

# The Time Has Come to Cut America's Gordian Knot of Entangled Regional Migration

Reducing Chaos in the World: North American Migration

By Gonzalo Santos, 3/15/22

**How the migration regime in North America became the entangled [Gordian Knot](#) it is today**

I. INCOMING REFUGEE FLOWS. Of the manifold manifestations of chaos engulfing North America (which includes the Caribbean and Central America), no social aspect is more salient and pressing today than the issue of highly restricted, yet persistent flows of irregular international migration in and through the region – the ill-regulated, stigmatized flows of unauthorized economic migrants and asylum-seekers to the United States from neighboring countries – that have in large measure resulted, over the past four decades, from the implementation of what should be recognized by now as a deeply-flawed, U.S.-imposed, “neoliberal” architecture of regional integration, foisted onto a region that historically has been subjected to U.S. geopolitical interventions, which have left behind a trail of failed states, rampant corruption, and chronic street violence - on top of now being subject to periodic natural disasters associated with climate change.

The chaos runs very deep - structurally, ideologically, and even at the cognitive level.

At the ideological level of rampant U.S. and Mexican incongruence with their respective, much-vaunted “American values” and “Mexican solidarity,” and their purported adherence to a “rules-based international order” (which the U.S. regularly admonishes China and Russia of violating), it is instructive to compare the instant, welcoming, humane, and generous treatment that the most recent regional asylum-seekers in Europe – the 2.5 million Ukrainians that have fled the military invasion of Russia to date – are receiving, with the hostile, shocking and horrifying treatment that equally desperate, but much smaller cohorts of regional asylum seekers to the United States and Mexico – Central Americans, Haitians, Cubans, Venezuelans, and others - have been receiving since 2014, as tens of thousands of unaccompanied children and refugee families turned themselves in to U.S. and Mexican border patrol agents, after incredibly harrowing journeys - only to be detained, blocked from applying for asylum, and deported back to harm's way, in flagrant violation of international law.

It has not always been the case that the E.U. has lived up to its humanitarian values (e.g., the appalling treatment of refugees from Syria, Libya, Yemen, etc.). But juxtaposing the welcoming of well-clothed Ukrainian children arriving with their caring mothers on board passenger trains and buses, with the *caging* of Honduran unaccompanied children after travelling on top of cargo trains or walking over two thousand kilometers to reach Brownsville, Texas, or watching Guatemalan and Salvadoran children been torn from their mothers, should jar the conscience of every American.

As Representative Alexandra Ocasio-Cortez just [said](#), “How the world treats Ukraine, and Ukrainian refugees, should be how we are treating *all* refugees in the United States.” I would add Mexico to the United States, which has notoriously abandoned all pretense of defending the international rights of asylum seekers under pressure from the U.S..

Something is definitely jarring and chaotic – not to mention shameful and highly hypocritical - when the United States and Mexican governments instantly champion the cause of harboring European asylum seekers fleeing extreme violence, while they collude to block and return to harm’s way the refugee flows from their *own* region. This includes turning a blind eye to the U.S. routine deportation of tens of thousands of Mexico’s own asylum seekers – including unaccompanied children – fleeing from its violence-infested, so-called “narco-states.”

II. UNDOCUMENTED AMERICANS. Another central aspect of growing systemic chaos surrounding international migration in North America has been the vast population of entrapped undocumented immigrants – 11 million in the United States, [three-quarters](#) of whom come from neighboring countries (half from Mexico) – who still find themselves, after decades of living in fear of deportation, locked out of any path towards legalization and full integration into American society – what scholar [Mae M. Ngai](#) calls *impossible subjects*.

Most of these “*Americans in every other way but papers*” are long-term residents that have formed so-called “mixed status families” with U.S.-born children and/or spouses. Their irregular status is not subject at present to any attenuating consideration or statute of limitations, and remain subject to deportation at any time, despite decades of residing and contributing to this country’s prosperity and security (millions toiled as “essential workers” during the pandemic).

There are also four-and-a-half million [Dreamers and TPSers](#) who have received or are eligible to receive temporary relief from deportation, but who remain in perpetual legal limbo, vulnerable to falling back into illegal status at any moment by capricious decisions of the courts.

Taken as a whole, the ubiquitous demonization, scapegoating, and targeting of residing irregular-status immigrants or incoming asylum-seekers by the U.S. media and political class have inevitably spilled over, smeared, and targeted the larger domestic Latino (over [60 million](#), 67% of whom are U.S.-born) and Asian ethnic communities; and in doing so, seriously destabilized the fragile regime of multiracial democracy inaugurated in the Civil Rights Era, today under orchestrated assault by conservative, white nationalist social forces.

Unleashed Anti-Latino, anti-Asian, and anti-Muslim xenophobia *and* racism have now combined with resurgent anti-Black racism into a toxic amalgam, producing such a sharp increase in social polarization and conflict that it threatens the entire project of American multiracial democracy. The immigration chaos cannot and will not stay merely contained to migrants.

III. THE MISSED OPPORTUNITY OF 1965. We now necessarily turn to the two fatal policy mistakes that led to today's broken and seemingly intractable migration regime in North America, as it affected Mexican migration to the U.S., both implemented in 1965.

The first was the decision to terminate the admittedly onerous and exploitative, but legal, guest worker Bracero Program with Mexico, which at its peak brought over 400,000 workers to the agricultural fields of the U.S. Southwest, *without putting anything in its place*.

The second was the passing of the celebrated [1965 Immigration and Naturalization Act](#), which rightfully abolished the racist and restrictionist "national quotas" law that had kept Asians and non-WASP Europeans out since 1924, and enshrined the principle of family unification as the principal criteria for immigration visas, but *capped* the number of non-family visas for Mexican workers to a mere 20,000 a year (it was previously unlimited) – the *same* as any other country in the world despite the fact that Mexican workers were now the sole source of agricultural labor in the prosperous U.S. Southwest!

The combination of both policy decisions – the first championed by the then-mighty and protectionist U.S. labor movement (which led to the famous *domestic* farm worker organizing and strikes from 1965 to 1975, when Mexican *now-illegalized* flows returned), and the second championed by the dozens of "white ethnic" politicians in Congress (who insisted in assigning to all countries the same quota in the name of "equity," regardless of the huge labor demand for Mexican immigrants in the Southwest. There was but *one* Mexican-American congressman from California at the time, *four* in [total](#)!) had the net result of *transforming overnight millions of circular and contract migrants from Mexico, still sought by U.S. employers, into illegal aliens*.

Mexico, then involved in an ambitious industrialization program and eager to retain as much of its own labor force, went along with both decisions without any pushback (Adolfo López Mateos, the president at the time, merely negotiated with the Americans setting up the [Border Industrialization Program](#), or *maquiladora* sweatshop system along the Mexican side, which would soon become a springboard to migration to the U.S.).

Policy makers in Washington and Mexico City smugly predicted the natural decline of Mexican migration (as they did again when they signed NAFTA). Both were wrong.

A unique opportunity to construct an adequate, visionary architecture for North American integration – including establishing an economically realistic and socially enlightened migration regime for the 20<sup>th</sup> Century – was missed in 1965.

IV. THE PERENIAL FAILURE OF VISION. The U.S. – and the North American region as a whole – have been in *deep denial* regarding the **centrality** of regional migration to the prospects of ethnic and racial relations, national and regional social and economic integration, political and geopolitical stability, and regional governance and well-being in general.

In this continent, incongruously, the fact remains that while all other factors of production have now been set free to move unfettered across international borders – under the current neoliberal regime of trade, production, and investment – labor and human mobility in general has not. The *social aspects* of regional integration remain incongruously absent and neglected.

To begin with, the “politics of immigration” are deemed by policy makers, disingenuously but deliberately, “domestic affairs” of each country. That is an appalling failure of vision, a recipe for the chaos we now see all around us.

Bad enough as that is, the geopolitical aims and strategies of the sole superpower in the region – the U.S. – keep not only interfering with and preventing a rational, more balanced migration regime from emerging for the region. How so? By previously casting regional migrants and refugees through warped Cold-War lens (tainting economic migrants and refugees from U.S. interventions as *subversive infiltrators* and *illegal aliens* vs. very selective embracing of other migrants [Cubans] as *freedom fighters*, legally granted *refugee* class-status); and from the 1990s onwards, as the “war on drugs” and the “war on terror” took off, all regional migrants began to be tainted as *criminals*, *drug traffickers*, *gangs*, *law-breakers*, and *terrorists* – now even *Covid-19 carriers*!

A short-lived moment of what we can call “ideological equilibrium” miraculously appeared in the mid-1980s in the U.S. - at the end of the Cold War and before the terrorist attack of 9/11 -, when Ronald Reagan signed the last bipartisan immigration reform law that sought to regularize the status of about five million undocumented immigrants (mostly Mexican), in return for criminalizing the presence and employment of *future* flows.

This celebrated [“Compromise of 1986”](#) was nonetheless a flawed, narrow (it kept the same caps for legal visas for Mexicans), punitive (imposed employer sanctions), and incomplete approach to regulating future regional migration flows, as it did not even consider, let alone anticipate, the immense impact the unfolding U.S.-sponsored neoliberal project for North American integration would have on Mexico and the region.

That fatal omission set a chain of events that not only soon made the “Compromise of 1986” a dead letter, but set the stage, once large irregular migration flows resumed - and in the absence of proper analysis from all state and social actors - for the gradual, then unstoppable rise of a renewed virulent, restrictionist, and “enforcement-heavy” *nativism movement* in the U.S., not seen since the anti-Communist, McCarthyite 1950s and the earlier eugenicist one culminating in the 1920s. The U.S. increasingly returned to its default, recurrent ugly expression of American Exceptionalism on the immigration front. We have yet to break out of this latest nativist fever.

By the mid-1990s, in the face of massive irregular migration from Mexico – as a direct result of the NAFTA treaty’s decimation of millions of poor and middle farmers, predicted by none of the ubiquitous cheerleaders for “free trade” at the time, in either country – , both major parties in the U.S. duopoly began to compete over which would criminalize and deport undocumented immigrants faster, resulting in the dramatic bipartisan expansion of the criteria for “mandatory”

deportations beyond judicial review, deputizing local enforcement agencies for immigration enforcement, barring deportees from returning and jailing those that did, and laying the foundation for the mass incarceration of otherwise ordinary economic immigrants and refugees.

A peculiar political polarization emerged within the duopoly after the 9/11/2001 attacks (an early precursor happened in California under Gov. Pete Wilson), with the Republican Party stridently championing nativism, systematically demonizing and scapegoating immigrants, and proposing evermore draconian federal laws and local ordinances, on the one hand, and the Democrats increasingly feigning alliance to the immigrants – but without questioning or altering the draconian laws they had actually help set up, nor proposing a better architecture for North American integration to begin to tackle the problem of irregular regional migration beyond “enforcement,” nor truly fighting in Congress for the regularization of all or even some undocumented immigrants, as can be seen in the repeated faint efforts and failed attempts to pass immigration reform since 2006 – including the one just attempted by president Biden in 2021, quickly watered down and presently “shelved” (Washington’s euphemism for abandoned).

The Democrats’ fair-weather, timid, and duplicitous commitments, and the Republicans’ all-weather nativist and obstructionist stands, unfortunately, have coincided with the dramatic increase, since 2012, of large regional *bona fide* refugee flows – destitute, desperate families and unaccompanied children - from the region’s much-intervened failed states – the Northern Triangle countries of Central America (Honduras, Guatemala, El Salvador), Haiti, as well as the many *narco-states* in Mexico that have emerged in shadows of the NAFTA era’s poor economic results for the vast majority of Mexicans.

And, most unsettling to the emergent liberal/conservative “Restrictionist Consensus” in Washington, these dramatic flows have begun to occur in evermore massive, organized and defiant fashion through “caravans,” *despite* the heightened militarization and legal hardening of the U.S. southern border and the vast expansion of the Detention/Deportation Industrial Complex – both authorized and funded with overwhelming bipartisan support over the past two decades. What we are witnessing today emerging out of North America’s broken migration configuration is nothing less than a *transnational social rebellion* by families forced to move or die, with waiting for “permission” from anybody, with unforeseen historic consequences.

So far, the response has been more U.S. repression, in collusion with the governments of countries of origin and transit, proving, once again, an abysmal absence of vision.

V. THE RACKET. “Corruption” can be structural, systemic, and legal. Persecuting migrants, on top of political considerations, has become a lucrative business for the huge [incarceration corporations](#) tapped to lock them up, and a huge source of federal, [unionized jobs](#), both of whom now regularly lobby Washington and donate generously to politicians willing to vote for evermore avenues and funds for mass detentions and deportations. Just last week, the House Rules Committee proposed adding to the \$1.5 trillion omnibus federal spending bill for next

fiscal year an [increase](#) of \$284.7 million for I.C.E.'s interior enforcement, on top of its already bloated budget of \$2.5 billion!

These powerful new “interest groups” have been wagging the tail of immigration policy in the United States since 2000. Other corporations lobbying Congress seek contracts to militarize and surveil the U.S. southern border – now involving drones and robotic dogs.

The result has been, starting with president Obama, a vastly expanded American Gulag that has detained and deported over three million of long-term resident undocumented migrants from the country's interior – terrorizing settled ethnic communities and tearing apart millions of mixed status families apart. Millions of U.S.-born children residing in the U.S. have a parent deported; and over a million more find *themselves* exiled, though they are U.S. citizens, living with their deported parents in Mexico and the Northern Triangle countries. No relief is in sight for either group of families.

Would we treat Ukrainian families in these inhumane ways? Should we encourage Hungary, currently under Viktor Orbán, a hypernationalist president and a favorite of Trump and Fox News, to emulate us?

VII. THE CONTINENTAL COLLUSION. Mexico's era of inwardly protected industrial development crashed and ended when it defaulted on its enormous foreign debt in 1982, beginning the “lost decade” of [Latin American debt crisis](#) and stagnation. Unauthorized migration to the U.S. had already reached record levels by the late 1970s. It continued in a steep upward curve from then on, in the neoliberal era, until reaching over [12 million immigrants in 2007](#) (today it's slightly less).

The architecture of the region's migration regime only worsened in the NAFTA Era, which formally began on January 1, 1994 (the same day of the Zapatista insurrection against the new neoliberal order). By mutual accord in the negotiations leading to the free trade accord, both the U.S. and Mexico (Canada going along) agreed that the labor migration aspects of North American economic integration would be kept strictly *off the table*, each country free to regulate migration flows on their own.

Both countries turned a blind eye to the obvious implications that asymmetrical regional economic integration would have to human migration dynamics, and the need to *complement and complete* the North American integration project with a strong *social component* - one that afforded workers and citizens the same freedom of mobility it granted all *other* factors in the soon to be highly integrated economic zone.

This lack of planning and agreement on regional migration, we repeat, is what had led to the flawed and unilateral “Compromise of 1986” in the U.S., and for Mexico to simply ignore the subsequent outmigration of millions of its nationals in the 1990s and 2000s.

In fact, Mexico soon learned to take advantage of this exodus of NAFTA-created “excess labor” – to convert immigrant remittances into its greatest source of dollars and its biggest anti-poverty program. Today, not even the pandemic has slowed it down: more than \$38.5 billion dollars in remittances were sent to Mexico via formal channels in 2019, \$42.9 billion in 2020, \$51.6 billion in 2021.

This is universally celebrated by Mexico’s political class, in the same grotesquely cynical fashion as when, on the U.S. side, politicians universally repeat the mantra of the supposed need to “secure the border”... Should we applaud Poland or Hungary “securing the border” from incoming Ukrainian women and children?

Meanwhile, Mexico’s callous indifference, complicit silence and willful inaction on the growing U.S. persecution and deportation of millions of its co-nationals continues. The same flawed willful abandonment of enlarged diasporas of displaced families has followed the “sons of NAFTA” agreements in Central America and the Caribbean, even after hundreds of thousands of families and unaccompanied children began fleeing as refugees of extreme poverty, hurricanes and extreme violence.

The awful, inconvenient truth is that *nobody* in positions of authority in these countries, like their Mexican counterparts, will seriously complain about the cruel mistreatment of their respective diasporas in the U.S., as long as the remittances keep coming and keep their economies afloat – in the Northern Triangle countries (Guatemala, where in 2021 it received \$11.4 billion, El Salvador \$5.9 billion, Honduras \$5.6 billion), Haiti (\$3.1 billion), and the Dominican Republic (\$8.3 billion).

So, it turns out, irregular migration in North America has become an enormous racket not just for U.S. jailing corporations, border vendors, and immigration enforcers, but also for the governments and elites of the entire region, Mexico included – and all at the expense of the persecuted migrants and refugees who undertake the painful process of forced relocation and live and work in the shadows of North America *illegalization regime* “without permission.”

*Without* those remittances, by the way, these countries – and the U.S., too – would soon witnessed even bigger exodus of many more millions of economic refugees to the U.S. And without immigrants, the U.S.’s economy would go into a steep tailspin. *Essential workers* indeed they are, for both sending and receiving countries, though *socially devalued*. Why would they continue to put up with the universal opprobrium, exploitation, and persecution? The surprise is not that they have endured, but that they have not rose up more forcefully to shut down the racket and demand social justice! But we see signs everywhere the rebellion has begun.

And yet, the United States refuses to acknowledge that its neoliberal model imposed on these countries – predatory *free* trade and pauperized *locked* labor – has been a dismal failure, while the corrupt elites and regimes of these sending countries refrain from fighting for their diasporas in the U.S., and in fact greatly profit from their misery.

To solve the conundrum of entangled migration in the region, we must not just rid our policy-makers' from their ideological "magic of the market" blinders and in the U.S., their ingrained imperialist hubris, but acknowledge the endemic *corruption* they have allowed to be codified in the laws and regional development plans, at the expense of millions of migrants toiling for the benefit of corporations, enforcement unions, and governments.

### What can be done?

VIII. WHAT IS TO BE DONE BROADLY. First, from now on and for the medium and long terms, there needs to be a **paradigm shift** in North America of what constitutes *peoplehood* and how it combines with economic integration and geopolitical stability in today's globalized world. We need to adopt a broader, *transnational* definition of the *social contract* and *citizenship*, akin to the social component of the European Union's continental integration project, painstakingly built over the past half century. This necessarily must include defining the zones of free transit and unfettered mobility and labor, educational, residential, and social welfare rights – let alone setting up the infrastructure for attending to any regional refugee flows that may arise.

Secondly, we need to discard the "unipolar" asymmetrical architecture for North America integration that benefits only the U.S. and regional elites, and move towards a "multipolar" balanced architecture that delivers a shared prosperity and equalizes opportunity and living standards for all, a goal which will require the active participation of all states and social actors in the region - including first and foremost the immigrant diasporas themselves.

The good news is that since 2006 the immigrant diasporas and incoming refugee flows have irrupted onto the stage of history as conscious, militant agents for social change. Their transnational vision is today way ahead of the narrow vision of policy-makers in both the U.S. and their countries of origin - they embody the future of North America. But homeland citizens of every country of origin, transit, and destination, need to abandon all forms of national chauvinism and join the fight with their migrant brothers and sisters to build a better future for all.

This represents a great ideological challenge. More specifically, considering the entrenched blinders of "American Exceptionalism," what will embark the people and leaders of the United States down this new path of transnational region-building?

In a word, the increasing sense of being *left behind* by the other, better integrated zones of the world economy. This is already quite clear in comparison to Europe and East Asia. Even South America has embraced this new paradigm of continental union better than North America.

The other persuasive factor will be the increasing chaos sure to continue under the current architecture. Consider the political and social divisiveness and chaos already generated by the rise of Donald Trump to power, and his championing of a chauvinist and white nationalist "America First" agenda. We are lucky his January 6 insurrection failed! Joe Biden might have



defeated Trump, but the nativist impulses remain strong and are still on the march (certainly in the G.O.P.), and more turmoil is in store throughout the land until and unless the country moves in the direction it needs to go, and embraces a more humane, just, and rational regional migration system as an indispensable component of a new progressive agenda.

As the United States discovers at the school of hard knocks the value of adopting a more sound, more competitive, more balanced, and more equitable multilateral integration plan for North America, a new, transnational sense of shared peoplehood is bound to take root, encapsulated in the slogan, *¡Norteamericanos todos!*

Reconfiguring the integration of North America on a whole new vision is, indeed, a tall order to achieve, but the alternative is to invite *more chaos*. If we do not move boldly to deal in a positive way with this festering issue, the U.S. nativists will surely deal with it in a negative way, and will continue to win power, and the countries of the region will continue to kowtow and “adapt,” ducking the issue of immigrant persecution while squeezing remittances from their diasporas. And all this pathetic state of affairs will only generate *more chaos*.

XIX. THE ONE ACTION BIDEN CAN TAKE NOW. On a more immediate and tactical level, focusing on the U.S. and setting aside other actions by political actors in the region, we in the immigrant rights movement should regroup and consider our leverage as we head towards the November mid-term elections in the United States. The first thing we should agree on is the need to creatively participate in the elections, despite the widespread disgust and disappointment with both parties. We should neither call on our immigrant-heavy ethnic communities to abstain from voting (what the Republicans want), nor blindly endorse and support the certifiably unreliable Democratic “allies” (what the Democrats want).

A sober assessment of the political conditions should highlight that (a) Congress failed to pass any immigration relief bill all of last year and will most probably not pass one during this year of elections; (b) the Supreme Court has now been captured by the ultra-right and has closed the avenue of seeking relief through court challenges; (c) this leaves the executive branch – the Biden administration – to *do something* regarding immigration, as was promised to us and haven’t delivered, or else face abject defeat in most if not all of the congressional districts with heavy concentrations of Latino (and Asian) immigrant communities. And (d) we still have to confront the fact that if the Democrats lose control of even one congressional chamber in November, the prospects of immigration reform will be reduced to zero for the remainder of Biden’s term.

So far, the Biden administration [\*has\*](#) been doing many positive administrative changes, reversing the hundreds of anti-immigrant regulations enacted by the Trump administration; but Biden has, infuriatingly, preserved the asylum ban imposed by Trump, did not dismantle the for-profit gulag of immigrant detentions, has continued deporting many thousands of immigrants and asylum seekers, and has not delivered on his promise to regularize the 11 million undocumented immigrants living in the U.S. – all of this *despite* controlling both Chambers of Congress. That is certainly not a way to energize the Latino vote!

So, what can we push president Biden to do in the time remaining before November, or if the Democrats lose control of Congress, still do before the 2024 presidential election?

Well, we should push Biden to strike a single, bold and effective blow to the Gordian Knot of the entangled immigration mess, in a way that cannot be challenged in court. Cornered by Republican intransigence, he needs to issue nothing less than a ***general presidential pardon*** for **all eleven million undocumented immigrants currently living in the United States**, as well as for the **deported parents of U.S.-born children** who are either living separately in the U.S. or are forced to live in exile with their them to keep their families united.

With the stroke of a pen, President Biden could bring immediate relief from deportation and separation to millions of mixed status immigrant families, *and* put the nativists and white nationalists in the Republican Party on notice that, at long last, their callous obstructionist gig and disgusting immigrant fearmongering are up, that we are all Americans – *North Americans all!* –, and that a new era begins for not just for the country but for the region, based on universal human dignity, shared prosperity, common destiny, and adherence to human rights.

The beauty of the action is that it elegantly bypasses the purposefully gridlocked Congress and avoids judicial review in the conservative Supreme Court, as the Constitution unequivocally grants the president absolute, unconditional pardon power to any person or class of persons under U.S. jurisdiction that may have violated a federal law – and all immigration infractions *are* federal. It also unleashes the immigrant rights movement to apply maximum pressure to Biden.

Finally, while it may not provide an immediate path to citizenship, this class presidential pardon will dramatically change the political dynamics in Washington, to finally begin to address the immigration conundrum in North America afresh, perhaps now with all other regional stakeholders in mind, on a broader and more rational conceptual framework for the entire region. It would usher a renewed opportunity to correct the policy mistakes of the past and do so without millions of immigrant families being held hostage to, and traumatized by, the unilateral imposition of evermore restrictionist and punitive laws.

X. THE ROLE OF THE IMMIGRANT RIGHTS MOVEMENT. A last word regarding social agency. Team Biden will *never* muster the will and political courage to act in this or any other bold way *without* the militant and relentless pressure from the social movements advocating for immigrant rights and other progressive causes. We learned that during the Obama era.

At the tactical level, it should urgently become the **Number One Priority** between now and November for the entire immigrant rights movement, as well as for all the Latino & Asian advocacy organizations in the United States, to **unite behind and vigorously embrace the call for an immediate general presidential pardon**, as described above, and – here's the key to energizing the Latino & Asian voters for this year's elections – to **make it conditional for all Democrat candidates** that claim to be our allies and seek our support to **sign a pledge** that (a) endorses the call for Biden to issue an immediate general presidential pardon, and (b) if

elected, pledges to continue to support that call regardless of the general outcome, and (c) pledges to sponsor and vote for all laws that bring legalization to all immigrants, provide a pathway to citizenship, undo all past punitive and restrictionist laws dating back to 1986, and promotes a new multilateral architecture for regional migration in North America.

That'll shake the tree! It'll put a real bite on the Democrats' cavalier treatment and shameful betrayals on the issue of passing pro-immigrant laws, as well as forewarn them that unless they *sign* the pledge and *mean it*, they stand to lose the Latino and Asian vote, for good.

Let the constitutional scholars debate the feasibility of issuing such a bold pardon - there is ample precedent in American jurisprudence for class pardons. Let the timorous and duplicitous politicians that have betrayed the immigrant communities again and again now feel the heat coming from the immigrant side. Let president Biden confront his own naïve delusions regarding *negotiating anything* on immigration with the Trumpist Republicans, and finally wake up and muster the resolve to act boldly while he still can – or lose the Latino and Asian vote this November, as well as other progressive sectors fed up with his failure to deliver results thus far.

And let the country and the region as a whole begin to confront and begin to reduce the migration chaos it has allowed to engulf it for decades.

Either we push Biden to cut through the Gordian Knot of entangled regional migration at its hardest, American, core or much deeper, endemic social and political chaos awaits this country and the region crying for a structural change – **there is no alternative**.

President Biden: Sign the General Presidential Pardon and help lead North America to a new beginning!

Democrat candidates: Sign the pledge or face defeat in November!

Enough is enough!

¡La lucha sigue y sigue!

¡Norteamericanos somos todos!