

of cuentapropismo (2017, 2018) and the datas of the National Bureau of Statistics and Information of Cuba (Oficina Nacional de Estadística e Información, ONEI).

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The Future of Hispanics Under Donald Trump's Immigration Policy – a Debate Based on the First Years of the Presidency

Since the second half of the XX century, American immigration policy has been strongly affected by the flow of Latin American immigrants. The Hart-Cellar Act (the Immigration and Nationality Act), enacted in 1965, prioritized family reunification. For many Hispanic immigrants already present in the USA, it meant that they were granted an opportunity to bring their numerous relatives to live on American soil with them. Apart from the immigration law, there were many reasons that made Latin Americans dream about entering the United States. To paraphrasing Ravenstein's theory, they were both "pulled" and "pushed" to migrate. A simple comparison of the economies of sending countries and the USA shows the existence of deep disparities. The opportunities offered by the American economy acted as a strong factor encouraging people to move northward. On the other hand, crime and lack of public security pushed Latin Americans to look for a better and safer place to live. Since the 70's, the number of Hispanic immigrants entering the USA has been steadily and inexorably growing. Today, there are an estimated 58 million Hispanics living in the USA, accounting for 18% of the nation's population. 34,4% of Hispanics are immigrants. Hispanics of Mexican origin accounted for 63,3% (36 million) of the nation's Hispanic population in 2015, by far the largest share of any origin group. Salvadorans, Cubans, Dominicans, Guatemalans and Colombians all have populations of more than 1 million, and each of these groups has also seen its population increase over the past decade.¹ Keeping in mind this large number of people of Latin American origin residing in the USA, it is important to also remember the large number of unauthorized immigrants. Estimates say there were 11 million unauthorized immigrants in the U.S. in 2015, representing 3.4% of the total U.S. population. The number of unauthorized immigrants from nations other than Mexico has grown, mainly because of the increasing number of Central Americans entering the USA without authorization.² Hispanics are an important part of American society and a challenge to state policies. Their presence is felt in many aspects of all citizens' lives. Non-Hispanics have to deal with neighbors celebrating different holidays, employees who do not speak English, or friends

¹ Antonio FLORES: 'How the U.S. Hispanic population is changing,' Pew Research Center, September 18, 2017, pewrsr.ch/2w4OfPs [Downloaded: March 13, 2018]

² Jens Manuel KROGSTAD – Jeffrey S. PASSEL – D'Vera COHN: '5 facts about illegal immigration in the U.S.,' Pew Research Center, April 27, 2017, pewrsr.ch/2oWlM93 [Downloaded March 13, 2018]

living in fear of deportation. On the other hand, the state has to face the problem of effective control over foreigners staying in the country. National security has become extremely important since the 9/11 terrorist attack. Since then, American immigration policy is considered an integral part of the national security strategy. Given the above-mentioned facts, it is obvious that Hispanics are an important part of American immigration policy. They are not only foreigners staying illegally in the USA; many of them are also voters. It is believed that Hispanics' electoral power will be growing in the future. So far, it has not been fully exercised because many eligible Latinos have never registered to vote. During the presidential campaign in 2016, Donald Trump did not gain a significant number of Hispanic votes. He is a well-known critic of uncontrolled immigration. First as a candidate and then as a president, he has favored a hard-line immigration policy. His first immigration decisions brought conflicts and tension. Some were discussed in the courts, such as "the Muslim travel ban".

This article discusses changes introduced in American immigration policy by President Donald Trump. There were two important research questions: first, how will the situation of different Latin American immigrant groups change, and second, what parts of contemporary immigration policy will affect Hispanics already living in the USA. The analysis focused on both illegal and legal immigration. However, due to the complex nature of immigration changes implemented in American immigration law, this discussion had to be narrowed to a few problems only.

Donald Trump and Hispanics

The political relationship between Donald Trump and the Hispanic minority is rather harsh. This is first of all because Hispanics usually favor Democrats in their political support, and second because of Trump's stance on immigrants. Last but not least, it is because the American president has a very clear opinion on Latinos. In June 2015, while introducing his candidacy for the presidency, he said: "When Mexico sends its people, they're not sending the best. They're sending people that have lots of problems and they're bringing those problems. They're bringing drugs, they're bringing crime. They're rapists and some, I assume, are good people, but I speak to border guards and they're telling us what we're getting."³

In the 2016 election, it was Hillary Clinton who won the Hispanic vote (66%). The level of support for the Democratic Party has been quite stable among Latinos. According to the Pew Research Center, in 2008 Barack Obama was backed by 67% and four years later, 71% of Hispanic voters helped him to win.⁴ A very similar sit-

³ '30 of Donald Trump's wildest quotes,' CBS News, cbsn.ws/2Fj8oVS [Downloaded November 7, 2018]

⁴ Jens Manuel KROGSTAD – Mark Hugo LOPEZ: 'Hillary Clinton won Latino vote but fell below 2012 support for Obama,' Pew Research Center, November 29, 2016, pewrsr.ch/2gDb8n2 [Downloaded: June 25, 2018]

uation can be observed among voters of Hispanic origin supporting Republicans. In 2008 John McCain won 31% of their votes, in 2012 Mitt Romney collected 27%, and Donald Trump was supported by 28%. It is also important to remember that the level of political support is also based on the party's activity to mobilize its electorate. According to Latino Decision's findings, in 2016 the Democratic Party was twice as active in mobilizing Latino voters as the Republican Party.⁵

Although Hispanic voters are still a minority, they are considered important players on the American political scene. Their electoral power is growing. In 2016, there were 27.3 million Latinos eligible to vote (12% of all eligible voters). This was 4 million more than four years earlier, and it was the largest surge of any racial/ethnic group. It is also important that the number of Hispanic voters is growing in battleground states. These are states where electoral battles have been fierce, so far, due to the comparable political strength between the Democratic Party and the Republican Party. An increase in the power of the Latino vote can strengthen Democrats in these states. Hispanics have favored them over Republicans in every presidential election since the 1980s. Although in battleground states the share of Latino voters is significant (in 2016 in Arizona it was 22 percent of the electorate, in Colorado – 14.5%, Florida – 18%, Nevada – 17%, New Mexico – 40% and Texas – 28%)⁶, their electoral power has been limited by the level of political participation, which is relatively low.⁷ In the 2012 election about half of the eligible Latino electorate voted.

Although most Latinos favor Democrats, nearly one in five supported Donald Trump in the last election. It surprised some commentators who expected all Latinos to condemn Trump's candidacy. However, the characteristics of Hispanics living in the USA are usually simplified, especially in public discourse. The group is most often considered homogeneous. Its members, all but Brazilians, speak Spanish and represent a similar cultural heritage; they are all immigrants, or descendants of immigrants. They usually work in blue collar jobs and a many of them are staying in the USA illegally. Yet this picture of Latinos is not supported by detailed scientific data. The Hispanic minority group is, in fact, heterogeneous. Some of them are recent arrivals, while some have ancestors who have been living on American territory since the Mexican-American War in 1848 (before the war it was Mexican territory). US Latinos are Black, Asian, Jewish, catholic, evangelical, etc. It is unrealistic to treat them as a block or expect them to make decisions as a block, or to believe that Hispanics can mirror African-American voters just because some of them are black.⁸ Cuban-Americans or Puerto Ricans do not share the same expecta-

⁵ Adrian PANTOJA: 'Latino voters say Democrats Are Mobilizing them to Vote by 3-1 margin.' Latino Decisions, October 13, 2016, bit.ly/2JaZPFx [Downloaded: July 11, 2018]

⁶ Ibidem.

⁷ Grace SPARKS: 'Hispanic Voter Registration Is Up, But Polls Suggest That They Are Less Likely To Vote.' Huffington Post, July 25, 2016, bit.ly/2tzIoQo [Downloaded: June 25, 2018]

⁸ Raul A. REYES: 'Why some Latinos are backing Trump.' CNN, November 2, 2016, cnn.it/2JdZmJG [Downloaded: July 11, 2018]

many asylum seekers were trapped at the border. For many years American border with Mexico was crowded by unaccompanied minors trying to enter the country.¹⁹ Most of them came from the so-called Northern Triangle (Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras).²⁰ “In 2017, the majority of these children were between 15 to 18 years old, and 94% were referred to the refugee-resettlement office after fleeing violence in Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador. Only 3% were from Mexico.”²¹ Their presence at American gates raised humanitarian concerns. Common procedures required time-consuming proceedings to determine if a child was entitled to stay in the USA or should be deported. Many of those claiming asylum had no legal representation and were given a deportation order. Other minors apprehended at the border were held in detention centers for weeks. In 2018, the average stay in a shelter has been 56 days. Human rights advocates have stressed that the conditions in such facilities were close to those in prison.²² They also pointed out that, according to estimates, about 50 percent of those trying to enter the United States had parents already residing there. Moreover, up to 80 percent of them had a relative able to take care of them while their case was processed by American authorities.²³ In addition, public opinion urged the Department of Health and Human Services (who is responsible for children who arrive at the border without parents or guardians) to place minors with their relatives. However, it soon appeared that this solution brought new problems. In April 2018, officials from the Department of Health and Human Services reported they were not able to reach almost 1,500 minors placed with their relatives or other sponsors.²⁴ When the media announced that children were lost and anti-immigration organizations were blaming authorities for losing control, the Trump administration disclaimed the fact and called it “false and misleading”.²⁵

¹⁹ Anna BARTNIK: ‘Unaccompanied Child Migration from Central America to the United States.’ In: *Conflicts and Cooperation. Inter-American Relations in the 20th and 21st Centuries*, HORVATH, EMOKE (ed.), L’Harmattan, Budapest, 2017, 71–93; Katharine M. DONATO – Blake SISK: ‘Children’s Migration to the United States from Mexico and Central America: Evidence from the Mexican and Latin American Migration Projects.’ *Journal on Migration and Human Security*, vol. 3, no. 1, 2015, 58–79.

²⁰ Jana SLADKOVA – Rebecca EDWARDS: ‘Hondurans and Honduran Americans 1940-present.’ In *Immigrants in American History: Arrival, Adaptation, and Integration*, BARKAN, E. R. (ed.), Vol. 3, Santa Barbara, California, 2013, 975–986.

²¹ Ellen CRANLEY – Michelle MARK: ‘What happens when migrant children arrive at the US border, with or without their parents,’ *Business Insider*, May 30, 2018, [read.bi/2MNDDy7](https://www.businessinsider.com/immigrant-children-us-border-2018-5) [Downloaded: August 24, 2018]

²² Kate ENGLUND: ‘Protecting the Human Rights of Unaccompanied Immigrant Minors.’ *Social Science Administration Magazine*, 2011, 10–17.

²³ Danielle RENWICK: ‘Washington’s Child Migrant Dilemma.’ Council on Foreign Relations, August 20, 2015, [on.cfr.org/1K8VtDG](https://www.cfr.org/1K8VtDG) [Downloaded: August 24, 2018]

²⁴ Emily SHUGERMAN: ‘Trump administration lost track of nearly 6,000 unaccompanied child immigrants last year, figures suggest.’ *Independent*, June 19, 2018, [ind.pn/2tahTBQ](https://www.independent.co.uk/news/immigration/trump-administration-lost-track-nearly-6000-unaccompanied-child-immigrants-last-year-figures-suggest-8181111.html) [Downloaded: August 24, 2018]

²⁵ CRANLEY – MARK: *op.cit.*

The incumbent president of the United States had to face even harsher criticism when he supported a “zero tolerance” immigration policy introduced by Jeff Sessions (US Attorney General) on April 6, 2018 and announced the ending of the “catch and release” policy on the same day.²⁶ It affected Hispanic migrant families trying to enter the United States and resulted in an emotional drama. The issue also raised questions about human rights and particularly children’s rights. Donald Trump, since the first day in his office, has been trying to change present immigration policy. His efforts aimed to develop restrictions both on illegal immigrants and legal foreign residents. The “zero tolerance” policy’s goal was to deter families from coming to the Mexican-American border. After apprehension, parents were separated with their children. While adults were waiting for their deportation in jail, minors were labeled “unaccompanied” and turned over to the procedure mentioned above. The media reported that “between October 1, 2017 and May 31, 2018, at least 2,700 children have been split from their parents. 1,995 of them were separated over the last six weeks of that window—April 18 to May 31—indicating that at present, an average of 45 children are being taken from their parents each day.”²⁷ It is worth mentioning that, according to American immigration law, all adults caught crossing into the US illegally are supposed to be criminally prosecuted. In this case, family separation was inevitable, and it was not a new idea. However, Donald Trump’s intention in this situation was to stop the so-called “catch and release” policy. It has been in use since the George W. Bush administration and meant that unauthorized immigrant families were allowed to live in the USA until their immigration proceedings would be over. The problem was that courts were overloaded with cases and it could take many years. Given other limitations, there were no better solutions. Children could not be legally detained longer than 20 days and the number of facilities corresponding with detained families’ needs was insufficient.

Hispanic organizations in the USA condemned the president’s policy. Janet Murguia from UnidosUS²⁸ commented: “The inhuman cruelty of the Trump Administration’s policy of separating families at the border takes an even more tragic turn. This horrific policy can and must end NOW.”²⁹ On June 19, 2018, Hispanic Federation President José Calderón also issued a statement calling for action: “Hispanic Federation and its network of more than 100 Latino nonprofits call on members of both parties, but especially Republicans who continue to empower and give

²⁶ Margaret HARTMANN: ‘Trump Returns to ‘Catch and Release’ for Migrant Families – But Maybe Not for Long.’ *Daily Intelligencer*, 07/11/2018, [nym.ag/2KUSIOB](https://www.dailyintelligencer.com/2018/07/11/trump-returns-to-catch-and-release-for-migrant-families-but-maybe-not-for-long/) [Downloaded: August 25, 2018]

²⁷ Dara LIND: ‘The Trump administration’s separation of families at the border, explained.’ *Vox.com*, June 15, 2018, [bit.ly/2sRCUkB](https://www.vox.com/2018/6/15/13811111/trump-separation-families-border-explained) [Downloaded: August 25, 2018]

²⁸ One of the largest national Latino civil rights and advocacy organization in the United States.

²⁹ Janet MURGUÍA: ‘The children paying the price for Trump’s war on Latinos.’ *Medium.com*, June 13, 2018, [bit.ly/2JcXHaq](https://medium.com/@janetmurguia/the-children-paying-the-price-for-trumps-war-on-latinos-8181111) [Downloaded: August 25, 2018]

cover to the President's noxious xenophobic agenda, to immediately and forcefully demand that this Administration end the policy of forced separations."³⁰

Donald Trump's decision was questioned by the court. In June 2018, a federal judge ordered that families arrested while crossing the border illegally could no longer be separated. Moreover, the court ruled that the government must reunite within 30 days those families that had been split up. In those cases where children were younger than five, immigration agents had to reunite them with their parents within 14 days.³¹ The president finally signed an executive order and ended his controversial policy.³² However, after announcing his decision, in a short speech Trump reiterated his goals again and assured that his immigration policy had not changed: "We're going to keep families together but we still have to maintain toughness or our country will be overrun by people, by crime, by all of the things that we don't stand for and that we don't want."³³

Trump's bargaining card

To protect the country against the flow of illegal immigrants from Latin America, Donald Trump opted for building a wall at the Mexican-American border. During the presidential campaign, he declared that the government of Mexico would pay for it, because most of the unauthorized immigrants were coming from this country. Gerónimo Gutiérrez, the Mexican ambassador to the US, commented: "We don't think that's the right way to go. Quite frankly, we find it aggressive, offensive. But we respect the right of the United States to take a decision to secure its border in the way they see appropriate."³⁴ Trump's idea of building a wall was criticized also within the country as it was proposed at a time when the number of border apprehensions had significantly dropped and were at historic lows.³⁵ The cost of the wall was an important issue, but estimates provided by different sources varied. At first Donald Trump was talking about \$10–12 billion, but later he admitted that it

could cost about \$18 billion. Congressional Republicans expected expenditures of \$12–15 billion, and Democratic senators warned it could cost up to \$70 billion.³⁶ Considering the fact that border enforcement was successful, the number of illegal crossings had decreased and the high cost of the wall, there was not enough support for the president's idea.

For many Hispanics already living in the USA, border militarization did not mean a significant change in their everyday life. The data released by the Pew Research Center revealed that the most important issue for members of this group was education, then jobs and health care.³⁷ But President Donald Trump's immigration policy challenged Latinos' priority interests and drew the group's attention to migration. As mentioned above, Trump could not convince Congress to spend money on the wall. He expressed his disappointment in a tweet: "The Democrats have been told, and fully understand, that there can be no DACA without the desperately needed WALL at the Southern Border and an END to the horrible Chain Migration & ridiculous Lottery System of Immigration etc. We must protect our Country at all cost!"³⁸

The Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) was a program introduced in 2012 by President Barack Obama's executive order.³⁹ It provided protection from immediate deportation to certain undocumented immigrants, many of whom had come to the USA as young children. Obama announced the program when it became clear that the project of the DREAM Act (the Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors Act) had no chance of gaining enough votes in Congress to become a law. Young undocumented immigrants, who were supposed to be the beneficiaries of the new regulation, have since been called Dreamers. In September 2017, Donald Trump announced that he was going to phase out the DACA program, and almost 800,000 program recipients (nearly 80% of them were of Mexican origin) found themselves in danger of possible deportation. Immigration agents had information on their illegal status and personal data necessary to start the procedure of removal.⁴⁰ Although Mexican authorities gave assurances that

³⁰ 'HF Statement on Trump Administration's Inhumane Family Separation Policy.' Hispanic Federation, June 19, 2018, bit.ly/2o7gVmD [Downloaded: August 25, 2018]

³¹ Joanna WALTERS: 'Judge orders US to reunite families separated at border within 30 days.' The Guardian, June 27, 2018, bit.ly/2lBAimL [Downloaded: August 25, 2018]

³² 'Affording Congress an Opportunity to Address Family Separation.' The White House, June 20, 2018, bit.ly/2l7MEM9 [Downloaded: August 25, 2018]

³³ Miles PARK – Scott DETROW – Kelsey SNELL: 'Trump Signs Order To End Family Separations.' NPR.org, n.pr/2o5p5vM [Downloaded: August 25, 2018]

³⁴ Ted HESSON: 'DACA goes to Congress.' Politico, September 07, 2017, politi.co/2LxYm4i. [Downloaded: August 28, 2018]

³⁵ Preston HUENNEKENS: 'Visualizing Border Apprehensions under Trump.' Center for Immigration Studies, July 10, 2018, bit.ly/2LpHWuQ. [Downloaded: August 25, 2018]; Michelle MARK – Shayanne GAL: 'Border-crossing arrests are at historic lows—but Trump is still bemoaning a 'drastic surge' in illegal immigration', Business Insider, April 06, 2018, read.bi/2PBgpKd [Downloaded: August 25, 2018]

³⁶ Vanda FELBAB-BROWN: 'The Wall. The real costs of a barrier between the United States and Mexico.' Brookings Institution, August 2017, brook.gs/2ipAh6F. [Downloaded: August 25, 2018] Chris GRAHAM – Robert MIDGLEY: 'Mexico border wall: What is Donald Trump planning, how much will it cost and who will pay for it?' The Telegraph, August 23, 2017, bit.ly/2k4wE5u. [Downloaded: August 25, 2018]

³⁷ Mark HUGO LOPEZ – Ana GONZALEZ-BARRERA – Jens Manuel KROGSTAD: 'Top Issues Among Latinos in 2016.' Pew Research Center, October 10, 2016, pewrsr.ch/2Niejoh [Downloaded: August 25, 2018]

³⁸ Louis NELSON: 'Trump to Dems: No DACA deal without the border wall.' Politico, 12/29/2017, politi.co/2DRaiTj [Downloaded: August 28, 2018]

³⁹ 'The Dream Act, DACA, and Other Policies Designed to Protect Dreamers.' American Immigration Council, September 06, 2017, bit.ly/2hgQ7g2. [Downloaded: August 28, 2018]

⁴⁰ Ted HESSON: 'DACA goes to Congress.' Politico, September 07, 2017, politi.co/2LxYm4i. [Downloaded: August 28, 2018]

they were going to welcome their citizens deported from the USA and help them, the situation of Dreamers was serious. Most of them had been brought to the USA when they were kids. They had graduated from American schools and universities, were fluent in English and fully assimilated.⁴¹ In many cases, they didn't even remember their origin countries, and some of them had problems with Spanish. The media reported about the drama experienced by the deported Dreamers who had no close relatives in their origin countries. American public opinion supported Dreamers and marches were organized in the streets of big cities in California, Washington, Nevada, New York and other states.⁴² Donald Trump's decision to end DACA caused tension not only in Congress, but also in society. President Enrique Peña Nieto commented that "any decision was up to the US institutions"⁴³, and in the end it was the court which made a final decision. Federal judges in California, New York and the District of Columbia were ordered to continue processing DACA renewals.⁴⁴ However, the problem was not over. In May 2018, Texas and seven other states filed suit against the DACA program. At the end of August 2018, the media reported that a judge from Texas was getting ready to announce his opinion on the renewal of the program. The judge, Andrew Hanen, a well-known conservative jurist, blocked one of Obama's executive orders on immigration earlier, in 2015.⁴⁵ If he now decides that DACA can be barred, it will deepen divisions and create a legal limbo brought about by conflicting court orders.

Legal immigration challenge

President Trump's immigration proposals confronted Hispanics living in the USA legally. During the presidential campaign, a key part of his speeches on terrorism, national security and immigration was the so-called "chain migration" phenomenon. It is a derogatory term describing family reunification or family migration. According to American law, US citizens and legal permanent residents (green card holders) are allowed to petition the government to allow their relatives to enter the USA.⁴⁶ According to the State Department, nearly 4 million people were on the waiting list

⁴¹ Alan GOMEZ: 'What the Supreme Court ruling means for DACA and almost 700,000 undocumented immigrants.' USA Today, 02/26/2018, usat.ly/2PLQcss. [Downloaded: August 28, 2018]

⁴² Henry GASS: 'With dueling DACA cases, Supreme Court showdown seems inevitable.' *The Christian Science Monitor*, May 04, 2018, bit.ly/2tdGk10. [Downloaded: August 28, 2018]

⁴³ Kaitlynn SCHALLHOM: 'What is DACA and what does the Trump administration want to do with it?' FoxNews.com, June 18, 2018, fxn.ws/2MCQOTu. [Downloaded: August 28, 2018]

⁴⁴ Alan GOMEZ – Sophie KAPLAN: 'DACA was supposed to end Monday. It didn't, but DREAMERS remain anxious.' USA Today, 03/06/2018, usat.ly/2wkq6ES. [Downloaded: August 28, 2018]

⁴⁵ 'Is DACA heading for the Supreme Court?' *The Economist*, August 28, 2018, econ.st/2MyThQI. [Downloaded: August 28, 2018]

⁴⁶ Rafael BERNAL: 'What is chain migration?' The Hill, January 25, 2018, bit.ly/2PMENxd. [Downloaded: August 28, 2018]

for family-based visas in FY 2018. Among them there were 1.2 million Mexicans, 100 thousand Haitians, 70 thousand Salvadorans and 60 thousand Cubans.⁴⁷

During President Trump's State of the Union address he claimed: "Under the current, broken system, a single immigrant can bring in virtually unlimited numbers of distant relatives."⁴⁸ This false information was immediately questioned in a public debate.⁴⁹ Current immigration law allows bringing over only the closest family members. It means that sponsoring is limited to spouses, children, siblings and parents.⁵⁰ It denies the presidential theory of infinite chain migration. Trump's hostility towards legal immigrants was based both on real and imaginary numbers. According to available data, every year about one million new legal immigrants enter the USA. The Department of Homeland Security statistics show that about half of them are "initiating immigrants", while the other half is family members reuniting with relatives.⁵¹ When we compare this fact with the share of Latino immigrants out of the total permanent immigrant population, which reaches 30% for only five origin countries (Mexico 15%, Cuba 6%, Dominican Republic 5%, Haiti 2%, El Salvador 2%),⁵² we can find the grounds for anti-immigrant prejudice and fears. Moreover, in a public debate it is very often underlined that Hispanic families are big. They are blamed not only for giving birth to too many children (a child born on American soil becomes an American citizen, even if her/his parents are staying in the USA illegally) but also for bringing their countless relatives in the USA.

Donald Trump's immigration policy aims to limit the number of legal permanent immigrants. To achieve his goal, the President proposed to end the Diversity Visa Program that was instituted in the 1980s. Rules of the program say that each year 55,000 green cards (permanent resident card) are available for citizens of underrepresented countries. Winners of the lottery, who are randomly chosen by computer program, "must have the equivalent of at least a high school education or two years of work experience during the past five at a job that required at least two

⁴⁷ 'Annual Report of Immigrant Visa Applicants in the Family-sponsored and Employment-based preferences Registered at the National Visa Center as of November 1, 2017.' bit.ly/2ok1yro. [Downloaded: August 28, 2018]

⁴⁸ 'President Donald J. Trump's State of the Union Address.' The White House, January 30, 2018, bit.ly/2ntDOJx. [Downloaded: August 29, 2018]

⁴⁹ David Scott FITZGERALD: 'Chain migration' doesn't work the way Trump tells you it does.' The Hill, February 04, 2018, bit.ly/2s9vbAp. [Downloaded: August 28, 2018]; KENEALLY, Megan, 'Conflicting feelings about 'chain migration' on display at State of the Union,' abcNews.com, January 31, 2018, abcn.ws/2PLF2E9. [Downloaded: August 28, 2018]

⁵⁰ Ryan BAUGH: 'U.S. Lawful Permanent Residents: 2016.' Department of Homeland Security, December 2017, bit.ly/2N1F63X. [Downloaded: August 29, 2018]

⁵¹ Jessica VAUGHAN: 'Immigration Multipliers. Trends in Chain Migration.' Center for Immigration Studies, September 2017, bit.ly/2t6vcFD. [Downloaded: August 29, 2018]

⁵² Jie ZONG – Jeanne BATALOVA – Jeffrey HALLOCK: 'Frequently Requested Statistics on Immigrants and Immigration in the United States'. Migration Policy Institute, February 08, 2018, bit.ly/2MEKRpP. [Downloaded: August 29, 2018]

years of training”.⁵³ The Diversity Lottery is criticized by President Trump for opening American gates for terrorists. Others feel it is unjust that under the preference system their relatives have to wait many years before they are allowed to enter the country and reunite with family already living in the USA, when lottery winners do it in a year or two.⁵⁴

The President's most recent immigration plan is to make it harder to become an American citizen. Any legal permanent resident who has used public benefits, for example, Obamacare (the Affordable Care Act insurance program, ACA), food stamps (the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program, SNAP), or the child insurance program will be ineligible.⁵⁵ According to some experts, it could affect about 20 million immigrants. Study shows that naturalization has been an important issue for Latinos. In 2014, 84% out of 400 Hispanics interviewed by The National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials (NALEO) Educational Fund and Latino Decisions considered it a significant goal in their life.⁵⁶ However, the survey conducted by the Pew Research Center revealed that Mexicans (legal residents) were the least likely to become naturalized. Although they accounted for a third of the total population who could apply for American citizenship, their naturalization rate was disproportionately low. While the naturalization rate for non-Mexicans had risen in 2015 to 74 percent, among Mexicans it rose only to 42 percent.⁵⁷ Despite immigrants' wish to become naturalized, many Hispanics could not pass the language and civics tests that are part of naturalization process. Moreover, 35% of Mexicans admitted that language was the biggest barrier.⁵⁸

It is also worth noting that an idea to exclude immigrants benefitting government programs from naturalization, does not seem very accurate considering Hispanic population. Latino enrollment in ACA or SNAP dropped. Even legal residents are afraid to apply, because of unauthorized family members whom they don't want to put in danger.

⁵³ Brian CLARK: 'Less than 1 percent win the US green-card lottery—here's how it works.' CNBC, March 05, 2018, cnb.cx/2OomcSU. [Downloaded: August 29, 2018]

⁵⁴ Richard GONZALES: 'How The Diversity Visa Lottery Works.' NPR.org, 11/03/2017, n.pr/2PQ4Pes. [Downloaded: August 29, 2018]

⁵⁵ Emily SHUGERMAN: 'Trump 'planning to make it harder for legal immigrants to gain citizenship.' Independent, August 07, 2018, ind.pn/2M96Ymw. [Downloaded: August 29, 2018]

⁵⁶ 'Barriers to Naturalization for Latino Green Card Holders.' US-Immigration.com, April 16, 2014, bit.ly/2otx4Dr. [Downloaded: August 29, 2018]

⁵⁷ Ana GONZALES-BARRERA: 'Mexican Lawful Immigrants Among the Least Likely to Become U.S. Citizens.' Pew Research Center, June 29, 2017, pewhispanic.org/2017/06/29/mexican-lawful-immigrants-among-least-likely-to-become-u-s-citizens. [Downloaded: August 29, 2018]

⁵⁸ Ibidem.

Conclusions

Trump's immigration policy is based on an essential assumption that the future and prosperity of the USA depends on a restrictive policy toward foreigners. Since his first day in office, the President has been trying to limit the number of immigrants, both legal and unauthorized. Using his executive power, Donald Trump was trying to change the immigration regulations that had been established in the 1960s. The 1965 Hart-Cellar Act introduced the family preference system, which has been attacked in so many ways by the President. He proposed to narrow the definition of a close relative to spouses and children only. He also decided to separate families at the border, causing a drama with parents and children. Under the Trump administration the treatment of unaccompanied minors at the border has become the subject of criticism as well. Even families already living in the United States could no longer feel safe and comfortable. Given the immigration status of many people, foreign families are often mixed-status families. It means that some of them are undocumented, while others have been granted American citizenship. All these changes in immigration policy, as analyzed in this essay, affect the Hispanic population. This is true not only because of restrictions limiting the number of Latinos coming to the USA, but also because of the future of those already living there. The population already residing in the country is more concerned about its own well-being than the fate of countrymen trying to enter the USA. This is why Hispanics' support for Trumps' actions increased 10% after the first year in office, according to a Harvard CAPS/Harris poll.⁵⁹ However, the reason that drives this support is not immigration policy but economy. Tax cuts and policies that stimulate small business are especially appreciated since Hispanics are, statistically, by far the most entrepreneurial demographic in America. In the most recent government jobs report, wages for non-managerial workers rose at a 2.7 percent annual clip, the highest in a decade, and the jobless rate for non-college graduates just hit the lowest level since 2001.⁶⁰ But the economy can be insufficient to maintain support for Trump among Hispanic voters if his administration at the same time continues harassing legal immigrants. The media has recently reported about a new policy targeting U.S. citizens of Hispanic origin. Many of them living along the U.S.-Mexico border have been accused of having fraudulent birth certificates, and their passports were revoked. Some of them were jailed and awaited immigration proceedings. The government has also increased its rejections of passport applications for people it suspects of having fraudulent birth certificates.⁶¹ The problem

⁵⁹ Ben KAMISAR: 'Poll: Trump approval rating ticks up to 47 percent.' The Hill, June 27, 2018, bit.ly/2wgKdCW. [Downloaded: August 30, 2018]

⁶⁰ Steve CORTES: 'Trump's Approval Rating Rises Among Hispanics.' Realclearpolitics.com, June 28, 2018, bit.ly/2tMieK8. [Downloaded: August 30, 2018]

⁶¹ Chantal DA SILVA: 'Trump Administration Accuses Hundreds of Hispanics of Faking Citizenship.' Newsweek, August 30, 2018, bit.ly/2wuK28b. [Downloaded: August 31, 2018]

stems from allegations that midwives and physicians working along the border issued American birth certificates to infants born in Mexico. The deputy director of the ACLU's Immigrants' Rights Project, Lee Gelernt, commented: "The Trump administration's attempt to deny passports to long-term American residents living in border areas is just one more inhumane act in a series of unlawful actions."⁶²

Abstract

Hispanics are an important part of American society and a challenge to state policies. Non-Hispanics have to deal with neighbors celebrating different holidays, employees who do not speak English, or friends living in fear of deportation. The state has to face the problem of effective control over foreigners staying in the country and what is more important over illegal crossings at the Mexican-American border. National security has become extremely important since the 9/11 terrorist attack. Since then, American immigration policy is considered an integral part of the national security strategy. Donald Trump, the 49th president of the United States is well known for his hard stance on immigration issues. Many of changes already introduced or still planned to be implemented into American immigration policy would affect a huge part of almost 60 million group of Hispanics living in the USA. The article discusses major changes in American immigration law and policy during Donald Trump's early presidency influencing mostly the situation of Spanish speaking population of the USA.

Keywords

Hispanics, immigration policy, Trump, illegal immigration, dreamers, family reunification

⁶² Alex PAPPAS: 'State Department pushes back on report about Hispanics being denied passports.' Fox News, August 30, 2018, fxn.ws/2NyrdHH. [Downloaded: August 31, 2018]

KONTRA RÉKA

A kubai függetlenség nemzetközi viszonyrendszerben: USA, Spanyolország, Kuba

A Monroe-doktrína megszületése és az USA korai külpolitikája

A doktrína megszületését többek között az angolokkal szemben 1812–1814-ben lezajlott második függetlenségi háború elszenvedése, a hanyatló spanyol jelenlét, illetve annak helyére lépő brit és orosz előretörés indokolta. I. Sándor, orosz cár 1821-es rendelkezése elvette a halászlai, kereskedelmi és hajózási lehetőséget a külföldiektől egészen a Bering-szorostól délre az 51. szélességi fokig, eltolva az európai gazdasági terjeszkedés lehetőségét az USA irányába. Nagy-Britannia ekkor egykori gyarmatával közös megoldást fontolgatott, mely a században több ízben is felmerült, ám az amerikai elnökök óva intették utódaikat ettől a lehetőségtől, mint Thomas Jefferson Monroe-nak címzett levelében is felhívja erre a figyelmet: „Nagy-Britannia az a nemzet, mely a legtöbbet árthat nekünk” – írja Jefferson.¹ Alfred Mahan² admirális a század második felében Nagy-Britanniát tekintette a legveszedelmesebb riválisnak, mellyel úgy véli, a lehető legjobb viszonyt szükséges ápolni, de a szövetség kérdését kizárja. 1823-ban Monroe elnök kongresszusi üzenete doktrína formájában az ország külpolitikai hagyományává vált, mely konkretizálta az ország külügyi mentalitását, Henry Kissinger megfogalmazása szerint „egyszóval, az Egyesült Államok külpolitikája abban állt, hogy nincs külpolitikája.”³ A szemléletmód alapján egy nyugati irányú terjeszkedés nem külügyi, hanem szigorúan belügyi aktus, melyet Madison, majd Monroe elnök is ennek szellemében értékelt: „minél jobban terjesztjük országunk területét, [...] annál nagyobb cselekvési szabadsága lesz mindkét kormányzatnak, ahogy biztonságunk is szilárdulni fog: [...] Egy ország területe, [...] jelentős mértékben meghatározza a nemzet karakterét. Jelzi erőforrásait, lakossága méreteit, fizikai erejét.”⁴

Elkerülhetetlenül merült fel Kuba bekebelezése az 1890-es években. Már az első komoly konfliktus, a tíz éves háború⁵ is veszélyeztette az amerikai gazdaságot, il-

¹ „From President Monroe's Annual Message to Congress December 2.” In United States. President (1817–1825: Monroe): *The Monroe Doctrine also Jefferson's Letter to Monroe*, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the U.S., Americanization Dept., 1920, 4.

² Alfred Thayer Mahan (1840–1914): az USA admirális, történész, a newporti Haditengerészeti Főiskola oktatója, egyik vezetője. Jelentős szerepe volt az USA tengeri terjeszkedésében, vizsgálta Európa és az Egyesült Államok tengeri erőviszonyait, nézeteit több könyvben és tanulmányban is kifejtette.

³ Henry KISSINGER: *Diplomácia*, Budapest, Panem Könyvkiadó, 2008, 27.

⁴ KISSINGER: i. m. 23.

⁵ Tíz éves háború (1868–1878): a kubai felkelők első komoly, a spanyol félnek is veszteségeket okozó fegyveres fellépése, mely spanyol győzelemmel végződött.