

NEWS FROM THE POLITICAL BATTLEGROUND OVER IMMIGRATION...

* Predictably, Gov. Pete Wilson's press office has been busy capitalizing on Gov. Ernesto Ruffo's "empathy" remarks. See attached press release from Gov. Wilson and accompanying English-language text of Gov. Ruffo's remarks. For the full press packet from Governor Wilson, contact Augie Bareño.

** Saying illegal immigration is "a national security threat," House of Representative members voted on June 8th to put troops on the border. See attached action alert from the AFSC and accompanying SD Union article of 6/9/94.

*** According to the Field Poll, 77% of Latinos and 35% of Anglos believe that undocumented children should attend California's public schools. Recent editorials against the SOS initiative have been focusing on the "folly...of ejecting undocumented children from public schools." See attached editorials from SD Union and SF Chronicle. The Field Poll also found that 77% of Latinos and 54% of Anglos believed that undocumented children and adults should receive emergency medical care. See attached La Opinion article of 6/15/94.

For those who did not attend the June 18th media workshop, we have enclosed a sample press release which covers the five "w's" of journalism (who, what, where, when and why).

George Aguilar, Raul Lowery and Julie Rocha are working together on an anti-SOS local media strategy. We can discuss it following the July 7th briefing on that initiative. At this point, we are thinking of starting with the Spanish-language media, the aim being to promote naturalization and voter registration among Latinos.

Also on June 18th, a number of us were able to talk openly with Joe Velasquez, a top Clinton political adviser, about our dissatisfaction with the way Democrats have played the immigration issue this campaign season.

California Latino Civil Rights Network



State of California

GOVERNOR'S OFFICE OF COMMUNITY RELATIONS

1400 TENTH STREET
SACRAMENTO 95814

PETE WILSON
GOVERNOR

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(916) 324-4523 FAX

DATE: June 14, 1994

TO: Editors
News Directors

FROM: Emma T. Suarez
Director

SUBJECT: XII Border Governors' Conference - Highlights

On May 27, 1994 California Governor Pete Wilson joined the chief executives of the nine border states (U.S. - Arizona, New Mexico, Texas; Mexico - Tamaulipas, Nuevo Leon, Chihuahua, Coahuila, Baja California, Sonora) during the XII Border Governors' Conference. The impact of illegal immigration on the border states' economies was one of a number of economic and trade issues discussed during the two-day conference.

On this issue, please note the comments made by Baja California's Governor, Lic. Ernesto Ruffo Appel. During his opening remarks Ruffo stated that, "I understand very much the problems my colleague Pete is suffering in California because [illegal immigration] does place quite a burden on the shoulders of each government."

Highlights of Governor Wilson's comments to the group include:

- emphasis that the problem of illegal immigration must be addressed between Mexico City and Washington, not solved between the border states;
- a summary of what California has done to encourage the trading opportunities NAFTA provides; and
- an outline of California's leadership role in addressing environmental concerns at the border.

For your information enclosed are copies of the comments presented by Governors Wilson and Ruffo (Spanish original and English translation). As you continue to provide for balanced coverage of the very important issue of illegal immigration, I hope you will find this information useful. Please contact me or Solange Fernandez Brooks at (916) 445-1114 if you need further information or have any questions.



AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
**Immigration Law Enforcement Monitoring Project
(ILEMP)**

Address: 3522 Polk Street, Houston, TX 77003-4844 • Phone: 713/224-4025 • FAX: 713/224-4026

ALERT * ALERT * ALERT * ALERT * ALERT

On June 8, 1994, the House voted to authorize the use of troops for immigration law enforcement. The Senate will debate the defense authorization bill next week. If a similar amendment is not voted on in the Senate, a conference committee will be the final decision-making body to either approve or reject the following measure:

TITLE V

SEC. 535: DETAIL OF DEPT. OF DEFENSE PERSONNEL TO ASSIST IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE, BORDER PATROL AND CUSTOMS SERVICE.

(a) **AUTHORITY OF SECRETARY OF DEFENSE.**--Section 374 of title 10, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end of the following new subsection:

"(d)(1) During each fiscal year, the Secretary of Defense may make Department of Defense personnel currently stationed in Europe available to assist --

(A) at the request of the Attorney General, the Immigration and Naturalization Service and the United States Border Patrol in preventing the entry of terrorist, drug traffickers and illegal aliens into the United States and

(B) at the request of the Secretary of the Treasury, the United States Customs Service in the inspection of cargo, vehicles and aircraft at points of entry into the United States."

(b) **EFFECTIVE DATE.**--This section shall take effect on October 1, 1994.

It is urgent to request conferees to drop this provision. The military should not be used for civilian law enforcement. Soldiers are trained to kill. Immigrants are not enemies. Therefore, it is not proper to use troops to engage in immigration law enforcement operations. Please contact:

Rep. Ron Dellums
House Armed Services Comm.
2120 Rayburn HOB
Washington, DC 20515
(202)225-4151

Sen. Sam Dunn
Senate Armed Services Comm.
228 Russell Bldg
Washington, DC 20510
(202)224-3871

House OKs plan to put troops on the border

Sponsors say illegal immigration threat to national security

By STEPHEN GREEN
Copley News Service

WASHINGTON — The House yesterday voted to authorize active duty military personnel to help police the nation's border with Mexico after several legislators claimed that illegal immigration from Mexico has become a national security problem.

The measure would give the secretary of defense discretion to assign members of the military currently stationed in Europe to assist the Border Patrol in stopping terrorists, drug traffickers and illegal immigrants from entering the United States. However, the Pentagon previously has balked at using troops for such duty.

Approved as an amendment to the defense authorization bill, the legislation also would authorize the defense secretary to order military personnel to assist the Customs Service in inspecting cargo, motor vehicles and aircraft coming into the country.

"We're talking about a national security issue," said the amendment's author, Rep. James A. Traficant, D-Ohio, who reminded the House that two million migrants enter the United States illegally

from Mexico every year.

Rep. Duncan Hunter, R-El Cajon, who co-sponsored the amendment, concurred. "We now have 4,100 members of the Border Patrol, but we need 10,000 to get control of the borders," he said.

There was scant opposition to the measure during a brief debate. The amendment was passed by a voice vote with only a few dozen representatives on the floor.

For the measure to become law it must be included in a defense authorization bill approved by the Senate, which has yet to take up its measure.

Traficant told the House that failure to approve the amendment would encourage more court suits by border states seeking federal reimbursement for the costs of illegal immigration. California, Florida and Texas already have filed such suits.

Ron Dellums, D-Berkeley, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, was expected to lead the opposition to the legislation, but he was delayed in returning to Washington from California yesterday.

The only House member to speak against the measure was Rep. Norman Sisisky, D-Va., who said that when military personnel are assigned to a non-military mission, "their skills quickly erode."

"If the INS (Immigration and Naturalization Service), Customs

and the Border Patrol lack staff, increase their staff," he said.

Rep. James H. Bilbray, D-Nev., agreed that the legislation "is not the ultimate answer, but in the meantime there is no other money to put people on the border. . . . I can't see any better use of the military than to assign them to help with this very serious problem."

The concept approved by the House is not part of the defense authorization bill pending in the Senate, but the Senate has not been adverse to adding amendments to fight illegal immigration.

Congress last year approved a measure by Sen. Barbara Boxer, D-Calif., to let states use National Guard troops to augment the Border Patrol. The Pentagon opposes that, and the Defense Department had no immediate comment on yesterday's House provision.

Boxer's measure is to be funded with \$2 million from the Pentagon's anti-drug budget, but defense officials contend the measure does not have the force of law because it is contained in a legislative report accompanying the 1994 defense funding bill.

The legislation approved yesterday by the House specifically would authorize the defense secretary to put troops on the border if the attorney general, who has jurisdiction over INS, requests them.

The State Department has argued against such action, saying

that using troops along a border with a friendly nation would be offensive diplomatically.

In the Senate, meanwhile, California Democrat Dianne Feinstein planned to introduce legislation today requiring illegal immigrants convicted of federal or state crimes to be returned to their native lands to serve out their sentences. The plan is intended to save the cost of incarcerating criminals who are in the United States illegally.

A Feinstein aide said yesterday that California jails house 18,000 illegal immigrants whose incarceration will cost the state more than \$375 million this year.

While the United States has voluntary prisoner repatriation agreements with 30 countries, only 1,000 prisoners have been sent home since 1977. Feinstein would shift the program from a voluntary decision by prisoners to a mandatory requirement.

The proposal, to be introduced as an amendment to pending foreign aid legislation, would direct the president to withhold up to 10 percent of aid to countries that fail to take back prisoners. Mexico, which accounts for many criminal immigrants jailed in the United States would not be affected by this provision as it does not receive any U.S. foreign aid.

Copley News Service reporter Mark Z. Barabak contributed to this report.

DATE: 18 June 1993

TO: Butch Walker, Managing Editor
Star News

FROM: Raoul Lowery Contreras

SUBJ: Organizational meeting against Save our State
Initiative

WHO: California Latino Civil Rights Network

WHAT: First public meeting to recruit supporters

WHERE: Lydia's Cafe
1628 Palm Avenue, Imperial Beach
Phone #: 555-5555

WHEN: Saturday, June 18, 1994
10:00 a.m.

WHY: This meeting kicks off a statewide recruiting effort to build an organization of 10,000 volunteers and a finance committee of 5,000. Volunteers and finance committee members county goals are prorated by county size. San Diego, being the second largest county in the state, is expected to have 2,000 volunteers and five hundred finance committee members. Area recruitment chairmen will be appointed from this initial meeting. Chula Vista will be assigned it's own chairmen, as will National City, as will the rest of the South bay area, for a total of three volunteer chairmen and three finance chairmen.

San Francisco Chronicle

THE VOICE OF THE WEST

EDITORIALS

JUNE 13, 1994

A New Initiative For Immigrant-Bashing

THE UGLY STAMPEDE to blame illegal immigrants for everything from unemployment to poor schools to California's budget deficit is no better symbolized than in a proposed ballot initiative with the fear-mongering title, "Save Our State."

The least acceptable of a recent series of politically-motivated immigration proposals, this organized overreaction to people

*Controlling
adults by
punishing
their
children
subverts
American
justice*

crossing California's sieve-like borders would deny public education as well as medical and social services to illegal immigrants. Their numbers in the state are estimated at between 1.8 million and 2 million. Governor Wilson has suggested he favors the "SOS" measure; Kathleen

Brown, his Democratic opponent for governor, describes it as "mean-spirited and dangerous."

Supporters have submitted petitions with about 600,000 signatures. If validated by the end of the month, the measure will appear on the November 8 ballot. The proposed initiative would preclude undocumented immigrants from receiving social and health services, with the exception of emergency medical care. It would put police, educators and health care workers in the role of government agents required to

report to state and federal authorities anyone they suspected of being an undocumented immigrant. The most venomous provision would deny children of illegal immigrants access to public education.

In 1982, the U.S. Supreme Court struck down a similar Texas statute, and that ruling holds today. As Justice William Brennan wrote, "Even if the state found it expedient to control the conduct of adults by acting against their children, legislation directing the onus of a parent's misconduct against his children does not comport with fundamental conceptions of justice."

"By denying these children a basic education, we deny them the ability to live within the structure of our civil institutions, and foreclose any realistic possibility that they will contribute in even the smallest way to the progress of our nation."

Supporters of the "SOS" initiative argue that something must be done to reduce an estimated \$3.1 billion-a-year cost to California taxpayers of illegal immigration. But they ignore evidence that undocumented immigrants may actually pay more in taxes than they use in services.

And they seem unwilling to consider less racially charged solutions to dealing with illegal immigration, such as employer sanctions or economic development in Mexico that will be spurred by a new trade agreement. We agree that the federal government should pay more of the cost of services to illegal immigrants and that the nation's borders should be secured. But Californians should not seek scapegoats for hard, economic times.

Anti-immigration folly

Initiative would crack down on schoolchildren

Of all the ideas being touted to counter illegal immigration, none is more extreme — or more misguided — than ejecting undocumented children from public schools.

Yet that is the central aim of a politically popular initiative headed for the November statewide ballot. The measure, which attracted over 600,000 qualifying signatures, embodies the most punitive proposals to emerge from the anti-immigration juggernaut sweeping California.

Authored by Alan Nelson and Harold Ezell, former officials of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the initiative would crack down on illegal aliens by cutting off the limited government services they receive, with the exception of emergency medical treatment.

The premise of the measure is fundamentally flawed. It assumes that illegal immigrants come to this country not for jobs but for the meager social services they can get at taxpayer expense.

But undocumented immigrants are not eligible for welfare, food stamps or most other social programs — although children born in this country are. And except for prenatal care, illegal aliens do not qualify for government-provided medical treatment other than in emergencies.

Public education is the one area in which the children of illegal immigrants are entitled to the same benefits as legal residents. Providing classroom space for an estimated 375,000 illegal alien students in kindergarten through the 12th grade costs the state \$2 billion a year.

But before voters rush to embrace the Nelson-Ezell initiative, they should consider the tremendous social costs of *not* educating these youngsters.

If undocumented youths are expelled from schools, many will spend their idle hours on the street. That entirely unhealthy situation would become a seedbed for increased graffiti, drive-by shoot-

ings, gang activity and other youth-related crimes that stalk California cities.

Then just think of the long-term consequences of creating, as a matter of deliberate social policy, a huge underclass of illiterate noncitizens who have no opportunity to learn English. Under such circumstances, illegal residents would face little prospect of becoming economically self-sufficient, because they would be deprived of the most elemental job skills.

On its face, the Nelson-Ezell initiative also is unconstitutional because it contradicts a U.S. Supreme Court decision requiring states to admit illegal immigrant children to public schools. Backers of the measure say they welcome the opportunity to challenge the 5-4 ruling, known as *Plyler vs. Doe*.

But the 1982 decision was based on the sensible idea that undocumented children, unlike adults, are not to blame for their illegal status. Therefore the court held that, in light of education's special importance compared to other government benefits, the right of illegal immigrant children to attend public school is covered by the 14th Amendment's guarantee of equal protection under the law.

With the anti-immigration tide running strong throughout California, polls show that the Nelson-Ezell measure enjoys broad support today, particularly among nonminority voters. But Latinos and blacks oppose it by differing margins. This suggests the initiative could become an even more divisive factor in California as the fall election approaches.

It is especially deplorable that Gov. Pete Wilson has given this mean-tempered measure legitimacy by supporting it. To her credit, Kathleen Brown says she will campaign against it as she challenges Wilson for governor.

We only hope for a thorough debate that will illuminate plainly for voters the folly of trying to halt illegal immigration by cracking down on schoolchildren.

San Diego Union Tribune 6/19/94

Latinos y anglosajones, divididos sobre inmigrantes indocumentados

Por Jaime Olivares

Editor Estatal

Aunque los californianos de todos los grupos étnicos tienen una imagen positiva de los inmigrantes en general, existe una profunda división entre anglosajones y latinos respecto a los indocumentados y a las medidas propuestas para impedir que sigan viniendo, indica una encuesta de la empresa independiente *The Field Poll*.

El sondeo señala que el 78% de los residentes anglos piensa que los inmigrantes indocumentados tienen un efecto negativo para el estado y sólo el 15% cree que son positivos. Esta opinión es radicalmente diferente a la de los encuestados latinos que en un 56% dijeron que los indocumentados son positivos para California y sólo un 37% dijo que eran negativos.

La diferencia entre los entrevistados de ambos grupos étnicos se hace más patente en sus respuestas relacionadas con algunas de las más conocidas medidas que se han propuesto para reducir el flujo de indocumentados a California.

Por ejemplo, el 77% de los latinos

cree que debe permitirse a los hijos de inmigrantes indocumentados asistir a las escuelas públicas del estado, pero sólo el 35% de los anglosajones-piensa de igual manera. Por el contrario, el 59% de los residentes anglos consultados, comparado con apenas un 22% de los latinos, declararon que debiera prohibirse a los hijos de indocumentados recibir enseñanza en las escuelas públicas sostenidas por los contribuyentes.

Negar ciudadanía

Confirmando hallazgos de otras encuestas anteriores, incluyendo una de *La Opinión* publicada en septiembre del año pasado, el sondeo de *The Field Poll* indica también que una abrumadora mayoría de los latinos (76%) se opone a que se modifique la Constitución de este país para que legalmente se pueda negar la ciudadanía estadounidense a los hijos de indocumentados nacidos aquí. El 55% de los anglosajones, en cambio, apoya esta medida.

La Constitución establece que todas las personas nacidas en Estados

Lea SONDEO, 2A

SONDEO

Viene de la página 1

Unidos son automáticamente consideradas ciudadanas de este país y tienen derecho a todos los beneficios y garantías que la ciudadanía conlleva.

La propuesta de negar ciudadanía a los hijos de indocumentados ha sido respaldada y promovida por el gobernador Pete Wilson, quien apoya asimismo otras medidas como impedir que los indocumentados reciban educación, servicios de salud y asistencia pública del estado.

Las personas de otros grupos étnicos, excluyendo a latinos y anglos, que respondieron la encuesta de *The Field Poll* opinaron en forma similar a los anglosajones sobre este tema al apoyar por mayoría (53%) la idea de negar la ciudadanía estadounidense a los niños de inmigrantes indocumentados.

Servicios de salud

Las diferencias de opinión entre latinos y anglos, aunque persisten, se atenúan algo cuando se trata de opinar acerca de los servicios médicos para los inmigrantes, que es otro de los temas usados en las campañas antiinmigrantes.

Wilson y otros políticos abogan por cambiar las leyes federales y estatales de manera que se impida a los indocumentados tener acceso a servicios de salud financiados por el estado o el gobierno federal.

Pero el 77% de los latinos y el 54% de los anglos consultados por este sondeo creen que los inmigrantes indocumentados deben recibir servicios médicos de emergencia cuando lo necesitan.

Latinos y anglos también están más cerca, aunque todavía distanciados considerablemente, en lo que se refiere a sus respectivas posiciones sobre permitir que inmigrantes indocumentados reciban asistencia pública (*welfare*).

La mayoría de ambos grupos étnicos, el 85% de los anglos y el 50% de los latinos, piensan que los indocumentados no deben recibir beneficios de asistencia pública. Pero un 42% de los latinos y sólo un 10% de los anglos creen que estos inmigrantes sí deben tener derecho a la asistencia pública.

Reducir la inmigración

Una mayoría de los californianos consultados (55%) opinó que es necesario reducir el número de inmigrantes que son admitidos legalmente a Estados Unidos. El 32% se declaró partidario de mantener la misma cantidad que se permite ahora, y un 11% dijo que la cifra de admi-

siones legales debería ser aumentada.

La proporción de californianos que desean reducir el número de inmigrantes legales es mayor que la registrada el año pasado en una encuesta similar realizada por la misma empresa, en la que el 50% se pronunció en favor de restringir la inmigración. Pero es mucho menor que

otros encuesta efectuada en 1982, cuando el 62% de los consultados se mostró partidario de que bajar la cuota de inmigrantes legales que entra cada año al país.

Todavía una mayor proporción de personas (61%) apoya la idea de reducir la cantidad de refugiados políticos que son admitidos en el país.

Por otra parte, hubo prácticamente un consenso entre las personas entrevistadas en la encuesta acerca de que las leyes de inmigración no deben favorecer a ningún país ni región en particular. El 80% de los encuestados se inclinó por una política de inmigración sin favoritismo respecto al país de procedencia de los inmigrantes.

Tarjeta de identificación

Curiosamente, la encuesta reveló que los latinos y otras minorías favorecen la idea de crear una tarjeta de identificación especial para las personas que viven en Estados Unidos, incluyendo a ciudadanos y residentes legales. Los californianos de origen anglosajón, en cambio, rechazan la propuesta de la tarjeta de identificación.

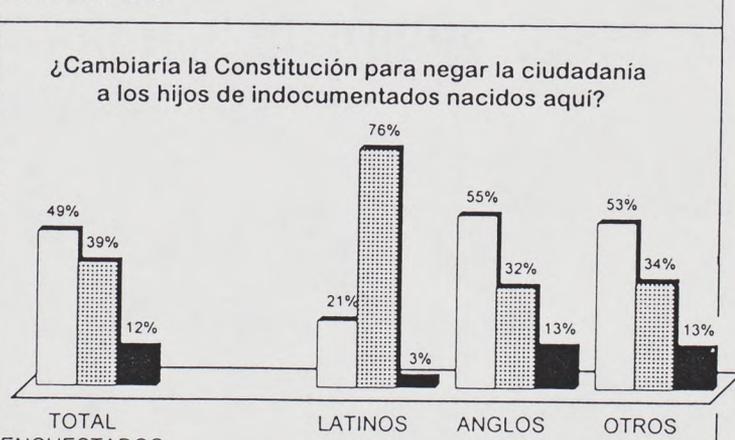
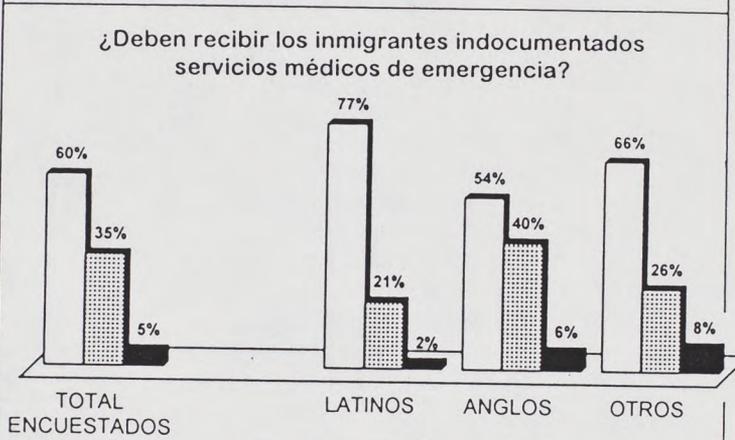
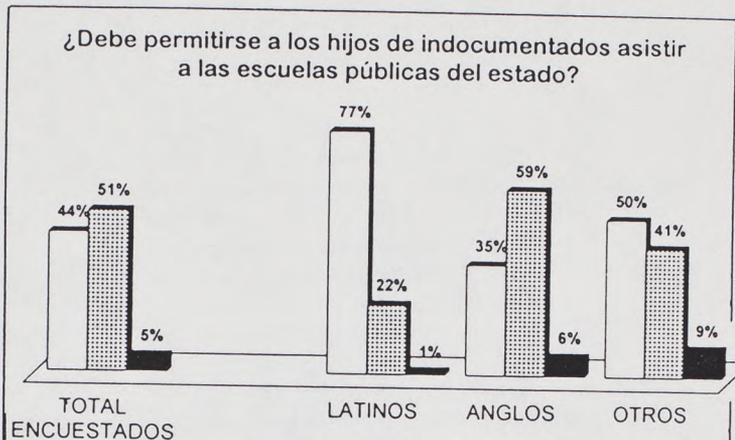
El 56% de los latinos se mostró partidario de una tarjeta de identificación, comparado con sólo el 35% de los anglos.

También recibió un apoyo mayoritario la idea de imponer una tarifa de entrada de 1 dólar a cada persona que entre al país con el propósito de ayudar a financiar a la Patrulla Fronteriza, que se encarga de vigilar las fronteras. El 76% de los anglosajones y el 55% de los latinos dijo que era partidario de esta medida.

El apoyo no fue tan claro respecto a la propuesta de enviar efectivos de la Guardia Nacional a la frontera para asistir a la Patrulla Fronteriza. El 64% de los anglos y el 46% de los latinos apoyó la idea.

Por último, una abrumadora mayoría (80%) se pronunció en favor de deportar a los inmigrantes indocumentados que están cumpliendo condenas en prisiones de California, con pocas diferencias de opinión entre los distintos grupos étnicos que participaron en la encuesta.

El 81% de los anglos y el 79% de los latinos estuvieron de acuerdo en deportar a los criminales indocumentados para que cumplan sus sentencias en sus países de origen.



Migrants

Policy boosts police aid to Border Patrol

Continued from B-1

because the officers think they are illegal immigrants.

The new policy was designed to give officers more freedom to go after illegal immigrants who commit crimes, Rodriguez said.

The new tracking system challenges perceptions about the level of crime illegal immigrants commit in San Diego.

"Before we started keeping numbers, we were hearing that illegal immigrants were causing 40, 50, 60 percent of the crimes," Rodriguez said. "Our statistics will show that they're not."

Rodriguez said the 462 illegal immigrants who were arrested in that three-month period earlier this year represented fewer than 5 percent of all the arrests in San Diego during that time.

Most of those arrests were made in high-crime neighborhoods such as Logan Heights, Golden Hill, City Heights and downtown San Diego, he said.

Police officials are downplaying the role of the department in the illegal immigration arena.

But last month alone, San Diego police helped break up three smuggling rings and arrest more than 200 illegal immigrants.

Latino activist Roberto Martinez has said the policy gives officers too much freedom to discriminate against people who look Hispanic.

"The ink was not even dry before we began receiving complaints that officers were violating the policy," said Martinez, of the American Friends Service Committee, which assists immigrants.

In an April 11 letter to Police Chief Jerry Sanders, Martinez complained on behalf of two people who

"Before we started keeping numbers, we were hearing that illegal immigrants were causing 40, 50, 60 percent of the crimes. Our statistics will show that they're not."

MANUEL RODRIGUEZ
San Diego police sergeant

said officers had questioned them about their citizenship status without any reason.

His main complaint, however, was about a car chase April 8 in which a police officer chased a smuggling suspect from San Ysidro to City Heights.

The suspect was carrying 12 illegal immigrants in a Buick Regal and led police on a 30-mile chase at speeds of up to 90 miles per hour. Police arrested the driver and detained the immigrants for the Border Patrol.

No one was hurt, but Martinez said the chase could have turned into a tragedy.

Sgt. Rodriguez said police are reviewing Martinez's complaints but stressed that officers have been instructed to stop only people they suspect are involved in crime.

The previous policy, which prohibited officers from cooperating

with Border Patrol agents, had one exception. Police could investigate suspected safe houses because of the constant threat smugglers pose to their human contraband.

"It's done primarily to protect people," Rodriguez said.

Smugglers hide their "pollos," or clients, in safe houses, usually rented houses in South Bay, Logan Heights and downtown San Diego, until key traveling points north are clear of the Border Patrol.

Sometimes they hold the immigrants against their will if they don't have all the money to pay for their trip. Reports of smugglers raping women and shaving men's heads surface from time to time.

These houses draw the attention of neighbors, who see groups of people being moved in and out at all hours. Increasingly, they are calling police.

"People are more aware of the immigrant situation than ever before," said San Diego police spokesman Bill Robinson. "They're aware of our new policy, and they're aware of the crimes committed by certain immigrants. This awareness has manifested itself into more calls. I know our officers are more alert."

The Border Patrol has been busy breaking up smuggling rings. Last month, the Border Patrol's anti-smuggling unit broke up a ring that

was bringing in 150 illegal immigrants a week.

Border Patrol officials say the role San Diego police are playing in the apprehension of illegal immigrants is significant.

"We always appreciate getting help from local agencies," said Border Patrol spokeswoman Ann Summers. "We have quite a bit to do."

Border Patrol agents make about 500,000 apprehensions each year in the San Diego area. About as many make it through, however,

and proceed north, often to Los Angeles and other major U.S. cities.

Rodriguez reiterated that police are interested only in preventing crime in the city and not going after illegal immigrants.

"We're not going to stop you just because you're undocumented," he said. "We're only interested in two types: if you're involved in a criminal activity and if you're found in a load house, drug house or load cars."

Raids rise on immigrant-smuggling safe houses

By LEONEL SANCHEZ
Staff Writer

A San Diego police officer rushes to a downtown apartment.

He is told that a man is threatening to shoot a woman. But when he gets there he finds something else.

Thirty undocumented immigrants are huddled in a tiny living room without furniture. A smuggler was to take them north that night.

Instead, they are turned over to the Border Patrol for deportation.

Busts like the one on Market Street last month have become increasingly routine in San Diego.

From February to the end of May, the latest period for which figures are available, San Diego police detained 1,450 illegal immigrants for the Border Patrol, said San Diego Police Sgt. Manuel Rodriguez, who is compiling statistics on police contact

with illegal immigrants.

Most of them were found in immigrant-smuggling safe houses or packed in vehicles that were stopped for routine traffic violations.

About 30 percent were suspected of crimes such as drug dealing, car theft and burglary, Rodriguez said. These suspects — who were turned over to the Border Patrol and deported — could have been arrested if police had had more evidence

that they had committed a crime in San Diego.

Still, from February through April, San Diego police arrested 462 illegal immigrants suspected of crimes and held them for criminal prosecution.

Before this year, Rodriguez said, the department did not keep count of how many illegal immigrants police were apprehending.

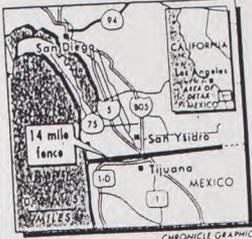
As a result of a new policy permitting

them to help the Border Patrol, police officers now must document the legal status of people detained.

The new policy allows officers to hold illegal immigrants for the Border Patrol if they suspect that they are engaged in crime but lack proof to arrest them. It prohibits police from detaining people just

See Migrants on Page B-8

High-Tech Fortress at Border Between U.S., Mexico



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legal immigration into the United States, and more than 80 percent of the illegal crossings from Mexico. The busiest area — a 14-mile stretch of border from Otay to the Pacific Coast just south of San Diego — has become such a symbolic flash point in state and national politics that officials are pledging to spend millions more to stop illegal immigrants.

During the next three months, the Immigration and Naturalization Service plans to send an additional 300 agents to the California border. The INS also plans to upgrade its surveillance techniques, install more lights, add a double fence in some places, build concrete footings to reinforce it in others, and fingerprint illegal immigrants caught on the border.

With a computerized fingerprint system, the INS hopes to identify migrants with criminal histories and track whether they have been apprehended for crossing before.

Governor Wilson has promised to send 127 more National Guard troops to help build and repair the fence and to construct roads so that agents can get to the border more easily.

The tougher policy was inspired in part by the success of intercepting Haitian refugees on the open seas and returning them to their native country.

Officials also have been encouraged by the success of "Operation Hold the Line" in El Paso, Texas, where the INS stationed around-the-clock Border Patrol agents at quarter-mile intervals along the Rio Grande.

It has been a powerful deterrent: Between last October and February, the INS apprehended 27,000 migrants — down from 101,000 during the same period a year earlier.

But some doubt whether California's border terrain — high hills and deep canyons covered with bushes — will yield the same results as apprehending migrants on the high seas or the unobstructed Texas desert.

Wilson insists that it will.

"You can make an enormous difference, whatever the terrain," the governor said last month during one of his frequent trips to Washington, D.C. to lobby for federal funds to pay for the state's immigration costs. "It is a function of whether or not you are willing to make the commitment of resources that are necessary to do the job."

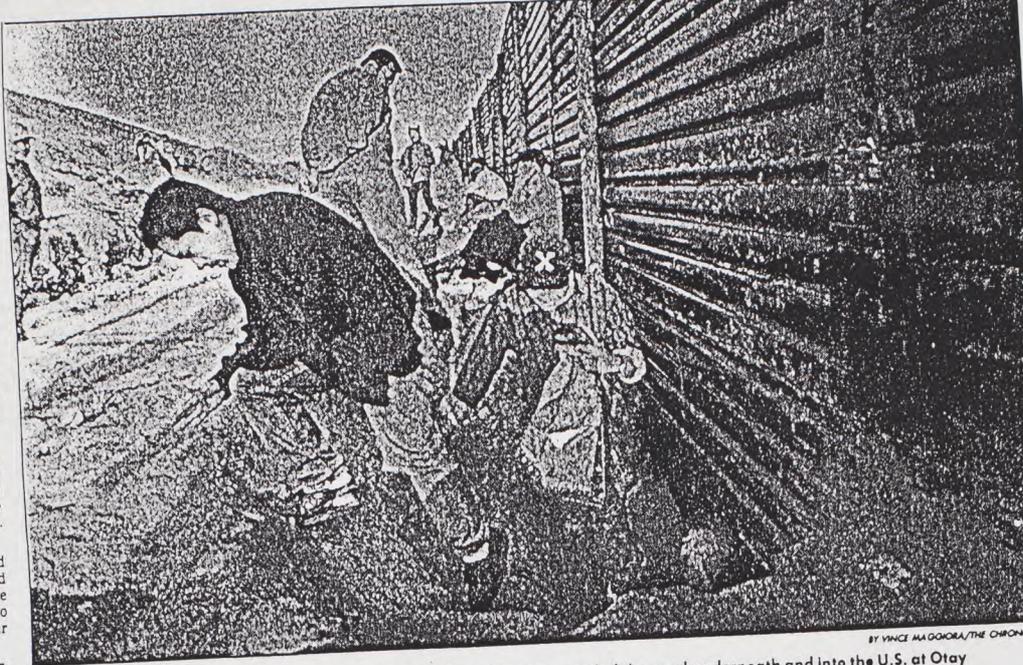
Others question the wisdom of trying to seal the border by investing heavily in militarize it.

"The forces attracting Mexicans are stronger (than these policies)," said Robert Rubin, an immigration attorney with Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights in San Francisco. "Mexicans will be willing to come because they are willing to work for the low wages the jobs in the U.S. pay."

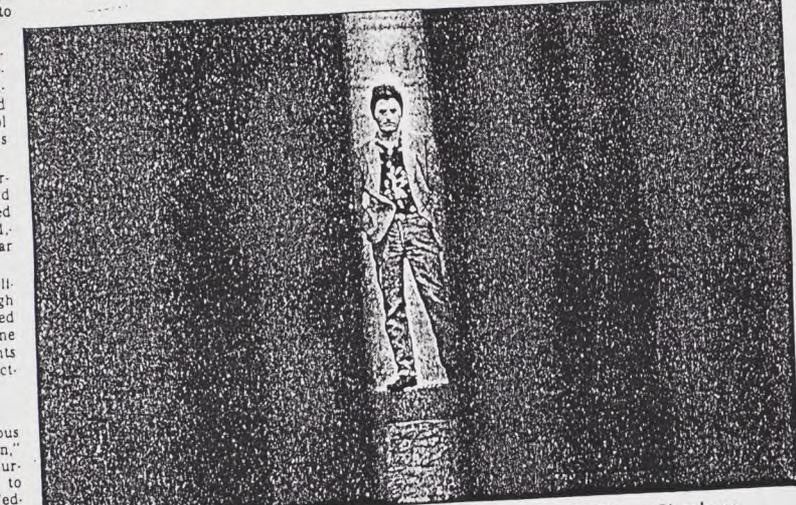
The INS insists that its tougher policies are paying off, even though the figures on apprehensions seem to show just the opposite. Between last October and February of this year, the INS caught 163,743 illegal immigrants in the San Diego area — a drop of 8 percent from the previous year.

"It's beginning to show some results," said INS commissioner Doris Meissner. She and other officials noted that the goal of the INS is to reduce the number of apprehensions, not to increase them, and to force migrants to move east, where the flatter terrain makes it easier to spot them.

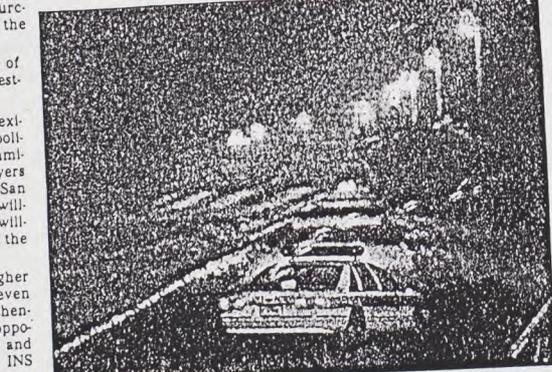
As evidence, INS officials point to the substantial increase in apprehensions along the border in Arizona, from 30,000 between October 1992 and February 1993 to



Illegal immigrants scrambled under the border fence where tides have eroded the sand underneath and into the U.S. at Otay



A man peered through the fence separating the U.S. and Mexico from the Tijuana River levee



High-powered stadium lights are an aid to Border Patrol agents on the lookout for illegal activity

41,000 during the same period a year later.

But on the California portion of the border, there is little evidence that significantly fewer migrants are coming into the United States. Even if there is a small decline in arrests, some say it may be caused more by California's recession than anything else.

Long before the portion of the fence at Canyon Zapata went up a

year ago, Colonia Libertad had been a favored crossing point. Today, local entrepreneurs still operate their food stands, selling instant soups, apples and cookies to departing migrants. Others hawk hooded sweat suits for \$3 each. The vendors say that there are as many people here as ever.

After working for 4½ years in the fields around Salinas and Gilroy, Juan Gonzalez came back to

Mexico to see his wife and four children, who live far to the south in Oaxaca province.

As he headed back to California, he discovered that border surveillance had increased substantially since he originally left his native country.

Each of the previous four nights he had been caught by the Border Patrol, taken to the holding center at nearby Otay, held there for 12 or 13 hours, and sent back to Mexico by bus. Each time he came right back here to get across the border — "cruzar la frontera," as he put it.

He was accompanied by Jose Gonzalez, his 29-year-old cousin, who had tried to cross two times that week. While the Gonzalezes lay in a shallow ditch, pondering their next move, a group of about 20 young Mexicans sat nearby, joking and making small talk as the sun set across hillside slopes recently cleared of brush.

Almost all say they have been working in the fields in the Central Valley. Asked what they pick, they reel off a litany of vegetables that sounds like an inventory from Safeway. Cebollas, lechugas, ajos and melon, they say — onions, lettuce, garlic and melon.

"We aren't terrorists, we aren't criminals," said Gonzalez, a sad-

looking 32-year-old. "We're only looking for work."

The enormity of the task facing border officials is evident even at the newest stretch of border fence where it runs into the Pacific Ocean, completed last December.

Tidal action already has washed away the sand under the fence. On a recent afternoon, small groups of men crawled under the fence on the beach where Mexico and the U.S. merge, as Border Patrol agents watched, and helicopters buzzed nearby. Little, apparently, could be done to stop them.

In San Ysidro, a bustling town across the border from Tijuana, the white patrol cars of the Border Patrol seem to be everywhere, cruising down crowded downtown streets, through quiet residential neighborhoods and remote hillside canyons.

But after the sun sets, human silhouettes can be seen across the wooded hillsides. Sometimes car headlights caught the eyes of Mexicans crouching in side roads and canyons that have been given exotic names such as "Slaughter Alley" and "Smugglers Gulch."

Agent Jim Dragin seems to relish his nightly chases through the bushes. "On a good night we catch about 500 of them," said Dragin, trying to make himself heard over the crackling of his walkie-talkie and the din of a helicopter nearby, its spotlight scanning the hillsides. "But it can be frustrating to be sitting with a group of 20 of them, while another 20 run past you."

Within the generalized chaos on the border, illegal immigrants have devised low-cost ways to avoid detection.

Some Mexicans buy eyeglasses that have no lenses, hoping to look like intellectuals or students. Others dress in jogging suits and sneakers, disguising themselves as local fitness buffs. Lately, some

have begun carrying Bibles, so that immigration agents might think they are legal residents on their way to church.

But the immigrants are substantially outpied by federal agencies.

INS officials say no firm figures are available, but it is clear that the tougher border policy is expensive. During the past five years, the Border Patrol's base budget has almost doubled, from \$216 million in 1989 to \$410 million in the coming year.

The INS downplays the costs, saying that there was little direct expense to the taxpayer. The fence and the lights cost a total of \$1 million, because they used mostly surplus materials. As for labor, the INS says, the Army Corps of Engineers donated its services.

But the new initiative, involving high-tech equipment and additional border agents, will cost a lot more. For the coming year, the INS has requested an additional \$180 million to strengthen border controls nationwide. About \$83 million of that sum will be spent for upgrading technology and improving the INS' automated systems. Another \$32 million will be spent improving the border inspection system, and \$65 million to add agents.

By the end of the year, the INS has promised that it will add 600 agents to the Southwest border, in addition to the 300 already promised. In training costs alone, the taxpayers will have to pay another \$48 million — or \$80,000 per trainee.

After visiting the California border two weeks ago, Democratic Senator Dianne Feinstein said she is convinced that "America can enforce its borders." But so far, neither Feinstein nor any other politician or immigration official has specified what exactly would constitute success in securing the state's borders. Would success mean cutting illegal migration by another 10 percent? By 50 percent? Or 100 percent?

Analysts say there is still a chance that the INS' grand strategy will make crossing this stretch of border so difficult that many migrants will simply quit trying.

But it is a strategy whose outcome is still in doubt. Some anti-immigration conservatives have argued that the only way to seal the border completely might be to dig a deep ditch and erect a high-voltage fence. Others argue for levying fines and even imprisonment of habitual illegal crossers.

Few see that as a realistic option. "I don't believe that Americans believe in fortress America," said attorney Rubin. "Nor do I believe they would be willing to pay for it."

L.A. Considers Latino Entertainment Zone

Associated Press
Los Angeles

Groups trying to save several ornate downtown theaters have suggested the buildings should become part of a proposed Latino-oriented entertainment zone.

The Community Redevelopment Agency, taking part in an annual League of Historic American Theaters convention, produced a study recommending creation of a Latino zone on Broadway between Sixth and Eighth streets.

The study suggests that a largely untapped market of Latino con-

sumers would attend concerts, plays and even a high-tech sports bar at the Los Angeles, Palace and State theaters.

Renovating the three theaters would cost about \$20 million. The money presumably would come from private entertainment companies eager to court the area's large Latino population, the agency said.

Some audience members attending the convention took exception to the plan's orientation, saying it might further ethnic segregation.

"I feel I've been told to stay on the Westside where you belong," one white woman angrily declared before quickly leaving the meeting. "What about the melting pot? What about the tossed salad?"

Agency officials said the theaters' venues and audience would be open to all, but that a Latino flavor was logical given the location, adjacent to several immigrant neighborhoods.

Others pondering the fates of the theaters, some of them fantasized versions of Mayan temples, French palaces and Spanish haci-

endas, say the issue is personal safety, not architecture and interior design.

Like New York's Times Square, Los Angeles' Broadway struggles with the image of being a dangerous place at night.

"The question is how do you keep people coming to the theaters if they are afraid of coming downtown?" asked Mary Margaret Schoenfeld, executive director of the League of Historic American Theaters. "You can have great buildings but if people are not going to sit in them, you're out of luck."

STOPPED AT THE BORDER

The number of people apprehended while trying to enter the United States illegally since 1980 has nearly doubled in the San Diego area, but has grown by two-thirds nationwide. San Diego's percentage of apprehensions also has grown, from nearly 38 percent in 1980 to 42 percent last year. The number of people apprehended dropped dramatically after 1986 as 2.5 million previously illegal immigrants from Mexico were granted amnesty under the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act.

Year	San Diego Sector	Nationwide
1980	285,984	759,420
1981	426,836	825,290
1982	614,979	819,919
1983	429,421	1,105,670
1984	407,828	1,138,566
1985	427,772	1,185,795
1986	697,456	1,615,854
1987	500,927	1,122,067
1988	431,592	943,063
1989	366,572	891,147
1990	423,623	1,103,353
1991	540,847	1,132,933
1992	585,581	1,199,860
1993	531,689	1,263,490

Source: Immigration and Naturalization Service

Costly Border Fortifications Take Shape

By Louis Freedberg
Chronicle Staff Writer

Tijuana

Lying in a gully on the Mexican side of the California border, a weary Juan Gonzalez surveyed the array of military-style obstacles he would have to traverse before setting out toward his final destination, the lettuce fields of Salinas.

In front of him was a fence built from metal sheets once used as a landing platform in the gulf war. Beyond that were helicopters with spotlights and infra-

red telescopes, high-powered stadium lights illuminating newly cleared land, ground sensors first used during the Vietnam War, and dozens of specially trained Border Patrol agents.

As the sun dipped below the nearby ridges, Gonzales waited for a helicopter to fly to another part of the border and for the agents to drive away in their white patrol cars. Then he crawled through a hole under the fence and was on his way.

The moment was emblematic of the dilemma confronting state

and federal officials at the California-Mexico border: While the federal government has spent millions of dollars on new barriers and high-tech equipment, turning the border landscape into something resembling a war zone, thousands of Mexicans and others are still crossing undeterred.

Every night, the Border Patrol catches 1,100 or more illegal immigrants in the San Diego area, but officials estimate that just as many elude the agents. Some experts think that the number of

those who escape capture is much higher.

"We never said this fence and the lighting and the other measures we have taken would stop this," said Ann Summers, a Border Patrol spokeswoman in San Diego. "So long as their standard of living is low and ours is high, I don't think you will ever stop illegal immigration anywhere in the world."

The California-Mexico border accounts for almost half of all il-
HIGH-TECH: Page A6 Col. 1

BusinessWeek

JULY 13, 1992

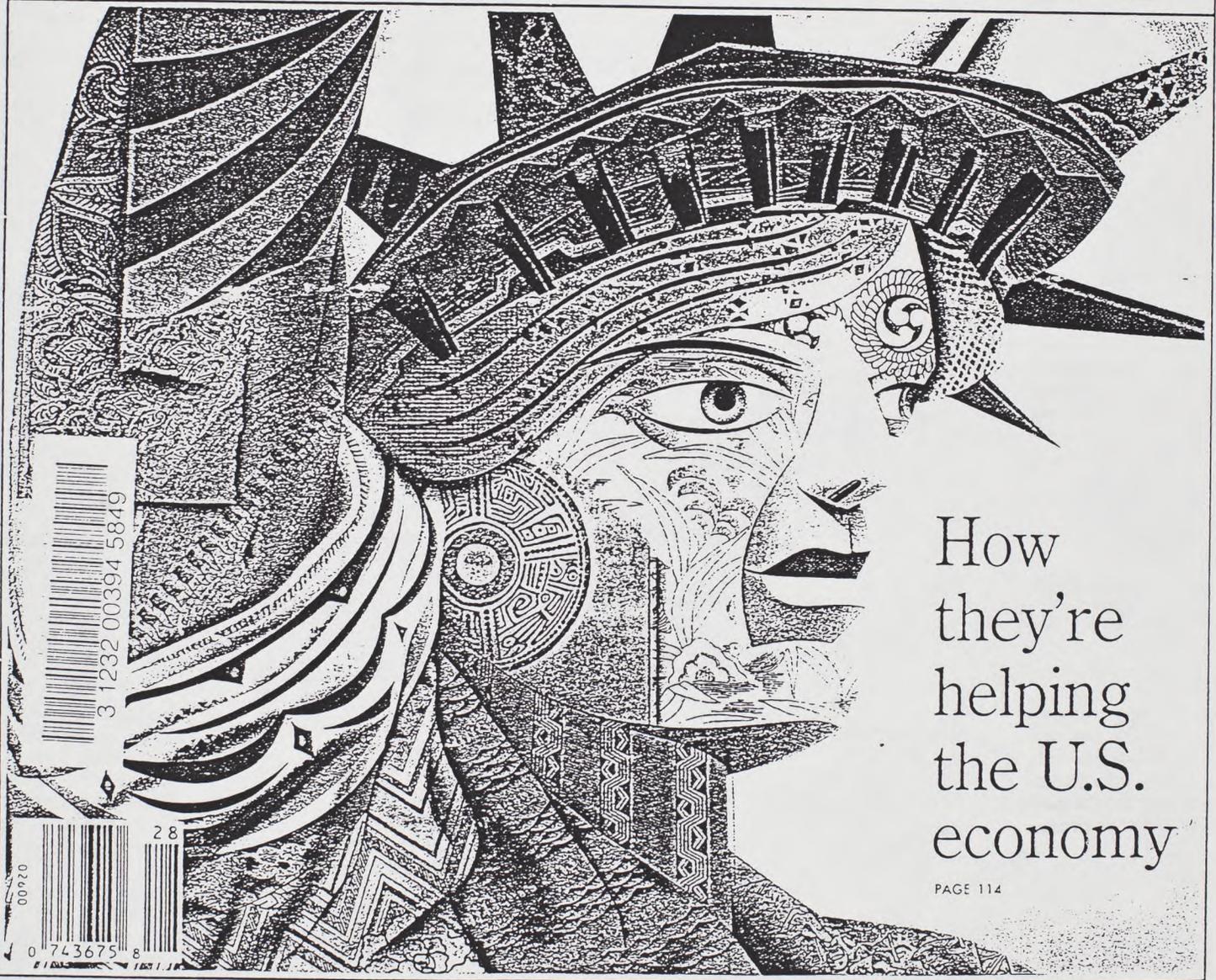
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THE IMMIGRANTS



How
they're
helping
the U.S.
economy

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THE IMMIGRANTS

HOW THEY'RE HELPING TO REVITALIZE THE U.S. ECONOMY

*Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to
breathe free....*

These words carved into the base of the Statue of Liberty speak to America's vision of itself. We were, and still are, a nation of immigrants. In the 1980s alone, a stunning 8.7 million people poured into the U.S., matching the great immigration decade of 1900-10. But with the country facing difficult economic and social problems, is it time to put aside our romantic past and kick away the immigrant welcome mat?

A lot of Americans feel the answer is "yes." In a BUSINESS WEEK/Harris poll, 68% of respondents said today's immigration is bad for the country, even though most thought it was good in the past. President Bush has found it politically expedient to refuse refugees from Haiti. And in areas like recession-weary Southern California, immigrants are being blamed for everything from rising unemployment to a rocketing state budget deficit. "I understand, in the past, 'give me your tired, your poor.' Today, the U.S. has to look at our own huddled masses first," says former Colorado Governor Richard D. Lamm, who is running for the U.S. Senate.

This rising resentment against immigrants is no surprise. The million or so immigrants—including 200,000 illegals—that will arrive in the U.S. this year are coming at a time when

unemployment is high and social services strained. Unlike past waves of immigration, the new immigrants are mainly from Asia and Latin America. And just like the American work force, these immigrants are split between the highly skilled and well-educated and those with minimal skills and little education. Hungry for work, the newcomers compete for jobs with Americans, particularly with the less skilled. The large num-

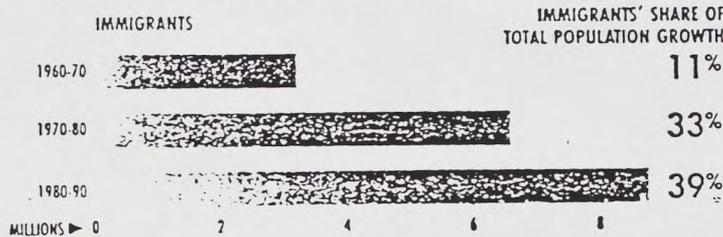
ber of untrained immigrants, especially those from Mexico, are finding it harder to move up the employment ladder than did past generations of newcomers. And in the cities, the new immigrants seem to inflame racial and ethnic conflicts.

But on balance, the economic benefits of being an open-door society far outweigh the costs. For one thing, the U.S. is reaping a bonanza of highly educated foreigners. In the 1980s alone, an un-

precedented 1.5 million college-educated immigrants joined the U.S. work force. More and more, America's high-tech industries, from semiconductors to biotechnology, are depending on immigrant scientists, engineers, and entrepreneurs to remain competitive. And the immigrants' links to their old countries are boosting U.S. exports to such fast-growing regions as Asia and Latin America.

Even immigrants with less education are contributing to the economy as workers, consumers, business owners, and taxpayers. Some 11 million immigrants are working, and they earn at least \$240 billion a year, paying more than \$90 billion in taxes. That's a lot more than the estimated \$5 billion immigrants receive in welfare. Immigrant entrepreneurs, from the corner grocer to the local builder, are creating jobs—and not only for other immigrants. Vibrant immigrant communities are revitalizing cities and older suburbs that would otherwise be suffering from a shrinking tax base. Says John D. Kasarda, a

A FLOOD OF NEW IMMIGRANTS...



...MAINLY FROM ASIA AND LATIN AMERICA...

SOURCES OF LEGAL IMMIGRANTS* 1971-91

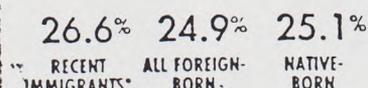


*INCLUDES ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS WHO HAVE RECEIVED AMNESTY

**INCLUDES BOTH TAIWAN AND THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

...IS BETTER EDUCATED THAN EVER...

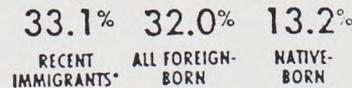
PERCENTAGE OF MALE WORKERS WHO ARE COLLEGE GRADUATES



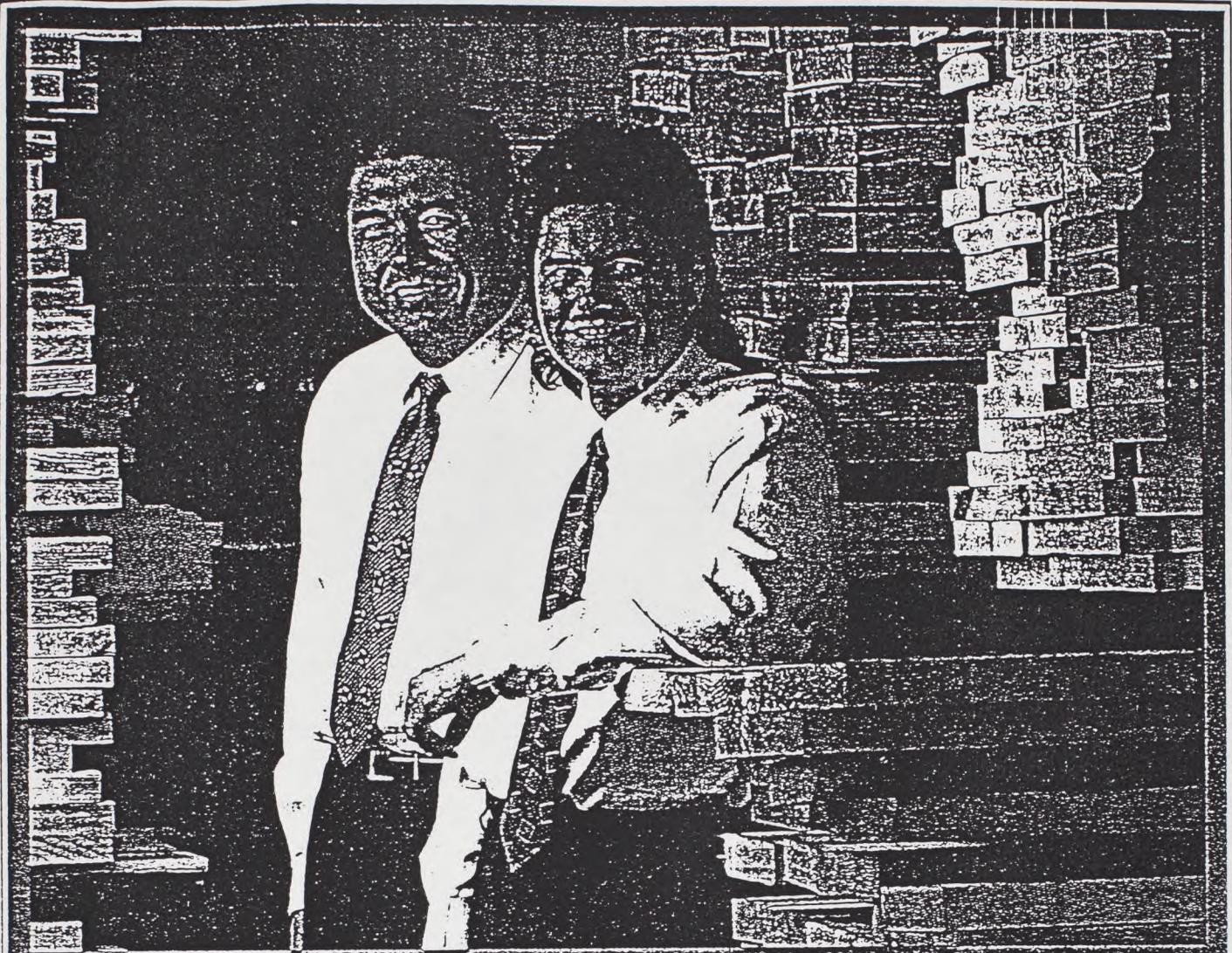
*IN U.S. FIVE YEARS OR LESS

...BUT MANY ARE HIGH SCHOOL DROPOUTS

PERCENTAGE OF MALE WORKERS WHO ARE NOT HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES



DATA: THE URBAN INSTITUTE, CENSUS BUREAU, IMMIGRATION & NATURALIZATION SERVICE



◀ **AMERICAN MEGATRENDS**
USES A MOSAIC OF
IMMIGRANTS TO BUILD
PC MOTHERBOARDS

▼ **NEW YORK GARMENT**
WORKERS GRADUATE
FROM ENGLISH CLASSES
OFFERED BY THEIR UNION

▲ **THE MEXICAN-BORN**
ACEVEDOS STARTED
CAL-STATE LUMBER.
EXPORTS ARE BOOMING



CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: PHOTOGRAPHS BY ROBERT BURFOUGHS, ALAN DOROW, ANNI STATES/SABA

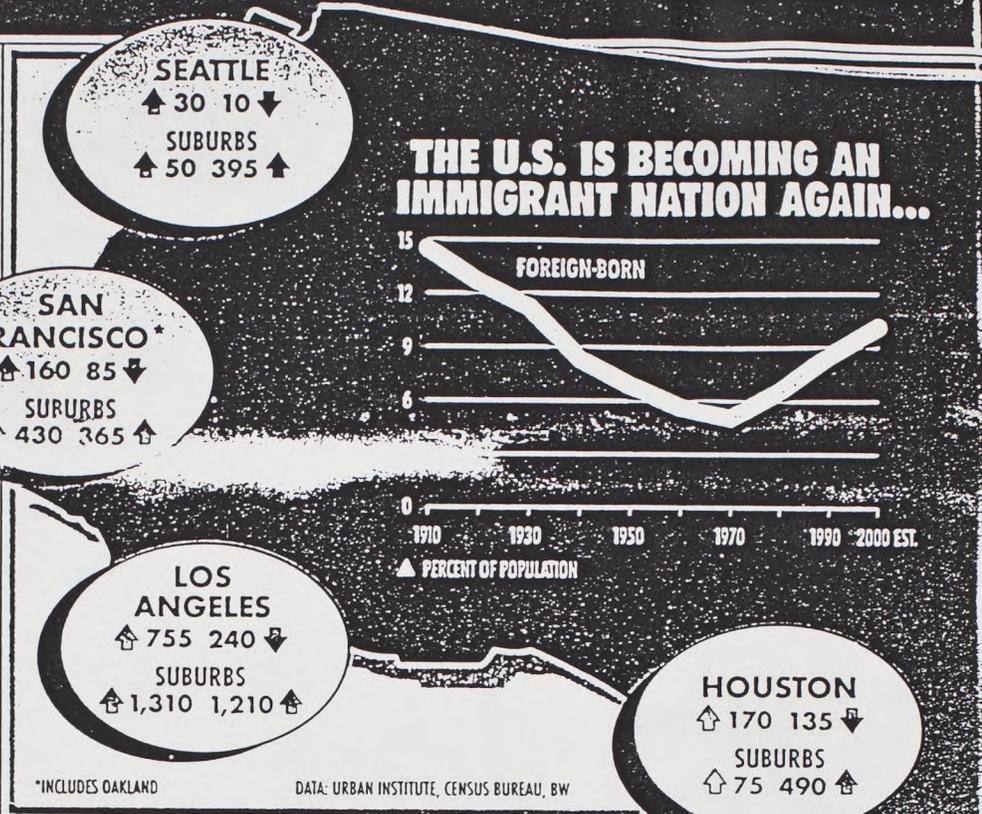
Cover Story

sociologist at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill: "There is substantial evidence that immigrants are a powerful benefit to the economy, and very little evidence that they are negative."

In 1965, when Congress overhauled the immigration laws, nobody expected this great tide of new immigrants. But that law made it easier to bring close relatives into the country and, influenced by the civil-rights movement, eliminated racially based barriers to immigration. Prior to that, it was difficult for anyone who was not European or Canadian to settle here. The result: a surge of immigrants from Asia and Latin America, especially from countries like South Korea and the Philippines that had close economic and military ties to the U.S. And once a group got a foothold in the U.S., it would continue to expand by bringing over more family members.

NEW WAVE. The aftermath of the Vietnam War provided the second powerful source of immigrants. Over the last 10 years, the U.S. granted permanent-resident status to about 1 million refugees, mostly from Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos. And now the end of the cold war is tapping another immigrant stream: Over the last three years, the fastest-growing group of new settlers has been refugees from Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union.

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, a to-



grants. About 2.5 million people have become permanent residents under the amnesty program. And the pending North American Free Trade Agreement, by strengthening economic ties between Mexico and the U.S., might very well increase illegal immigration in the short run rather than diminish it.

Opening the gates to Asians and Latin

Americans dramatically altered the face of immigration. In the 1950s, 68% of legal immigrants came from Europe or Canada. In the 1980s, that percentage fell to only 13%. Conversely, the proportion of legal immigrants coming from Latin America and Asia rose from 31% to 84%, including illegal aliens granted amnesty under the 1986 law.

As the ethnic mix of the new immi-

grants changed, so did their levels of skill. At the low end, the plethora of low-wage service-sector jobs drew in a large number of unskilled, illiterate newcomers. About one-third of immigrant workers are high school dropouts, and one-third of those entered the U.S. illegally.

But the number of skilled immigrants has been increasing as well. "The level of education of recent immigrants

has definitely increased over the last 10 years," says Elaine Sorensen, an immigration expert at the Urban Institute. About one-quarter of immigrant workers are college graduates, slightly higher than for native-born Americans. Some groups, such as Indians, are on average much better educated than today's Americans. Observes Steven Newman, an executive at the New York Association for New Americans, which will resettle about 20,000 immigrants from the former Soviet Union this year, including many engineers, computer programmers, and other skilled workers: "The only thing they lack is English skills."

TALENT BASE. Every immigrant who were doing well in their home countries are being drawn to the U.S. Take Subramanian Shankar, the 43-year-old president of American Megatrends Inc., a maker of personal computer motherboards and software based in Norcross, Ga. He was director of personal-computer R&D at one of India's largest conglomerates. Then in 1980, he came to the U.S. In 1985, he and a partner founded AMI, which last year had sales of \$70 million and employed 130 workers, both immigrants and native-born Americans. "I couldn't have done this in India," says Shankar. "That's one good thing about America. If you're determined to succeed, there are ways to get it done."

And U.S. industry has been eager to take advantage of the influx. About 40% of the 200 researchers in the Communications Sciences Research wing at AT&T

IMMIGRATION'S NEW LOOK

The 1990 Immigration Act took effect this year. The new law boosts legal immigration by 40%. It still favors family members of U.S. citizens and permanent residents, but it more than doubles the slots available for skilled workers. Political refugees come under a different act. Here's the likely pattern of immigration in 1992:

Close relatives of U.S. citizens, and spouses and children of permanent residents	520,000
Skilled workers and their families	140,000
Citizens of countries with relatively few immigrants in recent years, such as Argentina and Ireland	40,000
Political refugees, including those from the former Soviet Union	141,000
Illegal immigrants	200,000*
TOTAL	1,041,000

*Estimate

DATA: IMMIGRATION & NATURALIZATION SERVICE, BW

tal of some 5 million illegal immigrants from Mexico and other countries settled in the U.S., drawn by opportunity here and fleeing economic troubles at home. Many settled in Southern California and Texas. In 1986, Congress passed the Immigration Reform & Control Act (IRCA), which imposed penalties on employers who hired illegal immigrants but also gave amnesty to many illegal immi-

CHICAGO

↑ 210 430 ↓
SUBURBS
↑ 140 160 ↑

BOSTON

↑ 60 50 ↓
SUBURBS
↑ 60 70 ↑

NEW YORK CITY

↑ 955 705 ↓
SUBURBS
↑ 550 305 ↓

MIAMI

↑ 105 90 ↓
SUBURBS
↑ 360 180 ↑

...ESPECIALLY IN ITS BIGGEST CITIES AND THEIR SUBURBS

CHANGE IN POPULATION 1980-90

↑ INCREASE ↓ DECREASE
IN THOUSANDS

NEW IMMIGRANTS / EVERYONE ELSE

er immigrant merchants are familiar sights in many cities, but the entrepreneurial spirit goes far beyond any one ethnic group or single line of business. Almost by definition, anyone who moves to a new country has a lot of initiative and desire to do well. Says Dan Danilov, an immigration lawyer based in Seattle: "They're willing to put in more hours and more hard work."

And do they work. Paul Yuan, for example, left Taiwan with his wife in 1975, seven days after their marriage, eventually settling in Seattle with several thousand dollars in life savings and no work visas. For two years Yuan, a college graduate, worked in Chinese restaurants. Then, in 1978, he became a legal resident and opened his own travel agency while working nights as a hotel dishwasher. Today, at age 43, Yuan owns a thriving Seattle travel business, and he and his family live in a \$4 million house. In 1965, 21-year-old Humberto Galvez left Mexico City for Los Angeles. He started pumping gas and busing tables, working his way up the ladder, with a lot of bumps along the way. After starting, then selling, the chain of 19 "El Pollo Loco" charbroiled chicken restaurants in the Los Angeles area, he now owns six Pescado Mojado (wet fish) seafood diners, employing 100 workers.

Immigrant entrepreneurs have also made big contributions to the U.S. export boom. Businesses run by immigrants from Asia, for example, have ready-made connections overseas. Immigrants bring a global perspective and international contacts to insular American businesses. And it is not just Asians. From Poles to Mexicans, "the utility of the immigrant groups is that they bring their fearless spirit of competing globally," observes Michael Goldberg, dean of the University of British Columbia's business school.

That's certainly true for Benjamin and

Bell Laboratories were born outside the U.S. In Silicon Valley, the jewel of America's high-tech centers, much of the technical work force is foreign-born (page 120). At Du Pont Merck Pharmaceutical Co., an \$800 million-a-year joint venture based in Wilmington, Del., losartan, an antihypertensive drug now in clinical trials, was invented by a team that included two immigrants from Hong Kong and a scientist whose parents migrated from Lithuania. People from different backgrounds bring a richness of outlook, says Joseph A. Mollica, chief executive of Du Pont Merck, "which lets you look at both problems and opportunities from a slightly different point of view."

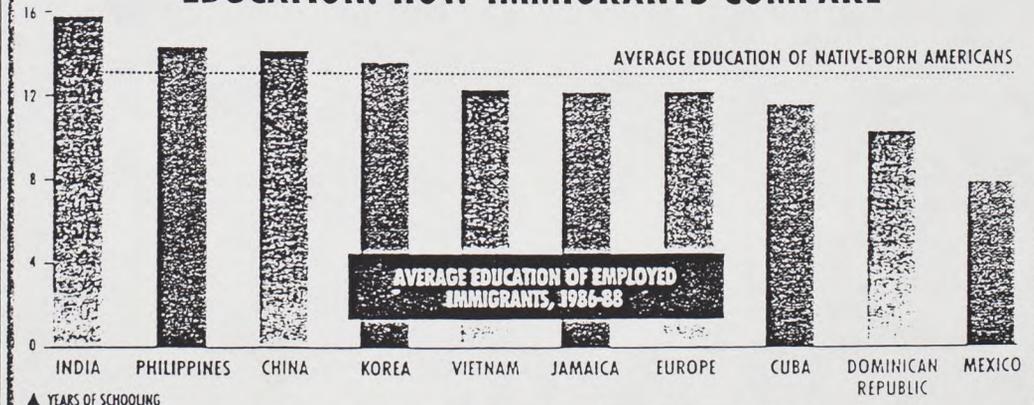
The next generation of scientists and engineers at U.S. high-tech companies will be dominated by immigrants. While about the same number of Americans are getting science PhDs, the number of foreign-born students receiving science doctorates more than doubled between 1981 and 1991, to 37% of the total. In biology, the hot field of the 1990s, the number of non-U.S. citizens getting doctorates tripled over the last 10 years. And about 51% of computer-science doctorates in 1991 went to foreign-born students. "We are getting really good students—very, very smart people," says Victor L. Thacker, director of

the office of international education at Carnegie Mellon University, which has doubled its foreign enrollment since 1985.

UP THE LADDER. Attracted by the research opportunities and the chance to use what they know, about half of them stay in the U.S. after graduation, estimates Angel G. Jordan, a professor and former provost at Carnegie Mellon, who himself emigrated from Spain in 1956. And the 1990 changes to the immigration law, by increasing the number of visas for skilled immigrants, will increase the number of foreign graduates who remain in the U.S.

Besides boosting the nation's science and engineering know-how, the latest wave of immigrants is loaded with entrepreneurs. Korean greengrocers and oth-

EDUCATION: HOW IMMIGRANTS COMPARE



Cover Story

Victor Acevedo, two brothers whose family moved from Tijuana, Mexico, to California in 1960, when they were 3 and 8. In 1984, the Acevedos started up a wood-products company in the south San Diego community of San Ysidro, just across the U.S.-Mexico border. Cal-State Lumber Sales Inc. now commands 10% of the architectural molding market in the U.S. and had 110 employees and \$147 million in sales last year. And as long-term trade barriers with Mexico crumbled over the past few years, the Acevedos have been able to take advantage of their bicultural heritage. "My brother and I started shipping all over Mexico, and our export business boomed," says Ben Acevedo.

URBAN BOOSTERS. Perhaps the least-appreciated economic benefit from the new immigrants is the contribution they are making to American cities. Immigrants have been drawn to the major metropolitan areas. They are invigorating the cities and older suburbs by setting up businesses, buying homes, paying taxes, and shopping at the corner grocery. In the past decade, population in the nation's 10 largest cities grew by 4.7%, but without new immigrants it would have shrunk by 6.8%, according to calculations done by BUSINESS WEEK based on the 1990 census. Almost a million immigrants came to New York City in the 1980s, more than offsetting the 750,000 decline in the rest of the city's population. Indeed, about a third of adults in New York, 41% of adults in Los Angeles, and 70% of adults in Miami are now foreign-born, according to the 1990 census.

Immigrants have turned around many a decaying neighborhood. Ten years ago, Jefferson Boulevard in south Dallas was a dying inner-city business district filled with vacant storefronts. Today, there are almost 500 businesses there and on neighboring streets, and about three-quarters of them are owned by Hispanics, many of them first- and second-generation immigrants. "They were hungry enough to start their own businesses," says Leonel Ramos, president of the Jefferson Area Assn. And sociologist Kasarda adds: "There is a whole multiplier effect throughout the community."

Moreover, immigrants provide a hardworking labor force to fill the low-paid jobs that make a modern service economy run. In many cities, industries such as hotels, restaurants, and child care would be hard-



BOYCOTTING
BONG JAE JANG'S
BROOKLYN (N. Y.)
STORE IN 1990-

pressed without immigrant labor. At the Seattle Sheraton, 28% of the hotel's staff of 650 is foreign-born, and most work in housekeeping, dish-washing, and other low-paying jobs. "We don't have American-born people apply for those positions," says Carla Murray, hotel manager for the Seattle Sheraton.

MARGIN DWELLERS. But all the economic vitality immigrants add comes at a price. While economists and employers may celebrate industrious immigrants, many barely survive on the economy's margins. "They don't go to the doctor, don't buy insurance, don't buy glasses, don't buy anything you or I are used to," says Hannah Hsiao, head of the Employment Program at the Chinese Information & Service Center in Seattle. A fringe, unpaid wages, a deportation, or some other calamity is always threatening. And racial

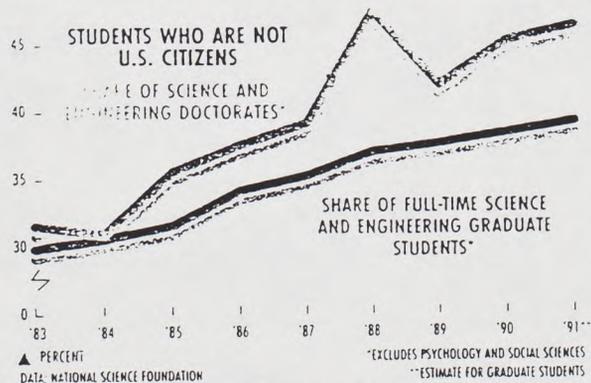
discrimination makes their lot even harder, especially those who don't speak English. Some, like economist George J. Borjas of the University of California at San Diego, worry that these poor and unskilled immigrants are condemned to years of poverty.

In many cities, newcomers and longtime residents struggle over jobs and access to scarce government resources. Immigrants are straining health and education services in some cities and suburbs. And many African-Americans believe the apparent success of immigrants is coming at their expense. In New York City, blacks picketed a number of Korean greengrocers. According to the BUSINESS WEEK/Harris poll, 73% of blacks said businesses would rather hire immigrants than black Americans.

The people hurt worst by immigrants are native-born high school dropouts, who already face a tough time. They compete for jobs against a large number of unskilled immigrants, including illegals from Mexico and the Caribbean who are poorly educated, unable to start their own businesses, and willing to work harder for lower wages than most longtime residents.

For Americans who have at least a high school education, however, the influx of immigrants hasn't had much negative impact. High school graduates, for example, saw their real wages decline by 10% in the 1980s. But almost all of that drop came from import competition and rising skill requirements of many jobs, and only a fraction from immigrant com-

MORE SCIENCE AND ENGINEERING STUDENTS ARE COMING FROM ABROAD



AMERICA'S WELCOME MAT IS WEARING THIN

Most Americans are uneasy about immigrants. While a majority think immigration was once a good thing, they now believe it's harming the country. The public worries that new arrivals take away jobs, drive down wages, and use too many government ser-



vices. But forget the conventional wisdom about black resentment of immigrants: Even though 73% of blacks believe businesses would rather hire immigrants, blacks in general feel more positively toward immigrants than do nonblacks.

FEELING THE INFLUX

		All respondents	
■ Compared to other times in our history, would you say there are more immigrants coming to the U.S. now, fewer immigrants, or about the same number as before?	More	64%	
	Fewer	11%	
	Same	21%	
	Not sure	4%	

PAST BENEFITS

		All respondents	
■ Overall, over our history, do you think immigration has been good or bad for this country?	Good	59%	
	Bad	35%	
	Neither	3%	
	Not sure	3%	

PRESENT DANGERS

		Nonblacks	Blacks
■ Right now, do you think immigration is good or bad for this country?	Good	26%	40%
	Bad	69%	53%
	Neither	2%	6%
	Not sure	3%	1%

LESSEN THE FLOW

		Nonblacks	Blacks
■ In the 1990s, would you like to see this country admit more, fewer, or about the same number of immigrants as were admitted in the 1980s?	More	3%	12%
	Fewer	62%	47%
	Same	31%	34%
	Not sure	4%	7%

BOON OR BURDEN?

■ Now I'd like to read you a series of statements about immigration in this country. For each statement, please tell me if you agree or disagree.

	Nonblacks			Blacks		
	Agree	Dis-agree	Not sure	Agree	Dis-agree	Not sure
New immigrants take jobs away from American workers	62%	37%	1%	63%	34%	3%
A lot of immigrants bring needed skills to this country	49%	49%	2%	60%	34%	6%
New immigrants joining the labor force drive down wages	66%	32%	2%	61%	36%	3%
Many new immigrants are very hard-working	83%	15%	2%	87%	10%	3%
Immigrants use more than their fair share of government services, such as welfare, medical care, and food stamps ..	62%	32%	6%	59%	34%	7%

	Nonblacks			Blacks		
	Agree	Dis-agree	Not sure	Agree	Dis-agree	Not sure
A lot of immigrants start new businesses, which helps the U.S. economy grow	55%	40%	5%	67%	29%	4%
Immigration makes race relations in our cities worse	61%	35%	4%	43%	52%	5%

ON THE HIRING LINE

■ Which do you think businesses prefer to hire—immigrants or black Americans?

	Nonblacks	Blacks
Immigrants	49%	73%
Black Americans	30%	15%
Makes no difference	6%	5%
Not sure	15%	7%

BILINGUAL DILEMMA

■ In areas where there are a lot of non-English-speaking immigrants, do you think public schools should or should not offer education in their language?

	Nonblacks	Blacks
Should offer	43%	77%
Should not offer	56%	20%
Not sure	1%	3%

PRICE OF ADMISSION

■ Should immigrants who have education and skills be favored for admission to this country over those immigrants with less education and skills or not?

	Nonblacks	Blacks
Immigrants with education and skills should be favored for admission	47%	36%
Not favored	48%	59%
Not sure	5%	5%

THE DREAM LIVES ON

■ Is the American dream of middle-class prosperity still a realistic goal for new immigrants or not?

		All respondents
American dream still realistic	56%	
Not realistic	39%	
Not sure	5%	

Edited by Christopher Power

Survey of 1,418 adults, including 246 blacks, conducted June 10-14, 1992, for BUSINESS WEEK by Louis Harris & Associates Inc. Results should be accurate to within 3 percentage points, except that results for the smaller sample of blacks should be accurate to within 7 percentage points.

HIGH TECH'S HUDDLED MASSES: MAKING A MARK IN SILICON VALLEY

In 1979, Solectron Corp., a circuit-board assembler based in Silicon Valley, was about to go under. Enter Winston H. Chen, a Taiwanese immigrant. Tapping into savings accumulated during an eight-year stint as an IBM manager, he bought half the company for \$100,000 and engineered a quick turnaround. Sales have grown on average by more than 50% a year for the past 14 years, to \$181 million, and the company is now a symbol of American competitiveness in a field dominated by East Asian companies. Last year, Solectron won a coveted prize in American business: the Malcolm Baldrige National Quality Award.

Immigrants play a big role in Silicon Valley—from assembling chips and

its way up the high-tech hierarchy. Says Taiwan-born David N. K. Wang, vice-president of Applied Materials Inc.: "Silicon Valley is one of the most international business centers in the world."

IDIOM WATCH. Still, it's not all that easy for immigrants to get into management. A 1990 study by Pacific Studies Center, a public interest information center in Mountain View, Calif., showed that despite the large Asian presence in the Valley's high-tech work force, they account for less than 10% of management.

Some new arrivals have language problems, of course. And it takes time to move them up the management ladder. But China-born David K. Lam,



**SOLETRON'S
CHEN: MILLIONS IN
SALES AND A
BALDRIGE AWARD**

computers to developing the next generation of high-tech products. Asians, for example, make up about a third of the Valley's engineering work force. And the design of Intel Corp.'s latest microprocessor, which will run a new generation of personal computers, was managed by an East Indian native and a Taiwan-born vice-president.

Some of the valley's best-known entrepreneurs were born in other countries. Chief Executive Officer Andrew S. Grove escaped from Hungary in 1956 and built Intel into the largest U.S. chipmaker. In 1983, Frenchman Philippe Kahn founded Borland International Inc., one of the world's biggest software companies. Now, a new generation of immigrants is working

founder of Lam Research Corp., a large manufacturer of chipmaking equipment, believes that many white executives think Asians can't be good managers. "Underlying prejudice is still there," he says.

Several Valley companies are trying, however, to open up their managerial ranks. In many companies, managers routinely take courses on "managing diversity." Some companies offer immigrants classes on American idioms and business culture. In the highly competitive electronics business, more and more companies are finding that it pays to tap the cultural backgrounds, financial contacts, and entrepreneurial drive of the new immigrants.

By Robert D. Hof in San Jose, Calif.

petition, according to a study by Borjas of UC, San Diego, and Richard Freeman and Lawrence Katz of Harvard University. "It is extremely convenient to point a finger at immigrants," says Muzaffar Chishti, director of the Immigration Project for the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in New York. "But the problems of black employment are outside the immigrant domain."

Moreover, for all their struggles, most immigrants are hardly wards of the state. Illegals are not eligible for welfare, and even many legal immigrants shun it, fearing that it will make it harder to become a citizen in the future. A study by Borjas shows that in 1980—the latest national data available—only 8.8% of immigrant households received welfare, compared to 7.9% of all native-born Americans. And with the education and skill levels of immigrants rising in the 1980s, the expectations are that the spread between the two hasn't worsened, and may have even narrowed. In Los Angeles County, for example, immigrants amount to 16% of the 722,000 people on Aid to Families with Dependent Children, the government's main welfare program. Yet immigrants are more than 30% of the county's population. "Immigrants benefit natives through the public coffers by using less than their share of services and paying more than their share of taxes," says Julian L. Simon, a University of Maryland economist.

SCHOOL DAZE. One real concern is whether urban school systems can handle the surge of immigrant children. "The public school is the vehicle through which the child of immigrants becomes Americanized," says Jeffrey S. Passel, a demographer for the Washington-based Urban Institute. But in many cities, the task of educating immigrant students has become an enormous burden. In Los Angeles, 39% of the city's students don't speak English well, and in Seattle, 21% come from homes where English is not the family's first language. In the nation's capital, the school system is nearly overwhelmed by a huge number of Vietnamese, Haitians, and Salvadorean children. "If the school system is inadequate, then it's much more difficult to help immigrants move up the economic ladder," says Robert D. Hormats, vice-chairman of Goldman, Sachs International and head of the Trilateral Commission's working group on immigration.

City schools, despite the constraint of tight resources, are finding innovative ways to reach immigrant children. In Seattle, about half the immigrant students speak such limited English that they qualify for a program where they are taught subjects in simplified English. The Los Angeles schools offer dual lan-

guage classes in Spanish, Korean, Armenian, Cantonese, Filipino, Farsi, and Japanese. Other organizations, such as unions, are also teaching immigrants English. In New York, the Garment Workers Union, often called the immigrant union, offers English classes to its members and their families.

In the coming decade, it won't be easy

to assimilate the new immigrants, whether they come from Laos or Russia. But the positives far outweigh any short-term negatives. In today's white-hot international competition, the U.S. profits from the ideas and innovations of immigrants. And by any economic calculus, their hard work adds far more to the nation's wealth than the resources

they drain. It is still those "huddled masses yearning to breathe free" who will keep the American dream burning bright for most of us.

By Michael J. Mandel and Christopher Farrell, with Dori Jones Yang in Seattle, Gloria Lau in Los Angeles, Christina Del Valle in Washington, S. Lynne Walker in San Diego, and bureau reports

ARMAGEDDON—OR SHINING CITY OF THE FUTURE?

Drive-west along Miami's N.W. 62nd Street, and it's easy to see the impact of immigration. Gracing the shores of Biscayne Bay are apartments, condos, and houses inhabited by affluent whites. West of U.S. 1 is Little Haiti, home to most of the city's estimated 75,000 Haitians. Continue past I-95 to Liberty City, one of Miami's black American centers, where signs of economic life are returning after riots 12 years ago. Farther west in Hialeah, Dade County's second-largest municipality, store signs switch to Spanish in a city of 188,000 that is 87% Hispanic.

No other area in America has been so transformed by immigrants as Miami. A sleepy tourist area 30 years ago, this metropolis with a Latin beat now has more foreign-born residents than any other major U.S. city. Indeed, Hispanics constitute 49% of Dade County's 1.9 million population. "We're the new Ellis Island," says Marvin Dunn, professor of psychology at Florida International University.

PAST TENSE. But in the aftermath of these changes, Miami has become a troubled city. Uncomfortable in the newly ethnic milieu, thousands of whites moved north to neighboring counties in the 1980s. Miami has exploded in a fury of riots three times over the past 12 years. The shooting of a black motorcyclist by a Hispanic police officer sparked the last riot, in 1989. And the ethnic frictions haven't subsided. Between black Americans and Haitian immigrants there is tension over jobs, language, and culture. But in front of the Winn-Dixie supermarket in Liberty City, J. A. Alex says the real conflict is between blacks and Cuban immigrants. "Nobody's backing

up. Blacks aren't going back to the 1950s, and Cubans are not going to go back to Havana."

Miami's immigrant transformation began with the waves of Cuban refugees in the 1960s and 1970s and culminated with the 1980 influx that brought about 125,000 Cubans and Haitians to Miami within just two months. Nicaraguans, Peruvians, and scores of other Hispanics fleeing war and economic upheaval at home soon followed. And more Haitians keep trying to get into the U.S., despite the Bush Administration's goal of sending Haitian refugees back home.

study on immigration's impact by anthropologist Alex Stepick of Florida International University notes that it was Cuban immigrants, not blacks, who won the lion's share of public and private money available for minority economic development after the 1960s civil rights movement.

BOYCOTTS AND BRIDGES. Miami's racial tensions are exacerbated at times by the role of geopolitics in local affairs. Black leaders have waged a two-year boycott of Miami as a convention site after the city snubbed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela in 1990 for thanking Cuban leader Fidel

Castro for support during his imprisonment. The boycott has cost the city 28 canceled conventions. And attorney H. T. Smith, who has led the boycott effort, says he has had hundreds of requests by blacks to start a Cuban business boycott, an effort he hasn't supported. Now that Cubans are the new power elite, they "have the opportunity to rule over the model city of the 21st century or Armageddon," he says. "It's that serious."

There have been attempts at building bridges between blacks and Hispanics. Hotel and tourist companies are making a determined effort to hire more blacks in management positions and sales jobs, and black businesses are getting more floral, catering, and other contracts. A Greater Miami Chamber of Commerce committee is working to promote Hispanic-black co-ventures. Says Nicaraguan banker Roberto Arguello, a co-chairman of the committee: "The tension is there, but leaders are working to decrease it." But with all Miami's problems, that's going to take a long time.

By Gail DeGeorge in Miami



The first waves of Cuban immigrants were mostly middle-class. Some had squirreled away capital to start up businesses. And as their numbers grew, Cubans drew on a ready market connected by language and culture for the businesses they established. Economic gains were matched by political triumphs: Miami's mayor is Cuban, the city commission is controlled by Cubans, and one-third of the county's state representatives are Cuban.

A large part of the tension between Miami's black and Hispanic community stems from the perception among many blacks that the Cubans' gain came at their expense. Indeed, a 1990

In California, the anti-immigrant hysteria has spawned a ballot measure which would turn state government employees into INS agents. They would have to report the presence of any "apparent illegal immigrants."

The so-called S.O.S. initiative's attempt to deny education and most government-funded social services to undocumented immigrants is neither workable nor morally acceptable. Moreover, the initiative has an enormous potential for discrimination against anyone with brown skin, or with a Spanish-sounding surname or accent.

We need to interject ourselves much more forcefully into the debate...

Join us for a thorough-going analysis of S.O.S. Attorneys from MALDEF will lead the discussion. A quick, initial strategy meeting on fighting the initiative will follow.

When: Thursday, July 7th at 4 P.M.

**Where: St. Jude's Community Center
1129 S. 38th (Corner of Boston)
San Diego, CA**

Handouts such as an updated, section-by-section analysis of S.O.S. will be available.

For more information, please contact: George Aguilar (557-5117), Augie Bareño (482-6862), Roberto Martinez (233-4114) or Claudia Smith (966-0511).



STATISTICAL INFORMATION ABOUT
NON-CITIZENSHIP AND THE IMMIGRANT POPULATION

The California Perspective:

Total adults: 22,020,542
Total adult immigrants: 5,606,311
Total adult non-citizens: 3,707,357

One out of four California adults are immigrants.

Two out of three California adult immigrants are not U.S. citizens.

Total adult Hispanics: 5,443,000
Total adult Hispanic non-citizens: 2,975,000

Over one out of two California adult Hispanics (55%) are not U.S. citizens.

Total legalization applicants: 1,625,323

54% of the nation's legalization applicants live in California.

Total Hispanic legalization applicants: 1,549,454

95% of California's legalization applicants are Hispanic.

Estimated non-citizen permanent residents eligible to become U.S. citizens: 2,600,000 - 3,100,000



SVRI Immigration Initiative: What do the Immigrants Think?

In the political contests, it's the numbers of voters that count. The Latino population in this country grew at a rate which was seven times as great as the rest of the population over the past decade. Almost half of this growth was fueled by immigration from Mexico and the rest of Latin America.

- Foreign born persons from Mexico doubled from 2.2 million to 4.3 million.
- Foreign born from South America doubled from 561,000 to 1,037,000.
- Foreign born from Central America tripled from 354,000 to 1.1 million.

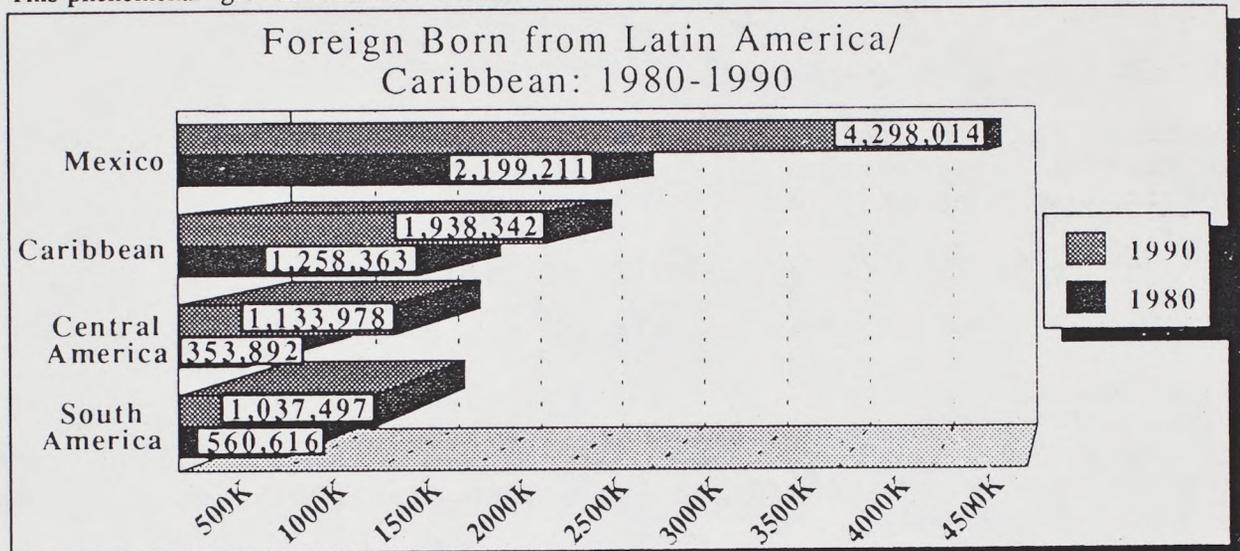
This phenomenal growth could have a marked effect

Almost three out of four of the applicants for permanent residence under IRCA immigrated from Mexico and more than half were living in California at the time application was made.

Only since late 1993 have the first of the legalization applicants become eligible for naturalization as U.S. citizens. Over the next three years all of the permanent residents legalized by IRCA will have completed the five-year waiting period and become eligible for naturalization.

Citizenship Initiative

These applicants will be the main target of an effort by the Southwest Voter Research Institute to provide assistance to community-based organizations that work with immigrant communities, urging them to become U.S. Citizens.



on political outcomes, but only if these immigrants become U.S. citizens and vote. In California, the percentage of Latino adults who were ineligible to vote because they were not citizens increased from 46% in 1980 to 55% in 1992.

The 1990 Census found almost 20 million persons who were foreign born residing in the U.S., 7.8 million of whom were Latinos immigrant residents in 1990 were not U.S. citizens. Of those not yet naturalized, 3.5 million were from Mexico.

Change in Immigration Policy

The Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) was passed in 1986 to bring under control the amount of undocumented immigration into the U.S. This was to be accomplished in two ways: (1) legalizing the undocumented population who had lived continuously in the U.S. since 1982 or were seasonal agriculture workers with three consecutive 90-day periods of residency and (2) Penalizing employers who hired undocumented persons.

INS records show that 3.1 million have applied for permanent resident status under the two IRCA legalization programs. Permanent residency has been granted to more than 100,000 have yet to be processed.

The Citizenship Initiative will concentrate initially on Los Angeles, Houston and San Antonio. The Institute will provide the tools needed for grass-roots neighborhood naturalization efforts. These include:

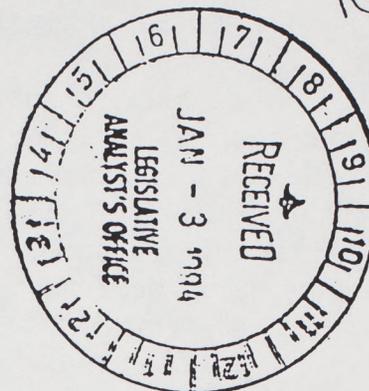
- A series of focus groups among immigrants to reveal the barriers to naturalization as they see them.
- Local surveys of the general population in order to uncover the revealing attitudes toward immigrants.
- Computerized mapping of immigrant neighborhoods to provide targeting materials for door-to-door block work.
- Educational seminars among Latino community leaders on the findings of SVRI research on immigrants and attitudes toward them in order to plan a more informed community outreach effort.

Local community organizations will, in turn, provide the English language and citizenship training to prepare immigrants for the citizenship examination, help them in completing the necessary forms and follow up with voter registration.

The Citizenship Initiative is funded with grants from the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Southwestern Bell Foundation and the Poverty and Race Research Action Council



DEPARTMENT OF FINANCE

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR
STATE CAPITOL ROOM 1145
SACRAMENTO, CA 95814-4998fiscal
review 

December 27, 1993

Honorable Daniel E. Lungren
Attorney General
1515 K Street
Sacramento, CA 95814Attention: Ms. Kathleen F. DaRosa
Initiative Coordinator

Dear Attorney General Lungren:

Pursuant to Elections Code Section 3504, we have reviewed the proposed initiative related to illegal immigration (File No. SA 93 R 0038, Amendment No. 1).

PROPOSAL

Generally, this measure prohibits the provision of publicly funded health care, social services, and education to undocumented persons -- those who cannot provide verification that they are United States citizens or legally admitted aliens.

Health Care and Social Services

The measure limits the provision of public social services (including welfare benefits) and of publicly funded health care (except emergency care required by federal law) only to those persons who are citizens of the United States or lawfully admitted aliens. Public agencies and publicly funded health care facilities would be required to verify the citizenship or legal status of any person before providing that person with social services or health care services. If a public agency or a publicly funded health care facility determines or "reasonably suspects" that an applicant for benefits or services is in the United States illegally, based on the information provided to the agency, then the measure requires that agency to take the following steps in addition to denying benefits and services.

- The agency must notify the state Department of Social Services or the Department of Health Services, as appropriate, as well as the state Attorney General and the federal Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), of the undocumented status of the applicant and provide any additional requested information.
- The agency must notify the applicant in writing of his or her apparent illegal status.

Public Elementary and Secondary Schools

The measure includes provisions that prohibit public schools from admitting or allowing the attendance of children who are not legally in the United States. Starting January 1, 1995, each school district must verify the legal status of any child enrolling in the district for the first time. By January 1, 1996, each school district must also verify the legal status of every child already enrolled in the district, and of the parents or guardians of those students. If the district determines or "reasonably suspects" that a student, parent, or guardian is not legally in the United States, then the district must take the following steps:

- Within 45 days, it must report the apparent undocumented status of the person to the Superintendent of Public Instruction, the Attorney General, and the INS, and to the affected parent or guardian.
- Provide 90 days of additional instruction to undocumented students in order to accomplish an orderly transition to a school in the student's country of origin.

After the conclusion of the 90-day transition period, undocumented students no longer could attend public school.

However, based on discussions with Legislative Counsel, we are informed that the existing status of federal constitutional and statutory law as interpreted by the courts, in particular *Plyer v. Doe*, would prevent the exclusion of undocumented children from public schools. Whether or not the measure's verification and reporting requirements for school districts would be effective would depend on whether they were judged to be severable from the exclusion provision and, possibly, whether the courts would determine that those requirements impose an unacceptable "chilling effect" on the exercise of the right of school attendance under either the State or Federal Constitutions.

Public Postsecondary Education

The measure prohibits public postsecondary educational institutions (such as the University of California, the California State University, and community college districts) from enrolling or permitting the attendance of students who are not in the United States legally. Under the measure, each institution would be required to verify the legal status of every student at the beginning of every term or semester after January 1, 1995. Within 45 days of a determination that an applicant or student is not, or is suspected not to be, in the United States legally, the institution must report this finding to the Attorney General, the Superintendent of Public Instruction, the INS, and to the student or applicant.

Law Enforcement Agencies

The measure requires every law enforcement agency in the state to attempt to verify the legal status of every arrestee who is suspected of being in the United States illegally, to inform and cooperate fully with the INS regarding those arrestees, and to report the undocumented status of arrestees to the Attorney General. The initiative also requires the Attorney General to maintain an ongoing accurate record of reports of persons who are suspected of being in the United States illegally.

New Crimes

This initiative creates two new state crimes. Specifically, it makes the manufacture of false immigration or citizenship documents a felony punishable with a fine of \$75,000 or imprisonment for five years. It also makes the use of false immigration or citizenship documents a felony punishable by a fine of \$25,000 or a five-year prison term. The manufacture or use of false immigration or citizenship documents currently are crimes under federal law.

FISCAL EFFECT

This measure would have a variety of fiscal effects, which are discussed below.

Verification Costs. No universal national identify or citizenship document exists in the United States, so that the verification of citizenship generally requires the examination of several types of documents, such as a birth certificate or naturalization document that establishes the basis for citizenship and a driver's license or official identification with a photo that establishes identify. However, some people -- particularly children -- do not have a driver's license or official identification; and verifying their citizenship may require other steps, such as verifying the identify of their parents. This measure does not establish any specific requirements for the verification of citizenship or legal immigration status. We have assumed that agencies would require presentation of some reasonable documentation to verify legal status, but that they would not double-check documents that appear legitimate with the issuing agency, which would substantially increase costs.

Social Services. Child Welfare Services and Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) Foster Care services are currently provided to children on a need and risk basis, without regard to legal residence status. Foster Care for undocumented children is funded by county funds and, if the INS indicates that such children will not be deported, by state funds. Child Welfare Services are funded by a combination of federal, state, and county funds. The number of undocumented children receiving these services is unknown. Withholding these services would result in unknown annual savings to state and local governments, partly offset by unknown administrative costs.

Health Care Services. Counties are required under current law to provide basic health care services to "lawfully resident" indigent persons who have no medical insurance or coverage under any other health or welfare program. Residence is broadly defined, and counties generally provide medical care to persons in need regardless of citizenship or immigration status. The measure would prohibit counties from providing medical care to undocumented persons, resulting in annual savings of probably more than \$100 million and potentially over \$200 million in county funds and several million dollars in state funds. These savings would be partly offset by unknown administrative costs to the counties.

The measure would also prohibit University of California hospitals from providing medical care to undocumented persons, resulting in unknown annual savings. A portion of these savings would be offset by the cost of verifying the legal status of patients.

Under current federal law, the Medi-Cal Program must provide emergency and pregnancy-related medical services to undocumented persons. California currently elects to provide additional prenatal care and nursing home care to undocumented persons using only state funds. This measure would prohibit Medi-Cal from providing these additional services to undocumented persons. This would result in annual savings to the state of about \$87 million. Infants born to undocumented women, however, would be citizens entitled to medical care; and the cost of that care could be higher if prenatal services are eliminated. As a consequence, the savings could be reduced.

Savings from Deterrence and Reduced Fraud. To the extent that this measure deters undocumented persons from seeking benefits and services or reduces the number of persons who receive benefits and services by fraudulent means, there would be savings. The amount of savings to the state and local governments is unknown and would depend on many factors, including the thoroughness of the verification process.

Public Schools. There are currently a large number of undocumented children attending public schools in California. The Department of Finance estimates that there are about 400,000 such children, and excluding them from school would save approximately \$1.7 billion annually. The Legislative Analyst's Office estimates that there are between 275,000 and 350,000 undocumented children currently attending California schools, which would translate into state savings in the \$1 billion to \$1.5 billion range annually. (In either case, the initial savings would be less because Proposition 98 would not allow that large an immediate reduction in school funding in most circumstances.) However, as noted above, savings could not be realized at this time because the right to attend public schools is constitutionally protected under an existing court decision.

School districts and county offices of education would incur administrative costs to comply with the verification and reporting requirements of the measure (assuming that those requirements are effective). There are more than five million students who attend public schools in California. Verifying the legal status of every enrolled student and of their parents or guardians by the deadline of January 1, 1996 and filing reports of undocumented persons probably would cost school districts tens of millions of dollars statewide in 1994-95 and 1995-96. Furthermore, verifying the legal status of new students and their parents or guardians and filing reports of undocumented persons could cost school districts more than \$10 million annually. To the extent that reports of undocumented persons result in the deportation or voluntary departure of students from public schools, there could be an unknown amount of savings to the state.

Postsecondary Education. Public postsecondary institutions would incur additional costs to verify the legal status of their students at the beginning of each semester or term and to file reports of undocumented students. These institutions currently review the legal status of many students, primarily to determine whether they qualify for resident tuition. This measure, however, would require verification of legal status each semester or term; and it would impose reporting requirements. Approximately 1.9 million students attend public colleges and universities in California, so that even a small additional cost per student could result in statewide administrative costs of several million dollars annually.

Currently, undocumented students must pay nonresident tuition, which generally covers the state's cost of educating those students, in order to attend the University of California or the California Community Colleges. Consequently, there would not be any net savings from excluding identified undocumented students from those institutions. To the extent that this measure increases the comprehensiveness and frequency of the verification process, however, there could be unknown annual savings due to the identification of additional undocumented students.

The California State University (CSU) currently allows undocumented students to pay resident fees, which are at least \$3,000 less than the annual cost of educating a student. Excluding undocumented students from the CSU could result in annual savings. The magnitude of these savings would depend primarily on the number of undocumented students attending the CSU. The CSU has no estimate of the number of undocumented students attending its campuses.

Law Enforcement. All law enforcement agencies currently are required to determine the legal status of arrestees as a prerequisite to receiving federal funds. Furthermore, existing law requires local law enforcement agencies to forward arrest information and fingerprints to the state Department of Justice. However, this measure would impose some additional costs on local law enforcement agencies to include information on the legal status of arrestees in their reports to the Department of Justice and to report undocumented arrestees to the INS. There are approximately 1.4 million bookings (arrests) each year, and between 10 percent and 15 percent of those arrested are undocumented, based on information from county sheriffs. Accordingly, we estimate that local law enforcement agencies could incur additional costs of up to several million dollars annually statewide to comply with this measure.

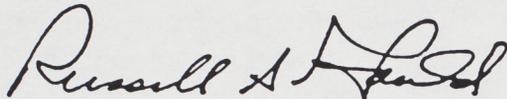
The Department of Justice also would incur additional costs to process and maintain reports of undocumented persons that it would receive from schools, social service agencies, health care facilities, and colleges and universities. There also would be additional costs to expand the arrest information database and to coordinate with the INS. These costs would depend on the number of reports and the specific nature of the information system that would be established, but they could exceed \$1 million annually.

New Crimes. By creating new state crimes for the manufacture or use of false citizenship or immigration documents, this measure could increase state and local costs to arrest, prosecute, and incarcerate violators. However, these activities already constitute federal crimes with similar penalties, so that the state and local governments would incur additional costs only to the extent that more persons are apprehended for these crimes and prosecuted under state law. We cannot estimate the number of persons who would be convicted of these state crimes. However, the state cost would be in the millions of dollars annually for every hundred persons incarcerated. Some of these costs could be offset by revenue from fines.

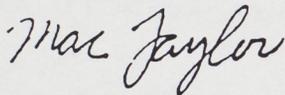
SUMMARY OF FISCAL EFFECTS

- ❑ **State Costs and Savings.** Unknown annual savings, potentially in excess of \$100 million, primarily from withholding various health and social services from undocumented persons, offset somewhat by additional administrative costs.
- ❑ **Local Government Costs and Savings.** Annual savings (primarily to counties), potentially exceeding \$200 million annually, mainly by withholding medical care from undocumented indigent persons, offset somewhat by additional administrative costs.
- ❑ **School Districts.** Additional costs, probably tens of millions of dollars in 1994-95 and 1995-96 and potentially more than \$10 million annually thereafter, to verify the legal status of students, parents, and guardians.

Sincerely,



RUSSELL S. GOULD
Director of Finance



for ELIZABETH G. HILL
Legislative Analyst

REMINDER

In California, the anti-immigrant hysteria has spawned a ballot measure which would turn state government employees into INS agents. They would have to report the presence of any "apparent illegal immigrants."

The so-called S.O.S. initiative's attempt to deny education and most government-funded social services to undocumented immigrants is neither workable nor morally acceptable. Moreover, the initiative has an enormous potential for discrimination against anyone with brown skin, or with a Spanish-sounding surname or accent.

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When: Thursday, July 7th at 4 P.M.

Where: St. Jude's Community Center
1129 S. 38th (Corner of Boston)
San Diego, CA

Handouts such as an updated, section-by-section analysis of S.O.S. will be available.

For more information, please contact: George Aguilar (557-5117), Augie Bareño (482-6862), Roberto Martinez (233-4114) or Claudia Smith (966-0511).

NEWS FROM THE POLITICAL BATTLEGROUND OVER IMMIGRATION...

* Claiming his 1993 study underestimated by \$1.5 billion the net tax drain immigrants cause, economics professor Donald Huddle now says that the "deficit" is \$44 billion. His study was sponsored by the Carrying Capacity Network, an environmental group.

Huddle has been criticized for overlooking \$50 billion-worth of revenues generated by immigrants -- from social security contributions to gasoline taxes. Huddle has also been criticized for overestimating the displacement of native workers. He puts the indirect services costs of such displacement at \$12 billion.

Jeffrey Passel from the Urban Institute, which last month released findings that immigrants pay \$30 billion more in taxes each year than they take in public services, says about Huddle: "We disagree completely on worker displacement. He assumes that for every 100 low-skill immigrants, 25 natives lost their jobs and will never get another one. That is a very static view of our economy." L.A. Times, "Immigrants: Data on Tax Drain Challenged," 6/28/94. Passel's report was commissioned by the Federal Office of Management and Budget.

** The State Department of Finance estimates that statewide it would cost school districts "tens of millions of dollars" to verify the legal status of the more than 5 million students attending California public schools, as well as \$10 million annually to verify the legal students of new students. See attached fiscal impact analysis of S.O.S., dated 12/27/93.

*** Southwest Voter Registration & Education Project has plans for a Latino Vote '94 campaign in California which is intended to mobilize 1 million Latino votes in November. The goal is to raise Latino registration by 5% in targeted precincts during September. As can be seen from the attached statistics provided by Southwest, as well as by the National Association of Latino Elected & Appointed Officials, the time also seems ripe for a naturalization campaign.

Last time, we forgot to enclose the English-language text of the remarks by Gov. Ruffo which Gov. Wilson is bandying about. Sorry. They are part of this packet.

California Latino Civil Rights Network

LOS LATINOS AL PROCESO POLITICO

Por Eduardo Stanley

Ya se acercan las elecciones del 7 de junio y, como de costumbre, los medios de comunicación en español destacan la importancia de nuestro voto y de los candidatos de origen latino.

Si bien nadie discute cuán importante es tener candidatos a diferentes puestos que puedan representar a nuestra comunidad, los comentarios sobre la importancia de nuestro voto parecen ser algo exagerados. Más allá de estadísticas —siempre las hay y cada una parece demostrar algo distinto— la realidad es que nuestra presencia electoral es mínima, con excepción de aquellos distritos con gran porcentaje de votantes latinos.

Y aunque todo parece indicar que en la última década el número de votantes registrados de origen latino se ha incrementado

dramáticamente en la nación, cuando comparamos estos números con los referidos al crecimiento de la población de este origen notamos que todavía estamos muy por debajo de lo deseado.

El esfuerzo realizado durante años por distintas organizaciones locales y regionales para registrar más votantes latinos sí están rindiendo frutos, pero la resistencia de nuestra comunidad, y algunas fallas organizativas hacen de este esfuerzo un proceso más lento de lo esperado.

En otras palabras: si bien crece el número de votantes latinos registrados, también crece el número de habitantes de este origen, por lo que el porcentaje población-votantes se mantiene casi igual.

Uno de los principales problemas para aumentar el número de latinos registrados es la nacionalidad. Gran cantidad de residentes legales no solicitan su na-

turalización, en parte por razones sentimentales. Pero la razón principal, según una encuesta realizada por este periodista en el Valle de San Joaquín, es más profunda: los inmigrantes latinoamericanos arrastran consigo un rechazo a la política electoral. Expresiones tales como "vote por quien vote siempre gana el gobierno", "la política es sucia", "los políticos son todos corruptos", etc., están siempre a flor de labio de los recién llegados. En el caso de los de origen mexicano es más dramático aún. Y no les falta razón, siendo difícil romper esa desconfianza hacia la política.

En este contexto, es muy factible que los hijos de estos padres y madres desconfiados hereden un rechazo similar hacia la política, o al menos indiferencia.

A esto debemos sumarle, en el caso de los inmigrantes, la falta de familiaridad y conocimiento del sistema político estadouni-

dense y del idioma. Por lo tanto, aun los interesados en incorporarse a la vida política-social de Estados Unidos deben pasar por un proceso cuya duración depende de varios factores, a veces muy personales.

En algunas zonas, el comportamiento de determinados líderes latinos juega un papel destacado en este proceso de adaptación de los inmigrantes. Esta influencia a veces no es positiva. Cuando es así, los nuevos residentes "confirman" sus ideas de la "corrupción" de los políticos y activistas comunitarios. Existen contradicciones y divisiones entre el liderazgo latino, hecho que generalmente crea más desconfianza.

Pero cuando esta influencia es positiva, el deseo de participar en política es definitivo. Mi experiencia en el Valle de San Joaquín me permite afirmar que aquellos inmigrantes que han participado en alguna actividad política en este país —en la ma-

yoría de los casos, en reclamos por derechos ignorados, discriminación, despidos injustificados, bajos salarios, o inclusive malas condiciones de viviendas— son quienes se integran más rápidamente. Y esto incluye naturalización y registro como votantes.

En este sentido, algunas organizaciones de base y sus líderes están realizando una extraordinaria labor de concientización y participación a lo largo del país. Lo lamentable es que muchos de estos esfuerzos son desconocidos y hasta ignorados por la prensa, quien busca entrevistar siempre a las mismas caras, la mayoría ya gastadas y con poco o nada nuevo que decir.

Un elemento clave para determinar el nivel de interés en el voto latino es la cantidad de publicidad pagada por los candidatos en los medios en español. Poco a poco vemos más publicidad en español, lo cual resulta

Lea LATINOS, 3C

doblemente saludable. Primero porque indica que nuestra comunidad sí está logrando un impacto. Y segundo porque demuestra la presencia e importancia de estos medios de comunicación. Y aunque queda mucho por hacer, es innegable que los candidatos ya no pueden ignorar a nuestra comunidad —al menos cuando se trata de su voto.

Y precisamente se puede observar que los medios de comunicación en español, favorecidos económicamente por la creciente participación latina en la política del país, no están colaborando mayormente en los esfuerzos por registrar más votantes. Esta labor requiere un gran esfuerzo, recayendo lo más duro del trabajo en voluntarios anónimos que deben visitar decenas de hogares.

Dado que esos medios se benefician de estas campañas, es justo que contribuyan al esfuerzo. Los activistas involucrados en las campañas de registro de votantes latinos no deben sentirse apenados de pedir la colaboración de los medios en español, sino que por el contrario, deben hacerles ver que ellos serán los beneficiados.

Por ejemplo, hace diez años era casi imposible ver anuncios políticos en la televisión en español. Hoy son frecuentes. Y esto se debe a una simple ecuación: los candidatos, al notar el aumento de los nombres latinos en los registros oficiales, compran publicidad en esos medios a fin de ganarse la simpatía de los votantes de ese origen. En el Valle de San Joaquín, por ejemplo, la publicidad política en los medios latinos para las elecciones de la semana próxima se ha duplicado con respecto a las elecciones de hace cuatro años.

Este es un buen síntoma. Los héroes anónimos de esta presencia de los medios en español son los centenares de voluntarios que han registrado a miles de votantes latinos, invirtiendo incalculable cantidad de horas en esta difícil tarea.

Es hora, entonces, que los medios en español regresen a la comunidad lo que ganan gracias a ella, invirtiendo adecuadamente en esta campaña, no solamente incorporando mensajes tales como "registrate y vota". Estos son muchas veces rellenos, destinados a cubrir espacios no vendidos. Se trata de algo más serio y profundo.

De ser así, dentro de cuatro años sí podremos decir, con absoluta certeza, que el voto latino "es importante".

Controls, not racism, are the best way to deal with immigration

California's mood on immigration as we enter the election season is shaping up as somewhere between ugly and hideous.

There are few things worse than watching politicians manipulate racism and xenophobia for political gain. It is equally offensive whether it happens in Nazi Germany, Bosnia or California.

I don't say California can adopt the same cavalier attitude as New York, which officially welcomes illegal immigrants. New York, with 510,000 illegal immigrants, is second to California, with 1.6 million (both are INS figures), but there are two reasons they are welcomed in New York.

First, New York's largest illegal immigrant group is Italians, and New York's leading political figures are Italian-Americans. "If you come here and you work hard and you happen to be in an undocumented status," said New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani this month, "you're one of the people we want in this city."

Second, New York's population has been falling for two decades, and the state needs new blood.

In California, with its rising population, a political competition is under way to see who can be most xenophobic in the coming election. They hate it when you call them that, for the trick is to be racist while denying that you are.

But I call it racist when, by amalgamation and over-simplification, one group of people is singled out as the sole cause of a problem. The Legislature is doing it with a host of bad bills, and too many candidates for office are doing it.

Illegal immigration in California is a legitimate issue. But there are responsible ways to deal with it and irresponsible ones. Watching Rep. Duncan Hunter preen about the "Hunter fence" on the border reminds me of the pride Erich Ho-

James O. Goldsborough

THE SAN DIEGO UNION-TRIBUNE

necker took in his Berlin Wall.

And Pete Wilson's anti-immigrant television commercials have the same tone as those done for years by the racist National Front in France, which the French have had the good sense to keep out of office.

Wilson's lawsuit against Washington for reimbursement of costs associated with immigration, which I support, is a refutation of his own commercial. The suit demands half the money for costs associated

with legal immigrants in California, mainly refugees and people legalized under the 1986 reform act.

Studies show that of the estimated 300,000 illegal immigrants who arrive and stay in America each year (800,000 legal immigrants are also admitted each year), more than half arrive legally with temporary visas, which they overstay.

The Wilson advertisement would have us believe California's problem is caused solely by Mexicans sneaking across the border. It's not. California is home, for example, to 40 percent of the nation's political refugees, who arrive at a (legal) rate of about 100,000 per year, and do not come from Mexico.

Fences aren't the answer. To prevent people physically from crossing illegally, we would have to create a no-man's land of the kind that exists between the Ko-

reas, or exists between Hong Kong and China or existed between the two Germans and two Vietnams.

Such barriers are creations of totalitarian, not democratic regimes.

Border controls are necessary in every nation, but for halting illegal immigration political barriers are better. They say to the would-be immigrant: "You can sneak in maybe, but there's no point to it. You're better off staying home."

For California, two measures, above all, are important.

One is a foolproof identification card required for employment. Illegal immigrants come here to work. If they cannot work, they will not come.

A foolproof ID card would correct the major flaw of the 1986 federal immigration reform law. Such a card would also allow us to admit temporary workers in an

updated *bracero* program if we did not have enough resident workers.

A bill by Sen. Dianne Feinstein would require all immigrants to obtain ID cards for employment. Sen. Alan Simpson, R-Wyo., one of the leading advocates of immigration reform, wants ID cards for all Americans.

Simpson's solution would be fairer and more effective but won't get passed by Congress anytime soon. Feinstein's idea, which is for these work ID cards to replace or supplement immigrant green cards, would be a workable interim step.

The second necessary reform is a change in the 14th Amendment so that citizenship is not granted to the children of illegal immigrants.

This practice is a perversion of the Constitution and a major cause of the state's budget problems.

If illegal immigrants could not get work in California, and their children could not gain citizenship by being born here, the flow of illegals would dry up.

Every member of our delegation should support these measures in Congress.

Precise and pragmatic, these measures can accomplish far more than the grab bag of emotional and illegal provisions contained in the absurdly named "Save our State" initiative, which Californians apparently will be voting on in November.

It's easy for ambitious politicians and the rabble-rousers who write initiatives to confuse voters, and make Californians suspicious of all Latinos because of a large immigrant population in this state.

But it is racist and unfair. The vast majority of immigrants to California in the 1980s were legal — persons legalized under the '86 act, family members joining legalized immigrants, refugees.

The vast majority of Latinos in this state are as legal and American as anybody else, and don't forget it.

San Diego Union Tribune 6/28/94

Border-crossing fee could be challenged as unconstitutional

After seeing Sen. Dianne Feinstein on C-SPAN extol the virtues of a border-crossing fee, I faxed her to ask that she think through the process. Consider a U.S. citizen showing up at the border without money to pay the fee. Will he or she be denied entry into his or her native land? I think not. The constitutional question alone will cause the law to stand for about 15 minutes after the question is put before a federal court.

On the first day this law goes into effect, I shall consider challenging the fee as my patriotic duty.

KEN LIEBLER
San Diego

“The real (fiscal) impact of immigration is in education, medical care, and incarceration...we believe the federal government does have a cost-sharing role to play.”

Q & A

Doris Meissner

Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service

Q **uestion:** A ballot initiative that has attracted enough signatures for the November ballot takes a rather punitive approach to immigration, going directly after illegal immigrants. Among its most punitive provisions are expelling children from schools and denying most government benefits to illegal immigrants. As the Immigration and Naturalization Service commissioner, what do you think about this approach?

Answer: For all the emotion and disagreement that surrounds the immigration debate from time to time historically, most everybody can agree that illegal immigration is something that should be prevented as much as possible. Where policy and the investment of federal dollars is concerned, the most important place to start is at the borders. We are attempting to do that across the Southwest border in a comprehensive way. The border is not just a land border and the ports of entry, it is also our airports and our consulates overseas. We have to think of our consulates overseas because those are the places where visas are issued. The latest estimates, just a month or two old, are that there are 3.8 million people in this country illegally. That number is growing at a rate of about 300,000 a year and of those people, 39 percent are Mexican. So if you have an illegal population of about 3.8 million and 39 percent of them are Mexican, almost half of them have come across the Southwest border. But that leaves the other half that has come here with a visa and in one way or another is overstaying that visa. San Diego accounts for about 50 percent of the apprehensions that we make nationally. El Paso is the next most dramatic with about 15 percent. Obviously, there has to be some controls in the interior of the country. When all is said and done, the pull forces for illegal immigration are work, they are economic. So my sense of the initiative that you are talking about is that the schools and the kinds of measures that would flow from that initiative are not necessarily the best place to invest our efforts.

Q: What would be the consequences, for the schools in particular, of expelling students who are illegal immigrants?

A: First and foremost, we have a constitutional decision that requires the education of all children who are in the country so you have a legal question to start with. Beyond that you have the social question of whether it is good policy for the country not to educate people. I think most of us know that it is not in our interest as a country to have large numbers of people who are uneducated.

Q: Some people, including politicians running for re-election, are saying that social services are drawing people in. Do you agree?

A: The fundamental motivation is employment. Some people are coming simply because the world is in chaos and they are coming for basic safety. The serious weakness in the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 was in the employer sanctions area and in not providing a dependable mechanism for employers to verify who the worker is. Historically, labor standards have taken 5, 10, 15 years to take hold. So we are now less than 10 years into this particular one.

Q: Do you see a national ID card down the road?

A: I see some kind of verification procedure that is reliable that may or may not involve a card. I don't think the method is as important as the sort of conceptual bridge into whether or not we want to do something more reliable.

Q: Could you give us an alternative that might be less incendiary?

A: The immigration service has the responsibility for issuing documents to people who are not citizens. We are limiting the types of documents that we issue, we are trying to get down to a fairly small number. And those documents are getting to be very good with holograms and with pictures embedded in the document. We are basically moving into an arena



Union-Tribune

Meissner had impressive credentials when she was nominated last year by President Clinton, and then unanimously confirmed by the Senate, to head the troubled INS. She had been the agency's acting director and also a deputy director during the Reagan administration. Meissner later served as director of the Immigration Policy Project at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Her service in the Justice Department during the 1970s also included work on immigration issues. Her present challenge includes modernizing the INS's antiquated records system, strengthening border enforcement and speeding up the processing of political asylum cases. She was interviewed June 13 by members of The Union-Tribune's editorial board.

where an employer can look at somebody's non-citizen document and call up through a telephone system with a name which clicks into a database or actually with a card stripe like your credit card and the response is whether or not there is a record on that person.

Q: The illegal immigration backlash in California has gotten pretty nasty. As the person in charge of immigration, do you think this whole thing is misguided or unseemly?

A: We are a nation of immigrants, we have always experienced immigration. But in fact we really have experienced immigration only at three or four peak periods historically. And the last peak period was at the turn of the century, 1890 to World War I. Immigration since then abated dramatically and it only really began to pick up again in the 1970s. Immigration is one of the hardest things that a society does, to bring newcomers in and integrate them into a standard, existing structure. It was relatively non-controversial when the economy was growing. But the 1990s is a different era, we are going through a major restructuring of our own economy. We are going through the throes of becoming part of the global economy and a reduction in our defense sector. All of that has hit California harder than any other state. Immigration goes on in six places in this country: California, Texas, Florida, New York, New Jersey, Illinois. And in those states it is an issue for several ma-

where an employer can look at somebody's non-citizen document and call up through a telephone system with a name which clicks into a database or actually with a card stripe like your credit card and the response is whether or not there is a record on that person. Those large cities are areas where the school systems are under siege, emergency health care facilities are overwhelmed. So it is almost predictable that we would have social tensions.

Q: Is there a racial component to this backlash?

A: The immigration in the last 10 to 15 years is about 85 percent Latin and Asian, which is exactly a full switch from the earlier periods of immigration which were 85 to 90 percent European based. So, of course, there is a racial and ethnic component to this. We are changing ourselves as a society. It is extraordinary that it is going on as smoothly as it is.

Q: What is the federal government's responsibility in helping states and communities cope with some of these social costs?

A: The real impact of immigration is in education, medical care, and incarceration. Those are areas where we believe the federal government does have a cost-sharing role to play. But we are not prepared to simply spend money and give it to the states to respond to deficits that have come about for other reasons. The assertions that have been made by states are all based on different assumptions about what the costs are. Some states don't take taxation and revenues from immigration into account at all. We believe we will have a good sense of the relationships sometime this summer and the federal government is absolutely prepared to go forward with the states to

look at cost-sharing arrangements. This administration already has put forward a proposal to the Congress for funding of incarceration. There has been a provision in the law for eight years now to pay some of these costs and no administration has invoked it. We have now invoked it, but whether the Congress will put some funding in this direction will be an interesting issue.

Q: When Janet Reno was here she said the INS has traditionally been treated like a stepchild and Customs has put forward these plans to swallow up INS. She specifically said that INS was behind Customs in things like management and technology and equipment and computer services. What is your view?

A: We don't hear much talk these days of any agency swallowing any other agency up. There is plenty of work to do for everybody. The effort that we are making in the immigration service is very much a modernization effort. Our funding proposal for the next fiscal year is for \$327 million, \$200 million of that for technology and automation infrastructure. So what we are looking at obviously is an effort to put our people to work in a smart way.

Q: In the '60s we had the Bracero program with seasonal workers brought in. Would something similar, where season workers are formally sponsored and formally supervised, eliminate some of the chaos we have today?

A: There are provisions in the law for employers to bring workers in. The big test is whether there are American workers available to do the work. We find that the employers in the Northwest and even in the Northeast and Southeast have relied on those provisions much more than have the employers in the Southwest. Employers in the Southwest have not made use of those provisions because they have had too much of a ready supply of illegal labor.

Q: How have the Border Patrol's tactics changed recently? Has pressure along one part of the border only caused illegal immigration to shift elsewhere?

A: Inevitably there are going to be shifts. However, some of the traffic will not shift because areas other than El Paso and San Diego are much less hospitable from a crossing standpoint. We are just starting. The physical improvements have been made, the fencing, the roads, the lighting. We are only beginning to bring in personnel, bringing in this month the first of the additional 400 agents who will be on the line by the end of the year. And there will be more productivity obviously unleashed from the technology.

Q: Does it make sense, as you strengthen forces on the line, to keep so many Border Patrol agents deployed at the two inland stations in San Diego on Interstates 5 and 15?

A: We will be looking carefully at that.

Q: Will you be releasing to the public your study results on the impact of immigration? Are you comfortable as to their validity?

A: We are as comfortable as one can be with a very imperfect science. You do have to make certain suppositions and there is obviously always an enormous amount of debate about the suppositions. But the areas of concern are health costs, education and incarceration. These are the areas where we believe there is a valid federal-state discussion and a valid federal-state sharing that needs to be developed. Just to give you some order of magnitude, in the estimate of 3.8 million as the size of the illegal population, we find that 1.6 million of those people are in California. Now that is about a half a million less than California asserts. And if California asserts more than 2 million and then attaches a certain set of costs to those people, right there you have a debate.

Q: What is your view on two proposals that California's senators have made? One is using the military in some role on the border and the other is a border crossing fee.

A: The military is extremely important to us on the border. We have a 110-mile road system that the military built for us along the border in the last two to three years. We serve as a very important training ground for the military. All of this has been without cost to the immigration service. That being said, we think that the military is very valuable to us but only in support roles. We do not see a role for the military as a first-line response. They are not trained to do what we do. We put our people through very rigorous training. They have to learn the immigration law, they go through cross-cultural training. Most importantly, they have language requirements.

Q: What about the crossing fee?

A: The crossing fee is a very important proposal and we support it in principle. We have crossing fees at airports hidden in the ticket price. We really do very well at the airports now in facilitation because of that independent funding source. The land border idea of a crossing fee is one that we are looking at very carefully. There are practical problems.

**Comments Presented by
Ernesto Ruffo Appel
Governor of Baja California
During the XII Border Governors Conference
Phoenix, AZ May 27, 1994**

Ladies and gentlemen. Fellow governors. First of all, my gratitude to my friend Fife for the work he has carried out this year, and to his staff that has proven to be most effective and diligent. Now is time for others to take over; it's your turn Pancho.

I want to tell you first of all that this work is a privilege, to be able to have an outlook and to know where opportunities are, and I must say, as a participant who has been the longest in this work, this conference, is that we must make a renewed effort to have positive results in this regional opportunity.

Yesterday when we were listening to Mr. Gardner's speech and he spoke about two things I believe could give a framework for a general understanding to this regional reality that the United States and Mexico are living through. He spoke of trivialization, which I interpreted to mean as it relates to the cultural identity of each country. He spoke of what is happening in Europe and the Balkans, or what is happening in the Basque country, and everything that is motivated by the identity of each people, by the feeling of identity of belonging from where people are coming from. And this is just a natural thing, driving the force that gives the reason of being of a community. That is why it is absolutely essential that we stress our identity, and that we respect each others' way of being so that from there we can germinate the growth of the region.

Then he went on to speak about globalization, including all of the multinational companies that have been growing and how they are going to be even stronger, and in more countries. What he is speaking about is trade, markets, technology that expands without respect of borders. Precisely because we are regional neighbors is what gives us a great opportunity, fundamentally based on the respect for our real identity, and at the same time gives access to the best of the two worlds in the border region between the United States and Mexico.

I believe that structural conditions have already been set for us and we know that NAFTA is already a paved road for us. It is a structural reason for us and I think it is our duty to try to take advantage of it, to maximize its use, to create all the advantages of this agreement. Each state, with its corresponding neighbor, to the South or to the North, also has regional peculiarities. In Baja California's case, we have the Pacific Basin that we share with the state of California. There are things we should all take advantage of for the benefit of our citizens.

Also there are some forces, or social realities, that are with us. We have immigration, people who go and come back and from our Mexican viewpoint they do it because of needs, because of a lack of opportunities to support our families. This is a reality that we should all take into account. *That is why I understand very much the problems that my colleague Pete is suffering in California because it does place quite a burden on the shoulders of each government.* (emphasis added)

I want to tell you what is happening in Baja California, a state built on immigrants. In 1900 we were 7000; now we are more than 2 million, people coming from all the states in Mexico. Even some coming from Central and South America, I see them around. We have a 2.1% birth rate, but we also have a 3.5% growth rate in the state. **That means that 40% of the population growth is coming from other places. *But the budget does not grow accordingly. This is one of the challenges the region will face, as economic growth will trigger a constant migration.*** (emphasis added) That is why I applaud the agreement signed by our two federal governments which founded the NADBank. It is precisely what is needed to deal with the consequences of free trade, financing works, such as infrastructure and others benefitting the environment.

I believe that we have to do more in order to face this natural immigration caused by social movements, and now economic movements, that we will continue to see in the years to come. I can see very clearly how we all have a common denominator regarding immigration - this is the respect for human rights. This has been the bridge of understanding as we come to comprehend their motivations, why people have to migrate. This is the only way in which we can understand the path through dignity of all people,

no matter where they come from. This is a challenge, but at the same time it is quite an opportunity. I think that the federal, state and municipal governments should be intensely devoted to finding the solutions to this problem.

I am looking also for changes in the budget because I think we are solving a reality and we are living a reality that has to be used for the benefit of everybody. (emphasis added)

Therefore, I believe the importance of this conference is that of consolidating this approach, this vision that grants all of us opportunities, and therefore opportunities for our citizens. In the discussions we have had, we spoke about many things, but I would like to propose that in the analysis for the next conference perhaps we could include a follow-up by each of us as to how the agreements are progressing. In that way the ten of us together can accomplish more. This way we have a better opportunity of seeing the vision become a reality in a positive and advantageous way.

I believe that we have a great opportunity now, but we have to provide the same support to, and follow-up with the education community. If we have opportunities we need better trained people, particularly in the Mexican side. Hopefully, our counterparts in the United States will help us coordinate between their universities and ours, in this form we can together accomplish the training of people with the regional vision needed to succeed. I believe this way we will all be working towards the future, and we will be doing it with respect and recognition of our identities and our cultures.

###

CALIFORNIA LATINO CIVIL RIGHTS NETWORK

The S.O.S. initiative is not just anti-immigrant, it is anti-Latino...

Our entire community is at risk.*

Join us on **Tuesday, July 26th at 5:00 P.M.** for a follow-up to last Thursday's initial anti-SOS strategy discussion. Specific plans-of-action will be proposed. We will also talk about how we can link up to state-level efforts to defeat S.O.S. We plan to ask representatives from the Latino Caucus and Southwest Voter Registration Project to come and fill us in on such efforts.

Thanks to Father Henry Rodriguez, the meeting place is the usual one: St. Jude's Community Center:

1129 S. 38th (Corner of Boston and 38th)
San Diego, CA

For more information, please contact: George Aguilar (557-5117), Augie Bareno (482-6862), Roberto Martinez (233-4114), Claudia Smith (966-0511) or Ray Uzeta (236-1228).

* P.S. Besides bandying around Gov. Ruffo's "empathy" remarks, Gov. Wilson's press office is busy pressing stories of pro-S.O.S. Latinos on the media.

CHILDREN SHOULD BE KEPT OUT OF THE ANTI-IMMIGRANT DEBATE.

Over the next few weeks, each bulletin will contain a capsulized summary of a different S.O.S. provision and its expected effect. We start with public elementary and secondary education. Sections on public post-secondary education, public health services, public social services, and local law enforcement cooperation will follow. At the end of five weeks, we will re-print the capsulized summaries, all together.

PUBLIC ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

S.O.S. would require school districts to verify the citizenship or immigration status of all children enrolled in public schools, as well as to verify the citizenship or immigration status of their parents or guardians. Students who cannot prove citizenship or legal immigration status will be excluded from school within 90 days. Students and parents "reasonably suspected" of being undocumented would be reported to I.N.S. within 45 days.

The verification would start in 1995 with new enrollees. By 1996, the provision would apply to all students and their parents or guardians.

The State Dept. of Finance estimates that, statewide, it would cost districts "tens of millions of dollars" to verify the citizenship or immigration status of the more than 5 million students attending California public schools, as well as \$10 million annually to verify the citizenship or immigration status of new students.

Moreover, our public schools stand to lose \$2.3 billion in federal funds because releasing information about a student's citizenship or immigration status would violate federal confidentiality mandates. This amount is considerably more than the \$1.7 billion Gov. Wilson calculates that undocumented students cost. Of course, many undocumented students are currently in the legalization pipeline, e.g., through visa petitions, which can take up to seven years to be approved. In any event, public elementary and secondary education is an investment in human capital that does not lend itself to static accounting principles when doing a cost/benefit analysis.

over

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Should S.O.S. pass, a court challenge of the K-12 provision is planned. One of the basis would be Plyler v. Doe, a 1982 case in which the U.S. Supreme Court held that an undocumented child's right to a public elementary and secondary education is constitutionally protected.

Saying that education is "perhaps the most important function of state and local government," the Plyler court made several instructive findings. Among them are that: (1) "directing the onus of a parent's misconduct against his children does not comport with fundamental conceptions of justice;" (2) "by depriving the children of any disfavored group and education, we foreclose the means by which that group might raise the level of esteem in which it is held by the majority;" and (3) since many of the children will remain in this country indefinitely, nobody benefits by "promoting the creation and perpetuation of a subclass of illiterates within our boundaries, surely adding to the problems and costs of unemployment, welfare, and crime."

For a copy of the Plyler decision, contact Claudia Smith (966-0511). For a full Plyler packet, contact Multicultural Education, Training & Advocacy, Inc. (META) in San Francisco (415-398-1977).

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MALDEF

PRELIMINARY SECTION-BY-SECTION ANALYSIS
OF THE S.O.S. INITIATIVE
(June 30, 1994)

I. Declaration of Findings and Purpose

A. Economics

The SOS initiative claims that the people of the state are suffering economic hardship caused by the presence of undocumented immigrants.

Analysis

Every reputable study which has been undertaken to date shows that immigrants -- both documented and undocumented -- contribute far more in tax revenues and to the economy than they utilize in government services. In fact, numerous studies show that the presence of undocumented workers in the state of California has allowed the economy to withstand more severe economic decline. Immigrants today, as they always have, bolster the economy through their labor and tax contributions. Immigrants in California contribute approximately \$30 billion in taxes and receive only \$18.7 billion in government services. (Passel, Clark and Griego, "How Much Do Immigrants Really Cost?," Urban Institute, February 1994). This represents a \$12 billion net contribution in taxes to California.

Moreover, immigrants do not displace native workers in the job market. Higher immigration is associated with lower unemployment. A 1994 report by the Alexis de Tocqueville Institution, a conservative think tank in Arlington, Virginia, found that states with high immigrant populations have low rates of unemployment. For example, the state of Florida, in February, 1994, had an unemployment rate of 5.7 percent, as compared to the national average of 6.5 percent. (Vedder, Gallaway, and Moore, "Immigration and Unemployment: New Evidence," March 1994). The lower unemployment rate is the result of the presence of immigrants who create a demand for labor and consumer goods and who tend to perform low-skilled jobs at lower than prevailing wages. According to this report, "the evidence suggests that immigrants create at least as many jobs as they take, and that their presence should not be feared by U.S. workers." (Vedder, et. al. at p. 5).

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B. Personal Injury

The initiative also claims that citizens of the state suffer personal injury and damage caused by the criminal conduct of undocumented immigrants. Additionally, it claims that citizens have a right to the protection of their government against individuals entering unlawfully.

Analysis

The extent of the "criminal alien problem" has been inflated in the current political climate. Reports often provide a misleading and inaccurate portrayal of the number of "criminal aliens" in state prisons. These figures reflect the number of "foreign born" felons -- which may include legal immigrants and naturalized citizens -- as opposed to the number of deportable felons. In addition, more often than not, undocumented immigrants themselves are the victims of crime as a result of their vulnerable status. The provisions of the initiative do little, if anything, to protect the public safety, rather they work to jeopardize it.

Proponents of the initiative also assert that our state government must be protected from the impact of undocumented immigrants entering our state, thereby implying that California is in danger of collapse because of the budget crisis of the last several years. However, the severe economic crisis faced by our state has been caused by several factors unrelated to immigration. (See "A Tale of Two Futures: Restructuring California's Finances to Boost Economic Growth," Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, Washington D.C., April, 1994). This report cites state disinvestment in education and infrastructure and substantial revenue loss due to the economic downturn, structural problems with the sales and property taxes and the unmanaged growth of tax expenditures as creating California's fiscal crisis. Even without the current economic decline, the structural problems and loss of revenue generating mechanisms would have created fiscal problems for California. Proposition 13 precluded the ability of local governments to meet the needs of its residents to provide health care and mental health services, indicators of an area's fiscal health. Id. at xi.

C. Public Services

The initiative also claims that its purpose is to prevent undocumented immigrants from receiving benefits or public services by creating a system of notification and collaboration between state and local agencies and the federal government.

Analysis

All reputable research shows that immigrants under-utilize all

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social services. Under federal law, undocumented immigrants are not eligible for welfare or cash assistance programs, including food stamps. (Guide to Alien Eligibility Programs, National Immigration Law Center, 1993). Despite the fact that poverty rates among immigrants are higher than the average, they use fewer public benefits on average and are less likely than the native-born population to become dependent on welfare. (California Senate Office of Research, 1993; "Immigrants and the California Economy," Wayne Cornelius at the Center for U.S.-Mexico Studies, University of California, San Diego, 1992; Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1992). Only 3.8 percent of California's long-term immigrants receive welfare, social security, or other types of assistance, compared with 4.1 percent of native households. (California Senate Office of Research, 1993). In addition, only 1.5 percent of these immigrants received Social Security, compared to 13 percent of U.S.-born Californians. According to the California Department of Finance, most of the 12 percent of recent immigrants receiving AFDC are refugees from Southeast Asia and the former Soviet Union. A 1992 INS study of undocumented immigrants reported that less than 0.5 percent received food stamps or AFDC and that about half of the undocumented had private health insurance and only 21 percent had used any government health services. Immigrants, over their lifetime pay \$15,000 to \$20,000 more in taxes than they receive in government benefits. (Julian Simon, The Economic Consequences of Immigration, University of Maryland, 1989).

Yet, the underlying premise of the initiative is that immigrants come to the U.S. to receive public benefits and services. In fact, immigrants come for jobs, for family reunification, and to flee persecution. There is no study that supports the unproven assertion that immigrants come to the U.S. for public benefits. If anything, public benefits are the last thing immigrants want from this country. Moreover, undocumented immigrants tend to avoid any institution that even resembles governmental or official authority. In short, immigrants do not come to California to go to the emergency room, or to take up space in California prisons or in our classrooms. Denying undocumented immigrants the limited benefits they currently receive will not result in immigrants leaving the state. Rather, the initiative's provisions will only result in more ill, more illiterate, and more indigent residents living in this state.

II. Substantive Provisions

A. Section 2 and 3: Manufacture and Use of Fraudulent Documents:

The SOS initiative would add provisions to the Penal Code to make it a felony to manufacture, distribute, sell, or use false

citizenship or resident alien documents.

Analysis

Federal law already provides serious penalties for the manufacture, possession, or use of counterfeit documents to prove citizenship or legal permanent residence. See, e.g., 18 U.S.C. §§ 1015, 1028. These laws provide for penalties ranging up to five years' imprisonment, or a fine of \$25,000, or both. In addition, there are grave civil penalties under the immigration laws: under certain circumstances, individuals who use false documents are prevented from ever lawfully immigrating to this country.

This provision, duplicating federal law, will allow the federal government to cede its enforcement efforts to the state. Thus, these provisions of the initiative could have the opposite effect from what is intended: they could actually lead to less, not more, federal enforcement. Finally, to the extent that state prosecutions occur -- and take over for federal prosecutions -- these provisions would also divert limited state law enforcement and prosecutorial resources away from violent crime toward these non-violent crimes.

B. Section 4: Local Law Enforcement Cooperation:

The initiative also adds provisions to the Penal Code that would require every law enforcement officer in the state to contact the INS if the officer suspects that an arrestee is undocumented. It would also require each agency to investigate and verify whether an arrestee is in the state illegally and to notify the California Attorney General and the INS of the person's apparent undocumented status.

Analysis

Current law already encourages, and in some cases requires, local law enforcement to notify the INS of certain arrestees' immigration status. In fact, through a computerized booking system, police in several counties -- including Los Angeles County -- effectively report all suspected undocumented arrestees to the INS. These counties have established a booking system that allows the INS access to information regarding all foreign-born criminal arrestees.

Aside from duplicating already-existing practices, these provisions of the initiative would severely endanger the public safety. Unlike current law, this provision does not require that the arrest have been lawful, nor that the suspicion that the arrestee is undocumented be "reasonable." The absence of a reasonableness requirement, which is a typical legal protection against arbitrary governmental action, means that there is little

to protect immigrants, including witnesses and victims of crime, from being falsely arrested or arrested for a minor misdemeanor just so that the arresting officer may turn him or her over to the INS. In effect, the provision turns police officers into INS agents, with all of the attendant fear that such status generates in immigrants, both legal residents and undocumented persons.

Because of this fear, requiring the police department to interrogate all arrestees concerning their immigration status would substantially reduce voluntary cooperation with law enforcement agencies. There is already a tremendous under-reporting of crime by immigrants. Under the initiative, criminals would prey upon the entire community with greater impunity because many witnesses and victims would fear to come forward because of the possibility of being reported to the INS. This provision would thus severely undermine efforts of many police departments to implement community policing and other models of police-community cooperation.

C. Section 5: Public Social Services

The initiative adds a section to the Welfare and Institutions Code that would prohibit persons from receiving public social services until the service provider verifies they are a citizen, legal permanent resident, or lawful temporary resident. If the agency suspects a person is undocumented, then it shall not provide benefits, shall notify the person that he or she must either obtain legal status or leave the country, and shall notify the State Director of Public Social Services, the California Attorney General, and the INS of its suspicion.

Analysis

Undocumented immigrants are eligible for only a small number of publicly-funded social service programs. Undocumented immigrants can receive MediCal/Medicaid for the treatment of emergency medical needs if they meet state income and eligibility requirements. See 42 U.S.C. § 1396b(v)(2). Additionally, undocumented children are eligible for school lunch and breakfast programs and may enroll in Headstart programs. See 42 U.S.C. § 1751. Poorly nourished undocumented women and children less than five years of age are also eligible for the Women, Infants, and Children program which provides pre-natal and child nutrition services. See 42 U.S.C. § 1786. The federal government will provide reimbursement for these programs under existing law. Similarly, the vast majority of state-funded social services already deny eligibility to undocumented persons. (e.g. all programs under AFDC, all cash grant assistance programs, etc.. See Cal. Welf. & Inst. Code §§ 11103, 11104, 11268, 14007.5).

With regard to the notification requirement, this section violates federal privacy protections for applicants of AFDC,

medicaid (MediCal), unemployment compensation insurance and food stamps. See 42 U.S.C. § 1320b-7. While the Systematic Alien Verification of Eligibility ("SAVE") system, adopted in the 1986 IRCA law, requires computerized verification by the INS, it also provides important privacy protections. Under the SAVE procedures, every immigrant applicant for these programs must submit a signed declaration attesting that the applicant is in "satisfactory" immigration status and present reasonable evidence of such status. SAVE prohibits the use of immigration status information for enforcement purposes since the government does not want to discourage otherwise eligible individuals from applying.

Additionally, the S.O.S. initiative violates the SAVE provisions that prohibit states from "delay[ing], deny[ing], reduc[ing], or terminat[ing] the individual's eligibility for benefits under the [benefits] program on the basis of the individual's immigration status..." until the applicant has been given an opportunity to rebut any decisions by the agency that the person is undocumented. See 42 U.S.C. § 1320b-7(d)(4). Congress created this provision because it recognized that the INS verification system not only is time-consuming, but often inaccurate, which could result in the wrongful denial of services to needy persons.

The notification requirement would, at minimum, delay services to all poor Californians by instituting an additional, cumbersome, potentially discriminatory and expensive verification process for many state services. Also, because the provision does not define what constitutes "verification," it would result in wrongful denial of services to many legal residents and U.S. citizens by bureaucrats empowered to deny benefits on the basis of "suspicion."

This provision creates a costly and enormous bureaucratic burden that is unnecessary because undocumented immigrants do not use the services covered. Because existing federal verification procedures already prevent and discourage the undocumented from applying for public social services, the administrative costs of implementing these provisions would offset, and most likely exceed, any potential savings.

D. Section 6: Public Health Services

The initiative adds a section to the Health and Safety Code to prohibit any person from receiving publicly-funded health services, except for emergency medical services, until he or she can verify that he or she is a citizen, legal permanent resident, or lawful temporary resident. If a health provider suspects that a person is undocumented, then it shall not provide benefits, shall notify the person that he or she must either obtain legal status or leave the country, and shall notify the Director of Health Services, the California Attorney General, and the INS of such suspicion.

Analysis

Federal law requires States to provide medical assistance to undocumented persons if such services are necessary "for the treatment of emergency medical conditions . . ." An "emergency" is a medical condition (including labor and delivery) with acute symptoms that could place the patient's health in serious jeopardy, result in serious impairment to bodily functions, or cause serious dysfunction of any bodily organ or part. It does not include organ transplant procedures. See 42 U.S.C. § 1396b(v)(2) and Cal. Welf. & Inst. Code § 14007.5. If the undocumented person seeking emergency care meets the eligibility requirements for MediCal, then the state is partially reimbursed for these costs by the federal government. The initiative continues to permit undocumented individuals to qualify for emergency benefits, but makes them ineligible for all non-emergency health care, both that which they would receive from public facilities, and private facilities regardless of whether the individual paid for it.

While the introductory section to the initiative's provisions speak of publicly-funded health care facilities, the initiative's plain language is substantially broader. The definitional section includes all health care facilities. In addition, the prohibition against serving those individuals not legally present in the U.S. extends to those who would pay for the services themselves, either through cash payments or even through health insurance. The initiative either does not accomplish what its supporters purport that it accomplishes, or it is misleading, or both.

The bulk of costs incurred by the state in providing health services to the undocumented are borne by counties required to provide basic health care services to residents. Thus, a low income undocumented person who seeks medical assistance for an illness or condition that is not an "emergency" must be provided services and the state will not receive federal reimbursement for these costs. Proponents of this measure argue that the state will save hundreds of millions of dollars by denying these services to the undocumented. In fact, however, if this measure is successful in denying undocumented persons treatment for colds or immunizations, they will end up in county emergency rooms with much more serious ailments which will cost even more to treat.

The provision to deny these services to the undocumented would seriously endanger the public health. In this country, we long ago recognized that health is a community concern. Volumes of treatises on public health recognize the danger to all of society if certain diseases and injuries are left untreated. The trend toward health care reform shows above all that we believe the well-being of everyone is a universal concern because illnesses are not confined solely to one segment of our population. Yet, under this provision, children would not be immunized and persons in desperate need of medical attention will not seek such care for fear of

deportation. This constitutes not just a threat to the individual but a threat to the public health.

In addition, by imposing yet another bureaucratic procedure in providing services, the provision will increase escalating costs of publicly-funded health services. Moreover, by requiring verification and premising denial on "suspicion," it could cause unnecessary, and potentially life-endangering, delays and denials of services to people entitled to medical care.

Finally, the notification requirement implicates the patient-doctor confidentiality privilege. And, to the extent the undocumented participate in drug abuse programs, the initiative may violate federal law that prohibits such providers from issuing information regarding the identity, diagnosis or treatment of any patient. See 42 U.S.C. § 290dd-2.

E. Section 7: Public Elementary and Secondary Education

The initiative adds a section to the Education Code that would prohibit undocumented persons from enrolling in public schools. By January 1995, each district would be required to verify the legal status of each new enrollee, and, by January 1996, each district would be required to verify the legal status of students already enrolled and of all parents of students enrolled in their district. Additionally, each district would be required to report information regarding parents and students that it suspects are in the state illegally, within forty-five days, to the Superintendent of Public Instruction, the Attorney General, and the INS. Students who cannot provide proof of citizenship or legal immigration status would be allowed to continue in the district for only 90 days.

Analysis

This provision violates the state constitution, which guarantees the right of education to all children. The provision also violates the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. In Plyler v. Doe, 457 U.S. 202 (1982), the U.S. Supreme Court held that depriving undocumented children the right to public education was unconstitutional. In Plyler, the Court found that education plays a pivotal role in maintaining the fabric of our society and maintaining our political and cultural heritage. The Court also correctly recognized -- consistent with all relevant studies -- that undocumented minor children are likely to remain in the United States and, at some point, to legalize their immigration status. Deprivation of the right to education would take an inestimable toll on the individual and on society, and impose a lifetime of hardship on children who are not responsible for their status. Denying schooling to our children would create and perpetuate a permanent illiterate underclass.

The provisions allowing students ninety (90) days to prove

legal status before exclusion is simply a false effort to comfort voters who might feel uncomfortable with putting children on the street. For students and their parents who would need information from the INS, 90 days is woefully inadequate. Generally, the INS takes from 12 to 36 months to respond to inquiries. By establishing arbitrary deadlines, the initiative would wrongly exclude many children.

Additionally, any direct savings produced by putting children on the streets would be offset not only by the high social costs of an illiterate, socially-deviant population, but also by the administrative costs of verifying students' and parents' citizenship and immigration status. The Legislative Analyst's Office conservatively estimates that meeting these provisions would cost tens of millions of dollars in 1994-95 and 1995-96 and ten million dollars annually thereafter. This provision would also embroil the state in costly litigation for the next several years to decide its constitutionality.

Moreover, this provision would turn all school officials - from principals and teachers to cafeteria workers and janitors - into immigration officials. Doing so would have a devastating impact on our educational system: teachers would not spend their time teaching, administrative staff would be forced to respond to rumors and suspicions from other parents, and undocumented parents would not send their U.S. citizen children to school.

The provision that would require schools to report to the INS any pupil or parent suspected of being undocumented violates the federal Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act (FERPA), which prohibits the release of information about public school students except in the most limited of circumstances. See 20 U.S.C. § 1232g. FERPA is enforced by the federal government through the denial of federal funding. Thus, the initiative puts at serious risk the federal money that supports the education of all California children.

F. Section 8: Public Post-Secondary Education

The initiative would limit enrollment in public post-secondary education institutions to citizens, legal permanent residents, or others legally admitted into the United States. Additionally, each public post-secondary educational institution would be required to verify the legal status of each student who applies for admission or seeks enrollment, and would be required to report information regarding students that it suspects are in the state illegally, within forty-five days, to the Superintendent of Public Instruction, the California Attorney General and the INS.

Analysis

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The federal Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act (FERPA) also applies to post-secondary educational institutions receiving federal funds. Thus, as with the prior section, the reporting provision in this section puts at risk federal funding that supports the education of all students.

Unlike cases currently pending in the state court system, which involve only the eligibility of resident undocumented students to pay lower resident tuition rates, this provision bans undocumented students entirely from public post-secondary education, regardless of whether they are willing and able to pay higher non-resident tuition rates. The state thus gives up revenues from students who might pay full out-of-state tuition. In fact, the Legislative Analyst Office has concluded that there would be no net savings from excluding undocumented students. Current law also permits those individuals who are otherwise qualified to establish residency under state law when they are in the process of legalizing their immigration status. Thus the state recognizes the importance of educating those students who are likely to remain in this country, thereby making them more productive contributors to our state's economy. The initiative provision is myopic in this regard. The initiative takes those students who may be the best and brightest of our communities and relegates them, perhaps permanently, to the underclass.

G. Section 9: Attorney General Cooperation with the INS

The initiative would require the Attorney General to transmit to the INS any report by a governmental entity of the presence of a person suspected of being undocumented. The Attorney General would also be required to maintain on-going and accurate records of such reports.

Analysis

The INS has a limited capacity to respond and to act upon reports of the presence of undocumented persons. Furthermore, to the extent this provision encourages local government employees to report their mere suspicions of undocumented status to the Attorney General, the initiative creates an omnipresent atmosphere of distrust and suspicion between civil servants and those they serve, including citizens and legal permanent residents.

H. Section 10: Severability and Amendment

The initiative also provides that the statutory provisions in it can only be amended by a two-thirds vote of each house of the Legislature or by approval of the voters.

Analysis

Voters who favor some portions of the initiative but oppose others should recognize the extreme difficulty in eliminating offending portions of the initiative. The drafters have crafted an as-is, take-it-or-leave-it initiative that severely restricts the possibility of legislative change.

U.S. JOB HUNTERS HEADING SOUTH
Miami Herald (MH) - TUE July 5, 1994
By: ANDRES OPPENHEIMER Herald Staff Writer
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MEMO:
REPORT FROM MEXICO

TEXT:
MEXICO CITY - When Mexicans talk about illegal residents, they are not necessarily referring to the millions of Mexicans who have sneaked into the United States without proper immigration documents.

Increasingly, they are referring to the growing numbers of U.S. citizens who have come to Mexico in search of jobs, some of them lured by the publicity surrounding the North American Free Trade Agreement and who stay without residency permits.

They are known as espaldas secas -- "drybacks."

Unlike the Mexicans who wade across the Rio Grande into the United States -- giving rise to the derogatory term "wetbacks" -- most of the U.S. citizens arrive by car or in comfortable plane seats, and are automatically granted tourist visas.

Mexican officials estimate that about 200,000 Americans live illegally in Mexico, in addition to 150,000 registered as permanent residents.

While many of the U.S. immigrants are California and Texas retirees lured by the lower cost of living, growing numbers are young, well educated, and come from all corners of the United States. Many are looking for experience that will give an international flavor to their resumes.

"To teach at a university in Los Angeles, you need a Ph.D.," said Maxim Free, 27, who arrived two weeks ago with a master's degree in literature from California State University. "Here, I can teach at a local university, and gain experience. It's an investment for the future."

Free is confident that he will soon get residency papers because he has a job offer from a Mexican university that is willing to endorse his request for a working visa. But many other U.S. citizens say they don't even bother to apply for Mexican immigration papers.

"The number of 'drybacks' is growing steadily," said a Mexican official with access to immigration statistics. "Maybe it's partly because we have never really gone after them."

In fact, U.S. citizens enjoy a privileged status. Americans are automatically given six-month tourist visas, while most Latin Americans are given 30-day visas. Americans who want to extend their visas for another six months can simply cross the border and come back, as many times as they wish.

In addition, Mexican immigration authorities have never been known to stage raids against undocumented U.S. visitors, or to deport them as the United States does with undocumented Mexican immigrants.

In recent months, as MEXICO has revised its immigration laws to comply with NAFTA requirements of freer access for business people and professionals, Mexican officials have begun paying increased attention to the illegal residents. In May, the National Migration Institute compiled its first report on UNDOCUMENTED U.S. CITIZENS living here.

The confidential study, which includes several pages of pictures of mobile home communities along the U.S.-Mexican border favored by U.S. CITIZENS, concluded that most of the UNDOCUMENTED immigrants live in Baja California. Many were longtime residents, attracted by the low cost of living.

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A small but growing minority of younger and better educated workers has settled in MEXICO City or in tourist towns such as San Miguel de Allende in central MEXICO or San Cristobal de las Casas in the southern state of Chiapas, the report said.

Mexican officials say U.S. citizens top the list of foreigners applying for residency visas. The number of U.S. applicants grew by 20 percent last year, they say.

"Mexico's economic opening has awakened the interest of many Americans," a Mexican official who oversees migration affairs said. "Many want to see if there is a future for them here."

While most U.S. citizens are not losing sleep over their immigration status, many fear that a growing sentiment against Mexican migrants in California and other U.S. states could trigger a Mexican government campaign against them. Mexican officials dismiss such fears.

"There are no plans to persecute any American aliens here," said one Mexican official with responsibility over immigration matters. "The only thing we are doing is beginning to look into the issue, in order to get a more precise figure of their numbers, and to see if we can help them normalize their legal status."

Mexican officials stress that, under NAFTA rules, Mexico is making it easier for U.S. business people to work here. But many undocumented Americans prefer to continue working in Mexico with their tourist visas, fearing that requests for permanent visas could be turned down and attract the attention of Mexico's immigration service.

"I've been working for more than six months without requesting a residency visa, and haven't had any problems," said one 26-year-old American college graduate who freelances teaching English and translating documents for a Mexican company.

"But nobody knows how long this will last. The more they talk about illegal aliens, the more I fear they will do something about them."

Immigration payments a contrived state right

States' rights have never before been much of an issue in California.

Sure, the state has resisted some federal efforts to impose even stricter smog-control rules than it already has. The state Constitution also guarantees a few more individual rights than federal law mandates in areas like privacy. But basically, California has never felt strongly that any federal policy was treating this state so unfairly that some sort of conflict with the federal government might become inevitable.

Illegal immigration now threatens to change all that. Every major politician in California this year has made a major issue of the federal failure to pay most costs of services given to undocumented newcomers.

Republican Gov. Pete Wilson, in fact, has made this a linchpin issue in his re-election campaign, complaining time and again that undocumented immigrants are "tax-users, not taxpayers."

Even when the House of Representatives passed a crime bill that included an amendment reimbursing states for the cost of jailing undocumented immigrants convicted of crimes, Wilson kept up his outcry. That, of course, outraged the Clinton administration.

Wilson's immediate response: a set of lawsuits, starting with one seeking reimbursement for the cost of imprisoning undocumented immigrants convicted of felonies, the very expense already due to be covered by the crime bill. The timing, and its tiny likelihood of success, makes his action seem simply self-serving.

"This lawsuit ... is purely being done for political reasons," said Erwin Chemerinsky, a professor of constitutional law at USC. "It is using the legal system to make a political statement."

Wilson's legal adviser, Janice Brown, admits there's little chance of the initial Wilson lawsuit succeeding, but says it is not "utterly frivolous."

The trouble with Wilson's action is not only that it's so blatantly aimed at boosting his re-election chances. The more serious problem is that it tends to obscure California's very real concern about who pays the



THOMAS ELIAS

cost of illegal immigration.

Almost 10 percent of students in the giant Los Angeles Unified School District are children of undocumented immigrants, and estimates of the statewide cost of educating such children run as high as \$1.7 billion. Estimates vary on how much they cost the state's emergency health care system, but one common figure is \$400 million.

Wilson plans separate lawsuits demanding federal reimbursement for those expenses, but the clearly hopeless nature of the first action takes away a lot of the impetus.

In fact, California has a legitimate gripe, but it's not primarily with either Clinton or the immigrants. For there's plenty of evidence suggesting undocumented immigrants actually pay enough in taxes to compensate for what they cost.

But most of what they pay goes to the federal government, and there can be no disputing the fact that California doesn't get enough of those dollars back.

Making the whole question of who pays for immigrant services into a states' rights issue clearly works to the advantage of politicians like Wilson, who want to make hay by lambasting the federal administration. But the real culprit is Congress. And since California has the biggest delegation any state has ever sent there, it's reasonable to expect more action than mere payment of some prison costs.

Thomas Elias is a columnist for Southern California Focus.

Immigration Doesn't Displace Natives

By RICHARD VEDDER

Despite relatively robust economic expansion, unemployment remains at or near the top of Americans' concerns. In parts of the country, including our most populous state, California, unemployment rates are at or above 8%. In this environment, there is growing criticism about the impact that immigration has on the job security of Americans. Some politicians, notably Gov. Pete Wilson of California, have found their popularity surge as their anti-immigrant rhetoric increases.

California vs. Florida

The current wave of immigrant-bashing rhetoric recalls similar experiences earlier in American history. For example, in the last decade before World War I, when immigrant flows were at a peak, social scientists argued bitterly whether immigrants were as industrious as predecessors who came in the mid-19th century.

Modern econometric investigation has shown that those immigrants responded mightily to economic stimuli, moving to areas of the nation where labor productivity and wages were the highest. Similarly, statistical evidence suggests that modern immigrants go where economic opportunities are the greatest.

Do immigrants displace native-born Americans from jobs? Proponents of immigration restriction argue that newly arrived immigrants take jobs that otherwise would go to natives. Supporters of this view point out that the state with the

average unemployment rate was 7.38%.

In our 1993 book "Out of Work: Unemployment and Government in Twentieth-Century America" (Holmes & Meier), Mr. Gallaway and I used a powerful regression model to explain U.S. unemployment that emphasizes labor costs. In our recent study, we found no statistically reliable correlation between the percentage of the population that was foreign-born and the national unemployment rate over the period 1900-89, or for just the postwar era (1947-89).

Another approach is cross-sectional,

Using several different periods and approaches, we consistently found no statistically meaningful relationship between immigration and unemployment.

largest immigrant presence by far, California, also has the highest unemployment rate of any large American state. They neglect to tell you, however, that some other states with relatively high immigrant populations have relatively low rates of unemployment. Florida, for example, in February had an unemployment rate of 5.7%, well below the national average of 6.5%, despite having the nation's third-largest immigrant population (about 13% of the state population in 1990).

With Lowell Gallaway and Stephen Moore, I have recently looked at the historical and contemporary evidence in a study for the Alexis de Tocqueville Institution. Using several different periods and approaches, we consistently found no statistically meaningful relationship between immigration and unemployment. However, if there is any correlation, it would appear to be *negative*: Higher immigration is associated with lower unemployment. For example, immigration reached its highest level (relative to population) in the first 25 years of this century; the average annual U.S. unemployment rate was 5.05%; in the next 69 years of relatively smaller immigrant flows, the

comparing the 50 states. Messrs. Gallaway, Moore and I took the 10 states with the highest average percentage of immigrant population in the 1960-90 period and compared them with the 10 states with the smallest relative immigrant presence. In the 10 high-immigrant states, the median unemployment rate in the 1960-91 period was about 5.9%, compared with 6.6% in the 10 low-immigrant states.

Classifying the states according to unemployment rates and confining our analysis to the 1980s leads to even more startling results, as shown in the accompanying chart. We compared the 10 states with the lowest average annual unemployment rates in the years 1980-90 with the 10 states with the highest average annual unemployment rates. The median proportion of the population that was foreign-born was 1.56% in the high-unemployment states, compared with 3.84% in the low-unemployment states. More immigrants, lower unemployment.

Why doesn't immigration cause unemployment? Immigrants expand total output and the demand for labor, offsetting the negative effects that a greater labor supply might have. Immigrants tend to be highly productive and promote capital for-

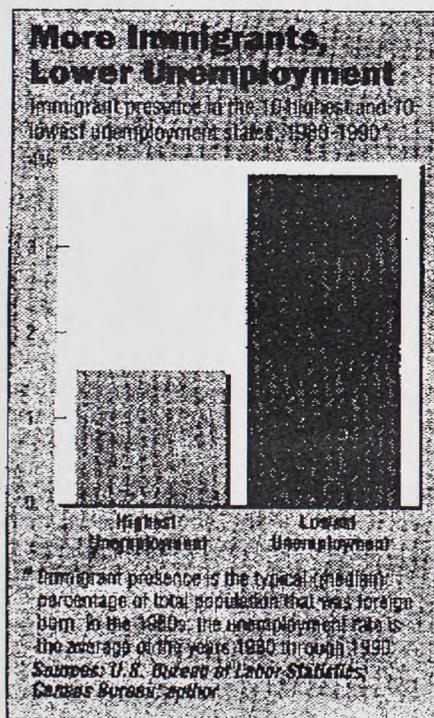
mation through high savings rates.³ They fill vital niches at the ends of the skill spectrum, doing low-skilled jobs that native Americans rebuff (at prevailing wages), as well as sophisticated high-skill jobs. Indeed, the willingness of immigrants to work hard probably explains why per-capita income of the foreign-born population in the 1990 census actually slightly exceeded that of the native-born.

In light of all this evidence, why do some Americans blame immigrants for joblessness? First, there is the visibility problem. Americans literally can see jobs that immigrants have filled. By contrast, the jobs that are created by high immigrant productivity, capital formation and demand for goods are far less visible. Second, politicians and labor union leaders often need a scapegoat, someone to take the blame off themselves and their actions that raise labor costs and thus unemployment. Political entrepreneurs have learned that they can win votes attacking immigrants (many of whom cannot vote), so they do so—never mind the facts.

Economic Lesson

The most important economic lesson of the past generation is that nations that let resources flow freely according to market forces tend to flourish relative to ones that control such resource movement through central planning, trade and property-rights restrictions, high taxation, or oppressive regulation. Immigration reflects the movement of the most important of all economic resources. Our nation of immigrants has prospered from the inflow of new human capital resources from abroad. Immigrants are part of the solution to America's economic woes, not the problem.

Mr. Vedder teaches economics at Ohio University. Lowell Gallaway, of the same department, contributed to this article. Along with Stephen Moore, they are the authors of a new study, "Immigration and Unemployment: New Evidence" for the Alexis de Tocqueville Institution.



Anti-Immigrant Mood Helps Fuel Citizenship Rise

By PATRICK J. McDONNELL
and RICHARD SIMON
TIMES STAFF WRITERS

They hailed from more than 100 nations worldwide, a diverse gathering even by the polyglot standards of today's Los Angeles. Many were euphoric, some teary-eyed, others solemn. Most clutched tiny red, white and blue flags provided for the occasion.

Among them was Alejandro Navarro, a onetime illegal border-jumper from Mexico, who, like the others, came to swear allegiance to the Stars and Stripes. "We feel more American than those who were born here," said Navarro, one of 14,000 immigrants who became citizens during a Los Angeles Convention Center ceremony last month. "We're American by choice, by conviction."

Looking for a powerful, and old-fashioned, way to assert their rights, immigrants throughout the country are signing up for citizenship in near-record numbers.

More than 425,000 immigrants nationwide are expected to become citizens this fiscal year, rivaling a 50-year-old record set during a period of wartime anxiety. In the Los Angeles area, 90,000 immigrants will probably turn in green cards for naturalization certificates—almost double the number last year.

The surge in citizenship sign-ups reflects the peak immigration levels of the past decade, a period that has seen more newcomers—both legal and illegal—arrive on U.S. soil than during any other stretch in history.

But propelling citizenship inter-
Please see CITIZENS, A22

CITIZENS: Backlash Fuels Increase in Sign-Ups

Citizenship Applications

Applications for U.S. citizenship have increased dramatically at the Los Angeles office of the Immigration and Naturalization Service—from a daily average of 182 in October to a daily average of more than 500 for each of the last three months. The office serves a seven-county region of Southern California.

Daily Average	Applications
10-93	182
11-93	306
12-93	294
1-94	353
2-94	398
3-94	493
4-94	519
5-94	568
6-94	545

Source: U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service

Continued from A1

est now, say observers and immigrants, is a distinctly political factor: fear of fallout from what many call an anti-immigrant backlash, particularly in California. With Gov. Pete Wilson attacking illegal immigrants and legislators seeking cutbacks in aid for lawful immigrants, many have hastened to sign up for citizenship—and the opportunity to vote.

"We are being attacked as government dependents, but most of us are hard-working," said Alfonso Gutierrez, a Mexican-born factory foreman who is applying for citizenship. "For me, the most important thing is the vote, the opportunity to have a say in this country."

Immigrant advocates have launched aggressive citizenship sign-up drives—at churches, on television and radio, house-to-house and in the streets. Bus benches in Los Angeles' heavily Latino neighborhoods carry the message: *Ciudadanía, la mejor vía* ("Citizenship, the best way").

Courses in English language and U.S. history and civics are booming, reflecting immigrants' desire to satisfy requirements for naturalization. A record 6,200 students are crammed into citizenship classes offered by the Los Angeles Unified School District.

Citizenship registration is expected to swell over the next year or more as eligibility kicks in for most of the more than 3 million onetime illegal immigrants—more than one of four residents of greater Los Angeles—who gained amnesty beginning in 1987. Some fear that the ever-lengthening queue at U.S. immigration offices will overwhelm an already slow-moving process, extending delays.

"Will the capacity be there to respond?" asked Frank Sharry, executive director of the National Immigration Forum, a Washington-based umbrella group of advocate organizations. "If not, people get frustrated. It will be a lost opportunity."

The Clinton Administration is seeking an additional \$30 million to add citizenship staff and streamline and further automate what is often an intimidating and burdensome process for applicants. The House reduced the amount to \$7.5 million, and the proposal is pending in the Senate.

Declaring that U.S. officials have historically been too passive in promoting citizenship, Immigration and Naturalization Service Commissioner Doris Meissner has pledged to foster citizenship as an instrument of national harmony during an era of growing anti-immigrant sentiment.

"The naturalization process is a continuing reaffirmation that newcomers want to join up, that they do, by and large, share the values that those of us who came before share," said Meissner, the daughter of naturalized German-born parents. "I think that does help to ameliorate some of the tensions around immigration."

While Latino leaders and immigrant advocates have praised the commissioner's championing of citizen sign-ups, lawmakers and others pushing for limits on new immigrants are wary. Some oppose stepped-up naturalization efforts because citizens can more easily bring in relatives from abroad.

"Citizenship," said Rep. Dana Rohrabacher (R-Huntington Beach), "should not be a priority for INS during a time when we are being smothered by an avalanche of illegal immigration."

The boom in citizenship enrollments has buoyed activists' hopes for a united front against perceived immigrant-bashing. But it would be a mistake to take new citizens' views for granted. Polls have shown many Latinos to be as disturbed about illegal immigration as non-Latinos. A voter registration booth run by the Republican Party did a brisk business after the mass swearing-in at the Convention Center last month.

Alejandro Navarro, who was arrested by immigration authorities in a Los Angeles shoe factory three

decades ago and sent back to Mexico, now finds himself agreeing with Gov. Wilson. "Some people come here and just don't want to work," Navarro, a father of four U.S.-born children, declared after taking his citizenship oath.

His wife, Mariana Navarro, who renounced her Mexican citizenship alongside her husband, sees it otherwise. "The governor is generalizing against all Latinos," she said. "Immigrants work more than anyone else in this country."

Decidedly nonpolitical factors—cost, convenience, job opportunities and other personal motivations—also impel many immigrants to become citizens. (Immigrants are eligible for citizenship after five years of legal residence, or three years if married to U.S. nationals.) Along with the right to vote, citizens are entitled to serve on juries and hold jobs restricted to citizens only, including many positions in government and law enforcement.

Among the recent new citizens is Hung Tri Tran, a 19-year-old Navy man and Saigon native assigned to an aircraft carrier. Tran, one of the thousands of Southeast Asian "boat people" who made their way to the United States by enduring high seas and attacks by pirates, saw his status hindering his career advancement.

"I want to be an officer," Tran, dressed in his Navy whites, explained shortly after receiving his citizenship papers at the Convention Center.

For Alejandro Espinoza, citizenship is a practical matter. The 68-year-old father of four, originally from Mexico, is among long-time U.S. residents now required to turn in their old green cards for new ones. The cost is \$70 for a document that must be renewed every 10 years. Becoming a citizen costs \$20 more—and is permanent unless renounced.

"I'd rather get it all taken care of at once and not lose any more time," Espinoza said.

Hector Espinoza (no relation), a 36-year-old auto parts salesman in Gardena, offers another reason: He wants to petition for his father to come to the United States from Mexico.

But, along with the practical considerations, both Espinozas and Tran express desires to formalize their allegiance to their adopted land and gain voting privileges.

"This is a great nation, and I want to be a part of it," said Hector Espinoza, who emigrated illegally from Mexico in 1979 and later gained amnesty. "My vote could make a difference."

Notwithstanding the advantages of citizenship, recent waves of immigrants—particularly those from Mexico—have generally eschewed the privilege. Only slightly more than one-third of legal immigrants apply for citizenship today, considerably lower than the rate earlier in the century, officials say. Yet peak immigration levels are pushing raw citizenship numbers ever higher.

Sign-up rates vary dramatically depending on nationality. Asians traditionally have high naturalization rates—another important rea-

son why sign-ups have swollen in recent years as Asian immigration and refugee flows have increased. About 60% of Filipinos and 58% of Chinese, for instance, apply for citizenship, according to a government study of immigrants who arrived in 1977.

In contrast, only 16% of eligible immigrants from Mexico seek U.S. citizenship, the study found.

Traditionally, officials have explained that Mexican citizens are wary of renouncing their homeland, often clinging to an illusion of going back, even after their lives take root and children are born in the United States. But others see low sign-up rates as a product of a confusing, costly and often intimidating citizenship application process.

Applicants must pay a \$90 fee and fill out a four-page form, which asks a bewildering array of personal questions in English. Aspiring citizens are queried as to whether they've been Nazis, Communists, narcotics traffickers, prostitutes, gamblers, drunkards, tax cheats, deserters or polygamists.

During a subsequent interview, applicants must demonstrate an ability to speak and understand English—some longtime residents older than 50 are exempted from this requirement—and pass a history/civics test that encompasses themes from the obscure to the relevant, including: Name five of the first original 13 states. Who is your congressman? Who wrote "The Star-Spangled Banner?"

Many regard the citizenship process as hostile, particularly since the crucial interview is conducted by INS officers, who have long embodied newcomers' worst fears. "I'm hoping my English is good enough," said Juan Jose Ugarte, an industrial painter who has been traveling between the United States and his native Mexico for more than 30 years.

An amnesty recipient, Ugarte has little empathy for fellow immigrants who hesitate to become citizens based on a misplaced nostalgia for the old country. Ugarte tells the story of a beloved uncle who lived in California for 40 years, fathered nine children, but always insisted that he would go back to Mexico. The uncle died a few years ago—in Los Angeles, where he is buried.

"When I visit his grave," Ugarte recalled with a smile, "I tell him, 'See uncle, you never did make it back!'"

The reluctance among many to apply for citizenship also stems, in part, from apprehensions grounded both in fact and fiction. Some fear a loss of land ownership and other rights back home if they acquire U.S. passports—and, indeed, Mexico, South Korea and other nations limit the ownership rights of non-citizens.

A widely circulated, albeit apocryphal, tale: Mexicans must stomp on their flag during swearing-in ceremonies. "That rumor still persists," said Domingo Rodriguez, coordinator of the Los Angeles Unified School District's adult citizenship programs. "I heard it back in the 1940s within my own family."

Some longtime immigrants, such as Graciela Liceaga, simply refuse to cut legal ties to home. Liceaga, a 34-year-old amnesty recipient and mother of four U.S.-born children, said she still hoped to return to her hometown near Guadalajara, away from the crime, fractured family life and lack of traditional values that she sees in her Eastside neighborhood. She has no plans to become a U.S. citizen, though she is eligible.

"I don't want to grow old here," Liceaga said recently after an English-language class, which she is taking to improve her ability to speak with her children's teachers. "Here, one can be so alone."

In an effort to promote citizenship, immigrant advocates steer newcomers through the procedural morass. Staffers interview citizenship aspirants, assist them in filling out forms, take the required photographs and fingerprints, help set up appointments and arrange for instruction in English and civics.

Latino leaders express hope that expanded citizenship rolls will help boost the community's political clout—from school board level to Capitol Hill. Noting that elections in some of the region's small, heavily Latino cities are decided by fewer than 1,000 votes, Harry Pachon, head of the Tomas Rivera Center, said, "I'll bet there are city council members and mayors looking at these [citizenship] figures with trepidation."

In Los Angeles, INS officials have bolstered citizenship staffs by one-third, and, in a pilot project to be launched this week, plan to interview would-be citizens on the grounds of a church—a striking contrast to what many consider the threatening ambience of INS offices. However, officials besieged with an ever-expanding volume of requests have pointedly refrained from aggressively advertising naturalization efforts.

"If I promote it too much, I overwhelm my system," said Richard K. Rogers, INS district director.

Citizenship applications from the Los Angeles region have surged from fewer than 200 a day last fall to more than 500 daily now, as initial waves of amnesty immig-

Please see CITIZENS, A23

CITIZENS: Growth Reflects Peak Levels of Immigration

Continued from A22

rants begin signing up. (The first amnesty beneficiaries only became eligible for citizenship last fall.)

Experts have long theorized that amnesty recipients will be more likely to seek citizenship than other immigrants. Most have lived here since at least 1982, and many were already required to study English and U.S. government and history.

"The amnesty people have already gone through the process, they know they don't have to face the INS alone," said Jose de Paz, who heads the California Immigrant Workers Assn., a community and labor group that is encouraging people to sign up for citizenship.

De Paz himself finally became a citizen last month, though he has lived in the United States for 28 years and is the father of three U.S.-born children. "I've convinced hundreds of people to become citizens," said the Mexican native, "so I felt I had to do it myself."

Despite optimistic forecasts about citizenship registrations among amnesty beneficiaries, initial figures show those from Mexico still lag behind other immigrants in becoming U.S. citizens. That short-

fall is potentially significant because Mexican nationals account for almost three-quarters of all amnesty recipients.

But Latino scholars say they expect that the number of Mexican immigrants seeking citizenship to rise as word of the opportunity spreads.

Alfonso Gutierrez, the factory foreman who is also an amnesty immigrant, can't wait to get his citizenship papers. Along with his desire to vote and participate in the democratic process, Gutierrez, 30, wants to petition to bring his wife from Mexico.

"This is my country now," Gutierrez said the other day after filling out his application at an East Los Angeles clinic. "I want to be able to stand up for the interests of my community."

El Mito de los Migrantes

José MERINO MILLAN

El Dr. Jorge Bustamante Fernández, director del Colegio de la Frontera Norte de México, en Tijuana, puso el dedo en la llaga en su exposición durante el foro de la Fundación Avance XXI.

Efectivamente el malamente considerado problema migratorio, que no tiene nada de nuevo ni de problema, ha sido utilizado de distintas maneras y en diferentes ocasiones como instrumento o pretexto tras el cual se mueven intereses de todos los órdenes.

Los residentes fronterizos de ambos lados de la línea divisoria hemos oído y leído siempre el planteamiento del llamado problema convertido realmente en un mito. La verdad es que se trata de la capitalización de un beneficio que aportan los trabajadores mexicanos, tanto por sus elevados rendimientos como por las diferencias en los ingresos. Se trata de una mano de obra barata de acuerdo con los índices salariales del vecino país y en particular del estado de California, que además reinvierte sus reducidos ingresos en el gasto que hacen para subsistir en las poblaciones del estado de California próximas a nuestra frontera. En la actualidad está adquiriendo un nuevo sesgo político que también pretende utilizarse como instrumento para conquista de posiciones dentro de la política del vecino país del norte. Cada vez que se habla de la inmigración se hace referencia al costo, por cierto bajo, del mantenimiento de una mano de obra que produce beneficios, y no de los beneficios que representa contar con una magnífica fuerza de trabajo que lamentablemente México todavía no está en condiciones de absorber, y resulta inexplicable para los críticos de la inmigración, que a pesar de tantas disposiciones represivas y cortapisas para la internación de la corriente migratoria a los Estados Unidos, sigue existiendo masivamente, y sigan siendo contratados y encuentren preferencia en muchos trabajos sobre los nacionales. Si todo lo que dice y afirma en relación con los trabajadores mexicanos en los Estados Unidos fuese cierto, hace ya muchas décadas que ante la ausencia de demanda se hubiera acabado con esa inmigración, el hecho de que cada día se considere mayor el cruce fronterizo hacia los Estados Unidos de trabajadores mexicanos, es prueba inequívoca de que aportan un beneficio a quienes ocupen su trabajo, y una derrama de dinero a quienes les venden la canasta básica para su subsistencia.

La verdad es que este proceso es cíclico, y va en relación con la necesidad cíclica también de la fuerza del trabajo. Cuando hay que levantar cosechas, cuando hay un incremento de trabajos que los ciudadanos norteamericanos no quieren hacer y menos a salarios bajos, entonces se aminoran las exigencias, se ocupan a los trabajadores inmigrados, se logran los beneficios, para que pasando el ciclo se inicie de nuevo la política de rechazo.

Ahora surge una modalidad que aún no ha entrado en vigor pero que también pretende utilizarse con sentido político para lograr incrementos en los ingresos de la aportación federal en el vecino estado de California, y esa modalidad es la de pretender cobrar por el pase de la frontera, lo que podría llamarse un derecho de paso; modalidad también contradictoria con el sentir y pensar del sector empresarial californiano, y una vez más surge la incongruencia; mientras se dice que se va a cobrar por cada cruce fronterizo hacia los Estados Unidos, por otro lado los comercios y grandes empresas del estado de California gastan elevados porcentajes de sus presupuestos de publicidad en las poblaciones fronterizas de este lado de la línea divisoria, es decir, que promueven las compras de mexicanos al otro lado de la frontera por ser un mercado muy importante para ellos, y por otra parte pretenden reducir y poner cortapisas al cruce fronterizo con el pago del supuesto derecho de paso. En fin que una vez más se trata de cambiar de táctica para seguir manejando los mismos intereses y fines, y una vez más también, tendremos que entender que es tiempo de tomar medidas adecuadas para contrarrestar los efectos nocivos.

Feinstein's TV Attack on Immigration

Democratic U.S. Sen. Dianne Feinstein has been airing a new television commercial about immigration and her support for tougher enforcement on the international border. The ad, which is being broadcast statewide, also contrasts Feinstein's position with her Republican challenger for the Senate seat, Rep. Michael Huffington (R-Santa Barbara).

THE AD

It opens with a statement: "While Congressman Huffington voted against new border guards, Dianne Feinstein led the fight to stop illegal immigration." A picture of presumably illegal immigrants streaming over the border appears on the screen while Feinstein's voice is heard explaining that 3,000 illegal immigrants try to cross the border many nights. Feinstein adds that she has only been in the Senate a short time, but has worked hard to secure the border with more agents, fencing, lighting and other equipment. It closes with the senator saying to the camera: "I'm Dianne Feinstein and I've just begun to fight for California."

THE ANALYSIS

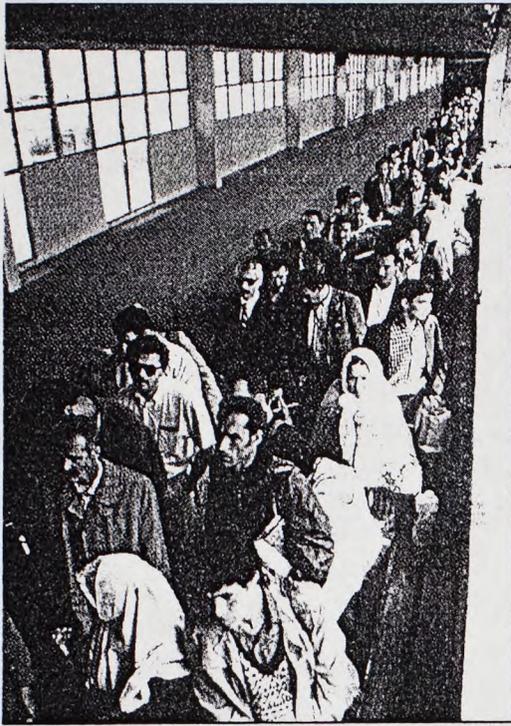
The statement that Huffington voted against new border guards is based on the congressman's opposition last month to a sweeping appropriations bill that included funding for 700 new Border Patrol guards. Huffington's campaign has called the Feinstein attack a "shameless distortion" because he has voted four times to increase the border guard even though he opposed the recent appropriations bill, saying it also contained wasteful spending. Feinstein's campaign contends, however, that if Huffington's side had won the vote, the guards would not be added.

Some Latino officials have criticized the video of illegal immigrants running across the border, warning that it scapegoats immigrants and harms relations among ethnic groups. The complaints have been nowhere near the level of criticism aimed at Gov. Pete Wilson for a similar commercial about immigration. Feinstein's campaign said its commercial was more sensitive because it was shot in color, not black-and-white, and the commentary was not as inflammatory.

The estimate that 3,000 illegal immigrants cross the border on many nights was provided to Feinstein by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, said Marco Ramirez, a spokesman for the federal agency.

The ad's claim that Feinstein has worked hard on the issue refers to her outspoken role on the Judiciary Committee, which plays a major role on immigration legislation. Last summer, Feinstein unveiled a six-point plan that included a \$1 border-crossing fee. Last month, she introduced a comprehensive bill that calls for another 2,100 border guards in the next three years. Huffington supported a plan in April that would have added 6,000 guards over five years.

ho Ac. Benner
7/10/94



JEAN-PIERRE LAFFON / Sygma

Speaking Of

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

Across the globe, millions of people are on the move. Today, about 100 million live outside their countries of birth. Their motives are many, but the most popular one is economic opportunity. Refugees fleeing war or perse-

cution doubled in number in the turbulent 1980s, but they still represent only a minority of all migrants.

These are some of the discoveries in a new report, "Global Migration: People on the Move," by Population Action International in Washington, D.C. The report shows who is going where—and why.

There's plenty to keep track of. The number of long-term migrants from developing to developed countries has mushroomed fourfold since the early 1980s, the study says. The engine of this trend is inequality: Rich nations got richer over the decades while poor nations lost ground or stagnated.

Political conflict, labor surpluses, exhausted farms and government policies aimed at family unification also cause migration.

To put it all in perspective, though, migrants represent only 2% of the world's population. Most people never move from their home country.



DON BARTLETT / Los Angeles Times

migrants, above, at passport control in Marseilles, France. Right, a Border Patrol agent conducts a search in San Ysidro, Calif.

TYPES OF MOVEMENT

Between wealthy nations

Migration of workers between industrialized countries is growing, especially in Western Europe, where the emergence of the European Union has blurred traditional political and economic boundaries.

To wealthier nations

The number of long-term migrants from developing to developed countries increased from about 230,000 a year in the early 1960s to roughly 940,000 by the late 1980s. Today North America, especially the United States, is the greatest magnet. In Europe, North Africans and Turks moved to France and Germany in large numbers in the 1960s and 1970s. Since 1985, migration to Europe has diversified to include Asians and new destinations, such as Italy and Spain, that formerly were sources of migrants.

Between developing countries

In Latin America and Africa, most flows have been between neighboring countries. In sub-Saharan Africa, at least 10 million people are believed to be migrants or refugees.

In Latin America, wealthier countries such as Argentina and Venezuela absorb people from nearby nations.

WHERE THEY GO

Often, migrants go right next door—as with Mexicans entering the United States. But political and historical ties, such as those between Britain and Commonwealth countries, can send people around the world. Culture and language also matter; many French-speakers move to France, for instance.

Illegal migration into the United States is estimated at about 200,000 to 300,000 a year, compared to legal immigrants, who in 1992 numbered 974,000.

Legal, long-term migration to developed regions (annual average):

1 To North America

From	1960-1969	1970-1979	1980-1989
Sub-Saharan Africa	3,003	12,956	19,224
North Africa and West Asia	12,340	22,679	29,233
South Asia	6,981	32,618	64,081
East and Southeast Asia	30,769	132,621	242,657
Latin America and the Caribbean	129,714	288,139	388,037
Developed countries*	273,563	180,782	129,472
Total	456,370	669,795	872,704

2 To Western Europe

From	1960-1969	1970-1979	1980-1989
Sub-Saharan Africa	4,593	7,382	12,107
North Africa and West Asia	88,470	139,017	39,801
South Asia	13,497	19,808	26,736
East and Southeast Asia	6,928	15,421	37,143
Latin America and the Caribbean	4,624	11,411	10,047
Developed countries*	296,023	126,956	156,785
Total	414,135	319,995	282,619

3 To Oceania

From	1960-1969	1970-1979	1980-1989
Sub-Saharan Africa	2,122	3,127	4,847
North Africa and West Asia	3,398	8,084	4,247
South Asia	1,882	3,233	3,857
East and Southeast Asia	2,213	8,248	30,071
Latin America and the Caribbean	404	4,063	2,756
Developed countries*	118,448	63,846	44,661
Total	128,467	90,601	90,439

* Includes all developed nations, although by the late 1980s, the majority of these migrants came from Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union.



VICTOR KOTOWITZ / Los Angeles



DEBORAH COPAKEN / CONTACT

REFUGEES: HOST REGIONS (1992)

The number of international refugees—people displaced by a crisis such as war or persecution—continued to grow after the Cold War ended. Conflicts that followed the collapse of authoritarian regimes in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union continue to displace citizens, as does new violence in Rwanda and other nations.

Asia: 9,888,800

Major areas	Number
Iran	4,150,700
Pakistan	1,629,200
Jordan	1,010,700
Gaza Strip	560,200
West Bank	459,100
Lebanon	319,400
Syria	299,200
China	288,100
India	258,400
Bangladesh	245,000
Kuwait	124,900

Africa: 5,393,200

Major areas	Number
Malawi	1,058,500
Sudan	725,600
Guinea	478,500
Ethiopia	431,800
Kenya	401,900
Zaire	391,100
Tanzania	292,100
Burundi	271,700
Algeria	219,300
Uganda	196,300
Ivory Coast	174,100

Europe: 4,379,100

Major areas	Number
Former Yugoslavia	2,053,500
Germany	827,100
Sweden	324,500
Armenia	300,000
Azerbaijan	246,000
France	182,600
Britain	100,000

North America: 1,041,200

Canada	568,200
United States	473,000

Latin America: 885,500

Major areas	Number
Mexico	361,000
Guatemala	222,900
Costa Rica	114,400
Honduras	100,100

Source: Global Migration: People on the Move. Compiled by Times researcher ANN GRIF

The San Diego Union Tribune

July 10, 1994

Full assimilation
should be the
goal of
U.S. immigration
policy



By JOEL KOTKIN

The bombing of New York's World Trade Center by Arab immigrants, Chinese aliens marooned off our coasts, and perpetual chaos on the Mexican border — images like these are propelling anxiety about immigration to levels not seen since the "Red Scare" following World War I.

Although the share of foreigners in the U.S. population today is only half of what it was at the turn of the century, support for a cut in immigration levels, according to the Gallup Poll, has grown in the past eight years from just under half to roughly two-thirds.

Nativists suggest, with considerable justification, that tough immigration limits are being imposed throughout the developed world, particularly in Europe, where anti-foreign sentiment seems to be reaching a fever pitch. Yet unlike most European countries, our very uniqueness grows largely out of the process of immigration; more immigrants have come to these shores than to all other countries combined. Immigration is the very thing that makes us, in the words of sociologist Nathan Glazer, "the permanently unfinished country."

At the same time, the nativist pronouncements are

KOTKIN is a Los Angeles based senior fellow at the Center for the New West and the Progressive Policy Institute. This article is adapted from *The New Democrat*, the magazine of the Democratic Leadership Council.



being matched decibel for decibel by the proponents of victimization ideology. Too many advocates for immigrants ignore the role of citizenship in American immigration. Focused almost exclusively on the rights of newcomers, they forget that our society has a reasonable expectations that immigrants will, over time, seek to become responsible contributors to the commonweal.

By returning citizenship to the center of immigration policy, we can shift the debate about newcomers beyond strictly humanistic concerns and toward the ultimate assumption by them of both the rights and obligations of Americans. This citizenship-based view of immigration, however, does not suggest that newcomers shed cultural, religious and emotional ties to their past. In multiracial empires as far back as Alexander's and ancient Rome, Jews, Egyptians and other "outsiders" were allowed to retain their cultures and still gain entry to the highest political and economic circles.

Nowhere has citizenship played a more critical role in shaping economic, social and political life than in the United States. Although roughly half of European immigrants who came here during the late 19th and early 20th centuries returned home, those who stayed behind and became citizens wove themselves into the fabric of America.

Sadly, friends and foes of immigration alike tend to overlook the critical long-term contribution of legal immigration and naturalization, focusing instead on the short-term economic and social impacts of illegal immigration. This tends to work in favor of anti-immigration groups whose influence has been greatly exacerbated by the high unemployment suffered during the recent recession and persistent crime problems in such key entrepôts as New York or Los Angeles.

While anti-immigrant groups yammer most often

See Immigration on Page G-6

Immigration: A full melding should be goal

Continued from G-1

about illegals, this hardly constitutes the fullest extent of their agenda. Led by the Forum for American Immigration Reform, restrictionist groups have capitalized on frustrations about illegal immigration to advance their own goal of drastically cutting back legal immigration from the current 800,000 to around 200,000 annually. Others, notably Pat Buchanan and Peter Brimelow, a senior editor at *Forbes*, argue the new immigration patterns "abandon the bonds of a common ethnicity." They call for both drastically curtailed immigration as well as a renewed emphasis on bringing in skilled immigrants from Europe, who they deem as more culturally compatible with the American "extended family."

Even these restrictions are too moderate for some. A recent report by the grand jury in California's Orange County, although focused mainly on the problems linked to illegal immigration, grabbed headlines by calling for a three-year moratorium on all new entrants to the country.

In the process, the grand jury virtually ignored the enormous contributions to Orange County's economy and society by its predominantly legal and growing immigrant population. For example, Asian and Latino immigrants have become the critical force driving the area's non-defense related manufacturing economy.

Immigrants are also playing a critical role as owners of technology businesses in key urban regions. In fact, six of the 14 top chief executive officers on the Orange County Business Journal's list of top manufacturers were born outside the United States. They are natives of such diverse countries as Mexico, Pakistan, China, Taiwan, and the former Yugoslavia. Kingston Technologies, the nation's fastest-growing technology company with sales of roughly \$700 million annually, was founded six years ago by Chinese immigrants.

Immigrants' economic contributions are not restricted only to high tech. In Los Angeles County alone the number of Latino and Asian-owned businesses, mostly founded by or serving immigrants, has more than tripled in the past decade. This growth rate is two to three times their growth in population. Overall, according to recent U.S. Census Bureau statistics, Asians and Latinos have enjoyed far greater economic mobility in California than either Anglos or African-Americans. And contrary to stereotypes, Latinos boast the highest rates of male labor force participation and are among the lowest rates of dependence on Aid to Families with Depen-

dent Children of any ethnic group in California. Welfare rates among immigrants are slightly above the national norm, in fact, only because of the high number of refugees on AFDC.

These critical contributions should be enough to make people wary of drastic cuts in immigration. Left-leaning advocacy groups, however, have helped keep the issue alive by trying to blur the distinction between legal and illegal immigrants, prospective citizens and temporary sojourners. In fact, by promoting the euphemism "undocumented" over the traditional description "illegal," the advocates seem to be questioning the validity of American law itself.

Advocates' uncompromising defense of rights for the undocumented also plays exactly into the hands of the immigrant bashers. By seeking to expand access to virtually all public services for illegals, for example, they add fuel to the restrictionist argument that immigration leads to ever expanding welfare burdens. Similarly, the advocates' opposition to the deportation of those illegals arrested for felonies perpetuates the notion that the nation is being forced to play permanent host to a foreign criminal class.

The immigrant rights lobby and its political allies truly go off the deep end, however, with their calls for the extension of voting rights to non-citizens, the quintessential expression of citizenship. To proponents — including former Los Angeles mayoral candidate and former Ambassador to Mexico Julian Nava and L.A. school board head Leticia Quezada — enfranchising non-citizens is a simple extension of basic civil rights. Quezada, who is fond of comparing Los Angeles to South Africa, explained her position to an interviewer this way: "At one time only white males could vote. My position is that it's time we cross that line in terms of citizenship."

This Third Worldist approach has little broad-based political support. Already the vast majority of Americans — as well as about three-quarters of Mexican-Americans, two-thirds of Cubans and four-fifths of Puerto Ricans — feel there is too much immigration and express particular concern over illegal immigration. According to a 1990 poll by the *San Francisco Chronicle*, the vast majority of Chinese, Filipinos and Latinos in the Bay Area even favor adopting English as the state's official language.

The Third Worldist's call for linguistic rights also seems out of step with the natural proclivities of immigrant children. More than two-thirds of immigrant children in San Diego and over four-fifths of

those in south Florida, according to a recent study of census data by sociologists Ruben Rumbaut and Alejandro Portes, prefer English to their parental or any other foreign language; more than 90 percent possess "very high" knowledge of English. At Orange County's Westminster High School, even the Vietnamese Club conducts its meetings in English.

Contrary to the fulminations of the cultural nationalists and Marxists who dominate many advocacy organizations and ethnic studies departments, most immigrant children want nothing so much as to succeed in capitalist society. The Portes-Rumbaut study of immigrant youths found that three-quarters believe they will attain a college degree or higher, with most looking to assimilate at high levels as professionals or business people.

Given these realities, the call for "groups rights" can only be seen as counterproductive, needlessly bolstering concerns about cultural balkanization and economic dependency expressed by many nativists. In a curious way, the extremists on both sides seem determined to force us to choose between two disagreeable options: an ever-expanding illegal population with virtually unlimited access to public rights and services and severe restrictions on all immigration.

Supporters of legal immigration must struggle to prevent this from happening since the most likely result would be a massive crackdown on all immigration. To preserve traditional, citizen-based immigration we must face the harsh necessity of limiting illegal migration — due to both its social costs and as an affront to the legal order — while encouraging the assimilation and citizenship process.

Equally important, advocates of citizenship-based immigration must begin to confront the tougher economic and social consequences of massive migrations. Immigration cannot be run, as some advocates seem to suggest, as an "affirmative action" program for the Third World. Instead we might consider shifting our immigration policies away from such politically correct criteria as "family re-union" toward a greater emphasis on entrepreneurial talents, likely future work contributions and skills.

But ultimately the debate about immigration cannot simply be about short-run economic or political factors. It must be set in a core set of values around citizenship that seeks not merely short-run economic advantage, but the creation of a new community based on a shared belief in our Constitution, our institutions and renewability of the American dream.

NEWS FROM THE POLITICAL BATTLEGROUND OVER IMMIGRATION...

* According to The Miami Herald, at least 200,000 undocumented Americans live in Mexico, and the number is growing as job-seekers have expectations of NAFTA generated-employment opportunities south of the border. Miami Herald, "U.S. Job Hunter Heading South," 7/5/94.

** The I.N.S. regional office which covers seven Southern California counties reports that U.S. citizenship applications have more than doubled over last year's level. Between 500-600 immigrants a day are filing naturalization papers.

The Clinton Administration is seeking \$30 million more to promote and help process applications. Among those opposing this effort is Rep. Dana Rohrabacher (R-Huntington Beach), who says that "citizenship should not be a priority...during a time when we are being smothered by an avalanche of illegal immigrants." L.A. Times, "Anti-Immigrant Mood Helps Fuel Citizenship Rise," 7/4/94.

*** According to the Alexis de Tocqueville Institution, heavy immigration may actually brighten the overall job picture for domestic workers because immigrants: "(1) expand total output and demand for labor, [thus] offsetting the negative effects that a greater labor supply might have; (2) tend to be highly productive and promote capital formation through high savings rates; and (3) fill vital niches at the ends of the skill spectrum, doing low-skilled jobs that native Americans rebuff (at prevailing wages), as well [doing] as sophisticated high-skill jobs." Wall Street Journal, "Immigration Doesn't Displace Natives," 3/28/94.

Last Thursday, MALDEF gave a briefing on the most extreme and potentially harmful anti-immigrant proposal to date, the "Save Our State" initiative, which is slated for the November ballot. In case you missed the briefing, we have enclosed a detailed analysis. Thanks to Maria Eraña of AFSC, this analysis is also available in Spanish. For a Spanish version, please call her (233-4114).

Another anti-S.O.S. briefing is planned soon, at a gathering of, hopefully, all Chicano elected officials in San Diego County. A major voter registration/voter education/get out the vote campaign will be discussed. In 1992, 1.7 million Latinos registered to vote, but only 1.1 million of them turned out on election day. It is estimated that 900,000 Latinos who are eligible to vote have not yet registered.

As a follow-up to last Thursday's initial anti-"S.O.S." strategy discussion, we are asking those who volunteered to head up specific efforts (e.g., formation for a speaker's bureau) to meet and outline their plans-of-action.

over

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We have also scheduled another general meeting of Chicano organizations, etc., on **Tuesday, July 26th** at **5:00 P.M.** Again, the meeting place is St. Jude's recreational center. We plan to ask players in the state-level effort to defeat S.O.S. (e.g., the Legislature's Latino Caucus) to discuss their strategy so we can try to link up. After listening to them, we will work on refining our various plans-of-action. In preparation for the **July 26th** meeting, PLEASE look over the attached questionnaire and, after you figure out how you can help, please return it to us.

By the way, we raised \$325 at the July 7th briefing. To say the absolute least, more contributions (cash or in-kind) would be greatly appreciated. For the time-being, checks can be made out to the CRLA Foundation and mailed to Augie Bareno (P.O. Box 1654, Bonita, CA 91902).

CALIFORNIA LATINO CIVIL RIGHTS NETWORK

Week of 7/10

NEWS FROM THE POLITICAL BATTLEGROUND OVER IMMIGRATION...

* The state's non-partisan Legislative Analyst just released a report saying that S.O.S. could jeopardize \$15 billion in federal aid to state and local governments because it conflicts with federal confidentiality and anti-discrimination safeguards. The report summarized Proposition 187's other fiscal impacts as follows:

Annual savings of roughly \$200 million to state and local governments (primarily counties), due to reduced costs for public social services, health care and higher education.

Annual administrative costs of tens of millions of dollars (potentially more than \$100 million in the first year) to the state and local governments (primarily counties and public schools) to verify citizenship or legal status of students and parents and persons seeking health care and/or social services.

For a copy of the complete report, call our new telephone number (685-5254).

** At the Hispanic Evangelization Conference held on July 23rd, Cardinal Roger Mahoney called Proposition 187 "simplistic and ill-willed." He decried the initiative's failure to "appreciate the tremendous contributions which immigrants make to our communities" or "to assess the cost of denying immigrants – particularly children – basic services they need to grow and develop."

Citing the gospel passage (Matthew 25) about one's relationship to God being determined by one's treatment of the poor, the widow and the alien, he said that the prospect of Proposition 187 becoming law "should motivate us all to work actively to ensure that [it] is defeated – if not for our own sake – then for our sisters and brothers who will suffer because of [it]." See attached full text of the Mahoney statement.

Cardinal Mahoney went on to urge the conference's attendees to become citizens, register to vote or register others to vote. In a later interview, the L.A. Times quoted him as saying that Proposition 187 is "a devastating assault on human dignity." The newspaper said that "[a]lthough Catholic bishops had been expected to oppose the measure, the cardinal's strongly worded proclamation signaled the hierarchy's determination to use the church's resources and the power of the pulpit against the initiative." See "Mahoney to Fight Ballot Measure on Immigrants," L.A. Times, July 24, 1994.

From all reports, the S.D. diocese is preparing an anti-S.O.S. "fact sheet."

*** The new Field Poll shows Proposition 187 with a 2-to-1 lead." S.D. Union columnist Ed Mandel wrote that "what gives heart to those who would stop the snowball is that 63% are still unaware of the ballot measure." Last week's poll showed that 78% of whites think illegal immigration has "an unfavorable effect," while most Latinos – 56% – think the opposite. See "Immigration Control Could Zoom into Law – If Its Time Has Come," S.D. Union, Aug. 1, 1994.

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Again, thanks to the Chicano Federation, we now have a telephone number! **You can leave messages at 685-5254.** They will be retrieved daily and routed to whomever has been assigned the task involved.

A "steering group" will be meeting at St. Jude's this Thursday (August 4th) at 5 P.M. to go over "plans-of-action." See attached flyer. Please feel welcome to come and help us reach consensus. Sorry for the last minute announcement.

THE SUCCESS OF OUR EFFORT DEPENDS LARGELY ON VOLUNTEER TIME. Please join one of the groups (fundraising, speakers bureau, voter registration/GOTV, etc.). Leave a message on our voice mail or contact directly one of the persons being asked to lead the group which interest you.

We have a calendar going for speaking engagements. Please let us know of events where we can go and speak about S.O.S. **HAVE SPEECH, WILL TRAVEL.** In this connection, **please join us at weekly briefings on S.O.S.** (Thursdays at 5 P.M. - St. Jude's) so that you can help make presentations or just talk about the initiative more knowledgeably with relatives, co-workers, etc.

We are trying to respond to pro-S.O.S. coverage with letters to the editor, etc. See attached sample letter from Augie Bareño. Please monitor newspapers, as well as radio and television stations, and alert us. Faxes should be sent to 236-8964, care of Irene Marquez.

We need office space for the voter registration/GOTV effort. Please pass on any ideas about this.

Lastly, we have attached an analysis of S.O.S.' health provisions. You should already have one on education. Over the next two weeks, you will receive analyses on the remaining S.O.S. provisions: public social services and law enforcement.

California Latino Civil Rights Network

S.O.S. IS A BARRIER TO MEDICAL SERVICES FOR LATINOS, WHETHER UNDOCUMENTED, DOCUMENTED OR U.S. CITIZEN.

S.O.S. would prohibit all publicly-subsidized health care facilities from providing any non-emergency services until the person seeking them can prove U.S. citizenship or legal immigration status. Among the services that will be denied are pre-natal, immunization and nursing care. It should be noted that communicable diseases are not necessarily considered emergencies.

Most hospitals and clinics in California would be subject to S.O.S., since most receive some form of public subsidy. The initiative's prohibition applies to ongoing patients (not just new) and extends to paying patients (cash or private health insurance). If "reasonably suspected" of being undocumented, the would-be patient is to be: (1) notified in writing of such suspicion and (2) reported to the I.N.S. Emergency cases are exempted from the reporting requirement.

The state's non-partisan Legislative Analyst estimates that, statewide, it would cost "several million dollars" annually to meet S.O.S.' health care verification requirement. The State Dept. of Finance estimates the net savings at about \$200 million. However, both the Legislative Analyst and the State Dept. of Finance warn that denying some medical services to the undocumented could well result in higher costs. An obvious example is an untreated illness or condition which becomes an emergency. A less obvious example is a low-birthweight infant. There is a three dollar savings for each dollar spent on prenatal care. Consequently, eliminating a projected \$50 million for prenatal care for undocumented women during FY 94-95 may mean incurring \$150 million in care to U.S.-born infants.

Moreover, because S.O.S. conflicts with many conditions under which California receives Medicaid and other federal health care funds -- mainly federal non-discrimination and confidentiality safeguards -- the initiative jeopardizes several billion dollars from the federal government. For example, during FY 1994-95, San Diego County could lose \$ _____ million in Ryan White Act monies for HIV-infected individuals. Forcing health care providers to report to the INS also violates state patient confidentiality protections.

S.O.S. does not establish any particular means of verifying U.S. citizenship or legal immigration status. Unnecessary delays and wrongful denials of non-emergency services are, then, inevitable. For example, native-born children do not usually carry official identification and the I.N.S.' computer system will have no record of them.

07/26/94 11:18

ARCHDIOCESE

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Archdiocese of Los Angeles

Office of
Public Affairs
(213) 251-32151531
West Ninth
StreetLos Angeles
California
90015-1194

**UNOFFICIAL TRANSLATION OF CARDINAL MAHONY'S
IMMIGRATION ADDRESS AT HISPANIC EVANGELIZATION
CONFERENCE
SATURDAY, JULY 28**

In tomorrow's Gospel reading from John, we will hear the familiar passage in which Jesus tells his followers: "I am the bread of life. Those who come to me will not hunger. Those who come to me will not thirst."

Throughout the gospels, Jesus is presented to us using different images: Jesus as teacher, healer, and prophet. The imagery that is used in the gospels to describe Jesus and his ministry demonstrates a concern for the whole person--both the spiritual and physical well-being of the human being. The mission of Jesus' disciples--then and now--is to continue to be faithful to this ministry which is concerned about both the spirit and the body.

In his ministry, Jesus did things that did not make sense to other people. He turned things upside-down: he said that the last would be first; that the lowly would be lifted to high places; and that the outcasts of society would be invited to the master's banquet.

This was indeed good news to those who were on the margins of society and bewildering--perhaps even troubling--to those with a privileged place in society.

Evangelization--the process of sharing the fundamental message of God's kingdom--is what Jesus' work was about. The message that Jesus had to share was prophetic and often conflicted with the prevailing norms of society. It often met with resistance from those who heard it.

07/26/94 11:19

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ARCHDIOCESE

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The reality is that many times people do not want to hear the gospel message that we have to share. Why? The "good news" of Jesus always calls us to a deeper and more genuine conversion. This can be unsettling at times because it demands changing ways of thinking and acting.

The "good news" Jesus proclaimed was directly linked to what was going on in the relationships between people in the community. In the Old Testament, the test of our relationship to God is our testament of the poor, the widow, the orphan, and the alien. The well-known passage from Matthew 25 clearly presents the kingdom of God as both a spiritual renewal and as a social transformation. This passage from Matthew tells us that how we treat the poor, the widow, the orphan and the alien is how we treat Jesus.

In recent years, Catholic bishops of this country have been very active in directly addressing public policy issues. When people agree with us, we receive great praise. When people disagree with us, they tell us that we have no right to speak on public policy matters. Nowhere has this reaction been clearer for me than in the responses I have received to my statements and positions on immigration.

All of you should be aware of the initiative which will be on the California ballot this November called the "Save Our State" Initiative. You should have received summaries of that initiative when you registered this morning. If this initiative is approved by the voters in November, it will deny public social services, publicly funded education, and all but emergency public health care to anyone who is suspected of being undocumented. It would require health care workers, social service providers, and public school officials to work closely with the INS to identify anyone they believe might be undocumented.

Think about what will happen if this passes. Imagine your children going to school and being asked if they are here illegally. Imagine children and their parents being turned over to the INS because someone thinks that they are undocumented. What does an undocumented person look like?

07/26/94 11:20

ARCHDIOCESE

004

In the past, I have been very clear about my opposition to proposals--such as the SOS Initiative--which attempt to deal with the immigration issue in ways which are simplistic and ill-willed. While the U.S. must look seriously at how it can reform current immigration policy and procedures, just and humane reform will never be achieved by measures which threaten the dignity of immigrants, that fail to recognize the positive contributions of immigrants to California, and which fail to address the roots causes of immigration which are often the unstable political and economic conditions in the country of origin.

The prospect of this bill becoming law should motivate us all to work actively to ensure that this initiative is defeated--if not for our own sake--then for ours sisters and brothers who will suffer because of this law.

There are two basic challenges to address in the broader issue at stake here: The first deals with immigration policy--that is, the movement of people across our borders. The second is policy towards immigrants already in this country--documented or undocumented--and how that policy protects or denies rights, and affirms or diminishes their dignity.

California has, for the past several years, faced difficult economic challenges. Current political wisdom suggests that poor people and immigrants are to blame. While immigration policy does need to be re-evaluated and reformed, our economy is not going to be remedied by adopting punitive measures against those with little or no political power: the poor and immigrants. The solutions are much more complex than those being suggested.

In the meantime, we have failed to assess the cost of denying immigrants--particularly children--those basic services they need to grow and develop. And it is the SOS Initiative's impact on children that could be the most devastating. When also failed to account for and appreciate the tremendous contributions which immigrants make to our communities.

07/26/94 11:20

ARCHDIOCESE

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This morning you also received a card to fill out. I ask you to review the options for action that are proposed there and considering joining us in opposing this initiative by signing that card.

There are many things you can do:

- If you are eligible to become a citizen, begin that process soon. There are too many important issues being discussed that will impact you and your family. You have a far stronger voice if you are a citizen. Fill out the card and indicate that you are interested in becoming a citizen and someone will contact you. There is also a booth here this weekend staffed by representatives from Catholic Charities who can answer your questions about the citizenship process.

- If you are a citizen, register to vote and vote in the November election. Your vote is a powerful voice. There is also a table here where you can register to vote if you have not already done so.

- Register others to vote. Even if you are not a citizen, even if you are not old enough to vote, you can register other people to vote. You received flyers about voter registration training sessions which will be held August 19 and 20 and September 9 and 10. This is an important way in which you can contribute.

I mentioned to you earlier that the Old Testament and the gospels tell us the quality of our relationship to God is determined by our treatment of the poor, the widow, and the alien. This test is very clear to us in November. Please join with us in working to educate--and evangelize--others about this initiative and to defeat it in November.

May God bless you all.

CALIFORNIA LATINO CIVIL RIGHTS NETWORK

Post Office Box 1654, Bonita, CA 91902
(619) 482-6862

July 22, 1994

Letters to the Editor
Chula Vista Star News

Re: "SOS Has Nothing to Do With Race," Jesse Laguna Letter of 7/20/94.

Dear Letters to the Editor:

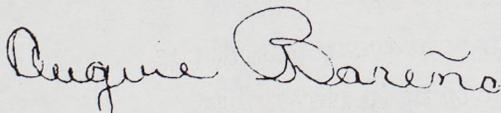
Apparently, Jesse Laguna has not bothered to read Proposition 187, over whose supposed virtues he goes on in a letter of July 20th. Had he so much as skimmed it, he would have disabused himself of the notion that the so-called S.O.S. initiative is just anti-immigrant. Even on its face, it is down-right anti-Latino. Moreover, contrary to what Mr. Laguna says, Proposition 187 does not address the real immigration pull factor: jobs.

Instead, this mis-named initiative would turn teachers, doctors, social workers, etc. into border patrol agents, requiring them to report anyone merely "suspected" of being here illegally. The potential for discrimination against anyone with a Spanish-sounding accent or name -- let alone brown skin -- is tremendous. Whatever their position on immigration, most Latinos realize that Proposition 187 puts our entire community at risk and are solidly against it. The polls taken of Latino voters bear this out.

Unlike Mr. Laguna, we do not kid ourselves about what drives the sponsors of this unworkable and even counter-productive initiative. It is not the bogus issue of immigrants not paying their way. Any "beef" on this score should be registered with the federal government, which takes the king's ransom of taxes paid by the undocumented and does not re-distribute them equitably to affected state and local governments.

The real issue for the pro-Proposition 187 hard-liners is demographic change, i.e., the "browning" of California. To borrow the ending line from Mr. Laguna's letter, "why should reasonable people fear this?"

Very truly yours,



AUGUIE BARENO
California Latino
Civil Rights Network

The Star-News

7/20/94

SOS has nothing to do with race

To Save Our State (SOS) initiative is based on the reality of many years of experience that the state of California can no longer be the Department of Health, Education and Welfare for the rest of the world.

The SOS initiative has nothing to do with race. It has to do with illegal immigration. When a person wishes to immigrate to the U.S. there is a very reasonable and generous process to do it legally. We should no longer reward those who do not respect our laws. To do so punishes all who play by the rules and wait their turn. We must never allow this to happen.

The U.S. is still a nation of laws. Illegal immigration is illegal. It is a crime. To condone, encourage, perpetuate or defend it is unconscionable. For it is another way of saying that certain types and levels of crime are acceptable. I pray that mankind

has not succumbed to this level.

It is one thing to break another country's law when fleeing from persecution. It is a totally different matter to break the law to better one's living condition. It is one thing to petition for fair treatment. It is quite another thing to demand it in a foreign country when one has broken their laws.

In November the voters of California will be afforded the opportunity to exercise a very fundamental instrument of representative government; they will be given the opportunity to express their feelings about illegal immigration at the ballot box. Those that don't see real problems with illegal immigration or at the least as a contributing factor should vote for its continuation. Those that believe that we are a nation of laws and should vote to stop illegal immigration. Why should reasonable people fear this?

Jesse Laguna
Spring Valley

BILL BOYARSKY

Latino Voters Could Exercise Sizable Clout

Ever since I moved to Los Angeles in 1970, I've anticipated the Latino political revolution.

Skeptical academics, pollsters, campaign consultants and political writing colleagues assured me it would never happen. They obviously thought the question of Latino power had been settled when Mexico lost the war with the United States and signed the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848.

Their analysis made superficial sense. Latino voting turnout was small. Statewide registration drives didn't live up to their promise. No Latinos hold statewide office. A Times poll of voters leaving the polling booths after the 1992 presidential election found that just 7% were Latino. The figure was 6% in a Times poll post-election survey of June, 1994, primary voters. The numbers are especially small considering that California's population is 28% Latino.

But there's more to the story than these numbers.

□

I've noticed that in the San Gabriel Valley, a vast stretch of suburbia and manufacturing towns reaching from East Los Angeles to San Bernardino County.

To a lot of people, the future of L.A. is described in the urban nightmare of a movie called "Blade Runner." But to me, the San Gabriel Valley is a much better illustration of where we've been and where we're going.

Settled by the Gabrielino Indians more than 1,000 years ago, the valley was taken over first by Spain, then Mexico and finally the United States. Its population has again changed dramatically in the last 40 years. From a predominantly white, middle-class enclave, the valley has become a rich and complex mixture of whites, Latinos, Asians and African Americans. Their life, to a great extent, is suburban. The single-family home remains an attainable dream.

When I stop in San Gabriel Valley city halls and school district headquarters, I've seen that that a large number, often a majority, of the council and school board members are Latinos. If Latinos weren't voting, I wondered, how did all these people get elected?

At the same time, Latinos were increasing their representation in the L.A. County legislative delegation in Sacramento, as well as on the Los Angeles City Council and, for the first time, on the County Board of

The numbers are part of a statewide phenomenon. Francisco Dominguez of the National Assn. of Latino Elected Officials told me that from 1984 to 1993, the number of Latino elected officials in California increased from 460 to 797.

It's this growing number of Latinos elected to local office that has encouraged Latino political activists to predict a larger vote this year. "I think all the pieces are in place for a dynamite turnout of Latinos in a governor's race," said Antonio Gonzalez, director of the Southwest Voter Research Institute, a leading Latino voter education and registration organization.

First of all, Gonzalez cites the growing number of Latino local officials, a sign of political activity in the Latino grass-roots. If people worry about school board members, his theory goes, then they'll turn out when it comes to governor and U.S. senator.

He also said that Latino turnout should be pushed up by the presence on the ballot of the SOS—Save Our State—initiative, which cuts off public education and non-emergency medical care to illegal immigrants.

Opponents of the measure call it racist and anti-Latino. Significantly, a Times poll in May showed that not all Latinos agree. Although 57% opposed it, a substantial number, 35%, said they would vote yes.

Finally, a Latino, Democratic state Sen. Art Torres of Los Angeles, is running for insurance commissioner. The prospect of a Latino in statewide office may increase the vote in Latino communities.

□

A substantial Latino vote could be an important factor in determining the November elections, especially for the Democrats. The majority of Latinos are registered Democrats and Treasurer Kathleen Brown, the candidate for governor, and U.S. Sen. Dianne Feinstein will need almost all of them to win.

In 1978, the last time Democrats elected a governor, Democratic registration was 57% of the electorate. This year, it's down to 49%. "Electing a Democratic governor today is much more challenging in terms of the numbers," said John Whitehurst, a Brown spokesman. "Thus this [Latino] effort is critical. We must maximize votes in any place we can."

Republican candidates usually get about 30% of the Latino vote, although Ronald Reagan received more. Anything Gov. Pete Wilson and GOP Senate candidate Rep. Michael Huffington get above the 30% mark is a bonus.

In the long run, the size of the turnout is more important than party allegiance. Election Day's cold, hard figures will determine whether Latinos will have a stronger voice in education, immigration, health care and other issues that shape life in their community, no matter which party wins.

Tello critica iniciativa SOS

□ Canciller mexicano denuncia políticas racistas del gobernador de California en Senado de su país

Por Blanche Petrich

Corresponsal de La Opinión

MEXICO, D.F.— El secretario de Relaciones Exteriores, Manuel Tello, expresó este martes la "profunda preocupación" del gobierno mexicano por la posibilidad de que el 8 de noviembre sea aprobada en California la iniciativa SOS que privaría de todo servicio médico y de educación pública a los indocumentados y a sus hijos menores.

Aseguró que la cancillería despliega "todos los medios a su alcance" para contrarrestar los efectos de esta medida y aseguró que brindará todo el apoyo a los grupos estadounidenses que tratan de derrotar esta iniciativa o de declararla inconstitucional en los tribunales.

Señaló que el tema de la migración es utilizado por algunas autoridades de este estado "para apoyar ambiciones políticas individuales de corto plazo".

Dijo que este asunto es un tema bilateral y que, como tal, debe ser tratado y negociado por los dos gobiernos, y no con medidas unilaterales.

El canciller aprovechó el foro de su comparecencia anual ante el Senado de la República para reiterar la crítica varias veces expresada por la SRE por las políticas del gobernador californiano Pete Wilson.

Asimismo, anunció que en el caso de la crisis de Haití, México se opone a cualquier medida unilateral que implique el uso de la fuerza. En momentos en que se aceleran los síntomas de una intervención militar estadounidense en Haití, el titular de la SRE advirtió que México "insistirá en una solución pacífica, por la vía del diálogo y la negociación", para lograr el retorno a la constitucionalidad y el

ejercicio de la libre autodeterminación del pueblo haitiano.

Incluyó, además, un pronunciamiento a favor de la reintegración de Cuba al sistema interamericano.

Inusitadamente, Manuel Tello se extendió al abordar el tema de los migrantes mexicanos en Estados Unidos. "México —dijo— rechaza categóricamente el supuesto de que nuestros trabajadores indocumentados emigran a Estados Unidos con el ánimo de que sus hijos nazcan en ese país o con el fin de aprovechar servicios sociales como la educación primaria o la atención médica. Los mexicanos emigran en busca de empleos y mejores ingresos económicos y, como ya se ha demostrado, los trabajadores mexicanos contribuyen con mucho más a la economía del vecino país, que el ínfimo costo que representa la minoría que pretende acogerse a los escasos beneficios sociales que están a su alcance".

Agregó, con clara dedicatoria a Wilson, aunque sin mencionarlo: "El gobierno mexicano se encuentra muy preocupado por el hecho de que el tema de la migración esté siendo utilizado para apoyar ambiciones políticas individuales de corto plazo. En múltiples ocasiones hemos señalado que no es con medidas discriminatorias, restrictivas o policíacas como se debe enfrentar esta problemática".

Expresó que los trabajadores migratorios, con o sin documentos, merecen el respeto pleno de sus derechos y la aplicación justa e igualitaria de las leyes del país en donde laboran. "No podemos tolerar que la carencia de documentación migratoria sea utilizada para explotar el trabajo de nues-

tros compatriotas o para aplicar leyes de manera diferenciada y discriminatoria en Estados Unidos".

"México no puede dejar ni dejar indefensos a los que son objeto de este inalicable tratamiento", aseguró el secretario.

Prometió que, entre los esfuerzos que se realizarán a nivel de la cancillería para contrarrestar los efectos de SOS, apoyará las acciones de los grupos estadounidenses que se oponen

a iniciativas como ésta, ya sea que intenten derrotarla o que busquen declararla inconstitucional en los tribunales norteamericanos.

A pesar de su fuerte crítica contra el gobierno californiano, Tello fue cuidadoso en hacer la diferenciación entre este problema crítico y el conjunto de las relaciones bilaterales con el gobierno estadounidense que son, dijo, de "entendimiento" y de "diálogo político fructífero y permanente".

Calificó de "alentador" el hecho de que el gobierno federal en Washington se haya comprometido a realizar consultas previas a la aplicación de medidas en materia de migración. "Ambos gobiernos acordaron recientemente elaborar un estudio conjunto sobre el fenómeno migratorio con objeto de conocer cuáles su dimensión".

Los Angeles Times

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Rethinking Immigration: Intent Must Shape Policy

By Joel Kotkin

In many ways, the debate over the "Save Our State" initiative could better be described as the "Same Old Stuff." Although the share of foreigners in the total U.S. population is only half of what it was at the turn of the century, the Draconian initiative demonstrates that, in times of economic stress, immigrants still serve as convenient scapegoats.

Yet, advocates of legal immigration should not neglect the legitimate issues raised by SOS. To that end, they need to determine the intent of new immigrants and how that affects their adopted communities. Short of that, the immigration debate will continue to be waged in a rhetorical fog.

From a policy point of view, the

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question of intent divides immigrants into two classes. The first, and probably the vast majority, seeks to become citizens and integrate into the mainstream of American society. The second, mostly illegal, consists of temporary sojourners whose interest is to make enough money here to return home in improved circumstances.

The question of intent transcends the current, virtually actuarial debate over the economic effects of illegal immigration. After all, studies on both sides can argue, with varying degrees of persuasiveness, the relative dollars-and-cents merits of this generation of illegal immigrants. Instead, the focus should be on the probable long-term consequences of large numbers of undocumented, unassimilated people in the midst of an already highly charged multiracial society.

This means addressing forthrightly the issue of legality. Most immigration advocates seem reluctant to do this. To a large extent, their reticence is a response to the broad-brush attacks of nativists. Not surprisingly, a New York Times/CBS

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News poll last summer revealed that 68% of all Americans thought most immigrants were here illegally. In truth, there is only about one illegal immigrant for every three permanent legal newcomers.

Equally disappointing is the immigration activists' failure to acknowledge the critical differences between potential citizens and sojourners. Accepting illegality as a quasi-permanent and legitimate condition is tantamount to tolerating the creation of a "parallel society," in which immigrants stay, usually for economic reasons, for a prolonged period without ever being expected to become full-fledged members of the larger society.

The embryo of such a "parallel society" exists in Europe, where large numbers of immigrants from North Africa and the Middle East live in a kind of non-citizen nether world. Considered virtually unassimilable by many Europeans, they are a source of growing urban unrest as well as easy targets for far-right groups.

To many Americans, large populations of illegal immigrants and growing separatist tendencies among ethnic minorities presage a similar scenario here. Their anxieties are stoked when the legitimacy of citizenship is challenged by immigrant advocates who suggest that states such as California are little more than "stolen" provinces from Mexico and thus have no moral claim to control their borders.

Stressing cultural separateness rather than the traditional integrationist model also contributes to the rise of a parallel society. This is most evident in attempts to institutionalize publicly funded bilingual education. Initially designed to accelerate the learning of English, bilingual education is increasingly used as an agent of "reinforcing ethnic identity," according to one education official in New York.

The final step toward creation of a parallel society is the contention that voting rights should be extended to immigrants on issues that most directly affect them, such as who runs the school board. This approach dramatically departs from a tradition that has worked remarkably well over the generations: Most private ethnic, cultural and religious organizations have defined their primary mission not as promoting "group rights" but as easing the entry of newcomers into the broader linguistic, political and economic mainstream.

Particularly important in this regard is public education. In the past, public schools were not expected to serve as incubators of ethnic identity but as training grounds to prepare youngsters for a successful life *within* the predominant, English-speaking society. During the last great wave of immigration, public education did yeoman's work in helping the children and grandchildren of Calabrian *paisanos* or refugees from Eastern European *shtetls* match and then overcome students whose families had been resident here for centuries.

Although today's realities are different in many respects, most available evidence suggests that the bulk of immigrants are willing and eager to become assimilated. This is especially true of children. More than two-thirds of immigrant children living in San Diego, and greater than four-fifths of them in South Florida, prefer English to their parental or any other foreign language, according to a recent study of census data by sociologists Ruben Rumbaut and Alejandro Portes. More than 90% of them possess "very high" knowledge of English. Generally speaking, their survey revealed that most immigrant children want to succeed in mainstream society, with three-quarters aspiring to careers as professionals or business people.

BILL BOYARSKY

Latino Voters Could Exercise Sizable Clout

Ever since I moved to Los Angeles in 1970, I've anticipated the Latino political revolution.

Skeptical academics, pollsters, campaign consultants and political writing colleagues assured me it would never happen. They obviously thought the question of Latino power had been settled when Mexico lost the war with the United States and signed the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848.

Their analysis made superficial sense. Latino voting turnout was small. Statewide registration drives didn't live up to their promise. No Latinos hold statewide office. A Times poll of voters leaving the polling booths after the 1992 presidential election found that just 7% were Latino. The figure was 6% in a Times poll post-election survey of June, 1994, primary voters. The numbers are especially small considering that California's population is 28% Latino.

But there's more to the story than these numbers.

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I've noticed that in the San Gabriel Valley, a vast stretch of suburbia and manufacturing towns reaching from East Los Angeles to San Bernardino County.

To a lot of people, the future of L.A. is described in the urban nightmare of a movie called "Blade Runner." But to me, the San Gabriel Valley is a much better illustration of where we've been and where we're going.

Settled by the Gabriellino Indians more than 1,000 years ago, the valley was taken over first by Spain, then Mexico and finally the United States. Its population has again changed dramatically in the last 40 years. From a predominantly white, middle-class enclave, the valley has become a rich and complex mixture of whites, Latinos, Asians and African Americans. Their life, to a great extent, is suburban. The single-family home remains an attainable dream.

When I stop in San Gabriel Valley city halls and school district headquarters, I've seen that that a large number, often a majority, of the council and school board members are Latinos. If Latinos weren't voting, I wondered, how did all these people get elected?

At the same time, Latinos were increasing their representation in the L.A. County legislative delegation in Sacramento, as well as on the Los Angeles City Council and, for the first time, on the County Board of Supervisors.

The numbers are part of a statewide phenomenon. Francisco Dominguez of the National Assn. of Latino Elected Officials told me that from 1984 to 1993, the number of Latino elected officials in California increased from 460 to 797.

It's this growing number of Latinos elected to local office that has encouraged Latino political activists to predict a larger vote this year. "I think all the pieces are in place for a dynamite turnout of Latinos in a governor's race," said Antonio Gonzalez, director of the Southwest Voter Research Institute, a leading Latino voter education and registration organization.

First of all, Gonzalez cites the growing number of Latino local officials, a sign of political activity in the Latino grass-roots. If people worry about school board members, his theory goes, then they'll turn out when it comes to governor and U.S. senator.

He also said that Latino turnout should be pushed up by the presence on the ballot of the SOS—Save Our State—initiative, which cuts off public education and non-emergency medical care to illegal immigrants. Opponents of the measure call it racist and anti-Latino. Significantly, a Times poll in May showed that not all Latinos agree. Although 57% opposed it, a substantial number, 35%, said they would vote yes.

Finally, a Latino, Democratic state Sen. Art Torres of Los Angeles, is running for insurance commissioner. The prospect of a Latino in statewide office may increase the vote in Latino communities.

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A substantial Latino vote could be an important factor in determining the November elections, especially for the Democrats. The majority of Latinos are registered Democrats and Treasurer Kathleen Brown, the candidate for governor, and U.S. Sen. Dianne Feinstein will need almost all of them to win.

In 1978, the last time Democrats elected a governor, Democratic registration was 57% of the electorate. This year, it's down to 49%. "Electing a Democratic governor today is much more challenging in terms of the numbers," said John Whitehurst, a Brown spokesman. "Thus this [Latino] effort is critical. We must maximize votes in any place we can."

Republican candidates usually get about 30% of the Latino vote, although Ronald Reagan received more. Anything Gov. Pete Wilson and GOP Senate candidate Rep. Michael Huffington get above the 30% mark is a bonus.

In the long run, the size of the turnout is more important than party allegiance. Election Day's cold, hard figures will determine whether Latinos will have a stronger voice in education, immigration, health care and other issues that shape life in their community, no matter which party wins.

