

**NATIONAL ALLIANCE for HUMAN RIGHTS  
(NAHR)**

**Emergency Mexicano/Latino Leadership Meeting  
Feldheym Library Auditorium**

**January 12, 2006**

- |      |                               |   |
|------|-------------------------------|---|
| I.   | Welcome                       | Armando Navarro<br>NAHR Coordinator                                 |
| II.  | Invocation                    | Rev. Patricio Guillen<br>Executive Director, Libreria del<br>Pueblo |
| III. | Special Presentation          | Herman Baca,<br>Chair, Committee on Chicano<br>Rights               |
| IV.  | Reports:                      |   |
|      | A. Federal                    | Congressman Joe Baca,   |
|      | State                         | Assemblyman Joe Baca Jr.  |
|      | Organizational:               |   |
|      | 1. Gente Unida Coalition      | Enrique Morones   |
|      | 2. MALDEF                     | John Trasviña,<br>V.P. for Law/Policy                               |
|      | 3. MAPA                       | Nativo Lopez,<br>State/Nat. President                               |
|      | 4. CARECEN                    | Elva Martinez,<br>Outreach/Comm. Org.                               |
|      | 5. La Voz de Aztlan           | Hector Carreon<br>Webmaster   |
|      | 6. Other                      |   |
|      | 1.                            |   |
|      | 2.                            |   |
|      | 3.                            |   |
|      | 4.                            |   |
| V.   | Formulation of Plan of Action |   |
|      | 1. NAHR                       | Armando Navarro   |
|      | 2. Gente Unida Coalition      | Enrique Morones   |
|      | 3. Others:                    |   |
|      | A.                            |   |
|      | B.                            |   |
|      | C.                            |   |
|      | D.                            |   |
| VI.  | Adjourn                       |   |

# **National Alliance for Human Rights (NAHR)**

## **Action Recommendations to Meet Current Immigration Crisis**

**Prepared by**

**Armando Navarro, Ph.D.**

**January 12, 2006**

### **Part One: Immediate**

**These recommendations are merely suggestions for consideration. They have been drafted for the purpose of expediting Meeting's agenda for action on the escalating immigration crisis.**

1. Call for a statewide Latino Summit on "strategic action" for February 11, 2006. Possible locations include Cal Poly Pomona or Claremont Colleges. Purpose of the Summit Conference is to adopt and implement a strategic plan of action to defeat the Sensenbrenner Legislation being considered in the U.S. Senate.
2. Form a Summit Organizing Committee. Its primary function is to organize the logistics, program, media outreach, and other related aspects.
3. If the call for a statewide Summit is approved, hold multiple, orchestrated, and unity press conferences designed to demonstrate unity of action against the Sensenbrenner legislation (H.R. 4437) and a call for major immigration reform that includes legalization. Composition of press conferences should include representatives from various sectors e.g., political, organizational, business, church, labor, student, educational, etc. of the Mexicano/Latino communities. An added note, important to have the participation of Latino state elected officials and supportive ethnic/racial groups, Democrat, Republican, Green Party Leaders, and other parties as well.
4. Have Latino elected officials call for meetings by February 1 with U.S. Senators Barbara Boxer and Dianne Feinstein. Delegation to include a select number of individuals representing various sectors. Purpose would be to lobby for support of defeat of Sensenbrenner legislation and possible support for McCain/Kennedy immigration reform proposal.
5. Enhance existent coalitions or form new local or regional pro-immigrant coalitions throughout state of California. Purpose of coalitions is to develop a grass root and critical mass capability for mobilization, lobbying, and direct action that will demonstrate the great power of Mexicanos/Latinos..
6. Form a finance committee that will be responsible to raise required financial resources for Summit, above immediate steps, and post summit organizing activities. Important to tap business and professional sectors for funding.
7. Participating organizations or coalitions need to call for meetings of their respective membership and supporters to inform and involve them in developing statewide mobilizations. Also, imperative for them to assist in formation of local or regional coalitions.
8. Delegation of Mexicano/Latino leaders would travel to Mexico City and meet with President Vicente Fox, members of the Mexican Congress, and Mexico's three presidential candidates i.e., PRD's Obrador, PRI's Madrazo, PAN's Calderon. Visits will entail media utilization. Purpose of visit would be to explain critical situation in United States and solicit Mexico's support.
9. Central American, South America, and Caribbean organizations should meet with consular officials and lobby their respective governments on various aspects of immediate steps being taken and to secure support against Sensenbrenner legislation and a call for immigration reform.

10. Contact other Mexicano/Latino leaders and organizations nationally and apprise them of need for a national movement against Sensenbrenner legislation and call for possible support for the McCain/Kennedy immigration reform proposal. Ask them to adopt a similar mobilization plan as described above.

### **Part Two: Post Summit**

**The Summit would be utilized to put the mechanics to these and other proposed actions.**

1. Organize a well-coordinated "national" lobbying blitz of the U.S. Senate for month of February and beyond. Lobbying efforts must entail involvement of delegations from other states. This action requires coordination and support from the Congressional Hispanic Caucus and other national organizations with offices in Washington, D.C. This also entails letters, e-mails, and telephone calls to targeted U.S. Senators and possibly President Bush.
2. National lobbying would coordinate with Coalition of La Gente proposed national "Gira." In states being visited existent pro-immigrant groups would hold unity mobilization events.
3. In California, hold unity vigils, marches, town hall meetings for purpose of building grass root support for coalitions and to educate the people of the consequences of escalating nativist attacks against Mexicanos/Latinos.
4. In California, call for a statewide Unity March in Los Angeles to be held May 5 that will demonstrate the great power of the Mexicano/Latino communities.
5. Using finance committee, form a political action committee (PAC) specifically for the purpose of raising substantial sums of finances in order to finance national/international mobilization efforts. This entails holding a number of fund raisers, which would entail involvement and support from film, television, and recording artists.
6. Request intervention on the issue of the Sensenbrenner legislation and domestic terrorism via the Minuteman Project from the Organization of American States and the United Nations.
7. Need to expand bi-national media blitz to inform public and educate people of the severity of the immigration crisis being faced.
8. If necessary, within next three months hold various direct actions along the U.S./Mexico border, such as a one-day unified boycott and closure of the border. Such actions should be accompanied by strategically held marches and rallies.
9. Secure the support of other ethnic/racial groups and involve them in national multi-ethnic/cultural mobilization against the Sensenbrenner legislation and a call for legalization. This requires, for example, meetings with African American leaders such as Jessie Jackson, Al Sharpton, Louise Farrakan, and the Black Congressional Caucus. Same must be done with supportive White, Asian/American, Native-American, Middle-eastern, etc. groups and leaders.
10. Leaders and organizations that have access to President Bush make a call to meet with him and other federal officials of his administration to stress the importance of defeating the Sensenbrenner legislation and to support legalization.



## Mexican-American Political Association

State/National Office  
310 N. SOTO STREET • LOS ANGELES, CA 90033  
Office (323) 269-1575 • Fax (323) 260-8015

[www.mapa.org](http://www.mapa.org)

### **TODOS CONTRA EL MURO TODOS CONTRA LOS MINUTEMEN TODOS POR VISAS Y NO A LA GUERRA**

January 12, 2006

#### **OPEN LETTER**

**Professor Armando Navarro  
National Alliance for Human Rights (NAHR)**

Dear Armando:

On behalf of Hermandad Mexicana Latinoamericana and the Mexican American Political Association, I thank you for taking the initiative to convene this gathering of organizations, activists, elected officials, government dignitaries, and community members for the purpose of addressing the current state of affairs related to immigration legislation and policies, border violence and deaths, right-wing supremacist groups, and a general assault on the Latino and immigrants communities nationally.

We agree that the immediate priority to address over the next several months is H.R. 4437, the Border Protection, anti-Terrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act, commonly known as the Sensenbrenner/King Bill, approved by the House of Representatives in December 2005, and soon to be discussed in the U.S. Senate.

This legislation is the nastiest, right-wing, anti-immigrant, and anti-Mexican immigration legislation to surface in the history of the United States. It is the federal version of Proposition 187, the worst anti-immigrant legislation to hit California in 1994 since its founding as a state. It in fact goes beyond 187 by criminalizing, for the first time, with felony charges direct at employers, workers, and service providers (priest, doctors, nurses, social workers, non-profits, etc.), and the construction of a border barrier the length of the 2,000 U.S.-Mexico border – in effect the complete militarization of the border.

We call upon all organizations, activists, business, churches, unions, and decent people to participate in a broad coalition under the banner theme of: **TODOS CONTRA EL MURO, TODOS CONTRA LOS MINUTEMEN, TODOS POR VISAS Y NO A LA GUERRA.**

Some immediate specific recommendations are as follows:

1. Immediate letter campaign to Senator Diane Feinstein and Senator Barbara Boxer to oppose H.R. 4437, but to assume political leadership in organizing the opposition in the U.S. Senate (letters are available today);
2. Convene a state/national organizing conference in mid March 2006 in Los Angeles to develop a strategy and action plan for the remainder of 2006 and 2007;



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### **TODOS CONTRA EL MURO TODOS CONTRA LOS MINUTEMEN TODOS POR VISAS Y NO A LA GUERRA**

3. Mass mobilization of 100,000 people on August 29, 2006 in Los Angeles FOR VISAS AND AGAINST THE WAR (Visas Si, Guerra No);
4. Organize congressional organizing/lobbying committees in all congressional districts throughout California to lobby our elected officials on both immigration policies and an end to the war in Iraq;
5. Oppose any further militarization of the border between Mexico and the U.S., convene congressional hearings in relation to the 4,000 deaths of migrants on the border, and develop a comprehensive response to this continuing peril;
6. Support legislation to authorize driver's licenses for all irrespective of immigration status (Cedillo Bill);
7. Support legislation to increase the minimum wage, plus COLA (this is the economic empowerment act for low wage workers, particularly immigrants);
8. Oppose any and all efforts to legitimize cooperation between local police and immigration authorities, such as recently approved in the city of Costa Mesa, Orange County Sheriffs, Los Angeles Sheriffs, city of Anaheim, and other jurisdictions contemplating the same;
9. Support the continued operation of Day Labor Centers;
10. Support the continued existence of AB540 rights and an extension of the same to allow immigrant students access to financial assistance;
11. Support all efforts to organize all workers, but particularly immigrants, into trade unions as the best measure to improve their working conditions, wages, benefits, and prospects of economic advancement.

You can count on Hermandad Mexicana Latinoamericana and the Mexican American Political Association (MAPA) to continue our organizing efforts in defense of our total community and to work tirelessly to forge unity with all organizations who are truly committed to change the current state of affairs.

Sincerely,

Nativio Vigil Lopez  
National Director, Hermandad Mexicana Latinoamericana  
National President, MAPA

**ALL OPPOSED TO HR4437  
ALL OPPOSED TO THE BORDER WALL  
ALL IN FAVOR OF VISAS**

January 12, 2006

Honorable Diane Feinstein  
United States Senate  
331 Hart Senate Office Building  
Washington, DC 20510

Honorable Barbara Boxer  
United States Senate  
112 Hart Senate Office Building  
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Senator Feinstein:

Dear Senator Boxer:

I write you with the great urgency that the current situation demands in relation to H.R.4437, the Border Protection, anti-Terrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act, commonly known as the Sensenbrenner/King Bill.

I call upon you to assume national leadership to oppose the passage of H.R. 4437 when it arrives in the U.S. Senate in 2006 especially considering your tenure as senator of California.

The only way to get control of our borders and make us safe is through a comprehensive approach that will address the 11 million people here without documents. It must also allow for greater legal opportunities for workers who will enter in the future to fill needed jobs, while protecting the rights of US and foreign-born workers, and for family members coming to reunite with their families.

We urge you to enact truly comprehensive immigration reform, reform that will work. We urge you to reject enforcement-only measures and iron curtain-type border barriers which hurt communities and do nothing to move us closer to getting control of our borders.

We also urge you to realistically address the issue of the 11 million undocumented people in this country, many of whom have substantial ties to the U.S. and will not comply with a program that will require them to leave the country in exchange for a temporary work visa.

Sincerely,

Complete Name (print): \_\_\_\_\_

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Address: \_\_\_\_\_

City/State/Zip Code: \_\_\_\_\_

Telephone: (\_\_\_\_\_) \_\_\_\_\_

Email: \_\_\_\_\_@\_\_\_\_\_

**Please return to: Mexican American Political Association  
310 N. Soto Street, Los Angeles, CA 90033 (323) 269-1575 \* [www.mapa.org](http://www.mapa.org)**



**Committee on Chicano Rights**  
**710 East Third Street • National City, CA 91950 • (619) 477-3800**

January 10, 2006

To all concerned individuals and organizations:

Below for your information is a call from the *National Alliance for Human Rights* to, "Mobilize Against Nativist Immigration legislation and Attacks." It is urgent that Chicanos/Mexicanos/Latinos who comprise 40% of California's population, and in the near future will be the majority population in the U.S. Southwest not allow white supremacists racist who advocate law enforcement/military solutions such as increasing the Border Patrol, local police enforcing immigration laws, 2000 mile fences etc., or business interests who propose guest worker/bracero programs etc to define U.S. immigration policy. The present immigration proposals being proposed to supposedly resolve the so-called immigration issue are in fact political proposals by this country's white controlled political/economic interests to maintain the historical system of exploiting cheap Mexican labor, and keep the U.S. Chicanos/Latinos increasing population in a disenfranchised social, economic and political state. History will record that if we as a people do not speak out and act NOW, and define our interests that deaths of Mexican workers will increase at the U.S./Mexico border, Chicanos, and Latinos communities in the U.S. will suffer increased violations of our human, civil and constitutional rights. We are urging all concerned individuals, and organizations to attend the NAHR meeting, and support future mobilizations, activism, and political participation.

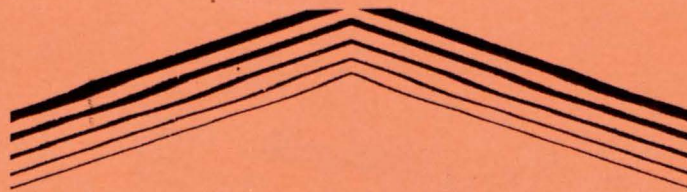
La lucha continua,

Herman Baca, President

P.S. Armando Navarro, NAHR Coordinator:

As per our conversation, I will attend the upcoming meeting Thursday, 1-12-06 in San Bernardino and will to address NAHR invited guests, individuals and organizations attending the meeting.

**I.E.L.L.A OFFERS  
EMERGENCY SERVICES:**



- ➔ **RESTRAINING ORDERS**
- ➔ **ANSWERS TO UNLAWFUL  
DETAINERS**
- ➔ **RESPONSE FOR WAGE  
GARNISHMENTS**

Service can *usually* be obtained on a walk-in basis on the following days:

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(except 2nd Thursday of the month)  
**and Fridays**  
9:30 a.m. to 4:30 p.m.

Program Office located at :  
2060 University Avenue  
Suite 113  
Riverside, CA 92507

**GENERAL INFORMATION:**

**What should I bring to my appointment?**

Evidence of low-income or no income (pay stubs, verification of public benefits, SSI, Unemployment, AFDC, etc.)

When there are Children in the family, list where the children have lived in the last FIVE (5) years,

For "ongoing Court Cases," a copy of the **most recent** Court Orders, Minute Orders, Mediation Notes, etc.

Funding for the  
I.E.L.L.A. Legal Aid Project  
is secured through Annual Grant Applications to  
the following sources:

❖ Inland Counties Legal Services/  
Legal Services Law Corporation Grant

❖ State Bar of California-  
Legal Services Trust Fund

❖ State Bar of California-  
Equal Access to Justice Grant

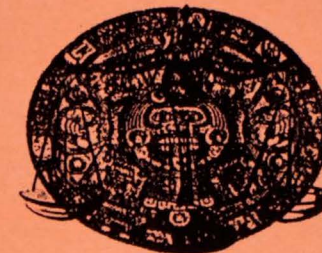
❖ United Way of the Inland Valleys

❖ Public Support via  
I.E.L.L.A.'s Annual Dinner  
Sponsors and Donations  
from the Public

I.E.L.L.A. does not charge for  
consultation with Volunteer Attorneys,  
nor for the preparation of any legal  
documents deemed necessary  
by the Volunteer Attorney(s).



Inland Empire Latino  
Lawyers Association, Inc.



**Legal Aid Project**

**FREE LEGAL SERVICES**

For:

▶ Family law

▶ Landlord-Tenant  
(Respondent)

▶ Consumer Law

and

▶ Other Civil Law Issues

Non-Profit Organization  
IRS 501(c)(3) status  
Fed. ID No. 33-0102667



Call ahead for an appointment: (951) 369-3009  
 Walk-ins welcomed on a First-Come, First-Serve Basis.  
 Excludes Holiday

Monday Afternoon Clinics

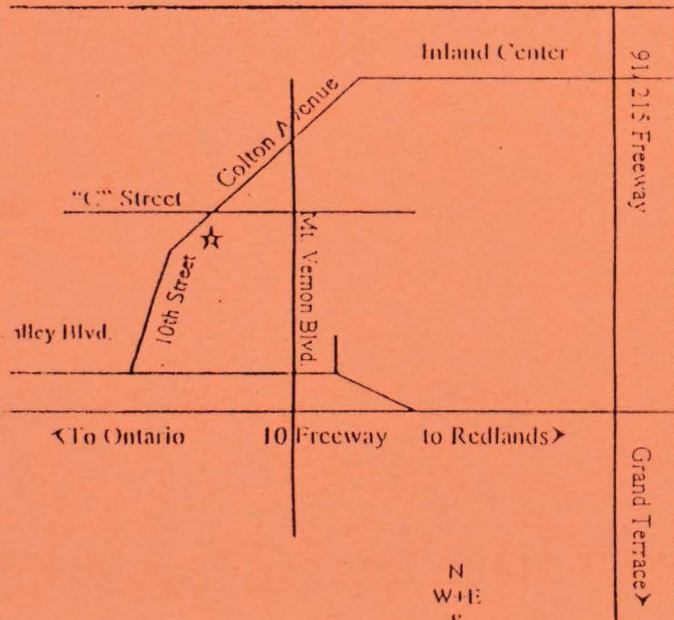
Location: Lawrence Hutton Community Center  
 660 Colton Avenue  
 Colton, California

From Ontario, CA:

Take the I-10 Freeway EAST to the 9th Street exit. Turn LEFT onto N 9th Street. Turn RIGHT onto E. Valley Boulevard. Stay Straight to go onto N. 10th Street. Turn Slight Right onto Colton Avenue. The Building will be on your RIGHT side

From San Bernardino, CA:

From the 91/215 Freeway North: Exit Inland Center Drive and make a LEFT going away from the Mall. Inland Center Drive becomes Colton Avenue. Continue until you see the Hutton Center on the LEFT. Pass the park, you have gone too far.



Wednesday Afternoon Clinics

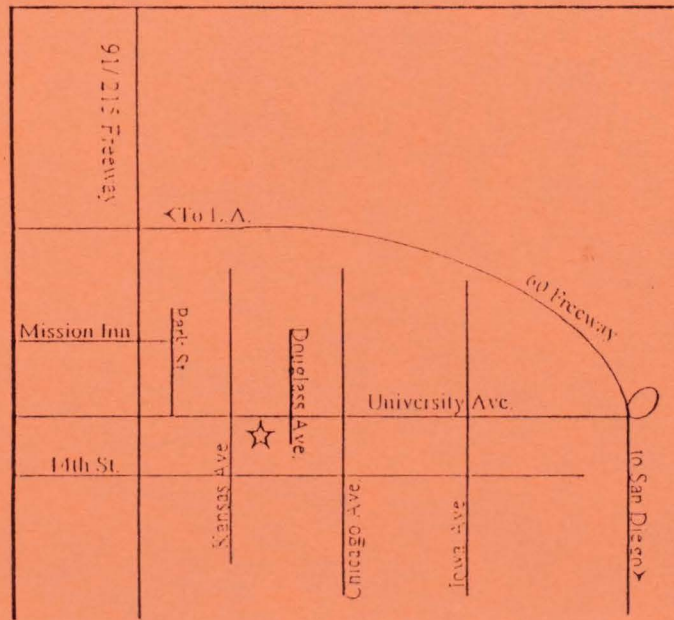
Location: Cesar Chavez Community Center  
 2060 University Avenue  
 Riverside, California

From Ontario, CA/ San Bernardino:

Take the I-10 Freeway EAST to the 91 Freeway SOUTH. Exit on MISSION INN. Turn LEFT onto Mission Inn and continue until you reach PARK ST. Turn RIGHT onto Park. Turn LEFT onto University Avenue. The building will be on your RIGHT and is located just EAST of the intersection of Kansas and University. Use the Douglass Street parking lot.

From 60 Freeway:

Take the University Avenue off-ramp and make a Left going away from UCR. Continue past Iowa and Chicago until you reach Douglass. The building will be on your LEFT. If you reach Kansas, you have gone too far. Use the Douglass Street parking lot.



2nd Thursday of Each Month

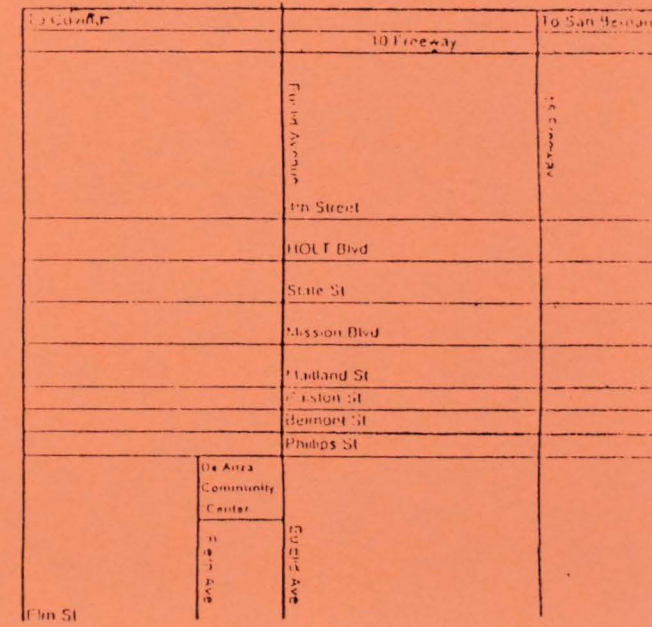
Location: De Anza Community Center  
 1405 S. Fern Avenue  
 Ontario, California

From Los Angeles area:

Take any main freeway to access the 10 Freeway East towards San Bernardino. Exit Euclid Avenue make right onto Euclid go past Holt and Mission. Go four streets down (total of 6 streets) and make right onto Phillips. Finally make left onto Fern Av

From San Bernardino, CA:

From the 10 Freeway West Exit Euclid make left onto Euclid. Pass Holt and Mission go four streets down (total of 6 streets) and make right onto Phillips. Finally make left onto Fern Av



Attachment  
**NATIONAL ALLIANCE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS  
PRESS RELEASE**

**Date of Release:** January 30, 2006

**Subject:** Mexicano/Latino Leadership Summit Against Sensenbrenner Legislation and for legalization to be Held February 11 in Riverside, California.

**Southern California Media Contacts:** Armando Navarro, NAHR Coordinator, (951) 333-6819; Felipe Aguirre, Maywood Mayor Pro-Temp, (323) 496-2112; Herman Baca, President, Committee on Chicano Rights, (619) 477-3800; Nativo Lopez, State/National President MAPA, (714) 541-0250; Elva Martinez, Field Organizer, CARECEN, (213) 385-7800, Ext. 127; and Carlos Montez, SEIU Organizer, Local 660, (213) 276-8415.

Preparations are being finalized for the upcoming Mexicano/Latino leadership Summit on the escalating immigration crisis. The Summit's primary purpose is to strategically initiate a well-organized and coordinated bi-national movement and campaign to (1) to defeat the Sensenbrenner legislation that calls for the construction of a seven-hundred mile iron fence, harsh employer sanctions, criminalization of the undocumented and employers, and a further militarization of the U.S./Mexico border, which is presently being considered by the U.S. Senate; and (2) for immigration reform that includes legalization.

The Summit will be held Saturday, February 11 at the Riverside Convention Center, located at 3443 Orange St., Riverside, California. Hundreds of people from throughout the country, mainly the Southwest, and Mexico, representing the Mexicano/Latino communities various sectors e.g., organizational, political, student, activist, church, business, professional, academic, media, etc. will be in attendance. The Summit's schedule is as follows: pre-registration, 8:30-9:30; Summit, starts at 9:30 a.m. and adjourns at 4:00 p.m.

The Summit's program will be light on speeches with an emphasis on action panels that will seek to produce a unified strategic plan of action. Organizations and individuals are encouraged to come prepared to submit legislative and direct action proposals. Music and entertainment will be provided at appropriate designated times.

This historic Summit is being facilitated by the National Alliance for Human Rights (NAHR), a network of individuals and organizations committed to the promotion of human rights, social justice, and political empowerment in collaboration with numerous organizations and leaders from throughout the country and Mexico. It is co-hosted by University of California, MEChA and Chicano Student Programs.

"Understanding the horrific anti-immigrant political climate rampant throughout the country and the severity of the consequences of the racist Sensenbrenner legislation, in particular the building of an Iron Curtain along the U.S./Mexico border, Mexicanos and Latinos in this country are under a state of siege reminiscent of the McCarthy Era. The difference being that the Bush Administration and nativist Republicans are targeting not communists, but us as their targets of persecution. Hence, this is largely motivated not by the "Red Scare," but by the demographic "Brown Scare," Navarro added.

"With the anti-immigrant and Mexican political climate worsening coupled with the importance of the country's upcoming congressional elections and Mexico's presidential elections as well," said Navarro, "2006 needs to be a year of massive mobilizations, activism, and political participation at all levels to countervail the heinous, racist and nativist crusade, with the creation of a multi-faceted mass based bi-national movement."

Navarro concluded, "The political climate is ripe, meaning the conditions are present, and the requisite forces exist for such a historical undertaking to occur. However, the challenge facing all of us as Mexicanos and Latinos, especially our organizations, leaders, politicians, and activists is to set aside whatever differences we may have with each other and unite under the banner of solidarity in defense of our people, especially migrants, in order to defeat the Sensenbrenner legislation and realize major immigration reform."

## I.E.L.L.A. LE OFRECE SERVICIOS DE EMERGENCIA :

- ORDENES DE RESTRICCIÓN
- RESPUESTA A ORDEN DE DESALOJO
- CONTESTACIÓN A UNA DEDUCCIÓN DE SALARIO

Servicio se obtiene *usualmente* presentándose en nuestra oficina en los días siguientes :

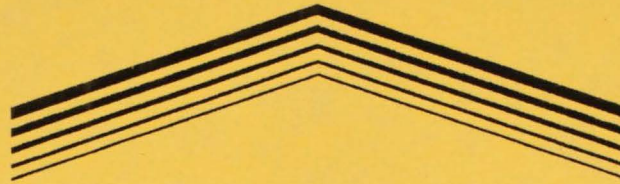
**Martes, Jueves**  
(excepto el segundo Jueves del mes)  
**y Viernes**  
9:30 a.m. a 4:30 p.m.

La Oficina del Programa esta localizada en:  
2060 University Avenue  
Salon 113  
Riverside, California 92507

### Información General :

#### Que debo traer conmigo a mi cita ?

1. Pruebas de ingreso que indican que usted es de bajos ingresos. (talones de cheques, verificación de beneficios públicos, SSI, beneficios de desempleo. AFDC, etc.)
2. Cuando hay niños menores de edad. Donde han vivido los niños durante los últimos cinco años ?
3. Por casos 'en curso'. Una copia de las mas recientes ordenes de la corte, copia de los minutos o registro de acciones y reporte de mediación.



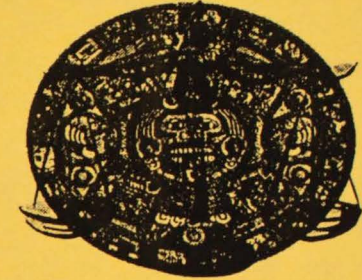
Fondos para el programa  
I.E.L.L.A. Programa de Asistencia Legal  
es obtenido por medio de Becas Anuales de los  
siguientes programas :

- ❖ Inland Counties Legal Services/  
Legal Services Law Corporation Grant
- ❖ State Bar of California -  
Legal Services Trust Fund
- ❖ State Bar of California -  
Equal Access to Justice Grant
- ❖ United Way of the Inland Valleys
- ❖ Soporte público *por medio de* I.E.L.L.A.'s  
Cena Annual , Patrocinio y Donaciones  
del Público

I.E.L.L.A. no cobra por la consulta con nuestros  
abogados voluntarios, ni por la preparación de  
documentos legales que el abogado crea  
necesario.



Inland Empire Latino Lawyers  
Association, Inc.



Proyecto de Asistencia Legal

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- Propietario - Inquilino  
(Ayuda para el Demandado)
- Ley del Consumidor
- y
- Otros casos de ley civil



Non-Profit Organization  
IRS 501 ( c ) (3) status  
Fed. ID No. 33-0102667

**Llame antes de venir para una cita: (951) 369-3009**  
**Sin cita sera atendido en la orden en que llego.**  
**Se excluyen los dias festivos.**

**Clinica del Lunes**

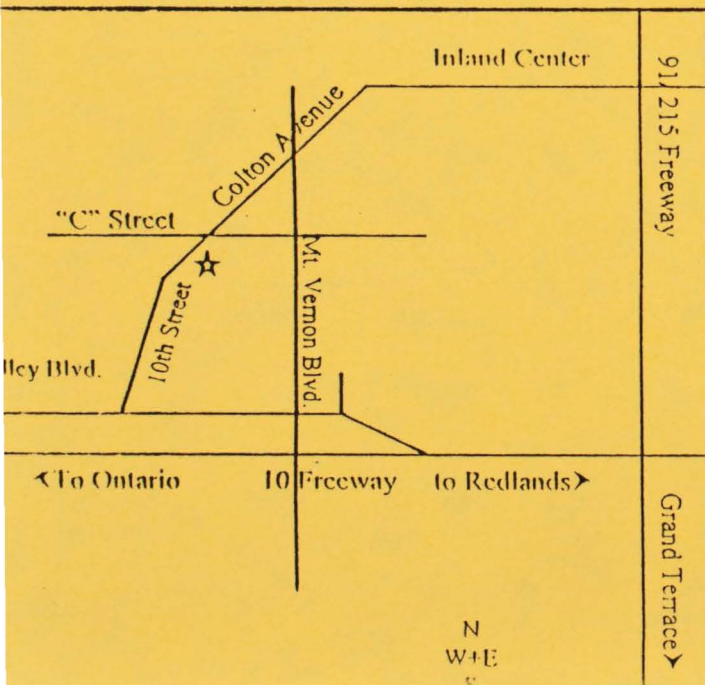
Lugar: Lawrence Hutton Community Center  
 660 Colton Avenue  
 Colton, California 92324

Llegando de Ontario, California:

Tome la autopista I-10 Este. Bajese en la salida Mt. Vernon. Gire el derecho en la señal. Continúe impulsor en esta calle hasta que usted alcance el cruce en Colton Avenue. Haga una izquierda en y el edificio estará en la izquierda.

Llegando de San Bernardino, California:

Tome la autopista 91/215 Norte. Bajase en la salida Inland Center Drive y de vuelta hacia la izquierda. La calle Inland Center Drive se convierte en la calle Colton Avenue. Siga la calle hasta que vea el edificio Lawrence Hutton Center a mano izquierda.

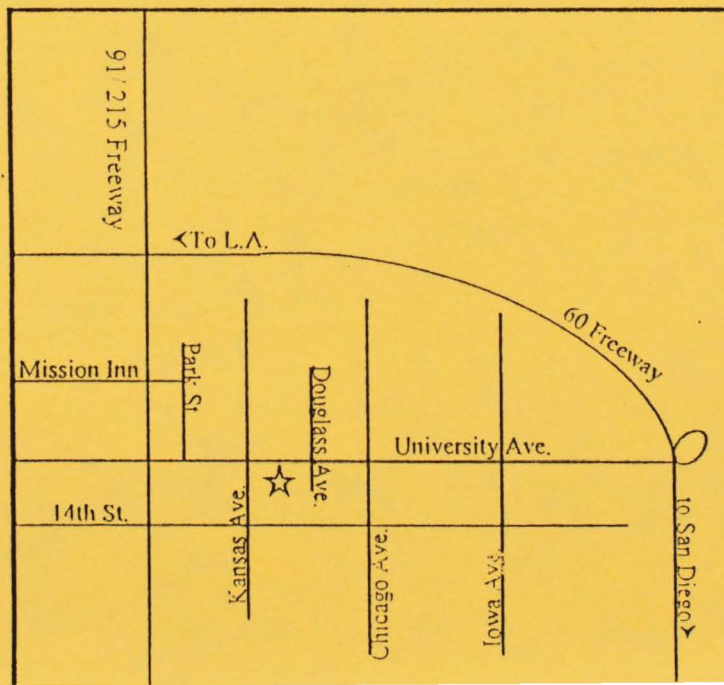


**Clinica del Miercoles**

Lugar: Cesar Chavez Community Center  
 2060 University Avenue  
 Riverside, California 92507

Llegando de Ontario/San Bernardino:

Tome la autopista I-10 Este, tome la autopista 215 al sur. Pase la autopista 60. Bajase en la calle Mission Inn/University. De vuelta a la izquierda hasta la calle Park. De Vuelta a la izquierda en la University. Pase la calle Kansas Avenue. El estacionamiento esta a mano derecha por la Douglass.



**Clinica del Segundo Jueves del Mes**

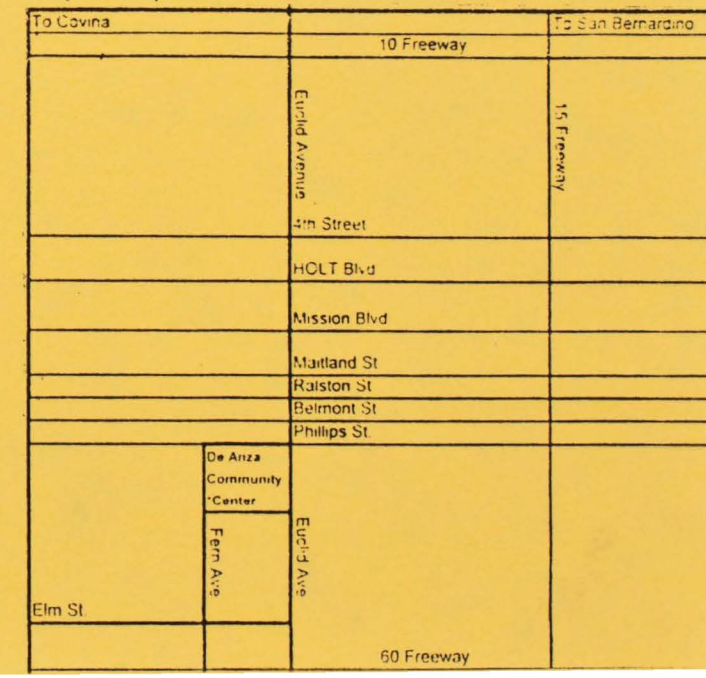
Lugar: De Anza Community Center  
 1405 S. Fern Avenue  
 Ontario, California 91762

Llegando de Los Angeles, California:

Tome la autopista I-10 Este. Bajese en la salida Euclid haga una derecha para estar sobre la Euclid. Pase las Calles Holt y Mission. Pasara 4 calles hasta llegar a la Phillips haga una derecha. Finalmenta haga una izquierda para estar sobre la Fern Avenue.

Llegando de San Bernardino, California:

Tome la autopista I-10 el oeste a Los Angeles. Bajese en la salida Euclid haga una izquierda para estar sobre la Euclid. Pase las Calles Holt y Mission Blvd. Pasara 4 calles hasta llegar a la Phillips haga una derecha. Finalmenta haga una izquierda para estar sobre la Fern Avenue.



# JOIN THE MARCH FOR MIGRANTS



**SD  
to  
DC**

caravan to the capitol

**Beginning: February 2, 2006**

(the 158th anniversary of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo)

**From: San Diego border fence**

(the site where Guillermo Martinez Rodriguez was shot in the back by the U.S. Border Patrol on 12.31.05)

**NO to the militarization  
of the Border!**

**NO to the criminalization  
of migrants!**

**YES to Freedom  
of Movement!**

**YES to Human Rights!**

**YES to equality and  
justice for all people!**



# STOP HR 4437!

We demand justice for Guillermo Martinez Rodriguez and the 4,000+ others who have died senselessly since Operation Gatekeeper began.

To join the March for all or part of the way, to arrange a meeting or rally in your town, or to donate to the caravan...contact Gente Unida or Border Angels at 619-269-7865 or [sdgenteunida@yahoo.com](mailto:sdgenteunida@yahoo.com).

**For general information go to [www.borderangels.org](http://www.borderangels.org)**

# SAVE THE DATE



Sol Barajas Designer, Jose Ramirez Production

# HERMAN BACA • ARCHIVES •

JULY 15, 2006 • UCSD

# SAVE THE DATE!

## Saturday, July 15, 2006

Join UCSD and the Herman Baca Archive Committee  
in celebrating an historical event as the  
UCSD Libraries unveil  
a comprehensive collection of documents chronicling  
over 38 years of San Diego's Chicano Movement.  
The archive will be available to students, educators,  
historians, researchers and the community-at-large.

### **Herman Baca Archive Celebration**

**Saturday, July 15, 2006**

**2:00 - 5:30 p.m.**

**(Program starts at 3:30 p.m.)**

**UCSD Price Center Plaza**

More information will be forthcoming  
detailing this community-wide special event  
and celebration with food, music, and special guests.

For sponsorship opportunities or information contact  
Committee Chair, Norma Cazares, at

**nacazares@aol.com or call (619) 422-0432.**

Herman Baca Archive Committee  
710 East Third Street  
National City, CA 91950

**COMITE LATINO**  
**THE COMMUNITY OF THE COACHELLA VALLEY INFORMS**

The proposal H.R. 4437 in the section Alien Smuggling and Related Offences said:

Is prohibited that ANY individual (Born in this Country, Naturalize Citizen, Permanent Resident or Undocumented Person) assists, encourages, directs or induces a person to come to or enter the United States, or to attempt to come to or enter the United States, knowing or in reckless disregard of the fact that such person is an alien who lacks lawful authority to come to or enter the United States.

You will be punish in the case where the offense was not committed for the commercial advantage, profit, or private financial gain, BE IMPRISONED FOR NOT MORE THAN 5 YEARS, or fined under the title 18, United States code, or both.

The proposal H.R. 4437 after being approved by the House of Representatives, will be discuss by the Senate. The COMITE LATINO invites you to join us and organize so we can defeat the proposal anti-immigrant and racism. The republic congress Mary Bono that represents this district voted in favor of this inhuman proposal.

Let us unite our strength this Sunday 12, of February from 12:00am to 3:00pm in the chain MANOS UNIDAS AGAINST THE RACISM OF THE H.R. 4437 from the street Harrison in Coachella, CA finishing in Palm Canyon in Palm Springs, CA.

This event is for the whole family and the environment will be calm by which we ask of you to.

BRING AN AMERICAN FLAG (Is a form of respect for this country)

DO NOT BLOCK ANY ROAD AND DRIVEWAYS (stay only in side walk at all times)

BE VERY CAREFUL WITH YOUR CHILDREN

**IN THIS FIGHT AGAINST RACISM: WE ARE NOT ALONE**  
**UNITED WE WILL DEFEAT THE H.R. 3327**



## **COMITE LATINO**

INFORMA A LA COMUNIDAD DEL VALLE DE COACHELLA

La propuesta HR 4437 en la Sección CONTRABANDO DE EXTRANJEROS Y OFENSAS RELACIONADAS dice:

Queda prohibido a CUALQUIER individuo (nacido en este país, naturalizado ciudadano, residente legal o indocumentado) a asistir, animar o inducir a una persona a residir o permanecer en los Estados Unidos sabiendo o ignorando que dicha persona es un extranjero que no tiene autoridad legal para estar en los Estados Unidos.

Se castigara en caso de que la ofensa no haya sido cometida por ganar dinero. SERA ENCARCELADO POR NO MÁS DE 5 AÑOS o multado bajo el Titulo 18 del Código de los Estado Unidos o ambos.

La Propuesta HR 4437 después de ser aprobada por la Cámara de Representantes será discutida por el Senado. El COMITÉ LATINO los invita a unírnos y organizarnos para derrotar esta propuesta anti-inmigrante y racista. La Congresista Republicana Mary Bono que representa este distrito electoral voto a favor de esta propuesta inhumana,

Unamos nuestra fuerzas el domingo 12 de Febrero de las 12:00 am a las 3:00pm en la CADENA **MANOS UNIDAS** CONTRA EL RACISMO DE LA HR 4437 desde la Calle Harrison en Coachella siguiendo por IndioBlvd conectando con el Highway 111 en Indio, la Quinta, Indian Wells, Palm Desert, Rancho Mirage y en Palm Springs conectamos con la Palm Caynon y la Tahquitz para finalizar frente a las oficinas de la Congresista Mary Bono que apadrino y voto a favor de la HR 4437.

Este Evento será totalmente familiar y pacifico, por lo cual se les pide muy atentamente:

Llevar una Bandera Americana (en forma de respeto a este país.)

No obstaculizar el trafico vial. No bajarse de las banquetas. No pararse en las entradas y salidas de autos.

Por favor tener mucho cuidado con sus hijos.

**EN LA LUCHA CONTRA EL RACISMO: NO ESTAMOS SOLOS**  
**Unidos derrotaremos la HR 4437**

## **THE CHICAGO PROPOSAL FOR MOBILIZATION**

**A people who are not mobilized and unified in their own defense will be demonized, denied basic rights, exploited economically and used as a scapegoat for the aims and purposes of corrupt, greedy and power hungry political interests. The Mexican and Latino communities are under attack and we must become a mobilized people on both sides of the border.**

**Our unity is both our purpose and our demand. The current broken U.S. immigration laws separate families and communities, creating an apartheid system of labor and legal status. No Latino can be free or whole while millions of others are treated as illegal or a second class citizens. Therefore we are united in our demand for legalization and family unification with a path to dual citizenship for all Mexicans and Latinos living and working and raising families in the United States. We are united in our demand to end the murder and suffering on the border.**

**Mobilization must have focus. Chicago proposes the following points of mobilization;**

### **Three Days of Latino Family Unity**

- 1. We propose a week of Latino Family Unity leading up to a mobilization of millions on Saturday, October 14<sup>th</sup>, 2006.**
- 2. On October 11<sup>th</sup>, we propose a national lobby day in Washington. (if in session)**
- 3. On October 12<sup>th</sup> we call for a mass press conference in Washington D.C., bringing together 5,000 community, religious and political leadership to deliver a clear message to the nation.**
- 4. On October 13<sup>th</sup>, we call for a general strike, a “day without Latinos” and actions of Mexican unity on the border.**
- 5. On October 14<sup>th</sup>, we call for mobilizations in Los Angeles, Chicago and New York City. Our objective is to mobilize one million Latinos in each city on October 14<sup>th</sup>.**
- 6. We call for coordination and solidarity between the mobilizations in the United States with mobilizations in Mexico and throughout Latin America.**

### **Mothers Day – May 10<sup>th</sup>, 2006**

**In preparation for the fall mobilization, we call for a Day of Dignity on May 10<sup>th</sup>, mothers day. It is imperative that the U.S. Senate and the U.S Congress hear from a united Mexican and Latino community before they pass any new immigration legislation.**

**We call for a demonstration in Washington D.C. and local actions throughout the United States to demand an end to the torture of mothers on May 10<sup>th</sup>. We call for activists to form mobilization committees for May 10<sup>th</sup> that can promote and coordinate the fall mobilization.**

### **Fathers Day – June 18<sup>th</sup>, 2006**

**We call for a local mobilizations of fathers on June 18<sup>th</sup>, a call for our men, our warriors and our providers, to step out of the shadows of fear and indignity and form committees for mobilization and justice.**

### **August and September – 2006**

**We call for 60 days of voter registration drives under the call that all those who can vote should register and vote for those who cannot vote.**

### **Actions before May 10<sup>th</sup>**

#### **Illinois**

**We encourage all actions of protest and resistance to the Sensenbrenner legislation which has been passed in the House. In Illinois we will go to Washington D.C. in April for an “All Illinois Immigrant Family Fairness Lobby Day” with a delegation that includes Illinois Governor Rod Blagojavich, Chicago Mayor Richard Daley, Cook County President John Stroger, locally elected city, county and state legislators, community, religious, labor and business leaders.**

**This delegation will go to Washington led by the fathers, mothers and children of “La Familia Latina Unida” the 35 Illinois families who have been or are facing separation because of this nation’s broken immigration laws. We go to defend our families and to expose the hypocrisy of Politicians who claim to represent family values but who pursue the racist program to separate our Latino families.**

**This delegation represents a long struggle by our community to make Illinois an Immigrant Freedom Zone, challenging discrimination**

**in the streets and passing fairness laws and at every level of government. We believe that we must resist the efforts of the right wing and racist forces who are attempting to pass racist, anti-immigrant, anti-latino legislation in every state across the country.**

### **HARMONY**

**In the face of hatred and racism, we must promote unity and harmony among our own people. Harmony unleashes the energy of our people. Our principle of mobilization must be to include all who support our demand with integrity and respect and every sector of the Mexican and Latino community.**

**We make a special call on the locutores of our radio community to carry on a consulta on the proposals for mobilization that come out of this conference, so that the voice of our people can be heard.**



## H.R. 4437 - Sensenbrenner-King Bill<sup>1</sup>

H.R.4437 is one of the worst proposals for immigration reform in the history of the United States. The bill criminalizes decent hard working immigrants who make tremendous contributions to the U.S. Economy. Even President George W. Bush recognized during his State of the Union Address the immense contributions that immigrants make to the U.S. economy. The bill would:

**Make any relative, employer, coworker, co-congregant, or friend of an undocumented immigrant into an alien smuggler and a criminal.**

The legislation has far-reaching smuggling provisions that go way beyond any common sense definition of a smuggler and include average Americans going about their business.

**Make 11 million undocumented immigrants and legal immigrants who have temporary status problems into criminals that local police can arrest.**

Currently, immigrants in the U.S. illegally are in violation of immigration law and subject to deportation. This bill would make unlawful status not only an immigration violation, but a crime, and the immigrant subject to arrest by state and local police.

**Make it harder for legal permanent residents to become citizens.**

Legal immigrants who dream of becoming American citizens and have waited patiently for that chance may have their dreams dashed by this bill.

**Require employers to verify workers' legal status, without providing access to legal workers through immigration reform.**

The bill proposes rapid-fire expansion of an employment authorization verification system, from 5,000 to 7 million employers within 2 years, placing an unfair burden on many small businesses to perform duties the government should be performing.

**Have state and local police enforce federal immigration laws.**

By making all immigrants with status violations into criminals, the bill attempts to send state and local police after them. This will drive immigrants further underground out of fear.

**Build a Wall alongside the U.S. Mexico Border**

Other House amendments include building a wall alongside the U.S. Mexico border, similar to the Berlin Wall that did more to divide than to promote friendly international relations.

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<sup>1</sup> Source for document: National Immigration Forum



## H.R. 4437 – Proyecto de Ley Sensenbrenner-King<sup>1</sup>

HR4437 es una de las peores propuestas de reforma inmigratoria en la historia de los Estados Unidos. Este proyecto de ley criminaliza a los inmigrantes honrados y trabajadores que contribuyen tremendamente a la economía estadounidense. Hasta el Presidente George W. Bush reconoció durante su informe presidencial las inmensas contribuciones de los inmigrantes a la economía estadounidense. Este proyecto:

**Convierte a cualquier pariente, empleador, compañero, practicante, o amigo de un inmigrante indocumentado en un contrabandista de extranjeros y un criminal.** La legislación ha ido mucho más lejos de lo que el sentido común define en las disposiciones de contrabando; e incluye a los americanos comunes que realizan su vida diaria.

**Convierte a 11 millones de inmigrantes indocumentados e inmigrantes legales que tienen problemas de estatus provisional en criminales que la policía local puede detener.** Actualmente, la estadía ilegal en este país es una violación civil, e inmigrantes indocumentados son sujetos a la deportación. Este proyecto de ley convertiría el estatus ilegal en un crimen federal, cuando sólo se consideraba una violación civil, y la persona inmigrante estaría sujeta a ser detenida por el estado y la policía local.

**Hace más difícil que los residentes permanentes y legales se conviertan en ciudadanos.** Inmigrantes legales que sueñan ser ciudadanos americanos y han esperado pacientemente por esa oportunidad podrían tener sus sueños impedidos por esta ley.

**Requiere que empleadores verifiquen el estatus migratorio, sin proveer acceso a los trabajadores legales a través de la reforma migratoria.** El proyecto de ley propone la expansión extrema del sistema de verificación del empleo autorizado – de 5 mil a 7 millones de empleadores en 2 años. Esto significa una carga injusta para muchas empresas pequeñas al tener que desempeñar las responsabilidades que pertenecen al gobierno.

**Autoriza a las policías estatales y locales a imponer las leyes federales de inmigración.** Al convertir en criminales a todos los inmigrantes con violaciones de estatus, el proyecto de ley intenta mandar tras de ellos a la policía estatal y local. Esto haría que los inmigrantes sean aun más clandestinos a causa del miedo.

**Construye una Barda en la frontera EEUU-México.** Otras enmiendas legislativas proponen construir una barda en la frontera EEUU-México, similar a la Muralla de Berlín, que han dividido en vez de promover buenas relaciones internacionales.

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<sup>1</sup> Fuente de información: Foro Nacional de Inmigración

Subj: **Fwd: May 1**  
Date: 4/29/2006 11:10:01 A.M. Pacific Standard Time  
From: [AztecBaca](#)  
To: [davalos@csusm.edu](mailto:davalos@csusm.edu), [jerry.apodaca@kellogg.com](mailto:jerry.apodaca@kellogg.com), [MARKBACA@cox.net](mailto:MARKBACA@cox.net), [Tny2239@cox.net](mailto:Tny2239@cox.net)

For your info.  
HB

-----  
Forwarded Message:

Subj: **Re: May 1**  
Date: 4/29/2006 11:05:08 A.M. Pacific Standard Time  
From: [armando.navarro@ucr.edu](mailto:armando.navarro@ucr.edu)  
To: [AztecBaca@aol.com](mailto:AztecBaca@aol.com)  
*Sent from the Internet (Details)*

Herman,  
Everything is going well so far. Please make arrangements to be with us at UCR by no later than 10 a.m. One part of the march will start here. We will proceed on University Ave to downtown Riverside. Some students will be gathering at other sites and initiating their own marches that will march to converge with the large march downtown Riverside. The large march starts at around Noon at the Board of Supervisors Building, located at the corner of Lemon and 10th Street Riverside. March will travel to a few designated points and conclude at Riverside City Hall. I told Mary Ann to email you other information. Call me at (951) 333-6819 if you have any questions.

Armando

At 01:54 PM 4/28/06 -0400, you wrote:

A.N.  
Please forward or phone regarding any info concerning your invite to march and speak in Riverside on May 1.  
Gracias  
HB

Affix  
Postage  
Stamp

**SENATOR DIANNE FEINSTEIN**  
**Hart Office Building Room 331**  
**Washington D.C. 20510**

Affix  
Postage  
Stamp

PLEASE RETURN TO/POR FAVOR MANDE A:

**UNITED FARM WORKERS**

**5313 E BEVERLY BLVD, LOS ANGELES CA 90022**

Affix  
Postage  
Stamp

**CONGRESSMEMBER \_\_\_\_\_**  
**U.S. House of Representatives**  
**Washington, D.C. 20515**



**Dear Senator Feinstein:**

I urge you to enact AgJOBS (S. 359) and The Secure America and Orderly Immigration Act of 2005 (S. 1033). We need humane, realistic and just comprehensive immigration reform that: (1) includes a path to citizenship for undocumented immigrants, (2) keeps families together, (3) protects all workers regardless of immigration status. Our immigration laws and our leaders should recognize that immigrants strengthen our economy and contribute to the fabric of this country and this state.

**Querida Senadora Feinstein:**

Le urgo que lleve acabo las propuestas de ley AgJOBS (S. 359) y The Secure America Immigration Act of 2005 (S. 1033). Necesitamos reforma inmigratoria que: (1) incluye la oportunidad de ciudadanía para los inmigrantes indocumentados, (2) une a las familias, (3) protege a los trabajadores a pesar de su estatus inmigratorio. Nuestras leyes inmigratorias y nuestros líderes deben reconocer que los inmigrantes fortalecen a nuestra economía y contribuyen a la estructura de este país y del estado.

Sincerely,

Name/Nombre \_\_\_\_\_

City/Ciudad \_\_\_\_\_ Zip/Código Postal \_\_\_\_\_

Name/Nombre \_\_\_\_\_

E-mail/Correo Electrónico \_\_\_\_\_

Address/Domicilio \_\_\_\_\_

City/Ciudad \_\_\_\_\_ Zip/Código Postal \_\_\_\_\_

Phone/Teléfono \_\_\_\_\_

**I will help with the following/Ayudare con lo siguiente:**

- Have 5 friends & family members call or send a letter to Senator Feinstein and their Congressman/Decirle a mis familiares y amigos que le manden una carta o le llamen a la Senadora Feinstein y a sus congresistas
- Participate in actions in my area/Participaré en acciones
- Forward email action alerts to my friends & family/  
Le mandaré a mis amigos y familiares alertas por el internet



*\*\*By signing this pledge, you will receive occasional action alerts that are critical to our efforts to ensure justice for farmworkers and immigrants. En firmar esta porción, usted recibirá alertas que nos ayudará con nuestro esfuerzo para lograr justicia para los trabajadores campesinos y otros inmigrantes.*



**Dear Congressman:**

I urge you to enact AgJOBS (H.R. 884) and The Secure America and Orderly Immigration Act of 2005 (H.R. 2330). We need humane, realistic and just comprehensive immigration reform that: (1) includes a path to citizenship for undocumented immigrants, (2) keeps families together, and (3) protects all workers regardless of immigration status. Our immigration laws and our leaders should recognize that immigrants strengthen our economy and contribute to the fabric of this country and this state.

**Querido Congresista:**

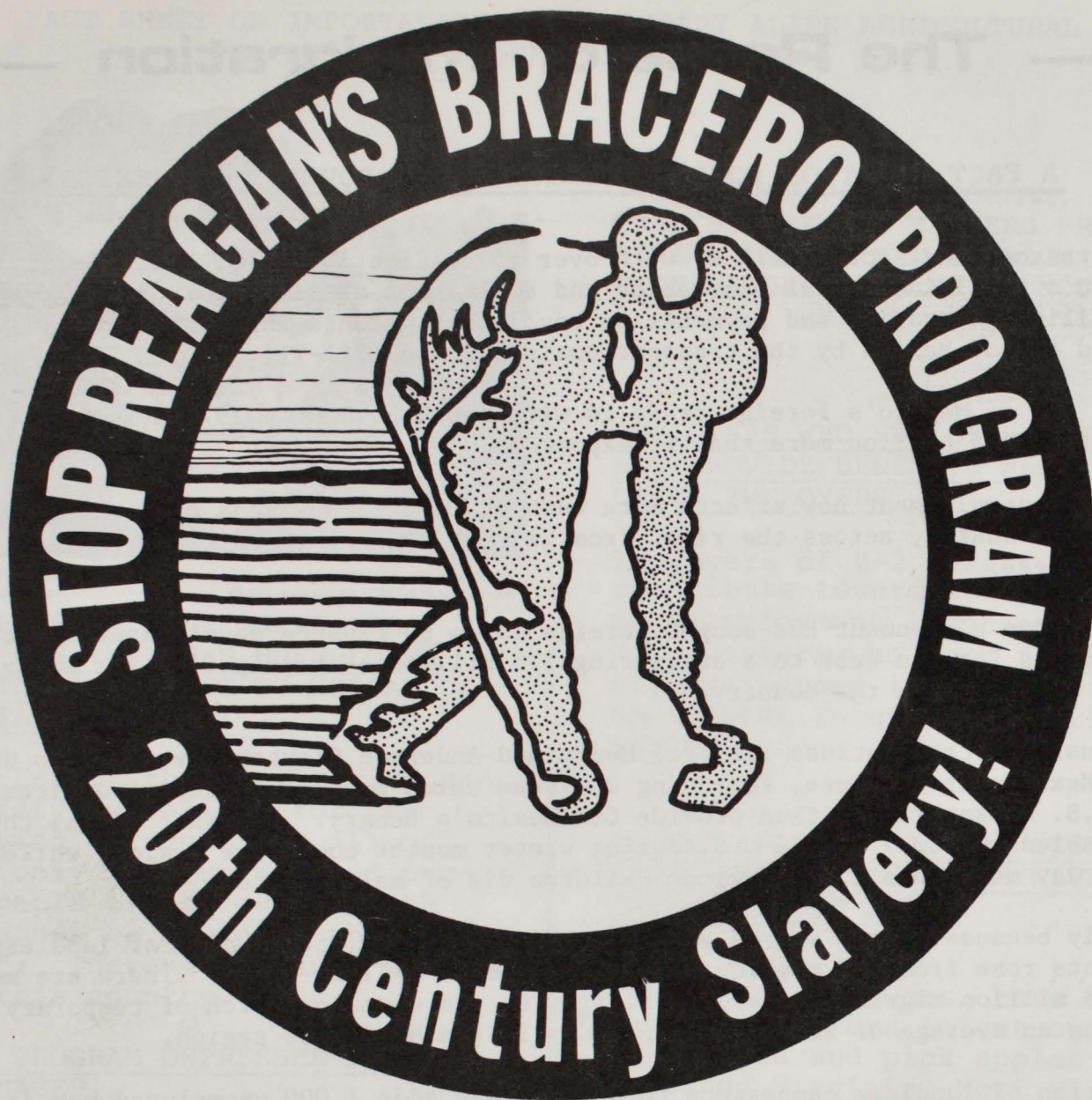
Le urgo que lleve acabo las propuestas de ley AgJOBS (H.R. 884) y The Secure America Immigration Act of 2005 (H.R. 2330). Necesitamos reforma inmigratoria que: (1) incluye la oportunidad de ciudadanía para los inmigrantes indocumentados, (2) une a las familias, (3) protege a los trabajadores a pesar de su estatus inmigratorio. Nuestras leyes inmigratorias y nuestros líderes deben reconocer que los inmigrantes fortalecen a nuestra economía y contribuyen a la estructura de este país y del estado.

Sincerely,

Name/Nombre \_\_\_\_\_

City/Ciudad \_\_\_\_\_ Zip/Código Postal \_\_\_\_\_





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**A Chicano Perspective  
on the  
President's Immigration Proposals**

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**Compiled By:**



Committee on Chicano Rights, Inc.  
1837 Highland Avenue  
National City CA 92050  
(714) 474-8195

# The Roots of Immigration

## A FACT SHEET ON FOREIGN DOMINATION & POVERTY IN MEXICO

- The transnational corporations, with over \$5 billion invested, control 35% of Mexico's total industrial production and employ 16% of all industrial workers. \$2 billion in profits and payments on royalties, patents and interests were sucked out of Mexico by the transnationals between 1961-71.
- About 3/4 of Mexico's foreign trade is with the U.S. and in 1975 Mexico imported \$4.5 billion more than it exported.
- Chronic unemployment now affects more than 40% of all Mexicans of working age. In Ciudad Juarez, across the river from El Paso, 43% of the 800,000 residents are jobless.
- The Mexican government has sought foreign loans to finance development, which has pushed its foreign debt to a staggering \$28 billion -- nearly \$500 for every man, woman and child in the country.
- Agribusiness corporations like Del Monte and Anderson Clayton have come to dominate Mexican agriculture, fostering a system which produces luxury food items for the U.S. market rather than provide for Mexico's hungry. One half of all the vegetables consumed in the U.S. during winter months come from Mexico, while every day more than 1,000 Mexican children die of malnutrition.
- Largely because of the spread of "modern" agriculture, the number of landless peasants rose from 1.5 million in 1950 to some 5 million today. There are more than 8 million migrant workers constantly on the move in search of temporary jobs, earning an average of \$2.50-\$3.00 per day in the Northwest region.
- Migration of landless campesinos to urban areas adds 1,000 unemployed per day to Mexico City, already with a population of 13 million. It is the most polluted city in the Western Hemisphere and is expected to be the largest by the year 2000.
- Approximately 3.5 million peasants and fishermen live on less than one peso (five cents) a day, according to a recent study from Mexico. 9.9 million Mexicans eat no meat. 11.1 eat no eggs. 18.3 million consume no milk products. 80 per cent of these families live in rural communities where there is no medical services, electricity or running water.
- Numerous studies have shown that the presence of large foreign corporations and their ties with the Mexican ruling elites has increased the concentration of wealth in fewer and fewer hands. Robert McNamara of the World Bank claims that Mexico's richest 10% now take over 50% of the national wealth, while the poorest 40% have seen their share shrink from 14% to 11% in the past twenty years.
- The average working life of a miner in Mexico is 10 years, due to overwork and black-lung disease, and doctors estimate that every day 4 million Mexican workers are subjected to poisonous fumes in their workplaces.

-NACLA

FACT SHEET ON IMPORTATION OF TEMPORARY ALIEN AGRICULTURAL  
WORKERS UNDER THE H2 PROGRAM



Immigrant agricultural workers in San Diego where living conditions are known to  
unfit for human habitation. Photo: Copyright 1980 by Len Lahman

AT THE PRESENT TIME THERE ARE 7.7  
MILLION U.S. WORKERS UNEMPLOYED  
NATIONWIDE ACCORDING TO BUREAU OF  
LABOR STATISTICS.

Section H-2 of the Immigration and Nationality Act allows for the importation of temporary alien workers only "if unemployed persons capable of performing such labor cannot be found in this country". There is no such shortage in this country.

THE H-2 PROGRAM DEPRESSES FARM-  
WORKER WAGES.

U.S. farmworkers cannot negotiate for higher wages where the threat H-2 exists. In fact if farmworkers ask for merely one cent more than the "prevailing wages" (which is considerable lower in states which use H-2 workers), the Department of Labor can certify that these workers are unavailable for work and bring in H-2 workers to fill these jobs.

H-2 WORKERS HAVE FEW FREEDOMS OR  
PROTECTION.

H-2 workers may not change employers. If an H-2 worker complains about working conditions he may be sent home, black-listed, and never allowed to work in the U.S. again. Only those H-2 workers who are extraordinarily hard working and complacent will be allowed to return for employment in future years.

"THE CURRENT H-2 PROGRAM, THE BASTARD SON OF THE BRACERO PROGRAM, IS LIVING PROOF THAT FOREIGN IMPORTATION LABOR PROGRAMS DO NOT WORK".

EMPLOYERS WHO EMPLOY H-2 WORKERS DO  
NOT PROVIDE BENEFITS REQUIRED OF  
OTHER EMPLOYERS.

Employers of H-2 workers need not contribute toward social security or unemployment insurance. Even U.S. workers who work for H-2 employers become ineligible for unemployment insurance for that period.

GROWERS PREFER THE H-2 SYSTEM BE-  
CAUSE IT PROVIDES THEM WITH A CHEAP  
CAPTIVE LABOR FORCE.

For years, growers have used Jamaican workers to cut sugar-cane in Florida and pick apples in New England, Virginia, West Virginia and New York. Growers use a variety of means to circumvent Department of Labor regulations and avoid hiring U.S. workers. Last year, growers refused to hire, or harassed and fired more than 2,000 workers from Puerto Rico, so they could hire H-2 workers.

THE H-2 PROGRAM THREATENS TO EXPAND  
DRASTICALLY.

Approximately, 15,000 H-2 workers were imported into the U.S. last year. The Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy has stated that the H-2 Program should be slightly expanded and streamlined in order that workers can be imported easier. Already apple growers from Oregon and Colorado, citrus growers from Arizona, and tomato growers from Virginia have attempted to import H-2 workers.

# Ex-chief recalls bracero 'slavery'

By GEORGE KUEMPEL and HOWARD SWINDLE

April 30, 1980

AUSTIN — Even at 72, a retired and comfortable Lee G. Williams is haunted by the memories of the bracero program he once ran, a program he says was nothing short of "legalized slavery."

Bracero.

Even the word rankles Williams. And his strong, resonant voice takes on an unexpected bitter tone as he recalls the plight of the 4 million hungry Mexicans who began flooding into the United States in 1942.

Bracero means the "strong-armed ones" in Spanish.

The thought of renewing the program, or revamping it, angers and frightens Williams, who as a U.S. Labor Department executive oversaw the day-to-day operation of the program from 1959 until its demise in 1964. Before that, he served for 20 years as general counsel and director of the Texas Employment Commission.

"I pray they don't reinstate this type program," he said.

"The bracero program was nothing but a way for big corporate farms to get a cheap labor supply from Mexico under government sponsorship," he said.

"It was purely a money-grabbing scheme by the corporate farms and the sugar interests. . . . The whole thing was supposed to be humanistic, but it was far short of what it should have been."

While he admitted the words "legalized slavery" are strong, Williams insisted they are accurate.

"They were so fearful of being away from home and not being able to send money to their families that they felt pretty much in bondage," he said.

A pledge by Gov. Bill Clements shortly after he took office in January 1979 to reinstate "a bracero-type program" to deal with the many job-seeking illegal Mexican and other foreign workers in the United States has touched off a new round of debate on the program.

Several Texas congressmen, including Rep. Jim Collins, R-Dallas, and House Majority Leader Jim Wright of Fort Worth, have advocated a return to a similar program.

Bracero.

It was a word Clements was to regret using because it aroused strong emotions among Mexican-Americans and labor and civil rights groups.

Clements now goes to great lengths to avoid the term in discussing his proposals for solving the alien problem.

The governor's plan eliminates the provision in the bracero program that forces laborers to work for a particular employer. Clements proposes the Mexican workers be mobile. If they are mistreated, they simply can quit and try to find other jobs.

Under the bracero program, Mexican workers, unable to find jobs in their own country, were allowed to enter the United States to replace the farmers who had traded their plows for rifles. In return, the Mexicans — most of them illiterate — were to receive a fair wage, decent housing, nutritious food and the protections of the law afforded American citizens.

But it didn't work out that way, Williams recalled last week.

"The braceros were hauled around like cattle in Mexico and treated like prisoners in the United States," he said.

Despite efforts by the U.S. Department of Labor, the big corporate farmers managed to keep bracero wages "unconscionably low," Williams said. And housing and diet requirements were circumvented with acquiescence of the state agencies responsible for enforcing them.

"The employment service here was notoriously in league with the farmers," he said.

After World War II, a lot of returning GIs abandoned the farms to seek their fortunes in the cities. And the big planters, anxious to retain the ready supply of cheap, willing workers from Mexico, managed to keep the program going until 1964.

In addition to subjecting the Mexican laborers to abuse, the program hurt American workers by depressing wages along the border, Williams said.

"I personally did a wage survey beginning in California at the border to Brownsville," he said, "and I found that wages, not only of agricultural workers but of carpenters, butchers and others, were affected adversely within 200 miles of the Mexican border."

And he said the program resulted in exploitation of the Mexican worker on both sides of the border.

For the Mexican worker to get into the program, he had to pay off officials in his own country, Williams said.

"They (the officials) demanded *morrida* — you know, 'the bite.' " he said.

"It was a chain of officials, and the bracero didn't get on that list to the U.S. unless he paid in advance."

Williams, whose job included setting the wages that the Mexicans were to receive — based on the "prevailing" wages of the area in which they were to work — said farmers complained bitterly when wages were set higher than they wanted.

Williams bristles at the contentions of farmers and businessmen who hire illegal aliens today that they have no choice because American workers refuse to take the dirty, low-paying jobs, especially when it is so easy to get on welfare instead of working.

"They could get someone to work if they would pay a fair wage," Williams said. "When they would come to me and say they couldn't find American workers, I'd say, 'Why don't you offer them some (decent) wages.' And they would say that would put them out of business."

He said he is not the least bit surprised at Clements' proposal to implement a similar plan, although the governor insists it would give the workers better protection.

"The governor of Texas seems to have an affinity for the dollar, too," Williams said.

"Look what (Gov. John) Connally did. It's that attitude toward agriculture labor. It's the same one that (Gov.) Dolph Briscoe had. It's simply: we want to make money, and it looks like we're going to have to do it on low wages."

Williams was referring to Connally's refusal to meet with a delegation walking from the Rio Grande Valley to Austin to protest the plight of migrant farm workers.

And Williams also questions Clements' and the United States' sudden interest in Mexico.

"You know, we never did give a damn about Mexico until they discovered all of that oil there," he said.

Williams said he does not have a solution, but he is confident a program like the bracero program is not the answer.

"I do have one answer: the bracero program is no answer. It would no more stop the flow of illegal aliens than they are presently being stopped."

# CCR INTERVIEW



**HERMAN BACA**  
Chairperson

**"Carter's Frankstein Monster Immigration Plan Has Returned From The Dead But Under a New Name...REAGANSTEIN"**

The Committee on Chicano Rights (CCR) has been involved with the issue of immigration for ten years. In August 1977 when, after months of delays, the Carter administration presented its immigration plan to congress, the CCR immediately opposed it, labeling it a "Frankenstein monster". Eventually, the plan died in Congress and Carter appointed a Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy. When their report was released in February 1981 the CCR called it a waste of tax-payer's money and "nothing more than a rehash of the bankrupt 1977 Carter Immigration Plan". Members of the Select Commission such as Wyoming's Senator Alan Simpson have had influence in the development of the Reagan administration's thinking on immigration. The following interview with Herman Baca begins with a question on Reagan's solutions. (David Avalos, Editor)

**David Avalos:** TO THIS DATE WHAT SOLUTIONS TO THE IMMIGRATION PROBLEM HAVE BEEN SUGGESTED BY THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION?

**Herman Baca:** The same old law enforcement, guns and barbed-wire solutions that were proposed and rejected in the now defunct Carter Immigration Plan of August 1977. Today, talk in Washington, D. C. focuses on a two or three-fold increase of the U. S. Border Patrol;

the escalation of the militarization of the border; a false amnesty that requires persons to speak the English language; relocation camps; employer sanctions; national worker identification card; and of course, a Bracero-type program that calls for the importation of 50,000 to 350,000 Mexican workers.

**DA:** WHAT'S THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE REAGAN PROGRAM AND THE CARTER PLAN OF 1977?

**HB:** Virtually nothing! In 1977 the CCR labeled Carter's Plan a Frankenstein monster. Now we see it return from the dead under a new name -- Reaganstein, because Reagan's plan is still a collection of old, rejected and discarded parts from the early 1970's. But what has changed is the political climate in Washington D. C. which has created a right wing mentality, favorable to big business.



**DA:** WHAT IS THE MOST DANGEROUS ASPECT OF THE PROPOSED REAGAN IMMIGRATION PROGRAM?

**HB:** The Bracero Program, because it will legalize the exploitation that exists for undocumented workers in certain areas of the economy. As a direct result an

Continued from page 5  
apartheid type system will be created for the nation's 20 million Chicano/Latinos because of the tripling of the U.S. Border Patrol which will be needed to enforce the program. The Chicano community will ultimately have to pay the price through the violations of their civil and constitutional rights if a Bracero Program is enacted.

DA: BUT ISN'T THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION SAYING THAT THE PROGRAM WOULD BE DESIGNED TO PROTECT THE RIGHTS OF MEXICAN WORKERS AS HUMANELY AS POSSIBLE?

HB: Yes, but it's a lie. The proof is in the documented history of foreign worker programs from the "temporary" farmworker program of 1917-22 to the Bracero program of 1942-64 to the bastard child of the Bracero program -- the existing H-2 visa program. For example, under the present H-2 visa program a worker is not free to change employers. Such workers who complain about working conditions may be sent home (deported), blacklisted and never allowed to work in the U.S. again. Employers need not contribute to social security or unemployment insurance. Even U.S. workers who work for H-2 employers become ineligible for unemployment insurance.

DA: WHAT ABOUT THE BRACERO PROGRAM?

HB: According to Lee G. Williams, the director of the Bracero Program for 1959-64, "the program could only be described as legalized slavery" (see page 4). Despite government claims that the Bracero Program would limit illegal immigration there were more Mexican workers who entered the U.S. illegally than workers who entered under the Bracero guidelines. If conditions during those years were "Legalized slavery" for Braceros, imagine what it was like for the undocumented. Today's Bracero proposal, even if engineered to handle 1,000,000 Mexican workers a year (the most optimistic prediction), would only

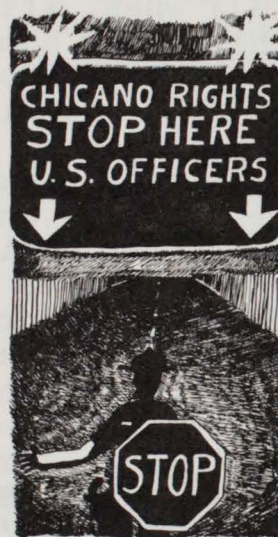
affect 1 out of 10 of Mexico's unemployed and underemployed.

DA: THAT BEING THE CASE, AND WITH U.S. UNEMPLOYMENT AT 7.7 MILLION, WHY WOULD REAGAN PROPOSE SUCH A BRACERO PROGRAM NOW?

HB: Because, according to research studies, due to overall zero population growth, by the year 2000 the United States will need 10 to 15 million foreign workers to maintain present economic growth.

DA: ISN'T THE REAGAN BRACERO PROPOSAL DIFFERENT FROM THE OLD BRACERO PROGRAM?

HB: Yes, just like World War II was different from World War I, it's worse.



DA: HOW WILL THE CHICANO COMMUNITY ULTIMATELY PAY THE PRICE FOR THE BRACERO PROGRAM?

HB: We are already paying the price. In recent years the immigration issue has been used as a battering ram to batter the human, civil and constitutional rights of Chicanos. In 1976, for example, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the Border Patrol could maintain inland border checkpoints even though it was a "minimal" constitutional invasion. The court held that "La Migra" could stop cars, even in the absence of "reasonable suspicion" and force the occupants

Continued on page 7

Continued from page 6

to produce evidence of citizenship. Two justices dissented because they felt it "repugnant" that U.S. citizens should be suspected of criminal conduct merely on the basis of Mexican ancestry. Later that year the California Secretary of State, March Fong Eu, ordered a search of the San Diego County voter rolls in a probe of "illegal aliens" who had registered to vote. None were found but 14,000 Spanish surnamed citizens were investigated merely for exercising their right to vote. This year it has gotten worse. The U.S. Supreme Court has given the Border Patrol the power to stop vehicles with no justification other than their "sixth sense". It was a Border Patrol Agent's sixth sense" that resulted in the death of 18 month old Manolo Alberto in June 1979.



Woman Who Sought Help Says Inspectors Were Callous Toward Infant Who Died 3 Days Later

DA: COULD YOU EXPLAIN THE DETAILS OF THAT CASE?

HB: Manolo Alberto was a seriously ill baby that was being taken by his U.S. citizen aunt to a U.S. hospital for treatment. Immigration Agents at the Tijuana crossing refused to allow him across despite a valid birth certificate showing that he had been born in Los Angeles. Their "sixth sense" told them that the certificate was a fake. It wasn't and as a result a two-year old U.S. citizen died in a Tijuana hospital three days later. The denial of medical services, as in the recent Los Angeles County

decision to prohibit medical care to undocumented workers is inhumane to both the undocumented and the Chicano. Let me give you another example. In April 1979 Jorge Olmos was seriously injured but denied admittance to San Diego's University Hospital by a neurosurgeon reportedly tired of treating "illegal aliens". In fact, Olmos was a U.S. citizen who had been born at University Hospital! There is a case that was submitted to the Chicano Immigration Tribunal organized by the CCR on April 11, 1981 of a woman in labor who was denied admittance to a hospital in Laredo, Texas and subsequently gave birth to her child outside of the hospital.

DA: WHAT'S THE SITUATION IN OTHER AREAS OF SOCIAL SERVICES?

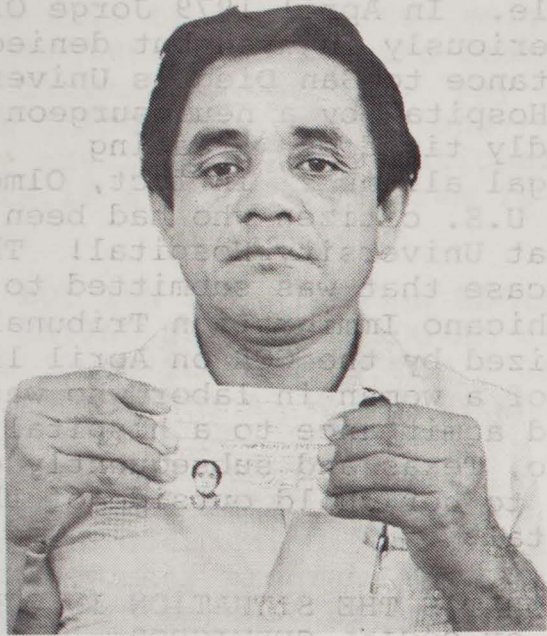
HB: Just as bad if not worse. Here in San Diego Mayor Pete Wilson maneuvered the City Council into a vote that grants money to Legal Aid only if they refuse their services to so-called "illegal aliens". This means that Chicanos will have to prove their "innocence" to Legal Aid attorneys before they can receive legal aid services. We'll need a lawyer's advice in order to get Legal Aid. It's absurd and hypocritical. Wilson was in Tijuana dedicating a statue of Lincoln that same week that he's stripping Chicano's of their rights in San Diego.

In the area of education we see the Reagan administration's withdrawal of support for bilingual education. That mad man Hayakawa wants to make English the official language of the country and the U.S. Supreme Court has ruled that an employer can fire a worker who speaks Spanish on the job.

DA: AND YOU'RE SAYING THAT THE REAGAN BRACERO PROGRAM WILL ACCELERATE THIS PROCESS OF A LOSS OF RIGHTS?

continued from page 7

HB: Yes, the only logical outcome of a Bracero program is an apartheid-type system for Chicanos.



DA: Why?

HB: Because of the Draconian measures which have been proposed to enforce the program. Measures such as a tripling of the Border Patrol, the establishment of a National Worker I.D. card and employer sanctions.

The increasing of the Border Patrol can only result in an escalation in rights violations for the undocumented and the Chicano. We can expect more cases like Abel Reyes Silva who was shot in the back in 1978, Efren Reyes who was handcuffed by a Border Patrol agent and then shot to death from behind in 1979 or Francisco C. Sanchez an unarmed undocumented Mexican shot to death by Border Patrol Agent Ricky B. Mauldin in 1980.

For the person of Mexican ancestry in the United States there have been two repressive agencies charged with keeping the Chicano community from getting too "uppity" and demanding their rights and liberties - those have been the Texas Rangers and the U.S. Border Patrol. With the reinstatement of the residential sweep the Border Patrol has once again been unleashed to roam at will within the Chicano communities, which now exist under a state of siege.

Look at the figures: only 50% of the undocumented in this country are Mexicans yet 95% of apprehensions are of persons of Mexican ancestry. If no state of siege exists along the Canadian border why should one exist along the Mexican border?

DA: WHAT'S THE SOLUTION?

HB: Let's cut through the jive about a Bracero program being a humane solution for the U.S. government. The problem isn't immigration, the problem is us - the Chicano, Latino, Mexicano community in the United States. The Reagan administration wants only to continue the profits and privileges for those who benefit most from the status quo. The Chicano community stands in the way of that.

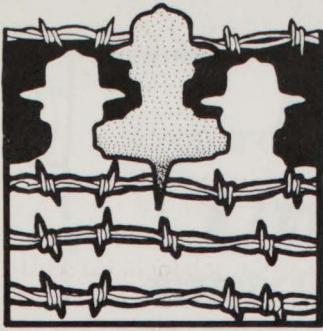
It's not a question of keeping anyone out of the country, it's a question of the U.S. government continuing the control and colonization of our communities.

What we are talking about is the survival of the Chicano, Latino, Mexicano community.

The immigration issue is not the problem. It is only a symptom of the real problem which is simply that we have no power. The solution to the immigration issue is the same Solution for every issue. The Chicano, Latino, Mexican Community must organize and build the power to define, affect and change our economic and political conditions.



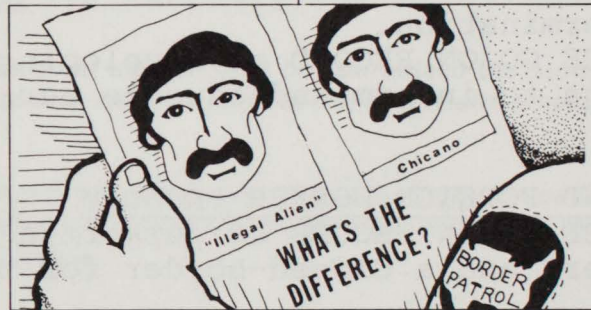
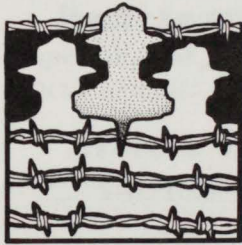




"IN THE 131 YEAR HISTORY OF THE CHICANO/MEXICANO PEOPLE IN THE U.S. THERE HAVE BEEN TWO REPRESSIVE AGENCIES WHOSE ONLY JOB HAS BEEN TO INSURE THAT OUR COMMUNITY DOES NOT ORGANIZE AND BEGIN TO ENJOY THE SAME RIGHTS, WAGES, AND WORKING CONDITIONS AS THE ANGLO MAJORITY. ONE OF THEM WAS THE TEXAS RANGERS, THE OTHER SINCE 1924, IS THE U.S. BORDER PATROL".

A BRACERO PROGRAM CALLS FOR A DOUBLE OR TRIPLING OF THE U.S. BORDER PATROL AND AN ESCALATION OF THE FOLLOWING:

May 16, 1978	Maria Contreras	Progreso, TX	Pregnant, died in INS interrogation room after being harassed by border officials.
Oct. 22, 1978	Abel Reyes Silva Age: 21	San Ysidro	Shot in the back while on the Mexican side of the border.
Feb. 11, 1979	Margarito Balderas Age: 30	San Ysidro	Shot twice from behind after surrendering



March 17, 1979	Benito Rincon Age: 22	San Ysidro	Shot while handcuffed.
March 17, 1979	Efren Reyes Age: 24	San Ysidro	Shot to death while handcuffed.
March 20, 1979	Alberto Canedo Age: 4	San Ysidro	Died in aunt's arms in INS offices after being denied entrance into U.S.
June 16, 1979	Manolo Alberto Age: 18 months	Tijuana	Died of starvation three days after being denied entrance into U.S.
Nov. 25, 1979	Maria Lopez Felix Age: 19	San Ysidro	Raped and strangled to death by a Federal border official
Dec. 8, 1980	Francisco Sanchez Age: 40	Jacumba	Shot to death by a Border Patrol Agent

# CHICANO/LATINO/MEXICANO SOLUTIONS

THE FOLLOWING IS A PARTIAL LISTING OF  
RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE NATIONAL CHICANO IMMIGRATION CONFERENCE  
May 24, 1980

## BORDER VIOLENCE WORKSHOP

THAT THIS CONFERENCE GO ON RECORD in calling for the abolishment of the INS/Border Patrol.

THAT THIS CONFERENCE GO ON RECORD in calling for the abolishment of the militarization policy between the U.S./Mexico as a solution to the immigration issue.

## ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

THAT THIS CONFERENCE GO ON RECORD as supporting the creation of a broad-based coalition to end all residential sweeps.

## CHICANO/MEXICANO PERSPECTIVE

THAT THIS CONFERENCE GO ON RECORD as demanding unconditional residency for all people with all rights and privileges of indigenous people as provided for in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

THAT THIS CONFERENCE GO ON RECORD as supporting the fact "Que Somos un Pueblo Sin Fronteras," and that the struggle for immigrant rights is part and parcel of the struggle for the Chicano/Mexicano rights to self-determination.

THAT THIS CONFERENCE GO ON RECORD as developing an informational network and campaign to inform and educate our people of the Immigration Issue.

## ECONOMICS, LABOR AND FOREIGN WORKER PROGRAM

THAT THIS CONFERENCE GO ON RECORD as supporting an Open-Border for immigrant workers and a Closed-Border for Multi-National Corporation.

THAT THIS CONFERENCE GO ON RECORD as opposing all forms of contract labor such as the H-2 Program, Temporary Visa Program or Foreign Guest-Worker Program.

## EDUCATION WORKSHOP

THAT THIS CONFERENCE GO ON RECORD demanding the right to free educational services and benefits that maintain and develop the primary language and culture of the Chicano/Mexicano community in all institutions of society.

## HEALTH AND SOCIAL SERVICES WORKSHOP

THAT THIS CONFERENCE GO ON RECORD in supporting that all health care and social services facilities must provide their services regardless of citizenship.

AND FINALLY THAT THIS CONFERENCE GO ON RECORD AS ENDORSING THAT A NATIONAL CAMPAIGN BE UNDERTAKEN TO EDUCATE THE GENERAL POPULATION AND ELECTED OFFICIALS REGARDING THE FULL CHARACTER OF HUMAN RIGHTS, HEALTH NEEDS AND TAX CONTRIBUTIONS OF UNDOCUMENTED PERSONS.

AMAE, Southbay San Diego/American G.I. Forum, National, California, & San Diego/AMIGOS, San Diego/ August 29 Chicano Moratorium Coalition / Arizona Farm Workers/Barrio Station San Diego/Bishop Gilberto Chavez/Brown Berets  
California Statewide MECHA/Centro Adelante Campesinos, Arizona/Centro de Inmigracion, Wash. D.C./ Chicano Health Coalition, San Diego/Chicanos Unidos, Texas/Chicano Park Steering Committee, San Diego/Club Azteca CB  
Congreso Para Pueblos Unidos, California/Crusade for Justice, Colorado/El Clarin, Chicago/El Movimiento Artístico, Chgo./El Pueblo, Texas/Federation Internationale Desdroits de el Homme, Paris, France/Voz del Pueblo  
Farm Labor Organizing Committee, Ohio/Hermanadad Mexicana General de Trabajadores, L.A./Hispanic Community Ministry Lutheran Church, Arizona/International Chamber of Commerce / National Chicano Moratorium Coalition /  
La Prensa, San Diego, Stockton/La Raza Legal Alliance, Houston, Texas/La Raza Health Alliance, California/Ladies Pride, San Diego/Las Hermanas, National /Los Perros, Los Angeles/Legal Aid Society, San Diego/  
Legal Service Center for Immigrants, Chicago/Life Car Club, San Diego/MAPA, Imperial Valley /Mario Cantu, Defense Committee, Texas/MECHA CENTRAL, San Diego/Mexican American National Organization, Los Angeles/  
Midwest Coalition in Defense of Immigrants, Chgo./National Federation of Priests/National Lawyers Guild/LULAC NATIONAL/National Mexican American Correctional Association/National Center for Immigrants  
Organizational Feminil/PADRES, National/Padre Hidalgo Center, San Diego/Office of Civil Rights, G.I. Forum, San Jose/MANZO, Area Council Arizona/REACT CB club, San Diego/Bishop Patricio Flores, Texas/Black Berets, San Jose  
San Diego City College, MECHA/Specials, San Diego/Spanish Speaking Executive Catholic Commission, San Diego, County/Sherman Unidos, San Diego/San Diego Low Rider Car Council/ San Antonio Human Rights Council/  
Spanish Speaking Political Association, San Diego/Teatro Urbano, L.A./Tucson Coalition for Justice, Arizona/United California Mexican American Association, California/National Coalition On The Hannigan Case

# **Bill of Rights for the Undocumented Worker**

**Article I:** Every immigrant worker shall have the right to establish legal residency by demonstrating a status as wage earner and taxpayer.

**Article II:** Every immigrant worker shall have all of the Constitutional Rights guaranteed all persons in the U.S. This right shall include but not be limited to: the right to due process, and the right to be free in their persons and possessions from unreasonable searches and seizures; and such rights shall not be violated by raids in factories, residential areas and in public places and shall be free from deportations and other unconstitutional practices.

**Article III:** Every immigrant worker shall have the right to be reunited with his or her family in country where he or she is a wage earner.

**Article IV:** Every immigrant worker shall have the right to legalize and adjust their status within the U.S. without having to return to their country of origin.

**Article V:** Every immigrant worker shall fully enjoy all the rights guaranteed to citizen workers including socio-economic and labor rights.

**Article VI:** Every immigrant worker, particularly seasonal workers, shall be provided adequate housing, health and safety provisions.

**Article VII:** Every immigrant worker shall be guaranteed the same rights enjoyed by U.S. citizens especially the right of access to free and adequate social and health services, child-care, and other similar social benefits.

**Article VIII:** Every immigrant person shall have the right to quality public education in his or her native language, utilizing English as a second language and shall not be restricted from fully practicing the culture of his or her country of origin.

**Article IX:** Every immigrant worker shall have the right to receive disability insurance (partial or permanent), workers compensation, retirement and death benefits. In the event of a death, the cost of transporting the deceased to his or her country of origin shall be borne by the employer, and any corresponding benefits shall be delivered to the family of the deceased without regard to their place of residency.

**Article X:** Every immigrant worker shall have a right to organize and to collective bargaining, including the right to join existing unions or form new ones, for the defense of their labor rights and for the improvement of their wages and living and working conditions.

A) The right to collective bargaining shall include agricultural and public service workers in order to protect their right to organize.

**Article XI:** Every immigrant worker shall have the right to utilize his native language in all legal proceedings, (i.e., to acquire citizenship, in judicial proceedings, etc.) and in all private or public contract agreements.

**Article XII:** Every immigrant worker shall have the right to exercise their right to vote in their native country's federal elections. This right should be facilitated through consulates and all other places (union-halls, schools, etc.) designated by competent authorities.

**Article XIII:** Every immigrant worker shall have the right to vote in local and state elections from the moment of legalizing their immigration status without having to become citizens. The right is based on their status as taxpayers, workers and residents.



International Coordinating Committee

**1st International Conference for the Full Rights of Undocumented Workers**



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El Mirage, Arizona 85335  
(602) 977-1219

3123 West Eighth Street  
Los Angeles, California 90005  
(213) 383-7057

1642 S. Blue Island  
Chicago, Illinois 60608  
(312) 226-0173

P.O. Box 876  
San Juan, Texas 78589  
(512) 787-5984

# STOP REAGAN'S BRACERO PROGRAM

## YOU CAN HELP! - ORGANIZATE RAZA!

THINGS YOU CAN DO TO HELP STOP REAGAN'S IMMIGRATION PROGRAM

1. Organize a committee in your community to stop Reagan's Bracero Program.
2. If you have a news publication, give prominent play to convince your readers of the need to stop it!
3. Picket, demonstrate or write a letter to your Senators and Congressmen opposing the Reagan Bracero Program.
4. Give cash support to those organizations working to stop Reagan's Bracero Program.

LO QUE USTED PUEDE HACER PARA PONER EL ALTO AL PROGRAMA DE BRACERO DE REAGAN ES LO SIGUIENTE:

1. Organizar un comite en su comunidad.
2. Si tiene alguna publicación, convenza a sus lectores de la necesidad de derrotar este Programa.
3. Organizar piquetes, manifestaciones o escribir cartas, telegramas a miembros del congreso afirmando su oposición.
4. Contribuya fondos a organizaciones que intentan derrotar el Programa.

## JOIN THE 100'S OF CHICANO/LATINO ORGANIZATIONS



THAT WENT ON RECORD ON MAY 24, 1980, AT THE NATIONAL CHICANO IMMIGRATION CONFERENCE, OPPOSING ALL FORMS OF CONTRACT LABOR SUCH AS THE H-2 PROGRAM, TEMPORARY VISA PROGRAM OR FOREIGN GUEST WORKER PROGRAM.

AMAE, Southbay San Diego/American G.I. Forum, National, California, & San Diego/AMIGOS, San Diego/ August 29 Chicano Moratorium Coalition / Arizona Farm Workers/Barrio Station San Diego/Bishop Gilberto Chavez/ Brown Berets California Statewide MECHA/Centro Adelante Campesinos, Arizona/Centro de Inmigracion, Wash. D.C./ Chicano Health Coalition/San Diego/Chicanos Unidos, Texas/Chicano Park Steering Committee, San Diego/ Club Azteca CB Congreso Para Pobelos Unidos, California/Crusade for Justice, Colorado/El Clarin, Chicago/El Movimiento Artistico, Chgo./El Pueblo, Texas/Federation Internationale Desdroits de el Homme, Paris, France/Voz del Pueblo Farm Labor Organizing Committee, Ohio/Hermanadad Mexicana General de Trabajadores, L.A./Hispanic Community Ministry Lutheran Church, Arizona/International Chamber of Commerce / National Chicano Moratorium Coalition / La Prensa, San Diego, Stockton/La Raza Legal Alliance, Houston, Texas/La Raza Health Alliance, California/Ladies Pride, San Diego/Las Hermanas, National / Los Perros, Los Angeles/Legal Aid Society, San Diego/Legal Service Center for Immigrants, Chicago/Life Car Club, San Diego/MAPA, Imperial Valley /Mario Cantu, Defense Committee, Texas/MECHA CENTRAL, San Diego/Mexican American National Organization, Los Angeles/ Midwest Coalition in Defense of Immigrants, Chgo./National Federation of Priests/National Lawyers Guild/LULAC NATIONAL/National Mexican American Correctional Association/National Center for immigrants Organizational Feminil/PADRES, National/Padre Hidalgo Center, San Diego/Office of Civil Rights, G.I. Forum, San Jose/MANZO, Area Council Arizona/REACT CB club, San Diego/Bishop Patricio Flores, Texas/Black Berets, San Jose San Diego City College, MECHA/Specials, San Diego/Spanish Speaking Executive Catholic Commission, San Diego, County/Sherman Unidos, San Diego/San Diego Low Rider Car Council/ San Antonio Human Rights Council/ Spanish Speaking Political Association, San Diego/Teatro Urbano, L.A./Tucson Coalition for Justice, Arizona/United California Mexican American Association, California/National Coalition On The Hannigan Case

# REVOLUTION

Voice of the Revolutionary Communist Party

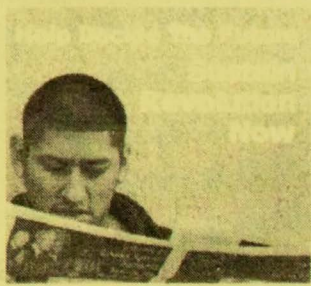
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# **Bush's Intensified War on Immigrants**

## **Man-hunts, Mass Deportation and Concentration Camps**

*Revolution #026, December 12, 2005, posted at revcom.us*

When President Bush spoke at the headquarters of the 12th Air Force, U.S. Southern Command, near Tucson, Arizona, on November 28, he announced a new escalation in an operation of sophisticated, militarized U.S. forces being used against a poor, unarmed civilian population--a cruel, cowardly war that brings suffering, misery, and death to untold numbers of human beings.

But this was not the War in Iraq or Afghanistan he was talking about to an audience of military, Border Patrol, and Homeland Security officials. It was a new offensive against undocumented immigrants.

Bush's speech painted a chilling picture of the future he envisions for immigrants in the U.S.: a walled-off country where those without papers are hunted on back roads and city streets, thrown out of the country with little due process, or held in a growing network of concentration camps along the border.

He announced new measures along the border where highly mobile Border Patrol (*La Migra*) agents with the latest high-tech equipment hunt down impoverished peasants trying to walk to a job in El Norte. Bush has increased funding to the Migra by 60%, increasing the number of agents by about a third. This force is now integrated into the Department of Homeland Security. A higher percentage of Migra agents are stationed on the border than before, and additional agents will be concentrated in the Tucson corridor where most border crossings now take place.

Bush is building more walls and physical barriers, including a 14-mile extension of the wall near San Diego. The existing walls will be reinforced with high-tech equipment, including drone airplanes with video cameras. All of these measures will make it more difficult to cross--which means even more desperate immigrants will be driven into ever-harsher desert environments where hundreds perish.

In addition Bush has made and proposed sweeping changes to laws and policies. 85% of the nearly *one million* immigrants deported every year are from Mexico. Most are sent over the border within 24 hours. But 160,000 of those from countries further away are released and given court dates because there are not enough jail cells to hold them. Most of them don't show up for their court dates. Bush now says that these immigrants will no longer be released. He also wants Congress to change a current law that says people without papers have to be released if their home countries do not take them back.

If all these people are not going to be released, what will happen to them? Concentration camps. Bush is expanding the detention centers along the border, to make them big enough to hold the hundreds of thousands of immigrants that will be detained for months, or indefinitely. At the same time, he wants to make it more difficult for immigrants to challenge immigration decisions in U.S. courts.

For many years, the border has been fortified and refortified with walls, lights, cameras and an army of Migra agents. A second "border" of checkpoints has been set up about a hundred miles into U.S. territory. Even past that line immigrants are not safe. There are immigration agents in police stations and courthouses. In Los Angeles, the LAPD regularly turns over people they've arrested to immigration if they can't charge them with anything. Over the last decade, raids on workplaces have dropped dramatically. But Bush wants to change that. He's increased the budget for such "internal enforcement" by almost 50%.

Earlier this year, the government carried out "Operation Rollback," which Bush called "the largest work site enforcement case in American history." Agents are also targeting immigrant youth from Central America, deporting hundreds to El Salvador alone. Bush held these up as examples of what is to come.

In one part of his speech, he talked about proposals for a "temporary worker" program. But this is actually another element of "internal enforcement." Under the Bush plan,

undocumented workers could turn themselves in to the government. As long as they were working in "jobs that Americans will not do"--the poorest paid jobs in the country--they would receive a special national ID card.

Bush said part of the purpose of the program was to "bring workers from out of the shadows"-- in other words, so the government will know where to find them. After six years, they would be required to leave the U.S. This is not a path to a green card or citizenship. An immigration activist called it "Work hard, pay taxes, and then get lost! You are welcome on the lowest rung of our economy but not in our society."

Nowhere in his speech is a single word about the economic destruction that the U.S. has perpetrated on Mexico, especially in the last 10 years under NAFTA. Because of the unrestricted dumping of subsidized U.S. agricultural product in Mexico, 1.7 million Mexican farmers have lost their jobs, while about ten times that many, 15 million, have seen a significant drop in income. Manufacturing for the domestic market has suffered. And the slight job growth in the for-export factories has not come close to making up for the catastrophe in the countryside.

Following Bush's speech, some right-wing commentators are demanding even more aggressive actions, including a 2000-mile wall the length of the U.S./Mexico border. And the extreme changes for "internal enforcement" envisioned by Bush could have far-reaching and explosive results.

Undocumented workers are part of the fabric of U.S. society--members of immigrant communities that account for *one out of seven* workers. Whole industries, including construction, agriculture, and food service, are dependent on not just immigrants, but particularly *undocumented* immigrants. A recent article in the L.A. Times pointed out that undocumented immigrants can get car loans and insurance but no driver licenses. The vast majority are members of families that include U.S. citizens or legal residents.

Bush is now talking about shifting Migra operations from unseen, remote back roads and desert trails to the streets of major cities, raiding businesses and breaking up families, deporting sisters, sons, neighbors and co-workers, and forcing people to choose between living even deeper in the shadows and turning themselves in for a promise of a brief reprieve. And we can expect both the repression and the propaganda to be ratcheted up in the coming months-- whipping up anti-immigrant sentiments in the service of an all-round reactionary social compact.

The L.A. Times wrote on 11/27 that "Illegal immigration has emerged as a major issue in political campaigns around the country, adding an element of emotional intensity that Republicans hope will excite their conservative supporters... Some Republican strategists contend that the immigration issue offers an opportunity for the GOP to revive its flagging fortunes at a time when Bush and the party have been hobbled by public discontent over the war in Iraq, the response to Hurricane Katrina and ethics scandals. 'This is the best issue for them to recover on' said Bay Buchanan," founder of a group which recruits and raises money for candidates dedicated to stopping illegal immigration, and sister of reactionary Pat Buchanan, who sees the growing immigrant population of this country contributing to "the death of the west."

While Bush is trying to exploit the hot button issue of immigration to his advantage, this isn't just a cynical political ploy. He is speaking to major strategic concerns within ruling circles over forging and enforcing a whole new social compact in this country while calculating its impact here--economically, politically, and socially--and its impact throughout the hemisphere, and ultimately the world.

The interests of the vast majority of people of all strata in this country are in standing up against these draconian attacks and standing with immigrants whether they have papers or not. We can't allow this regime to isolate and target the immigrant population of this society. We need to fight against this new offensive as an integral part of advancing the movement to drive out the Bush regime.

**Send us your comments.**

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# **Bush intensifica la guerra contra los inmigrantes**

## **Redadas, deportaciones en masa y campos de concentración**

*Revolución #026, 12 de diciembre de 2005, posted at revcom.us*

El 28 de noviembre el presidente Bush fue al cuartel general de la 12 Fuerza Aérea y el Comando Sur, cerca de Tucson, Arizona, para anunciar una escalada de una campaña militar contra una población civil pobre. Esta guerra cruel y cobarde ya ha hundido en el sufrimiento, la miseria y la muerte a un sinnúmero de seres humanos.

No es la guerra de Irak o Afganistán, sino la que están librando aquí contra los inmigrantes sin papeles.

Hablando ante militares, agentes de la Patrulla Fronteriza y tipos del Departamento de Seguridad de la Patria, Bush pintó un cuadro escalofriante del futuro para los inmigrantes: un país rodeado de cercas donde cazan a los indocumentados en las zonas rurales y las ciudades, y los deportan sin trámites judiciales o los meten en una red de campos de concentración a lo largo de la frontera.

Anunció nuevas medidas para darle más movilidad y la más moderna tecnología a la Patrulla Fronteriza para cazar a campesinos que cruzan la frontera en busca de trabajo. Aumentará el presupuesto de la Migra (que ahora es parte del Departamento de Seguridad de la Patria) un 60% y la cantidad de agentes un 30%. Han despachado más agentes a la frontera y enviarán más al corredor de Tucson, donde cruza la mayoría de los inmigrantes.

Están construyendo nuevos muros y barreras, y extendiendo el muro de 23 kilómetros que ya bloquea la frontera cerca de San Diego, California. Los reforzarán con equipo de alta tecnología, como aviones no tripulados equipados con videocámaras. Esas medidas dificultarán cruzar la frontera y empujarán a más inmigrantes hacia las zonas desérticas, donde cada año muchos ya mueren.

Además, Bush quiere cambiar las leyes. El 85% del *millón de personas que deportan al año* son mexicanos, y a la mayoría los deportan a las 24 horas de capturarlos. Pero 160,000 son de otros países y por lo general les dan una cita para una audiencia y los ponen en libertad porque no tienen cárceles donde meterlos. La mayoría no comparece. Bush dijo que en el futuro no los pondrán en libertad. También quiere cambiar una ley que dicta soltar a un indocumentado cuyo país no quiere repatriarlo.

¿Y qué les pasará a todos los que no van a poner en libertad? Los meterán en campos de concentración. Bush anunció una expansión de la red de centros de detención a lo largo de la frontera para meter a los centenares de miles de inmigrantes que van a encarcelar, a veces por meses y a veces indefinidamente. También quiere dificultar la apelación de las decisiones de la Migra a los tribunales.

Desde hace años, la frontera es una zona militarizada, con muros, luces, cámaras y un montón de agentes. Hay una segunda "frontera" con retenes a unos 150 kilómetros más al norte. Pero incluso más allá de esa línea uno no está a salvo. Hay agentes de la Migra en las estaciones de policía y en los tribunales. En Los Ángeles, la policía entrega a la Migra a los arrestados que no pueden acusar de nada. En los últimos diez años han llevado a cabo menos redadas de lugares de trabajo, pero Bush quiere cambiar esto y propuso aumentar el presupuesto para las redadas en 50%.

Hace varios meses, el gobierno llevó a cabo la "Operación Rollback", que Bush llamó "el mayor operativo en los lugares de trabajo de la historia nacional". También están arrestando y deportando a centenares de jóvenes centroamericanos. Bush dijo que estos son buenos ejemplos de lo que viene.

Habló de un programa de "trabajadores invitados", pero en realidad esta es otra medida de represión. Según el plan, los indocumentados se presentarán al gobierno y recibirán una tarjeta nacional de identificación especial, siempre y cuando estén trabajando en "los trabajos que los estadounidenses no quieren hacer".

Bush dijo que el propósito del plan es "permitir que los trabajadores salgan de las sombras", o sea, que el gobierno sepa dónde están. Después de vivir seis años en Estados Unidos, tendrán que irse. No se les permitirá solicitar residencia ni ciudadanía. Un activista dijo que es: "trabaja duro, paga impuestos y vete al diablo! Te damos la bienvenida a hacer los peores trabajos, pero no a ser parte de la sociedad".

Por supuesto Bush nunca mencionó la devastación económica que Estados Unidos ha causado en México, especialmente en los últimos diez años con el TLC/NAFTA. Debido a la exportación sin restricción de productos agrícolas estadounidenses subvencionados, 1.7 millones de campesinos mexicanos han tenido que abandonar la tierra, y diez veces más, unos 15 millones, han perdido gran parte de los ingresos. El TLC también ha perjudicado la manufactura para el mercado nacional, y el pequeño aumento de trabajos en las fábricas que producen para la exportación no ha compensado la catástrofe del campo.

Después del discurso, los derechistas pidieron medidas más represivas, como un muro a lo largo de toda la frontera. Pero las medidas propuestas tendrán consecuencias de ancha repercusión.

Los trabajadores sin papeles son parte integral de la sociedad estadounidense, donde las comunidades inmigrantes proveen *uno de cada siete trabajadores*. Varias industrias, como la construcción, la agricultura y los restaurantes, dependen de los trabajadores *sin papeles*. Hace poco el *Los Angeles Times* señaló que los indocumentados pueden conseguir préstamos para comprar carros y seguros, pero no licencia de conducir. La gran mayoría tienen familiares que son ciudadanos o residentes.

Bush propone desplazar las operaciones de la Migra de las zonas remotas a las calles de las grandes ciudades para hacer redadas de fábricas, deportar, separar a familiares y compañeros de trabajo, y obligar a escoger entre esconderse más o entregarse al gobierno a cambio de un breve alivio. En los próximos meses seguramente van a redoblar la propaganda y la represión para azuzar un frenesí contra los inmigrantes, como parte de todo un pacto social reaccionario.

*El L.A. Times* informó el 7 de noviembre que "la inmigración ilegal ha surgido como un tema central de las campañas políticas por todo el país, y los republicanos esperan aprovecharlo para entusiasmar a su base conservadora... Unos estrategas republicanos dicen que les da la oportunidad de reavivar sus malas fortunas ante el descontento popular por la guerra de Irak, la respuesta al huracán Katrina y los escándalos éticos. 'Para ellos es el mejor tema posible'", dijo Bay Buchanan, fundadora de un grupo que recluta y recauda dinero para candidatos dispuestos a parar la inmigración ilegal, y hermana de Pat Buchanan, el reaccionario que ha dicho que la inmigración está llevando a la "muerte del Occidente".

Es verdad que Bush quiere aprovechar el tema para sacar provecho, pero no es simplemente una maniobra política. Está respondiendo a importantes preocupaciones estratégicas de la clase dominante sobre cómo forjar e imponer un nuevo pacto social, sin olvidar su impacto (económico, político y social) en el país, el hemisferio y el mundo entero.

Los que vivimos en este país debemos oponernos a esas medidas draconianas y ponernos del lado de los inmigrantes con o sin papeles. No podemos permitir que este gobierno los aisle y los ataque, y tenemos que luchar contra esta nueva ofensiva como parte integral del movimiento para sacar corriendo al gobierno de Bush.

**Envíenos sus comentarios.**

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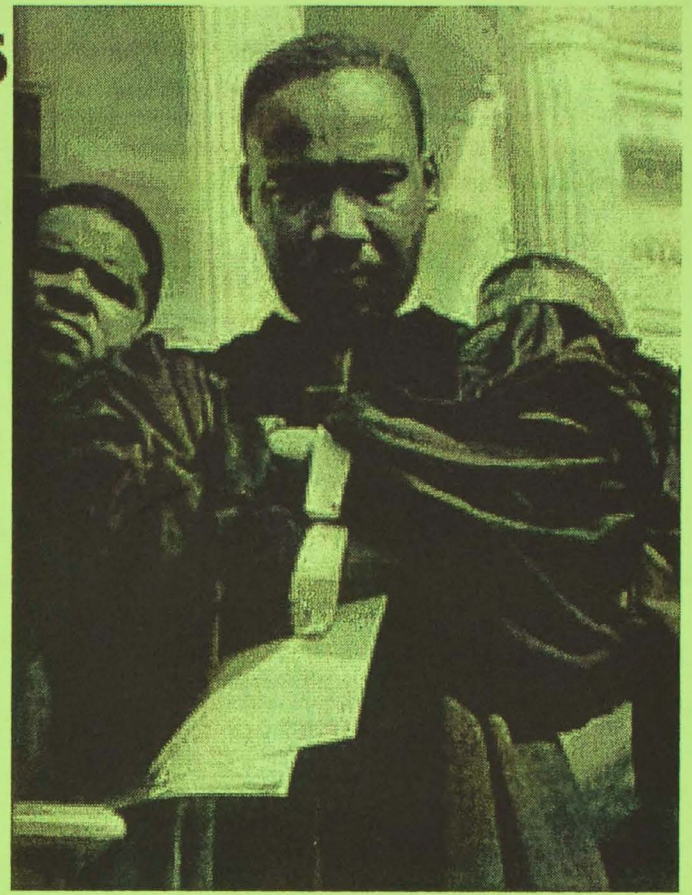
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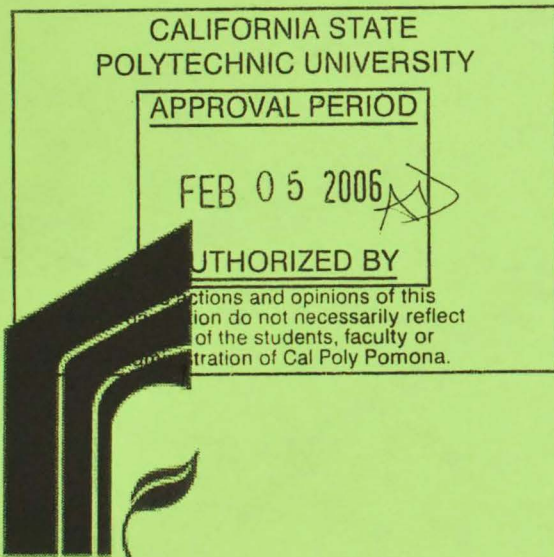
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**Tuesday, January 17, 2006**



**Martin Luther King Jr.  
Silent March @  
Cal Poly Pomona**

**"Honor The March and Inherit the Dream"**



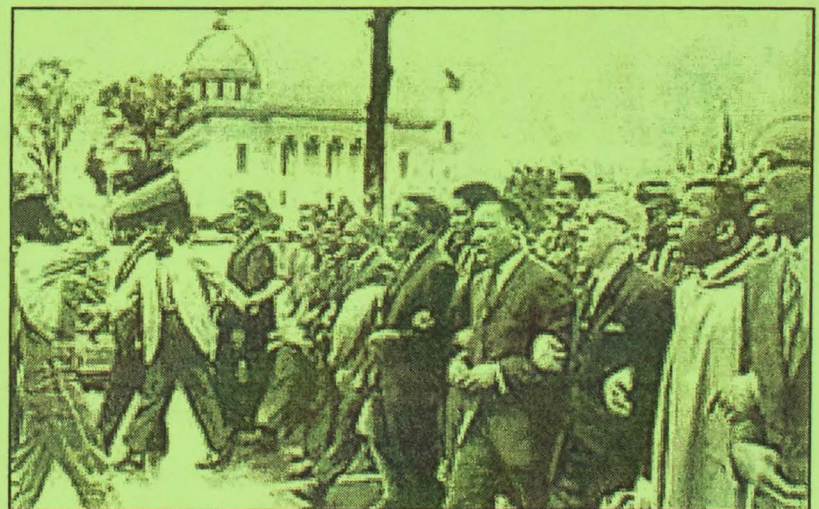
**Meet at the CLA Bldg.  
at 11:45 a.m.**

**March begins at 12:10 p.m.**

**Please Wear Black Attire  
Guest Speaker Dr. Halford Fairchild**

**CAL POLY POMONA**

Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity Inc. in conjunction with the Walter Weglyn Endowed Chair for Multicultural Studies as part of the Civil Rights Coalition would like to invite you to join us



## MIGRANT MARCH FOR MANKIND

(February 2, 2006 point of departure San Diego, the wall, where Guillermo Martinez Rodriguez was assassinated by the Border Patrol)

Guillermo Martinez Rodriguez only wanted to cross into the United States to find work. He had two young children, two very young children and a young wife. He left home and headed north, he wanted a better financial future, for his family, Maira his wife and for Ismael & Kimberly his children.

Guillermo never made it back home alive, as he was assassinated by the US Border Patrol and died on New Years Eve. A lone agent, fired a lone shot, and as Guillermo's young life oozed out you could hear the banging in the background as the wall of shame continued to be built, the wall of terror, the wall of death. UNA MUERTE MAS, 2005. As the year came to an end, at least 500 people died crossing from Mexico to the US this past year. 500 human beings, not illegal aliens, 500 people.

These last 11 years there have been 4000 Guillermo Martinez's, 4000 stories, Lucrecia Dominguez dying in the arms of her 15 year old son Jesus in the Arizona desert, Victoria Sanchez 17 years young, thrown from a vehicle that is being chased at high speed by the Border Patrol in the East county of San Diego, five year old Marco Antonio Villasenor suffocates in the back of a stuffed semi truck, stuffed with human cargo (16 men and one child dead) found, in Victoria, Texas and now Guillermo Martinez Rodriguez assassinated by the Border Patrol in San Diego County. CUANTOS MAS ?

Before Operation Gatekeeper less than a dozen people died a year, one per month crossing from Mexico to the United States, and we cried NI UNA MUERTE MAS! Now hundreds die every year, and thousands are incapacitated. OPERATION GATEKEEPER you are a total failure. NEVER AGAIN!

This past year the United States not only recorded record number of deaths but also a record number of hate crimes, a record number of anti migrant legislation, a record number of racist media attacks and a continuation of the militarization of the US/Mexico border. The whole world is watching and our community is under attack. BASTA !

On February 2, 2006 we want to tell the world how we feel, we will cross the country on a caravan for justice a National "Migrant March for Mankind". Our Latino community also wants to ride the "Freedom train" like our African American brothers and sisters, we also have our "trail of tears" like our Native American forefathers, we also will travel to villages and cities to hear the tell the TRUTH as did our heavenly father, we will hear those thousands of untold stories from coast to coast and share them with the world.

We plan to visit with students, migrants young and old; we will visit opinion leaders as well legislators; we will visit the interfaith community as well the common man, those who sacrificed it all to come to this land, to help build this land while never forgetting their roots as they help build the economies of both countries.

We want to remember our fallen brothers and sisters as we will plant 4000 crosses in their honor as we cross this grand country and we will share stories of our battles on the border stories of the racist legislation, stories of the failed militarization of the border and stories of the daily lives of our brethren as they live in the shadows with no drivers license, no earned residency opportunity, no justice.

We are all of the same race, the human race and we demand to be treated with respect and dignity and we will accept nothing less and ask for nothing more, so we will March on Washington and tell the US Senate NO on the militarization of the Border, NO on OPERATION GATEKEEPER (the wall of shame, terror and death), NO on the anti Latino media blitz of Lou Dobbs and like minded hate shows promoting bigotry, ignorance and confusing our realities to the American public, NO on HR 4437.

We want the Hispanic Caucus as well as legislators on both sides of the aisle to hear OUR VOICES on our National month long caravan as we plan to meet with Villaraigosa (Los Angeles) and Richardson (New Mexico), Grihalva (Arizona) and Gutierrez (Chicago), we plan to meet with McCain and Kennedy in DC and they will all hear our voices, as we demand justice for Lucrecia, Victoria, Marco Antonio, and the 4000 human beings that have paid the ultimate price for a better economic life, we demand justice for Guillermo Martinez Rodriguez!!!

Que Viva la Justicia, Que Viva Guillermo y Que Viva Mexico!!!

Enrique Morones

Border Angels  
y Gente Unida  
(619) 269-7865

PLEASE HELP SUPPORT OUR GENTE, LET US KNOW IF YOU WANT TO PARTICIPATE, DONATE, HAVE US VISIT YOU OR JOIN OUR EFFORTS, SI SE PUEDE!!!

[www.borderangels.org](http://www.borderangels.org)



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Guest Column ↻

### After The Fall: Making Sense Out Of Sensenbrenner

**By Gary Endelman**  
**Immigration Daily**  
**January 4, 2006**

Now we know how Tom Paine felt at Valley Forge. It has been a cold December for those who think immigration is good for America. On December 16th, the House of Representatives approved the Border Protection, Antiterrorism and Illegal Immigration Control Act of 2005(H.R.4437), perhaps the most draconian bill of recent memory, and, a mere three days later, the House approved an agreement with the Senate on a comprehensive budget reconciliation package stripped bare of any pro-immigration provisions. While there is some satisfaction in the fact that the House did not get the higher L fees that it sought, this is cold comfort. Truth be told, it was a tough week, the worst in a long time, and the shock among pro-immigration circles, both on Capitol Hill and beyond, is palpable.

For the first time in a long time, the Republican House defied the US Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers and other corporate lobbying groups who sought to block adoption of a mandatory electronic employment eligibility verification system that would link Social Security Administration and Homeland Security databases. Such business opposition is not hard to figure out. Electronic verification would be on top of, not as a substitute for, the current I-9 compliance regime. Not only would new hires be subject to electronic verification, but all private sector employers would be compelled to re-verify existing employees within six years; federal, state and local governments, not to mention non-governmental employers at critical infrastructure facilities, such as airports and nuclear power plants, would only have three years. All private sector employers must electronically check their entire workforce by 2012.

The political clout of their natural allies could not carry the day against the popular appeal of the proposal by House Judiciary Committee Chair James Sensenbrenner ( R-WI) who benefited from the absence of House Majority Leader Tom DeLay, busy with his own legal troubles back in Texas. With DeLay not there to whip the GOP House Caucus into line, the Republican House Leadership removed Senate language that would have revolutionized employment-based immigration from the budget conference report as the price of pacifying anti-immigrant House members who had sent a letter to Speaker Hastert and Acting Majority Leader Roy Blunt(R-Mo) threatening to vote against the budget if the good stuff stayed in. Whether they would have acted on their threat will never be known, but the possibility of their doing so was enough to make House budget conferees beat a hasty retreat. While there was a deal to be made, one in which pro-immigration provisions were sold as a potent enhancement to House Republican leaders desperate for new sources of revenue, the need to pass a federal budget, particularly with no Democratic votes, trumped everything else. Hastert and Blunt simply did not have the margin within their own Caucus to call Tancredo's bluff. Originally in the draft Conference Report, Section 8001 was taken out before a final vote. Other pro-immigration lobbying efforts by the immigration bar and its traditional comrades in arms were too little, too late.. But, this is sadly no longer news.

Pro-immigration lobbyists were most effective in the good old days when immigration was an inside the Beltway game. You met with a few friendly legislators who depended on your technical expertise and usually something

could be quietly and quickly worked out. Three things have made this impossible. First, the Immigration Reform and Control Act made all US employers junior immigration agents by mandating completion of the I-9 employment verification form as a condition of hire. No longer would it be acceptable for American companies to hire those illegal aliens who had made their way through the maze. Now, immigration became a daily fact of business life. As was predicted, IRCA did not solve the problem of illegal migration, so much as defer the day of reckoning for a future time. The marker for IRCA has now come due. Second, the Immigration Act of 1990 tripled the number of employment visas, but fatefully, at the last minute, chose not to reform the labor certification system that, even then, had broken down as the inevitable contradiction of mass migration and micromanagement became too heavy to bear. . Moreover, IRCA introduced the concept of amnesty as a way to cope with rising illegal migration without doing anything to restore the structural imbalance between family and employment-based options that had made it necessary to come in under the shadows in the first place. That was what IMMACT 90 was supposed to do- serve as the second act to IRCA's overture. Yet, the number of immigrant visas for the other worker category- a paltry 10,000 (originally only 5,000)- was, and always has been, wholly inadequate to the task and the demand, thus leaving both desperate aliens and equally anxious employers little incentive but to act in an extra-legal fashion. What the law did not make provision for , the economy did. Third, 9/11 changed the world and everything in it would never be the same. Immigration was now synonymous with terrorism and those who hated both immigration and the immigrants now had a powerful new club to swing. They set about wielding it with gusto. Lou Dobbs meet Mohammed Atta.

As bad as HR 4437 is, the real loss is the removal of the pro-immigration provisions that had been enshrined in section 8001 of the Senate budget package. It is impossible to overstate the stimulus that Senate Budget Bill section 8001 would have injected into an employment immigration system that is on life support. Even its authors do not realize what has been lost. Restoration of up to 90,000 unused immigrant visa numbers that had been gathering dust is only the least of it. Much more was at stake. The additional unused H-1B numbers that Section 8001 would have made available would have been a shot in the arm for desperate US employers with openings where these foreign nationals are sorely needed. Section 8001 would have tripled the number of employment-based immigrant visas simply by not counting family members against the 140,000 cap. Just by backing out dependents , the EB quotas would have been utterly transformed. Good bye backlogs! But wait, I rejoice too soon. Not counting family members would erase much of the current EB backlog, but does nothing to guard against its re-emergence, phoenix-like from the ashes. The day for immigration reform on the cheap is long since gone never to return. Section 8001 did not enlarge the EB quota nor give employment based migration priority over family migration, something that must happen if the same, or even longer, backlogs, are not to come back with a vengeance . There was one other fly in the ointment, namely that the architects of Section 8001 did not realize the need to amend the Child Status Protection Act so that, while Mom and Dad waited for their day of green card deliverance to arrive, their kids would have aged out. The CSPA only freezes a dependent's age if there is a current priority date. How many parents are going to wait patiently for final adjustment approval if their kids have to go home?

Removal of Section 8001 from the Budget Reconciliation Conference Report can be a temporary setback if we play our cards right. Congressman Sensenbrenner has long and loudly proclaimed that he is not against all immigration, just the illegal variety. Fine. Let's take him at his word. He is, after all, the architect of the new E-3 visa that enables 10,500 Australians to get around the H-1B cap. Congressman Sensenbrenner has his enforcement-only bill now so he should be prepared to support us when we seek to attach Section 8001 to broadly bipartisan legislation in the upcoming session of Congress. If Congressman Sensenbrenner means what he says, and he usually does, this might be a golden opportunity to bring Section 8001 back to life.

Having said that, in the long term, Section 8001 meant a lot more than HR 4437 does not mean that the number of poison pills in Sensenbrenner's bill do not make it exceedingly painful to swallow. Purely from a \$ standpoint, the bill does not work, particularly at a time when the Administration wants to rein in federal spending, eliminate the estate tax, scrap the alternative minimum tax, rebuild the Gulf Coast, keep defense spending at record levels, pay

for a new prescription drug benefit under Medicare and make the President's tax cuts permanent. Did I forget Iraq?. The Congressional Budget Office estimates that initial implementation will cost \$1.9 billion with more in later years as additional restrictions come on stream. Just do the math. Providing DHS with secure access to a reliable database of Social Security numbers will not come cheap. When you factor in the need for the Social Security Agency to answer phone inquiries, handle personal visits and produce replacement SSN cards for people whose employers get a nonverified electronic response, you begin to get some idea of why the Social Security folks are less than wild about this new toy. Take off the price tag, and HR 4437 still does not look too good. Here are some holiday treats that you probably will not stuff into your stocking over the fireplace:

1. All visitors processed in the US VISIT system will now offer up ten fingerprints to enhance the reliability of biometric data collection. Think that is going to shorten the lines at your friendly airport?
2. Illegal presence in the USA goes from a civil offense to a crime punishable by a year in the pokey. This covers anyone who overstays or violates the terms of their visa. Advising such aliens on their legal options, or helping them to become legal, could easily be prosecuted as harboring. How's that for chilling the attorney-client relationship? It is hard to imagine that the feds will arrest millions of people, but it is not beyond imagining to speculate that they might move against high profile lawyers, corporate employers, and non-profit advocates, if only to make an example out of them, and scare the hell out of everyone else. Nothing succeeds like intimidation. The criminalizing of immigration misconduct, often innocent and frequently the direct product or inevitable result of government inefficiency, recalcitrance or sheer refusal to abide by law or logic, is a blatant attempt to convert understandable public concern into overt xenophobia . It is grandstanding masquerading for public policy and must be denounced as such.

Jack Kemp, former Secretary of Housing and Urban Development and the Republican Vice-Presidential Candidate in 1996, has done just that:

H.R. 4437 is so overreaching that it would effectively transform any relative, employer, co-worker, co-congregant or friend of an undocumented immigrant into an "alien smuggler" and a criminal. The legislation's far-reaching "smuggling" provisions go far beyond any common-sense definition of a "smuggler" and include average Americans going about their business. It also inappropriately conscripts the American business community into the U.S. government's immigration police force by requiring burdensome investigative and reporting activities where prospective employees are concerned: <http://www.humaneventsonline.com/article.php?print=yes&id=11112>

3. The maximum period for voluntary departure shrinks from 120 to 60 days. You might not get even that if you cannot pay to post a bond nor prove up hardship to excuse you from such obligation.
4. There is a new ten year statute of limitations for immigration-related crimes.
5. State and local law enforcement can now investigate, arrest and detain, or even transfer to federal custody, any alien in violation of immigration laws. The very population that is most vulnerable to crime, that is most in need of protection, and has the most reason to distrust the police, now has one more reason to keep quiet. Will this make our cities safer?
6. Expedited removal moves inland to lasso any alien arrested within 100 miles of the border up to 14 days after entering the USA and any nonimmigrant visa holder must give up the right to challenge a refusal to admit, regardless of how arbitrary or capricious, save for asylee or refugee claims. Due process is simply too much trouble.
7. The time you must wait after a naturalization interview to take your case to federal court has just been extended from 120 to 180 days. Even then, if you do manage to get to the courthouse, all the judge can do is send your case back down to the CIS with instructions to behave; no longer can the court order an outright grant.
8. The border with Mexico is to be militarized. HR 4437 authorizes two layers of fencing and the installation of additional barriers with priority given to certain high entry sections. One wonders what will happen to

our northern border with Canada and how effective any attempt to seal off thousands of miles will be. Beyond that, the moral position of the USA in the rest of an already suspicious world will be seriously compromised. What are we to tell other countries when they seek to build their walls? What will be the consequences be for our foreign relations with our neighbors, the same neighbors that we are pressing for trade concessions and security cooperation? At a time when the reaction against globalism is in full swing throughout the Western Hemisphere, is this really the time to retreat behind a Fortress America?

Yet, one wonders if there are sections in HR 4437 that may not serve as common ground, small beachheads that can be enlarged with hard work and much good will. At a certain stage of one's life, following small victories and big defeats, you arrive at a place where a decent respect for the opinions of others forces you to admit that some things are true even if James Sensenbrenner believes them to be true. Try these on for size:

1. Congressman JD Hayworth, Republican from Arizona, proposed the elimination of the Family Fourth Preference with all the numbers shifted over to the employment side of the ledger. Predictably, our crowd went nuts. Why? With due appreciation for cultural lifestyle and ethnic diversity, most Americans love their adult siblings, but we do not live with them. The brothers and sisters of US citizens are coming here to work and they should enter on work visas with proper labor market protection. In fact, they would get here much faster this way, thus demonstrating yet again, if this still needed proving, that rhetoric is not reality nor good intentions a satisfactory substitute for sound public policy. The same argument can and must be advanced to support Section 1102 of HR 4437 that, at long last, eliminates the Diversity Lottery, a flawed experiment in social engineering that has no apparent rationale to sustain it.
2. Section 207 of HR 4437 provides that a false claim to US nationality, not just to US citizenship, is a bar to admission. This is yet another example of Congress' dislike for the Ninth Circuit, here a reaction against *U.S. v. Karanoui*, 379 F. 3d 1139, 1140 (9th Cir. 2004) in which the Court held that a noncitizen defendant who had checked off the box on the I-9 form claiming to be a "citizen or national of the United States" had not violated 18 U.S.C. Section 911 ("whoever falsely and willfully represents himself to be a citizen of the United States shall be fined under this title or imprisoned more than three years, or both") on the theory that a claim to US nationality was not a claim to US citizenship. While this is certainly true, it is virtually inconceivable that someone who answers this question in such a manner knows the difference. The concept of owing permanent allegiance to the United States without being a citizen, precisely the definition of "US National", belongs to America's distant imperial past when Cuba, the Philippines, and Puerto Rico fell to Uncle Sam as the spoils of a short but sweetly victorious war with Spain. With such singular exceptions as Micronesia and American Samoa, it is hard to find a US national today, nor did the Ninth Circuit find one. This is a wonderful example of why reliance on a legal technicality defies common sense, so much so that the very integrity of those who hold fast to it cannot help but suffer in the public's perception.
3. Section 219 of HR 4437 directs USCIS to establish a pilot program for backlog reduction within six months. What's not to like?
4. Section 604 of HR 4437 makes it a deportable offense to unlawfully procure citizenship, commit domestic violence, engage in stalking, neglect a child and child abandonment. Unless I have been educated beyond my intelligence, which is certainly possible, it is hard to figure out what is so terrible here.
5. Section 606 of HR 4437 makes the commission of three drunk driving offenses grounds for a one way ticket out of town. For all those who have lost close friends or family to this terrible crime, I fail to understand why Sensenbrenner is wrong. Canada bars anyone with even one DUI and few think of that country as a bastion of reaction. The same can be said for Section 613 which adds sexual abuse of a minor as an aggravated felony. Is defense of antisocial behavior our new badge of intellectual sophistication or civic virtue?
6. Section 1201 would require DHS to notify a foreign government when their citizens naturalize in the United States. Under Section 349 of the Immigration and Nationality Act, and even under HR 4437, continued use of a foreign passport after naturalization is not a basis for loss of US citizenship. It should be. Such conduct



is manifestly inconsistent with the oath of citizenship in which one renounces all other allegiances. Either change the oath or change the law. Doing neither tolerates the kind of hypocrisy that breeds cynicism and undermines respect for law.

Those who condemn Sensenbrenner, even with good reason, must look in the mirror and ask themselves why such harsh measures could have been enacted by Congress in so short a time, while neither the President nor Senators McCain and Kennedy have anything but a big goose egg to show for their efforts over a much longer period. Partly this reflects Sensenbrenner's power in the House itself and his mastery as a parliamentarian, or more aptly stated, the behind the scenes wizardry of Representative Lamar Smith ( R-TX). Yet, there is more to it than this. What is most striking is the extent to which the pro-immigration forces lack reliable and effective lines of communication with the Republican Congressional leadership, particularly in the House of Representatives. Had such an entree existed, the hunger for new revenue streams would have been linked much earlier and much more securely to the need for passage of Section 8001. We will all pay for a failure by the pro-immigration forces, our forces, to adjust to the impact of 9/11 and the fact that the Democrats no longer control Congress. Much of the information we are told by those we think are in the know comes from friendly Democrats who simply are excluded from the meetings and the decisions that count. This must change if the law is to be changed, if HR 4437 is to be blocked in the Senate and future bills like it are to be strangled in their cradle.

So, this leaves us with a choice. We can become reconciled to more and deeper defeats, finding solace in resignation and healing our wounds in the balm of self-righteousness. We can denounce the 'Culture of No' at conferences and dinner parties, secure in the false belief that intellectual superiority is a fair exchange for political impotence. As each new law comes along, we can talk to our natural allies and confer with those who share our values. We can have another emergency campaign and put forward reasons to oppose the latest blow that are both legally justified and morally sound. And we can lose again.

There is another way, a better way. We can do something new, we can enter the arena, we can be more concerned with practical results than ideological purity. We can roll up our sleeves and make painful, dirty, slow progress by compromising with those whom we neither agree with nor respect on non-immigration matters. We can stop treating all opponents as if they were the same, as if their concerns, which are not ours, lack any legitimacy or are not honestly felt or strongly embraced. There are many in the Tancredo camp that we will never reach. They do not want any immigration, legal or illegal. There is no way to reach them nor should we try. They belong in the muck of privilege and prejudice into which we should never descend and from which we can never emerge. Yet, there are others who opposed Section 8001 and voted for HR 4437 who can be reached. Our task is to find out how, to speak to their hearts and to learn a common language whose most honest expression can unite us all. That is the way forward.

There is a price, however, to be paid for coming to terms with reality. Those who favor more immigration must cease and desist from their reflexive opposition to any enforcement measure. There is nothing wrong with enforcement if it is tied to a wider social purpose, if it seeks to facilitate, rather than prevent, immigration that is manifestly in the national interest. That is the true objection to HR 4437, not that it hurts, because enforcement often hurts and frequently should, if it has any teeth. The real problem with Sensenbrenner is that his vision consists of enforcement not to aid policy, but as a substitute for it, not to promote immigration, but to discourage it. More than the aliens themselves, America is the real loser. To change their approach on enforcement, pro-immigration supporters must change their view of immigration itself. If one believes, as most supporters of immigration have always believed, that immigration is international social work whose fundamental justification lies in helping the individual alien, then opposition to enforcement necessarily follows for the burden of such enforcement falls most harshly upon the object of their compassion. It must be so. Only when immigration advocates are primarily concerned with the deployment of immigration as a strategic tool to promote core national objectives will they be intellectually and emotionally capable of deciding what enforcement to embrace and what to resist. This must happen if an enlightened immigration policy can ever hope to regain control of the national

debate and silence Lou Dobbs once and for all. Unless we adopt a more nuanced approach towards enforcement and recognize that new benefits must come with strings attached, ours will remain a minority position in the country at large. Does this make sense? Does it benefit our clients? Does it get us what we want?

The question is not whether enforcement will be front and center in the immigration conversation but, rather, how it will be used and towards what ends. If we who favor immigration do not embrace enforcement and seek to fashion it in our image, then we should not be surprised when our foes shape it in their own. That is precisely what has been happening, and that is one big reason why HR 4437 hurts as much as it does. There are some provisions that deserve our constant condemnation and unremitting hostility; yet, there are others that we should have supported or, at a minimum, sought to modify or moderate. Once you give the American public the distinct impression that only the other side wants to make them safe, even if they are wrong, even if they are only seeking to elicit favorable headlines, you are starting off from a posture of political weakness and playing catch-up is rarely enough to ward off disaster.

For a long time, our side just didn't get it. While they could read the calendar, their hearts and minds were still stuck on September 10, 2001, a time when Congress was poised to revive Section 245(i) forgiveness and abolish the I-9 employer sanctions regime. Finally, about one year ago, they got religion. President Bush put the issue of guest workers center stage and Senator McCain signed on to S.1003, The Secure and Orderly Immigration Act of 2005. Title IV of S. 1003 deals entirely with enforcement, most notably Section 402 that, precisely as HR 4437 does, mandates establishment of an Employment Eligibility Confirmation System to allow employers to verify an employee's identity and employment authorization. Indeed, it would not be too much of an exaggeration to say that the inclusion of enforcement was the price that Sen. Kennedy and his allies paid for having Sen. McCain come on board. There was a hearing on S. 1003 before the Senate Judiciary Committee on July 26, 2005 (I testified at one of the panels for that hearing), but no action after that. Since then, leading conservative pro-immigration advocates, like Tamar Jacoby, have called for a melding of McCain- Kennedy's guest worker provisions with the enforcement mechanism of S. 1438, the so-called "Cornyn-Kyl" Bill, more formally known as the Comprehensive Enforcement and Immigration Reform Act of 2005 whose chief architects are Sen. John Cornyn (R-TX) and Sen. Jon Kyl (R-AZ).

Had McCain-Kennedy been introduced sooner, had the Senate Republican stalemate over immigration been broken, perhaps Rep. Sensenbrenner would not have moved ahead with his own bill, being forced instead to respond to what the Senate had done. There being no Senate action, Rep. Sensenbrenner saw an opening to press his own enforcement agenda and he took it, brilliantly and decisively. His victory in the House may come back to haunt the Republican Party, much as the GOP enactment of national origins quotas in 1924 turned generations of immigrants towards the Democratic banner and as Proposition 187 ultimately derailed the presidential aspirations of California Governor Pete Wilson. Republican stalwart Jack Kemp plays the role of Cassandra:

The so-called Border Protection, Antiterrorism and Illegal Immigration Control Act of 2005 (H.R. 4437)...is so overreaching that, in my opinion, it could become the Proposition 187 of the 21st century...the effect was to drastically alienate Hispanic voters in California from the Republican Party... It's true our borders are broken and the problem is huge, but Republicans have the opportunity today to take the lead on reforms and fix our immigration system. Sending this legislation to the President to be signed is sure to be perceived as anti-immigrant and, indeed, anti-growth: <http://www.humaneventsonline.com/article.php?print=yes&id=1112>.

How many pro-immigration organizations have invited people like Jack Kemp to serve on their boards? How many Executive Directors of pro-immigration groups have served on the campaign committees of Republicans like Kemp, Rep. Jeff Flake (R-AZ) or Rep. Chris Cannon (R-Utah)? Why are there not more Tamar Jacobys out there? I ask these questions as a life-long Democrat whose political baptism came in volunteering for Bobby Kennedy when he ran for the United States Senate in 1964, went "Clean for Gene" in 1968, stayed up till 2Am to hear McGovern's acceptance speech, and who still regards Bush v. Gore as illegitimate. If we want immigration

policy to be bipartisan, as it must be if it is to create a sustainable national consensus grounded on compassion and enlightened self-interest, then immigration advocates must become bipartisan, not a left-leaning interest group most concerned with advancing the election prospects of the Democratic Party. There is nothing wrong with caring about the Democratic Party first and immigration second if one is honest about their intentions and their purpose. Putting either immigration or the Democratic Party first are both equally moral positions. What is immoral is to pretend to be one when secretly being the other. Far too many immigration interest groups will suddenly fall mute if speaking out means that Republicans get the credit. We need honest priorities openly expressed if the national conversation on immigration is to achieve the kind of results we claim we want and which I believe we do want.

We live in a time when civility is a sign of weakness and sincerity is subject to proof. Now, now more than ever, the vital center must hold. It is in the wake of Sensenbrenner's bill that champions of immigration must seek to create a third way that has within its big tent ample room for those Sensenbrenner supporters who realize that America needs an outward looking immigration policy integrated with the global economy and responsive to the manifold challenges of the digital age. For those who prefer the security of ancient hatreds, this will not be a time of opportunity but remain one of bitterness and suspicion. Yet, it can be more than that if we but have the will to chart a new course towards those whose dreams have not been ours. We owe it to our clients and our country to try. Rather than abandoning our beliefs, we must marry our deepest convictions to an abiding concern for America's future. When the German Army invaded Russia in June 1941, Prime Minister Winston Churchill immediately went to the well of the House of Commons to urge all out support for Marshall Josef Stalin. Asked how a lifelong foe of Bolshevism could take such a stand and reach out to those who had always been his most bitter foes, Churchill responded with words that we, who seek to make sense out of Sensenbrenner's bill, would do well to take to heart: " If the Nazis invaded hell, I would say a good word for the Devil in the House of Commons!" Amen, Winston. We are all right behind you.

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### **About The Author**

**Gary Endelman** practices immigration law at BP America Inc. The opinions expressed in this column are purely personal and do not represent the views or beliefs of BP America Inc. in any way.

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Guest Column

## Beyond The Border Buildup: Towards A New Approach To Mexico-US Migration

By Douglas S. Massey for the Immigration Policy Center

### Executive Summary

A proper understanding of the causes of international migration suggests that punitive immigration and border policies tend to backfire, and this is precisely what has happened in the case of the United States and Mexico. Rather than raising the odds that undocumented immigrants will be apprehended, U.S. border-enforcement policies have reduced the apprehension rate to historical lows and in the process helped transform Mexican immigration from a regional to a national phenomenon. The solution to the problems associated with undocumented migration is not open borders, but frontiers that are reasonably regulated on a binational basis.

Among the findings of this report:

- Between 1986 and 2002 the number of Border Patrol officers tripled and the number of hours they spent patrolling the border grew by a factor of around eight.
- The proportion of migrants to the United States crossing at “non-traditional” sectors along the U.S.-Mexico border rose from 29 percent in 1988 to 64 percent in 2002.
- The probability of apprehension along the U.S.-Mexico border fell from about 33 percent during the 1970s and early 1980s, to 20-30 percent in 1993 and 1994, to an all-time low of 5 percent in 2002.
- The cost of making one arrest along the U.S.-Mexico border increased from \$300 in 1992 to \$1,700 in 2002, an increase of 467 percent in just a decade.
- From 1980 to 1992, the cost of hiring a *coyote* (smuggler) averaged around \$400 per crossing, but rose to \$1,200 in 1999 before leveling off.
- The average probability of return migration among Mexican migrants to the United States declined from around 45 percent prior to 1986 to around 25 percent in 2002.
- Between 1986 and 1996, the number of Mexicans being naturalized in the United States increased by a factor of nine.
- After 1990 the rate of Mexican population growth in the United States shifted sharply upward, with the population growing from 7 million in 1997 to around 10 million in 2002 – an increase of 43 percent in just five years.

### Introduction

Before September 11, 2001, President Bush and President Vicente Fox of Mexico appeared to be moving toward an agreement to manage Mexican labor migration by expanding the quota for legal immigrants, creating a reasonable temporary worker program, facilitating the return of migrants and the investment of their dollars in Mexico, and regularizing

the status of undocumented Mexicans in the United States. Unfortunately, the hijackers derailed this negotiation and President Fox was left standing at the border looking northward with his hand extended as President Bush turned his back to launch the War on Terror.

In the end, the United States must learn that national security involves more than toppling ruthless dictators in distant lands. It also requires attending to the political stability and economic security of a country of 100 million people with whom we share a 2,000-mile border. The administration's inattention to migration in the context of North American integration has undermined the stature and standing of Mexico's first democratically elected President in 70 years; and every day that passes without a labor agreement makes it more difficult for Mexico to realize its full potential for economic growth.

Rather than accepting immigration as a logical consequence of America's dominant position at the core of a global market economy, U.S. political leaders have enacted repressive unilateral policies that seek to create the impression that immigration is not occurring, that U.S. borders are "under control," and that U.S. citizens are protected from the presumed ill effects of immigrants. In fact, such policies achieve the opposite: immigration continues, but in a way that undermines the status and welfare of U.S. residents and immigrants alike.

Indeed, a proper understanding of the causes of international migration suggests that punitive immigration and border policies tend to backfire, and this is precisely what has happened in the case of the United States and Mexico. Rather than raising the odds that undocumented immigrants will be apprehended, U.S. border-enforcement policies have reduced the apprehension rate to historical lows and in the process helped transform Mexican immigration from a regional to a national phenomenon. Rather than discouraging Mexicans from coming, these policies have induced millions of legal immigrants to become U.S. citizens, thereby allowing them to petition for the entry of relatives under U.S. immigration law. The net result has been an unprecedented increase in the number of Mexicans living north of the border.

### **Buildup at the Border**

In 1986 the United States embarked on a determined effort to restrict Mexican immigration and tighten border enforcement. The arrival of this new era was heralded by passage of the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) in October of that year, which decisively expanded funding for the U.S. Border Patrol. The renewed effort at border enforcement intensified around 1994, just as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) took effect and promoted greater integration of the Mexican and U.S. economies. During the 1980s, border control was framed by U.S. politicians as an issue of "national security" and illegal migration was portrayed as an "alien invasion." Between 1986 and 1996, Congress and the President undertook a remarkable series of restrictive actions to reassure citizens that they were working hard to "regain control" of the Mexico-U.S. border.<sup>[1]</sup>

Despite expectations that IRCA would somehow slow unsanctioned Mexican migration, both legal and illegal immigration from Mexico continued to rise, and Congress returned to the drawing board in 1990 to pass another revision of U.S. immigration law. This legislation focused strongly on border control and authorized even more funds for the hiring of additional Border Patrol officers. Early in the Clinton administration (1993-94), the agency developed a new border-enforcement strategy that took full advantage of this increased funding. Known as "prevention through deterrence," the strategy aimed to prevent Mexicans from crossing the border in key sectors in order to avoid having to deport them later.<sup>[2]</sup> The strategy originated in September of 1993, when the Border Patrol Chief in El Paso, Texas, launched *Operation Blockade* – an all-out effort to prevent illegal border-crossing within the El Paso sector. Within a few months, immigrants had been induced to go around the imposing wall of enforcement, and traffic through El Paso itself was reduced to a trickle.

Officials in Washington took note of the favorable outcome in El Paso and incorporated this approach into the Border Patrol's national strategic plan for 1994. In October of that year, a second mobilization was authorized for the busiest sector of the border: San Diego, California. *Operation Gatekeeper* installed high-intensity floodlights to illuminate the border day and night and built an eight-foot high steel fence along 14 miles of border from the Pacific Ocean to the foothills of the Coastal Range.

<sup>[3]</sup> Border Patrol officers were stationed every few hundred yards behind this formidable steel wall, and a new array of sophisticated hardware was deployed in the no-man's-land it faced.<sup>[4]</sup>

This buildup of enforcement resources was further accelerated by Congress when it passed the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 (IIRIRA). Once again, the legislation focused heavily on deterrence, authorizing funds for the construction of two additional layers of fencing in San Diego and enacting tougher penalties for smugglers, undocumented migrants, and visa over-stayers. It also included funding for the purchase of new military technology and provided funds for hiring 1,000 Border Patrol agents a year through 2001 to bring the total strength of the Border Patrol up to

10,000 officers.<sup>[5]</sup>

The effect of these successive policy actions on border enforcement is illustrated in Figure 1, which shows increases relative to 1986 in the budget of the Border Patrol and the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), now Citizenship and Immigration Services (CIS) of the Department of Homeland Security. In 1986, the INS budget stood at just \$474 million and that of the Border Patrol was \$151 million. IRCA began the acceleration of funding for border enforcement, but it was the innovation of border blockades in 1993 that really opened the spigot of money. By 2002 the Border Patrol's budget had reached \$1.6 billion and that of the INS stood a \$6.2 billion, ten and thirteen times their 1986 values, respectively. With this additional revenue, more Border Patrol officers were hired, as shown in Figure 2. Between 1986 and 2002 the number of Border Patrol officers tripled and the number of hours they spent patrolling the border ("linewatch" hours) grew by a factor of around eight.

Figure 1:

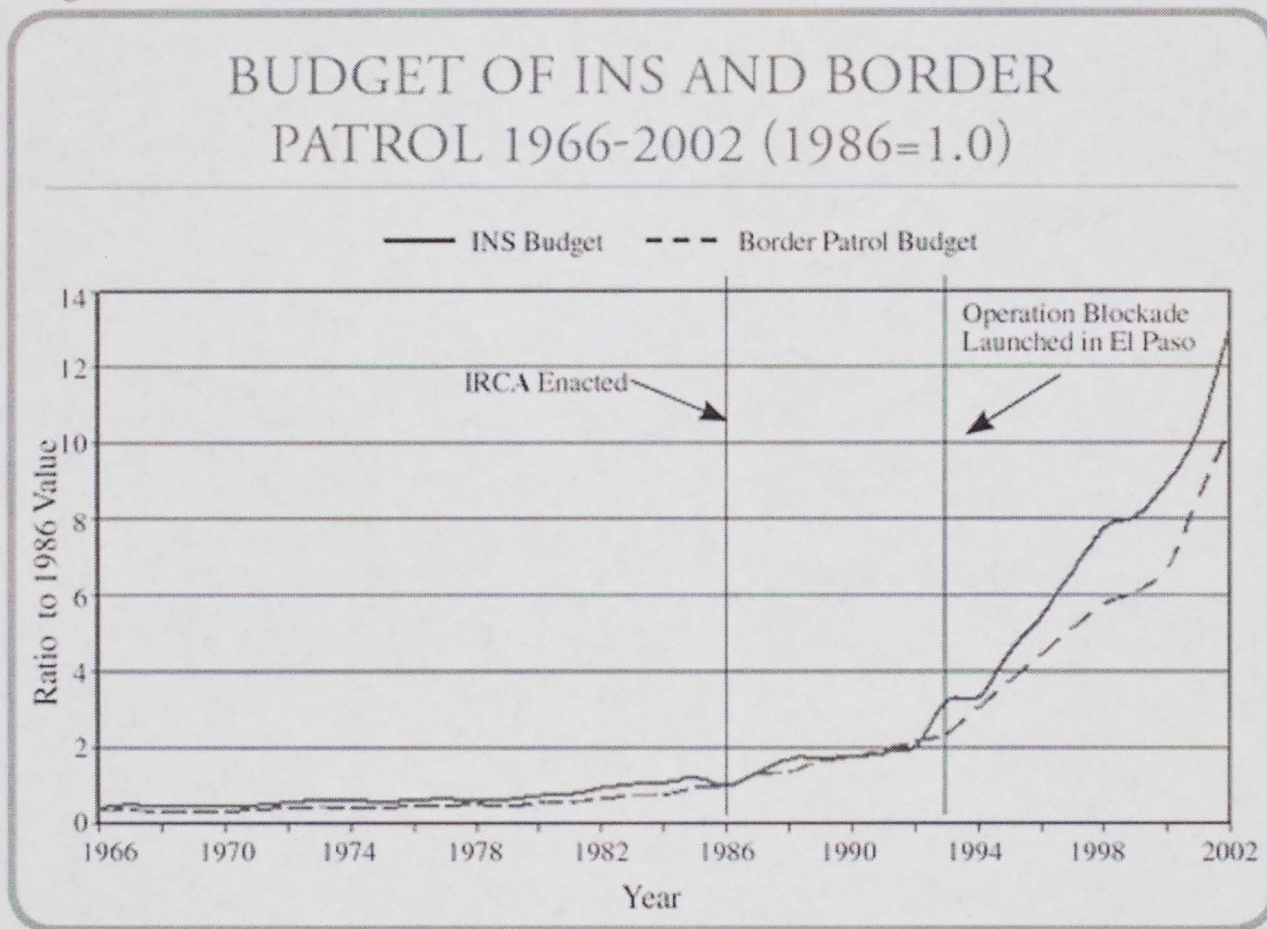
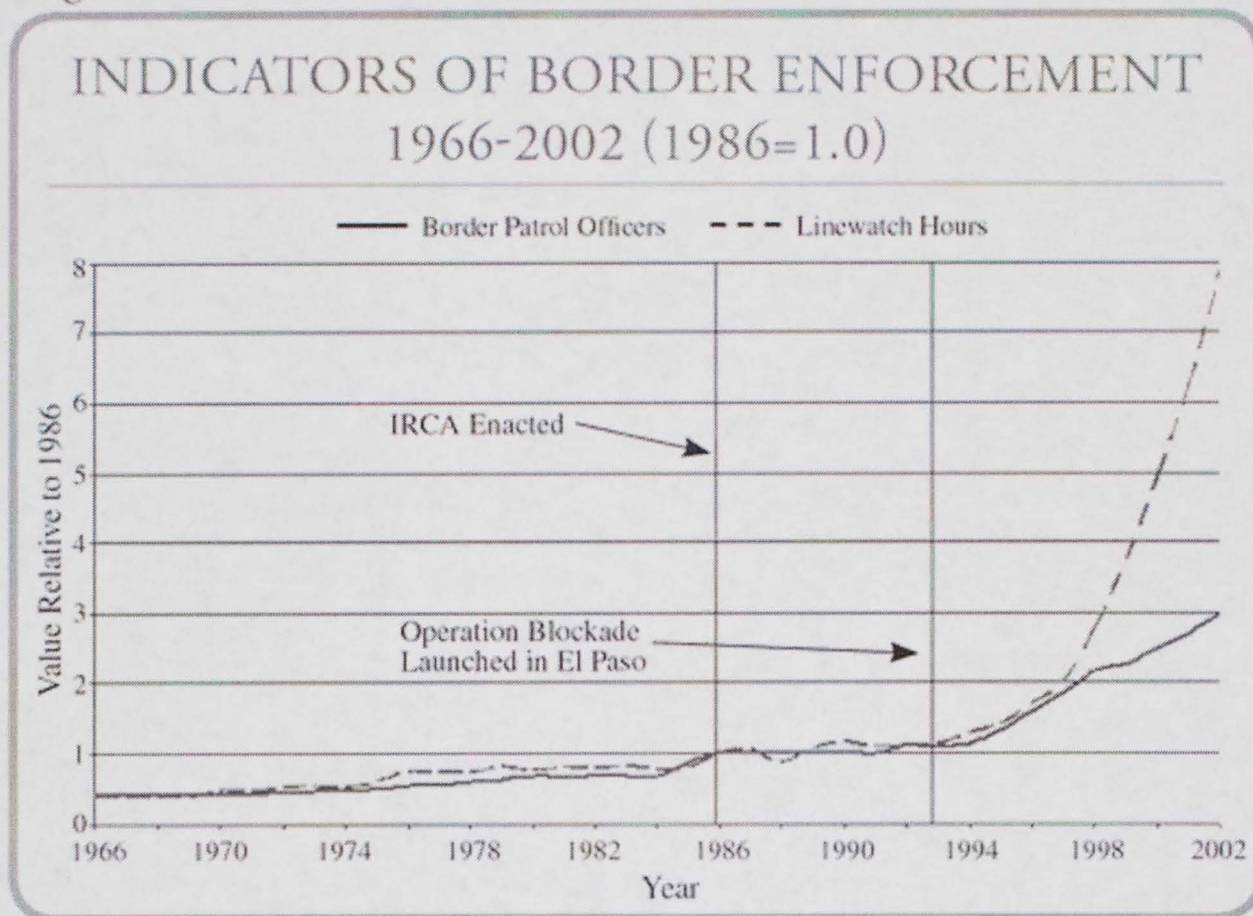


Figure 2:



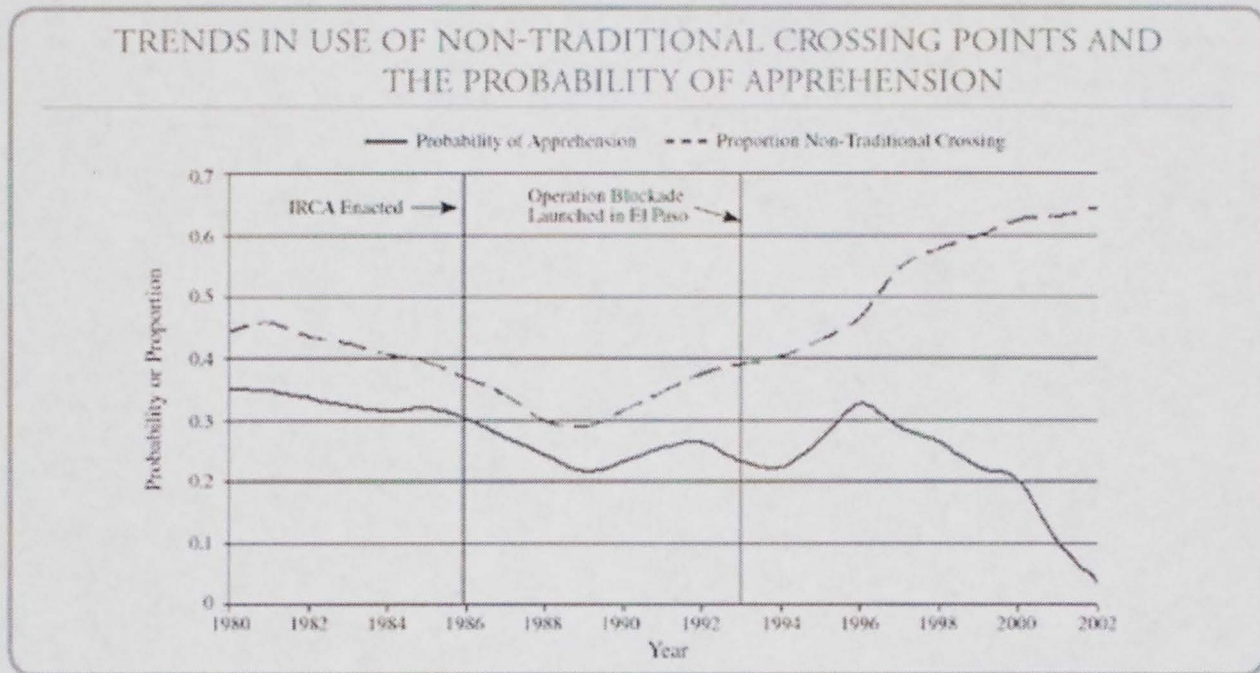
### Border Enforcement Backfires

The fundamental weakness of blockading particular sectors of the Mexican border is that there are always other, less-defended sectors within which to cross. The mobilization of enforcement resources in El Paso and San Diego simply diverted the flow of migrants into Arizona, causing U.S. authorities to launch new blockades there, which in turn channeled the flow into New Mexico and the Rio Grande Valley of Texas, bringing about a mobilization of enforcement resources in those sectors. However, the border is 2,000 miles long and systematically blockading this entire length in the manner of San Diego or El Paso is prohibitively expensive.<sup>[6]</sup>

Ultimately, the net effect of the border blockades has been to push undocumented Mexican migrants into crossing at more remote and less accessible locations in mountains, deserts, and untamed sections of the Rio Grande River. The tragic result for undocumented migrants has been a tripling of their death rate during entry.<sup>[7]</sup> But if migrants are more likely to die while crossing remote sectors of the border, they are also less likely to be caught, and a little-known consequence of U.S. border-enforcement policy has been that it has *decreased* the odds that undocumented Mexican migrants are apprehended while attempting to enter the United States.

Figure 3 draws upon data from the Mexican Migration Project (MMP) at Princeton University and the University of Guadalajara to show trends in the location of border-crossing and the probability of apprehension among undocumented Mexicans from 1980 to 2002, the latest year for which reliable estimates are available. From 1980 through 1987, the proportion of migrants crossing in either Tijuana-San Diego or Juarez-El Paso increased. By 1988 around 70 percent of all border crossings occurred within these two "traditional" sectors. The militarization of the border begun by IRCA in 1986 was naturally targeted to these high-volume points of entry, a tendency that was amplified beginning in 1993-1994 with the launching of blockade operations. As a result, the proportion of migrants crossing at "non-traditional" sectors along the border has steadily risen from 29 percent in 1988 to 64 percent in 2002. Obviously, undocumented migrants are simply going around hardened sectors of the border.

Figure 3:

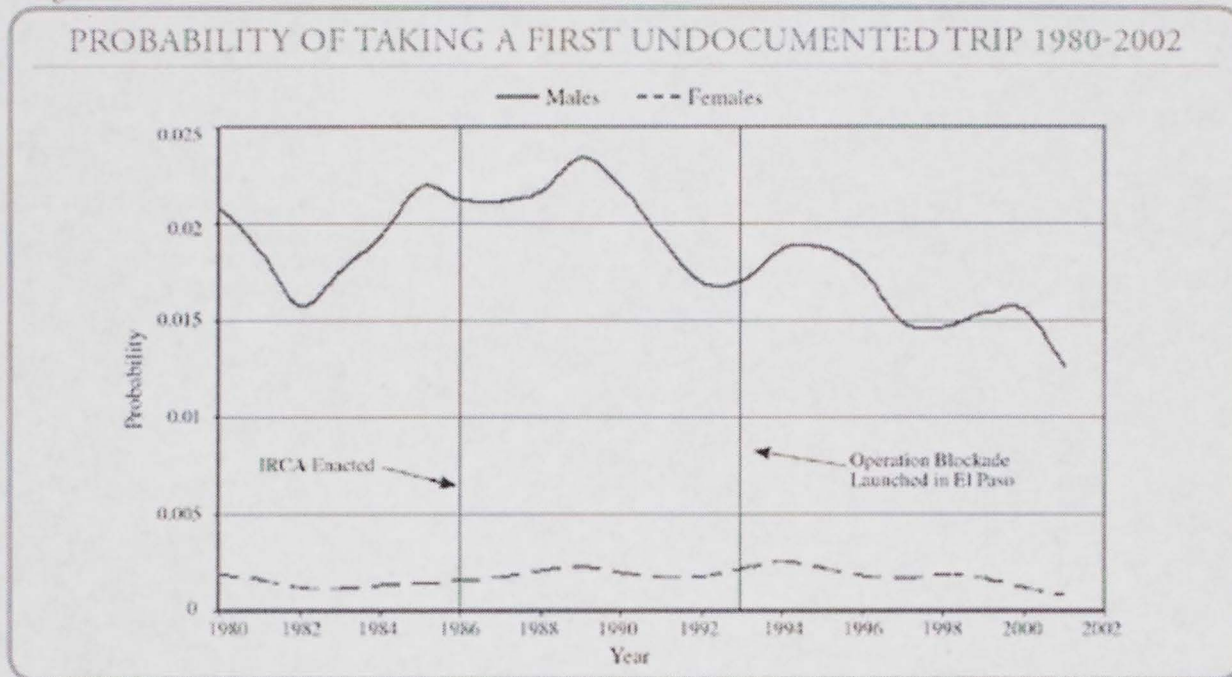


Through the 1970s and early 1980s, the probability of apprehension along the border was relatively steady and averaged about 33 percent: roughly one third of attempted entries led to an apprehension. Thereafter, however, the probability of apprehension fell into the 20-30 percent range and following the implementation of operations Blockade and Gatekeeper in 1993 and 1994, the likelihood of arrest plummeted. By 2002 the probability of apprehension had reached an all-time low of just 5 percent! Rather than increasing the odds of apprehension, U.S. border policies have reduced them to record lows.

Given this fact, it is not surprising that U.S. border-enforcement policies have had little detectable effect in deterring undocumented migrants from leaving for the United States in the first place. Figure 4 uses MMP data to compute the probability that Mexican men and women took a first trip to the United States from 1980 onward. There is little evidence in either series that the border buildup has dissuaded undocumented Mexicans from heading northward. There is considerable variation in the trend for males, whose probabilities of first undocumented migration fluctuate between .015 and .025, with variations being closely tied to economic conditions on both sides of the border.<sup>[8]</sup> Although the likelihood of female migration is much lower, the trend is virtually flat. Available data thus indicate that the inflow of undocumented Mexican immigrants continues apace, but that once at the border the odds of being apprehended are much lower. As a result, more undocumented migrants are gaining entry to the United States than ever before.



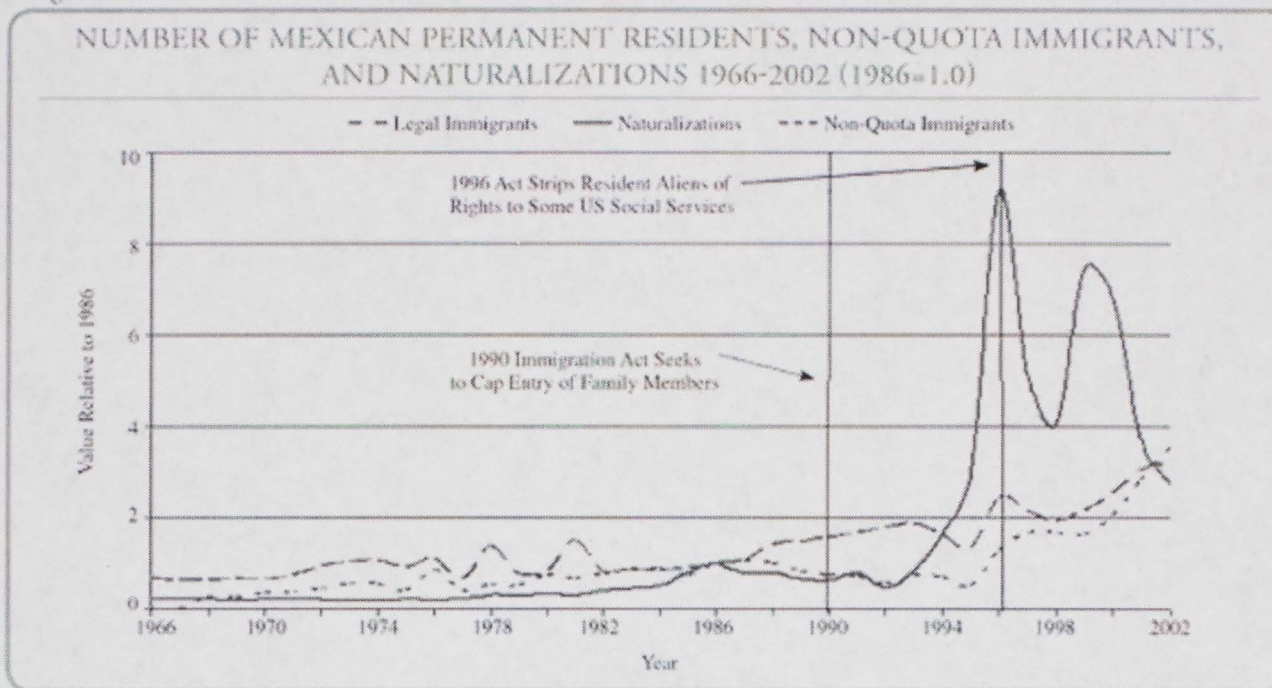
Figure 4:



### Crackdown on *Legal* Immigrants Backfires

Over the same time period as the border-enforcement buildup, legal immigration from Mexico has also grown, despite measures enacted by Congress to make it more difficult to qualify for documents and to reduce the rights and privileges of legal immigrants once they are here. Figure 5 shows trends in legal immigration from Mexico using official statistics. In response to an anti-immigrant backlash in the early 1990s, Congress in 1996 barred lawful permanent residents (LPRs) from receiving federally-supported public benefits and financial assistance. This action dramatically increased the incentives for naturalization among LPRs. Moreover, at about the same time, Mexico enacted a new policy of allowing dual nationality, permitting those who naturalize in the United States to retain their Mexican citizenship. Both events occurred just as the 2.3 million Mexicans who legalized under IRCA between 1988 and 1990 became eligible to apply for U.S. citizenship (following five years as LPRs).

Figure 5:



The end result was predictable: a huge and unprecedented surge in the number of Mexicans naturalizing to U.S. citizenship. As Figure 5 shows, between 1986 and 1996, the number of Mexicans being naturalized increased by a factor of nine. This surge in naturalizations fell in 1997 as the cohort of Mexicans legalized under IRCA passed and the INS bureaucracy staggered under the administrative load. Administrative reforms reduced INS backlogs in 1998, however, and the number of Mexicans acquiring citizenship once again mushroomed to nearly seven times its 1986 level. Although the latest data show declines in the years 2001 and 2002, the rate of naturalization among Mexicans is still running at three times its 1986 level.

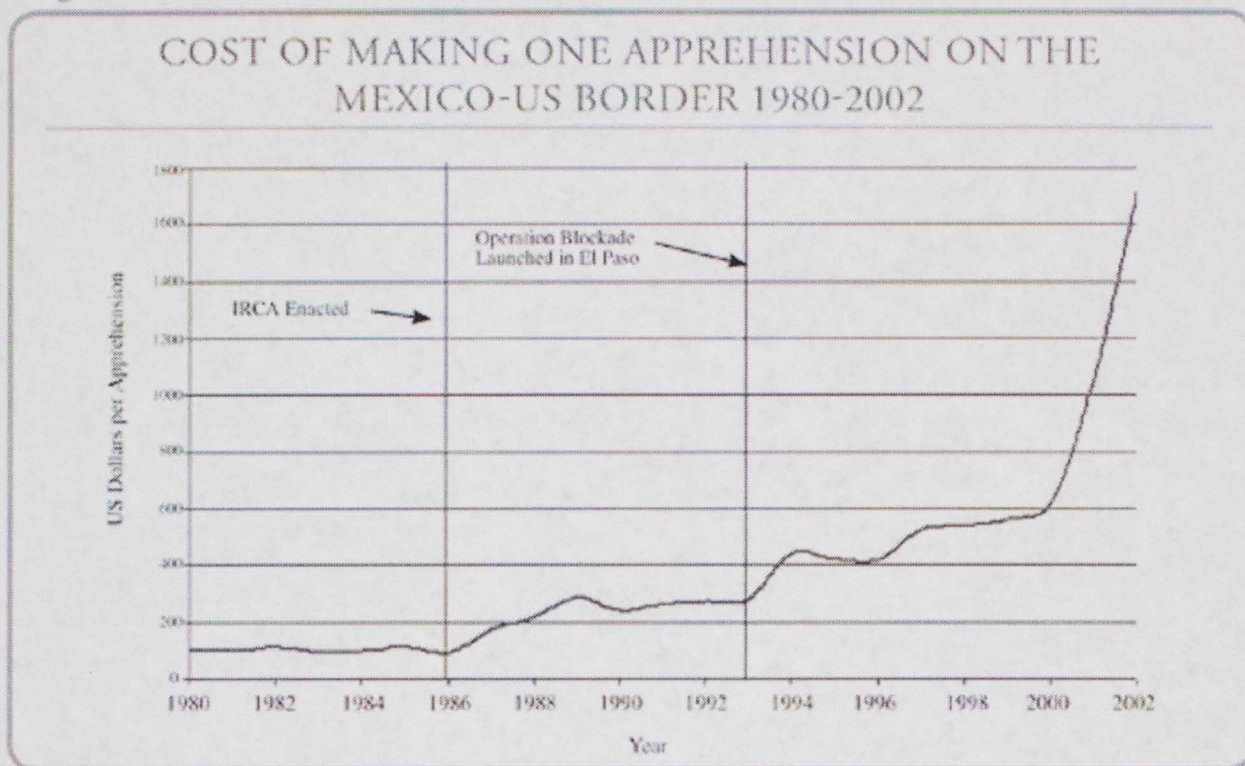
If by stripping legal immigrants of social rights Congress sought to discourage legal immigration from Mexico, the effort backfired. In fact, it encouraged millions of Mexicans who otherwise would have happily remained in LPR status to apply for U.S. citizenship, the acquisition of which in turn increased the rate of legal immigration. Although LPRs have the right to petition for the legal entry of their spouses and minor children, these visas are limited in number and immigrants must wait in line, typically for many years in countries such as Mexico, where the quota of numerically limited visas is perennially filled. Once an LPR becomes a U.S. citizen, however, spouses and minor children, as well as parents, are entitled to enter *outside the quotas*, not subject to any numerical limitation whatsoever. In addition, U.S. citizens acquire the right to sponsor the entry of brothers and sisters as well as older, married children and their spouses, though these categories are subject to numerical limitations.

In short, each person who becomes a U.S. citizen acquires new and powerful rights under U.S. immigration law to sponsor the entry of relatives, many of whom are not subject to numerical limitations. Each naturalization thus creates the potential for more immigration in the future. By taking rights away from LPRs, Congress pushed Mexicans decisively toward naturalization and therefore *guaranteed* the acceleration of legal immigration from Mexico. The dashed line in Figure 5 shows a “bump” in legal entries corresponding to the surge in naturalizations during 1996 and a steady increase thereafter. By 2002, legal immigration was running at more than three times its 1986 level. Reflecting the increased sponsorship of entries by U.S. citizens rather than LPRs, the number of “non-quota” immigrants not subject to numerical limitations also began to grow rapidly in 1994 and accelerated markedly after 1996. By 2002 it was approaching four times its 1986 level.

### The Costs of Misguided Policies

Although the size of the Border Patrol budget increased by a factor of 10 between 1986 and 2002, and the number of Border Patrol Agents tripled, more Mexican immigrants – both documented and undocumented – are arriving than ever before. The combination of huge budget increases with rising immigration rates suggests a marked deterioration in the efficiency of U.S. border enforcement. American taxpayers are spending far, far more to achieve much less in the way of deterrence and relatively fewer arrests along the border. This hypothesis is confirmed by the data in Figure 6, which divides the Border Patrol’s annual budget by the number of apprehensions achieved along the Mexico-U.S. border, expressing the average cost of arresting one undocumented Mexican migrant.

Figure 6:



Before 1986 the cost of one apprehension was roughly constant at around \$100 per arrest. Beginning with the passage of IRCA in 1986, however, the cost of enforcement began to rise, tripling to around \$300 per arrest in 1989 before stabilizing for a time. Beginning with the launching of operations Blockade and Gatekeeper in 1993 and 1994, however, the cost of making one arrest immediately jumped to more than \$400 and then gradually increased to \$600 in 1999. The events of September 11, 2001, brought another huge infusion of resources to the Border Patrol that was in no way connected to the threat of either terrorism or undocumented migration emanating from south of the border. The cost of an apprehension then skyrocketed. Whereas the cost of making one arrest along the border stood at just \$300 in 1992, ten years later it reached \$1,700, an increase of 467 percent in just a decade.

If this increase in the cost of enforcement, expensive as it was, had slowed the flow of undocumented immigrants, then one might consider it money well spent. But as we have seen, in 2002 the probability of apprehension was lower than at any point in the modern history of Mexico-U.S. migration and the number of Mexicans entering the United States was greater than ever. Whatever one thinks about the goal of reducing migration from Mexico, U.S. policies have clearly failed, and at great cost to U.S. taxpayers. The money allocated to border enforcement since 1986 has been a complete and total waste of billions of dollars.

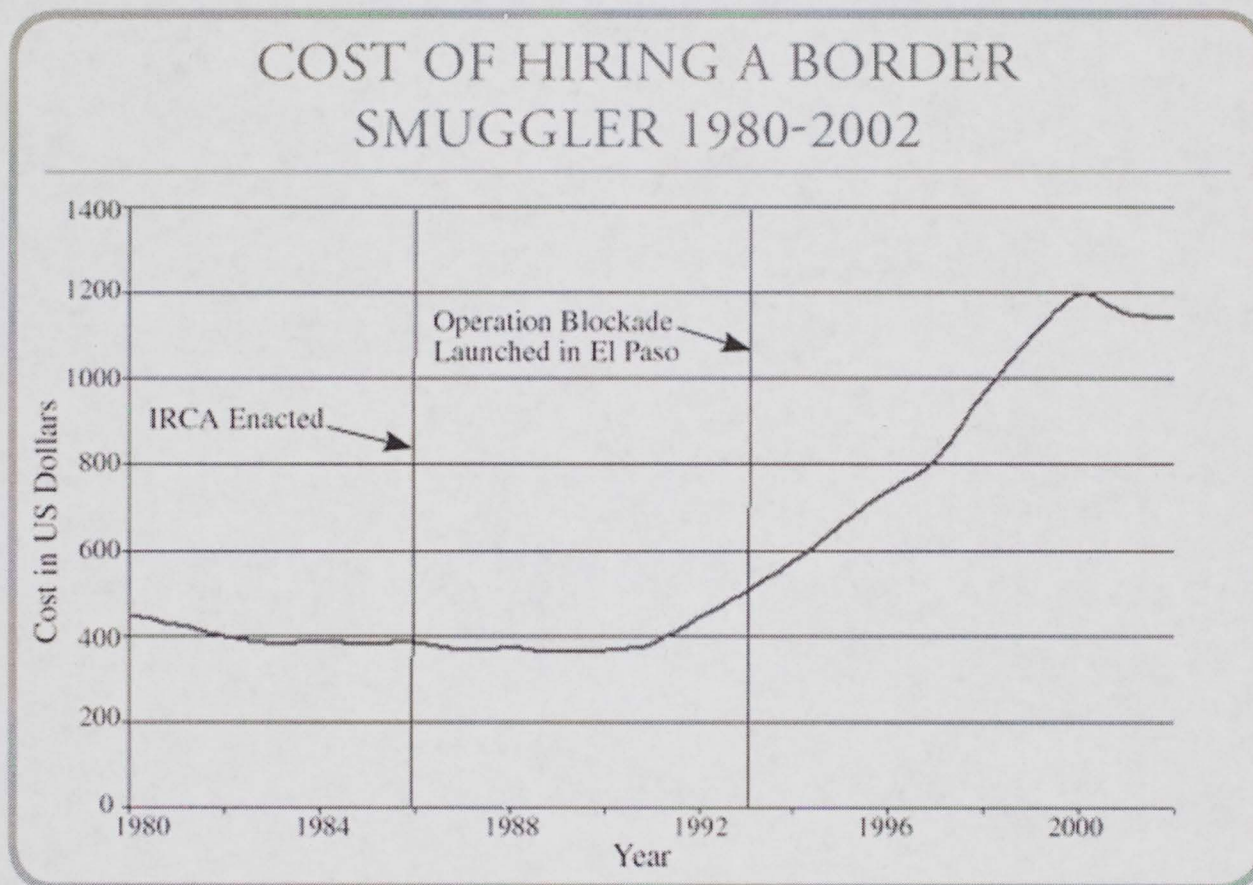
Data presented so far have shown that, despite massive increases in border enforcement and congressional actions undertaken to discourage legal immigration, the number of legal and illegal entries from Mexico has continued to grow, implying the waste of billions of dollars (not to mention hundreds of lives) in the futile effort to prevent the movement of labor within a rapidly integrating North American economy. As grim as this assessment may be, it gets worse. Not only have U.S. policies failed to reduce the inflow of people from Mexico, they have perversely reduced the outflow of people back to Mexico and thus produced an unprecedented increase in the population of the United States. America's unilateral effort to prevent a decades-old pattern of migration from continuing has paradoxically transformed a circular flow of Mexican workers into a settled population of families and dependents in the United States.

Rather than electing not to enter the United States without inspection, undocumented immigrants quite rationally invested more money to minimize the risks and maximize the odds of a successful border crossing. As U.S. authorities deployed a more formidable array of personnel and materiel at key points along the border, smugglers on the Mexican side simply upgraded the package of services they offered. Smugglers used to simply accompany small parties of undocumented

migrants on foot across well-trod pathways from Tijuana to San Diego and deliver them to some urban setting. Now they had to transport people to remote sectors of the border, guide them across, and transfer them on the other side to other personnel who would arrange transport to destinations throughout the United States.

The net effect of U.S. policies, in other words, was to increase the quality and price of border-smuggling services. After the various blockades were launched, undocumented migrants faced rising out-of-pocket costs to ensure a successful border crossing. The extent of this increase is indicated by Figure 7, which shows the average amount that undocumented migrants paid someone to smuggle them into the United States by year. From 1980 to 1992, the cost of hiring a *coyote* or *pollero* (as smugglers are colloquially labeled) was relatively flat, averaging around \$400 per crossing. With the launching of the new strategy of prevention through deterrence in 1993, however, the cost of purchasing a smuggler's services rose to around \$1,200 in 1999 before leveling off.

Figure 7:

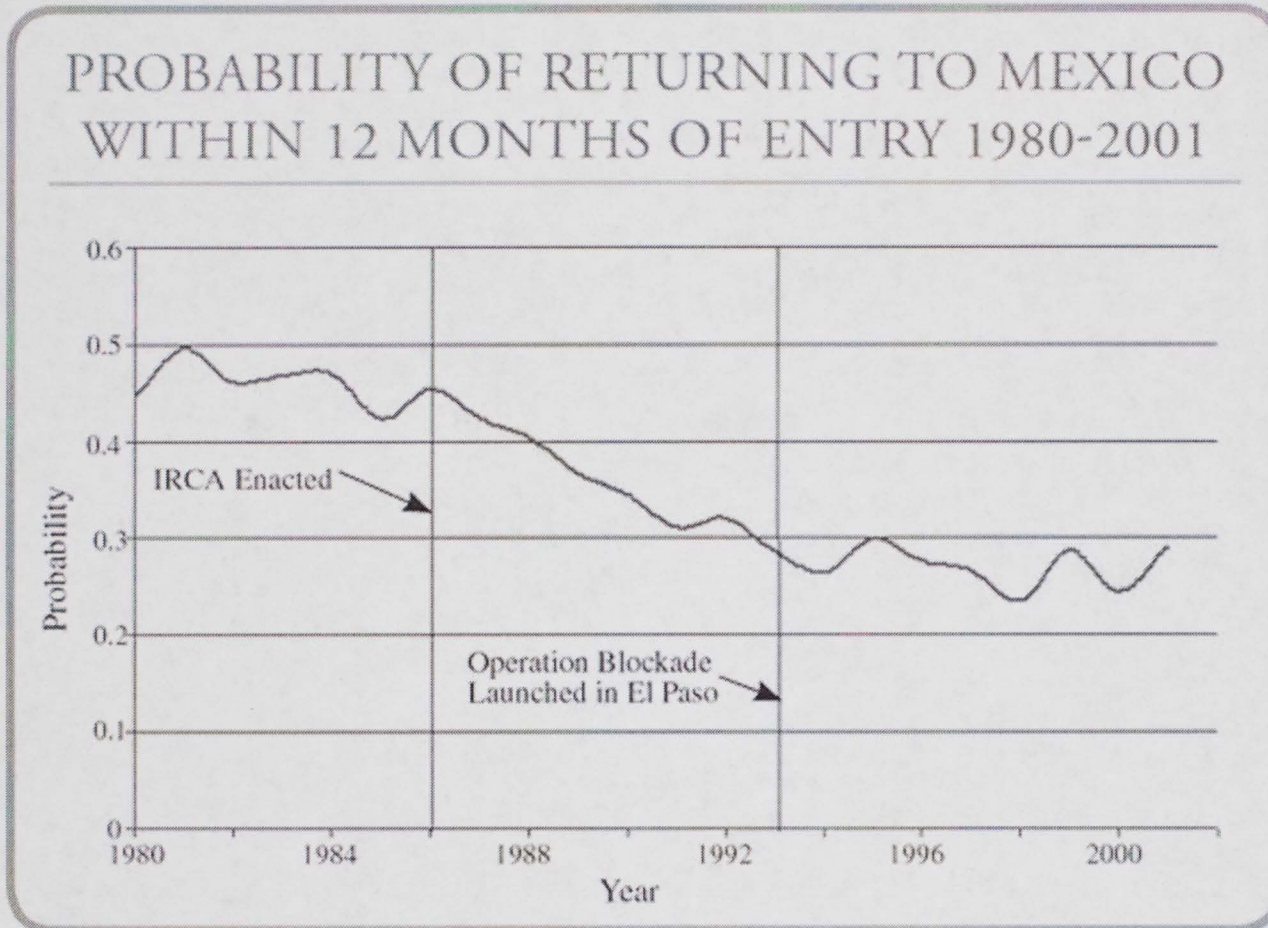


In other words, compared to 1990 and prior years, by 2000 it cost undocumented migrants three times as much to gain entry to the United States. If the first order of business on any trip to the United States is to recover this cost, then holding constant the rate of remuneration and hours worked per week, the trip would have to be three times as long. Although militarizing the border may not have reduced the inflow, it did substantially increase the length of trips and thereby reduced the outflow back to Mexico.

Another way of viewing the increase in trip lengths is in terms of a decline in the probability of return: fewer migrants return within one year of their original entry. This fact is illustrated in Figure 8, which uses MMP data to compute the probability of returning to Mexico within 12 months of entry. As can be seen, before IRCA the annual likelihood of return migration fluctuated between 40 percent and 50 percent with no clear trend. After 1986, however, we observe a steady, sustained decline in the likelihood of return migration, which bottoms out at 24 percent in 1996 and begins to oscillate. Roughly speaking, the average probability of return migration goes from around 45 percent before IRCA to around 25 percent today. If 1,000 migrants were to enter the United States each year at the former rate, 950 or 95 percent would be back in Mexico within five years and the average length of trip would be 1.7 years. At the latter rate, of 1,000 migrants who entered the

United States within a given year, only 763 or 76 percent would have returned to Mexico within five years and the average trip duration would have grown to 3.5 years.

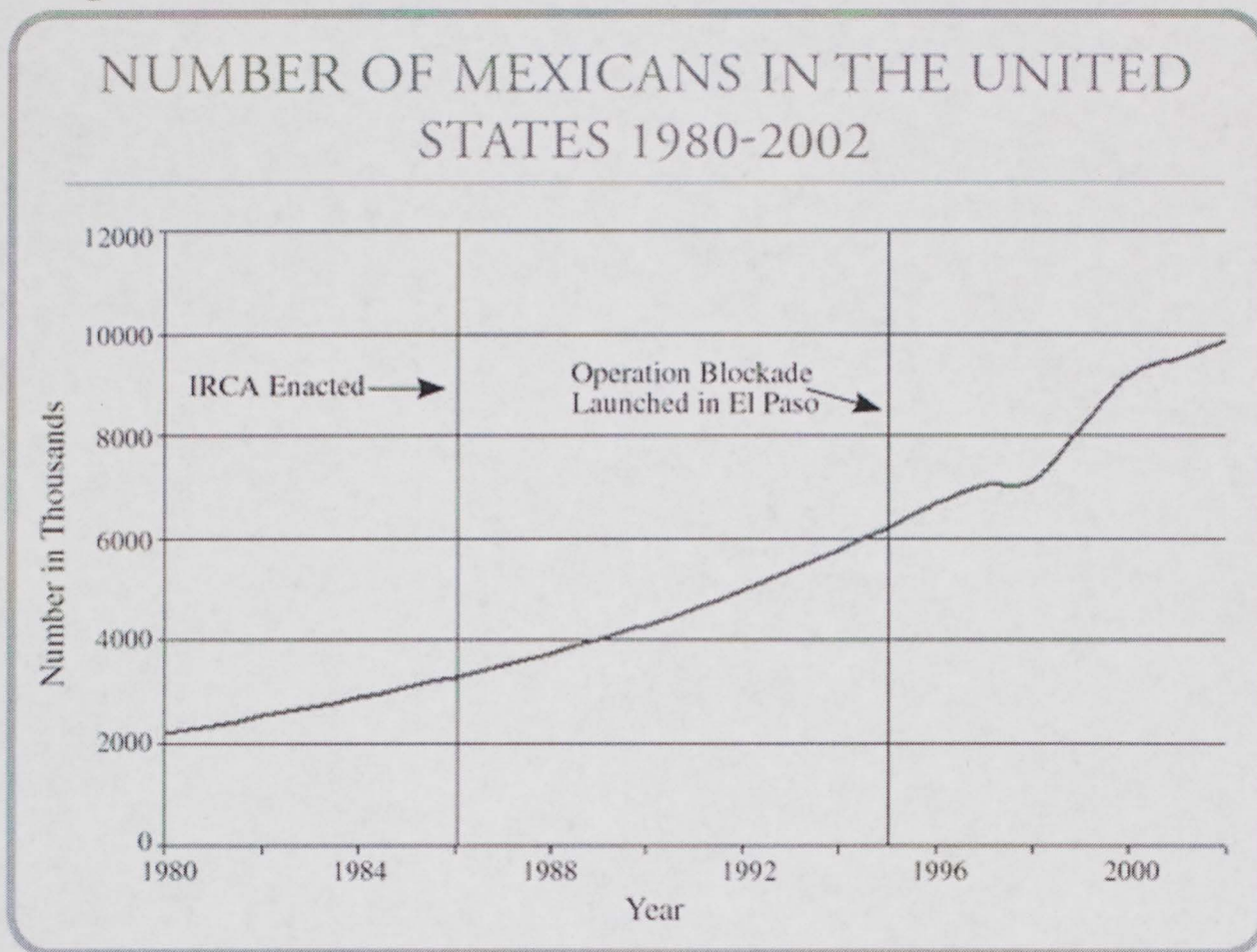
Figure 8:



If the number of undocumented Mexicans entering the United States each year after 1986 remained constant or was increasing, as the evidence suggests, and the probability of return migration was simultaneously falling, then only one outcome is possible: a sharp increase in the size of the undocumented population living in the United States at any point in time. In demographic terms, if the number of entries to a population persists or grows while the number of exits falls, it can only grow.

The growth in the size of the Mexican population of the United States as recorded by the U.S. Census Bureau is shown in Figure 9. From 1980 through the mid 1990s, the Mexican population of the United States grew at a steady if rapid rate, roughly tripling in the 15 years from 1980 to 1995. After 1990 the rate of Mexican population growth shifts sharply upward, with the population growing from 7 million in 1997 to around 10 million in 2002 – an increase of 43 percent in just five years. After results from the 2000 Census were published, it was evident that Hispanics had overtaken blacks to become the nation's largest minority far earlier than most demographers had predicted.

Figure 9:



### A New Approach to Mexican Immigration

The solution to the problems associated with undocumented migration is not open borders, but frontiers that are reasonably regulated on a binational basis. Under current U.S. immigration law, all countries are allotted the same quota of 20,000 legal immigrants per year, no matter what their size or relationship to the United States. Thus, our largest and closest neighbor and most important trading partner has the same limited access to U.S. visas as Botswana, Nepal, and Paraguay. A more realistic policy would recognize Mexico's unique status by increasing the annual immigrant quota, establishing a flexible temporary labor program, and regularizing the status of those already here. By bringing the flow of immigrants above board, we would mitigate the downward pressures on wages and working conditions in the United States while raising tax revenues that could be used to offset the costs of immigration and to assist Mexico in overcoming the market failures that motivate so many people to move north of the border.

Specifically, I propose that the United States create a new category of temporary visa that permits the bearer to enter, live, and work in the country without restriction for two years, with an option for renewal once in the lifetime of the migrant, but only after he or she has returned home. The visas would be issued to persons and not tied to specific jobs. Such a program would guarantee the rights of temporary migrants, protect the interests of American workers, and satisfy the demands of employers by moving toward a relatively free and open North American labor market.

I would make these new visas generously available to residents of Canada and Mexico. If 300,000 two-year visas were issued annually, there would be 600,000 temporary migrants working in the United States at any time, a small share of the U.S. workforce but a large fraction of undocumented migrants. Moreover, I would charge a \$400 fee to migrants for each visa issued, to be paid up front in cash or in low-interest installments from the migrant's U.S. earnings. This money could be used for the benefit of the migrants themselves, in ways described below. The data presented above indicate that migrants are perfectly willing to pay this amount to gain entry to the United States, but up until now the money has gone into the pockets of border smugglers rather than toward more beneficial purposes. A \$400 fee paid by 300,000 temporary migrants per year would yield annual revenues of \$120 million.

As an additional source of revenue, the government could earmark federal taxes (Social Security, Medicare, and income taxes) withheld from the paychecks of temporary migrants for immigration-related initiatives. If 600,000 temporary migrants were to earn annual incomes of just \$15,000 and have taxes withheld at a rate of only 25 percent, the annual revenues would be \$225 million per year. Additional revenues could be raised by drastically reducing the personnel and resources devoted to border enforcement. There is no evidence whatsoever that the costly militarization of the U.S. border has raised the odds of apprehension or prevented the entry of undocumented immigrants, but the human costs in terms of injury and death have been great. The Border Patrol would be equally effective, more efficient, and violate fewer human rights with a smaller number of officers assigned to the border.

In addition to reducing the size of the Border Patrol, I would redeploy its enforcement effort from the border to the interior of the United States, targeting regions of the country and economic sectors known to employ immigrant workers. Rather than focusing on the identification and apprehension of undocumented immigrants, however, worksite inspections would vigorously enforce U.S. tax, labor, environmental, and occupational health and safety laws, eliminating many of the incentives for employing undocumented immigrants and ensuring that employers are deducting taxes to finance immigration initiatives. It is essential that employers be held responsible for violations, even if workers are hired through a labor subcontractor.

With revenues from visa fees and tax withholding from temporary migrants, the United States would join with Mexican authorities to establish a binational insurance program that allows all migrants to purchase low-cost insurance for a variety of purposes, giving them a means of risk management other than migration. The revenues would also be used to establish a binational agency for economic development that would make matching grants to Mexican communities for the construction or improvement of local infrastructure. Such an agency would offer migrants a way of multiplying the positive benefits of their remittances back to Mexico (currently on the order of \$20 billion per year) by pooling them for local development initiatives and doubling them dollar for dollar. Migrant-generated revenues would also be used to create a migrant savings bank that pays dollar depositors above-market interest rates as a means of attracting earnings back to Mexico, and would make low-interest loans to individuals and families for both production and consumption, using revenues from visa fees and tax withholding to finance the subsidies.

It is also imperative to increase the number of permanent resident visas available to Mexicans to 100,000 per year. The current quota of 20,000 visas for a nation to which we are so closely bound by history, geography, and treaty is absurdly low, yielding excessively long waiting times for many legally qualified immigrants and virtually guaranteeing undocumented migration. At the same time, however, I would eliminate the preference category that confers rights of entry on brothers and sisters of U.S. citizens. This is an unnecessary provision that bears more responsibility than any other feature of U.S. immigration law for reinforcing the process of chain migration that propels so much immigration from Mexico.

## Conclusion

The foregoing actions go well beyond what President Bush proposed in his January 7, 2004, speech on immigration reform, but are not so distant from reforms broached by senators and representatives in the wake of his announcement. If enacted, these policy reforms will not eliminate undocumented immigration from Mexico, of course, nor solve all of the problems associated with it. They will, however, reverse the deleterious consequences of our current policies by eliminating the black market in immigrant labor, minimizing the long-term settlement of Mexican immigrants, encouraging the repatriation of capital and people to Mexico, promoting economic growth within migrant-sending communities, and overcoming the prevailing weaknesses in Mexican capital, credit, and insurance markets.

In the short run, the disruptions that follow from the consolidation of the North American market will continue to produce migrants to the United States. But long-term economic growth and development within Mexico will gradually eliminate most of the incentives for international migration. We should not seek to stamp out the inevitable migratory flows, but move North America toward a more balanced economy in which fewer Mexicans will experience the need to migrate northward.

NOTE: Portions of this report, along with a discussion of U.S. trade policies, were published in *Backfire at the Border: Why Enforcement without Legalization Cannot Stop Illegal Immigration*. Washington, DC: Cato Institute Center for Trade Policy Studies, June 13, 2005.

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## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> Peter Andreas, *Border Games: Policing the U.S.-Mexico Divide*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Joseph Nevins, *Operation Gatekeeper: The Rise of the 'Illegal Alien' and the Remaking of the U.S.-Mexico Boundary*. New York: Routledge, 2002.

<sup>4</sup> Timothy J. Dunn, *The Militarization of the U.S.-Mexico Border 1978-1992: Low Intensity Conflict Comes Home*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996.

<sup>5</sup> Joseph Nevins, *Operation Gatekeeper: The Rise of the 'Illegal Alien' and the Remaking of the U.S.-Mexico Boundary*. New York: Routledge, 2002.

<sup>6</sup> Jason Ackleson, "Fencing in Failure: Effective Border Control is Not Achieved by Building More Fences," *Immigration Policy IN FOCUS* 4(2). Washington, DC: Immigration Policy Center, American Immigration Law Foundation, April 2005.

<sup>7</sup> Douglas S. Massey, Jorge Durand & Nolan J. Malone, *Beyond Smoke and Mirrors: Mexican Immigration in an Age of Economic Integration*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2002.

<sup>8</sup> *ibid.*

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## About The Author

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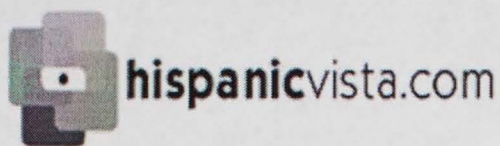
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HispanicVista Columnists

## Throwing babies out with the bath water takes on new meaning



By Patrick Osio, Jr./HispanicVista.com  
 January 7, 2006

**“Breathes there the man, whose soul so dead, never to himself hath said – This is my own, my native land.”** If Congressmen Tancredo, Sensenbrenner, Hunter and the other members of the Congressional Immigration Reform Caucus have their way, Walter Scott’s rhetorical question from his “Lay of the Last Minstrel” will prophetically create untold thousands of “dead souls” unable to call the US “my native land.” How can any American, indeed any human being, do such a thing to the yet unborn?

Under the guise of “immigration control” but contrary to the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment, the Congressman Tancredo founded Congressional group proposes to deny birth right citizenship to the children of illegal immigrant mothers contending this can be accomplished through Congressional legislation. They claim that the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment’s language, “All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States...” was meant to give citizenship to former slaves after their emancipation and did not include birth right citizenship to those born to mothers not legally in the United States.

The proposed legislation is one of the worst cases of discrimination against women and unborn children and Latino US citizens as has ever been proposed during the worst periods of racial conflict in the United States.

The proposed legislation reads that if the baby is born to an illegal immigrant woman the child is not a citizen even when the father may be a US citizen. In order for the child to be considered a US citizen the citizen father and illegal immigrant mother must be married. Suppose they get divorced? Suppose the man refuses to marry her? Suppose the woman is raped by a US citizen? On the other hand if the woman is a US citizen and the baby’s father is an illegal immigrant, the child would be a US citizen. What atrocious discrimination. What blatant human rights crime against the unborn.

And the worst draconian aspect of the proposed law – the new born baby automatically becomes an illegal immigrant subject to apprehension and deportation and if HR 4437 recently passed by Congress makes it through the Senate and President Bush signs it into law, illegal immigration will be considered a felony. So the babies would automatically be born felons. .

Present laws against discrimination would with the enactment of such law, mandate that all to be mothers prove their US citizenship/residency status, but in reality brown-skinned women,

guilty of giving birth while brown, would be overwhelmingly singled out to provide proof. And who would be the judge at the hospital rendering which baby is and which baby is not a US citizen?

Unfortunately far too many Americans still believe the Tancredo led Congressional nationalists extremists are carrying on the good fight to stop illegal immigration. Depriving babies from their birth right citizenship is nothing more than a mean spirited thinly disguised attack on the real target – the growing political and social importance of the US Latino population.

In his 1997 treatise, *Race, the Immigration Laws, and Domestic Race Relations: A "Magic Mirror" into the Heart of Darkness*, professor of law at the University of California Davis, Kevin Johnson, documented an argument that in essence Mexican-Americans are thought of as a “foreign minority” contrary for instance to African-Americans being thought of as a “domestic minority.” He notes that harsh treatment of noncitizens (vis a vis draconian laws such as birth right exclusion) represent a transference because “direct attack on minorities on account of their race is nowadays taboo, frustration with domestic minorities is displaced to foreign minorities. A war on noncitizens of color focusing on their immigration status, not race, as conscious or unconscious cover, serves to vent social frustration and hatred.”

According to this argument, and its truth visible with ensuing events, Latinos in general are being attacked through illegal immigrants as their proxies such attacks being more publicly acceptable. This explains such draconian laws that do nothing to stop illegal immigration, but much to stroke the fires of discontent and apathy towards the Hispanic community.

Before Congressional representatives present any legislation purported to aid stopping illegal immigration, they should be mandated to present credible evidence as to how their proposal will actually do so, not just populist arguments that feed and fuel hatred towards any human being not just babies.

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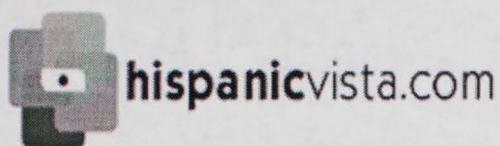


Patrick Osio, Jr. has written a short but intensive manual on the Mexican perspective on numerous issues between our two countries. The manual is an in depth primer on the culture and protocol for better understanding Mexicans that in turn allows establishing personal and business relationships, and how to avoid the most common faux pas that can ruin relationships and business deals.

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HispanicVista Columnists

The Final Solution



By Richard N. Baldwin T. /HispanicVista.com

January 7, 2006

*From Mexico*

Now, with the US House of Representatives passing a bill to not only fortify the southern border and add militarization to the mix (while talking about doing the same thing on the northern border) and raising illegal entry to a felony we, in fairness, should look at México first.

México, in fact, has militarized its southern border. And while complaining about the way Mexican illegals are treated in the US, the Mexican government admits worse human rights violations against illegals in México than takes place in the US against Mexicans. Of course, building a wall on the southern Mexican border presents enormous problems, but the Mexican army has been quite active down there for years. But one thing that Mexico does have is a functional immigration system that has the capacity to properly screen legal immigrants. That is more than the US has had for a long time. This kind of takes the edge off of the recent screaming about the US actions on their southern border. In addition, it is well known that México systematically encourages the use of the northern "safety valve" to solve demographic problems that México does not have the will to do internally. This is not new. In fact, England "exported" their surplus population to their colonies (and even Ireland) centuries ago to relieve internal pressures. That is how some of my own ancestors came to the US.

Also realize that any country will get their hackles up when they see their neighbor building a fortified wall against them. I can't wait to see Canada's reaction to a wall on the northern border!

But, in the US, after letting the southern immigration wave continue unabated and without realistic controls from administration after administration, there has finally been a reaction. And needless to say, the reaction is extreme, as it always is when you wait too long.

President Bush, in his second and final term, has found himself loosing his political base. And a lot of that loss has been from the far right side of that base. It would seem he feels that by pandering to that far right base, he can regain overall support. This, of course, is as foolish as the opposition Democratic Party pandering to the far left wing of that party. While promoting the likes of Kerry, Dean, Edwards, Kennedy and the far-left press we see

little traction from the majority center.

But, in the meantime, Bush is doing the same thing with the far right in playing to the likes of Sensenbrenner ("Real Identity"), Tancredo ("send them all back"), Fallwell ("cultural destruction") and Hannity ("they are all felons"). In this, Bush is joining the Democrats to align with extremists. This strategy hasn't helped the Democrats . . . why should it help the Republicans? And on top of this, while the Republicans have recently picked up votes from the growing Hispanic (read legal) voters, they can kiss that good-bye now. And since there are a lot more legal voting Hispanics than illegals, more thought should have been given to this point. It would seem that both political parties in the US have forgotten the center and more moderate majority. Or has common sense been entirely forgotten?

What will the next step be? Should we expect to see a *Krystal Nacht* to destroy all of the businesses that Mexican immigrants have founded in the US? Should it be required that all Mexicans have to wear red, green and white identifications for all to see? And to keep the Latino population in check, should we consider concentration camps? All that would be left is for someone will come up with a *Final Solution* to put a complete end to the "problem".

Does this sound far fetched? One only has to look back a little more than a half century to see a very civilized European country caught up in extremist beliefs to find a group to blame all of their problems on.

By the way, what does "compassionate conservatism" really mean?

My often-stated belief is and has been that the present immigration problems can only be solved by both México and the US working together on the issue. And that includes not only securing the borders, but to install a realistic immigration control process including a functional visa system. And that must include recognition of the contributions to both economies of migrant workers.

But I cannot see the political will necessary for solutions on either side of the border.

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## Vicente Rodriguez

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**From:** "Enrique Morones" <enriquemorones@cox.net>  
**To:** <ENRIQUEMOROnes@cox.net>  
**Sent:** Thursday, January 12, 2006 6:05 AM  
**Subject:** [genteunida] PLEASE HELP, SPREAD THE WORD! JOIN & SUPPORT

MIGRANT MARCH FOR MANKIND  
 No on HR 4377, Justice for Migrants & Guillermo Martinez

(February 2, 2006 point of departure 1200 noon from San Diego Border Wall of Shame, Wall of Terror, Wall of Death)

Guillermo Martinez Rodriguez only wanted to cross into the United States to find work. He had two young children, two very young children and a young wife. He left home and headed north, he wanted a better financial future, for his family, Maira his wife and for Ismael & Kimberly his children. Guillermo never made it back home alive, as he was assassinated by the US Border Patrol and died on New Years Eve.

NI UNA MUERTE MAS, 2005. As the year came to an end, at least 500 people died crossing from Mexico to the US this past year. 500 human beings, not illegal aliens, 500 people. These last 11 years there have been 4000 Guillermo Martinez's, 4000 stories. Lucrecia Dominguez died in the arms of her 15 year old son Jesus in the Arizona desert, Victoria Sanchez 17 years young, thrown from a vehicle that is being chased at high speed by the Border Patrol in the East county of San Diego, five year old Marco Antonio Villasenor suffocates in the back of a stuffed semi truck, stuffed with human cargo (16 men and one child all dead), in Victoria, Texas and now Guillermo Martinez Rodriguez assassinated by the Border Patrol in San Diego County. CUANTOS MAS ?

HR4437 Would expand the wall of death, further criminilize the migrant community, expand the militarization of the border and give Gestapo like powers to law enforcement and non law enforcement not currently involved with immigration. This past year the United States not only recorded a record number of deaths but also a record number of hate crimes, a record number of anti migrant legislation, a record number of racist media attacks and a continuation of the militarization of the US/Mexico border. The whole world is watching and our community is under attack. BASTA ! TELL YOUR SENATORS TO VOTE NO ON HR4437

On February 2, 2006 we want to tell the world how we feel, we will cross the country on a caravan for justice a National "Migrant March for Mankind". We plan to visit with students, migrants young and old; we will visit opinion leaders as well legislators; we will visit the interfaith community as well the common man, those who sacrificed it all to come to this land, to help build this land while never forgetting their roots as they help build the economies of both countries.

We want to remember our fallen brothers and sisters as we will plant 4000 crosses in their honor as we cross this grand country and we will share stories of our battles on the border stories of the racist legislation, stories of the failed militarization of the border and stories of the daily lives of our brethren as they live in the shadows with no drivers license, no earned residency opportunity, no justice.

We are all of the same race, the human race and we demand to be treated with respect and dignity and we will accept nothing less and ask for nothing more, so we will March on Washington and tell the US Senate NO on the militarization of the Border, NO on OPERATION GATEKEEPER (the wall of shame, terror and death), NO on the anti Latino media blitz of Lou Dobbs and like minded hate shows promoting bigotry, ignorance and confusing our realities to the American public, NO on HR 4437.

We want the Hispanic Caucus as well as legislators on both sides of the aisle to hear OUR VOICES on our National month long caravan as we plan to meet with Villaraigosa (Los Angeles) and Richardson (New Mexico), Grihalva (Arizona) and Gutierrez (Chicago), we plan to meet with McCain and Kennedy in DC and they will all hear our voices, as we demand justice for Lucrecia, Victoria, Marco Antonio, and the 4000 human beings that have paid the ultimate price for a better economic life, we demand justice for Guillermo Martinez Rodriguez, we say no to HR 4377, NI UNA MUERTE MAS !!!

Que Viva la Justicia, Que Viva Guillermo y Que Viva Mexico!!!

Enrique Morones  
 Border Angels  
 y Gente Unida  
 (619) 269-7865  
[www.borderangels.org](http://www.borderangels.org)

PLEASE HELP SUPPORT OUR GENTE, LET US KNOW IF YOU WANT TO PARTICIPATE, DONATE, HAVE US VISIT YOU OR JOIN OUR EFFORTS, SI SE PUEDE!!!

Herman Baca's speech in Riverside California January 2006

Good evening,

We have to understand that the more things change they seem to remain the same. What you saw in 1977 is occurring today. And we have to understand, that President Bush, Congress and the extreme right wing has declared war on you persons of Mexican Ancestry. They have done this to maintain a system that has existed here since the end of The U.S. Mexico war of 1850 of exploiting Mexican labor. If you look at what happened in 1977, in the seventies and the eighties it doesn't matter if it's called the Carter Immigration plan. It doesn't matter if its called the Simpson- Rodino immigration plan or the current no-sense Brenner immigration plan. The reality is, is that there is an effort to Maintain the status- quo, by U.S.economic and political interest. The congress, the senate is now discussing how to throw babies out of this country. Yes babies, this is how far U.S. society has degraded and mistreatment of people who put the food on their table. There is a more sinister thought that you must understand the only thing when you look at 1970, you look around and you have to admit very little has changed in our community the only thing that has changed is the demographics. Back in the 70's we were 17 million Today were close to 40 million. In this state were 40% of the population and growing. There is an effort, a political effort to make sure that you remain in a powerless state. So, we have to understand that. We also have to look inside our own community we have to ask... I was talking to an individual who has been keeping eye on this right wing racist that now call themselves minutemen, which really are the bastard child I guess of the KKK or the Ka Ka Klowns that you would have seen in the video. And I told the individual, I said that's good that your out they're somebody has to be out there. You know this is not 1970, we are now 40% of the population in this state, we don't have to act like were 20% of the population, were 40%. So we have to look at the historical lessons that people like Corky Gonzales, like Bert Corona left us with, Cesar Chavez, Reis Lopez Tejrina and we have to remember words that they left us with like "Self Determination. We have to ask ourselves where are all these politicians that we have. Where are they at? Where are there voices? There are very few politicians that will come forward. *(Interrupted by crowds applause)*\_ the reasons why they are not there are because they are accountable to everybody except you. So we have to look at what power is because that's

the only thing that's going to protect us, that's the only thing that's going to protect our interest, POWER, there's only two kinds of power in politics money or people. Were poor but we have a lot of people, but those people have to be organized, organized those people have to be educated they have to be politicized and they have to be organized. But that's the only power that we have to counter this racist legislation this inferior education that our children are receiving. Today we have more of our young people in prison then we do in college so we have to understand what's going to change that. And that can only come about with self-determination; you're the problem you have to be the solution. So I want to leave you with a few things that are widely being discussed and thrown around, AZTLAN, the nation of aztlan, you know let me tell you something, I've been asked that question a thousand times and my answers always the same It's not for me to say but future generations will base that determination on how they are treated in this society. We do not even have the power right now to make our own politicians accountable let alone Aztlan. So, we have to understand that that issue is going to be settled by future generations. How will it be determined that is not for me to say, I can only look at history and I can only say that those who are the majority, those who work the land, those who make up the majority and vote will determine those type of concepts. All I know is right Now is that we have got to look inward to those 40% and growing numbers that exist. I actually look at that poster down there who is the illegal alien pilgrim. You know when the extreme right wing talks about, Aztlan, I guess it's from a guilty complex, they know what they did in Texas. They swore allegiance to the Mexican Government swore allegiance to the Catholic Church and the minute they turned their back we know what happened. So I say to you today that even academically immigration when being discussed is not immigration, immigration is about people migrating people immigrating quotas what have you. So what you're seeing here in the southwest historically is a labor issue so you can not fix a labor issue with immigration solutions. You know this little pamphlet came out in the 70's, this bill of rights for the undocumented worker is very simple that every immigrant worker will have a right to establish legal residency by demonstrating a status that lived here and tax payer, to a person who comes here to work and he is employed by someone in this society a contract has been established and if that person is paying taxes then there is no reason for him not to qualify for his immigration status then what's the problem, it seems to me that everyone is benefiting from that situation. So this bill of rights this bill is valid today as far as it quotes it legally, it's not

immigration and don't kid yourself about immigration, out of the millions and some persons that they apprehended every year 98% are persons of Mexican ancestry. So really, it's a ploy to maintain the status quo. I want to apologize I know time is limited but there's an old saying that we sometimes stand so tall and proud because we're standing on other people's shoulders of the past. You know I want to thank all of you for taking the time and the effort; I want to thank Armando Navarro for coming forward and also being there when very few other people weren't there, but I do want to thank all of you for being here, you are the one that are going to make the difference in this discussion and in this debate. So, I leave you with those words muchos gracias y que viva la raza.

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