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# The Deportation Terror

*Rachel Ida Buff*

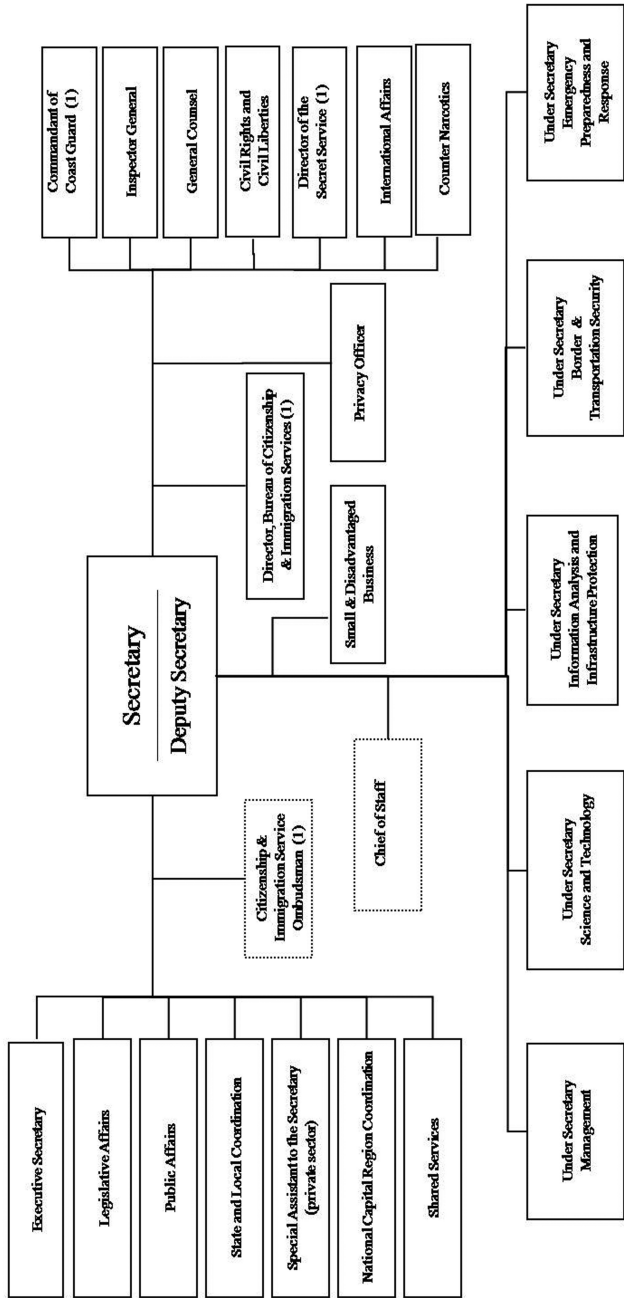
The title of this essay is taken from Abner Green's 1950 pamphlet: "The Deportation Terror: A Weapon to Gag America."<sup>1</sup> In it, Green, the director of the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born from 1942 through his death in 1958, outlined the assault then taking place against foreign-born progressive leaders. The kinds of connections Green made in this publication were characteristic of much of the work of the committee during the long cold war period in linking political repression, domestic militarism, and racism:

The deportation drive and the hysteria against the foreign born are an essential part of the concentrated drive on the rights of all minorities in the United States and a general assault on the liberties of the American.

Lynching of Negro people in the South . . . the loyalty program for government workers . . . the Hollywood 10 . . . increased police brutality against the Negro people in industrial centers and against Mexican-Americans in the Southwest.<sup>2</sup>

Such connections resound in the contemporary context of domestic and international militarization against the disembodied presence of Terror. Homeland Security, as cultural refrain and federal entity, brings together the previously disparate governmental endeavors of Border and Transportation Security, Emergency Preparedness and Response, Information Analysis and Infrastructure Protection, Science and Technology, the Coast Guard and the Secret Service (see figure 1).<sup>3</sup> In this way, contemporary U.S. discourses of homeland security appear to be something new: a postmodern melding of the functions of government. But as legal scholar Daniel Kanstroom argues, deportation law has always had two facets: control of the borders, and what he calls "post-entry social control." Kanstroom traces the antecedents of deportation of the foreign-born, ranging widely to examine colonial warnings out of people marginal to the social order, the series of removals so crucial to the subsequent legal status of Indian nations, and fugitive slave laws. He writes: "Once deportation law is conceived, even in part, as a system of social control largely deployed against people of color, then its relationship to slavery law becomes easier to see."<sup>4</sup>

# Department of Homeland Security



*Note (1): Effective March 1<sup>st</sup>, 2003*

## The Terror of Homeland Security

In this essay, I work to locate the recent wave of deportation raids carried out since 2005 by the Bureau of Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) in their historical context as a racialized system of social control. I argue that the deportation terror imposed on immigrant communities by these raids is a crucial technology of the state. The creation of statelessness is an ongoing enterprise central to the political coherence of national identity. Deportation, or forcible removal, has long been used to secure and enhance borders, and to extend the gatekeeping work performed at the border deep into the interior.<sup>5</sup>

Currently, immigrants are the central focus of deportation. But Kanstroom's important work allows us to see the parallels to misbehaving and racially marginalized people, particularly women, in the colonial period; Indians; and African Americans, during slavery and the Jim Crow period. Part of the business of maintaining a nation, then, is instilling terror in people potentially subject to forcible removal by the state. This is not a new insight. I present it here, however, to encourage the reclaiming by cultural studies scholars of this most dangerous and politically laden word: terror. In the current historical moment, this word has been almost entirely defined by the homeland security state. A historical and comparative perspective on the experience of terror at the hands of this and other state formations now becomes particularly crucial.

My central comparison in this essay links the deportations of the early cold war period, 1945–1960, with the current moment, characterized by the detention and deportation of foreign-born people, predominantly men, from the Middle East, North and East Africa, South and Southeast Asia after 9/11, and the immigration raids that have constituted a direct governmental response to the immigrant rights mobilizations of 2006–07. In both periods the mass deportations of primarily Mexican laborers accompany constitutionally questionable detention and deportation of the foreign born for reasons defined by the state as “political.” But defining what is political and what is not constitutes ideological practice, after all. Many political deportations target community leaders who represent foreign-born workers. These deportations render workers more vulnerable to exploitative work conditions and unconstitutional practices. In turn, the large sweeps focusing on immigrant

**Figure 1.**

Depart of Homeland Security. Source: [http://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/DHS\\_Org\\_Chart-2003.ppt](http://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/DHS_Org_Chart-2003.ppt)

marginalized people, particularly women, in the colonial period; Indians; and African Americans, during slavery and the Jim Crow period. Part of the business of maintaining a nation, then, is instilling terror in people potentially subject to forcible removal by the

workers have often been retribution for political organizing. The notion that these larger sweeps are market driven, rather than political, functions to define and divide foreign-born communities.

A critical aspect of the cultural work of cold war immigration policy was the enduring enshrining of an ideological distinction between political and economic migration: the notion that those arriving from Communist regimes seek freedom and deserve refuge, while migrants from U.S.-backed regimes in places such as Haiti or post-Sandinista Nicaragua move only for economic necessity. But scrutinizing deportation practices yields a more complex picture. It transfers some of our attention away from who is allowed to enter through the mythical “golden door” toward who is ushered out through a much less publicized, indeed, partially hidden, back door.

The deportation of particular foreign-born individuals for reasons of their ideology during the early cold war, or in the case of the “Special Registration” Program implemented in 2002, their birth place or religion, is a component of a racial regime governing entrance and exit. This racial regime includes the deportation of foreign-born workers and their families as well as, in some cases, citizens who are members of racialized communities. So, while public discussion of immigration policy since the cold war has reified the racialized distinction between the figures of the noble political refugee and the craven economic migrant (the latter is almost never figured alone, but moves in waves or hordes), both deportation and immigration policy have been crafted out of the continuities between these two groups. Refugee and immigration policy purportedly act to shelter those fleeing totalitarianism over those motivated solely by economic gain. This cold war distinction has long functioned to underwrite U.S. foreign policy, so that, after World War II, displaced persons fleeing the Iron Curtain were preemptively viewed as seeking freedom, just as the 2 million Iraqis currently petitioning for refugee status must be denied to bolster the illusion of progress there.<sup>6</sup> Similarly, by operating through a rhetoric of threat, whether posed by the foreign-born Communist or Islamic terrorist, deportation policy obscures the relationship between activists and communities. Many of the political deportation cases of the 1940s and 1950s targeted foreign-born labor leaders on charges of communist affiliation. Their roles as labor leaders in immigrant communities were much less publicized. Like the workers swept into custody by ICE raids, all of the Muslim and Middle Eastern post-9/11 deportees have been found guilty only of infractions of immigration law, not of conspiracy to commit acts of terror. Discourses of subversion and terror, then, mask the operation of racialized state terror.

Kanstroom discusses the centrality of the notion of sovereignty defined in Chinese Exclusion-era cases such as *Chae Chan Ping v. U.S.* (1889) and *Fong Yue Ting v. U.S.* (1893), in which the Supreme Court defined “plenary powers” that superseded the individual rights of Chinese plaintiffs.<sup>7</sup> Similarly, Moustafa Bayomi writes of the way in which the Special Registration Program drew on the plenary power doctrine and the laws that grew out of it: “Special registration creates a vast, new legal geography of suspicion for the United States government, a geography that in some way mirrors the ‘Asiatic barred zone’ of the 1917 Immigration Act.”<sup>8</sup>

A historiographic chasm has separated various incidents of deportation in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Scholars of immigration have tended to focus on the “golden door” without attending to exits, clearly marked or otherwise. The national frame is still powerful enough to preclude consideration of the transnational process of deportation. By looking at Mexican and U.S. archival sources, Kelly Lytle Hernandez challenges an accepted chronology, suggesting that the summer of 1954 was the culmination of eleven years of Operation Wetback rather than its central staging period. By viewing deportation as a transnational practice, Hernandez’s work shifts the chronology of Operation Wetback and points to its broader significance in post–World War II period.

There is a small literature on the repatriation of Mexican Americans during the 1930s,<sup>9</sup> another literature on the deportation of foreign-born radicals in the red scares of the 1920s and 1950s.<sup>10</sup> Recently, legal scholars have written important works seeking to understand the contemporary period in historical perspective, giving consideration to deportation and removal throughout the history of the American state.<sup>11</sup> By suggesting connections among the historical experiences of divergent “impossible subjects,” Mae Ngai’s magisterial work has done much to bridge this chasm. And both Kanstroom and Bayoumi point, importantly, to the long sweep of continuity in deportation practices. Their work illustrates parallels between forms of racial terror deployed at different moments by the Fugitive Slave Law and detention of Haitian “fugees,” and between the geographies proposed by the Asiatic Barred Zone and the State Department’s contemporary list of state sponsors of terror. (Bayoumi perceptively notes the absence of a special registration program for Cuban Americans, even though Cuba is on that list.)<sup>12</sup> In our current moment, such connections are crucial. In general, though, deportation continues to be thought of as an exception to the rule, rather than a social process constitutive of the nation across different periods, and definitive for immigrant communities.

The historical comparison posed by this essay offers a genealogy of a specific form of state power, the creation of subjectivities, and the conditions of possibility for resistance. As Ngai argues, the numerical restriction implemented by the Johnson-Reid Act of 1924 created the category “illegal alien.”<sup>13</sup> While the restrictions of this law were aimed at immigrants from Asia and Europe, quota laws combined with the creation of the border patrol in 1924 and the ensuing criminalization of undocumented crossing in 1929 came to constitute, in her words, “a racialized Mexican identity.”<sup>14</sup> In turn, the emergence of the racialized category of the illegal alien—an eminently deportable subject—transformed already existing deportable categories, including anarchists and other groups deemed politically subversive.

The U.S.-Mexico border has been continually militarized since the creation of the border patrol in 1924. Donald Pease argues that the annexation of Mexican territory in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo represents a founding violence.<sup>15</sup> Wars on, variously, undocumented crossing, illegal drugs, Central American insurgencies, and terrorism have intensified the racialized terror at the border.<sup>16</sup> As Natsu Taylor Saito writes,

the border now also connotes the imaginary line between safe and unsafe associated with the prevention of terrorism and, as a result, has moved onto the bodies not only of persons presumed to be undocumented but also those who look like potential terrorists, regardless of their legal status. For the latter group, this can mean special registration procedures, prolonged questioning, detention, deportation, or even rendition to a third country for interrogation.<sup>17</sup>

These transformations take place in a broader context of an institutionalized U.S. imperial presence around the world and the growth of transnational capital after World War II. In this context, the emergence of National and, later, Homeland Security regimes have been dependent on the continuous construction of enemies within to justify the human and financial expenses of ongoing global militarization.

During the cold war, the deportation of foreign-born radicals, labor leaders in particular, was anchored by legislation designed in the 1930s to expedite the removal of Mexican American workers from the U.S. economy during the Great Depression. The Spolansky, or Michigan Alien Registration, Act of 1931, for example, targeted communist influence in the Detroit Mexican American community, and was a precedent for the federal Smith Act of 1940, which compelled the registration of noncitizens and provided for the deportation of anyone who had ever belonged to an organization advocating the violent

overthrow of the government. The Spolansky Act was mostly used to deport Mexican Americans, many of whom were actually American citizens, from the Detroit area.<sup>18</sup> Labor practices transform categories of identity, as Jeffrey Melnick and Rachel Rubin explain regarding the implementation of the Bracero Program in 1942: “Not only did these labor programs bring hundreds of thousands of Mexican people to the United States, but they established powerful narratives concerning the status and entitlement of these individuals once they entered United States society.”<sup>19</sup>

Similarly, in the current period, the deportation terror levied against undocumented laborers shelters under the broad rubric of the “war against terror.” Tram Nguyen illuminates the connections made in national security rhetoric between undocumented people, refugees, and potential terrorists as “clandestine transnational actors.”<sup>20</sup> Just as laws delimiting the activities of Mexican Americans in Detroit in the 1930s came to apply to political activists of diverse national origins after World War II, heightened surveillance of Muslim and Middle Eastern communities leads to increased ideological and financial support for deporting migrant workers in the current period.<sup>21</sup>

Lisa Flores has described the ways in which racialized portrayals of immigrants have led, historically, to anti-immigrant sentiment and federal deportation programs. She traces a “uniformity in the public vocabulary surrounding immigration and criminality. Whether invoked directly or indirectly, the figure of the ‘illegal alien’ is hauntingly consistent, as is the quick turn to deportation.”<sup>22</sup>

What is crucial about Flores’s argument is that the deportation terror, in addition to being a technology of the state, is an ongoing rhetorical practice. As such, this rhetoric takes on particular meanings at different times. Flores illuminates a 1920s mass media discourse in which Mexican American laborers appear as docile “peons,” offering cheap labor and little threat, while these same migrants turn up in the 1930s as a dangerous criminal element, threatening to upset the economic and social order. This floating rhetoric can target different populations, as is evident in the transition from the Spolansky Act, later declared unconstitutional because of popular protest, to the Smith Act, used widely against foreign-born people, including but not limited to Mexican Americans, during the cold war.<sup>23</sup> Criminalization, in this case, migrates from supposed communist influences in the Mexican American community to the general community of the foreign-born.

Such rhetoric endures, to powerful effect. Scott Michaelsen writes of the continuities between the jurisprudence justifying the internment of Japanese



Americans during the 1940s, and the USA PATRIOT Act passed by a nearly unanimous congress in 2001. For Michaelsen, the ongoing militarization of the borderlands between the United States and Mexico has enabled what he calls “‘the permanent state of racial emergency’ or ‘the permanent state of legal racial exception.’” Policing the borders against the continuously racialized threat of undocumented migration requires an escalating discourse of exception to notions of due process and equality. This escalated discourse then becomes grounds for spectacular trespasses against civil liberties, such as the internment of Japanese Americans or the detention without cause of legal immigrants from places or of faiths associated with a particular mapping of terrorism.<sup>24</sup>

Sweeping immigration reform seems to have been lost in the current political moment. The raids and resulting deportations carried out by the Bureau of Customs and Immigration Enforcement (ICE) serve as a *de facto* immigration policy in a political climate characterized by fractious and inconclusive discourse on questions of immigration and national identity at the political level, and accompanied by racialized vigilante terror at the borders. Under the rubric of Homeland Security, congressional appropriations bills have continually funded customs and border protection. These appropriations have included monies for the construction of detention facilities for deportees, as well as for the Bureau of Immigration and Custom Enforcement to hire more agents.<sup>25</sup> According to DHS, ICE is “responsible for locating and removing aliens who are in the U.S. illegally and protecting the jobs of those who are legally eligible for them by inspecting places of employment for undocumented workers.”<sup>26</sup> Homeland Security rhetoric echoes the criminalization of immigrants traced by Flores in the 1930s: “A key element of the ICE mission is to remove illegal aliens from the United States, with a focus on criminal aliens.”<sup>27</sup> This is Michaelsen’s “permanent state of racial emergency.”

In order to fulfill its mission, ICE has deployed the previously underutilized employer sanctions contained in the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 to conduct raids on employers utilizing undocumented labor. These employers face penalties of fines and sometimes jail time; undocumented workers face deportation proceedings. And, since identity theft has also become a concern of the Homeland Security state, workers who utilize false social security numbers can be charged with civil crimes. This authorizes local law enforcement personnel to pursue what are essentially immigration, and hence federal, cases.<sup>28</sup> Particularly in the absence of strong political leadership on the immigration issue, except on the radical nativist right, federal funding

for deportation and detention replaces a democratically debated immigration policy.<sup>29</sup> Consequently, the current practice of rule by agency regulation responds to the discourse of criminalization identified by Flores, also enshrining a masculinist, militarized rhetoric within ICE and the sheriff's departments with whom they cooperate on raids.

While it is importantly connected to the discourse of criminalization, this masculinist rhetoric emerges from a mass cultural genealogy traceable from late cold war productions such as *Rambo* to the strange career of Arnold Schwarzenegger. For example, the "Protecting the Homeland" video available at the Border Patrol Web site of the Homeland Security Department Web page commences with a shot of a humvee driving through mountainous, arid country to strains of Wagnerian brass and a martial snare drum.<sup>30</sup> Uniformed officers on horses and all-terrain vehicles are prominently featured in the opening montage. The video hearkens back to images of Texas Rangers patrolling the border before 1924 and locates the founding of the Border Patrol as a continuation of that tradition. With a masculine voice-over, the video exhibits two or three young women of color in uniform. But the figures and context are overwhelmingly male, an archive of an enduring and gendered social imaginary of the frontier.

It makes little difference to those subject to the deportation terror whether they are separated from work, family, and community because of a bill both parties in Congress were able to agree on, or whether their deportation is part of a funded mandate under the powerful but vague rubric of homeland security. For immigrants, the deportation terror creates a culture of fear, which in turn, constitutes *de facto* immigration policy. Just as Labor Department officials drew on and encouraged the mass media criminalization of Mexicans to convince Mexican Americans, many of them born in the United States, to "return home" in the 1930s,<sup>31</sup> the terror caused by raids and deportations in foreign-born communities in the present day constitutes not-so-gentle persuasion to those lucky enough to escape the sweep, this time.<sup>32</sup> The deportation terror combines with a spate of local initiatives designed to limit the already truncated rights of the undocumented in towns like Hazleton, Pennsylvania; Green Bay and Arcadia, Wisconsin; Smithfield, North Carolina; and Carpentersville, Illinois.<sup>33</sup> Alex Kotlowitz refers to such policies, and the toll they take on immigrant communities throughout the country as "deportation by attrition."<sup>34</sup>

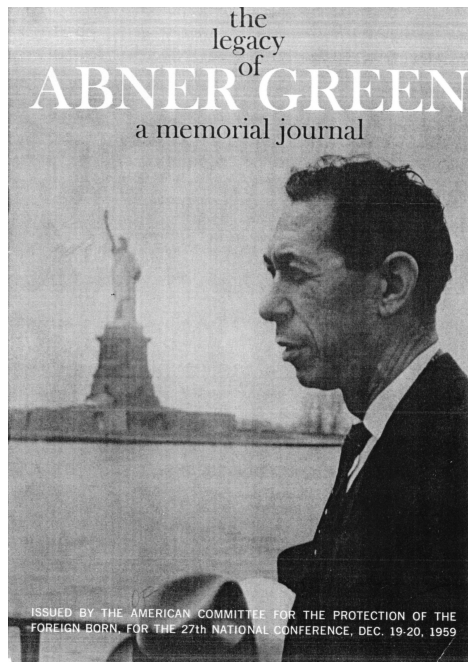
New Bedford, Massachusetts organizer Corinn Williams described the effects of the raid at the Bianco leather plant in March 2007 as making the large Central American community there quieter. In the raid, 361 workers were

detained, of whom 200 were quickly sent to new detention facilities in Texas. On the one hand, she said, a core infrastructure of local leadership mobilized in response to the raid. But on the other, she described a transformed city: "For a long time people just didn't go out, they stayed home. We noticed conditions in other workplaces getting worse. . . . I guess on an economic level there have been whole households of people renting apartments that have disappeared."<sup>35</sup>

The deportation terror, then, shapes the landscape of immigrant communities as well as federal and local law enforcement procedures. While fear and "deportation by attrition" are some of the contemporary effects of the deportation terror, immigrants have also mobilized in record numbers during the springs of 2006 and 2007 to demand more just national policy. Mainstream news commentators noticed what flags were flying, and spoke about the presence of these colors as indication of the loyalties of the foreign born. But they were much less likely to point to the fact that, for some of those marching, their public presence constituted personal risk in light of the deportation terror. As Monisha Das Gupta argues, the demands of immigrant rights groups often challenge assumptions about national citizenship and individual rights.<sup>36</sup> The demands described by Das Gupta reflect an evolving grassroots internationalism presaged by advocates for the foreign-born during the cold war.

Abner Green was the son of working-class Jewish immigrants, born in Brooklyn in 1913. He trained as a pharmacist's assistant, and went to work in a "waterfront pharmacy" in Manhattan during the Depression. Establishments of this kind stocked goods utilized by sailors from around the world, many of whom faced deportation and statelessness.<sup>37</sup> It is possible that the stories told by patrons of the pharmacy, along with those Green would have listened to in the immigrant enclaves of Brooklyn, influenced him to become involved in the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born after it was founded by Roger Baldwin of the ACLU in 1933. And sailors would be among the foreign-born needing protection in the early cold war era.

More than ten thousand foreign-born sailors came to serve in the American merchant marine during World War II. After the war, these sailors remained ineligible for citizenship, not having served for five years or more. For example: thirty-six Pakistani sailors were held at Ellis Island in 1949 as deportable aliens.<sup>38</sup> Added to this was the fact that, during the cold war, many maritime workers' unions were suspected in the United States of having communist influences. Members risked deportation (see figure 3).



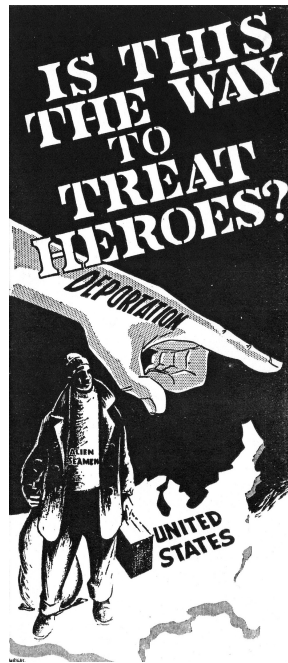
**Figure 2.**

Abner Green, director of the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, 1942–1958. From “The Legacy of Abner Green: A Memorial Journal,” American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born Collection, Tamiment Library, New York University. Used with permission.

Greek sailors such as Paul Paschalides, secretary of the New York Branch of the Federation of Greek Maritime Workers, participated during World War II in shipping U.S.-produced materials to European allies. They did

this at great risk, not only at sea, where two thousand lost their lives, but in Greece, which was occupied by the Axis powers during the war.<sup>39</sup> After the war, Paschalides faced deportation. Ten Federation of Greek Maritime Union members had been sentenced to death by the U.S.-backed right wing regime in Greece in late 1940s. But the Special Inquiry Office of the Immigration Service found that “despite the applicant’s contention, we cannot close our eyes to the fact that Greece is a democratic country.”<sup>40</sup> Granted asylum by Poland, Paschalides was deported.

The history of statelessness is, of necessity, a transnational history. It involves voluntary and less than voluntary migration—sometimes, as Hernandez has shown in the case of Operation Wetback, the collaboration of different governments in determining the geographic fate of the deported.<sup>41</sup> The story



**Figure 3.**

The American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born dramatized the position of foreign-born sailors such as Paul Paschalides, valorizing their service at a moment of ascendant anticommunist nativism. "Is This the Way to Treat Heroes?" is from "Foreign Seamen on Our Ships," *New York Times*, July 22, 1945, excerpted on pamphlet. American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born Collection, Tamiment Library, New York University Press. Used with permission.

of one deportation, as in the story of Paul Paschalides, leads from New York to Greece to Poland, not to mention the many places he traversed as a maritime worker. As sociologist Steve McKay, whose own work is deeply engaged with the transnational culture of Filipino seamen, pointed out, when asked what the contemporary equivalent of *Moby Dick* for American studies might be: "It's not the whale anymore. It's the ocean."<sup>42</sup> Understanding the deportation terror leads us, as American studies scholars, in pursuit not of the tale of *Moby Dick*, but of the story of the ocean surrounding the whale: the sailors, those on shore, those on small boats and rafts just outside the frame of the novel.

Ethnic studies scholars George Sánchez and Jeffrey M. Garcilazo have considered the relationship between Mexican American communities and the issue of deportation.<sup>43</sup> Both focus on the Los Angeles Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, which worked on deportation cases of

political leaders, as well as “average Mexican Americans who found themselves victimized by the new immigration and internal security legislation represented by the McCarran-Walter Act,” including children whose parents faced deportation.<sup>44</sup> Garcilazo argues that the defense of high-profile political deportation cases may have seemed outside the mainstream to much of the Mexican American community in Los Angeles during this period. However, Operation Wetback’s apprehension of half a million undocumented workers each year between 1947 and 1954 did not.<sup>45</sup>

The connection between the deportations of Operation Wetback and those of Latina labor leaders like Guatemalan Luisa Moreno indicates the consolidation of a particular regime during the cold war period. The vigorous clampdown on labor after WWII represented by the Taft-Hartley bill involved the purging of communists from unions, but also truncated the power of organized labor. The consolidation of a particular cold war political economy took place in national and transnational contexts. As a component of immigration policy, deportation is an aspect of both.

The commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service presiding over Operation Wetback was Lieutenant General Joseph May Swing. Appointed by Eisenhower in 1954, Swing had served with General John Pershing during the occupation of Mexico from 1916 to 1917. More recently, he had been a commanding general during the Sixth Army’s occupation of Korea after the Korean War. As INS commissioner, Swing’s pursuit of both immigrant workers and political dissidents points to connections between the militarization of domestic and international life and the racialization of citizenship during the cold war.

In addition to Operation Wetback, Swing actively pursued the deportation of foreign born Koreans such as Diamond Kimm, and Chungsoon and Choon Cha Kwak. These émigré Koreans had worked against Japanese domination of Korea during the war. Arriving in the United States as a student in 1936, Diamond Kimm served in the Office of Strategic Services during the war. He also edited the newspaper *Korean Independence*, a bilingual publication attempting to muster Korean support for allied victory. After the war, Kimm continued to edit the paper, often criticizing what he felt were the undemocratic actions of U.S.-allied Syngman Rhee.<sup>46</sup>

Similarly, Chungsoon and Choon Cha Kwak, student activists against the Japanese occupation in Korea, left in 1935 and came to study music in the United States. Active in the Korean American community, both also served in the Korean unit of the Information and Education Division of the U.S. Army

during the war, directing the compilation, editing, and publishing of Korean language materials. Chungsoon was a correspondent for *Korean Independence*.<sup>47</sup> Deportation orders were issued on various technical grounds for all three of these activists in 1950, just as all the deportations of Muslim and Middle Eastern men detained after 9/11 have been violations of immigration status. These cases persisted through the mid-1950s, with Swing, recently returned from supporting the Rhee regime in Korea, actively pursuing deportation. The timing of the deportation efforts in the late 1950s corresponds with social upheavals in South Korea that Rhee and his U.S. allies attempted to quell in the name of democracy.<sup>48</sup> And the parallel to contemporary practices suggests the utility of the deportation terror to particular regimes.

A career military man now in charge of the INS, Swing's actions at the border and within the nation on behalf of the alliance he was involved in cementing with South Korea illuminate what Bayoumi terms a "legal geography of suspicion," to which racialized foreign-born workers and intellectuals were subject. This legal geography of suspicion provides us with a racialized map of empire and the sovereign powers that allowed for the deportation of the foreign-born.

With Eisenhower's support, Swing executed Operation Wetback largely outside of congressional or judicial jurisdiction, much like the current ICE raids. Viewed this way, it appears that rights for the foreign-born are often the casualties of particular racial regimes. Three stories about deportation and statelessness in New Bedford, Massachusetts, over a 150-year period illustrate this point.

## Three Stories about New Bedford

The history of American repression is strewn with the bodies of the foreign-born.

—Ellen Schrecker<sup>49</sup>

### 1. Stateless on Board

"It was a form of passport."

—Joseph Ramos, Cape Verdean American whaler interviewed by Dan Georgianna

The whaling industry provided an important source of wealth and economic development in New England that accompanied and enabled early nineteenth century textile-based industrialization. Ships would dock in foreign ports to sign on crews for the difficult and perilous work of whaling. The Cape Verdean



islands became an important source of whaling labors after the Civil War.<sup>50</sup> Many Cape Verdeans signed onto ships with the full intent of abandoning them after arrival in an American port. These maritime laborers would have been coming to the East Coast at about the same time the Chinese were arriving in California, precipitating the first alien registration laws in the country.<sup>51</sup> But in a contemporary sense, these were undocumented workers. Former whaler Joseph Ramos, interviewed by economist Dan Georgianna, remembered: "Under the Portuguese flag, they would never let people from the islands immigrate over here. That's why so many people from the islands went whaling. It was a form of passport."<sup>52</sup>

Whaling workers either lived at sea or jumped ship and joined the communities at New England's margins and became difficult to count. Because of this elusive population, New Bedford in this period ranked as the second richest city in Massachusetts, and had one of the highest per capita incomes in the world.<sup>53</sup> Statelessness and wealth were intricately linked in the political economy of whaling in nineteenth century New Bedford.

## 2. From Terror to Terror

I had tried to get citizenship before, but when I applied for citizenship, they said, "You're a criminal, we can't give you citizenship." "Why?" "Because you have a crime record." "What do you mean I have a crime record?" "Well, you were arrested a number of times." I said, "Sure, during the strike." And he said, "That's against you as a criminal."

—Eulália Mendes<sup>54</sup>

The history of deportation in the twentieth century maps connections between economic restrictionism, political repression, and racialized nativism. This history is also important because it gives us a sense of the global sweep of migration. Many of the deported arrive in the United States fleeing political, cultural, or religious repression in their home nations, only to become subject to the deportation terror in this country. And, when they are deported, they often migrate to a third location.<sup>55</sup> The story of labor organizer Eulália Mendes traces the migration of one individual from fascist terror to anticommunist terror to comparative shelter in Stalin-era Poland.

Born in Portugal in 1911, Eulália Mendes immigrated with her family to Massachusetts in 1921. Anarcho-syndicalists, the family left Portugal during the instability preceding the emergence of the military dictatorship that would eventually lead to the rise of the right-wing New State led by António Oliveira Salazar until 1974.<sup>56</sup> The family eventually moved to New Bedford, where, like many other young immigrants from Portugal, the British Isles,



French Canada, Poland, and Cape Verde, Eulália joined native-born workers in the textile industry at the age of fourteen. In the mills, she worked forty-four hours a week, including Saturdays, attending school for four hours each week until she reached the age of sixteen.<sup>57</sup>

As a young woman, Mendes became involved with the communist-led Textile Mill Committee's organizing of workers across race, national origins, and craft in response to the wage cut announced at the New Bedford mills in 1928. She told Dan Georgianna:

We wanted a union that would take in all of the textile workers. We called for an industrial type of union instead of a craft union, and that was quite progressive at that time because most of the unions in the United States at that time were craft unions. The whole idea was to get all of the textile workers in one mill to belong to one union, and all of the textile workers to belong to a single textile union.<sup>58</sup>

This aspiration is characteristic of the evolution of the labor movement in the mid-twentieth century. It would eventually be ratified by passage of the National Labor Relations Act in 1935, and by the consolidation of the Congress of Industrial Workers, so crucial in holding out the possibility of Americanization for foreign-born workers and their children.<sup>59</sup> But not all of the foreign-born workers who participated in these struggles were included in the limited benefits that eventually accrued to organized labor.

The textile strike in New Bedford was broken over the course of six months of confrontations between organizers and police; of dissent between the communist-led Textile Mill Committee and the English and native-born dominated craft union; and of privation on the part of the strikers. In an observation strikingly parallel to Corinne Williams's reflections on New Bedford in 2007, contemporary observer Moshe Nadir wrote: "Many tenement houses stand vacant. The windows are plastered with old newspapers. A city for rent."<sup>60</sup>

Though acquitted in New Bedford Superior Court of charges associated with the strike, Portuguese-born organizer Augusto Pinto was deported to Lisbon by the Immigration Service in 1931. Pinto once commented: "There is no liberty in this country, just a statue."<sup>61</sup> Condemned to prison in Tarrafal, Cape Verde, by the Salazar regime, Pinto died en route.

Emerging from the strike convinced of the compatibility of communist organizations in the United States with her anarcho-syndicalist politics, Mendes married a Portuguese-American communist, Joseph Figueiredo. She went on to become an organizer in Boston and New York for the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.<sup>62</sup> In 1950, under the Smith Act, she was arrested

for membership in the Communist Party. Offered asylum by Poland, she took voluntary departure in 1953. She said:

I was deported because I was not a citizen. Picking on foreign-born people was used during the McCarthy days as a pressure against people in general. Even though everybody thought I was an American citizen, my arrest had the effect of creating a lot of fear amongst a lot of the Portuguese people who were not citizens. Most of those people who were deported had to go to countries they had not seen, had not lived in, and most of them had been brought to the United States when they were children.<sup>63</sup>

Mendes arrived in Poland at the age of forty-three and became involved in the International Short Wave Radio project there. She requested permission to return to the United States to visit family, but her requests were denied. She died in Poland in 2005.<sup>64</sup>

In the midcentury United States, Eulália Mendes's organizing activities were criminalized. Like Paschalides, she could not return home to a right-wing regime allied with the United States. Nor could she disappear into the margins of society, as Cape Verdean whalers who jumped ship were able to do. By the mid-twentieth century, a "gatekeeper nation," as Erika Lee calls it, had emerged to keep track of immigrants by counting them at the gates and scrutinizing their behavior after their entrance into the nation.<sup>65</sup> Mendes's deportation, like those of political radicals and Mexican Americans alike during the cold war, was a component of an evolving national identity, and a way in which the state managed conflict under industrial capitalism. At the same time, the forced migration of people like Mendes, Paul Paschalides, and Luisa Moreno under this regime connects the deportation terror to other kinds of political terror gripping places such as Portugal and Greece, dominated by right-wing dictators; Guatemala, which by the mid-1950s was swept into civil war;<sup>66</sup> and Stalin-era Poland. The transnational activities of the deportees illuminate historical connections that might otherwise be difficult to see.

### 3. A Militarized Hemisphere

We believe that it is no crime to be undocumented and to work honorably, especially when we were doing it for the Armed Forces of the United States. That is why we ask, "Why don't they take us back to New Bedford?"

—Elba Patricia Aguilar, Karla Moreno Ochoa, Rosa Sarmiento Santos, Maria Dolores Arrita Guerra, Ruth Carbajal, Josefina Roos, Suely Schnieder, Leonete S. Fernandes, Nafalise Silva, Maria Hernandez G., Maria Hernandez Cruz, Evelyn Pacheco Chinalan, Balvina Lopez Lopez, Hipolita Castro Chaco<sup>67</sup>

In some of the very same mills that the New Bedford strikers of 1928 walked out of, today workers from Portugal, Guatemala, Honduras, Brazil, El Salvador, and Mexico, many of them undocumented, many of them women, work in textiles. On March 6, 2007, ICE raided the factory of defense contractor Michael Bianco, Inc., which produced backpacks and other items for use in the military. ICE apprehended 361 workers. Descriptions of the ordeal by those apprehended include strip searches, isolation, deprivation, and being handcuffed and put aboard planes to uncertain destinations. About a third of those arrested were immediately transported to deportation centers in Texas. Others were detained in Massachusetts and Rhode Island. Inevitably, families were separated, including mothers from nursing children. Between one hundred and two hundred children were separated from one or both parents a result of the raid (figure 4). Community organizers as well as Senators Ted Kennedy and John Kerry and Congressmen Barney Frank and William Delahunt have worked to petition ICE to allow for at least temporary reunification of the families. The raids had been carried out in such a way as to maximize the terror among those apprehended, as well as the broader migrant community in the region.<sup>68</sup>

Central American women, the majority of the undocumented workers apprehended in the raid, have come to the United States as a result of the political turmoil and terror in their homelands. Between 8 percent and 20 percent of El Salvadorans have immigrated to the United States as a result of the political instability of the 1980s; some of these migrants have been afforded Temporary Protected Status (TPS), which means they cannot be relocated in case of a raid. Guatemalans, also displaced by the long civil war in their country, are eligible neither for refugee status nor for the limited amnesty granted by IRCA in 1986.<sup>69</sup> Nicaraguans and Hondurans are in a similar position with respect to immigration and refugee status.

Like Eulália Mendes, these Central American women arrive in New Bedford in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries fleeing the terrors of state repression and civil war. But they enter a different political economy. Much of the production done in the early twentieth century by the textile mills of southeastern Massachusetts has been outsourced, first to states in the south, and later to factories in Latin America and Asia. Enterprise zones in countries such as Nicaragua and Cambodia now account for much of the manufacturing of textiles used in producing clothing and home furnishing. Workers at Michael Bianco, Inc., labor for one of the few growth industries in the early twentieth-first century: the military.



**Figure 4.**

This photo of a young girl dramatizes the separation of families that has so often resulted from recent ICE raids and the resulting detentions and deportations. Separation from family and community was a concern among deportees during the 1940s and 1950s, as well. Photo by Fatima Lopez. Used with permission of MIRA, the Massachusetts Immigrant and Refugee Advocacy Coalition.

Just as cold war alliances mapped the arrivals and deportations of the foreign-born after World War II, the status of contemporary migrant workers is crucially determined by a continuous militarization of the hemisphere. Presidents from Eisenhower through George Bush sent money and troops to stabilize the hemisphere against leftist influences in El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Guatemala. Their efforts paved the way for U.S.-led “free trade” efforts such as the Central American Free Trade Agreement, signed by El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua and Guatemala in 2006, and the Dominican Republic in 2007. The regime of free trade drives down wages and working conditions in factories at the same time it discourages and in some places prohibits labor organizing. The combination of these factors drives immigrants to seek opportunities in the United States, where wages remain comparatively high. These immigrants enter a postindustrial economy, where their options include service work, sweatshop labor in places like Bianco, or the military itself.<sup>70</sup>

## Endgame

Oh I am willing to believe they suffer as much as such creatures can suffer. But does that mean their sufferings equal mine? No doubt.

—Samuel Beckett, *Endgame*

Released in 2003, *Endgame* is the name of the ICE Detention and Removal Office “multiyear strategic enforcement plan.”<sup>71</sup> Replete with the confident language of bureaucratic mission statement–speak, this *Endgame* advertises

such feats as “a hundred percent removal rate for all removable aliens.”<sup>72</sup> Predictably, in defining the “unique population” to be removed, the document commingles potential deportees: “The DRO detained population includes illegal economic migrants, aliens who have committed criminal acts, asylum seekers (required to be detained by law) or potential terrorists.” While the document encourages the safe and humane treatment of deportees, it is difficult to envision terrorists and committed felons being treated in a manner “strictly administrative in nature, not punitive.”<sup>73</sup> And if these putative enemies of the state do not receive human treatment, it is likely that the state of permanent racial exclusion might dictate similar treatment to all of this “unique population.”

This document cries out for interdisciplinary analysis. Nowhere is the eponymous term “endgame” explained, even in a glossary that goes to lengths to define words such as *fugitive* and *detention*. To any savvy twelve year old, “endgame” means the end of the video game, and the need for another quarter. Can it be a coincidence that this document was being written right after George W. Bush’s famous victory proclamation on board the *USS Abraham Lincoln* in May 2003?

### **Ghost Towns in the Neoliberal Order and the Emergence of “New Narrative Voices”**

Eulália Mendes never became a naturalized American, which better underscored her internationalized condition and clearly showed that the immigrants’ fight was one that would never end.

—Terras da Beira<sup>74</sup>

In the course of writing and researching this article, I traversed some of the places in which raids have taken place in New England and the Midwest over the past two years: Whitewater, Wisconsin; New Bedford, Massachusetts; South Bend, Indiana; Baltimore, Maryland; New Haven, Connecticut. These are postindustrial cities, much of whose industry has fled, and what we might call postagrarian small towns, where small industries such as Star Packaging in Whitewater and the dairy farms in the surrounding counties of “America’s Dairyland” alike depend on transnational labor supplies to maintain their operations. Sometimes postindustrial places seem like ghosts of their former selves, with silenced downtowns and decaying civic infrastructure, Wal-Marts perched like vultures on the strips outside once flourishing small towns. But these ghost towns are being repopulated by new immigrants. As parts of an

emerging neoliberal economic order, urban and rural places in the United States are in the midst of social and economic transition.

Often, anxieties about this transition take the form of nativism, and support for the deportation terror. As Saskia Sassen has argued, another response to economic globalization is a redefinition of discourses of citizenship and identity.<sup>75</sup> Although Eulália Mendes, when she was interviewed in 1985 by Dan Georgianna, described her inability to become a U.S. citizen as a component of the criminalization of foreign-born laborers, a contemporary left-leaning Web site in Portugal celebrates Eulália as a citizen of the world, a visionary internationalist, for never naturalizing. In this way, migrants redefine the meaning of citizenship at this moment of geopolitical transformation. Das Gupta documents the ways that immigrant political organizing opens up “new narrative possibilities” that provoked her to “tell a different tale.”<sup>76</sup>

One effect of the deportation terror is the creation of fear, and the resulting silencing of migrant populations. People go further underground, move to other cities, or leave the country altogether. In June of 2007, for example, the city of New Haven, Connecticut, passed a local ordinance creating a municipal ID available to everyone living in the city. These municipal IDs would have allowed the undocumented to register their children for school, start bank and electrical accounts, and generally conduct the business of daily life. Two days later, ICE staged an unusual neighborhood-based raid in local Fair Haven, arresting migrants from Guatemala, Mexico, Ecuador, and Guinea. ICE claimed that the migrants were arrested on previous deportation orders, but only four of the thirty migrants arrested had such paperwork on file.<sup>77</sup> The fear disseminated by such a raid is very much an intended outcome of policy: the endgame is to win the battle by intimidating opponents. But it is not the only outcome of the deportation terror.

Responding to the deportation terror, the foreign and native-born are developing new coalitions. Allen Petrie, owner of Star Packaging in Whitewater, is currently charged with identity theft in the wake of the 2006 raids at his plant.<sup>78</sup> Along with other small business owners in the area, he has begun to appear at immigrant rights venues, decrying the current system. Dairy farmer John Rosenow, along with high school Spanish teacher Shaun Judge Duval and University of Wisconsin-Extension agent Carl Duley have founded Puentes, a program that supports cooperation between native-born farmers and their increasingly Latina/o employees. Puentes provides Spanish instruction for the dairy farmers, and English instruction for the workers. Farmers and extension students have traveled to Mexico to learn language and culture. In addition, Puentes has developed a certificate course for workers so they can

exhibit skills learned on the job.<sup>79</sup> While these alliances do not redress all the inequities operative between native-born farmers and their immigrant employees, the coalition provided by Puentes enables political cooperation and cultural understanding, and undermine the possibilities for white rural nativism. Rosenow, the descendant of Swiss and German immigrants to Wisconsin, expressed an early, public critique of the new social security no-match regulations released in August 2007.<sup>80</sup>

In places such as New Bedford and Whitewater, new migrant political organizations are emerging. New leaders among Mayan, Honduran, Salvadoran, and Brazilian women in Massachusetts have stepped forward to demand the reunification of families and justice for those detained and deported.<sup>81</sup> In New Orleans, where the population of undocumented and H2B migrant contract workers has soared as the city is being rebuilt, workers from Bolivia, Mexico, Peru, and dozens of other countries have organized the Alliance for Guest-workers for Dignity. In Whitewater, Sigma America, founded in 2003 as an immigrant cultural organization, has become a center for political organizing around the raid.<sup>82</sup> Young immigrants, politicized by the effects of the raids on their communities, have become involved in the immigrant rights movement more broadly. A group of high school students from Whitewater chartered a bus to attend hearings on a bill to allow undocumented students to attend Wisconsin public universities at in-state tuition rates; an entire contingent marched in the May 1, 2007, rally in Milwaukee. It is perhaps in part due to the deportation terror in Wisconsin that they were among seventy thousand people to attend this second annual "Day without Latinos."

In North Carolina, as elsewhere in the nation, new immigrants are transforming both the demography of the workforce and ongoing struggles over the rights of workers.<sup>83</sup> In Robeson County, migrants from Mexico and Central America, many of them undocumented, have joined African American, white and Lumbee Indian workers in the struggle to organize the Smithfield meat packaging plant. The company has encouraged labor migration, and has also, reportedly, fostered racialized divisions among the workforce.<sup>84</sup>

Robeson County has long been the site of conflict between the forces of white supremacy and racialized black and Indian communities. In 1958, two years after the federal government recognized that the Lumbee were, in fact, an Indian people but denied them legal recognition as an Indian nation, several hundred Lumbee turned back a rally organized against them by the local Ku Klux Klan in the Battle of Hayes Pond.<sup>85</sup> In neighboring Monroe County in the same period, NAACP president Robert F. Williams coordinated an armed self-defense network to protect the African American community from KKK

activities.<sup>86</sup> Violence has also marked the long drive to organize Smithfield Foods. The plant has its own private police force, which has been convicted on charges of violating the 1871 Ku Klux Klan Act by beating, harassing, and intimidating workers.<sup>87</sup>

In the past five years, the workforce at Smithfield Foods has become predominantly newly arrived Latino/as. A recent estimate has the plant at 55 percent foreign-born workers from Mexico and Central America, 30 to 35 percent African Americans, and the rest split between whites and Indians.<sup>88</sup> The United Food and Commercial Workers has hired experienced organizers and set up a workers' center in Red Springs, NC, offering classes in English and basic rights. Like the black and Indian workers at Smithfield, many of the new workers have experience with political organizing and a tradition of marking international holidays such as May Day. Additionally, their status as the most vulnerable workers in an exploitative industry gave immigrants added political momentum. As David Bacon writes, "immigration status itself became an issue for collective action."<sup>89</sup> Hundreds of Latino/a Smithfield workers skipped work to attend the first immigrant rights demonstrations in April and May of 2006.<sup>90</sup>

The racialized violence that has marked Robeson County, and Smithfield Foods in particular, has continued during the current organizing drive. But, just as the KKK opposed the emergence of African American and Indian political organizing in the 1950s, Homeland Security measures deploy a particular racial terror against immigrant workers. In the wake of the mobilizations of 2006, Smithfield enrolled in the Immigration Customs Enforcement Mutual Agreement between Government and Employers (IMAGE) Program. This program allows ICE access to human resource records of the company, and allows the company to cooperate with ICE in the implementation of raids targeting undocumented workers at the plant.<sup>91</sup> An April 2007 statement submitted to Congress by the UFCW argues that the

raids were designed and executed as political theater . . . It is not a coincidence that Smithfield has used the IMAGE program as cover to begin firing workers for no-match social security issues at the same time when workers in the plant are gaining momentum in their efforts to secure safer working conditions, better pay, and benefits through union representation.<sup>92</sup>

Deportation has been a crucial technology of the state, as Kanstroom argues, since well before the American Revolution. Municipal governments warned out unruly and racially suspect women during the colonial period; states such as Georgia deported denizens of Indian nations; enslaved Africans could be



remanded back to slavery even when living as free persons in nonslave territories; political dissidents and “enemy aliens” could be removed from the nation at times of war and suspicion. Because deportation operates at particular moments as political theater responding to mass mediated fear, American studies scholars are uniquely positioned to understand it. Our historic interdisciplinarity and recent focus on transnationalism are important resources in understanding the evolution of this ongoing terror.

It has been my contention in this article that the emergence of the U.S.-Mexico border as a contested and racialized zone across which migrants and racialized U.S. citizens have been deported en masse at particular moments marks the emergence of a new technology: the deportation terror. The deportation terror draws on the power of the Border Patrol, as it emerged after 1924 and subsequently evolved into the Immigration and Naturalization Service, now subsumed into the Department of Homeland Security. These agencies have implemented mass deportations in the 1930s and again during Operation Wetback and the current ICE raids. The deportation terror draws on these agencies to operate as political theater, responding to mass mediated expressions of fears of violent subversion. The detention and deportation of the foreign-born for political reasons since 1924 is part of the operation of the deportation terror.

## Notes

My thanks to Wendy Kozol for her characteristically insightful reading of a prior draft of this piece; to Christine Neumann-Ortiz for telling me to look into what is going on in Smithfield, N.C.; and to the *American Quarterly* editorial board for their thoughtful revision suggestions. “Orange Mike” Lowrey, in a paper for my graduate seminar on immigration history in 2006, first alerted me to the lacunae in the literature on deportation.

1. “The Deportation Terror,” issued by the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born for the 27th National Conference, New York, 1959. Pamphlet is held in the Fromkin Memorial Collection of the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, library.
2. “The Deportation Terror,” 17.
3. See the DHS Web site at [http://www.dhs.gov/xabout/history/editorial\\_0133.shtm](http://www.dhs.gov/xabout/history/editorial_0133.shtm).
4. Daniel Kanstroom, *Deportation Nation: Outsiders in American History* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007), 74.
5. The genealogy of these insights includes Hannah Arendt and Giorgio Agamben. See Judith Butler, “I merely belong to them,” *Left Review of Books* 29.9 (May 10, 2007), at [http://www.lrb.co.uk/v29/n09/btrl02\\_.html](http://www.lrb.co.uk/v29/n09/btrl02_.html) (accessed May 14, 2008) for a discussion of Hannah Arendt’s position on nationalism, deportation, and statelessness; Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1995), esp. 166–80; also Linda K. Kerber, “Toward a History of Statelessness in America,” *American Quarterly* 57.3 (September 2005): 727–49.
6. “Iraq Refugees Knocking: U.S. to Let in 7,000,” Associated Press, May 30, 2007, <http://www.msnbc.com/id/18944557/> (accessed May 14, 2008).

7. Kanstroom, *Deportation Nation*, 16–17.
8. Moustafa Bayoumi, “Racing Religion,” *CR: The New Centennial Review* 6.2 (2006): 267–93, quote on 276.
9. Camille Guérin-Gonzales, *Mexican Workers and American Dreams: Immigration, Repatriation, and California Farm Labor, 1900–1939* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1996); and Lisa Flores, “Crafting Rhetorical Borders: Peons, Illegal Aliens, and Competing Narratives of Immigration,” *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 20 (2003): 362–87. See also Abraham Hoffman, *Unwanted Mexicans in the Great Depression* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1974).
10. Arleen DeVera, “Without Parallel: The Local 7 Deportation Cases, 1949–1955,” *Amerasia Journal* 20.2 (1994): 1–25; Ellen Schrecker, “Immigration and Internal Security: Political Deportation during the McCarthy Era,” *Science and Society* 60.4 (Winter 1996–1997): 393–426. I am indebted to Michael J. Lowrey, who first brought some of these sources to my attention in an annotated bibliography completed for a graduate seminar I taught in spring 2006.
11. Kanstroom, *Deportation Nation*; David Cole, *Enemy Aliens: Double Standards and Constitutional Freedoms in the War on Terrorism* (New York: New Press, 2003); Kevin Johnson, *The “Huddled Masses” Myth: Immigration and Civil Rights* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2004); Victor C. Romero, *Alienated: Immigrant Rights, the Constitution, and Equality in America* (New York: New York University Press, 2005).
12. Bayoumi, “Racing Religion,” 273.
13. Mae Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2004), 57–58.
14. Ngai, *Impossible Subjects*, 58.
15. Donald Pease, “The Mexican-American War and Whitman’s ‘Song of Myself’: A Foundational Borderline Fantasy,” in *Immigrant Rights in the Shadow of Citizenship*, edited by Rachel Ida Buff (New York: New York University Press, 2008).
16. Timothy Dunn’s 1995 *The Militarization of the U.S.-Mexico Border, 1978–1992* (Austin: University of Texas Press) remains indispensable for an account of the confluence of these sources of militarization.
17. Natsu Taylor Saito, “Reflections on Homeland and Security,” *CR: The New Centennial Review* 6.2 (2006): 239–67, quote on 246–47.
18. Kanstroom, *Deportation Nation*, 195; also “Deportation Special: Who’s Who in Deportations: Brief Biographies of Workers Held for Deportation,” American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, September 1935, Tamiment Library, American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born Collection, Box 1, File, “1935–1945”; also see “Selected Immigration Laws” at <http://www.lib.umich.edu/socwork/rescue/archive/sw652.html>.
19. Rachel Rubin and Jeffrey Melnick, *Immigration and American Popular Culture: An Introduction* (New York: New York University Press, 2007), 53.
20. Tram Nguyen, *We Are All Suspects Now: Untold Stories from Immigrant Communities after 9/11* (Boston: Beacon Press: 2005), xiv.
21. Nguyen writes: “National security concerns have been used as a justification for increased discrimination in arenas of long-standing concern to civil rights activists, including employment, housing and criminal justice.” *Ibid.*, xx.
22. Lisa Flores, “Constructing Rhetorical Borders: Peons, Illegal Aliens, and Competing Narratives of Immigration,” *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 20.4 (December 2003): 363.
23. “Deportation Special,” American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, Tamiment Library, Box 1, New York University.
24. Scott Michaelsen, “Between Japanese Internment and the USA PATRIOT Act: The Borderlands and the Permanent State of Racial Exception,” *Aztlan* 30.2 (Fall 2005).
25. The 2004 budget for the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), for example, included \$18 billion, double the funding of the 2002 budget to “increase border and transportation security.” Department of Homeland Security, Budget in Brief, 2004, 1. The budget for ICE increased by 10% in 2005. Department of Homeland Security, Budget in Brief, 2005, 13; 13.5% in 2006. The 2007 budget alone contained \$400 million for the building of detention facilities. These budgets accessed at the DHS Web site, August 9, 2007.
26. DHS Budget in Brief, 2004, 6.

27. DHS Budget in Brief, 2005, 29. For an example of the ways a discourse criminalizes a targeted immigrant population: an in-class debate I staged in the late spring of 2006 on the question of undocumented immigration was won, hands down, by the anti-immigrant side when it cited a study by the Atlanta Violent Crimes Institute proclaiming that there are 240,000 undocumented sex offenders in the United States, and 93 sex offenders and 12 serial sex offenders crossing the border each day (George Putnam, "One Reporter's Opinion," June 16, 2006, [newsmax.com](http://newsmax.com)). On further research, we found that the Violent Crimes Institute consists of one person, Dr. Deborah Shurman-Kauflin, who holds a PhD of her own design from an online institution. However, the location of her institute in Atlanta and the spectacular nature of her claims, based as they turned out to be on a sample study of 1,500 prison inmates, has led to CNN fame, not to mention speaking and training work around the country. Most recently, her work has been featured on a House report on—what else?—border security. See <http://www.drdsk.com>.
28. This is already taking place by local fiat in many places, in lieu, again, of federal action to pass the proposed CLEAR Act to facilitate the enforcement of immigration law by local agents.
29. At this writing during the late summer of 2007, for example, DHS has implemented new regulations governing the "social security no-match" letters received by many workers, including undocumented ones, and their employers. These new regulations construe the receipt of no-match letters as evidence that the employer has "constructive knowledge" of employing workers illegally, and therefore justifies potential raids on such employers. See "Why DHS's Final Social Security 'No Match' Letter Rule Is Bad for Workers, Employers and the Economy," National Immigration Law Center, August 10, 2007, <http://www.nilc.org> (accessed August 16, 2007).
30. Available at [http://www.cbp.gov/xp/cgov/careers/customs\\_careers/border\\_careers/bp\\_agent/videos/](http://www.cbp.gov/xp/cgov/careers/customs_careers/border_careers/bp_agent/videos/) (accessed May 14, 2008).
31. Camille Guerin-Gonzales, *Mexican Workers and American Dreams: Immigration, Repatriation, and California Farm Labor, 1900–1939* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1996), esp. 77–96.
32. I am grateful to Erich Straub, immigration attorney, for laying this out for me in a language I could understand. Interview with the author, July 10, 2007.
33. See Victor Romero, "Who Should Manage Immigration—Congress or the States: An Introduction to Constitutional Immigration Law," in *Immigrant Rights in the Shadow of U.S. Citizenship*, ed. Rachel Ida Buff (New York: New York University Press, 2008); Alex Kotlowitz, "Our Town," *New York Times Magazine*, August 5, 2007.
34. Kotlowitz, "Our Town," 33.
35. Corinn Williams, executive director, Community Economic Development Center, New Bedford; interview with the author, July 26, 2007.
36. Monisha Das Gupta, *Unruly Immigrants: Rights, Activism, and Transnational South Asian Politics in the United States* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2006).
37. "The Legacy of Abner Green: A Memorial Journal," issued by the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born for the 27th National Conference, December 19–20, 1959. Held at the Tamiment Library, New York University, ACFPFB Collection, Box 2, Folder 4. On waterfront pharmacies: correspondence with Dr. Greg Higby of the American Institute for Pharmacy History, Madison, Wisconsin, July 2007. According to John W. Sherman, Green also attended City College, where he became involved in the Communist Party. Sherman's book, *A Communist Front at Mid-Century: The American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, 1933–1959* (Westport: Praeger, 2001) is the only recent study of the organization. As is perhaps illustrated by the title, Sherman is centrally concerned with the circumstances of the ACPFB's alliances with the Communist Party.
38. "Foreign Seamen on Our Ships," *New York Times*, July 22, 1945, excerpted on pamphlet; Tamiment Library, ACFPFB, Box 1; also Abner Green, "Excerpts from Report," given at the National Conference Against Deportation, held in Detroit, Michigan, December 1949, ACFPB papers, Box 1, Folder "1935–1949."
39. "Merchant Marine Minister Meets with U.S. Ambassador, Last Liberty Ship to be Donated to Greece," *Hellenic News of America*, October 27, 2006, <http://hellenicnews.com/readnews.html?newsid=5797> (accessed August 2, 2007).
40. *National Guardian*, July 9, 1956, found at Tamiment Library, ACFPFB Archives, Box 2, Folder 4.

41. Kelly Lytle Hernandez, "The Crimes and Consequences of Illegal Immigration: A Cross-Border Examination of Operation Wetback, 1943–1954," *Western Historical Quarterly* 37 (Winter 2006): 421–44.
42. At panel on "The Pacific Rim as Geographic Imaginary and Colonial Horizon," American Studies Association Conference, Oakland, California, October 2006. See also Steve C. McKay, "Men at Sea: Migration and the Performance of Masculinity," presented at the American Sociology Association, Montreal, Canada, August 2006.
43. George J. Sánchez, "'What's Good for Boyle Heights Is Good for the Jews': Creating Multiracialism on the Eastside during the 1950s," *American Quarterly* 56.3 (September 2004): 653–61; Jeffrey M. Garcilazo, "McCarthyism, Mexican Americans, and the Los Angeles Committee for the Protection of the Foreign-Born, 1950–1954," *Western Historical Quarterly* 32.3 (2001): 273–95.
44. Garcilazo, "McCarthyism," 289–90.
45. David R. Gutiérrez, *Walls and Mirrors*, 142, quoted in Garcilazo, "McCarthyism."
46. "The Diamond Kimm Case Has Reached a Critical Stage Requiring Immediate Action to Save His Life," poster, ACPFB, Box 2, Folder 9.
47. "Fact Sheet," 1955, Papers of the International League for the Rights of Man, Social Ethnic Pamphlet Collection (RG 73), Yale Divinity School Library. Courtesy of Joan Duffy, archivist.
48. Quee Young-Kim, "From Protest to Change of Regime: The 4-19 Revolt and the Fall of the Rhee Regime in South Korea," *Social Forces* 74.4 (1996), esp. 1185–88.
49. "Immigration and Internal Security: Political Deportations During the McCarthy Era," *Science & Society* 60.4 (Winter 1996–97): 393.
50. Dan Georgianna and Roberta Hazen Aronson, *The Strike of '28* (New Bedford: Spinner Publications, 1993), 13.
51. See Erika Lee, *At America's Gates: Chinese Immigration During the Exclusion Period* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007).
52. Quoted in Georgianna and Aronson, *Strike of '28*, 15.
53. *Ibid.*, 13.
54. Quoted in Georgianna and Aronson, *Strike of '28*, 144. This subtitle echoes the ingenious, resonant, and grim working title of Harvey Amani Whitfield's work on black loyalist emigrants to Canada before the Civil War, *From Slavery to Slavery* (forthcoming).
55. Under the McCarran-Walter Act, for example, the Justice Department created a category called Supervisory Parole for noncitizens who were not yet deported or whose countries of origin no longer existed. "Two Years of the Walter-McCarran Act," ACFPFB Papers, Box 1, Folder "1951–1954."
56. "Stop Her Deportation: Save Her from Death in Portugal," ACFPFB Papers, Box 1, Folder "1951–1954." One source indicates that the Mendes family may also have been Sephardic Jews; I am working to document this. On the emergence of the New State, see Manuel Baoia, "The Political History of Twentieth Century Portugal," *E-journal of Portuguese History* 1.2 (Winter 2003), [http://www.brown.edu/Departments/Portuguese\\_Brazilian\\_Studies/ejph/](http://www.brown.edu/Departments/Portuguese_Brazilian_Studies/ejph/) (accessed May 14, 2008); also Filipe Ribeiro de Meneses, "The Origins and Nature of Authoritarian Rule in Portugal, 1919–1945," *Contemporary European History* 2.1 (2002): 152–62.
57. "Stop Her Deportation," pamphlet.
58. Quoted in Georgianna and Aronson, *Strike of '28*, 83.
59. See Elizabeth Cohen, *Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago, 1919–1939* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
60. Quoted in Georgianna and Aronson, *Strike of '28*, 124.
61. *Ibid.*, 118.
62. "Stop Her Deportation." At this writing, I am in the process of obtaining Eulália Mendes's immigration files under the Freedom of Information Act.
63. Quoted in Georgianna and Aronson, *Strike of '28*, 144.
64. "Eulália Mendes: A grande lutador," Terras da Beira, April 5, 2001, <http://www.freipedro.pt/tb/050401/soc6.htm> (accessed July 7, 2007).
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78. Carla McCann, "Whitewater Still Healing Long After Raid," *Janesville Gazette*, July 26, 2007.
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80. Georgia Pabst, "Immigrant Measures Stir Hiring Concerns: Some Say Federal Moves Are Overdue," *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, August 13, 2007, <http://www.jsonline.com/story/index.aspx?id=646205> (accessed August 21, 2007).
81. Williams interview, July 26, 2007.
82. Jorge Islas, Sigma America, interview with the author, August 13, 2007.
83. According to the Center for Immigration Studies' *Immigrants at Mid-Decade: A Snapshot of America's Foreign-Born Population in 2005*, North Carolina's immigrant population (both legal and illegal) increased threefold between 1995 and 2005 (170,000 to 590,000). North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia accounted for only 575,000 immigrants in 1995, or roughly 2% of the 24 million immigrants in the United States. These three states accounted for 1.5 million immigrants in 2005, or roughly 4% of the 35 million immigrants in the United States. Growth during the past five years has been even more rapid. North Carolina's immigrant population has increased by 58.1% between 2000 and 2005 (373,000 to 590,000). North Carolina is also experiencing rapid growth of illegal immigrants. According to the Pew Hispanic Center's *Estimates of the Size and Characteristics of the Undocumented Population*, North Carolina's undocumented population is 300,000. This makes North Carolina home to the nation's eighth largest population of undocumented migrants. The study claims that undocumented migration is the principal reason for the rapid growth of foreign-born populations in nontraditional settlement areas such as North Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, and South Carolina. Source: Congressional Representative Sue Myrick's Web page, at <http://myrick.house.gov/NCImmigrationCourtFactSheet.shtml>, (accessed March 30, 2008).
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