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## Senate

S 250

By Mr. CRANSTON:

S. 68. A bill to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to establish a different numerical limitation for immigrants born in foreign contiguous territories, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

CONTIGUOUS NEIGHBOR AMENDMENTS TO THE IMMIGRATION AND NATIONALITY ACT

Mr. CRANSTON. Mr. President, I am introducing legislation today, which I consider to be of an emergency nature, to retain for our contiguous neighbors, Mexico and Canada, their 1976 share of immigration visas.

My proposal will permit a combined total of 50,000 visas to be issued to immigrants from Canada and Mexico entering this country subject to the Western Hemisphere numerical limitation. This total approximates the combined number of visas issued annually to Canadian and Mexican immigrants in 1976 and previous years.

The Contiguous Neighbor Amendments to the Immigration and Nationality Act will reverse several unfortunate consequences of Congress action in enacting Public Law 94-571—H.R. 14535—in the final hours of the 94th Congress. The new immigration law, which went into effect on January 1, drastically changes the traditional patterns of lawful immigration from Mexico and Canada into the United States.

Briefly, the new law establishes for the first time a per country limitation of 20,000 on immigration in the Western Hemisphere. Although this is the worldwide standard, it is completely unrealistic when applied to Mexico. Mexican immigration—lawful immigration, I might add—averages about 70,000 annually. Of these about 45,000 are issued visas subject to numerical limitations and the rest are admitted under various exempt categories.

The new law also imposes the preference category system on immigration in the Western Hemisphere.

In addition, the new law closes opportunities for Mexican parents of children born in the United States to immigrate unless they also obtain labor certification.

These changes will effectively deny many Mexican nationals the opportunity to immigrate to the United States for lawful permanent residence.

The fact that it will be more difficult for families to reunite and live together on the U.S. side of the border will destroy a mutually beneficial pattern of migration that has persisted for many years.

I think at least three steps should be taken immediately to deal with these new problems.

First, I am proposing legislation to restore to our contiguous neighbors—Canada and Mexico—their traditional share of Western Hemisphere immigration visas.

I think that is only fair.

By reason of proximity and history, Canada and Mexico should have greater access to immigration into the United States.

Our border is a two-way street and it is in the best interest of all our people that we preserve a special status for our next door neighbors.

I propose to establish a special overall numerical limitation of 50,000 to be reserved for Mexico and Canada combined.

This higher ceiling will not undo all of the damage of the Immigration Act Amendments of 1976.

But I think it will help.

Under the old law, the number of immigration visas granted to Mexicans ranged from 42,000 to 45,000 annually.

Canadian immigration has declined over the years to less than 3,000 annually.

A joint pool shared by both nations would permit migration patterns to continue as they have in recent years.

Our problem is the unlimited flood of illegal aliens, not reasonably regulated legal immigration.

There is no reason to cut Mexico's limitation in half as the new law does.

To avoid penalizing other Western Hemisphere nations, I intend to recommend an increase in the overall hemisphere limitation from 120,000 to 130,000.

Second, I ask Congress and the new administration to reexamine who, as a practical matter, will be eligible to obtain an immigration visa. My bill proposes a return to the 1976 law with respect to permitting parents of U.S. citizens to immigrate from Mexico and Canada without obtaining labor certification under section 212(a)(14) of the Immigration and Nationality Act.

Contrary to the claims of the sponsors of the new act, the major changes it made in immigration law are controversial in many California communities and elsewhere.

In the light of these circumstances, some action, whether legislative or administrative, will be necessary to alleviate undue disruption in the lives and plans of many persons of Mexican origin and descent on both sides of our border.

Third, we need to establish a rational and consistent plan of attack on the hiring and exploitation of workers who have entered the country without inspection.

I have been convinced for some time that we can control the hiring of unlawful entrants without the need for new legislation.

I am opposed to bills which make it a crime to hire illegal aliens. That would put unfair pressure on legitimate employers who might find it easier not to hire any Latinos at all rather than risk prosecution.

I am totally opposed to a national citizen identity card system to control the hiring of illegal aliens.

In my judgment, the persistent cry of the Immigration and Naturalization Service for such punitive legislation has been a substitute for the absence of any constructive thought by the agency on how to limit the growing presence of illegal aliens in our work force.

A recent Department of Labor study contains some important recommendations that deserve careful consideration.

The study shows that an employer who hires illegal aliens and violates one tax or labor standards law is likely to violate others.

I believe these employers should be investigated and prosecuted in the interest not only of the alien who is victimized but in the interest of justice for all Americans.

I support the report's proposal that a Federal strike force be established consisting of enforcement officers from each of the following agencies:

Employment Standards Administration to ferret out minimum wage violations;

Occupational Safety and Health Administration to spot OSHA violations;

Internal Revenue Service to check social security and income tax withholdings;

State employment security agencies to look for violations of unemployment

insurance tax laws; and

Immigration and Naturalization Service to identify illegal aliens on company payrolls.

The task force would be triggered by discovery of illegal aliens as employees.

Its responsibility would be to see to it that all minimum wage, health and safety, tax laws, and immigration laws are rigorously enforced.

Employers may lose the incentive for hiring illegal aliens if it turns out to be a lightning rod that attracts Federal agents to their plants.

Finally, given our own population pressures and the limits of our resources, our overall immigration policy requires better quality attention than it has been getting.

Both INS and the consular service need to be upgraded.

I urge President-elect Carter to name persons of outstanding ability, knowledge, and sensitivity to positions in these services.

In the long run, we probably never will be able to control Mexican immigration until the economic disparity between our two nations is eased.

But I believe the steps I have outlined, beginning with enactment of the Contiguous Neighbor Amendments to the Immigration and Nationality Act will establish for the first time in our history a firm and manageable policy on immigration, both lawful and unlawful from our next door neighbors. We can no longer sweep this problem into the long-neglected corners of INS and the consular service. We need to lay the foundation for a practical approach to regulating entry both for permanent residence and for temporary work in the United States. Time is running fast. We must catch up.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of my bill and the analysis be printed at the end of my remarks.

There being no objection, the bill and analysis were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 68

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Contiguous Neighbor Amendments to the Immigration and Nationality Act".*

SEC. 2. Section 201(a)(2) of the Immigration and Nationality Act is amended—

(1) by striking out "32,000" and inserting in lieu thereof "35,000"; and

(2) by striking out "120,000" and inserting in lieu thereof "130,000".

SEC. 3. Section 202 of the Immigration and Nationality Act is amended—

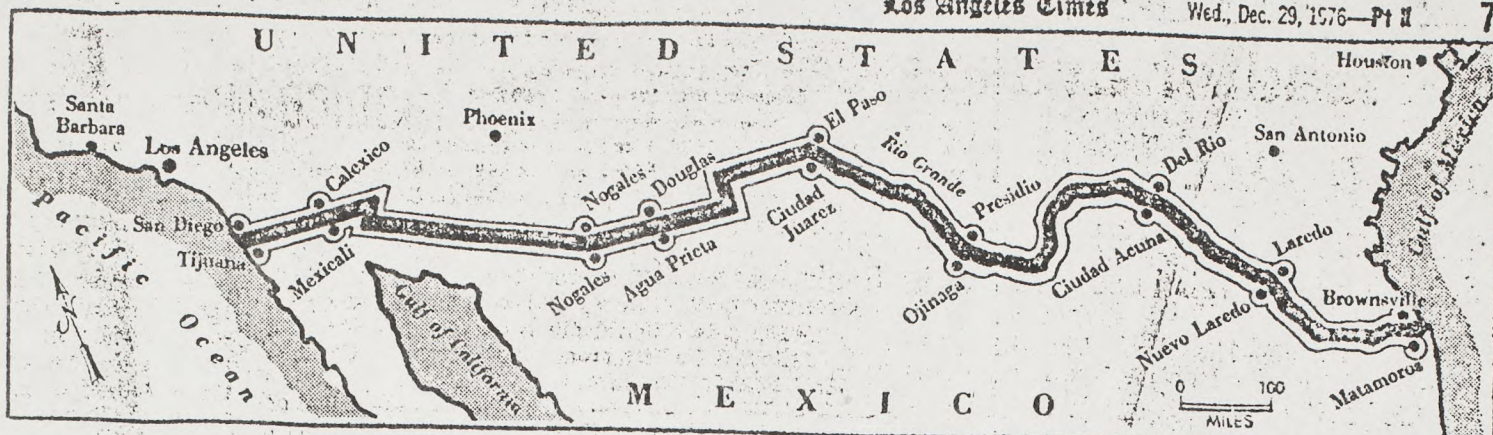
(1) by inserting "(other than a foreign state which is a foreign contiguous territory)" immediately after "foreign state" in the proviso to subsection (a);

(2) by adding at the end of subsection (a) the following: "Provided further, That the total number of immigrant visas and the number of conditional entries made available to the natives of all foreign contiguous territories under paragraphs (1) through (8) of section 203(a) shall not exceed 50,000 in any fiscal year."; and

(3) by striking out all through the colon in subsection (e) and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

"(e) Whenever the maximum number of visas or conditional entries has been made available under section 202 to natives of any single foreign state as defined in subsection (b) of this section, any dependent area as defined in subsection (c) of this section, or all foreign contiguous territories as defined in subsection (a) of this section in any fiscal year, in the next following fiscal year a number of visas and conditional entries, not to exceed 20,000 in the case of a foreign state (other than a foreign state which is a foreign contiguous territory), 600 in the case of a





Map: Patrick Lynch, The Times

# Borderlands: 'Let Justice Make Us Friends'

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

The Spanish-speaking occupy a special niche in the roster of American minorities for, in the conventional sense, they have never been immigrants.

This is because, in the aftermath of the inglorious Mexican War, the United States annexed almost half of Mexico's territory, subsequently paying a sum in 1848 that might buy an acre or so of prime Southern California real estate at today's prices. In so doing, we added to our population about 80,000 Spanish-speaking persons, most of whom lived in clusters of settlement in California, Arizona and New Mexico. (Texas, of course, had brought along other Spanish-speakers when it joined the union three years earlier.)

With the discovery of gold in California, one might have expected that this isolated minority would have been quickly engulfed in the westward movement of people. But those early settlements, lost in time and space, had struck deep roots in an environment that was similar in many respects to that of Spain and Mexico.

To this day the Hispanic imprint remains clear. Spanish is spoken throughout the region. States, rivers, mountains, cities and towns retain names given them by the first colonists. For more than a century, migrants in uncounted numbers have crossed the border along well-trodden trails. Wherever they have gone, the Spanish-speaking have moved within a familiar environment, in a region to which they have strong historic ties. In such a setting, the word "immigrant" has only limited meaning.

Their numbers and their influence will certainly not diminish in the future. By one count, 6.2 million Spanish-speaking people lived in the five Southwestern states in 1970, with an additional 3.1 million scattered throughout the rest of the nation. If the number of so-called "illegals" were included, the total would be still larger.

When President Polk and his advisers drew the line between the United States and Mexico, they did not seem to realize—and their successors have hardly been more perceptive—that there are no real boundaries between the two countries. The land is all of one piece.

As J. Fred Rippy wrote many years ago in "The United States and Mexico": "There have been no natural barriers, the two nations being separated by an imaginary line, a barbed-wire fence, an easily forded river, an undergrowth of mesquite and chaparral. Citizens of both nations have passed back and forth with little difficulty or interruption."

In arid or semiarid regions, rivers do not separate peoples: They pull them together. And so, from Brownsville to San Diego, twin cities and towns appear like beads in a necklace.

At first, the border hardly existed in any formal sense. Restrictions were minimal, and the Spanish-speaking moved back and forth with relative ease—the Border Patrol was not even established until 1924.

Initially recruited for employment in mines and railroad construction and maintenance, the Spanish-speaking north of the border grew only gradually in number. But with the remarkable expansion of agricultural production in Texas, Arizona and California after

1900, waves of migrants were soon crossing that imaginary line. During the 1930s the movement abated somewhat, but stepped up again during and after the war. Under the bracero program, perhaps 4.5 million Spanish-speaking persons found employment in the borderland states between 1942 and 1954.

But growers—Texas growers in particular—objected to the minimum safeguards and standards imposed by the program, and it was ultimately phased out. A quota was then set for Mexicans entering the United States, and "illegal" immigration promptly increased.

In retrospect, it is clear that for more than a century employers on this side of the border have been able to tap, more or less at will, a large, underused pool of labor in Mexico. It is at least arguable that some of these employers

*Editor of the Nation magazine for 20 years, Carey McWilliams is the author of "North From Mexico: The Spanish-Speaking People of the United States." This article is adapted from a recent speech to a San Diego conference sponsored by Fronteras Foundation.*

prefer the "illegals" because they lack status, rights and organization.

Strong factors even now push and pull thousands of Mexicans to that country's northern tier of states where they seek whatever jobs are available on either side of the line, at whatever rates of pay are offered.

The "push" factors are potent and persistent: Unemployment is high in these northern Mexican states, and is not likely to subside, especially since Mexico's population is growing rapidly (it may reach 126 million by the year 2000).

The demand for cheap labor in the American border states continues to serve as a potent "pull" factor. Labor-intensive factories have been built on both sides of the border. New highways have stimulated trade and tourism. Multinational corporations have easily hurdled the border to establish highly productive winter gardens that now supply the

United States with perhaps 60% of its fresh food at certain seasons.

This interplay of forces has fostered a new binational, bicultural, bilingual region, which I call the Borderlands. Nothing quite like this zone can be found along any other international boundary of comparable length in the world. It reflects in a sense the symbiotic relationships that have long existed in the twin cities and towns.

It is difficult to grasp the full significance of this emerging zone of confluence and interchange, although some specialists are beginning to zero in on it. Formation last January of an Assn. of Borderlands Scholars is one sign; the fact that the American Assn. of Geographers devoted a special session to the Spanish-speaking in its April meeting this year is another. One day, perhaps, a binational commission will come into being to monitor overall developments and the larger economic aspects of border problems, as well as of economic relations between the United States and Mexico.

Unfortunately, national attention continues to be focused primarily on the border, not the Borderlands—on specific troubles, not the larger setting. Much of the current emphasis, for example, is on drugs, smuggling, raids, assaults, robberies and captures. Such matters should be of concern, but within a broader context that would help explain what is happening and why.

Attitudes are changing, new perceptions are emerging and a new chapter is being written in the often embittered and tangled relations between the two national groups in the Borderlands. Neither the Anglos nor the Spanish-speaking will dominate. Rather, they will share it, and that sharing will be reflected in the region's culture, economy and institutions.

Many years ago, in a typical oratorical flourish, the late Sen. William Borah said all that ever needed to be said about relations between the United States and Mexico: "God has made us neighbors: Let justice make us friends."

## Season of Hope—and B

WASHINGTON  
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# A Falling Peso Spurs Illegal Immigration

CHULA VISTA, Calif.—Their trek is as old as the American dream and as new as the great migration to the Sun-belt.

No one knows how many there are or how many have made it, but every night illegal aliens are assaulting the 1,905-mile Mexican-United States border. Some Federal officials estimate there are eight million illegal aliens in the country, and with the devaluation of the peso, their numbers are expected to grow. They dart across deserts and swim rivers, crawl under barbed wire and gasp for air in crowded trucks or cramped car trunks, and dodge not only border patrolmen but also border gangs who rob, rape and sometimes murder newcomers.

The illegal aliens, like earlier generations of immigrants, bring a dream, but for the Southwestern states they enter, they are also bringing problems, causing the Border Patrol to use a growing array of electronic sensing devices—similar to anti-intrusion sensors used during the Vietnam War with little success—to apprehend them.

The devices employ a variety of techniques—infrared heat sensors, seismic devices that detect movement of the earth and magnetic and optical viewing techniques. Border Patrolmen monitor

reports from the instruments at central points.

"These things are working exceptionally well," said Winford Baze, deputy chief of the Border Patrol station here. South of San Diego, a few miles north of Mexico, it is one of the nation's busiest centers of illegal-alien apprehension.

"We're short of manpower," Mr. Baze continued, "but with these sensors, you can get readouts of people trying to cross the border and a readout of roughly the number of people."

Increased use of a helicopter night patrol has also helped, said Joseph Sureck, director of the Immigration and Naturalization Service in Los Angeles. "But I don't believe that any stoppage of the flow of illegal aliens is in the offing, and it's probably going to get worse," he said.

He and other officials cited, in addition to the peso's decline, two other reasons for the expected increase in illegal immigration: the depressed Mexican economy and a new United States law, which was effective Jan. 1, that limits legal immigration from Mexico to 20,000 annually, perhaps one third the number that have been coming legally in recent years.

"All we can suspect is that with the value of the peso down, earning dollars must look very attractive," Mr. Sureck said. Most of the money earned here by illegal aliens from Mexico is shipped home to support families, he added.

During the first half of 1976, the last period for which complete data are available, the United States Border Patrol said it apprehended 284,096 illegal aliens in Arizona, California, Nevada and Hawaii, an increase of 26 percent over the comparable 1975 period.

Similar increases were reported in Texas and New Mexico, but the statistics are inconclusive because some make repeated attempts and thus are counted more than once. Federal officials estimate the total could be rising at close to one million annually, but, they concede, no one knows for sure.

According to some estimates, more than one million illegal Mexican immigrants may be living in Southern California alone. Many are working as agricultural workers, but one Border Patrol analysis concluded that 40 percent of the jobs held by aliens were in manufacturing, construction and service fields.

Their role in the economy is controversial. Many farmers and garment-industry officials argue that they need the illegal aliens because they cannot

find American citizens who are willing to work in their farms and factories for the wages they pay.

Nevertheless, the illegal aliens are under mounting criticism in the Southwest, charged with taking jobs that might go to American citizens. They are also being accused of swelling welfare rolls, adding to costs of public hospitals and education, of voting illegally and of crimes ranging from burglaries to unsafe driving in uninsured automobiles.

A Los Angeles grand jury last year estimated 3,500 illegal aliens were unlawfully drawing welfare payments in the county at a cost of \$3.7 million annually in direct payments and \$10.8 million in medical care.

There does not appear to be any easy solution to the problem. The Immigration and Naturalization Service is urging Congress to forbid American employers from hiring workers who enter the country illegally. The agency wants fines of up to \$5,000 imposed on employers who hire them.

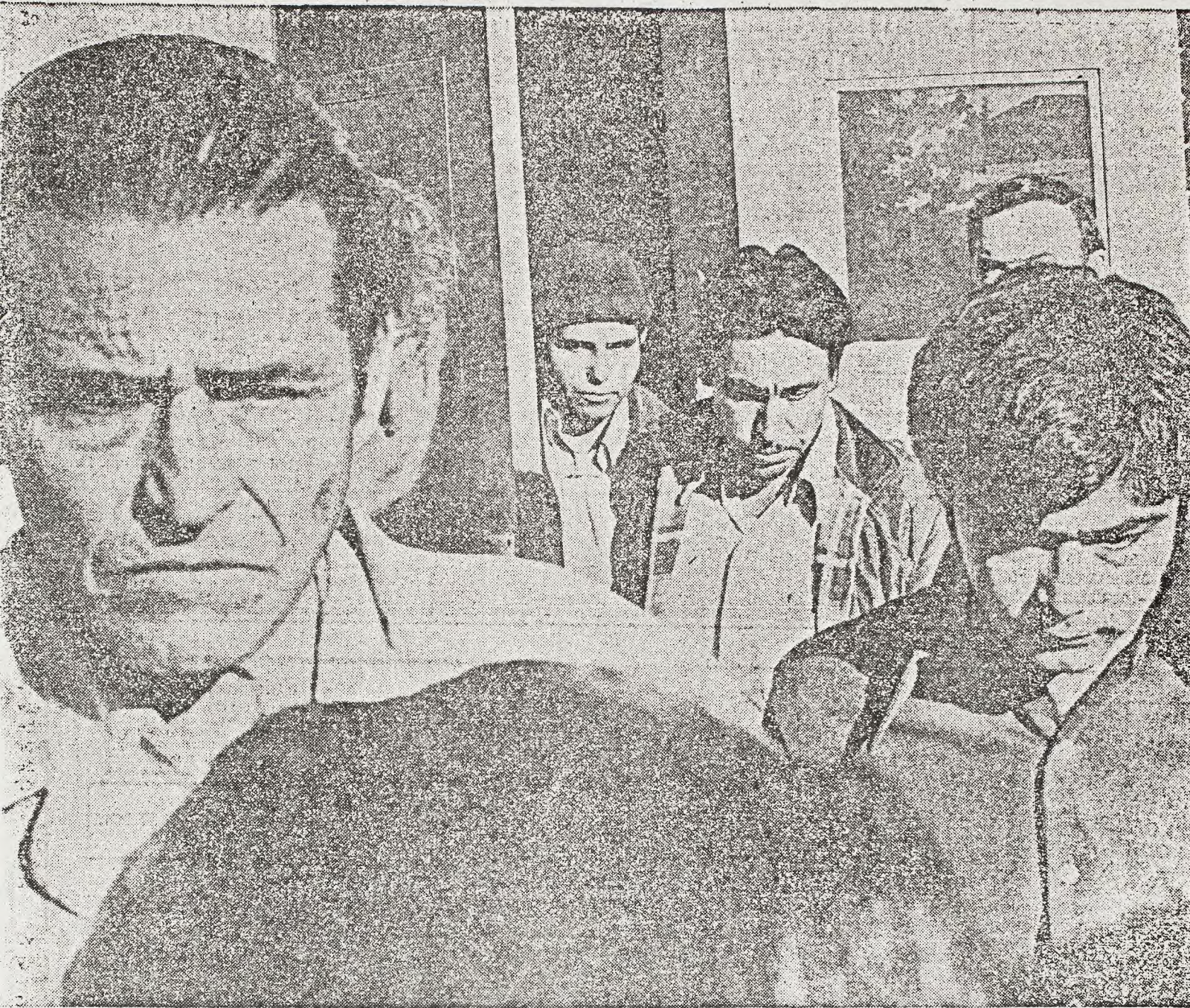
But the outlook for passage of the legislation is clouded by resistance from farmers and businessmen who say they could not enforce such a law, especially without any kind of national credential to identify citizens.

ROBERT LINDSEY



A Mexican in custody after illegally crossing the border into California.





ROUNDUP—Illegal immigrants, smuggled in from Mexico, are being transferred for processing and return to their home countries.

## WETBACKS—'NO RIGHTS ... AND MANY INDIGNITIES'

Julian Samora described the plight of the illegal alien in his book about wetbacks, "Los Mojados:"

"We find then a situation in which poor people from a developing nation attempt to make a living in another nation at wages which are low but acceptable from their nation's standard.

"In order to do this, however, they must violate laws, suffering indignities and many inconveniences. They must live in substandard conditions, away from their families, always in fear of being apprehended and without being integrated into the community or the society in which they may live.

"In the process they keep wages down, they displace American labor, and they hamper the efforts of the American labor unions to organize and to bargain collectively.

"On the other hand, it is not difficult to understand why unemployed Mexican aliens cross the border, nor why employers are so willing to hire them. This is the readily available labor force.

"They have absolutely no rights in the host country. They have absolutely nothing to say about the wages which they will receive. They are single individuals for the most part. They are a docile group by the very condition under which they are here.

"They represent a tremendous oversupply of labor and thus can be replaced at will. They have absolutely no bargaining position because the mere threat of being turned in to the Border Patrol prevents bargaining.

"They can be gotten rid of at a moment's notice, or whenever the harvest is over, and sometimes without even being paid if an employer is unscrupulous."



# EXCERPTS FROM AN INTERVIEW WITH CHAPMAN

Former Marine Corps Commandant Leonard F. Chapman Jr., now commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, was interviewed in Washington by Times Staff Writer John Kendall. Here are excerpts from that interview.

*How many illegals are there in this country?*

"Our latest estimate is about 6 million."

*How many do you think are coming each year?*

"Well, we think it's a half-million to a million a year. There again, it's just an estimate."

*Is the influx of illegal aliens at the present time beyond the capabilities of the INS to control?*

"Oh, there's no doubt about that. It's hopelessly out of control. We're just totally incapable with our present forces and with the multitudes of people who are coming. We're just totally incapable of preventing them. It's as simple as that, and we know we're not preventing them."

*You must have been telling Congress this for some time.*

"Oh, I must have said this a thousand times. I've said it to Congress. I've said it in I don't know how many speeches."

*Why isn't something done about it? Why isn't Congress acting?*

"Well, we're very hopeful that they will. (Chapman said the Rodino bill, a measure that would penalize employers who 'knowingly' hire illegals, had been approved by the House in the 92nd and 93rd sessions.) We're very, very hopeful that the 95th Congress may choose to bring it up and act on it. I think the other

thing that's got to be done is to increase the Immigration Service's prevention capabilities."

*Do you have any estimate as to what is needed?*

"Well, yes, I've said on numerous other occasions that I think that if we had a couple of thousand more people we could probably do a good job. We want investigators to go after the smugglers. We're really doing very little or nothing about the organized smuggling rings that are moving people to the interior. We are apprehending a lot of smugglers along the border, but they're mostly entrepreneurs, you know."

*Like mom and pop smugglers? Only six or seven or so?*

"Yes, or even one or two. That's what our checkpoint in San Clemente gets, principally, is the smugglers who just want to make a few hundred bucks. The organized people are picking them up in places like Guatemala, Nicaragua, Mexico and moving them in, through an organized machinery, to the interior cities."

*Smuggling has become big business then?*

"It's highly lucrative, highly lucrative. We just listened to a case this morning. A Lear jet—one of those small jets that hold 12 to 15 people—brought in 15 Haitians and landed them on an airfield in Florida and then took off before our one border patrolman could get there, and they paid \$600 each. They were apprehended."

*Has the INS been a sort of starved agency as far as funds over the years?*

"I think that's a true statement, yes. And not over very many years. Fourteen or 15 years ago, there was

practically no problem. I guess one measure of that is that 15 years ago we were apprehending something like 25,000 a year. Last year, 900,000. So, that's sort of a measure of the growth of the problem, and meanwhile, INS is relatively the same size as it was 15 years ago."

*People are coming in increasing numbers, aren't they?*

"Right. The impetus comes from several things. First, population explosion in many countries. For example, 25 years ago Mexico had 25 million people. Today, they've got 65 million people. They're doubling every 20 years, and that's true of many countries throughout Latin America and elsewhere in the world. Secondly, the economic conditions in all these many countries. They're just not creating jobs as fast as the population is growing. Thirdly, cheap transportation. That's a development over the last 15 to 20 years. If you go back before to 25 years ago, an airplane ticket was pretty expensive and passage on a ship would cost a lot of money and would take many days, and there was a pretty iron-clad inspection system when the ship arrived at a major port."

*What do you say to critics who say you have made too much of the illegals problem? Those who say you have used it as a publicity gimmick to draw attention to the INS?*

"I sincerely believe it to be a serious national situation today, but I worry even more about the future than I do about the few millions that are here now. If

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Leonard F. Chapman

## Continued from Third Page

we don't find a way of turning off the flow, through the combination of prevention and the deterrent effect of a Rodino-Eastland type bill, I just think it's inevitable that they are going to come by the millions. I'm sure we'd do the same thing if we were in their place. It's easy to get here. We're really incapable of even slowing the flow down. I think it's going to get to be chaos in the years to come."

*Do you project beyond that chaos to what it might be like if it's not stopped?*

"Yes, I think it will go up by multiples of 6 million. Six million, about, have succeeded in getting here in 10 years. Every 5 to 8 years, it will go up another 5 to 6 million, and it will just keep on going."

*And the effect on the country?*

"Well, I guess the ultimate outcome would be that at some point in the future we would reach the situation in this country where we're no better off than they are at home, and there would be no reason to come. Obviously, the reason they come is to improve their lot."

*What is your reaction to a system that is supposed to control immigration, but can't?*

"Well, I guess I'll have to say what I say so often. 'Only in America.' Like so many other things in this country, it's unique."

*Why are we that way?*

"I'll be damned if I know. I think we're going to have to wake up."

*We're just fat and happy?*

"And we've got so much room and we've got too many dollars. It just hasn't surfaced, I guess, in the national consciousness to produce a consensus to do something about it. There isn't any other country in the world that would . . . that has millions

of aliens illegally within its borders, occupying a million or maybe 2 million or 3 million jobs . . ."

*You're laughing because it's almost amusing, isn't it?*

"It really is almost amusing. As a matter of fact, we are only one of five countries in the world that immigrate people legally: Australia, Canada, Israel and South Africa, and they all have various kinds of restrictions, you know. We're the only one that has a big program in which we bring hundreds of thousands in every year from everywhere. That's unique, too, to America. I mean it's so unique that it's sort of laughable."



# U.S. Says Curbs On Aliens Fail

Long-Term Solution To Illegal Entry Problem Proposed

By BENJAMIN SHORE  
Copley News Service

WASHINGTON — The federal government is admitting failure in efforts to prevent illegal immigration into the United States and has called for newer and broader solutions to the growing problem.

In a report made public today, a White House Domestic Council committee concludes:

— Enforcement of the present law, which relies on police-style prevention, apprehension and deportation, is not proving sufficient.

— Massive deportation of illegal aliens who are settled in the United States would be "inhumane and impractical."

— While efforts to prevent entry must continue, greater emphasis should be placed on making it more difficult for illegal aliens to obtain employment.

— The United States should make illegal immigration a major foreign policy issue to be discussed with nations from which these persons are coming. Birth control should be the key point of discussion.

## 8 CABINET AIDES

The committee was headed by Atty. Gen. Edward Levi and included eight Cabinet members whose departments have responsibilities for various aspects of the problem.

The report originally was scheduled to be made public last summer, but the Ford administration decided to hold it up until the presidential election campaign was over.

It will be up to the Carter administration to deal with the issues raised in the study, but the new administration will not be bound by the recommendations.

## LEGISLATION SOUGHT

AFL-CIO president George Meany reportedly has urged President-elect Jimmy Carter to crack down on illegal immigrants, as they increasingly are filling well-paying blue-collar jobs.

Congress is expected to continue consideration of legislation designed to make it illegal for an employer to knowingly hire an illegal alien. Such legislation has passed the House several

(Continued on A-10, Col. 1)

# U.S. Says Alien Curbs Fail, Long-Range Project Urged

(Continued from Page A-1) Levi said.

times, but the Senate has failed to act.

The White House committee leaned away from recommending work permits or a form of national identification cards for legal residents, although it acknowledged such a system "would ease matters considerably by making citizenship status a consideration in the hiring of workers."

"However, a work permit system limits certain freedoms we enjoy and have been unwilling to yield," the committee said, referring to fears of too much federalized, centralized, computerized cataloging of citizens.

"Accepting a certain degree of illegal immigration may necessarily be a price, perhaps even a desirable price, to pay," it concluded.

## CRANSTON'S STAND

Several senators, including Sen. Alan Cranston, D-Calif., have said they believe present immigration laws should be overhauled to establish new quotas for legal immigration and provide immunity from deportation for illegal immigrants who have settled with families in the United States before a certain date.

Levi called the committee's 300-page report the broadest government assessment of the illegal alien issue to date.

"The committee has attempted to present a comprehensive discussion of the policy issues raised by the illegal alien phenomenon,"

"This includes important foreign relations as well as domestic considerations. We hope the report will provoke further thought and action."

## 400,000 LEGAL

The report being in a provocative way by stating that the number of illegal aliens apprehended in 1975 was nearly double the number of aliens — 400,000 — admitted legally.

Further, the number of illegal aliens caught is considered by government experts to be just a small portion of the rising tide of illegals entering the United States each year, "and can be expected to increase," the report says.

"The overwhelming majority of illegal aliens who come to the United States are in search of economic opportunity," the study said. Many compete for jobs of interest to native workers. Others accept employment for which Americans are seemingly unavailable.

## 'LIVE IN FEAR'

"All, due to their illegal status, live in fear of apprehension. As a result, they are susceptible to economic exploitation and other forms of abuse, and often live in an invisible subculture outside the boundaries of law and legitimate institutions."

"Furthermore, illegal migration in times of prosperity tends to be viewed as a handmaiden of economic growth, but it becomes transformed into a threat in times of economic

downturn."

One controversial aspect of the illegal alien problem that the government study found difficult to assess was the general assumption that illegals become a drain on social services provided by government.

## DATA LACKING

A lack of data, caused by the natural reaction of illegal aliens to avoid notice, left the committee unable to do more than make an educated guess. Its conclusion:

Illegal aliens are less of a drain than might be expected.

The committee added, however, illegal immigration, which usually begins with a young male seeking work and can lead to his either bringing in his family or marrying and starting one in the United States, poses explosive potential for increasing the cost of government services.

A major problem is population growth, which is concentrated in the large urban areas favored by illegal aliens.

## PAY DEPRESSED

Furthermore, their presence is believed responsible for depressing the income of legal residents when compared with the total wage structure of an area.

"Public policies with regard to illegal aliens (and the size of legal immigration) should take full account of the effects of both the total income of the legal population and the distribution of this income," the committee said.

On the foreign policy front, the committee concluded that the problem is not simply the widening gap between economically advantaged and disadvantaged nations, but rather rapid population growths in developing nations.

## FOREIGN POLICY

"From a foreign policy point of view, probably the most productive position to pursue is a single-minded, long-term commitment to population planning in developing nations," the committee said.

"For numerous reasons which need not be discussed in this review, it would require major policy revisions for the United States, at least publicly, to embrace population control as the core element of policy with illegal alien source countries."



# Cabinet-Level Unit Hits Policy on Aliens

## Conditions Breed 'Invisible Subculture' Vulnerable to Exploitation, Panel Finds

BY RONALD J. OSTROW

Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON—A Cabinet-level committee warned Saturday that the nation's immigration policy was breeding communities of illegal aliens whose existence depends on avoiding all contact with U.S. law and authority.

These illegal aliens, concentrated in large cities, "are susceptible to economic exploitation and other forms of abuse and often live in an invisible subculture outside the boundaries of law and legitimate institutions," the Domestic Council Committee on Illegal Aliens said.

"Breeding these conditions signals long-run negative social implications for ethnic Americans and for the ability of state and local units of government to function effectively," the committee said.

The report of the committee, headed by Atty. Gen. Edward H. Levi and including seven other Cabinet members, marks "the broadest government assessment of the illegal alien issue to date," according to the Justice Department.

Over the long run, enforcement of present law will not be sufficient to deal with the problem, the committee said. Its report urged a thorough rethinking of immigration policy in terms of employment, population and foreign relations.

While stressing the lack of precise information and the need for research on illegal aliens, the committee said that the number of those apprehended each year runs nearly twice as high as the number who enter the United States legally.

Under present immigration law, about 400,000 aliens are admitted annually for permanent residence, the report said.

"Actual immigration, however, bears little resemblance to the program administered under the law," the committee said. It added that 766,000 aliens who had entered or remained here illegally were located in 1975.

America has "shown decided ambivalence about immigration policy—maintaining an exclusionary law as

**America treats immigration "in highly emotional terms."**

our basic statement of policy and at the same time pointing with pride to our heritage as a nation of immigrants and to the idealism symbolized in the Statue of Liberty's welcome to the oppressed of the world," the report said.

While the nation often treats immigration "in highly emotional, politically charged terms," the committee said, the system for carrying out the law has been low on the national list of funding priorities.

As another sign of the nation's ambivalence, the report said, immigration enforcement agencies are vested with extraordinary discretion "on matters which affect individual lives in the most fundamental and dramatic ways."

While saying that it is "concerned about the large number of illegal aliens already in the United States," the committee rejected massive deportation as "both inhumane and impractical."

Instead, it endorsed legislation that would amount to amnesty for illegal aliens who entered the country before July 1, 1968. The legislation would advance by 20 years the eligibility date for establishing a record of admission for lawful permanent residence from the present cutoff date.

June 30, 1968.

This "would permit some illegal aliens to adjust their status and cause many others to leave the United States," the report said.

The committee tentatively concluded that the allegation that illegal aliens are a drain on the nation's welfare outlays "is overdrawn."

The majority of tax-supported income-transfer programs depend on characteristics such as old age, female head of household or disability for eligibility, the report noted. "Present information shows that illegal aliens are unlikely to be making heavy use of such programs due to very different personal characteristics," the committee said.

At the same time, the report called for much more analysis of the impact of illegal immigration on such social issues as population growth, discriminatory effects of law enforcement, anti-alien sentiment and the formation of underground communities.

The annual rate of legal immigration has increased 100% since 1965.

**The sources of illegal immigrants have similar characteristics.**

about 400,000 per year, vs. 190,000 a year in the 1924-65 period, the report noted. Over the same period, the national origin of immigrants has shifted from Europe to Latin American and Asian areas where the pressure to emigrate is intense.

The report cited Mexico, Jamaica, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Korea, the Philippines, Thailand and China (Taiwan) as the principal sources of immigration to the United States—and countries that are among the major sources of illegal aliens.

These nations have three similar characteristics: rapid economic expansion, high population growth rates and links with the United States, the report said.

Countries that are the sources of illegal aliens "tend to show signs of rapid economic growth and expansion and do not rank with the very poorest nations in the world," the report noted. "This is to be expected as individuals in the poorest nations have too few skills, too little knowledge of the United States and too few resources to attempt migration."

This same pattern will apply to "increasing numbers of countries in the future and creates strong push forces on individuals to migrate," the committee said. "These push forces combine with the pull of available jobs and low risk of detection in the United States to produce illegal migration."

Illegal immigration from Mexico usually involves surreptitious entry across the border. The newer migration of illegal aliens from Caribbean, Central American and Asian countries is sometimes less obvious and has begun to create a more complex situation, the report said.

It involves, for the most part, persons coming through ports of entry documented as visitors and students, who then violate the terms of their admission by overstaying and/or taking employment," the report said.

From a law enforcement viewpoint,

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sons coming through ports of entry documented as visitors and students, who then violate the terms of their admission by overstaying and/or taking employment," the report said.

From a law enforcement viewpoint, the committee said, immigration documents and personal identification systems in use in the United States are inadequate.

"The number of fraudulently documented entrants to the United States is 10 times greater than the number detected," the report said.

A work permit system similar to that used in most other industrial nations in the Free World "would ease matters considerably by making citizenship status a consideration in the hiring of workers," the committee said.

But such a system would limit "certain freedoms we enjoy and have been unwilling to yield," the report said. "Accepting a certain degree of illegal immigration may necessarily be a price, perhaps even a desirable price, to pay."

The committee, in its "major recommendations," called for:

—Giving the illegal immigration issue priority attention so that actions can be taken across many bureaucratic and agency lines.

—Aggressively pushing legislation that would penalize employers who knowingly hire aliens not authorized to work, the so-called Rodino bill which has passed the House twice but has not been acted on in the Senate, and legislation that would increase penalties for immigration smugglers.

—Directing foreign aid to emphasize factors that would reduce pressures that encourage migration, such as population planning, economic and labor intensive programs in rural areas.

—Increasing funds to the State Department and Immigration and Naturalization Service for the purpose of preventing and screening illegal entries.

The 257-page report repeatedly emphasized that "a dramatic lack of reliable information makes thorough analysis of illegal immigration impossible at this time." As a result, the committee described its conclusions as tentative and subject to revision.



# Influx of Illegal Aliens Termed 'Out of Control'

## Thousands Pour Across U.S. Borders to Take Refuge in Urban Areas

BY JOHN KENDALL  
Times Staff Writer

Most call them "illegal aliens." Others prefer "undocumented workers," but whatever the name, hundreds of thousands of them are coming to the United States each year to find jobs and a better life.

No longer are they heading mostly for the agriculture fields of the Southwest. They are arriving by increasing thousands in urban areas far from the border, sometimes with the aid of big-time smugglers.

Their economic impact can only be guessed as they hide in an open society. Many are exploited and become, at once, pathetic victims and victimizers of the social system.

How serious is the influx? Is illegal immigration out of control?

The man charged with enforcing U.S. immigration laws, Immigration and Naturalization Commissioner

For several months Times reporters have been examining the complex issue of illegal immigration. This is the first in an intermittent series to be published over the next few weeks.

Leonard F. Chapman Jr. says, "Oh, there's no doubt about it. It's hopelessly out of control."

Chapman calls illegal immigration a "silent invasion" and thinks it is a "critical problem" that threatens to become a "national disaster."

"If we don't find a way of turning off the flow . . . I just think it's inevitable that they are going to come by the millions," the former Marine Corps commandant said in an interview.

"I'm sure we'd do the same thing if we were in their place. It's easy to get here. We're really incapable of even slowing down the flow. I think it's going to get to be chaos in the years to come."

Chapman's critics accuse him of exaggerating the problem to create a scapegoat for the nation's chronic unemployment, highest since the Great Depression.

Minorities fear racism, xenophobia and widespread discrimination. They dread radical "solutions" leading to mass expulsions of tens of thousands of undocumented workers and the breakup of families.

Chicano activists recall the forced repatriations to Mexico during the 1930s in Southern California and the sweeps of "Operation Wetback" during the 1950s and warn that behind talk of "silent invasion" is the message, "Mexicans not wanted here."

In a "nation of immigrants," illegal immigration is a sensitive, complex, difficult problem, described by the National Council on Employment Policy recently as "one of the murkiest issues of public policy."

For some politicians, the problem has been a no-win issue. Their suggested controls have met the strenuous objections of minority groups worried about civil rights and powerful economic forces concerned about profits.

Nevertheless, concern is growing from the grass roots to the nation's capital about illegal immigration, both as an economic burden and as a threat to the integrity of the nation's system of immigration.

The Gallup organization reported

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that 74% of those questioned in an opinion survey taken for the INS last summer thought illegal aliens are a serious problem for the nation.

After a conference last fall, the National Council on Employment Policy, a private organization composed of university educators, concluded that the problem is serious and, "Public action is needed."

The U.S. General Accounting Office and the State Department agreed in a recent report that illegal immigration requires urgent attention. Both agen-

## One proposal calls for 'thorough rethinking of immigration policy.'

cies urged a total reassessment of U.S. immigration policy.

In a report on its hearings and findings on proposed legislation to control illegal immigration, the House Judiciary Committee said:

"The illegal alien problem has reached severe proportions and in the absence of remedial legislation will continue to worsen.

"This wholesale violation of the law disrupts the legal and orderly flow of aliens into the United States and threatens the integrity of our system of immigration.

"Continued illegal immigration at the rate indicated by the present apprehension figures could have a prejudicial effect on our long-term immigration policy."

What Congress might do—if anything—in its 95th session could be influenced by the findings and conclusions of a report on illegal aliens released by the White House Saturday.

The report is the work of the Domestic Council Committee on Illegal Aliens, appointed by President Ford in January, 1975, to study illegal immigration and to make recommendations.

One of the committee's overall proposals called for a "thorough rethinking of immigration policy."

Any reassessment must inevitably deal, it would seem, with the basic question of whether the United States should end its historic role which has brought more than 46 million immigrants to its shores in 200 years.

How long will the United States serve as a safety valve for the exploding populations of developing nations?

That is hardly an academic question when one of the nation's immediate neighbors—Mexico—has one of the world's highest birthrates. At its present rate of 3.5% a year, Mexico's population will double every 20 years.

Its estimated population in 1976 was 61,203,000, according to UCLA's Latin American Center, and is expected to jump to 82,803,000 by 1985 and 132,244,000 by the year 2000.

Tijuana and other border cities have grown spectacularly in recent years as tens of thousands have left Mexico's interior and collected in the borderlands, where unemployment is

The United States is an almost irresistible magnet, not only for impoverished Mexicans looking for economic survival but for people from all over the world.

## HOW MANY?

Since illegal aliens try not to get caught, no one knows exactly how many of them are secretly working and living in the United States. It is largely a hidden phenomenon, discernible through apprehension statistics and estimates.

Lesko Associates, a Washington research firm hired by the INS, has estimated there are about 8 million illegals in the U.S., about 5.2 million of them Mexican nationals. The firm's methodology has been challenged.

INS Commissioner Chapman opts for a total of around 6 million illegals, increasing, he thinks, from 500,000 to 1 million a year, but he admits those are estimates, based on arrests: "one of the few facts" in the equation.

In the last dozen years, since the end of the bracero program which brought Mexicans under government supervision to work in the U.S., the total number of apprehensions has increased from 110,371 in fiscal 1965 to 875,915 in 1976.

Chapman's rule of thumb is that for every illegal alien apprehended three or four more go undetected. He also says that:

—About one third of about 150,000 sensor alarms go unanswered each year along the 1,945-mile border between the United States and Mexico, because of a lack of border patrolmen.

—About 6 million foreigners visit the United States each year on visas as tourists or businessmen, and INS records indicate that as many as 10%, or about 600,000, never leave. Allowing for imperfections in the system, INS estimates about 300,000 a year stay on to live and work.

—About 500,000 entrants successfully eluded detection at 15 of the busiest ports of entry along the southern border and at 10 of the nation's busiest airports in fiscal 1975, according to a fraudulent entry study done for the INS.

Obviously, the total number of illegals which Chapman thinks may "leak" through the system of immigration control exceeds his estimate that the pool of illegals grows from 500,000 to 1 million a year.

However, INS characterizes the illegal alien population as a fluid, shifting mass, in which tens of thousands—perhaps hundreds of thousands—come and go, but which steadily grows.

In an open society, illegals swim like fish in the sea. The INS' task is to prevent them from entering the United States along about 6,000 miles of border with Canada and Mexico and two coastlines, and then—if that fails—find them in a population of about 215 million.

To do that in fiscal 1976, the INS had 2,975 investigators and border patrolmen, about 4,425 less than the authorized strength of the Los Angeles Police Department.

The enforcement problem has been

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Richard P.  
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Arrest  
How many  
times each  
year?



# Illegal Aliens Hide in U.S. Cities

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exacerbated by the law itself: While it is a crime to harbor an illegal alien, the employment of an illegal is not considered harboring, under the "Texas Proviso."

Thus, the illegal alien enticed to the United States to find life—"buscar la vida"—is breaking the law, not the employer who may exploit a worker without documents by paying less for longer, harder hours of work under poor conditions.

There also is little deterrence of illegal immigration in the enforcement of immigration laws because nothing much happens to most illegal aliens apprehended by the INS, except voluntary departure from the country.

Of 875,915 apprehensions in fiscal 1976, only 27,998 aliens were deported after formal hearings. About 765,000 accepted voluntary departure, a step which did not harm possible legal immigration later. The remainder of those caught made claims of status.

The INS has resorted to voluntary departure, according to the U.S. General Accounting Office, because there is not enough detention space, funds, time or personnel to deal with the growing members of illegals caught. INS has discontinued many special searches.

When he became INS commissioner in November, 1973, Chapman said, he ordered a stop to the hated neighborhood and public sweeps to catch aliens. Enforcement officers were ordered to only follow leads and tips, he said.

In California, where INS officials estimate there are 1.7 million illegal aliens, just following leads and tips apparently has been an overwhelming task, especially in Southern California.

Joseph Sureck, director of the INS office in Los Angeles, estimates there are 1.3 million illegals in his district, extending from Kern County in San Joaquin Valley south to San Diego and Imperial counties. He thinks that 500,000 to a million illegals live in the greater Los Angeles area.

Sureck's office receives about "a thousand tips a month" on where illegals may be found, according to the INS, but because of a lack of inspectors a backlog of "more than 2,000 leads" has built up.

From day to day, Sureck can deploy about 40 INS investigators in his district, ordering them to "survey" firms where the most illegals are likely to be found.

It is not unusual, according to Sureck, to round up 200 illegals a day, which fits snugly with his district's office facilities for processing about 200 a day. Any more than that, and special arrangements must be made because there are no overnight holding facilities.

On occasion, investigators find 350 to 400 illegals working for a single employer. Recently, the INS went to a mobile home factory in Orange County twice in two months and each time collected more than 300 workers without documents.

Sometimes buses are taken to a plant, and the illegals there who accept voluntary departure—and about 90% do—are processed in the field and driven to the Mexican border.

Even as the illegals are put aboard the buses, though, the INS investigators who caught them know that about one-third of them will probably be back in the United States in days. Many will be back at their old jobs.

Investigators operating in the Los Angeles district apprehended 41,275 illegals in fiscal 1976, compared to 266,709 caught by officers working out of Chula Vista south of San Diego.

The difference in the totals reflects INS strategy. By concentrating most of its forces along the southern border, the service tries to catch illegals before they reach large urban areas inland.

It is for that reason that most of those arrested are from Mexico. More than three-quarters of 875,915 apprehended in the last fiscal year were Mexican nationals.

But, there also were 7,645 from Canada, 521 from Cuba, 6,652 from the British West Indies, 3,345 from the Dominican Republic, 30,410 from other Western Hemisphere nations, 2,834 Chinese, 3,621 Filipinos, 9,595 other Asians, 2-

936 Greeks, 1,913 Italians, 455 Scandinavians, 745 Spaniards, 2,483 from the United Kingdom, 741 Yugoslavs, 5,790 other Europeans and 5,256 other nationalities.

Highly lucrative, organized smuggling operations help great numbers of illegal aliens reach big cities, where they meld with ethnic groups and become very difficult to find.

The arrest totals tell the story. The INS estimates there are 1.5 million illegals in the New York district, but only 21,271 were apprehended in FY 1976. Chicago's total illegal population is estimated at 415,000, but only 6,167 were discovered in the same period.

"We're really doing little or nothing about organized smuggling rings that are moving people to the interior," Commissioner Chapman said. "We are apprehending a lot of smugglers along the border, but they are mostly entrepreneurs."

"The organized smugglers are picking them up in places like Guatemala, Nicaragua and Mexico and moving them in through organized machinery to the interior cities."

The General Accounting Office warned last August that smugglers were "undermining" U.S. controls over immigration and reported that, "Less than half of the smugglers caught were prosecuted; the majority on a misdemeanor charge."

The apparent reason for lack of action is lack of sufficient personnel and facilities to break up the smuggling rings and prosecute the smugglers.

Chapman thinks the INS has been fund-starved for several years. He fears that if something is not done to control illegal immigration the number of illegal aliens will increase by 5 million to 6 million every five to eight years and will, "Just keep going."

## IMPACT

When it has suited the nation's needs, there has been little—if any—hesitancy to find cheap labor to do the hard, dirty jobs. When necessary, foreigners were recruited.

During both world wars, the United States turned to

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Mexico for a labor supply, in the same way other ethnic groups had been sought out before. For 22 years, starting in 1942, hundreds of thousands of braceros were brought to the United States to work mostly in agriculture.

The bracero program ended Dec. 31, 1964, but the thousands of tiny immigration networks built up inside Mexico during half a century still remain and—legal or not—the Mexicans continue to come. But, they no longer come just to the fields. INS statistics reflect that fact.

In fiscal 1976, according to the INS, 122,803 of the illegals apprehended were working in agriculture, while 136,277 were employed in service jobs, construction or light and heavy industry.

Workers without documents, it is commonly said, take low-status, poorly paying, dead-end jobs, and therefore they do not compete with U.S. citizens or legal aliens.

Chapman challenges that conventional knowledge. He told a congressional hearing recently that "at least" 1 million illegals hold "well paying jobs." He estimated another million have "lesser paying jobs."

Since neither Chapman nor anyone else knows exactly how many illegal aliens are living and working in the United States, no one can say with certainty what their economic impact may be.

But, ICF, Inc., a Washington firm hired by the INS, attempted to develop a "reasonable view." The firm assumed that illegals take jobs from citizens and legal aliens, forcing them to collect unemployment and welfare, and that to some extent, illegals use public health, welfare and education services.

Calculating those and other assumed factors, the firm computed a total tax burden of \$13.5 billion for 6 million adult illegal aliens, plus at least another \$3 billion contributed to the U.S. balance-of-payments deficit because illegal aliens send money back home.

At about the same time, a study commissioned by the U.S. Department of Labor seemed to suggest a different conclusion, although the questioning of 793 illegal aliens was not presented as representative of all illegals.

More than three-fourths of those questioned in the investigation indicated that Social Security deductions had been made on their last job, but only 4% had collected unemployment insurance and less than .5% had received welfare benefits.

While statistics conflict or may be inexact, U.S. Labor Secretary-designate F. Ray Marshall of the University of Texas has no doubt that illegal aliens have a "major" impact on the labor market.



of the National Council on Employment Policy, the economist drew conclusions that:

—The nation's labor force has been growing by roughly 2 million persons a year and while legal immigration brings in 200,000 annually, illegal immigration "may add up to double" that number, although no one is certain.

—Illegal immigration must be viewed as a long-run process, even though it is perceived by many as temporary because each new wave includes many who will stay and have children and establishes a "beachhead for future immigration."

—While illegals tend to fill the worst jobs, employers tend to prefer illegals who work "hard and scared" and turnover is institutionalized. Thus, "with low wages, poor working conditions, stringent demands and a foreign work force, it proves difficult to attract legal residents." An unfilled demand—in effect, a self-fulfilling prophecy—is created.

—Illegal migration out of a country tends to be condoned by overpopulated nations because it serves as a "safety valve" and the flow of capital back home is important. In the receiving nation, an "underclass" of illegal aliens is created producing problems for low-status domestic workers.

It is easier to learn something about illegal aliens and theorize about their effect on minority workers than it is to determine the impact of illegals on public services.

For the most part, statistics on illegal aliens simply are

not kept by public agencies except the INS, for the very good reason that it is difficult—and very sensitive—to determine who is legally in the United States and who is not.

Even when some federal, state and local agencies discover an illegal alien that information is not reported to the INS. The attitude seems to be: "Our job is to determine eligibility for benefits, or provide health services or educate children. We're not cops. That's the INS' job."

For example, when the Social Security Administration discovers that a foreign student has violated terms of his stay by going to work, the INS is not told because of an interpretation of the federal privacy act.

However, some indications of impact on public services can be found in Los Angeles County. For instance:

—Under state law, an alien who applies to the Department of Public Social Services for welfare must prove legal status. If the applicant cannot, the INS is asked to check its files, and a hearing is set.

From the beginning of the program in Los Angeles County on Nov. 1, 1975, until last Oct. 1, the INS called in 6,616 welfare applicants for hearings at its Los Angeles office.

District Director Sureck reports that 773 recipients were found to be legal, 2,883 were identified as illegal and 2,960 others did not appear for an INS hearing.

Names of both the illegals and "no shows" were reported back to the social services department and welfare payments were stopped. Sureck estimates that the program saved taxpayers about \$5 million within a year.

—Liston A. Witherill, director of the Department of Health Services, estimated that Los Angeles County spends about \$10.5 million a year to provide health care for illegal aliens.

He said, however, that another survey is under way and that the total cost might really be "substantially higher."

Witherill reported to Supervisor Peter F. Schabarum last month that "as many as 350" illegals were among 1,592 tuberculosis patients cared for in county facilities during 1975.

"The total amount to treat illegal aliens was approximately \$2,989,202," he said. "Of this, an estimated \$2,913,-

095 was paid by Los Angeles County and \$76,107 was paid by the federal government.

—School districts can qualify for supplemental funds if they identify students without legal status, collect their names and addresses and file claims.

Fifty-five of 82 districts in Los Angeles County filed 7,111 average daily attendance claims for such students in 1975-76 and received \$4,133,000 from the county.

Actually, it cost more than \$9 million to provide education for 7,111 students, figuring an estimated average yearly cost of \$1,270 per student.

Since not all of the school districts identify "noncitizen" students, it is impossible to know under present circumstances what the total cost of educating children of illegal aliens in the county may be.

The Los Angeles Unified School District, with about 600,000 students and 40% of total enrollment in the county, does not identify such students or claims supplemental funds for them.

Members of the district's Board of Education decided, according to one official, that the task is to educate children, and the district has no requirement or authority to report student names.

What is known about the district, the official said, is that the number of students who do not speak English or very little English is "growing dramatically every year."

Surveys made during the school year disclosed that the district has about 24,500 students who speak no English and about 59,000 who speak little English.

Of course, the question arises as to whether English-speaking ability of more than 80,000 students means much, if anything, or whether it is simply another factor in a desert of data about illegal aliens.

## SOLUTIONS

Illegal immigration is a politically explosive issue, and any solution must deal with touchy international issues, sensitive civil rights questions and powerful economic interests.

Do you build a Berlin-like wall along the nation's borders, particularly the border with Mexico? Do you require

every U.S. citizen or legal alien to carry a national identity card? Do you close an open society by requiring internal travel documents and registration with police agencies?

Most Americans might find any of these distasteful. Actually, proposals for solving the problem of illegal immigration have concentrated on what brings most illegal aliens to the United States—jobs.

If you prevent illegals from getting jobs, the fortified walls, a national identifier or a closed society would not be necessary.

Rep. Peter W. Rodino (D-N.J.), Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) and Sen. James O. Eastland (D-Miss.) have offered separate proposals aimed at penalizing employers who "knowingly" hire illegal aliens.

Rodino's measure was passed by the House during the 92nd and 93rd session, but it got nowhere in the Senate. The proposal was approved in committee in the 94th session, but never came to a House vote.

Under terms of the legislation, an employer would first be warned if an illegal alien was found to be working for him. That would be followed by a \$500 fine for each illegal found, and a \$1,000 fine and a year in jail for each illegal if it happened a third time.

All three legislators linked control with amnesty. Rodino and Eastland selected mid-1968 as the amnesty date. Kennedy proposed that illegals in the United States three years before his bill's enactment could stay.

The AFL-CIO favored penalizing employers for knowingly hiring illegals.

Employer groups objected, however, that private citizens would be made responsible for the federal government's job of determining who was legally in the United States.

Suggestions that a standard means of identification should be provided raised objections that that would lead to development of a national identifier.

Spokesmen for minorities, particularly Hispanic groups, warned that penalizing employers for hiring illegals would lead to discrimination against ethnic groups because of

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skin color or accent.

Influential churchmen cautioned that the proposed legislation could lead to mass expulsions or exodus of literally millions of men, women and children and the breakup of families.

Msr. George G. Higgins of the United States Catholic Conference told a House subcommittee hearing:

"It must be recognized that because of deficiencies over a span of many years in our foreign aid and economic assistance policies with regard to Mexico and other Latin American countries, because of our failure to prevent the mass influx of illegal aliens and our failure to enforce existing laws—a practice which makes it economically attractive for both the illegal alien and the employer to enter into working relationships—the government of the United States bears a heavy share of responsibility for the chaotic situation that exists today."

Since the Rodino bill faltered in the last session, Sen. Eastland has held hearings on his proposal, which would also provide for a bracero-like program to bring in foreign workers under supervision.

What happens in the 95th session could depend, in part, on what position President-elect Carter takes. During his campaign for the White House, he said he favored control of illegal aliens, linked with amnesty.

In the private sector, the National Council on Employment Policy recently called for:

\* —More concentrated enforcement at the borders and stricter laws and tougher penalties for repeated violators of immigration laws.

\* —More rigid enforcement of laws against illegal immigration and upgrading the Social Security card to serve as an identification for an employee who is entitled to work.

—Better enforcement of laws by the Internal Revenue Service and Wage and Hour authorities.

The council also favored a law to make it illegal for employers to hire aliens without some proof of their legality and favored a policy connecting alien entry with labor market needs.

In a larger setting are proposals that the United States provide greater foreign aid to developing nations, particularly Mexico, through a sort of Marshall Plan emphasizing development of labor intensive industries.