Border Security

Border Security

Second Edition

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Preface to the First Edition

Homeland security is Border Security!

We could argue that the more secure the border the more secure the homeland. We could also argue that a porous or open border offers better relations, and therefore better security than does a closed border. Consider Germany—a country that has been at war with its neighbors so many times in the past two centuries that you could expect it to be completely cordoned off and isolated by those who have been attacked by Germans, or who have invaded and conquered the country. Yet in today's world, just a quarter century after the fall of the Berlin Wall, any citizen or resident of the European Union can cross into, pass through, or even choose to move and work in Germany without having to pass through a border checkpoint or immigration process. Yet Germany today is arguably the most militarily and economically secure country on the European mainland. Germans, even with their problems with immigrants and neo-Nazis, still have one of the most secure homelands in the world. Why is the lack of border enforcement not a problem for Germany, but such a major problem for the U.S. and many other countries? This is one of the questions raised and answered in this text.

Where is the U.S. border? Some point south, others point north. Alaskan residents point east toward Canada and west toward Russia. I tell people that the border is in Des Moines, Iowa, just to see their faces get that screwy look. The reality is that the U.S. border really is in Des Moines. The city has an international airport, and therefore is a Port of Entry for travelers to enter and depart the U.S. Within the airport itself there is a boundary between where a person is within the U.S. and still outside of it, even though they are well within the confines of the territorial landmass of the country. The same can be said for any international airport anywhere in the world. This was recently demonstrated when Eric Snowden, the whistle blower of NSA fame, flew to Russia, and even though he was on the ground in Moscow, was still outside of the country itself and could not be arrested and extradited because he had not crossed through immigration and customs for admission and inspection. Therein lies the quandary of where a country's international borders begin and end. With the exception of a very small number of island nations, this question vexes all countries.

How much border security is enough security and at what point does border security become so obstructive to economy that society suffers? These questions are raised and sometimes answered in this text. So too is the history of borders and border security, the interaction between nations over time, and the unique open border experiment that is ongoing within the European Union.

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The fence being erected in places along the U.S.-Mexico border is not the first barrier between nations and will not be the last. However, in an attempt to provide security for the U.S. homeland, how much strain can the country put on our relationship with our southern neighbor and second largest trading partner before security efforts become counterproductive? This question is just as difficult to answer, as the question of how much crime is acceptable in a society. Answering such questions often results in offending the sensibilities and riling the emotions of everybody with a vested interest in any part of the answer to the question. This book will undoubtedly result in similar arguments but I must question the worth of a book that doesn't engender discussion.

Can America secure the homeland? Does a porous border threaten the homeland? Both questions can be answered if we ask and answer a qualifier: to what extent? If the U.S. wants a totally secure country, then fences, walls, free-fire dead zones are going to be needed along all our borders, including within airports and along over 95,000 miles of shoreline. Aircraft that stray off course will have to be shot down. Ships that come too close to territorial waters will need to be sunk. Communications that allow political and religious thought from perspectives that originate outside of the borders will need to be stifled. We would have to be willing to implement and accept Google China and the North Korean method of isolation. All the necessities required to produce true homeland security are anathema to a free people.

This textbook is about the politics of borders, the delineation of boundaries and the location and effectiveness of barriers. As a textbook it is not the answer to all the questions that arise about securing borders, yet it will drive the development of innumerable questions for other authors and researchers to attempt to answer. We look forward to incorporating those arguments and discussions in future editions.

There are several perils to being apolitical when writing a textbook. I do not mean that we modify our writing so as not to offend but that we take no side, politically, on any of the subjects discussed. We have tried our best to be as relevant as we could while still maintaining maximum neutrality in writing the text, yet still providing complete coverage of sensitive issues and developing proposed solutions to politically charged problems. One peril that we have experienced is that anybody of importance in any political administration simply cannot put a career on the line by writing an endorsement or foreword to your work. This becomes problematic when every administration in the recent past has maintained a position (in direct opposition to existing federal law) that drives development and maintenance of border porosity by political *fiat*.

When my co-authors and I came to an agreement that we would take on this effort, we decided not to gloss over the bare realities of U.S. border security efforts. We did not want the history or the politics of administrations to influence the writing we produced, or to allow for the falsification of statistics or manipulation of reported data. It was more important to us that we produced an apolitical work that reflects the realities of today in light of the long history of U.S.-Mexico and U.S.-Canada relationships.

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Another point that we hope you will find appropriate in this *Border Security* text is that we haven't neglected the incorporation of history in this book. The three of us have determined that without a thorough understanding of how the present border security situation developed, without comprehension of what efforts throughout human history have resulted in success and failure, it would be impossible for students of border and homeland security, as well as students of political and international relations and those who study borderlands, to develop effective strategies for the future. Our students, and we hope your students as well, will become the future leaders of the homeland security effort, the defenders of our national integrity, and perhaps even the political movers and shakers of tomorrow. Too many times have today's political leaders acted unilaterally on mythological versions of historical events to the detriment of nations, societies, cultures and the lives of America's defenders, on the international stage and in our own back yards. The students who are exposed to this text won't suffer from the disease of *mythification* of the past.

Determining what subjects to incorporate into this effort was difficult for us. Determining how much to write, while maintaining a textbook perspective of inclusiveness of relevant materials is no easy task. We appreciate your feedback and recommendations on where we should expand and reduce the content and concepts. At some point in writing about each of the included topics it was necessary to draw a line and say that we had enough relevant information to conclude the reader would understand the concept. To go further would belabor a point, or extend into the realm of a whole new book on that particular subject.

There is one other point necessary to address in this preface. As the very first textbook on the subject, *Border Security* took over two years to write. We had been collecting information and performing interviews for at least three years prior to Carolina Academic Press asking us to write this text. Some of the information included is, of course, a bit aged in a world where from month to month the fiscal arguments between political parties lead to changes in border security policy implementation, hiring freezes result in reduced border staffing, drug cartels morph and change tactics, and the dependency on energy imports is reduced even while under free trade agreements industrial manufacturing takes flight to other countries.

We are certain that you will find *Border Security* useful in your classes and as an excellent text for new classes that you are developing.

James R. Phelps, Ph.D. San Angelo, Texas, USA November 22, 2013

Foreword

My immediate response to the authors of *Border Security* upon being asked to pen the foreword to the 2nd edition was "I would consider it a privilege." *Border Security* stands alone as an authoritative and cogent textbook in the field of 'forward deployed' homeland security, that is, the protection of the sovereign borders of the United States across the multiple-domain frontier of land, sea, air, and cyberspace. No other academic textbook presently exists that comes anywhere near its comprehensive, clear, concise, and fair treatment of this subject matter. While somewhat similar works exist, they tend to be overly specialized with a sole emphasis on terrorism or illegal migration concerns, politicized with some sort of agenda in mind, or have fallen prey to critical revisionism or political alternative discourse.

This work, however, being solely educationally focused in its intent and intentionally written from inception as a textbook, does not suffer from such limitations. Instead, it strives to offer an 'honest broker' perspective—as much as is humanly possible—on the subject of historical and contemporary border security and, as a result, has immense classroom utility for both introductory and advanced topical teaching purposes. In addition, this textbook deftly achieves the appropriate balance between theory and practice and academic and professional considerations, which is an exceedingly difficult task to pull off in an almost 500 page text.

My association with the work spans four years, having been an early manuscript reviewer of it in draft form, an editorial reviewer, and later having reviewed it in the journal *Homeland Security Affairs*. I've also used the textbook in a graduate level course on *Narcos, Illicit Trafficking, and the Border* as an early foundational reading with excellent student feedback concerning its efficacy for such an intended use. I found the 1st edition of work to be an excellent product and, from my close reading of the 2nd edition galleys, I believe this new and updated version will follow in that tradition.

The new edition has been expanded by roughly eighty pages, with a slightly different format that incorporates a 'Key Words and Concepts' listing at the beginning of each chapter and 'Questions for Further Consideration' towards the end as student learning and teaching aids. Sections of the work on energy security have had major updates as have immigration issues and statistics now available from the Obama administration era. Further, recent historical events—the erection of the Hungarian border fence, for example—and present US/Mexico border policy considerations—such as the new Trump presidential administration's stance on expanding border wall construction—have been incorporated into the manuscript. With these changes in mind, I believe that both the scholar and the student will find the new and even

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further polished 2nd edition of *Border Security* to be a superb textbook that will facilitate both classroom and distance learning in a critical subfield of homeland security studies.

Robert J. Bunker, Ph.D. Claremont, California, USA November 2, 2017

Past Minerva Chair Strategic Studies Institute U.S. Army War College Carlisle, Pennsylvania, USA

Acknowledgments

Completing this book has been a long journey for the three of us and there are innumerable individuals without whose assistance we would have long ago died in the Southwest deserts. At the risk of missing people, we want to specifically recognize a few who have been most beneficial. It goes without saying that Beth Hall and Keith Sipe at Carolina Academic Press took a chance on us when they accepted our initial book idea. Thank you for guiding us through the process. Also at Carolina Academic Press we want to thank Grace Pledger for the skill she put into producing the final product you hold in your hands. To all the other people at CAP, we offer our thanks—you are a great publishing team who really look after your authors.

The research that went into writing the first edition took several years to accomplish. We gathered the materials over three years, starting in 2009, and published the first edition in 2014. This second edition has taken us another three years of monitoring government activities, requesting FOIA data from CBP and fighting to maintain consistency of the data they provided as the constantly changing policies of the Obama Administration made gathering real statistics nearly impossible, then watching the changes in the first year of the Trump Administration and trying to keep up with the rapidly evolving landscape of U.S. Border Security.

Bringing it all together would have been impossible were it not for several friends, faculty, and students. We want to thank, in particular, retired Senior Border Patrol Agents Randy Rigsby and his assistant David Estevis of the San Angelo Border Patrol Station who started us along this dusty trail. They were instrumental in sharing with us their love for the U.S. Border Patrol and their experiences in border security. So too were two Customs and Border Patrol Pilots, Special Agents Jon Herron and Andrew Duff. More importantly, recently retired Border Patrol Agent Cliff Crumley from the Rio Grand Valley and CBP Officer Tom Grady from the El Paso POE were instrumental in guiding us through the constant ups and downs of CBP morale and real-world happenings over the past four years. The tales of air interdiction, hunting cocaine submarines, and the cooperation they received from Mexican law enforcement were essential to our grasp of the subject matter contained in this book. The information these six guided us to is matched by the assistance of Homeland Security Investigations and Enforcement and Removal Operations Special Agents across west Texas. Due to the nature of their occupations it isn't possible to reference them by name, but the men and women of HSI/ICE who helped us have our thanks.

The number of law enforcement agents across the Southwest who assisted us in innumerable ways cannot be counted. From Del Rio Chief of Police (interim) Fred Knoll, who guided us through his border community and arranged for us to speak

at length with his senior officers about cross-border crime, to the individual Border Patrol Agents sitting at remote border sites who took the time to answer our questions, we owe you our thanks. To the residents of the border communities around the United States who offered their insight into local issues we also owe a debt of gratitude. We also need to thank the director and staff of the Border Patrol Museum in El Paso, Texas, for their long hours in helping us put together rare photos that are included in this work. Additional thanks go to Thom Phelps for his rendering of the Maginot and Siegfried Lines and to Christy Anzelmo for her reproduction of innumerable graphs and charts from UNODC and DOJ data in a quality adequate for printing.

Most importantly of all, we owe a huge thanks to our students. Your questions, and your answers to our questions, made this book possible. We hope that future students across the country learn much from your contributive efforts to this project.

There are a number of places in this text where we cite information from law enforcement professionals who currently work in the field—putting their lives on the line defending the borders of our country. Due to the nature of the material provided, we have consolidated their materials into generalizations and identified the authors as anonymous to protect their employment with various agencies. You took the biggest step in helping us with this effort and we owe you a great debt. Perhaps a day will come when we can publically acknowledge your assistance. Until then—you will have to settle for a beer when we occasionally meet.

Author Biographies

James Phelps is semi-retired professor teaching Homeland Security, Emergency Management, Cybersecurity and Cyber Conflict, Security Studies, GIS, WMD, Strategy and Critical Thinking for a number of online universities at the graduate (and sometimes undergraduate) level. He earned his B.A. in History from the University of Southern Colorado (2003), an M.A. in History from Sam Houston State University (2005), and remained there for his doctorate in Criminal Justice (2008). A retired U.S. Navy Senior Chief Machinist's Mate—submarines, he served the United States for over 21 years in the Navy Nuclear Power program, including 7 years holding both enlisted and commissioned status as a Limited Duty Officer. His military duty included serving on three nuclear powered submarines, two surface ships, and a SEAL Team. The undergraduate and graduate programs he developed in Homeland and Border Security for Angelo State have been recognized as some of the very best in the nation. He has developed Master's Degrees in Diplomacy and in Security Studies, and a Ph.D. in Security and Strategic Studies for a university in Dubai, where he taught in the 2016–2017 academic year. Among other books, his text, What Happened to the Iraqi Police: Applying Lessons in Police Democratization Efforts in West Germany and Japan (2010), also published by Carolina Academic Press, has proven to be prophetic in post-U.S. Iraq.

Jeff Dailey is an Associate Professor in the Department of Security Studies and Criminal Justice at Angelo State University. He teaches graduate courses in the Intelligence, Security Studies, and Analysis program. He also teaches in ASU's Homeland Security program. He has a background working in military intelligence, primarily SIGINT, with Army and Air Force intelligence groups, both CONUS and overseas. His Ph.D. is in Criminal Justice from Sam Houston State University in Huntsville, TX (2002). He earned his M.S. in Criminal Justice (1994) from Eastern Kentucky University. He also attended Florida Atlantic University where he earned his B.A.S. in Computer Systems and a B.S. in Physics. He has co-authored books on Texas Probation, Border Security, and the Sexual Abuse of Female Inmates and authored several book chapters.

Monica Koenigsberg is an Associate Professor of Criminal Justice in the Department of Security Studies and Criminal Justice (DSSCJ) at Angelo State University in San Angelo, Texas. Earning a B.S. in Administration of Justice from Wichita State University (1990), an M.C.J. (Criminal Justice) from the Graduate School of Public Affairs at the University of Colorado at Denver (1998), and a Ph.D. in Criminal Justice from Sam Houston State University (2008). She is a former commissioned police officer (Kansas) and a former prison officer (Colorado Peace Officer). Dr. Koenigsberg par-

ticipated in the curriculum reorganization of the undergraduate Criminal Justice program at ASU and developed the graduate program in Criminal Justice which crosslists elective courses with the Homeland Security master's program. Dr. Koenigsberg's dissertation, *Mediated Images of Crime and Justice: A Grounded Theory Methodology Examination of One Strand of Discourse* indicates her interest in both qualitative methodology and perceptions of crime and justice. Other interests include exploring the nexus of incarceration and society as well as media depictions relating to the criminal justice system, its denizens and workers.