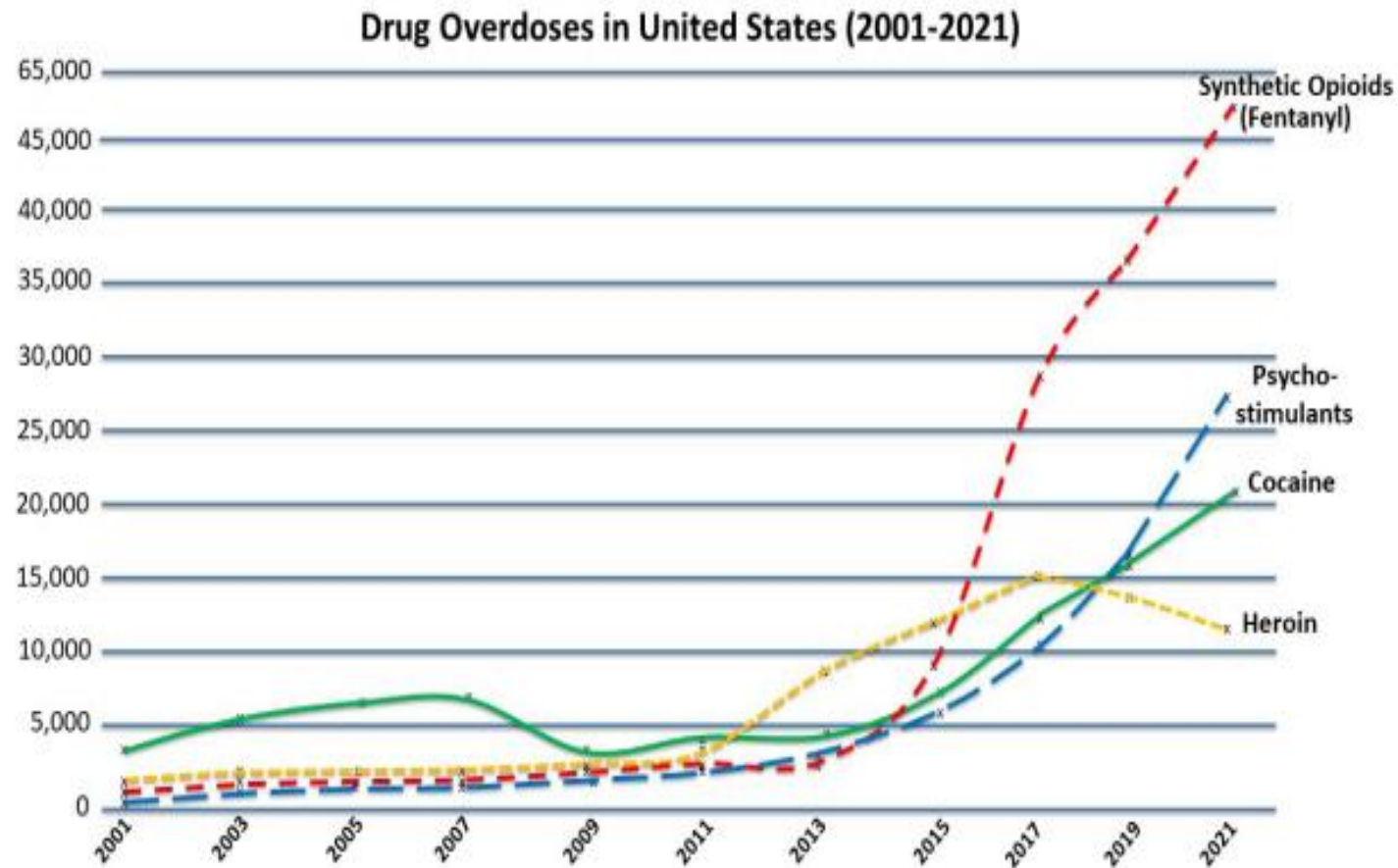


Figure 5. Overdose deaths in the United States, 2001-2021. In April 2021, the number of Americans dying from drug overdoses surpassed 100,000, primarily because of the fentanyl that had been laced into black market opioids and other narcotics. Drug overdoses from cocaine and psychostimulants (methamphetamines) have also risen dramatically. Overdose deaths from heroin, however, have taken a downturn since 2017. Source: overdose data drawn from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention at the National Center for Health Statistics (NCHS) through its searchable database, called CDC Wonder. Link: <https://www.drugabuse.gov/drug-topics/trends-statistics/overdose-death-rates>

The result is the worst wave of drug overdoses in the history of the United States. In the twelve months ending in April 2021, more than 100,000 Americans died from drug overdoses, most caused by fentanyl-laced heroin or opioids. That number – a 30 percent increase from the previous twelve months – is more than the combined total of deaths from car accidents and gun shootings.¹⁸ Fentanyl, a white powdery substance, is easy to mix with heroin because of its physical similarity. More than 40 percent of black-market prescription pills contain lethal amounts of fentanyl. Traffickers are even mixing the deadly drug into cocaine and methamphetamines also.¹⁹

¹⁸ Josh Katz and Margot Sanger-Katz, “It’s Huge, It’s Historic, It’s Unheard-of”: Drug Overdose Deaths Spike,” *New York Times*, 14 July 2021.

¹⁹ Sarah Maslin Nir, “Inside Fentanyl’s Mounting Death Toll: ‘This Is Poison,’” *New York Times*, 20 Nov 2021; Spencer Bokor-Lindell, “Overdoses Have Skyrocketed During the Pandemic. How Do We Stop Them?,” *New York Times*, 02 Dec 2021; Roni Caryn Rabin, “Overdose Deaths Reached Record High as the Pandemic Spread,” *New York Times*, 17 Nov 2021; Josh Katz and Margot Sanger-Katz, “It’s Huge, It’s Historic, It’s Unheard-of”: Drug Overdose Deaths Spike,” *New York Times*, July 14, 2021; Casey Schwartz, “How Fentanyl and Meth Took Over America,” *New York Times*, 02 Nov 2021.

Conclusion

Cocaine, heroin, and fentanyl are the biggest revenue makers for transnational criminal organizations that traffic illegal narcotics. User demand in the United States and other lucrative markets draws the drugs north. As every kilogram of cocaine makes its way from the Andes foothills through the littoral waters of the Central American isthmus, the bundles are dispersed through multiple means of transport in the Northern Triangle countries and then into the hands of violent Mexican cartels who compete for control of the routes north. The drug trail leaves death and chaos along its path. The Colombia cocaine bloom – in part because of the removal of the critical tool for aerial eradication – is an ominous harbinger of the growing challenges facing Western Hemisphere nations.

The heroin and fentanyl epidemics in the U.S. are, in many ways, a self-inflicted wound. Opioid ad-

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diction in the U.S. – much of it the responsibility of pharmaceutical companies who use immense profits to manipulate government oversight of their industry – led to the heroin epidemic in 2015 and the fentanyl crisis of 2017. The record number of overdoses from April 2020 to April 2021 took the lives of more than 100,000 Americans. For the foreseeable future, government leaders through the entire Western Hemisphere face a regional catastrophe that will continue to worsen if not addressed.

How Cryptocurrencies Are Empowering Transnational Criminal Organizations and Countries in Latin America



BY *CELINA REALUYO

MARCH 11, 2022

During the COVID-19 pandemic, life as we knew it changed dramatically as activities, both licit and illicit, moved to the virtual world. We witnessed shopping, college classes, diplomatic meetings, financial transactions, and organized crime activities transition online almost overnight. The pandemic has empowered transnational criminal organizations (TCOs) to establish new virtual markets for their drug, human, arms, and contraband trafficking and money laundering with cryptocurrencies.

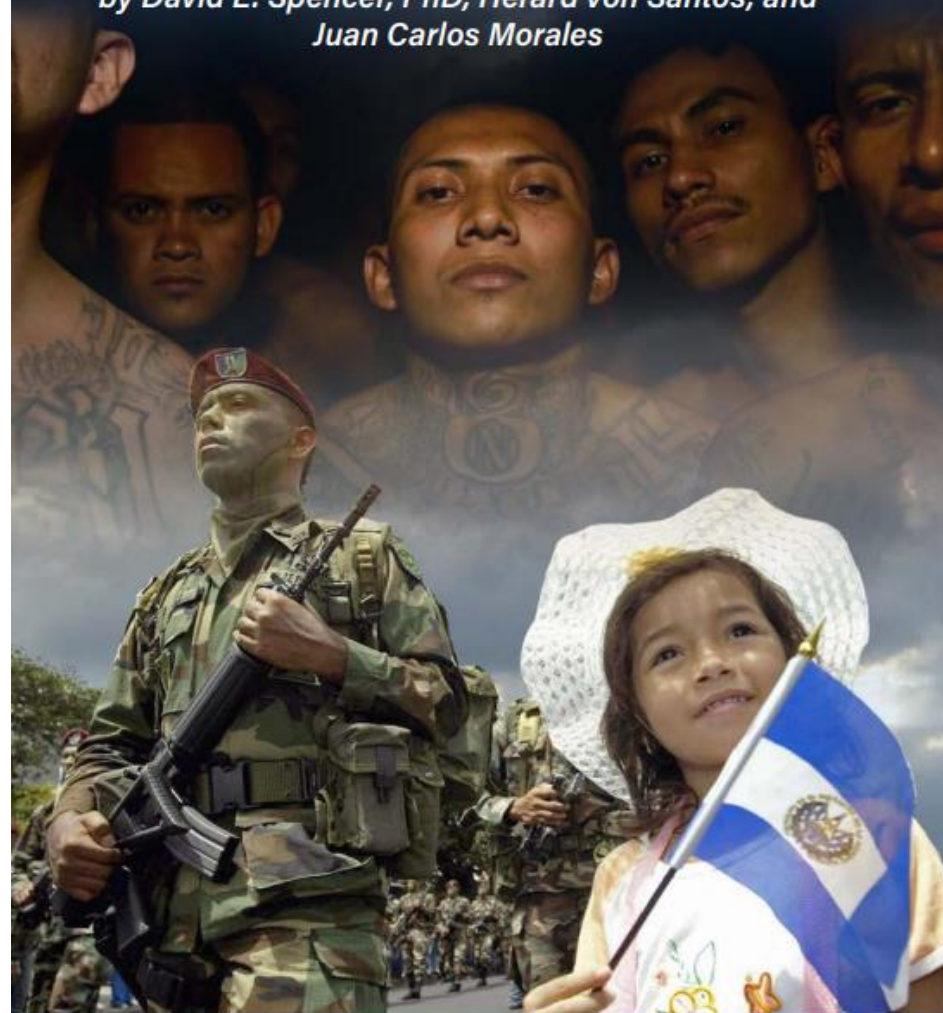
In 2021, cryptocurrencies have gone mainstream with more consumers using them to pay for goods and services and investing millions into Bitcoin, Ethereum, Dogecoin, and other virtual currencies that reached a total market capitalization of about \$2.2 trillion in September. A cryptocurrency is a medium of exchange that is digital, encrypted, decentralized, and unregulated in contrast to the U.S. dollar or the euro. Even governments themselves are exploring the possible issuance of central bank digital currencies or digital cash. The Venezuelan regime issued its own cryptocurrency, the petro, in 2018 purportedly backed by the country's oil and mineral reserves, and El Salvador became the first country to adopt Bitcoin as legal tender in September 2021.

TCOs turn to cybercrime and cryptocurrencies

Despite all the excitement, cryptocurrencies have been exploited by the dark side of globalization. The anonymity and portability of cryptocurrencies make them appealing to criminal groups, terrorist organizations, and rogue states. Criminals have plagued Bitcoin since its inception, with infamous darknet markets, like Silk Road, which peddled narcotics, weapons and child pornography, dominating the cryptocurrency headlines in the early years. Over the past decade, TCOs have increasingly turned to cyberspace and cryptocurrencies to expand their trafficking of drugs, guns, and people and launder their proceeds throughout Latin America. They have also become more involved in cybercrime, fraud, and ransomware that are difficult for authorities to detect and counter. According to the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA), both Mexican and Colombian TCOs have been increasing their use of virtual currencies to launder their illicit proceeds, because of the anonymity and speed of transactions they can afford. This evolution online has accelerated due to the COVID-19 pandemic as TCOs in Latin America have become more active and reliant on cyberspace.

ADVERSARIAL SYSTEM ANALYSIS OF THE SALVADORAN GANGS

*by David E. Spencer, PhD, Herard von Santos, and
Juan Carlos Morales*



WILLIAM J. PERRY CENTER *for*
HEMISPHERIC DEFENSE STUDIES

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Chapter XIII: Conclusions

What unique contributions does this study make to the body of previous studies on the Salvadoran gangs? The Adversarial System Approach has indeed allowed us to develop a holistic view of the gangs that bring together the characteristics of the criminal organization, sociological and political actor approaches. The gang system is all of these things and these areas need to be understood to develop correct strategies to deal with the gangs without making the mistake of overemphasizing one approach at the expense of another. This is important to avoid leaving significant gaps that lead to failures to adequately counter the gangs because they can take refuge in the aspect of the gangs that is being ignored or underemphasized and then regenerate once the government tires of their failed policy.

This approach reconfirms the strengths of the previously described approaches, but it also adds some previously ignored insights.

First, this study has revealed that the gangs do have an ideology. It is not what we typically think of as ideology. It is not formally a political ideology, although it has political impact. It is not an ideology to take control of a state, but it is an ideology to weaken the state and establish a parallel gang nation in the territories that they dominate both nationally and transnationally. This has a significant political impact at both the national and transnational level. It certainly challenges all of the social norms and structures that have been part of traditional society. Most importantly, it is an exclusionary ideology, one that only values the members and potential members of the in-group (the gang) while devaluing and dehumanizing the value of the members of the out-group (other gangs and those not in the gangs).

The background of the entire image is a digital-themed graphic. The top half features a dark blue background with a vertical stream of white and yellow binary code (0s and 1s) falling downwards, reminiscent of the 'Matrix' effect. The bottom half transitions into a lighter, yellowish-green background with intricate, colorful circuit board traces in shades of purple, blue, and orange. The title 'BIG DATA' is prominently displayed in the upper center, with 'BIG' and 'DATA' in large, bold, yellow letters with a black outline, and 'Too Big to Ignore for Latin America and the Caribbean' in smaller, bold, black letters below it.

BIG DATA

**Too Big to Ignore
for Latin America
and the Caribbean**

Dr. Boris Saavedra
edited by Kathleen Vaughan and Liliana Besosa

August 2017

INTRODUCTION:

Data is among the most valuable commodities of the 21st Century and Cyber Security is its guardian. Any nation hoping to successfully compete in the global ecosystem must be able to access, collect, process, analyze, make sense of and secure Big Data. Nations with a deep understanding of how to make sense of data to inform strategic decision making will have a distinct advantage in the decades to come. Data-informed decision making will be enabled by advanced analytics, augmented by artificial intelligence all within a comprehensive nation state competitive frameworks.

This paper addresses Big Data and Cyber Security from strategic, public, and private perspectives with a focus on Latin America and the Caribbean.

In this paper we will attempt the following:

Explain how current methods of data storage have changed from the first computers to the emergence of the NoSQL databases linked to big data analytics.¹

- Examine how data centers function.
- Discuss how governments and major companies utilize big data.
- Explain what the Cloud is and what it enables.
- Evaluate and explain Hadoop and Mongo databases; two most popular technologies for analyzing big data.
- Consider the challenges and opportunities associated with regional governmental policies and strategic solutions.
- Analyze the impact of big data surveillance on individuals' daily lives, communities, nations and society in terms of security and defense.

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R. Evan Ellis, The Rise of China
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NORTHCOM and SOUTHCOM
Posture Statements to the
U.S. Congress

Patricia Kehoe, Perry Center
Discusses Women in Peace and
Security

Book Review: *Narcoland: The
Mexican Drug Lords*
By Anabel Hernández
(translated by Iain Bruce)
Reviewed by Patricia Kehoe

Book Review: *Balancing Liberty
and Security: An Ethical Study
of U.S. Foreign Intelligence
Surveillance: 2001–2009*
By Michelle Louise Atkin
Reviewed by Kevin Newmeyer

The Rise of China in the Americas

R. Evan Ellis

Abstract

This article examines the expansion of economic, political, and military activities by the People's Republic of China in Latin America and the Caribbean. It examines how the presence is transforming the region, including the reformulation of the agenda of its leaders, businessmen, and publics, changes to its physical infrastructure, new patterns of trans-Pacific organized crime, fuel to extend the life of populist regimes, and impacts on how member countries relate to each other. It also analyzes how the new presence of China impacts U.S. interests in the region and globally, and how China both complements, and at times competes with, other external actors in the region, such as Russia, Iran, and India.

Introduction

The exponential expansion of Chinese trade, business, political, and military presence in the Americas since the beginning of the millennium is arguably one of the factors that has most transformed, and continues to transform, the economic and political environment of the hemisphere.

Prior to the admission of the People's Republic of China (PRC) into the World Trade Organization in 2001, Chinese commercial interactions with Latin America and the Caribbean were minimal, albeit growing rapidly. During that period, PRC relationships with countries of the region were relatively low-level, centering on matters such as persuading countries that diplomatically recognized the Republic of China (ROC) to change their position, and building friendships around the theme of developing world solidarity and the non-aligned movement.

The inflection point for the Chinese relationship with the region was arguably the 2001 PRC admission into the World Trade Organization, followed by the official promulgation of the "Go Out" strategy, as part of the 10th 5-Year plan of the Chinese Communist Party in 2002. WTO admission allowed Chinese companies

and Latin America and the Caribbean is also growing.⁵² Although there are no reliable statistics on the amount of Chinese-made products that enter Latin America and the Caribbean as contraband goods, a comparison between China's reported exports to the region and the region's reported imports from China suggests the extent of the problem. In 2012, the PRC reported sending \$33 billion more in goods to Latin America and the Caribbean than its countries collectively reported receiving—22 percent of total PRC-Latin America trade for that year.⁵³

Trans-Pacific criminal ties are also appearing in the informal mining sector in areas such as Michoacán (Mexico) and Madre de Dios (Peru), with all parts of the process from extraction of ore and its sale to local buyers to the consolidation of cargoes and their dispatch from Pacific Coast ports to Chinese buyers taxed—if not managed by—criminal groups.⁵⁴

With the expanding flows of goods, a trans-Pacific narcotics trade is also emerging, with Chinese and Indian companies becoming important suppliers of precursor chemicals to illegal synthetic drug laboratories in Mexico and Central America.⁵⁵ Conversely, states such as Colombia, Bolivia, and Peru are shipping cocaine and possibly other narcotics to the emerging Chinese market through ports such as Hong Kong.⁵⁶

Benefits of Perry Center Resources

- Learn how scholars and emerging policymakers are addressing Latin American and Caribbean security matters.
- Gain enhanced awareness of how security topics in these regions can affect U.S. national security interests.
- Learn how Latin American and Caribbean security topics can impact U.S. federal, state, and local government policymaking and security within individual communities.
- Gain increasing understanding of how Latin American and Caribbean security developments can affect our lives in areas such as public health, criminal justice, personal physical safety, immigration, drug abuse, local, state, and national government finance etc.
- Gain enhanced understanding of how Caribbean's and Latin Americans view security subjects confronting them.
- Learn how countries such as China, Iran, & Russia are seeking to advance their strategic interests in this area.