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Screening Migrants in the Early Cold War:
The Geopolitics of American Immigration Policy[*]

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ABSTRACT: The broad outlines of US immigration policy date back to the early Cold War. One piece of this system is a screening process initially designed to prevent infiltration by communist agents posing as migrants from East-Central Europe. I argue that the development of these measures was a driven by geopolitical concerns and show how these vetting criteria favored the admission of hardline nationalists and anticommunists. The argument proceeds in two steps. First, I demonstrate that geopolitics influenced immigration policy, resulting in the admission of extremist individuals. Second, I document how geopolitical concerns and the openness of American institutions provided exiles with the opportunity to mobilize politically. While there is little evidence that the vetting system succeeded in preventing the entry of communist subversives into the US, it did help to create a highly mobilized anticommunist ethnic lobby that supported extremist policies vis-à-vis the Soviet Union during the early Cold War.

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Introduction

Immigration policy has been a constant theme in American political discourse. Since the 2001 attacks of September 11, these debates have focused on the potential of terrorists to gain entry into the US by posing as migrants or refugees. However, in the late 1940s and early 1950s these concerns focused on the displaced persons and migrants arriving from Europe. As part of a broader American response to the rise of the Soviet Union and the outbreak of the Cold War, policymakers in Washington created a new immigration system, which subjected migrants to a screening process to ensure that communist agents from East-Central Europe did not infiltrate the country.

My basic thesis is that the geopolitical concerns expressed in America's postwar immigration policy resulted in the systematic selection of hardline nationalists and anticommunists from East-Central Europe for admission to the U.S. In addition to granting these individuals entry, the same geopolitical factors provided political opportunities for exiles from the Eastern bloc to mobilize.[1] While there is little evidence that the vetting system prevented the entry of communist subversives, I show that it had the unintended consequence of creating a cohort of vigorously anticommunist activists. After settling in the U.S., these individuals mobilized to create powerful ethnic lobbies that sought to push the U.S. towards a hardline policies vis-à-vis the Soviet Union and the new communist regimes in their homelands.

Hannah Arendt, who came to America from Germany as an immigrant herself, was among the first to recognize that migrants could be catalysts for conflict diffusion across state borders. By 1951 she had already developed an argument demonstrating the role that stateless persons, refugees and minorities played in the rise of totalitarianism in

Europe and in the onset of World War II.[2] Since then, Douglas Woodwell has confirmed and broadened her claims. He argues, "International militarized disputes arise when ethnic nationalist pressure groups successfully influence state foreign policy in such a way that state interests are seen to coincide with ethno-national group interest."[3] Exiles can play an important in spreading domestic conflicts beyond the borders of their homelands by shaping public opinion in their new host states, promoting international intervention and raising money to support continuing warfare.[4]

The power of these interest groups has grown with the historical expansion of the American president's ability to make unilateral policy changes during the course of the twentieth century. Migrant communities have taken advantage of "this relatively new center of policy development in American politics to supplement long-established ties with Congress and bureaucrats."[5] Due to their access to the global media and the sensitivity of Congress to lobbying, Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan claim that migrants and diaspora communities have become "the single most important determinant of policy" in America.[6]

Using the example of postwar migration to the U.S. from East-Central Europe, I argue that immigration policy helps to explain the presence of highly unified, politically mobilized ethnic lobbies in postwar America. At the start of the Cold War, the United States was faced with an unprecedented refugee crisis in Europe. In response to the geopolitical situation, the government created an immigration system that allowed extremely anticommunist – in some cases even fascist – migrants from East-Central Europe to enter the country. The newly-arrived exiles from the Eastern bloc mobilized quickly, forming uncompromising lobbies that opposed any form of cooperation or

détente with the USSR. While promoting national ideals, they called for their homelands to be granted political freedom and independence.

I explain the rapid mobilization of these anticommunist ethnic lobbies in two steps. First, I argue that the fear of Soviet infiltration led to the creation of an immigration apparatus that systematically granted visas to extremist individuals. The evidence contained in government documents and congressional hearings shows how the United States created a screening process that gave preference to individuals who espoused hardline anticommunist views. The legislatively mandated vetting procedures designed to keep communist agents out of the United States systematically skewed the political views of the individuals granted entry into the country (see Figure 1). This model demonstrates the role immigration policy plays in distorting the composition of migrant communities by favoring individuals with certain characteristics.

[Figure 1 about here]

In the second step, I show that the effects of this migration procedure were amplified by government policies that sought to make use of exiles in the nascent Cold War. The same geopolitical concerns that led to the creation of the vetting procedures also created the "dimensions of opportunity" that enabled their politicization.[7] Through the 1950s a number of American policies sought to take advantage of immigration from East-Central Europe to open what George Kennan's Policy Planning Staff called "a wide breach in the Iron Curtain."[8] For example, the government sought to utilize exiles by forming them into a Volunteer Freedom Corps (VFC), who would fight to liberate their homelands. The VFC and similar initiatives unintentionally gave migrants, who had already been radicalized by their postwar experience of communism in their homelands, a

political ear.[9] When the government later abandoned these plans, it was surprised by the strength of exile opposition and even had to warn its agencies to resist the pressure of this highly mobilized ethnic lobby.

The proposals for the VFC and other initiatives of this kind are crucial to our understanding of the postwar era because they "emerged as the United States was still developing most of the security and foreign policy instruments on which it relied throughout the Cold War."[10] Given the changes involved in reorganizing the American immigration system in the aftermath of World War II,[11] as well as the stickiness of policy legacies, many of these measures continue to affect U.S. policy – and debates about vetting and immigration – to this day.[12] Examining how these policies were developed in the context of the early Cold War can therefore shed light on the present.

Focusing on the mobilization of migrants from East-Central Europe in the early Cold War allows me to study mobilization as a byproduct of geopolitics.[13] Much of the literature suggests that immigration policy is a bottom-up process dominated by local interests and ethnic identities.[14] By contrast, I add a systemic perspective to the debate by suggesting that immigration policy and mobilization are primarily the products of state responses to the international system. Although the geopolitical context has changed since the early days of the Cold War, the enduring legacy of the postwar changes to U.S. immigration policy give this topic contemporary significance as well.

My argument proceeds systematically. First, I explain my focus on the early Cold War and examine how much influence these exiles had on American policy after the Second World War. I also present my theoretical framework, define key terms and outline my empirical approach. In the second section, I summarize the refugee situation

in Europe and outline the process through which individuals from East-Central Europe immigrated to the United States. Third, by examining the vetting procedures used by immigration officials, I show how hardline anticommunist refugees were selected from the pool of potential migrants. Fourth, I detail how American foreign policy goals that relied on the presence of an active émigré community encouraged the political mobilization of immigrants from East-Central Europe. I conclude by reflecting on the continuing importance of immigration policy in explaining the influence of political exiles on foreign policy.

Migration Policy and the Cold War

Focusing on migration from East-Central Europe after 1945 may seem somewhat esoteric given the more active scholarly interest in other migrant communities, such as the Cuban diaspora and the so-called the Israeli Lobby.[15] However, migration from the newly communist states of the Eastern bloc dominated a "dynamic era in U.S. foreign and defense policy" at the beginning of the Cold War.[16] This example has garnered renewed attention after the release of a Justice Department report in 2006 detailing how American intelligence created a "safe haven" for Nazis and their collaborators after World War II.[17] The fact that the archival records relating to this wave of migration have been declassified also allows insight into the thinking and motivations of policymakers that is not available in other, more recent cases. Lastly, this temporal distance makes it possible to track the full effects of the vetting process designed to prevent communist infiltration.

The anticommunist migrants from East-Central Europe mobilized soon after their arrival and quickly began to lobby the U.S. government on behalf of what they perceived to be their homeland interests. The evidence suggests that they were quite effective in doing so.[18] For example, Tony Smith observes, "During the Cold War, American liberals typically lamented the visceral anticommunism of East European ethnic groups as an impediment to better relations with Moscow." He argues that Henry Kissinger lost considerable influence in the Republican Party after Ronald Reagan's election in 1981 due to the backlash from this lobby, which saw détente as a betrayal of U.S. promises.[19]

Arguing along similar lines, Yossi Shain contends that U.S.-Soviet differences could have been resolved earlier had it not been for the steady pressure of American descendants from East-Central Europe, who rejected anything that fell short of unconditional freedom for their homelands.[20] Through much of the postwar period America's aversion to communism reinforced the views of the hardline anticommunist views of many migrants. This encouraged the activities of East-Central European lobbies in the United States, which raised funds to promote regime change.[21] However, as the United States later sought to improve relations with the east, ethno-nationalist agitation was discouraged. In some cases the CIA even acquiesced to the activity of foreign agents intended to silence dissident voices in the United States.[22]

Despite this evidence, the overall impact of this anticommunist lobby on U.S. policy is hard to determine. In part, this is due to the fact that "the impact of U.S. diasporic communities on the demise of communism in Eastern Europe has been accumulative rather than direct."[23] In trying to draw attention to the connection between geopolitics, immigration policy and immigrant mobilization, I focus on the causes of

migrant mobilization, not its effectiveness. The existing literature and the archival

evidence I provide establish that these individuals mobilized quickly and broadly after

their immigration to the United States.

Mobilization is usually defined in terms of a community's ability to coordinate its

members, select spokespersons and engage in collective action.[24] Drawing on this basic

definition, I use governmental documents to show how organizations created by migrants

from East-Central Europe lobbied the U.S. government. These records show that these

dissidents took on an active role in politics soon after their arrival in the United States

and that they quickly obtained access to the upper channels of government.

There are a number of explanations for the differing levels of political mobilization

among ethnic communities.[25] First, the nature of exit is an important variable. While

some migrants choose to leave voluntarily, refugees are often "pushed" out of their

homelands as a result of fear for their lives and livelihood.[26] Those who are forced to

leave are more likely to mobilize politically than those who leave to pursue economic

opportunities abroad. Second, given the costs of mobilization, the resources available to

migrants (often tied to their economic success) are also important in determining the

politically activity of diasporas.[27] Third, the ability to mobilize may depend on

receptivity, i.e. how the norms of the community "fit" with those of the host state.[28]

While helpful, these explanations are not satisfactory on their own. Resource-based

arguments do not predict the political direction (for simplicity, from left to right) of

mobilization. Economic arguments can often account for mobilization in regard to tax

policy, labor and other domestic issues better than for its foreign policy views and the

community's relationship to its homeland. While the nature of exit may predict

mobilization, it does not explain how and why large numbers of migrants end up in the same host state. Additionally, receptivity is generally analyzed in terms of "societal security" measured by cultural distance, not on the political opportunities presented by geopolitical situation.[29]

The basic problem is that these existing explanations take the composition of immigrant communities as given. I push the explanation of mobilization back a step by treating selection as a variable instead of a constant.[30] The vetting conducted by the United States played a crucial role in selecting hardline anticommunist individuals for admission into the country. The admission of a "victim diaspora" with preexisting, extremist political views, whose members are shaped by their flight from the regime in their homelands, is potentially dangerous for host states.[31] These experiences help to explain the activity of exiles in homeland politics, since they increase "their inclination or motivation to maintain their solidarity and exert group influence."[32] Additionally, the trauma of exile creates a psychological void that can make political migrants easy prey for extremism.[33]

The second stage of my argument bears some resemblance to the existing explanations stressing receptivity. However, I focus on the "political opportunity structures" presented to migrants upon their arrival in the United States, not on cultural distance. Following Sidney Tarrow, I argue that the "dimensions of the political environment…provide incentives (or disincentives) for people to undertake collective action by affecting their expectations for success or failure."[34] After 1945, concerns about the Soviet Union facilitated the collective action of anticommunist migrants from East-Central Europe. Exiles from communist Europe were able to take advantage of the

openness and vulnerability of U.S. institutions (particularly Congress) to lobbying and the presence of influential allies within the government and the national security establishment, who shared their views about communism and the Soviet Union.[35]

Unlike many other studies of exiles and refugees, I take a transnational perspective. Following the policy of the U.S. government at the time, I treat postwar anticommunist émigrés as a single group. This perspective reflects the important role that these migrants played in the propaganda war between the United States and the USSR at the start of the Cold War. It also emphasizes the shared anticommunism of these groups and their cooperation in seeking to influence U.S. foreign policy towards East-Central Europe.

Postwar Migration to the United States from East-Central Europe

In 1945 there were over 7,000,000 Eastern and Central European refugees in Western Europe. Some had been moved there by the Nazis to serve as laborers. Others had been living in the West as students, tourists, businessmen or workers. The majority had fled west during the war to escape hostilities in their homelands.[36]

The mass of refugees, displaced and stateless people in Western Europe after the war posed a problem for the Allies, who were bound by the Treaty of Yalta to repatriate "Soviet citizens" back to the USSR after the war. The western alliance adopted a broad interpretation of the agreement. US General (and later President) Dwight D. Eisenhower wrote in 1944, "These displaced persons are a constant source of misunderstanding on controversial discussion with representatives of the Soviet Military Mission…. The only complete solution to this problem from all points of view is the early repatriation of these [individuals]."[37] Repatriation lessened the costs of caring for and feeding these masses at

a time when food and other supplies were running low while also preserving the alliance with the Soviets.

In the end, the military forces of the Allies and the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration repatriated about 5,500,000 of the 7,000,000 East-Central European refugees living in Western Europe. The International Refugee Organization took charge of the remainder. By the time these organizations finished their repatriation and resettlement programs, only about 100,000 refugees who had fled the Nazis during the war were left under Allied control.[38]

Despite these efforts, refugee flows to Western Europe did not stop with the end of the war. Many individuals from areas "liberated" by the Red Army now sought to avoid new persecution by the Soviets.[39] By 1952 more than 18,000 people had escaped from communist Europe. Unlike the first wave of migrants who had fled fascism, this population was broadly anticommunist. Many had played an active role within the Nazi wartime client regimes as administrators, policemen, officials, or even as soldiers. Once in power the communists imprisoned and executed many Nazi sympathizers on charges of collaboration. Anyone who had not actively resisted the Nazi occupation was in danger.

The continued flow of individuals from communist Europe meant that the refugee camps in the west were not shrinking as planned. In order to relieve the pressure on its allies in Western Europe and take advantage of the skills and increasing psychological value of Eastern bloc defectors, the "legal statutes and instruments [of the United States] were hastily reconfigured to facilitate these prized individuals' entrance to America. This entailed parallel adjustments to domestic and international law."[40]

These changes to the immigration legislation of the United Sates were part of a broader policy of "calculated kindness" on the part of the Truman and Eisenhower administrations.[41] Although America began accepting individuals from East-Central Europe immediately after the war, migration to the United States started in earnest with the admission of this second, anticommunist wave of refugees. This corresponded with the passage of the Displaced Persons Act (DPA) of 1948, which "authorize[d] for a limited period of time the admission into the United States of certain European displaced persons for permanent residence, and for other purposes."[42]

The admission of so many émigrés from East-Central Europe into the US did not go unnoticed domestically. Episodes like Oksana Kasenkina's highly publicized "leap for freedom" from the third floor window of the Soviet consulate in New York City in August 1948 made escapees hard to ignore.[43] The Policy Planning Staff observed that the stories of escapees had done more "to arouse the Western World to the realities of the nature of communist tyranny than anything else since the end of the war."[44]

From an international perspective, the DPA was a response to rising tensions with the USSR at the start of the Cold War. The Communist coup in Hungary in the spring of 1947, followed by the Czechoslovak coup in February 1948 and the Berlin Blockade starting in June 1948, convinced American policymakers that the United States had to take a harder line against the Soviet Union. Following the creation of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in 1947, President Truman announced a propaganda offensive that sought to win the "struggle for the minds of men." Exiles with firsthand knowledge of the situation behind the Iron Curtain would help by "getting the real story across to people in other countries."[45]

With the election of Eisenhower in 1952, a more "aggressive rollback" of communism appeared to be in the offing. This was signaled by John Foster Dulles's promise of an "an explosive and dynamic" policy of liberation. Although Eisenhower was initially skeptical of this more aggressive approach, many of his aids, including his chief national security advisor, C.D. Jackson, supported it wholeheartedly.[46] Eventually the Eisenhower administration's "aggressive rollback" came to include plans to create an army of exiles who would fight to liberate their homelands.

Regardless of how Truman and Eisenhower sought to take advantage of escapees, the problem of east to west migration in Europe needed to be addressed. By 1952 the Mutual Security Agency estimated that the rate of flight from behind the Iron Curtain had increased to 1,000 a month.[47] In response to this, the deputy director of the Agency urged Congress to consider "the threat this [European surplus-population] poses to political stability."[48] As a result, the Displaced Persons Act (DPA) was extended repeatedly before expiring in 1954.

The U.S. government was happy to accept these immigrants, since many of them possessed important skills. "[T]he caliber of the expellee is such as to make them rather desirable immigrants into the United States. In other words, they are not left-overs. The expellees we can choose from, and we can choose those whom we need in this country."[49] Intellectuals and businessmen had been targeted by the communist regime due to their bourgeois background. Others were experienced craftsmen and farmhands deemed necessary to maintain the growth of the postwar American economy.

The DPA was only the first in a series of actions taken by Congress to bring refugees from World War II to the United States. The government found so many of the

émigrés to be "desirable" that it kept expanding immigration quotas for East-Central Europe.[50] A Justice Department report notes, "Congress' overriding concern at the time was in helping refugees escape Communist rule."[51] These exiles were important not only because of their skills, but also as pieces in the growing conflict with the USSR. According to a report from the Department of State, granting these individuals entry was part of a broader U.S. plan to pressure on the Soviet Union in three different ways:

I. Emphasizing to Soviet rulers and peoples the reckless nature of Soviet policy and its consequences.
II. Establishing a reservoir of good will between the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and those of the free world.
III. Widening the schism which exists between the Soviet peoples and their rulers.[52]

As an administrator at the Mutual Security Agency explained, "One of the best ways to keep alive faith in freedom and democracy behind the iron curtain is to let the people enslaved by communism know that those who make the dangerous flight to safety will find refuge in the west and will be given an opportunity to start a new life."[53] Individuals who had escaped from East-Central Europe after the war were frequently hired by Radio Free Europe or had their stories told on programs broadcast back into their homelands.[54] This propaganda battle was so important that the United States was unwilling to deport anyone for fear of the negative publicity this would generate in the communist bloc.[55]

Due to the economic advantages of some and the strategic position of others, refugees from communist Europe comprised nearly half of all immigrants admitted to the United States between 1945 and 1955.[56] Most of those who had fled during the war were classified as refugees, stateless or displaced persons. Those expelled by or fleeing

communism after the end of the war required a new category. While sometimes referred

to as expellees or political asylees, the government soon coined the term "escapees."

When used within government documents and acts of Congress,

> 'Escapee' means any person who…after World War II has left the Union of
> Soviet Socialist Republics or other Communist, Communist-dominated, or
> Communist-occupied area of Europe, including those parts of Germany
> under military occupation by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and
> who because of persecution or fear of persecution on account of race,
> religion, or political opinion refuses to return thereto and who has not been
> permanently resettled.[57]

Today it is a truism that "refugees can become pawns in global power struggles,

and refugee assistance can be used to discredit an opponent."[58] However, at this time,

migration was just one front in the geopolitical battle between the United States and the

USSR. Regardless of which program the immigrants from East-Central Europe entered

the United States under, they were all subject to a thorough screening process that Acting

Secretary of State Gen. Walter Bendell Smith called "even more rigorous than that which

applies under normal immigration requirements."[59]

Screening Communists Out (and Anticommunists In)

Although the US government saw clear economic and political advantages to

admitting desirable immigrants, there was also great concern about the possibility of

communist "subversives" infiltrating the United States. A former officer from the Chief

of Military Intelligence (G-2) stationed in Berlin after the war noted that by the fall of

1945 he and his colleagues had become "convinced with adequate evidence that

deliberate attempts were being made by the Soviet Government…[to send agents] to the

United States, to South America and to Canada under the guise of being displaced

persons or being political refugees."[60]

In order to combat infiltration by communist agents, Congress authorized the executive branch to set up a system to screen all individuals eligible for immigration to America. The vetting process was instituted in response to article 13 of the Displaced Persons Act of 1948, which required immigration officials were required to ensure that no visas were granted to any individual "who is or has been a member of, or participated in, any movement which is or has been hostile to the United States or the form of government of the United States."[61] Based on this and the legislative mandate included in other DP laws, the agencies responsible for overseeing the postwar immigration to the U.S. gradually developed a screening system to ensure the both the eligibility and desirability of migrants seeking entrance into the U.S.

A number of different agencies participated in carrying out the required investigation. First, the International Refugee Organization carried out a background check of the individuals before they were even considered for eligibility. Next, the information sheet was turned over to the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), which made a check against their records. In his testimony before Congress, the Chairman of the DP Commission noted that "it is surprising how much [FBI agents] know about people that have never even seen these shores."[62]

This was followed by a month-long investigation by the Counter Intelligence Corps of the US Army, which was assisted by the Immigration and Naturalization Service. The background check included: an interview with three neighbors; obtaining a good-conduct certificate from local police, camp officer or other authority to establish that the individual had not been convicted of any crimes; cross-checking to see if the individual

was ever associated with any party/organization hostile to the United States; a fingerprint check of local records for subversive activity; and multiple rounds of individual interrogation. The State Department also conducted a full inquiry before handing the case off to a case analyst at the DP Commission. By the end of the process, the case analysts had an extensive file on every potential migrant.[63]

As a result of this thorough background check, the DP camps in Western Europe became what Susan Carruthers describes as "manufactories of evidence."[64] Throughout the numerous authentication interviews, the burden of proof was always on the migrants to establish their eligibility and prove their "political desirability."[65] The applicants had to establish that that neither they nor anyone in their family had ever been a member of any party or organization hostile to the United States. They were required to account for each month of their life, corroborated by character statements. Consular officers were instructed to act with caution, barring anyone from entry "if [the interviewer] has a reasonable doubt that they are politically inadmissible."[66]

By all accounts, the officers conducting the required interrogations took their jobs very seriously. A relief agency official who witnessed the interrogations described the consular interviewers as "case-hardened" with "no more tears, no more pity for their fellow man." He noted that the escapees are "treated in such a manner as to make them wonder whether the free world is their friend."[67] Although about two thirds of the individuals rejected by the screening process appealed to the DP Commission or tried to get back into the system at a different camp under a different name, only one or two percent succeeded in having their status changed.[68] In total, the screening took four to six weeks. It was so thorough and time-consuming that it often caused a backlog. In many

cases, the camps filled less than two thirds of their allotted visas, as migrants were not being screened quickly enough.[69]

During oversight hearings, members of Congress frequently expressed concerns about the effectiveness of the vetting procedures. Some outsiders, such as the chairman of the National Americanism Commission of the American Legion, expressed their skepticism, arguing, "[I]t is completely and utterly impossible to screen [escapees]."[70] This was a legitimate concern. The situation in the camps was chaotic. Although Nazi Germany kept meticulous records on the political activities of individuals under its occupation, the growing conflict with the Soviet Union meant that many of the records were not accessible or were incomplete. There is considerable evidence that the screening apparatus was inadequate for catching communist infiltrators, since agents from the Eastern bloc expected to be screened and were prepared for it. In fact, in their search for "those that measured up to the highest physical, mental, moral, and ideological American standards," the U.S. interrogators probably turned away more eligible individuals, who did not express their anticommunism ardently enough for the interrogators, than actual communist agents.[71]

Despite these problems, immigration officials were able to convince Congress that "the security check is as adequate as it can be under the circumstances."[72] Regardless of its success in blocking the entry of "subversives," the system undoubtedly affected the general composition of the migrant community granted immigration visas to the United States after World War II. In many cases it was easier for erstwhile fascists to enter the country than those with more moderate political views. Members of the Nazi party were officially ineligible for admission to the United States, since the Nazi party was classified

as "an organization hostile to the US." However, the changed geopolitical situation meant that Nazi affiliations were often overlooked if the individual had other redeeming characteristics. For example, the United States recruited many Nazi scientists and intelligence agents at the start of the Cold War.[73] In other cases, serious war criminals were given immigration visas because of their language skills, local knowledge and anticommunism.

Although immigration officials were instructed to ignore the requests of prominent Nazi war criminals, they helped many others bypass the vetting process.[74] By the mid-1950s this kind of "bleaching" was no longer necessary, as investigations carried out by the CIA only had to ensure that "no derogatory information" existed. Since the Nazi party was anticommunist, information that an individual had been a Nazi or a member of another fascist organization was not considered an impediment. Although it is unclear how many "Nazi persecutors" were admitted as a result of these programs and an immigration system that focused on ferreting out communist agents, the government estimate of 10,000 is broadly reported.[75]

In trying to prevent communist infiltrators and subversives from entering the country, the government ended up selecting hardline, anticommunist individuals for admission, including a number of individuals that had been active Nazi persecutors. This selection bias, along with the self-conscious attempts by the government to mobilize these individuals directly against the communist regimes in East-Central Europe upon their arrival in the country, helps to explain their high degree of political mobilization.

Mobilizing Escapees in the United States

In the early period of increased migration to the US from East-Central Europe starting in 1948, the U.S. government and the Truman administration had seen the escapees as part of a propaganda battle with the USSR. However, the new Eisenhower administration began to change the role of the escapee in 1953 as part of its "aggressive rollback of communism." The supporters of this policy hoped to take advantage of the politically mobilized migrants from East-Central Europe to form an émigré army. In a secret memorandum from 1953, President Eisenhower wrote, "In the interest of our national security, the burden now resting upon the youth of America in the world struggle against Communism should be relieved by providing additional combat manpower." In order to do this, he argued, "We should find a way to mobilize the will to oppose Communism which exists in countries under the Communist yoke. One way to meet these objectives is . . . [the] proposal for a 'Volunteer Freedom Corps.'"[76]

Loosely based on the Free French Forces organized to oppose the Vichy regime in occupied France, the Volunteer Freedom Corps (VFC) was conceptualized as a military organization for exiles from East-Central Europe to join the fight to liberate their homelands. It was a response to earlier offers such as that of Polish General Władysław Anders, who promised over six million men to fight with the U.S. for the anti-Soviet cause in 1951.[77] Although this was not the first attempt to create an émigré army to fight communism, it was the only one that received explicit support from the president. In the view of the administration, giving escapees an opportunity to fight for their homelands would help the United States in its battle against communism and encourage continued emigration from East-Central Europe. In the words of C.D. Jackson, the opportunity to help the West in the Cold War would give escapees "something to hang on to."[78]

In 1951, Representative Charles J. Kersten introduced an amendment to the Mutual Security Act proposing the creation of national legions of escapees associated with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). He argued, "Just imagine that the United States had been taken over by the Communists, and there were 100,000 young Americans available for military service outside the country. What a magnetic force that would be for the eventual liberation of this country. The same situation exists in Poland, in Hungary, in Rumania, and in Bulgaria."[79]

The so-called Kersten Amendment led to proposals for the Volunteer Freedom Corps. While President Eisenhower initially hoped to recruit an army of 250,000 escapees, other groups within the administration questioned his optimism. CIA Director Allen W. Dulles noted that the United States should avoid "overenthusiasm at the start," aiming instead for the more realistic figure of about 30,000.[80] Detailed plans were made for the organization of national units affiliated with NATO. A whole range of issues were discussed, including the use of national insignia, flags and command structure. There was even some debate about expanding the Volunteer Freedom Corps to fight in Korea.[81] The U.S. ambassador to the United Nations even remarked, "[E]scapees can give the U.S. the initiative in psychological warfare, and can be the biggest, single, constitutive, creative element in our foreign policy."[82]

Despite the promise seen in the VFC by President Eisenhower and many senior security officials, the escapee army was never implemented. There are a number of reasons for this. In the first place, the USSR reacted strongly to the Kersten Amendment in the UN, condemning the "the appropriation of 100 million dollars to pay for the

recruitment of persons and the organization of armed groups in the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, [and] Albania."[83]

By themselves the objections of the USSR would not have been enough to scuttle Eisenhower's plans for the VFC. However, the administration was also unable to overcome lingering reservations in the State Department and objections from some of its allies in Western Europe. Most notably, for the leadership the newly created western German Federal Republic and other US allies along the Iron Curtain, "the prospect of housing units of recruits itching for World War III was more alarming than reassuring." Carruthers points out that "without the support of those states in which [the VFC's] units would be based, nothing…could be done."[84]

Finally, the gradual thaw that followed Stalin's death in 1953 convinced the government that the VFC was not valuable enough to risk endangering America's improving relations with the USSR. The suppression of the East German uprising by Soviet troops later that year also "shattered the notion of an aggressive rollback."[85] By this point, Dulles and others within the Eisenhower administration had begun to question this strategy as too costly and too risky. By 1955, Dulles told the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate that "the U.S. is getting closer to a relationship [where] we can deal [with the Soviet Union] on a basis comparable to that where we deal with differences between friendly nations."[86] This was the death-knell of the VFC. Although some escapees had been recruited into the U.S. Army and were already in training, the administration officially rescinded the proposals for a VFC in 1960, incorporating the existing escapees into regular Army units.[87]

The escapees and refugee organizations representing exiles from Eastern and Central Europe were disappointed when government programs to fight communism were abandoned. They had lobbied Congress hard in support of the VFC and other anticommunist measures.[88] These émigrés saw themselves as the perfect soldiers to lead the fight against communism. They had written many letters to the president and to their representatives in Congress promising to do anything to defeat the communists. In many cases, exiles succeeded in penetrating and forming relationships with the American political elite.[89]

By the time the plans for the VFC were abandoned, the political support given to forming an army of émigrés had already encouraged the escapees from East-Central Europe to form "refugee-warrior communities."[90] As a result, they began to mobilize and create their own organizations to fight for the freedom of their homelands. For example, a group of veterans of the Slovak army formed the Union of Slovak Combatants (1953). Similar organizations sprung up in every Eastern and Central European diaspora, including the Free Armenia Committee, the Union of Estonian Fighters for Freedom, the Latvian Association for the Struggle against Communism and the Croatian National Liberation Movement, to name just a few.

During the Cold War many of these organizations banded together under the banner of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN). Inspired by the anti-colonial movements in Africa, the ABN was a coordinating center for anticommunist organizations dedicated to destroying the Warsaw Pact. Founded by the Bandera faction of the Organization for Ukrainian Nationalists, the ABN had US chapters in New York, Chicago, Detroit and

Cleveland. Though its rhetoric was on the fringe of the diaspora community, it was very prominent and highly mobilized.[91]

The government was surprised by the intensity of the support for these programs and even sought to diminish their impact. A top secret report warned, "All agencies concerned with the VFC must be prepared to minimize the impact of pressures from the various émigré groups. Such pressure can be anticipated in direct approaches to members of Congress, to the participating agencies and to the press."[92] In its attempt to improve relations with the USSR, the administration was deeply concerned with the possible impact of lobbying by extremist ethnic groups. This demonstrates the influence that geopolitically motivated selection mechanisms and political opportunities had in helping migrants mobilize into powerful lobbies. It also shows how the policy legacies of decisions dictated by world politics can backfire when the geopolitical situation changes.

Conclusion

Despite the onset of the European migration and refugee crisis in 2015, it is somewhat ironic that concerns about the control of immigration should be rising at a time of ever increasing cross-border economic activity and declining geopolitical tensions.[93] However, in the United States the events of 11 September 2001 and subsequent attacks by individuals residing in the country such as the Boston Marathon bombings of April 2013 have highlighted the importance of migration for national security.[94] The debate over the Israeli Lobby has also raised concerns about the influence of mobilized diasporas, especially when the policies advocated by these communities antagonize a region of the world crucial to U.S. security interests. This concern is in line with many

classical works of international relations that highlight the importance of migration for contributing to the rise and fall of the Roman Empire and to the development the United States and Russia in the nineteenth century.[95]

Despite this tradition, migration has not played a particularly prominent role in contemporary studies. There are many possible reasons for this oversight, including the more pressing security issues posed by the Cold War and the innovations in military technology that make the contemporary world so dangerous. Rey Koslowski suggests that the issue of human movement has been bypassed "because it does not easily fit into the state-centric conceptualizations of world politics as an international system of territorially delineated states."[96] This perspective is seconded by James Carafano, who blames the failure of the VFC on the "U.S. predilection for state-focused solutions that largely ignored the role of civil society in building peace and stability."[97]

By focusing on a case drawn from the early Cold war, my argument seeks to "bring the state back in" by highlighting their influence on diaspora mobilization through its responses to the structure of the international system.[98] The geopolitical concerns at the start of the Cold War led the United States to adopt immigration selection criteria that favored the admission hardline anticommunist migrants to America. Had the United States not screened applicants from East-Central Europe, it probably would still have received a broadly anticommunist population given the memories of expulsion carried by these individuals.[99] However, this population would have displayed more diversity in the vehemence of its views and its willingness to act upon them. Overall, while lobbies would still have formed, they probably would have had fewer actively ideological "core members."[100]

Although the problems of global terrorism that have brought migration into the spotlight of national security today differ from the case of postwar migration from East-Central Europe in many ways, this case can still help us reflect on contemporary issues and theoretical concerns. Since the nineteenth century, Congress has restricted immigration using three main mechanisms: excluding individuals, favoring certain nationalities, and giving priority to certain individuals.[101] While the criteria have changed, immigration officials continue to conduct interviews and vet potential immigrants. The Refugee Act of 1980 incorporates into U.S. law the first definition of refugees that is not ideologically or geographically based. However, it still searches for signs of persecution, which opens the possibility for the admittance of many individuals that share the deep-rooted political opinions of "core" ethnic lobbyists.[102]

In my study, geopolitical concerns about communist infiltrators after World War II resulted in the admission of fascists and other hardline anticommunists and provided them with the political opportunity to mobilize very quickly against the regime in their homelands. The lobbies they formed were the unforeseen result of policies designed to further US security. Today, it is undoubtedly in the American interest to implement immigration policies to keep terrorists out of the country. However, the long-term policy legacies of these selection criteria and the political opportunities that the current policy atmosphere offers must also be considered.
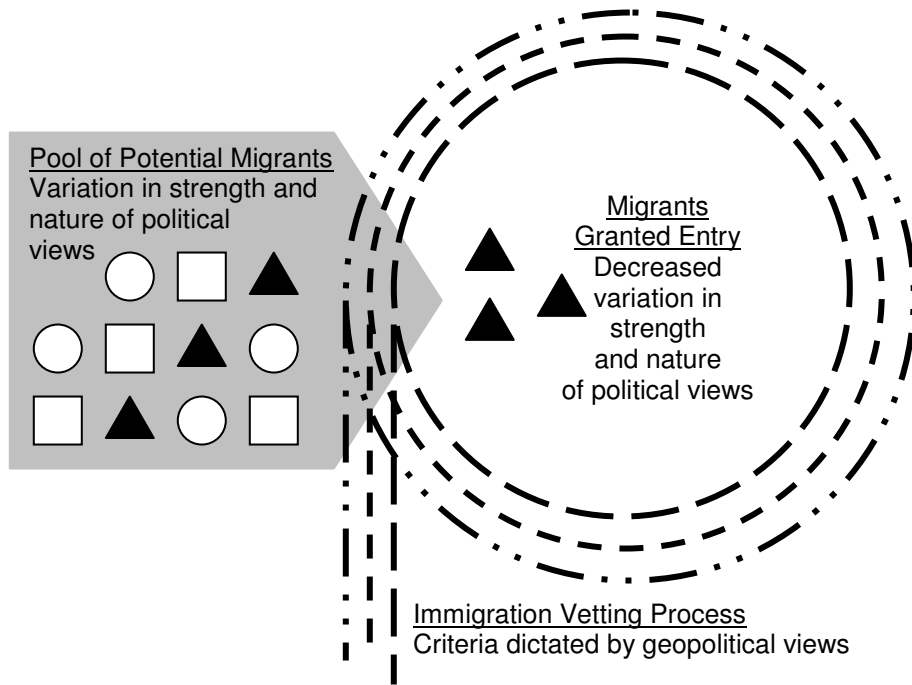
While the debate about the Israeli lobby highlights how difficult it is to assess the success of diaspora lobbies, the influence of these migrant communities on the policies of their host states deserves further attention. This is particularly important in a country that wields global power like the United States. Immigration procedures produce structural

conditions in which motivated, politically active migrant communities can have a great impact lobbying the government, as well as by providing expertise and local knowledge of regions that few other Americans can dispute.

In addition to lobbying, ethnic groups can also affect U.S. policy through their influence in the intelligence services and academia. It is difficult to judge the extent to which the use of former Nazi intelligence networks from Abwehr and the so-called "Gehlen Group" affected US policy, but the possibility is certainly disturbing.[103] Within academia, the presence of foreign intellectuals with stridently anti-Soviet views at many American institutes and universities was also important. In some cases – one need only think of individuals such as Zbigniew Brzezinski and Richard Pipes – these individuals also crossed over from academia to take on important positions within the policy apparatus of the United States. Overall, the ideological commitments of intellectuals and policy-makers from the diaspora, who could claim direct knowledge of the communist system and the USSR, resulted in highly propagandized views of the Soviet Union that worked their way into U.S. policy.[104]

Although the evidence in this paper is bounded both temporally and geographically, it raises important questions regarding the role of geopolitical factors in shaping the contours of human migration. With the end of the Cold War and rise of terrorism, the emphasis of research into migration policy has shifted from military technology to locating extremists within transnational networks. In this new security environment, the issues surrounding immigration vetting procedures and migrant radicalization are becoming more important. With this shift in international concerns, the topics theorized by scholars must shift as well.

Figure 1:
The Elimination of Variation in the Political Views of Migrants through Vetting[‡]

Pool of Potential Migrants
Variation in strength and
nature of political
views

Migrants
Granted Entry
Decreased
variation in
strength
and nature
of political views

Immigration Vetting Process
Criteria dictated by geopolitical views

[‡] My thanks to Kimberly A. Lowe Frank for her help in constructing this diagram.

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[1] The absence of migrants with opposing opinions enhanced their power, as governments overvalued the expertise of émigrés that had settled within their borders. Stephen M. Walt, Revolution and War (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), pp. 31-32.

[2] Hannah Arendt, The Origins of Totalitarianism (New York: Brace Harcourt, 1951), ch. 9.

[3] Douglas Woodwell, "Unwelcome Neighbors: Shared Ethnicity and International Conflict during the Cold War," International Studies Quarterly, Vol. 48, No. 1 (Spring 2004), p. 197. C.f. also William Safran, "Diasporas in Modem Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return," Diaspora, Vol. 1, No. 1 (Winter 1991), pp. 83-99; Sarah Wayland, "Ethnonationalist Networks and Transnational Opportunities: The Sri Lankan Tamil Diaspora," Review of International Studies, Vol. 30, No. 2 (Summer 2004), 405-426; Nevzat Soguk, "Transversal Communication, Diaspora, and the Euro-Kurds," Review of International Studies, Vol. 34, No. 1 (Winter 2008); Jennifer M. Brinkerhoff, "Digital Diasporas and Conflict Prevention: The Case of Somalinet.Com," Review of International Studies, Vol. 32, No. 1 (Winter 2006), pp. 25-47; John Armstrong, "Mobilized and Proletarian Diasporas," American Political Science Review, Vol. 70, No. 2 (Spring 1976), pp. 393-408; John F. Stack, ed., Ethnic Identities in a Transnational World, Vol. 52 (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1981); Michael S. Tietelbaum, "Immigration, Refugees, and Foreign Policy," International Organization, Vol. 38, No. 3 (Summer 1984), pp. 429-450.

[4] Idean Salehyan and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, "Refugees and the Spread of Civil War," International Organization, Vol. 60, No. 2 (Spring/Summer 2006), pp. 335-366; Idean Salehyan, "Transnational Rebels: Neighboring States as Sanctuary for Rebel Groups," World Politics, Vol. 59, No. 2 (Winter 2007), pp. 217-242; Sarah Kenyon Lischer, Dangerous Sanctuaries: Refugee Camps, Civil War, and the Dilemmas of Humanitarian Aid (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005); Gabriel Sheffer, "Ethnic Diasporas: A Threat to their Hosts?" in Myron Weiner, ed., International Migration and Security (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1993), pp. 268-285. Diasporas are a key factor increasing the likelihood of renewed conflict. Five years after the end of active warfare, diasporas increase the chances of renewed conflict by a factor of six, Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler, "Greed and Grievance in Civil War," Oxford Economic Papers, Vol. 56, No. 4 (Fall 2004), pp. 563-595. C.f. also Daniel Byman, Trends in Outside Support for Insurgent Movements (Santa Monica, CA: Rand, 2001); Mary B. Anderson, Do no Harm: How Aid can Support Peace - Or War (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1999).

[5] Joseph A. Pika, "Interest Groups and the White House Under Roosevelt and Truman," Political Science Quarterly, Vol. 102, No. 4 (Winter 1987-1988), p. 649, c.f. also p. 655 for more on minority interest groups.

[6] Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, "Introduction" in Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, eds., Ethnicity: Theory and Experience (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975), pp. 23-24. The power of immigrant populations to affect policy in the United States is a long-standing concern. As early as 1888, Richard Mayo Smith worried about the "perniciousness of the foreign vote" that threatens "to swamp the native influence upon which depends our capacity for self-government according to the

American system." Richmond Mayo Smith, "Control of Immigration. III." Political Science Quarterly, vol. 3, No. 3 (Fall 1888), p. 422. A few years later, John Hawkes Nobel expressed similar concerns: "The presence of the foreign vote, solid, interested and sometimes mercenary, has…a bad indirect influence. Politicians are tempted to bid for its support by making legislation yield to its prejudices, to gain the support of its depraved element by outright bribery." John Hawkes Noble, "The Present State of the Immigration Question," Political Science Quarterly, Vol. 7, No. 2 (Summer 1892), p. 241.

[7] Graham Smith and Andrew Wilson, "Rethinking Russia's Post-Soviet Diaspora: The Potential for Political Mobilisation in Eastern Ukraine and North-East Estonia," Europe-Asia Studies, Vol. 49, No. 5 (Summer 1997), p. 848.

[8] PPS 54, "Policy Relating to Defection and Defectors from Soviet Power," 28 June 1949, Records of the PPS, RG 59, Microfiche 1171, 62. Quoted in Susan L. Carruthers, "Between Camps: Eastern Bloc 'Escapees' and Cold War Borderlands," American Quarterly 57, no. 3 (Fall 2005), p. 917.

[9] This highlights the opportunities for mutual influence that exist when transnational actors such as diasporas and states both share common interests. Peter Hägel and Pauline Peretz, "States and Transnational Actors: Who's Influencing Whom? A Case Study in Jewish Diaspora Politics during the Cold War," European Journal of International Relations, Vol. 11, No. 4 (Fall 2005); Fiona B. Adamson and Madeleine Demetriou, "Remapping the Boundaries of `State' and `National Identity': Incorporating Diasporas into IR Theorizing," European Journal of International Relations, vol. 13, No. 4 (Fall 2007), p. 491.

[10] James Jay Carafano, "Mobilizing Europe's Stateless: America's Plan for a Cold War Army," Journal of Cold War Studies, Vol. 1, No. 2 (Spring 1999), p. 61.

[11] Fiona B. Adamson, "Crossing Borders: International Migration and National Security," International Security 31, no. 1 (Summer 2006), p. 165; Roxanne Lynn Doty, "Immigration and the Politics of Security," Security Studies, Vol. 8, No. 2 (Spring 1998), pp. 71-93.

[12] Christopher Rudolph, "Security and the Political Economy of International Migration," American Political Science Review, Vol. 97, No. 4 (Fall 2003), p. 612.

[13] Hägel and Peretz, States and Transnational Actors, p. 486.

[14] Rudolph, Security and the Political Economy of International Migration, p. 619.

[15] Given its prominence and the anger it generates in the Muslim world, the role of the so-called "Israeli lobby" has been heavily scrutinized. John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt claim that this ethnic lobby has "divert[ed] U.S. foreign policy…far from what the American national interest would otherwise suggest." John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt, "The Israeli Lobby," London Review of Books, Vol. 28, No. 6 (23 March 2006). These debates are not confined to the US. Pertti Ahonen shows how the Vertriebenenverbände, pressure groups purporting to represent expellees from the east German Democratic Republic, prevented the west German Federal Republic from normalizing relations with East Germany until the early 1970s. He argues that the expellees welcomed by West Germany early in the Cold War by the conservative Christian Democratic coalition later hindered their relations with the GDR. Pertti Ahonen, "Domestic Constraints on West German Ostpolitik: The Role of the Expellee Organizations in the Adenauer Era," Central European History, Vol. 31, No. 1/2

(Winter/Spring 1998), pp. 31-63; Pertti Ahonen, After the Expulsion: West Germany and Eastern Europe, 1945-1990 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

[16] Carafano, *Mobilizing Europe's Stateless*, p. 61.

[17] Judy Feigin, The Office of Special Investigations: Striving for Accountability After the Holocaust (Washington, D.C.: Department of Justice, [2006]).

[18] Some scholars have also addressed the effectiveness of this mobilization in terms of its influence on US policy. C.f. Samuel P. Huntington, "The Erosion of American National Interests," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 76, No. 5 (1997), pp. 28-49; Robert W. Tucker, Charles B. Keely and Linda Wrigley, Immigration and U.S. Foreign Policy (Boulder: Westview Press, 1990).

[19] Tony Smith, Foreign Attachments: The Power of Ethnic Groups in the Making of American Foreign Policy (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), p. 57.

[20] C.f. Yossi Shain, Marketing the American Creed Abroad: Diasporas in the U.S. and Thier Homelands (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), ch. 2. The demands from a political exile community that "advocates a return to the homeland 'weapon in hand'…calls for outright violence, originating abroad, and seeks to destroy the hated regime violently" is especially problematic for host states. Yossi Shain, The Frontier of Loyalty: Political Exiles in the Age of the Nation-State (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1989), p. 45. C.f. also Gabriel Sheffer, Modern Diasporas in International Politics (London: Croom Helm, 1986).

[21] Yossi Shain, "Ethnic Diasporas and U.S. Foreign Policy," Political Science Quarterly, Vol. 109, No. 5 (Winter 1994-1995), p. 834; Yossi Shain, "The Mexican-American Diaspora's Impact on Mexico," Political Science Quarterly, Vol. 114, No. 4 (Winter 1999-2000), p. 667.

[22] Jack I. Garvey, "Repression of the Political Emigre - the Underground to International Law: A Proposal for Remedy," Yale Law Journal, Vol. 90, No. 1 (Fall 1980), pp. 78-120.

[23] Shain, Ethnic Diasporas and U.S. Foreign Policy, p. 833.

[24] C.f. Smith and Wilson, Rethinking Russia's Post-Soviet Diaspora: The Potential for Political Mobilisation in Eastern Ukraine and North-East Estonia, pp. 845-48; Charles King and Neil J. Melvin, "Diaspora Politics: Ethnic Linkages, Foreign Policy and Security in Eurasia," International Security, Vol. 24, No. 3 (Winter 1999/2000), pp. 116-117; Doug McAdam, John D. McCarthy and Mayer N. Zald, Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Doug McAdam, Sidney G. Tarrow and Charles Tilly, Dynamics of Contention (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

[25] Rogers Brubaker, "The 'Diaspora' Diaspora," Ethnic & Racial Studies, Vol. 28, No. 1 (Winter 2005), p. 13; Nedim Ögelman, "Documenting and Explaining the Persistence of Homeland Politics among Germany's Turks," International Migration Review, Vol. 37, No. 1 (Spring 2003), p. 164.

[26] Peter Doerschler, "Push-Pull Factors and Immigrant Political Integration in Germany," Social Science Quarterly, Vol. 87, No. 5 (December 2006), pp. 71-93; Nicholas Van Hear, New Diasporas: The Mass Exodus, Dispersal and Regrouping of Migrant Communities (London: UCL Press, 1998); John D. McCarthy and Mayer N. Zald, "Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory," American Journal of

Sociology, Vol. 82, No. 6 (May 1977), pp. 1212-1241. The importance of "push" and "pull" factors was also observed by US officials at the time. Carruthers, "Between Camps," p. 922.

[27] Fiona B. Adamson, "Globalisation, Transnational Political Mobilisation, and Networks of Violence," Cambridge Review of International Affairs, Vol. 18, No. 1 (Spring 2005), pp. 35-36.

[28] Luis Eduardo Guarnizo, Alejandro Portes and William Haller, "Assimilation and Transnationalism: Determinants of Transnational Political Action among Contemporary Migrants," The American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 108, No. 6 (May 2003), p. 1217; Kenneth D. Wald, "Homeland Interests, Hostland Politics: Politicized Ethnic Identity among Middle Eastern Heritage Groups in the United States," International Migration Review, Vol. 42, No. 2 (Summer 2008), pp. 273-301.

[29] Ole Wæver et al, Identity, Migration, and the New Security Agenda in Europe (London: Pinter, 1993).

[30] For an example of one of the few studies that addresses diasporic membership, though in a different manner, c.f. Robert C. Smith, "Diasporic Memberships in Historical Perspective: Comparative Insights from the Mexican, Italian and Polish Cases," International Migration Review, Vol. 37, No. 3 (Fall 2003), pp. 724-759.

[31] Robin Cohen, "Diasporas and the Nation-State: From Victims to Challengers," International Affairs, Vol. 72, No. 3 (July 1996), pp. 507-520.

[32] Milton J. Esman, "Diasporas and International Relations" in Gabriel Sheffer, ed., Modern Diasporas in International Politics (London: Croom Helm, 1986), p. 336.

[33] Fathali M. Moghaddam and Anthony J. Marsella, Understanding Terrorism: Psychosocial Roots, Consequences, and Interventions (Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, 2004).

[34] Sidney G. Tarrow, Power in Movement: Social Movements, Collective Action, and Contentious Politics (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 85.

[35] C.f. McAdam, McCarthy and Zald, Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings; Doug McAdam, Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982); Herbert P. Kitschelt, "Political Opportunity Structures and Political Protest: Anti-Nuclear Movements in Four Democracies," British Journal of Political Science, Vol. 16, No. 1 (Winter 1986), pp. 57-85; Hanspeter Kriesi et al., "New Social Movements and Political Opportunities in Western Europe," European Journal of Political Research, Vol. 22, No. 2 (Spring 1992), pp. 219-244; Wayland, Ethnonationalist Networks and Transnational Opportunities: The Sri Lankan Tamil Diaspora, pp. 415-18; Fiona B. Adamson, "Mobilizing for the Transformation of Home: Politicized Identities and Transnational Practices" in Nadje Al Ali and Khalid Koser, eds., New Approaches to Migration? Transnational Communities and the Transformation of Home (London: Routledge, 2002); Michael Hanagan, "Irish Transnational Social Movements, Migrants, and the State System," Mobilization, Vol. 3, No. 1 (Spring 1998), pp. 107-126; Patrick R. Ireland, The Policy Challenge of Ethnic Diversity: Immigrant Politics in France and Switzerland (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994); Ruud Koopmans and Paul Statham, Challenging Immigration and Ethnic Relations Politics: Comparative European Perspectives (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

[36] Committee on Foreign Affairs. House, Mutual Security Act Extension. Staff Memorandum on Manpower Provisions of Mutual Security Act of 1951, CMP-1952-FOA-0051 Cong., 82-2 sess., 1952, p. 11.

[37] Quoted in Malcolm Jarvis Proudfoot, European Refugees: 1939-52; A Study in Forced Population Movement (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1956), pp. 177-178.

[38] United States Congress, Mutual Security Act Extension. Staff Memorandum on Manpower Provisions of Mutual Security Act of 1951, p. 11. For more on the UNRRA and IRO respectively, c.f. Michael Robert Marrus, The Unwanted: European Refugees in the Twentieth Century (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), pp. 317-319, 340-345.

[39] For more on this wave of migrants, their motivations, and their connection to the Nazi Party during the war, c.f. Feigin, The Office of Special Investigations, p. 1.

[40] Carruthers, "Between Camps," p. 912.

[41] C.f. Gil Loescher and John A. Scanlan, Calculated Kindness: Refugees and America's Half-Open Door, 1945 to the Present (New York: Free Press, 1986).

[42] Displaced Persons Act of 1948, 80th US Congress, Session II sess., Displaced persons (June 25, 1948), Sec. 1. C.f. Susan B. Carter and others, Historical Statistics of the United States, Millennial Edition ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), Table Ad106-120.

[43] C.f. Susan L. Carruthers, Cold War Captives: Imprisonment, Escape, and Brainwashing (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), pp. 23-32.

[44] PPS 54, "Policy Relating to Defection and Defectors from Soviet Power," 28 June 1949, Records of the PPS, RG 59, Microfiche 1171, 62. Quoted in Carruthers, "Between Camps," p. 917.

[45] Walter L. Hixson, Parting the Curtain: Propaganda, Culture, and the Cold War, 1945-1961 (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), pp. 12-3.

[46] László Borhi, "Rollback, Liberation, Containment, Or Inaction? U.S. Policy and Eastern Europe in the 1950s," Journal of Cold War Studies 1, no. 3 (Fall 1999), pp. 88-89.

[47] Subcom No. 1, Committee on Judiciary. House, Admission of 300,000 Immigrants, HRG-1952-HJH-0009 Cong., 82-2 sess., 1952, pp. 15-16.

[48] C. Tyler Wood quoted in, Ibid., pp. 105-106.

[49] United States Congress, "Statements of Otto R. Hauser, National President, and Bernard H. Hofmann, Secretary, American Relief for Germany, Inc." in Displaced Persons, ed. Subcom on Amendments to Displaced Persons Act, Committee on Judiciary. Senate, 81-1 ed. (Washington, D.C.: HRG-1949-SJS-0016, 1949), p. 186.

[50] J. Kolaja, "A Sociological Note on the Czechoslovak Anti-Communist Refugee," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 58, No. 3 (Fall 1952), pp. 289-291.

[51] Feigin, The Office of Special Investigations, p. 36.

[52] This list is copied directly from, U.S. Department of State, "Psychological Offensive Vis-à-Vis the USSR: Objectives, Tasks, Theme, Confidential" in United States Department of State, ed., Foreign Relations of the United States, 1951. Eastern Europe, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 3 March 1951), p. 1234.

[53] Quoted in, United States Congress, "Statement of Mr. Harrison on the Cellar Bill before House Judiciary Subcommittee" in Admission of 300,000 Immigrants, ed. Subcom No. 1, Committee on Judiciary. House, 82-2 ed. (Washington, D.C.: HRG-1952-HJH-0009, 1952), p. 16.

[54] Edward W. Barrett, "Memorandum by the Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs (Barrett) to the Deputy Under Secretary of State (Matthews), Secret" in United States Department of State, ed., Foreign Relations of the United States, 1951. Eastern Europe, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 25 January 1951), p. 1207. C.f. also, Operations Coordinating Board for the National Security Council, "Progress Report on U.S. Policy Toward Soviet-Bloc Escapees" in Foreign Relations of the United States, 1955-1957. Eastern Europe, ed. United States Department of State, Vol. XXV (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 18 April 1956), pp. 149-152.

[55] C.f. Dean Acheson, "The Secretary of State to the Embassy in Sweden, Confidential" in Foreign Relations of the United States, 1951. Eastern Europe, ed. United States Department of State (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 13 October 1951), pp. 1290-1292.

[56] Carter and others, Historical Statistics of the United States, Table Ad1005–1013.

[57] Subcom No. 1, Committee on Judiciary. House, Emergency Immigration Program, HRG-1953-HJH-0006 Cong., 83-1 sess., 1953, p. 1.

[58] Claudena M. Skran, Refugees in Inter-War Europe: The Emergence of a Regime (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), p. 2.

[59] United States Congress, "Statement of Gen. Walter Bendell Smith, Acting Secretary of State, Accompanied by Mr. George L. Warren, Advisor on Refguees, Daniel L. Horowitz, Labor Advisor, Bureau of European Affairs, George O. Gray, Congressional Liaison, and Edward Maney, Visa Division" in Emergency Immigration Program, ed. Subcom No. 1, Committee on Judiciary. House, 83-1, ed., (Washington, D.C.: HRG-1953-HJH-0006, 1953), p. 5.

[60] United States Congress, "Statement of a Former Officer, Military Intelligence, United States Army" in Displaced Persons, ed. Subcom on Amendments to Displaced Persons Act, Committee on Judiciary. Senate, 81-1, ed., (Washington, D.C.: HRG-1949-SJS-0016, 1949), p. 1156.

[61] Displaced Persons Act of 1948, sec. 13.

[62] United States Congress, "Statement of Ugo Carusi, Chairman, Displaced Persons Commission, Washington, D.C. - Resumed" in Subcom on Amendments to Displaced Persons Act, Committee on Judiciary, ed., Displaced Persons, Senate, 81-1 ed. (Washington, D.C.: HRG-1949-SJS-0016, 1949), p. 33.

[63] United States Congress, "Statement of Hon. Emanuel Celler, A Representative in Congress from the State of New York - Resumed" in Displaced Persons, Subcom on Amendments to Displaced Persons Act, Committee on Judiciary, ed., Displaced Persons, Senate, 81-1 ed. (Washington, D.C.: HRG-1949-SJS-0016, 1949), p. 315.

[64] Carruthers, "Between Camps," p. 929.

[65] Subcom on Amendments to Displaced Persons Act, Committee on Judiciary. Senate, Displaced Persons, HRG-1949-SJS-0016 Cong., 81-1 sess., 1949, sec. 10.

[66] United States Congress, "Statement of Robert James, Vice Consul, Ludwigsburg Subcom on Amendments to Displaced Persons Act, Committee on Judiciary, ed., Displaced Persons, Senate, 81-1 ed. (Washington, D.C.: HRG-1949-SJS-0016, 1949), pp. 1208-1210.

[67] United States Congress, "Statement of Walter Gallan, Executive Director of United Ukrainian American Relief Committee, Inc." in Subcom No. 1, Committee on Judiciary, ed., Admission of 300,000 Immigrants, House, 82-2 ed. (Washington, D.C.: HRG-1952-HJH-0009, 1952), p. 121.

[68] United States Congress, "Statement of Robert James," pp. 1208-1210.

[69] Ibid., p. 1211.

[70] United States Congress, "Statements of Crete Anderson, Chairman, Subcommittee on Immigration and Naturalization of the National Americanism Commission, the American Legion, and Clarence H. Olson, Assistant Director, National Legislative Commission, the American Legion" in Subcom No. 1, Committee on Judiciary, ed., Emergency Immigration Program, House, 83-1 ed. (Washington, D.C.: HRG-1953-HJH-0006, 1953), p. 149. For more on the difficulties presented by the need to screen these migrants, c.f. also Feigin, The Office of Special Investigations: Striving for Accountability After the Holocaust, pp. 36-37.

[71] United States Congress, "Statement of George A. Polos, Chairman, Ahepa Displaced Persons Committee" in Subcom No. 1, Committee on Judiciary, ed., Admission of 300,000 Immigrants, House, 82-2 ed. (Washington, D.C.: HRG-1952-HJH-0009, 1952), p. 205, emphasis added.

[72] United States Congress, "Statement of Walter C. Young, Displaced Persons Commission" in Subcom on Amendments to Displaced Persons Act, Committee on Judiciary, ed., Displaced Persons, Senate, 81-1 ed. (Washington, D.C.: HRG-1949-SJS-0016, 1949), p. 1222.

[73] Tom Bower, The Paperclip Conspiracy: The Battle for the Spoils and Secrets of Nazi Germany (London: M. Joseph, 1987); Christopher Simpson, Blowback: America's Recruitment of Nazis and its Effects on the Cold War (New York, N.Y.: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1988). For more on the importance of foreign scientists in maintaining the US lead in military science and technology, c.f. Robert L. Paarlberg, "Knowledge as Power: Science, Military Dominance, and U.S. Security," International Security, Vol. 29, No. 1 (Summer 2004), p. 125.

[74] Nazi War Criminal Records Interagency Working Group, Implementation of the Nazi War Crimes Disclosure Act: An Interim Report to Congress (Washington, D.C.: U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, [October 1999]); Mark Fritz, "The Secret History of World War II," Boston Globe, Nation, 11 March 2001; John Loftus and Mark Aarons, Secret War Against the Jews (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994), p. 214; John Kolasky and Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, Prophets and Proletarians: Documents on the History of the Rise and Decline of Ukrainian Communism in Canada (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1990), p. 367; Mark Aarons and John Loftus, Unholy Trinity: How the Vatican's Nazi Networks Betrayed Western Intelligence to the Soviets (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991), p. 223.

[75] This estimate is from the Director of the Office of Special Investigation. Allan A. Ryan, Quiet Neighbors: Prosecuting Nazi War Criminals in America (San Diego:

Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1984), pp. 26-27. Since then, this figure has been challenged as too high. Feigin, The Office of Special Investigations: Striving for Accountability After the Holocaust, p. v.

[76] Dwight D. Eisenhower, "Memorandum by the President to the Executive Secretary of the National Security Council (Lay)" in United States Department of State, ed., Foreign Relations of the United States, 1952-1954. Eastern Europe; Soviet Union; Eastern Mediterranean, Vol. VIII (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 14 February 1953, Secret), pp. 180-181.

[77] In Borhi, "Rollback, Liberation, Containment, Or Inaction?," p. 87.

[78] Ad Hoc Committee on NSC 143, "Record of Meeting of the Ad Hoc Committee on NSC 143" in United States Department of State, ed., Foreign Relations of the United States, 1952-1954. Eastern Europe; Soviet Union; Eastern Mediterranean, Vol. VIII (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 30 March 1953), p. 208.

[79] Quoted in, United States Congress, "Mutual Security Act Extension. Staff Memorandum on Manpower Provisions of Mutual Security Act of 1951," p. 2.

[80] Eisenhower, "Memorandum by the President to the Executive Secretary of the National Security Council (Lay)," p. 182; Ad Hoc Committee on NSC 143, "Record of Meeting of the Ad Hoc Committee on NSC 143," p. 209.

[81] Ad Hoc Committee on NSC 143, "Record of Meeting of the Ad Hoc Committee on NSC 143" in in United States Department of State, ed., Foreign Relations of the United States, 1952-1954. Eastern Europe; Soviet Union; Eastern Mediterranean, Vol. VIII (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 23 March 1953), p. 196.

[82] Quoted in Bennett Kovrig, Of Walls and Bridges: The United States and Eastern Europe (New York: New York University Press, 1991), p. 64.

[83] In Warren Austin, "The United States Representative to the United Nations (Austin) to the Secretary of State" in in United States Department of State, ed., Foreign Relations of the United States, 1951. The United Nations; the Western Hemisphere, Vol. II (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, Paris, 23 November 1951), p. 478.

[84] Carruthers, Cold War Captives, p. 74.

[85] Borhi, "Rollback, Liberation, Containment, Or Inaction?", p. 89 and citations from this journal in footnote 106 therein.

[86] Quoted in Ibid., p. 90.

[87] Kovrig, Of Walls and Bridges, pp. 64-65. President Eisenhower complained of the slow progress made in the implementation of this legislation, "the objective of which was to produce from stateless, anti-Communist young men elite officer material." Eisenhower, "Memorandum by the President to the Executive Secretary of the National Security Council (Lay)," p. 182.

[88] C.f. Committee to Investigate Communist Aggression and the Forced Incorporation of the Baltic States into the Soviet Union, Select. House, Investigation of Communist Aggression. [Part 8]: Tenth Interim Report, Poland, Rumania, and Slovakia, 83 H1475-1-E Cong., 83-2 sess., 1954; Committee to Investigate Communist Aggression and the Forced Incorporation of the Baltic States into the Soviet Union, Select. House, Investigation of Communist Takeover and Occupation of Poland, Lithuania, and Slovakia. [Part 4]: Sixth Interim Report, 83 H1475-1-A Cong., 83-2 sess., 1954;

Committee on Judiciary. Senate, Emergency Migration of Escapees, Expellees, and Refugees, 83 S1057-6 Cong., 83-1 sess., 1953.

[89] C.f. photos of ex-Nazis with prominent American politicians in Brooklyn Byelorussian-American Association, Byelorussia's Independence Day, March 25, 1918: Documents, Facts, Proclamations, Statements, and Comments (New York: Byelorussian-American Association, 1958).

[90] Aristide R. Zolberg, Astri Suhrke and Sergio Aguayo, Escape from Violence: Conflict and the Refugee Crisis in the Developing World (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp. 275-278.

[91] Vic Satzewich, The Ukrainian Diaspora (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 158; Albert Hunt, "Bitter in Yorkshire," New Society, 16 November 1986, pp. 14-16.

[92] Operations Coordinating Board, "Report to the National Security Council on the Activation of a Volunteer Freedom Corp, Top Secret" in United States Department of State, ed., Foreign Relations of the United States, 1955-1957. Eastern Europe, Vol. XXVI (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 14 June 1955), p. 63.

[93] Peter Andreas, "The Escalation of U.S. Immigration Control in the Post-NAFTA Era," Political Science Quarterly, Vol. 113, No. 4 (Winter 1998-1999), pp. 591-615; Ethan Avram Nadelmann, Cops Across Borders: The Internationalization of U.S. Criminal Law Enforcement (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993).

[94] Robert S. Leiken, Bearers of Global Jihad? Immigration and National Security After 9/11 (Washington, DC: Nixon Center, 2004); Audrey Kurth Cronin, "Behind the Curve: Globalization and International Terrorism," International Security, Vol. 27, No. 3 (Winter 2002/2003), pp. 30-58; Marc Sageman, Understanding Terror Networks (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); John Arquilla and David F. Ronfeldt, Networks and Netwars (Santa Monica, CA: Rand, 2001).

[95] C.f. Niccolò Machiavelli, Discourses on Livy, trans. Harvey Claflin Mansfield and Nathan Tarcov (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996); Edward Gibbon, The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire (New York: The Modern Library, 1932); as well as Alexis de Tocqueville, Democracy in America, trans. George Lawrence (Garden City: Doubleday, 1963), p. 413; Hans J. Morgenthau, Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace, 5th ed. (New York: Knopf, 1978), p. 131.

[96] Rey Koslowski, "Human Migration and the Conceptualization of Pre-Modern World Politics," International Studies Quarterly 46 (2002), 376.

[97] Carafano, "Mobilizing Europe's Stateless," p. 62.

[98] Hägel and Peretz, States and Transnational Actors, p. 468.

[99] Jane Perry Clark Carey, "Political Organization of the Refugees and Expellees in West Germany," Political Science Quarterly, Vol. 66, No. 2 (Summer 1951), p. 200.

[100] Alicja Iwańska, Exiled Governments: Spanish and Polish: An Essay in Political Sociology (Cambridge: Schenkman Pub. Co., 1981), pp. 43-44.

[101] Andrew M. Isserman, "United States Immigration Policy and the Industrial Heartland: Laws, Origins, Settlement Patterns and Economic Consequences," Urban Studies, Vol. 30, No. 2 (Spring 1993), p. 239; Noble, The Present State of the Immigration Question, pp. 235-240. These issues are especially important given the convergence of immigration control policies around the world, Eytan Meyers, "The

Causes of Convergence in Western Immigration Control," Review of International Studies, Vol. 28, No. 1 (Winter 2002), 123-141.

[102] John A. Scanlan and G. D. Loescher, "Mass Asylum and Human Rights in American Foreign Policy," Political Science Quarterly, Vol. 97, No. 1 (Spring 1982), p. 40.

[103] Mary Ellen Reese, *General Reinhard Gehlen: The CIA Connection* (Fairfax: George Mason University Press, 1990); Burton Hersh, The Old Boys: The American Elite and the Origins of the CIA (New York: Scribner's, 1992).

[104] For instance, the Policy Planning Staff noted that escapees from behind the Iron Curtain provided a "goldmine of vital information [to] be systematically exploited to the fullest possible extent." PPS 22/1, "Utilization of Refugees from the Soviet Union in U.S. National Interest," 4 March 1948, Records of the PPS, RG 59, Microfiche 1171, p. 24, quoted in Carruthers, "Between Camps," p. 917. C.f. also John Gimbel, "U.S. Policy and German Scientists: The Early Cold War," Political Science Quarterly, Vol. 101, No. 3 (Summer 1986), pp. 433-451; Clarence G. Lasby, Project Paperclip: German Scientists and the Cold War (New York: Atheneum, 1971); Linda Hunt, Secret Agenda: The United States Government, Nazi Scientists, and Project Paperclip, 1944-1990 (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991).