

Immigration Policies. A totally new immigration policy especially toward Mexico including the complete elimination of the present border patrol along the U.S. and Mexico border because of its inherent constitutional racism and anti-Mexicanism. Stop all deportations!

1. Revision of the entire Walter-McCarran Act so that the present resultant oppressive effects upon the Chicano people in the U.S.A. and the Mexican people of Mexico shall be totally abolished according to the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.
2. All families now divided by deportation and the present laws (212-A-15) and practices shall be reunited at once without further red tape, threats, or harrassment. All persons without documents living in the U.S.A. who are from Mexico shall be able to obtain them without going through deportation proceedings, arrests and interminably long delays.
3. That because those Mexicans who live and work in the U.S.A. without documents pay all the same taxes such as consumer, payroll, income taxes and even included in their rent payments to property owners also pay the actual property taxes as native-born residents or documented immigrants ... that they be allowed to avail themselves of the benefits of social security, unemployment insurance, disability insurance, workmens compensation, welfare, health and medi-care, MDTA training and all other public social services instead of being deported when they apply for these benefits.
4. Complete abolishment of the present Border Patrol along the U.S.-Mexico border with an open-door policy in accordance with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.
5. That all Mexicans who have been living in the U.S.A. for at least one year be able to obtain U.S. citizenship in Spanish and be able to vote whether they are citizens or not since they are being taxed in the exact same measure as those residents who are citizens. That voter registration may be done in Spanish as well as in English.
6. Pending the establishment of an open-door policy under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo that under no circumstances will Chicanos or Mexicans be arrested and held for "illegal entry" by police, sheriff, public service agencies or the Border Patrol. That full "due process" be implemented in the detention, arraignment or hearing procedures and that the entrapment and unconstitutional practices of obtaining "waiver of rights" signatures and "voluntary departure deportation" through seducements and or threats by the Border Patrol be forbidden.
7. That the 25-mile radius working zone be abolished immediately.

Civil Rights Update

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

NOVEMBER 1979

BAKKE GUIDELINES: The Department of Health and Social Services (HSS) has issued guidelines on how the nation's 3,000 colleges and universities can use affirmative action principles in admission policies without violating the ban on strict racial or ethnic quotas in the U.S. Supreme Court's Bakke decision.

They encourage: consideration of race, color or national origin as a positive factor, like geographic origin or economic circumstances; increased recruiting in minority communities; modifying admission criteria for minority applicants; offering tutoring and other special services; or pursuing numerical "goals" to achieve the racial and other ethnic composition desired.

VOTING OFFENDER: A study of bilingual elections by the Federal Election Commission shows that Texas is a major voting rights "offender."

It says that even though the state is "most seriously affected" by the bilingual requirements adopted in 1975, Texas is less adequately prepared to put them into effect than California, Colorado, New Mexico, and Oklahoma.

ROUNDUP ILLEGAL: It's illegal for Immigration and Naturalization Service agents to raid a business establishment to arrest undocumented workers unless they have a search warrant specifying identities of the workers, a U.S. District Court judge in Washington, D.C., has ruled.

BOMB PLOT: Two brothers have been charged with plotting to bomb a Columbus, Ohio, elementary school while classes were in session.

One of the school's students is the daughter of Judge Robert Duncan of the U.S. District Court, who ordered the desegregation of the city's school system this fall.

HANIGANS INDICTED: Patrick and Thomas Hanigan, who in 1976 were found not guilty of 21 counts of kidnapping, robbery, and assault on three undocumented Mexican workers who were walking across the Hanigan ranch, have been indicted by a Federal grand jury in Tucson, Ariz. on three counts of obstruction of commerce and robbery of the same three men.

In the original case, the Hanigans were alleged to have tied the men up, taken their clothes and money, beat, stabbed, and burned them before sending them naked back across the border harried by gunshot pellets. That case was heard by an all-white jury in an area nearly one-half Mexican-American.

The Federal action follows the intense pressure the Justice Department received from a national coalition of lawyers and Hispanic organizations.

NEW SENTENCE: A U.S. District Court judge in Houston has again ignored prosecution and civil rights organization appeals to impose substantial prison sentences on three ex-policemen in the bayou-drowning death of Joe Campos Torres.

In March 1978, Judge Ross Sterling sentenced the men to a 10-year suspended sentence, with 5 years probation for felony conspiracy resulting in death. He was then ordered by a Federal Court of Appeals to resentence the men because the law provides that in cases of civil rights violation where death occurs, some time must be served. The maximum penalty for the crime is life imprisonment.

He resentenced each man to 1 year and a day in jail, but ordered the time to be served concurrently with a separate 1-year sentence he imposed in 1978 for misdemeanor assault.

With time off for good behavior, the three men can be free in 9 months.

CHICANO ARREST: An American in Dallas, Gerardo Rivera, is suing the city of Grand Prairie for \$5.4 million because he alleges that when he was arrested last year for a traffic violation, he was held in jail for almost 2 days until he could prove his citizenship.

This suit is drawing national attention from civil rights groups who claim that such abuse of Americans happens frequently.

ERA SUIT: A Federal judge in Idaho who is an officer of the Mormon Church accepted a case that will decide whether states have a right to rescind ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment and whether Congress had the right to extend the ratification period last year.

Judge Marion Callister Jr. says he can rule impartially because the real issues are the procedures used in amending the Constitution, not the merits of ERA, which his church opposes.

The Justice Department had asked him to disqualify himself.

HISPANIC HOUSING: Increased Hispanic participation in housing and community development will be the focus of a conference cosponsored by the National Hispanic Housing Coalition and four other organizations Dec. 16-19 in San Antonio, Tex.

Some 1,500 persons are expected to participate in this first national effort to mobilize housing and community development resources for Hispanics.

HISPANIC PUPILS: The Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund has filed a class action suit against New York city and state education officials for allegedly denying "an appropriate education" to thousands of physically and mentally handicapped Hispanic children.

The plaintiffs charge that these children need both bilingual and special education, and the state and city are not complying with Federal law or a 1975 consent decree under which bilingual education programs were started in the city school system.

FLIGHT ATTENDANTS: Federal Judge Albert Bryan Jr., of Alexandria, Va., has approved a \$1.25 million settlement in a discrimination suit filed against American Airlines by two women on behalf of themselves and 1,502 other flight attendants.

The 1977 suit charged that the airline forced the women to leave work without pay when they became pregnant.

Louise Milotes was awarded \$5,321 and Linda Timberlake \$9,155. The remainder of the money will be put into a fund for flight attendants who can prove they were also victims of the airline policy.

PUBLIC HOUSING: The Department of Justice has entered into consent decrees with Helena and West Helena, Ark., to desegregate their low-rent housing projects.

The two housing authorities had been assigning blacks to all-black buildings and whites to all-white or virtually all-white buildings in violation of the Fair Housing Act of 1968.

CHAINED ALIENS: A Marion, La., farmer has been indicted by a Federal grand jury for allegedly concealing nine undocumented workers from Mexico and chaining two of them to force debt payments through their labor.

GROUP ACTIVITIES: Ku Klux Klan cases handled by the Department of Justice's Community Relations Service increased from 8 in Fiscal Year '78 to 44 during FY '79.

Cases involving disputes between police and minorities, mainly blacks, Hispanics, and American Indians, rose from 142 in FY '78 to 157 in FY '79.

There were five cases involving disputes between Vietnamese refugees and whites or other minorities in FY '79; there were none the preceding year.

AGENTS INDICTED: A Federal grand jury in San Diego has indicted four border Immigration and Naturalization Service agents on six counts of beating and mistreating undocumented workers.

RACIST CLUBS: Financial institutions have been asked by the Federal government to stop paying their executives' membership dues to racist clubs and to stop using those facilities for social or business functions.

A survey of savings and loan associations revealed that 65% of them have no policy against such payments, and 17% said they would still pay even if there were proof of discrimination. Two-thirds of the commercial banks surveyed indicated they had no policy and 44% said they'd continue to pay dues to discriminatory clubs.

Issuing the statement discouraging such practices was the Federal Financial Examination Council.

PRISON ALTERNATIVES: The Edna McConnell Clark Foundation, with assets of almost \$200 million, has announced that \$1,259,000 in grants is available for the development of alternatives to imprisonment in the nation's criminal justice system.

Organizations receiving funds will be asked to create and test models for reducing unnecessary confinement in order to cut down on prison populations and cost.

For further information, contact the Foundation at 250 Park Ave., New York, N.Y. 10017.

CHURCH LEADER: Patricio Fernandez Flores, who as a boy helped his father pick cotton, has become the preeminent Mexican-American in the nation's Roman Catholic Church through his elevation to Archbishop.

In this position, the 50-year-old prelate will be the spiritual leader of 650,000 Catholics in south Texas, where there is a high concentration of Hispanics.

DOMESTIC VIOLENCE: Attorney June Zeitlin of the Health and Social Services Department (HSS) has been appointed the director of its new Office on Domestic Violence.

She will be responsible for the coordination and strengthening of the group's research, demonstration and service activities on violence.

HANDICAPPED RIGHTS: The Department of Justice is inviting public participation in the development of proposed regulations to eliminate discrimination against the handicapped as outlined in the Rehabilitation Act of 1973.

It has scheduled a public hearing on Nov. 27 at the HSS Auditorium, 330 Independence Ave., N.W., Washington, D. C. and invited comments to be sent before Dec. 21 to Robert Dempsey, LEAA, 633 Indiana Ave., S.W., Washington, D.C. 20531.

Copies of the proposed regulations are available by writing to Dempsey.

WARD CHARGED: Montgomery Ward & Co. has been charged by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission with violating the Equal Pay Act at its Glendale, Ariz., store by paying some women employees, including department managers, less than their male counterparts.

The suit is asking for a nationwide injunction to stop such practices in all Montgomery Ward stores.

ADULTS ONLY: The California Court of Appeals has ruled in Los Angeles that refusing to rent to couples with children "is a purely private and unregulated act of discrimination for which the law offers no redress."

It acted on a 1975 case in which a couple living in a "no children" apartment building had a child and was evicted by the owner.

DOCTORAL DEGREES: The October issue of Update was in error in reporting the result of a National Research Council survey on doctoral degrees earned by women and minorities in the years '76-77 and '77-78.

The correct figures are:

	<u>'76-77</u>	<u>'77-78</u>
American Indians	215	172
Asian-Americans	907	1,031
Blacks	1,180	1,100
Hispanics	471	532
Women	7,845	8,313

News from the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
FBI CHARTER: In Oct. 24 testimony, CCR Chairman Arthur Flemming offered the Senate Judiciary Committee several recommendations to deal with alleged misconduct by FBI agents.

He asked that the FBI Charter Act of 1979 include provisions to formalize and publicize a complaint processing system and that individuals be advised in writing of what action was taken on their complaints.

He recommended that all complaints be monitored and tallied.

Finally, he asked that Congress have full access to information on misconduct investigations, that a special board be established to review serious allegations, and that a civil right of action for recovery of damages resulting from violation of the charter's mandate be included in the charter.

ENERGY RESOURCE: CCR has published a 221-page document titled "Energy Resource Development" on the implications of energy resource development on Inter-mountain West women and minorities.

It was produced by CCR's Utah, Colorado, Montana, North and South Dakota, and Wyoming advisory committees during a consultation.

It can be acquired free of charge by writing Update.

EURO ETHNICS: The Commission will conduct a consultation on concerns of Euro-Ethnic Americans Dec. 3-4 in Chicago.

"Euro-Ethnic Americans" is a term preferred by descendants of Eastern and Southern European immigrants.

Some 40 invited experts will examine "bridge issues" common to all racial and ethnic groups, including housing, education, inter-governmental relations and the role of the media.

COMMON CONCERNS: Thirty-five black and Hispanic leaders from various civil rights organizations around the country met in a dialogue session in Washington, D.C. Sept. 29-30.

The group worked on a joint civil rights agenda for the 1980s to deal with mutual concerns.

At CCR's invitation, it also reviewed the Commission's proposed program of studies and projects for the next 2 years.

Participants agreed to strive for greater coordination among all black and brown organizations on such concerns as political participation, health programming, the 1980 census, and staffing and structure of the new U.S. Department of Education.

They also agreed to establish a joint task force on the media.

CIVIL RIGHTS UPDATE. The Staff Director of the Commission on Civil Rights has determined that publication of this periodical is necessary in the transaction of the public business required by laws of this agency. Use of funds for printing it has been approved by the Director, Office of Management and Budget, through Dec. 30, 1979. Update doesn't necessarily represent Commission policy. EDITOR: Roy Johnson. CCR headquarters are at 1121 Vermont Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20425 (202) 254-6697.

U. S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20425

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Proposal for action from the Raza Contra La Migra Committee

Since president Carter announced his plan for undocumented workers, opposition has been voiced from La Raza from across the country. For now, this plan is not law. It is a proposal to congress. In order to build a powerful movement against the Carter plan, we need to build a massive visible protest in support of undocumented workers.

The International Committee on Immigration and Public Policy, which has been organizing the San Antonio conference has also called for the conference to elect a delegation to bring the agenda of Chicano needs to Washington D.C. on Nov. 18. They have asked that there be support demonstrations in cities throughout the country on that date.

We would like to propose that the Northern California Chicano/Latino conference adopt the following:

On Nov. 18 in a city in the bay area to be determined, there be a mass demonstration in support of the following demands:

- a moratorium on all deportations.
- full unconditional amnesty for all undocumented workers.
- full civil and human rights for undocumented workers.
- for an open border (as the border with Canada is).

Committees organizing for this demonstration should reach out to all of La Raza and its allies to support and participate in the demonstration.

Who sponsored this?

The co-ordinator Andrés Jimenez claims he did not sponsor the inclusion.

Raza Contra La Migra Committee does not claim.

The 18th date has not been approved.

The approval was for support of a national day of demonstration — no specifics

strong Trot support

a Trot motion to have the materials — a leaflet printed up

REPRESION Y RESISTENCIA

CONFERENCE ON REAGAN'S IMMIGRATION PLAN

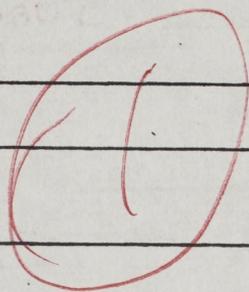
Yes, I am interested in participating in an immigration network. Send me more information:

Name _____

Organization _____

Address _____

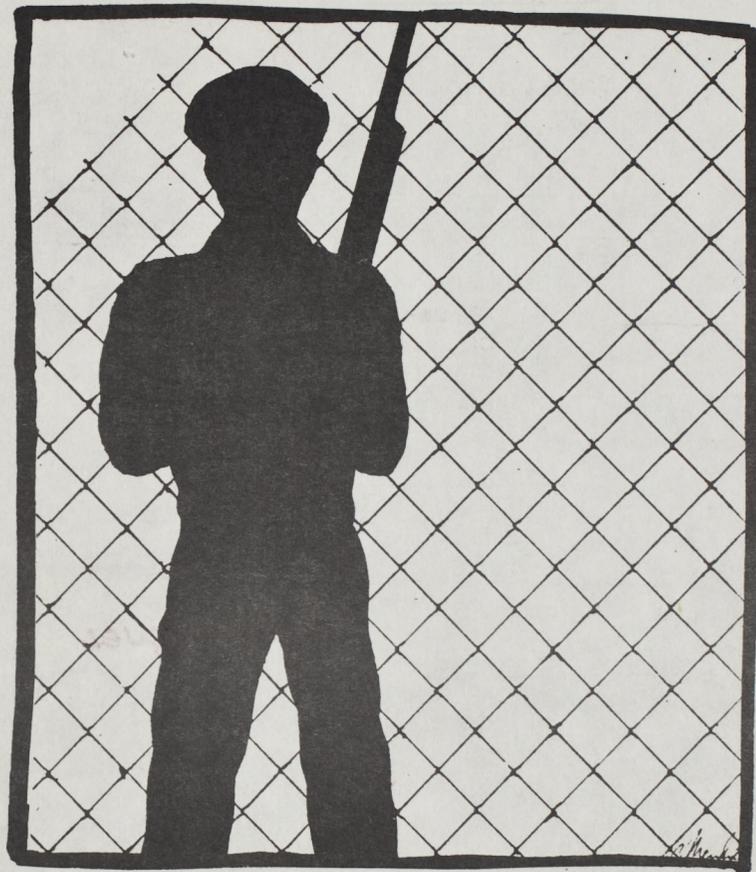
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Feb. 28, 82

Sunday/Domingo

9am - 5pm

UCLA Ackerman Union Grand Ballroom

PROGRAM

9am-9:30am Registration

9-10:30am General Assembly

Herman Baca: Committee for
Chicano Rights
Carol Jacques: County Health
Alliance

10:30-12pm Workshops

1. Labor

Chair: Pete Beltran, UAW
Panelists: Elisa Chavez, ILGWU
Juan G. ~~Pepe Medina~~, IUGW
Miguel Salas,
business-agent
Ironworkers

2. Reagan Immigration Plan

Chair: Jose Calderon, Al Frente
de Lucha

Panelists: Rebecca Morales, UCLA
Gilbert Varela, MABA
CARLOS VASQUEZ

3. Refugees

Chair: Jorge Gonzales, El Rescate
Panelists: Representatives from
Guatemalan Information
Center Casa Salvador
Dr. Fontaine, UCLA

12-1pm Lunch and Entertainment

1-2pm General Assembly

JUAN GUTIERREZ
~~Bert Corona: Hermandad Mexicana~~
Jose Calderon: Al Frente de Lucha

2-3:30pm Workshops

1. Democratic Rights

Chair: Linda Wong, MALDEF

Panelists: ~~Antonio Rodriguez,~~
~~Center for Law and
Justice~~

MARIA

Maria Rodriguez, MALDEF
Lalo Delgado, Colorado
Migrant Council
Soledad Alatorre, UAW

ARMANDO UELVA

2. Chicano Political Power

Chair: ~~Bert Corona~~ **RUDY ACUNA**

Panelists: Miguel Garcia, MALVRA
Victor Griego, Assembly-
man Richard Alatorre's
office

LIZ MARTINEZ

3:30-5pm Closing Assembly
Reports and Resolutions

REPRESION Y RESISTENCIA

CONFERENCE ON REAGAN'S IMMIGRATION PLAN

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Name _____

Organization _____

Address _____

Phone _____

THANK UCLA

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↳ LIBERAL

↳ PROG.

3) ~~PLAYERS~~ FACTORS

↳ ECONOMIC DOMINATION

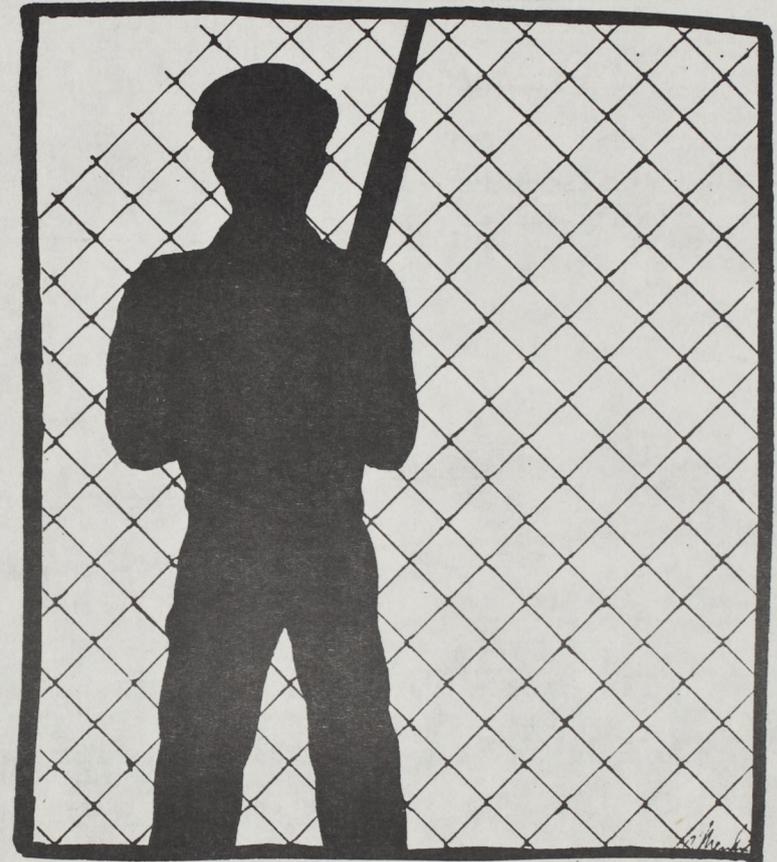
↳ BANKRUPT I: POLICY OF 2ND LABR SECTOR

4) PLAYERS

↳ U.S. GOVT

↳ MEXICAN GOVT

↳ CHICANO MOVEMENT



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Reports and Resolutions

As a new president, José López Portillo, takes office this month, serious political and economic troubles afflict our neighbor to the south

Mexico Is Moving— But Where?

BY CARL T. ROWAN AND DAVID M. MAZIE

“MEXICO IS BEING PREPARED FOR RED TAKEOVER,” declared the headline above an article by Rep. Lawrence P. McDonald (D., Ga.) reprinted in the *Congressional Record* last April 29. A week later, McDonald was joined by 29 other Congressmen in a letter to President Ford calling Mexico a pro-Communist soft spot at the U.S. underbelly which could pose “a grave danger” to the United States.

Though the charges are considered unfounded by State Department officials and many others, their mere appearance, however irresponsible, is reason enough to take a close, serious look at our neighbor to the south. For Mexico, the second most populous country in Latin America (after Brazil) and the fourth-largest

customer for U.S. goods in the world in 1975 (over \$5 billion), is feeding on angry nationalism these days and struggling with serious economic ills. Inevitably, she must influence the course of U.S. history.

Exploitation? The people of Mexico have long had a love-hate relationship with the United States. They wash down Colonel Sanders’ fried chicken with Pepsi-Colas and Cokes, wear Levi’s and Arrow shirts, drive Chevy Novas and Ford Mustangs, and watch “Sesame Street.” But, like Canadians to the north, they find it difficult and angering to live next door to the richest, most powerful nation on earth, whose citizens take them for granted. As Mexico’s 19th-century dictator, Porfirio Díaz, once lamented: “Poor

Mexico! So far from God and so close to the United States.”

Mexicans still speak bitterly of the incursions by U.S. troops that culminated on February 2, 1848, in Mexico’s ceding one half of its territory (what is now California, Arizona, Utah, Nevada and New Mexico, western Colorado and Texas) to the United States for a trifling \$15 million. It rarely crosses the mind of a U.S. citizen that Mexico still holds emotional claims to these territories, yet the issue continues to burn in Mexican hearts and minds. But what Mexicans resent more than all else is their economic disadvantage, their relative poverty. Per-capita income in 1975 was only \$1307 in Mexico, \$5834 in the United States.

To many Mexicans, the reason for such poverty is clear—discrimination and exploitation by the United States. “Every time we succeed in selling some product in the United States, U.S. special interests complain and restrictions are placed on our exports,” says José Juan de Olloqui, Mexican ambassador to the United States. U.S. officials steadfastly deny this, and our own investigation convinces us that many such complaints are based more on emotion than on fact. Nonetheless, so long as the United States sells Mexico \$2.4 billion more of goods than it buys, as it did last year, the angry charges of exploitation will not cease.

Many of these charges have come from Luis Echeverría, Mexico’s pres-

ident for the last six years and foremost spokesman for the more than 100 less-developed nations of the Third World. Echeverría has often delivered abrasive attacks on U.S. citizens and corporations that have invested some \$2.8 billion in Mexico’s enterprises. On United Nations issues like Zionism, he has flown directly in the face of the United States. Recently, we traveled with him through the small towns and dusty villages of Guerrero state. The crowds went wild whenever he talked of “Mexican pride and independence,” of ending the days of “exploitation by foreigners.”

Echeverría, who moved Mexico to the left in what he called “a peaceful revolution” to narrow the gap between rich and poor, leaves office the first of this month, to be succeeded by José López Portillo, the 56-year-old former finance minister. Balding and professorial, López Portillo has spoken with the same angry nationalism and indicates there will be no shift back toward the right.

Bitter Contrasts. Warnings that Mexico is being “delivered to the communists” become believable to some people because Mexico lacks many of the checks and balances on presidential action that exist in the United States. There was no effective opposition to López Portillo. His party has totally dominated Mexican political life since 1929. Mexico’s federal government holds a monopoly on newsprint, controls the licensing

of all radio and TV stations, and has taken legal right to 15 percent of the broadcast time. In September 1975, it took full control of the film industry—production facilities, distribution channels, most of the important theaters.

López Portillo, then, holds the key to Mexico's posture over the next six years. And it may not be long before we know whether he will be motivated more by the angry nationalism he expressed during his campaign than by a quiet pragmatism dictated by his country's economic ills.

Mexico's economic problems are numerous and serious. The annual growth in the gross national product averaged a remarkable 6.8 percent in recent years, but last year fell to 4 percent. Almost half of the labor force is unemployed or underemployed. Last year, inflation was more than double that of the United States. Foreign debt has grown sharply, as wealthy Mexicans squirrel their money away in foreign banks. The government recently floated the peso, resulting in a 58-percent devaluation.

Many Mexicans concede that their economic woes flow from social factors other than "U.S. exploitation." Indeed, a measure of blame lies in the exploitation of Mexican by Mexican. Despite a growing middle class, which includes perhaps a fifth of the nation, Mexico remains a land of bitter contrasts.

In Mexico City, the rich live in a world of magnificent homes, catered to by batteries of maids, cooks,

gardeners, chauffeurs. They dine in posh restaurants, and spend weekends at Mexico's chic international resorts on both the Pacific and Atlantic. But another world mingles with them on the streets of the capital—the world of an Indian woman, her hand outstretched, her eyes pleading for a coin for herself and the two tiny children huddled in a shawl on her lap. The heart of this world of the poor is in the "lost cities" scattered throughout Mexico City. The most famous, or infamous, is Netzahualcōyotl, a dried-up lakebed occupied by about 1.5 million squatters who live—eight, nine, ten to a house—in one or two rooms constructed out of sheet metal, cardboard and wood.

Rural Dilemma. Harsh as life is in Netzahualcōyotl, it represents an improvement over conditions in rural Mexico, from which they came. That is why 1000 new residents pour into Mexico City from the countryside every day—and why what happens in rural Mexico is critical to economic reform and perhaps to the scare issue of communism.

Agriculture was long neglected in Mexico's race to industrialize. In 1910, for instance, fewer than 3000 families owned almost half the land (a mere 17 families owned one-fifth), while millions of peasants worked like serfs for absentee landlords. Then came the revolution, led by Francisco Madero, which inspired one of the most ambitious land reforms in Latin America. At its heart was the *ejido*, a piece of land owned

by the government but given to peasants to farm. More than 30,000 *ejidos*, each composed of 100 or so families on plots of a few acres apiece, were created.

But the peasants were not provided with sufficient credit, technical assistance, machinery or irrigation, and the result is that today vast numbers of them are not much better off than those before the revolution. Unable to live off their meager farms, they rent them out illegally or abandon them and hire out to work for other landowners. Close to 44 percent of the rural population has no reportable income. Over half of the adults can hardly read or write. About 750,000 school-age rural children are not in school.

Confronted with this deteriorating state of Mexican agriculture, President Echeverría decided early in his term to channel more resources to the countryside. His government made more credit available, raised price supports on crops, built more farm-to-market roads, improved agricultural technology and research. It also experimented with collectivization of the *ejidos*. The plan is voluntary, and to date only a fraction of the 30,000 *ejidos* scattered throughout Mexico have been collectivized, so it is too early to tell how the experiment will work.

Meanwhile, millions of peasants are still without any land. With troublesome regularity, groups of them swoop down and occupy privately owned farms, usually the richest land in the country. It is the gov-

ernment's seeming acquiescence in these land seizures, in part, that has produced the cries that Mexico is going communist. Yet, Mexican leaders argue that to totally frustrate the landless peasants would guarantee a buildup of guerrilla forces, which recently have been trading poppies for arms with the lords of the U.S. heroin trade. Obviously, López Portillo faces a dilemma in the countryside.

About-Face. The problems of the peasants, and of the 12 million people now crowded into Mexico City, cannot be considered apart from an overriding factor in Mexican life—explosive population growth. Mexico's population is growing faster than that of almost any other country—3.5 percent a year, double the world rate, four times that of the United States. More than 2.2 million people are added every year. If current rates remain unchanged, Mexico's population will double by 1995, and pass the United States' in the first half of the 21st century.

Virtually everything that Mexico has done to beef up its economy is diluted or wiped out by population growth. A new classroom is built every 30 minutes in Mexico; in that same time, 160 children are born. Some 150,000 new living units are built in a year; 200,000 to 250,000 are needed to keep up with demands.

For decades, nothing was done about limiting population. But in 1974, midway through his term, Echeverría did an about-face. A symbol was adopted—the figures of a

mother, father and two children. And a slogan—"La Familia Pequeña Vive Mejor" ("The Small Family Lives Better"). Everywhere in Mexico you see and hear this slogan. On billboards, calendars, wall-posters. On radio and television. In movies and comic books. New chapters have been included on demography and sex education in school textbooks. Family-planning facilities were added to thousands of public and private clinics and hospitals. The government began to provide free contraceptives through them.

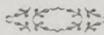
Officials estimate that 1.2 million Mexican women are now practicing birth control. But Mexico has over 13 million women of childbearing age, and until 20 or 25 percent of them are controlled, there will be no significant impact on birthrates.

It is this growing surplus of people that has caused what surely is the prime issue of strife between the United States and Mexico: the rapidly growing number of Mexican aliens in the United States. The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service estimates that some eight million illegal aliens now re-

side in the United States and that more than six million of them are Mexicans. The number of Mexican illegals caught and expelled from the United States annually (680,392 in 1975) is larger than the total *legal* immigration to the United States from the entire world.

WHILE IT WAS CLEAR, as we traveled in Mexico, that the country faces grave problems, we found no one who believed that Mexico represents a threat to the United States. Many Mexicans emphasized their desire to create a great nation, to escape from the shadows of Uncle Sam. Some laughed aloud at suggestions that Echeverría has paved the way for communism.

Whatever the truth, we in the United States do not and by rights cannot exert influence on Mexican internal politics. But it is deeply to our interest that Mexico, following her own course, find solutions to the problems of population and income distribution that now confront her. A peaceful, prosperous Mexico is almost as important to us as it is to Mexicans.



Progress Report

A MIDDLE-AGED WOMAN complained to her spouse: "Twenty-five years ago I was Juliet to your Romeo, 15 years ago I was Harriet to your Ozzie, now I'm Dingbat to your Archie."

—Dawes in *Family Circle*

ONE MAN to another: "November runs into December. December runs into Christmas. Christmas runs into money."

—Lou Erickson in *Atlanta Journal*

OVERHEARD: "She was my secretary before we were married. Now she's the treasurer."

—Bob Goddard in *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*

by Stephen Chapman



Oddly for a nation built almost entirely on immigration, the United States historically has had a schizophrenic attitude about letting in foreigners. For our first century-and-a-half of existence, we welcomed almost anyone who wanted to come, and the invitation was accepted by millions of people all over the world. Until 1882, in fact, the U. S. had no formal immigration policy, and for the next 39 years it didn't limit the number of immigrants. Only in 1921 did the government decide to close the open door to some foreigners, mainly those from southern and eastern Europe, who were arriving in sufficient numbers to cause grave alarm among the nation's governing WASPs. One congressional report expressed the worry that the immigration of such people tended "to upset our balance of numbers, to depress our standard of living, and to unduly charge our institutions for the care of the socially inadequate." Evidently the threat to the purity of the Anglo-Saxon race was too obvious to mention.

Nobly trying to avoid these disasters, Congress established immigration quotas based on the ethnic makeup of the American public, letting in a lot of northern Europeans, a few southern and eastern ones, and only a handful of Asians. As the above congressional report subtly explained it, if "the principles of individual liberty... [are] to endure, the basic strain of our population must be maintained

Stephen Chapman is a Washington writer.

and our economic standards preserved."

With only a few changes, the quotas lasted until 1965, when Congress passed a new Immigration and Nationality Act that was aimed principally at reuniting families, admitting needed workers, and granting sanctuary to political refugees from Communist countries and the Middle East. Aliens who didn't fit into these categories simply were not to be admitted. Disturbed by the arrival of 160,000 immigrants a year from the Western Hemisphere (almost all from Latin America), Congress placed a quota on them of 120,000 a year—the first time in our history it had placed a numerical limit on Latin immigrants. Congress presumably shared the sentiments of the cynic who scorned President McKinley's professions of affection for "our little brown-skinned brothers": "They may be related to President McKinley, but they're not related to me."

Heedless of the chilly welcome, a lot of our neighbors still want to come, with the main consequence of the 1965 ceiling being a "silent invasion" of illegal aliens that has unnerved many observers to the point of near-hysteria. Though the invasion has been silent, the reaction to it has been very noisy. A good deal of frightened talk is afoot about how to save ourselves from being drowned in this "brown tide" of illegal aliens, most of it boiling down to one simple idea: get them out and keep them out.

Such talk in Congress and the White House is nothing if not popular.

A Gallup poll last year discovered that 74 per cent of Americans regard illegal aliens as a "very serious" or "fairly serious" national problem, with 82 per cent blaming at least one of our social ills on their presence. Most revealing of all, 57 per cent of those polled agreed with the unequivocal declaration, "Illegal aliens should be rounded up and sent back to where they came from." Gallup likely could have found a majority in favor of melting down the Statue of Liberty and selling it for scrap, perhaps replacing it with a giant replica of a snarling Doberman Pinscher to underscore the point.

That the drawbridge to the golden door is now in danger of being pulled up is due mostly to the vigorous xenophobia of former Marine Corps commandant General Leonard Chapman, who retired in January after four years as commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. When in 1973 he assumed control of a small, little-noticed agency demoralized by scandals and the impossible job of keeping out illegal aliens, Chapman took the offensive, warning publicly of an impending "national catastrophe" and publishing inflammatory magazine articles with titles like "Illegal Aliens: Time to Call a Halt!" According to Charles Keeley, a sociology professor at Fordham University, "Chapman was a master at defining the issues for the purpose of increasing his budget. By very skillful manipulation of the press, he created a crisis mentality, which perfectly fit his agency's bureaucratic needs." In

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addition to valuable support from such interest groups as the AFL-CIO, the American Legion, and Zero Population Growth, Chapman's campaign was favored by circumstance, coming at a time of severe economic troubles; and the accident that most illegal aliens have brown skin didn't hurt his efforts either.

It's no surprise that the public concern about illegal aliens has been fostered by a government agency less interested in the public than in more power, greater prestige, and a bigger budget; that, after all, is how things usually work in Washington. What is more disquieting is that the perception of a crisis has grown out of confused thinking that rests on questionable premises, unsubstantiated statistics, and groundless myths. It's also disturbing that the issue so easily raised a public clamor in a nation of liberal traditions incompatible with xenophobic hyperbole.

Most of our fears about illegal aliens are without foundation and the conclusions drawn from them, however popular, are thus mistaken. Instead of talking about throwing out all our illegal aliens and doing our damndest to make sure they don't come back, we ought to be taking precisely the opposite tack and legalizing the status of illegal aliens already here, while eliminating the numerical quotas on immigration from the Western Hemisphere.

Training the Mule

Chapman's public relations techniques in his campaign were reminiscent of the farmer who began his mule's training by clubbing him over the head to get his attention; his weapon was the untiring repetition of huge numbers. In one congressional hearing he placed the number of illegal aliens at four to five million, but when asked about the basis of his estimate, Chapman replied "It is just

million at the other. So I am selecting a midpoint . . . just a guess, that is all. Nobody knows." An Immigration and Naturalization Service-commissioned study by Lesko Associates, a Washington consulting firm, had little success in narrowing the wide range of estimates. It guessed there were about 8.2 million illegal aliens in the U.S., but such experts as Wayne Cornelius, an assistant professor of political science at MIT and a longtime student of the subject, have criticized Lesko's estimate as much too high and its methods as scientifically dubious.

The only hard numbers available are statistics on INS apprehensions. In 1975, for instance, the agency caught and deported 766,600 illegal aliens—but using that figure as a basis for estimating a total number, as INS does, is questionable at best. Since many aliens are apprehended more than once, the number of aliens who are caught is probably quite a bit lower than the total apprehensions. One Border Patrol officer tells of apprehending and deporting a single Mexican five times in one night. As General Chapman admitted, no one knows how many illegal aliens there are in the U.S., and there is probably no way of finding out.

That hasn't stopped Chapman and his allies from using their unreliable estimates as the basis of even more unreliable calculations of how much illegal aliens cost the government. According to their line of reasoning, aliens impose a burden on taxpaying Americans by using public services, welfare benefits, and food stamps—all for free, since they don't pay taxes. Factual support for this argument is conspicuously absent, no doubt because what concrete evidence there is discredits the theory. In fact, most employers deduct both income and FICA taxes from the paychecks of their illegal workers, partly because they don't always know which ones are illegal and partly because they fear

contact with government agencies, even those that might provide help, out of fear of being caught. A Department of Labor study by David North and Marion Houstoun last year reported:

"This group of illegal alien workers were significantly more likely to have participated in tax-paying systems (many of which are automatic) than to have used tax-supported programs . . . while 77 per cent of the study group reported that they had had social security taxes and 73 per cent reported that they had federal income taxes withheld. Only 27 per cent used hospitals or clinics, four per cent collected one or more weeks of unemployment insurance, four per cent had children in U. S. schools, one per cent participated in U. S.-funded job-training programs, one per cent secured food stamps, and 0.5 per cent secured welfare payments."

A recent study by the San Diego County Human Resources Agency arrived at similar conclusions, estimating the county's annual cost in social services to illegal aliens at \$2 million and the aliens' yearly contribution in taxes at more than \$48 million. The reality, then, is just the opposite of the myth spread by Chapman and his ilk: illegal aliens contribute more than their fair share to government revenues and receive far less than their share of state and federal benefits. The General no doubt would be chagrined to learn that instead of aliens being a burden to the rest of us, it's the rest of us who are a burden to the aliens.

Unfair Competition

At the heart of organized labor's demands for measures to stop the influx of foreigners is the notion that they compete unfairly with American workers, displacing Americans from their jobs and depressing the general level of wages. Labor thinks a lot of

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deporting all our illegal aliens would cut the unemployment rate in half.

Wayne Cornelius dismisses this belief as a "cruel illusion," and there is in fact little to support it. Many of the jobs held by illegal aliens are the kind that few Americans would accept, regardless of their skills. A California businessman who hires illegals told *New West* magazine, "If you pulled out every illegal alien in Los Angeles at midnight tonight, you would wake up tomorrow morning in a town without busboys, maids, or parking-lot attendants." North and Houston reported that most of their respondents worked as laborers (including farmworkers), service workers, and other semi-skilled or unskilled workers. Most of the aliens they surveyed were paid little more than the minimum wage, with some receiving even less than that. Like the North-Houston study, the San Diego report expressed doubt that aliens displace American workers, noting one instance in which the State Human Resources Agency could not fill 2,154 jobs made available by the deportation of illegal workers, a failure it blamed on the jobs' low wages, poor prestige, and long hours. San Diego, despite its 11.8-percent unemployment rate, had a similar experience: when some 340 jobs were vacated by illegal aliens, INS was unable to fill them with Americans and finally let the employers hire commuter workers from Mexico. North and Houston also concluded that illegal aliens neither compete with skilled American workers nor depress wages. Eliot Abrams, an aide to Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, says flatly, "There's no evidence that the average alien depresses wages. Aliens either get good wages or they get low pay for jobs no one else will take."

The aliens don't make much difference to unemployment because unskilled Americans understandably prefer subsisting on welfare or unemployment payments to working long hours at low-paying drudgery. The low unemployment rate in Texas is

largely a consequence of the state's stingy assistance to the poor. Conversely, the high unemployment rates in cities like New York and Chicago, where aliens are believed to flock, is probably due far less to the aliens than to the generally stagnant economic conditions in the industrial Northeast and the attractiveness of the relatively high welfare and unemployment benefits in such cities, which are enough to make any unskilled worker think twice about working for a living.

It will be argued that if illegal aliens are given legal status, they will likewise choose relief benefits over low-paying jobs, but the evidence suggests otherwise. Aliens, like most immigrants, generally appear eager to accept work of any kind because of the social stigma they attach to not working, the improvement it represents over jobs in their native countries, and the hope of advancement. "Apart from any consideration of their illegal status," said North and Houston, "they appear to be like immigrant workers: highly motivated and hard-working employees, whom U. S. employers regard as very productive workers, despite the fact that many do not speak English."

The Welfare of the Cubans

The American experience with immigrants from Cuba during the 1960s implies that aliens do not come to the U. S. to sit back and collect welfare checks. When hundreds of thousands of Cuban refugees poured into Miami in the decade following Castro's revolution, many Miamians feared they would swell the relief rolls. Contrary to popular belief, few of the Cubans were wealthy, and even those who were arrived almost penniless. According to Susan Jacoby, who has written extensively about aliens in the U. S., "By 1962, small businessmen, technicians, clerical workers, and urban factory workers were arriving by the thousands." Now, Jacoby says, "Miami is filled with

small businessmen who were blue-collar workers in Cuba." Despite a special federal welfare program for them, the Cubans wasted no time in finding jobs, however menial; by 1974 only 10 per cent were on the welfare rolls, most of them elderly people. And the hard work has paid off: Jacoby notes that the "median income of Cuban families rose from \$5,244 in 1967 to \$8,091 in 1970." Not only that, but local officials say the Cubans have created at least 100,000 jobs since they arrived.

The case of the Vietnamese refugees is less encouraging, but the presence of many of them on welfare rolls appears due partly to the unique circumstances of their immigration and our efforts at settling them in American society. The Vietnamese emigrated to the United States with little preparation and no real purpose besides escaping what they expected would be a very unpleasant fate. Coming from an Eastern society, they faced greater cultural and linguistic barriers than did the Cubans or other immigrants from Latin America.

But the blame for nearly a third ending up receiving welfare payments lies mostly on the federal government. "The government leaned overboard in making assistance available to the Vietnamese, without making them understand that collecting welfare is not the normal way of life here," says Leon Marion, Executive Director of the American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service. "These people didn't learn how to operate in our culture, and didn't realize that everyone is supposed to work for a living. Putting them on welfare was a simple solution to a very complex problem." But the majority of the Vietnamese here have barely been in this country two years, and Marion sees their swelling of the welfare rolls as a short-run problem that will correct itself in time. "More Vietnamese are going to resettlement agencies for help in finding gainful employment, and they turn out to be hard, earnest workers," he says.

"They give an employer his money's worth." The problem of a temporary swelling of the welfare rolls is one we have to face, but experience shows that it is only temporary. Other refugees from Communism than the Vietnamese, like the Hungarians and the aforementioned Cubans, are no longer dependent on welfare.

It's foolish to pretend that open immigration will be completely free of problems, but most of them seem easily surmountable. For instance, we can count on the greed of the American Bar and Medical Associations to safeguard against the brain drain from underdeveloped countries that open immigration might cause.

The Fixed Pie

The vaguest but one of the most persistent myths about illegal aliens is that their mere numbers strain our economic capacity, thus lowering our standard of living. This opinion rests on a false conception of a fixed pie—the more people there are, the smaller each slice. As noted above, the Cuban experience in Miami suggests that the influx of immigrants actually stimulated the local economy. Historically, there appears to be no correlation between the rate of immigration and economic health. One of the healthiest periods in American economic history, 1881 to 1921, coincided with the arrival of 25 million foreigners. The Great Depression, on the other hand, came only a few years after we established the first immigration quotas. Nor is there any obvious relationship today between the number of illegal aliens in a given region and that region's prosperity; some states, like those of the Southwest, have healthy economies despite a lot of aliens, while the industrial cities have both aliens and poor economic health.

One reason the debate about aliens so often goes astray is that it concentrates on their effects on the rest of us, ignoring humanitarian questions of whether or not coming here is good.

for them. Our immigration laws slam the door on thousands of people who would like to move to the U. S., and that in itself is a bad thing. Moreover, many would-be immigrants—who come mostly from poor, authoritarian countries in Latin America—see the U. S. as the only way out of a life of poverty, ignorance, and oppression, and in most cases they are probably right. To keep them out is not only to circumscribe their freedom, but also to sentence them to a bleak, painful existence they desperately want to escape. The people who founded the United States pictured it not as an entrenched and isolated outpost but as a beacon for the rest of the world and a refuge for the oppressed. We may have grown cynical about such notions, but is it right to turn away all the foreigners who still take them seriously?

Under the worst of circumstances, namely living here illegally, what the aliens find in the U. S. is plainly better than what they left behind, which of course is why they came. Even the lowest wages paid in the U. S. are much higher than most could dream of making at home. New West mentions one Mexican who got \$1.35 an hour stripping paint in his first job here—ten times what he earned driving a delivery truck in Mexico.

But legalizing their status and loosening restrictions on immigration to make illegal entry unnecessary would substantially improve the aliens' lot, which is what many Americans apparently regard as scandalous.

Obviously, the aliens would benefit from the ordinary rights and privileges accorded other American workers. The illegal alien's outlaw status undercuts his bargaining power and compels him to accept nearly anything his employer chooses to inflict on him, from low pay to long hours to poor working conditions. If he complains, his employer can fire him or even have him arrested by the INS. The alien can hardly demand that he receive the minimum wage or be allowed to join a

union (although some unions have illegal aliens as members). If he is mistreated, defrauded, or injured on the job, he is not likely to seek legal redress. All the pressures on the illegal worker encourage him to do what he's told, take whatever pay he's given, and keep his mouth shut.

Many employers take full advantage of the opportunity to exploit the aliens. They often pay illegals substandard wages—a practice made possible not by the normal dictates of the market, but by a “black market” in labor that puts the employer in an abnormally strong position and the employee in an abnormally weak one. North and Houstoun discovered, for example, that the aliens in their survey generally “earned less per week than comparably employed U. S. workers, though they generally worked considerably longer hours.” The aliens in industrial jobs worked an average of 44.5 hours a week, while comparable Americans worked only 35.9 hours. Illegal aliens no doubt also suffer relatively poor working conditions.

They are also vulnerable to even more flagrant abuses. It is a common practice for farmers in the Southwest to hire illegal Mexicans for a couple of weeks and then call the Border Patrol when payday rolls around. The Border Patrol hauls the aliens away and the farmer gets a couple of weeks' labor for only the cost of room and board. A former official of California's North County Chicano Federation told the San Diego Human Resources Agency that such incidents are standard practice among many citrus and flower growers, who they estimate owe illegal aliens \$20,000 in back pay. Another Chicano organization said that kickbacks to field bosses and excessive deductions for room and board likewise are common practices.

The San Diego report mentioned an incident in which an illegal alien who suffered three heart attacks was refused permission to see a doctor; when he finally visited one on his own, he was fired.

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Body Smugglers

Of course, many aliens have to go through a lot of hardship just to get into the U. S. Some pay hundreds of dollars to professional body-smugglers for help in getting across the border, and hundreds more for forged papers, "green cards" (Alien Registration Receipt Cards), and entry documents—some of which are so poorly forged as to be worthless, although the aliens have no way of knowing that. Aliens who walk across the border (as most illegals do) are often attacked by gangs of hoodlums on either side. One Border Patrol officer told the *Washington Star*, "On the American side, we broke up gangs of local high school kids who had been lying in wait for the wets. They were robbing them, beating them up, raping the women. We even had two 12-year-old kids who were stationing themselves at the end of a long culvert drainpipe that the aliens used to sneak through. They were shaking them down for 15 or 20 bucks apiece, threatening to call us if they didn't pay up."

Without erecting a Berlin Wall along the Mexican border and subjecting employers and illegal aliens to all sorts of draconian measures—which would require much higher expenditures and expanded enforcement—there is no way to stop the influx of people from Latin America. Too many people want too badly to get in, and we would gain little from redoubling our efforts to keep them out.

And it is not likely that more liberal immigration laws would attract unmanageable numbers of foreigners. The current length of time that Western Hemisphere people have to wait for visas is about three years, which at the current quota means a total of only 360,000 people are waiting, hardly an alarming number. Charles Keeley is skeptical of scare talk about the flood of aliens who would arrive if restrictions were relaxed. "You would probably get a big initial flow, but not

necessarily an unreasonably high number, and after that the number would probably drop off sharply," he says. "I'm not so sure everybody's dying to get in here." Wayne Cornelius says few illegal aliens from Mexico want to live here permanently anyway, and that most of them come for less than six months. Keeley agrees, noting that one million legal aliens left the U. S. during the 1960s.

In keeping in mind the humanitarian reasons for letting in more foreigners, it is not necessary to lose sight of our own interests; letting them in need not be a purely selfless gesture. After all, the rest of us have much to gain from the continual infusion of new people, whose mere presence testifies to their determination and willingness to take risks. One nice thing about the difficulty of immigrating is that it weeds out those who are timid or lazy, leaving only the adventurous and the ambitious. The old American ideal of the melting pot is based, in part, on the knowledge that most of the foreigners who come to America are those with the qualities most beneficial to a dynamic society.

Indeed, the strangest thing about the controversy over illegal aliens is that it so seldom touches on our hallowed tradition of welcoming the weary immigrant, a tradition that goes to the heart of the nation's character and purpose. There are few American traditions nobler than that of providing a sanctuary to the weak, freedom for the persecuted, and opportunities for achievement to the ambitious; and for that matter, few that have had such far-reaching benefits.

Like our own parents and grandparents, foreigners come to this country today to lift themselves out of poverty, to escape political oppression, to give their children a better life. The choice is between continuing this legacy and standing at the walls to beat back the hordes—a choice that tests not only our trust in our heritage and our free institutions, but our humanity as well. ■

The following information is reproduced from Department of State Optional Form 168 (formerly DSL-852), dated February, 1977, and is intended for persons desiring to immigrate to the United States.

It is suggested that the reader review this material carefully and follow the instructions that relate to the applicant's case.

Any person who desires more detailed information should contact the Immigration and Naturalization Service, an American Consulate abroad, or an attorney specializing in immigration and naturalization matters, for specific inquiries.

I. GENERAL CATEGORIES OF IMMIGRANTS

Persons desiring to immigrate to the United States are, by U.S. immigration laws, divided into two general categories: (a) those who may enter the United States as permanent residents, without any restriction based on number of persons, and (b) those who are restricted by an annual number of persons who may enter as permanent residents.

A. IMMIGRANTS NOT NUMERICALLY LIMITED

1. Certain Relatives of United States Citizens:

The spouse and minor unmarried children of a United States citizen, and the parent of a United States citizen who is over the age of twenty-one.

2. Special Categories:

- a. Immigrants who lived in the United States previously as lawful permanent residents and are returning to live in the United States after a temporary residence abroad.
- b. Certain practicing ministers of religious denominations whose services are needed by a religious denomination in the United States (their spouses and children included).
- c. Specially qualified and recommended employees, and former employees, of the United States Government (their spouses and children are included).

B. IMMIGRANTS WITH NUMERICAL LIMITATIONS — BY CATEGORY

1. All other immigrants not included in section A above are limited to 20,000 each year from each independent country (or the Panama Canal Zone) and 600 from a dependent

territory. The total number each year for all such immigrants may not exceed 170,000 from the Eastern Hemisphere and 120,000 from the Western Hemisphere.

2. Aliens who wish to immigrate to the United States but are restricted by annual numbers are divided into certain groups called "preferences." They are aliens who are:
 - a. **First Preference**—Unmarried sons and daughters of U.S. citizens;
 - b. **Second Preference**—Spouses and unmarried sons and daughters of aliens who have been lawfully admitted into the United States as permanent residents;
 - c. **Third Preference**—Members of certain professions, and persons of exceptional ability in the sciences and arts, whose services are required by an employer in the United States;
 - d. **Fourth Preference**—Married sons and daughters of U.S. citizens;
 - e. **Fifth Preference**—Brothers and sisters of United States citizens who are 21 years of age or over;
 - f. **Sixth Preference**—Skilled and unskilled workers designated by the Labor Department as in short supply in the U.S.;
 - g. **Seventh Preference**—Refugees: this preference is administered solely by the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the Justice Department;
 - h. **Nonpreference**—All other immigrants.

II. STEPS TO BE TAKEN IN APPLYING FOR IMMIGRANT VISAS

1. Applicants for immigrant visas who believe they are entitled to immigrant status based on relationship to a United States citizen or lawful resident alien (see I.A.1 and I.B.2.a, b, d and e above) should request that relative to file a petition (Form I-130) with the nearest office of the Immigration and Naturalization Service in the United States. **Such applicants should not complete the attached questionnaire** (Optional Form 222, Preliminary Questionnaire to Determine Immigrant Status)

The consular office will advise the beneficiary of the petition (the applicant for a visa) when it is received from the Immigration and Naturaliza-

tion Service. In some cases, if the American citizen or permanent resident sponsor is abroad he may file the petition with a consular officer at an American Embassy or Consulate.

2. All other intending immigrants should complete and return the attached questionnaire (Optional Form 222) to the consular section of the nearest United States Embassy or Consulate. Based on the information supplied, the consular section will advise applicants of the next steps to take in their visa applications.

III. LABOR CERTIFICATION NEED FOR CERTAIN IMMIGRANTS

Unless an intending immigrant is an immediate relative of a U.S. citizen (see I.A.1 above) or entitled to first, second, fourth, or fifth preference status (see I.B above) or is a refugee, he must obtain a certification from the Department of Labor that there are no able, willing, and qualified workers available for his proposed employment in the United States.

Exemption from the labor certification requirement is authorized for individuals proving that they do not intend to work; a spouse or child accompanying or following an alien spouse or parent who either has, or does not require, a labor certification; a fiancée of a United States citizen and whose support is guaranteed by the latter; certain investors; and members of the Armed Forces of the United States of America.

Details on the procedures for obtaining labor certification are available from the Department of State's Optional Form 172, **Labor Certification**, which is available from the consular office.

Persons who obtain such labor certification qualify for nonpreference status but may also be entitled to third or sixth preference status (I.B.2.c and f above). Further information on seeking third and sixth preference is also available from Optional Form 172. As appropriate, these informational forms will be supplied by the consular section in reply to the submission of the attached Optional Form 222.

IV. PERSONS INELIGIBLE TO RECEIVE VISAS

The immigration laws of the United States, in order to protect the health, welfare and security of the United States, prohibit the issuance of a visa to certain applicants. The following are examples of



applicants who must be refused visas: those who have a dangerous contagious disease, such as tuberculosis, or have a mental illness; are narcotics addicts or traffickers; have committed a criminal act or certain offenses against public morals; are illiterate; are likely to become a public charge in the United States; or are or have been members of or supporters of the Communist Party or any affiliated organization.

If any of the foregoing restrictions might apply, then a statement regarding the facts should be submitted to the consular office with the attached Optional Form 222. The consular officer will then advise the applicant if there is relief for such applicants which might permit the issuance of a visa.

NOTE: Applicants are required to swear or affirm to the truth and accuracy of a visa application at the time of formal application and to submit certain documentary evidence to establish eligibility for the visa. These statements and the evidence will be carefully examined. It should be understood that willful misrepresentation of a material fact in connection with a visa application may result in a permanent bar to entry into the United States, or to deportation if admitted into the United States.

V. OTHER IMPORTANT INFORMATION

A. Documents Required in Support of a Visa Application

All applicants must submit certain personal documents as well as evidence that they will not become a public charge in the United States. The consular officer will inform visa applicants of the documents needed as their applications are processed.

B. Medical Examinations

A medical examination is required by a doctor designated by the consular officer. Costs for such examinations must be borne by the applicant.

C. Visa Fees

Each formal immigrant visa application costs U.S. \$5.00 and the immigrant visa issued is U.S. \$20.00. These fees must be paid by, or on behalf of, each intending immigrant, regardless of age, and are not refundable. Local currency equivalents are acceptable. Fees should not be sent to the consular office unless specifically requested.

D. Miscellaneous

An immigrant visa is valid for 4 months from date of issuance. Since no advance assurances can be given that a visa will be issued, applicants are advised **not** to make any final travel arrangements, **not** to dispose of their property, and **not** to give up their jobs until visas have been issued to them.

Persons born in countries other than the United States may, under United States law, have a claim to United States nationality if:

- a. Either parent was born or naturalized in the United States.
- b. Either parent was a United States citizen at the time of the birth of the applicant.

A person born in the United States, with few exceptions, has a claim to United States citizenship. Any applicant believing that he may have a claim to United States citizenship should **not** apply for a visa until his citizenship has been determined. He should inform the consular office so that steps can be taken to determine if the applicant is entitled to a U.S. passport rather than an immigrant visa.

Applicants for immigrant visas who have questions not answered in this information sheet may communicate with the nearest American Consulate, Immigration And Naturalization Service, or consult an attorney who specializes in Immigration and Nationality Laws.

At press time, Congress is considering immigration reform laws which will amend the Immigration and Nationality Act, as amended, and which, if enacted, would introduce many changes in the laws and regulations which may affect the admission of immigrants and visitors to the United States.



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General Information For United States Immigrant Visas

by DAN P. DANILOV
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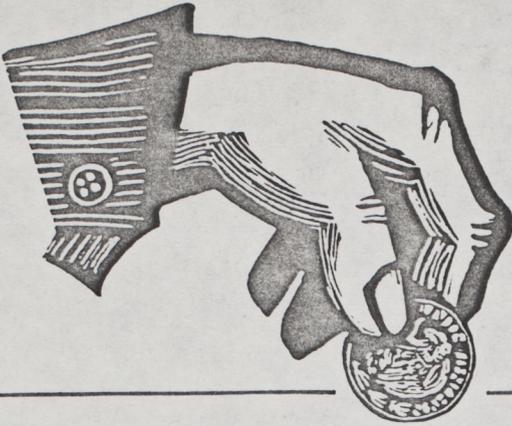
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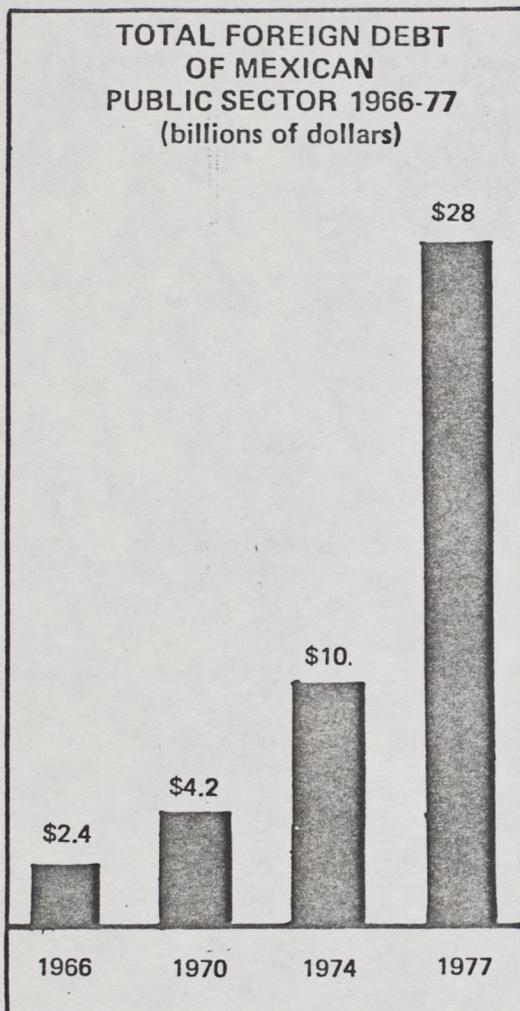
The Roots of Immigration

A FACT SHEET ON FOREIGN DOMINATION & POVERTY IN MEXICO

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



FOREIGN INVESTMENT IN MEXICO



Source: Robert Castaneda, "Los limites del Reformismo en Mexico," *Cuadernos Politicos* #8, Ap-Jun, 76.

**Foreign Investment in Mexico
1940-1973**
(millions of dollars)

Year	Total	Manufacturing Industry
1940	449	32
1950	566	148
1960	1,081	602
1970	2,822	2,083
1973	4,677	2,768

source: Sepulveda & Chumacero,
La inversion extranjera en Mexico.

**Percentage Participation of the
Transnational Companies, Private
National Companies & State Companies
in Mexico's Industrial Production, 1970.**
(selected industries)

Industrial Sector	Nat.		
	TNCs	Priv.	State
Food	21.5	74.8	3.7
Beverages	30.0	69.8	0.2
Paper & cellulose	32.9	61.9	5.2
Rubber products	63.9	31.4	4.7
Chemicals	50.7	43.2	6.1
Petroleum products & coke	48.7	46.7	4.6
Basic metals	46.6	40.6	12.8
Non-electrical machinery	52.1	47.4	0.5
Electrical machinery	50.1	49.9	—
Transportation equipment	64.0	21.1	14.9
Total	34.9	60.2	4.9

Source: F. Fajnzylber & T. Martinez Tarrago,
Las Empresas Transnacionales

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NEWS ANALYSIS

WHY U.S. BUSINESS NEEDS ILLEGAL ALIENS

By Martin Brown
Pacific News Service

Martin Brown, an agricultural economist at the University of California, Berkeley, monitors trends in science and economics for PNS.

AUGUST 8--

Manuel Rojas strolled down to his local tavern in San Francisco's Mission District last night to celebrate his new quasi-legal status.

As a "temporary alien," Rojas (not his real name) may soon be legally entitled to remain in the U.S. for at least five more years and--more important--to seek work in the above-ground labor market.

"Of course," said Rojas, lifting a glass of beer, "this is a great relief."

Yet Rojas, who slipped across the U.S.-Mexican border in 1973--and has been back and forth a half-dozen times since--also had qualms.

What would happen to him at the end of five years? Will he again be subject to deportation, or will he be given permanent alien status? No one knows.

And, though he will be required to pay regular payroll taxes while employed, he will not be entitled to any of the social services those taxes pay for, such as Medicaid, food stamps or federal welfare.

-more-

In the end, Rojas, and millions of others like him, may well conclude that the Administration's "solution" to illegal aliens is a very mixed blessing, offering no fundamental change but rather a veneer of legality over a still troublesome situation.

The reason it will remain troubling, according to a number of respected economists who specialize in immigrant labor, is that the "alien problem" lies deep in the structure of the U.S. economy, which makes it profitable for certain businesses to utilize illegal workers.

The immigrants themselves are mere symptoms of the problem.

In fact, many economists agree that illegal immigrant labor has been good for American business, particularly the so-called "secondary labor market," that section of the economy that provides low-paying, non-union employment, generally with sub-standard working conditions and little job security.

And, they also agree, the widely held notion that illegal aliens are "indigent" and a drain on the U.S. welfare system has little validity.

Economist David S. North, with cooperation of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), recently interviewed 793 illegal aliens who had been picked up by the INS in major American cities.

He found they had worked in the U.S. an average of two-and-a-half years, and that 77 percent had paid Social Security taxes and 73 percent had paid federal income taxes. Nearly half had also paid for hospitalization insurance.

In contrast, only 27 percent had used public hospitals or clinics and less than four percent had collected one or more weeks of unemployment insurance. Only about four percent had children in U.S. schools, only two percent had secured food stamps and less than one percent had received welfare payments.

North's findings concluded that illegal alien workers actually contribute more to the public welfare system than they take out of it.

North also found that most of the illegal workers he interviewed had worked in "low-wage, low-skill, low-status jobs." Twenty-four percent had been paid below the minimum wage.

Their employers, he found, felt that illegal alien workers are more productive than domestic workers, and that they are necessary to maintain or increase profits in small, labor-intensive, highly competitive firms.

The main problem of illegals, concluded North, is that they make it more difficult for low-skilled domestic workers to find decent paying jobs or to improve wages and working conditions in the non-unionized secondary labor market.

Economist Michael Piore of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology agrees with North's findings. But Piore argues that any policy designed to attack the symptom--illegal aliens--rather than the cause of the problem--the structure of the labor market--could make matters worse, not better, for all disadvantaged workers.

Piore, who has studied the secondary labor market in Boston, notes that fundamental changes began occurring in the late sixties. In the mid-sixties, he says, the majority of workers in the low-paid, non-unionized market were older immigrants and native workers, notably blacks from the urban ghettos.

But by the late sixties, "these workers reportedly became a good deal more difficult to manage. Clashes between employes and supervisors and among employes themselves became more frequent," partly as a result of the generally prosperous economy and rising worker expectations.

But rather than improve the wages and working conditions, Boston secondary employers began to recruit a wave of immigrant workers,

legal and illegal, from Puerto Rico, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Mexico and other Latin American countries. By 1975 illegal aliens constituted almost three-fourths of the minority labor force.

The Administration's proposed policy of granting a temporary and limited amnesty to these workers assures their continuing availability, which in turn relieves pressure on employers to improve wages and working conditions. The result is the institutionalization of the worst aspects of the labor market.

When Piore asked a Boston textile manufacturer what he would do if "immigrants were no longer available," he was told:

"There will always be immigrants to work for us. First there were Italians, and French Canadians, later there were blacks from the South. Now we have Puerto Ricans."

Piore worries that a "crackdown" on illegal immigration, promised by Carter, will only drive the secondary labor market further "underground."

"The aliens are willing to work for less, and their illegal status makes them powerless to complain about violations of labor statutes. The employer could clearly profit by paying less than the minimum wages...by escaping legal health and safety standards...and by avoiding federal income tax withholding, social security taxes, unemployment insurance and workman's compensation."

MIT political scientist Wayne Cornelius suggests another reason why such a crackdown may fail.

"The pressures (to migrate to the U.S. from Mexico) are so intense...that most Mexican illegals are not likely to be deterred, even by the most draconian restrictive measures," he says.

Cornelius tells of one illegal who was picked up by the INS three times and was finally asked, "What can we do to prevent you from doing this again?"

The illegal replied, "Shoot me."

The awareness that structural changes in the U.S. economy may be the only real answer to the "illegal alien crisis" has led some U.S. labor leaders to change their views on how to deal with the situation.

Union organization of the secondary labor market, they believe, would at once improve wages and working conditions, and at the same time restrict employers from seeking cheap labor from an illegal work force.

Cesar Chavez's United Farm Workers Union, which once blamed illegals for sanitation problems, crime and low farmworker wages, is now actively recruiting illegal aliens into its membership.

The AFL-CIO is campaigning for reform of the National Labor Relations Act in a way that would cut the red tape and cost of union organizing. This would presumably make it easier to organize the thousands of small work places that make up the secondary labor market.

Until such fundamental changes occur, both here and in the underdeveloped countries which provide the aliens, many economists believe the tide of foreign workers, both legal and illegal, will continue to swell.

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IMMIGRANT WORKERS —AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE WORKING CLASS

THE situation and the fate of immigrant workers, which we deal with in our special centre-page section, are directly linked with the development of the capitalist world.

This problem is assuming greater importance to the extent that symptoms are asserting themselves of a deepening economic crisis which is undermining the system of state monopoly capitalism.

It is becoming more crucial to the extent that the consequences of the crisis are making themselves more and more felt on the living and working conditions of the working class and the whole working population.

From the economic difficulties of 1967 — one of the elements of which was also the monetary crisis — the economic crisis has been characterised in the main capitalist countries by new manifestations, such as the fall in industrial production, the rise in unemployment and the mounting inflation.

To this has been added on the international level, generalised inflation, the struggle of the countries producing raw materials against neo-colonial exploitation by the big companies (oil crisis) and the consequences of the internationalisation of production which, on the one hand, drives towards the integration of economies and, on the other, develops bitter competition between monopolies and imperialism by increasing the economic disequilibrium between the industrialised and developing countries.

A LOOK AT THE RECENT PAST

THE process of economic concentration and amalgamation on the national and international levels, and the introduction of scientific and technical progress into industrial production towards the middle of the century, have opened up a period of more rapid development of monopoly capitalism, with international economic integration and the still greater internationalisation of capital.

Within themselves, these developments carried the need for new forms of economic cooperation, the development of services and transport and of mass production and speed-up, dictated by sharper competition.

All this process of trans-national concentration could not have taken place without a great influx of cheap labour power. To satisfy this demand, inherent in the capitalist system, two methods were used: investment of capital in regions or countries where there was abundant labour, and the importation of foreign workers from countries which were economically weak or under-developed.

Dealing with the character of this first method, the General Secretary of the WFTU, Pierre Gensous, noted in the report presented to the 3rd session of the WFTU Bureau (Paris, April 21-23, 1971): "Super-exploitation is not limited to workers and all working categories of the industrialised capitalist countries; it extends to the developing countries, in which are also taking root, or are being strengthened, subsidiaries of the great international capitalist monopolies which are giving themselves over to a veritable undertaking of pillage and political domination."

"A typical and scandalous case among others is that of the building of the Cabora-Bassa dam in Mozambique. There, multinational capitalist groups, American, French, German and South African in the main, have come to an agreement to share the profits from the construction of the dam itself, but also with the longer-term prospect of establishing or perpetuating collective colonialism or neo-colonialism in Mozambique, Rhodesia and South Africa.

"In this way the settlement of a million people with colonial mentalities is provided for. The aim is to establish a group of settlers who will watch over the maintenance of direct colonialism in this region.

"To the financial interest of this colonialist enterprise aimed at increased exploitation of the resources of the country and the implantation of powerful monopolies, is also added obvious political aims, the creation of a "sure" base for capitalism in Southern Africa as a barrier to progress in the struggle for national liberation and economic independence. It is the duty of the international trade union movement to oppose this new immigration and the planting of settlers on the land usurped from the population of the country, to help the struggle of the peoples against colonialism, to unmask the aims of this imperialist enterprise and to mobilise public opinion . . ."

In regard to the import of foreign workers into Europe, the first move, within the framework of the Common Market countries, was the free circulation of workers of the Community countries. This labour market, being far from satisfying needs, the doors to immigration were opened for workers from European countries outside the Community and then for those of other continents, the majority being North Africans.

In this way, there began an unprecedented migratory movement in Europe of such an extent that statistics could hardly keep up with it, all the more so since the merchants and exploiters of labour have no interest in showing their cards.

In the period from 1960 to 1967, more than a million workers every year crossed the frontiers of Western Europe in search of employment.

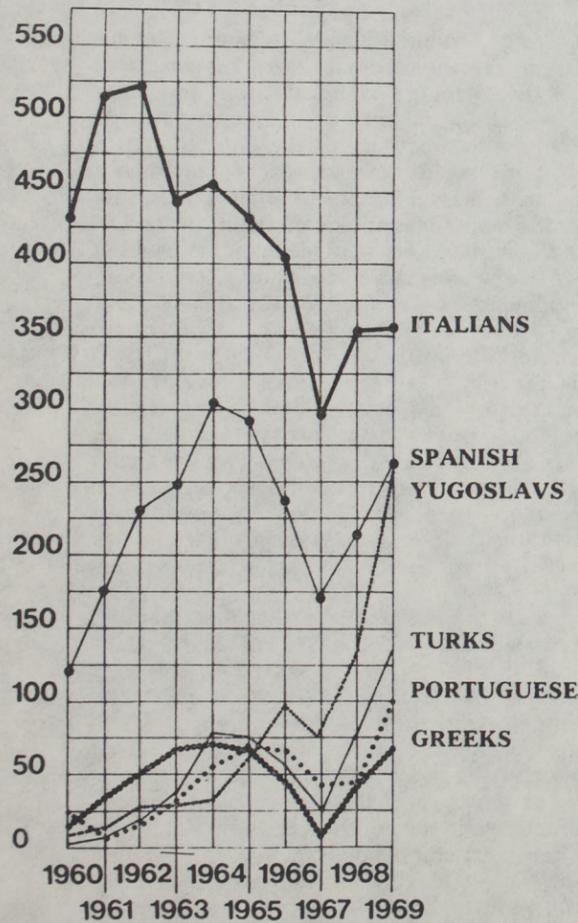
Placing greater reliance on information coming from the unions rather than that from official sources, it can be estimated that in nine Western European countries (Austria, Belgium, France, Great Britain, Holland, Luxembourg, the Federal German Republic, Switzerland and Sweden) the total number of immigrants at present exceeds nine millions, without counting seasonal workers and frontier workers, whose stay in the receiving country only lasts a few weeks or months.

More than nine million wage-earners cannot find work in their country of birth; they seek at all costs to find a job, or to keep the job already found in a more economically advanced country where industry and trade are calling out for labour.

More than nine million wage-earners are an important element of international cooperation on the economic and social levels, and make their contribution to the economic development of the countries which receive them.

Certainly, as far as the hiring of immigrant workers is concerned, there are differences and inequalities among the nine countries mentioned. France with its 3,500,000 workers, the Federal German Republic with its 2,170,000, Britain with its 2,427,000 and Switzerland with 830,000 are at the head of this process of exploitation. But the core of this process is never-

Development (in thousands) of the inter-European migratory movement by nationality, from 1960 to 1969. (Source. Migration — Facts — Figures, No. 11-12, 1970)



theless the same — the buying of labour power at a price below the national level.

WHO BENEFITS FROM IMMIGRATION ?

IT is not because of the generosity of the French, West German, British and other states and employers that doors to immigration have been opened. The causes and the factors which in the last ten years have reinforced the current of emigration towards Western Europe are determined by the law inherent in the capitalist system — *maximum profit*.

What does emigration provide to the capitalist state? The reply to this and other questions has been provided by the French National Office of Immigration, which in its report of April 1967 stated: "Immigration has to a great extent contributed to the revival and expansion of our economy. Jobs which were no longer of interest to Frenchmen, or for which there were not enough applicants, have been taken by foreigners, without any difficulty coming from national workers."

The benefits of this labour for large-scale capital are openly recognised by it with disconcerting cynicism. Here is an extract from *Usine Nouvelle*, the magazine of big French industry:

"It is said that foreigners are worse paid and contribute to lowering the average level of French wages . . . The presence of this immigration gives our economy greater flexibility, since they are very mobile people who accept moves from one enterprise and region to another".

In this connection, in the Federal German Republic, there is an interesting remark in the paper *Welt der Arbeit*, organ of the DGB, of November 19, 1971: "Without immigrant workers there would be no motorways! What would we lack in addition? The approximate calculation is that every worker in our country would have to do about four hours overtime per week if our standard of living were to remain at the same level . . . In North Rhine Westphalia alone, 500,000 jobs would be vacant if the "guest-workers" (Gastarbeiter) were sent home and the annual social product would decline by 12 thousand million deutschmarks. In the building industry, for instance, every German worker would have to work ten more hours per week. Thus, there would be extended hours of work and shorter holidays."

The author concludes in this way: "If, for urgent reasons, the two million jobs filled by immigrants had to be quickly filled by us, this would mean chaos and collapse".

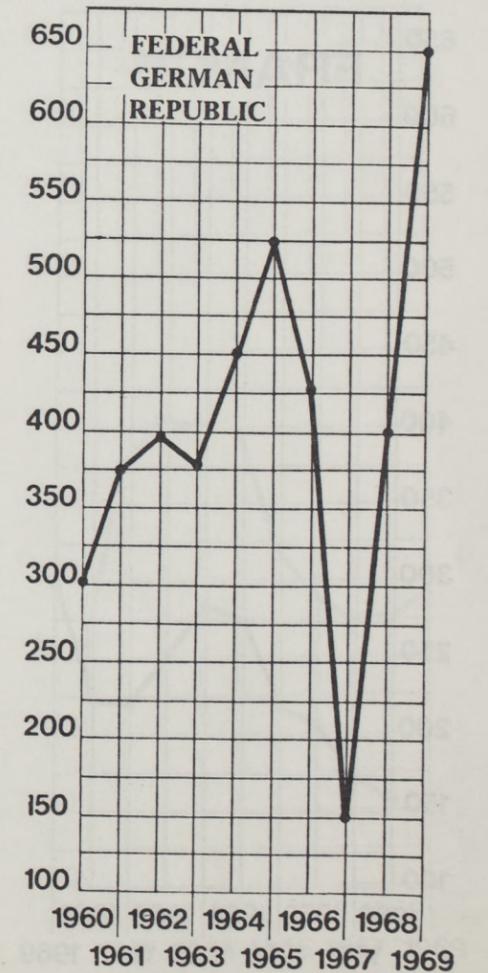
Another example in this field comes from Switzerland.

After the failure of the famous Schwarzenbach initiative, an example of unbridled xenophobia which called for a direct reduction in immigrant labour to 10% of the Swiss population, the Federal Council, under pressure from nationalists and xenophobic trends, nevertheless took the decision to reduce the annual rate of immigration.

As from 1971, only 20,000 immigrants can enter Switzerland each year.

Examining the causes of the recession in different branches of Swiss industry (ready-made clothing, wood, energy, watch-making) during the second quarter of 1971, Norris Willatt noted in the *Financial Times* of October 29, 1971: "Production in a number of branches is greatly reduced by measures limiting the rate of admission of foreign workers. Before these measures were taken, representatives of companies such as Brown-Boveri

The flow (in thousands) of European immigrant workers into the Federal German Republic. The graph illustrates the variation in the situation, particularly the economic recession of 1967. (Source. Migration — Facts — Figures, No. 11-12, 1970)



and Schultzer Brothers, had already shown visitors empty places for which they had no workers. The big chemical and pharmaceutical companies such as Ciba-Geigy and others . . . were complaining of the enormous staff shortage. But with the reduction in the annual rate of immigration, this labour deficit has no chance of being reduced." (re-translated from the French) The consequences for the country? Increased capitalist rationalisation and a flight of capital abroad.

IMMIGRANT labour provides the state with benefits which, in the considerations of the bourgeois technocracy, are presented as being in accordance with the national interest: it economises the expenses of the receiving country on each worker for health, education and, eventually, on vocational education, which is conducted by the country of origin. It should be added that, if the industrialised economy does not bear the expenses of youth, neither does it bear those of old age, since employers return this labour to their countries of origin when it is no longer profitable enough.

Immigrant labour also delays the aging of the population, since it is particularly young and active men who are introduced into the labour market; that is to say, for the employers they possess the double quality of being producers and consumers.

The *Economic Review* of the National Bank of Paris (No. 6, October 1968) notes without any embarrassment: "The foreign wage-earner, if he is healthy and has no children, leaves a not inconsiderable part of his wage with the social security system of the receiving country and thus contributes to a better distribution of the expenses which a high proportion of inactive people places on the community".

In the Federal German Republic, deductions from the wages of immigrants for social purposes in the year 1966 amounted to 1,200 million deutchmarks. But the benefits drawn by immigrants amounted to only 10% of this sum.

The influence of immigration on the rate of increase in the working population in a country with a low birth-rate is a significant fact. In the study of the economic situation in Europe in 1968 (E/EEC/741, UNO Geneva) an important fact is stated: "If net migrations ceased and if the level of activities underwent no variation, the rate of increase of the working population:

—would be greatly reduced in Switzerland (where it would fall from 25%, the figure for the preceding fifteen years, to 8%), in the Federal German Republic (from 18% to 3%), in the United Kingdom (from 13.5% to less than 5%) and in Sweden (from 11% to 2%) These are countries where the natural evolution resulting from the sex and age composition is incapable by itself of maintaining the rates of increase at levels achieved in the past;

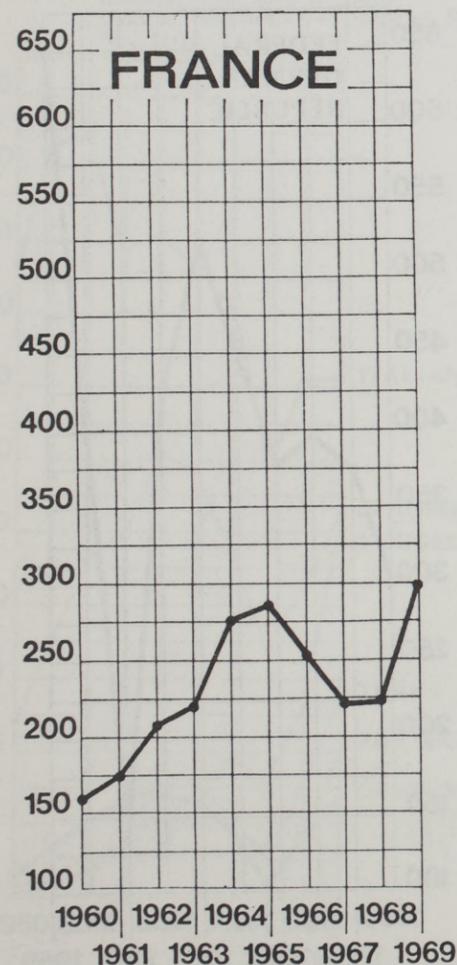
—would remain about stable in Belgium, Denmark and in Norway;

—would rise considerably in Ireland, Austria, Finland and the Netherlands".

LOW IMMIGRANT WAGES AND WAGE SPECULATION

IN the main, immigrants arrive in the receiving country with no contract; they come as tourists. To "regularise" their situation and to obtain the right to stay, they must find a job. When they apply at the door of the factory offering their labour, they are thus ready to accept anything — reduced wages, lower grading and "black" work (employment with no legal obligations).

The flow (in thousands) of European immigrant workers into France during the years 1960-1969. (Source. Migration — Facts — Figures, No. 11-12, 1970)



The majority of immigrants (among workers coming from North Africa it is 70%), have no vocational training. They are thus treated and paid as unskilled labourers receiving the lowest wages, and they do not receive long-service bonuses or other benefits.

As such, they are profitable for the monopolist state and the employers in two ways: on the one hand, they are the least expensive labour and, on the other, they are an involuntary element of pressure on the wages of other workers. The maintenance of immigrant labour in the required numbers is, as was noted by M. Georges Pompidou in 1963 when he was Prime Minister, "a way of creating a certain reduction of tension in the labour market and of resisting social pressure".

In other words, the government and the employers seek to use immigrant labour to introduce the ferment of division among workers. The most powerful weapon in the hands of the government and the employers is competition. In conditions of full employment it is difficult for them to face up to the workers' struggles for wage increases. That is the reason why both the employers and the government are so interested in maintaining a level of unemployment sufficient to put a brake on wage demands.

THEY ARE USEFUL AND NECESSARY BUT WHAT DO THEY GET ?

ALONG with the lowest wages, employers provide them with lamentable social conditions. Above all, the question of accommodation is the problem. Article 6 of ILO Convention 97 dealing with immigrant workers obliges every member of the ILO who has adopted the Convention to ensure that immigrants who are legally in a country should receive a wage which is no less favourable than that applied to its own citizens. Among other obligations, this document mentions accommodation.

But it is sufficient to turn the pages of the newspapers to understand the enormous gap between the obligations undertaken by governments and employers in receiving countries and the housing conditions of immigrant workers.

Here are a few headlines:

"Between the abolition of shanty-towns and decent accommodation for immigrants there is a widening gap".

"Four hundred immigrant workers in a hostel for two hundred beds".

"Oyonnax, the plastics town with 20,000 inhabitants, has 5,000 immigrants living in shanty-towns and hovels".

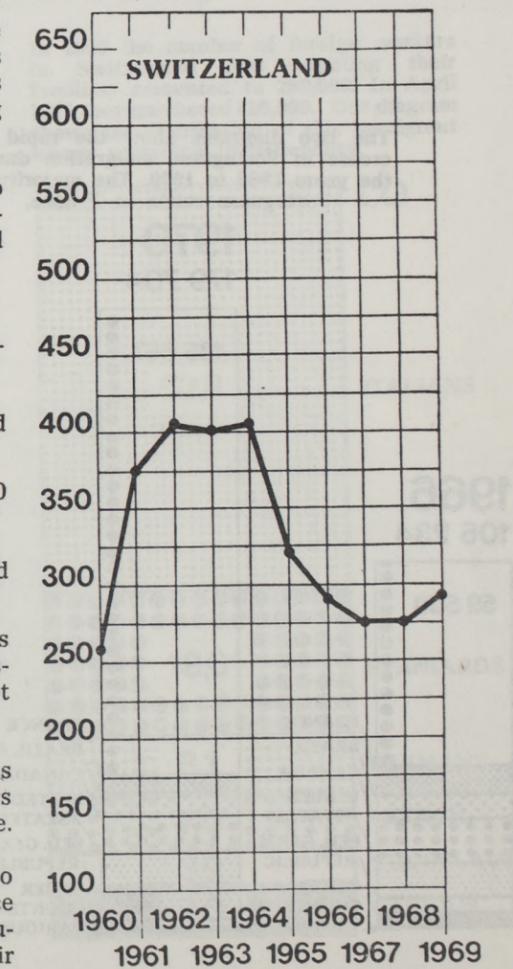
"Algerian workers revolt against their housing conditions". And so on.

Dozens of similar headlines could be quoted from the press of all countries which, at that time, were doing everything possible to bring in foreign workers and which are actually not in a position to keep their former promises.

Immigrant workers are an object of exploitation by "merchants of sleep" who organise "homes" in which the number of lodgers constantly increases while the price of a bed remains the same.

But to pay for a bed does not always mean having a bed to oneself. Quite near Frankfurt-on-Main, last October, the police discovered a hovel occupied by Moroccans who had not "regularised" their stay in the Federal German Republic, nor their

The flow (in thousands) of European immigrant workers into Switzerland during the years 1960 to 1969. (Source. Migration — Facts — Figures, No. 11-12, 1970)



employment in quarries. They were lodged in cabins made of old wood, with two or three persons per bed, some sleeping on the ground. And for this luxurious accommodation they had to pay the boss 25 deutchmarks per week.

In this connection let us quote a few facts on the "home" in the Rue Sissou, Paris 15(e) (*Le Monde* November 24, 1971), opened in 1966 in the premises of a former cardboard factory: "The capacity declared to the Prefecture is two hundred and fifty beds. In fact, since 1970 it has been four hundred beds. Price: an entrance fee of 200 francs and a monthly rent of 70 francs per person. In exchange: straw mattresses or bunk beds on top of one another, cubicles made of open dividing walls, no hot water or lavatories and haphazard heating. To protest against these unhealthy conditions — the risks of fire or epidemic are evident — the tenants have decided to go on a rent strike".

Housing is also subject to racial discrimination. In an article "Immigrants and Housing", printed in the quarterly magazine *Reconciliation* (November 1968), Colin Crouch, an English sociologist, gives three reasons why immigrants into Britain have difficulty in finding accommodation by normal means: "The indifferent economic situation of numbers of them makes the purchase of accommodation difficult. In addition, there is discrimination by house agents, sellers and building societies. The PEP report carried out in 1966 revealed that more than half the property agents taken as a sample practise it, either by preventing immigrants having access to certain blocks of flats, or by warning them that it will be difficult, or even impossible, to fulfil the necessary credit conditions. Generally, this discrimination is supposed to be applied, or in fact is really applied, in the name of the seller.

"Since most local authorities demand several years residence in their area before permitting those living there to put their name on the waiting list for municipal housing, many immigrants cannot benefit from this form of housing . . . In the third sector of the property market — accommodation rented by private individuals — immigrants come up against large-scale discrimination by owners . . . only 11% of private lettings in Greater London are publicly advertised and do not formally exclude coloured immigrants . . . The occupation or the social standing of the immigrant looking for accommodation did not come into the discrimination: it was a simple question of racial segregation".

And the author notes a common fact in the bourgeois societies in receiving countries: "The only places where they can find accommodation are in areas of dilapidated and over-crowded slums which exist in most of our big towns, where, in company with many poor white families, they pay high rents for miserable lodgings. The great majority of immigrants go directly to these districts on arriving in the country. This situation has unfortunate consequences which go beyond the simple misery of living in lamentable conditions. Immigrants come to be associated in the public mind with slums and over-crowding". (Re-translated from the French).

ARE THEY SURE OF THEIR JOBS ?

FOR immigrant workers the threat of a crisis is always a threat to their jobs. If we take into consideration that a large proportion of immigrants have arrived in the receiving country as tourists, with only a temporary resident's card, it can be imagined that the employer who wants to rid himself of labour which he no longer needs, can do so without great difficulty.

When the recession struck the steel industry in Lorraine, the Wendel-Sidelor enterprise planned to abolish more than ten thou-

sand jobs. The first victims were designed to be immigrant workers.

"Two thousand five hundred of them", wrote *Le Monde* in an article on this subject of December 14, 1971, "taken on for six months, may not have this temporary contract renewed. Two thousand other immigrants are used in the steel mill through employment agencies, small firms that place labour such as also exist in the Marseille area; there will be a progressive reduction in this "floating", or to put it in a better way, this "revolving" labour power, over which the unions have no influence . . .

"A big employer of this region, speaking of the fate of these immigrants, used this unfortunate sentence: "It is their role to be sacrificed. In part, we hired them for this. In the event of a crisis, they count less than nationals . . ."

A racist attitude like this, just like racial discrimination in housing, has its roots in the theories preached by the governments of the receiving countries.

Whether it is in France, England or the Federal German Republic, governments try to put the responsibility for unemployment on to immigrant workers. Playing on xenophobia and racialism, they seek to divert the workers from the real causes of unemployment. These causes lie in the private character of the means of production and in the anarchy which stems from capitalist production. In addition, they want to conceal from public opinion the results of the policy of dismantling the national economies within the framework of a division of interests and markets among multi-national companies.

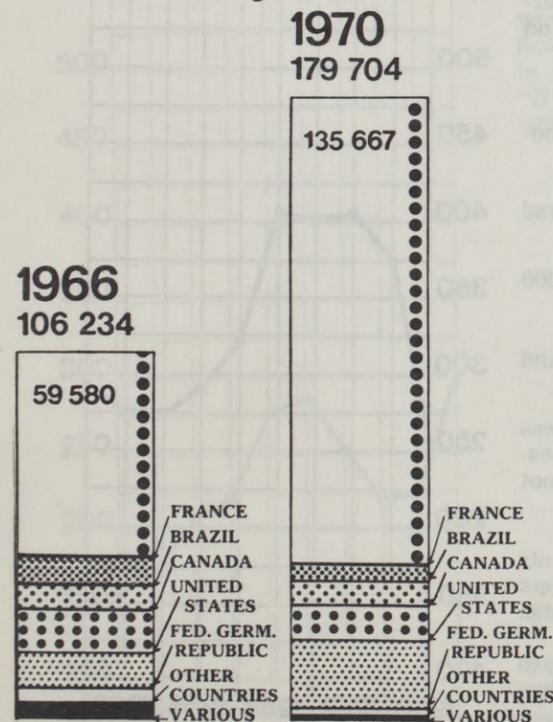
OTHER AREAS OF DISCRIMINATION

AS from the month of February 1972, a new regulation has come into operation. It guarantees to any wage-earner from a state which is a member of the Community equality of treatment in the field of social security. This regulation also affects seasonal and frontier workers. Without wishing to minimise the significance of this gain for migrant workers within the Europe of the six countries, it must all the same be seen that this, in practice, only concerns Italian workers. Workers coming from non-Community countries or from African countries still remain outside this guarantee. Discrimination against these workers is to be seen in family allowances and in pensions (disablement, old age). In addition, they do not benefit, or to a very little extent, from the unemployment benefits which immigrants from the Community enjoy.

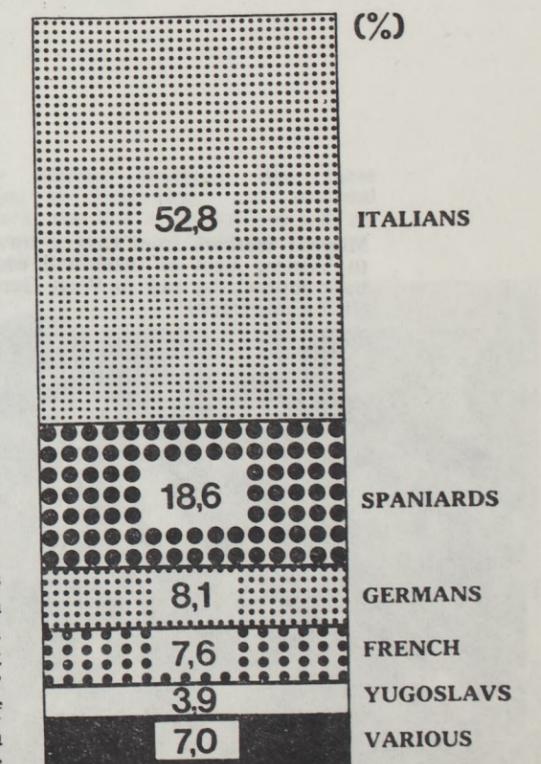
It should not be forgotten that a big number of the immigrants — above all seasonal workers and frontier workers — do not in reality benefit from any social assistance. And we should also remember the "illegal" immigrants. M. Perrod, a lawyer who has many times defended immigrant cases, says, for instance, that "out of 270,000 building firms in France, 100,000 employ "black" labour, that is workers who have no legal, social or health legislation . . ."

Another field is education and vocational training. Employers in the receiving countries are completely indifferent, or are even opposed, to any form, even limited, of education or training. And even state help in this field is very weak. In the report presented by M.J.C. Reverdy to the international employers' seminar, held in Athens in October 1966 under the auspices of the OECD, we find this employer confession: "First of all, a good number of firms consider that it is not in their interests

The two diagrams show the rapid increase in Portuguese emigration during the years 1966 to 1970. The majority of Portuguese settle in France.



In 1959 the number of foreign workers in Switzerland (not counting their families) amounted to 290,000. In April 1971 they numbered 630,000. Our diagram shows the distribution of this immigrant labour according to nationality.





They arrive in an unknown country looking for work; how will they be received . . . ?
(ILO photograph)

to provide foreign workers with training which would contribute to removing them from unskilled positions, for which their immigration is judged to be necessary. Others consider that "training on the job" which any worker receives no matter how uneducated he may be, is enough for the factory worker. The representative of the British employers, P.T. Casey, said during this famous seminar: "Foreign workers must not consider that they have a right to training, whatever may be the level of their knowledge; we should speak of the opportunity for training and not of the right . . ."

To the long list of the areas in which immigrant rights are infringed, can also be added discrimination in regard to trade union liberties and rights (in a number of countries they cannot be elected as shop stewards, nor as members of Works Committees) and civil rights. Legislation in the capitalist countries sees to it that immigrant labour cannot stand alongside the working class in electoral campaigns. Long years of residence are necessary for immigrants before they can obtain civil rights.

To protect immigrants against discrimination is one of the most important concerns of the unions in the receiving countries. In this field in particular, the unions play a big role, and workers can find in them fraternal aid and the necessary class solidarity.

THE POSITION OF THE WFTU IN REGARD TO IMMIGRANT WORKERS

AS a class and mass-based trade union organisation, the WFTU has always been vigilant in regard to problems of immigrant workers, because these problems can never be separated from the general struggle of the international working class.

"Organisations affiliated to the WFTU in the countries concerned are carrying on constant work in favour of immigrant workers", the General Secretary noted at the 3rd session of the WFTU Bureau, "to make an end to discrimination, demand their rights and erect a barrier to every manifestation of xenophobia or racialism, by affirming the solidarity of all workers in the face of exploitation, the employers and the monopoly state.

"But we think that the WFTU should play an even more important role and pay more constant attention to the problems which, on the international level, are raised by the development of immigrant labour . . ."

Before speaking of the future, let us first of all give a brief outline of what characterises the attitude of the WFTU towards immigrant workers.

As early as 1966, the representative of the WFTU at the 21st session of the Economic Commission for Europe of the United Nations stated: "The question of migration, which is under active study by the national trade union organisations, should be included in any labour policy and in any analysis of the economic development of Europe. It is in the understandable interest of the economic and social development of the countries of emigration as well as the countries of immigration that we succeed in establishing a real migration policy. In establishing this policy, as well as in drawing up bilateral inter-governmental agreements, and in control of the flow of immigration, the representative trade union organisations of the workers must participate. Trade union organisations must see that migrants are given the same chances as nationals and discrimination, prejudices and misunderstandings which still exist are eliminated."



Migrant workers from Greece travelling to Venice; most of them will continue their journey by rail to West Germany.
(ILO photograph)

In various documents, resolutions and statements, the WFTU has many times taken a stand for the development of international action in favour of complete equality and of real equality of rights between immigrant and national workers in all social questions and labour problems.

In the *conclusions on social security*, adopted by the 7th World Trade Union Congress, this question was forcibly emphasised: "Particularly important is the demand to strengthen rights for foreign immigrant workers and to guarantee them the strict and full application of the principle of equality of treatment in the field of social security . . . Workers and unions of different countries must undertake united actions in favour of the foreign workers so that national laws guarantee them the right to transfer their contributions to disablement and old age social insurance to their country of origin, benefits which workers in the Common Market countries have already obtained."

In the *Vocational Training Charter*, the chapter on immigrant workers notes as a basic demand the full right of immigrant workers to training and refresher courses, which must be guaranteed for them in immigration agreements or in their work contracts.

"Trade union organisations, without exception," says the Charter, "have the right to defend the interests of migrant workers in all economic bodies and organisations, national, international or regional in regard to vocational training, in which they must be adequately represented. Trade union organisations must, without exception, take part in preparing and concluding bilateral and multilateral agreement and conventions among states in regard to the social rights of these workers."

Starting from the principle that functional literacy is an integral part of vocational training, and that it comes within the general educational system, the WFTU has inserted into the Charter on Functional Literacy¹ many demands affecting immigrant workers.

"Every illiterate immigrant worker", proclaims the Charter, "has the right to functional literacy and to vocational training. This right must be guaranteed in immigration agreements and in collective agreements". If agreements like this do not exist, trade union organisations must take action to see they are established . . . Unions, without exception, have the right to be represented in all economic organisations and bodies, national, regional or international, so as to defend in them the interests of migrant workers in regard to functional literacy and vocational training.

"Through the intermediary of its affiliated organisations, the WFTU defends the interests of immigrant workers within the ILO. It is sufficient to recall the resolution concerning action by the ILO aimed at promoting equality for migrant workers in all social and labour questions.² In point 1d of this resolution the General Conference of the ILO calls on the Governing Body to instruct the Director General "to undertake studies on the nature and extent of discriminatory practices applied against migrant workers, and on ways of remedying them, particularly in regard to employment opportunities, remuneration, living and working conditions, housing, trade union rights, civil liberties and opportunities for using judicial proceedings or other independent bodies for settling differences in connection with labour contracts, as well as studies on the possibilities of prosecuting workers when they return to their countries of origin for having exercised trade union activities, and to ensure the widest distribution of these studies . . ."

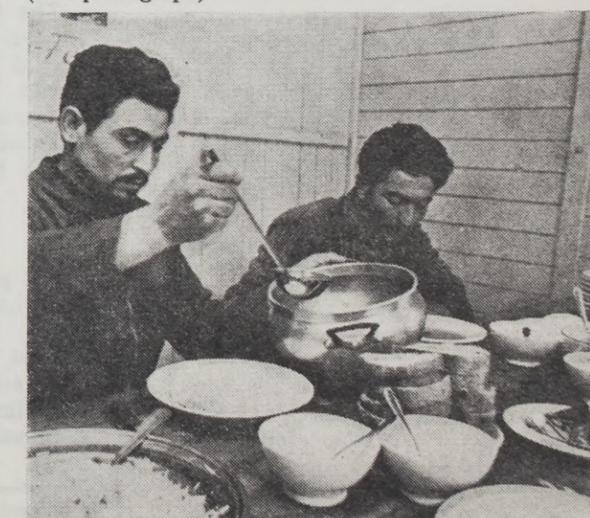
¹ Adopted by the World Trade Union Conference on Functional Literacy, held in Nicosia (Cyprus) from May 6 to 10, 1969.

² Presented under the auspices of the WFTU by the representative of the National Convention of Uruguayan Workers, A. Tamayo, and adopted by the 56th session of the ILO on June 22, 1971.



Contrast under the capitalist regime. Alongside modern blocks of flats are to be found shanty-towns and slums for immigrants.
(ILO photograph)

Many migrant workers, like these Italians in Switzerland, are seasonal workers who live at workplaces and return every winter to their family.
(ILO photograph)





The unhealthiest, least skilled and worst paid jobs are given to immigrants. (Photo. "Option")

THE WFTU PROPOSES COORDINATED ACTION ON THE INTERNATIONAL LEVEL

THE problems of immigrant workers arise for all unions in countries of emigration or immigration. Their solution thus depends to a great extent, if not completely, on united trade union action. Bilateral and multi-lateral meetings and joint action by trade union organisations of different international affiliations demonstrate the existence of many points of agreement, which creates a favourable atmosphere for a serious dialogue on the possibility of advancing further in this field.

The General Secretary of the WFTU has said on this subject: "The time seems to us to have arrived to move towards the organisation of an international meeting on problems raised by migrations of labour. Many bilateral contacts have taken place in recent times on this subject; it is necessary to generalise the experiences and to coordinate activities and actions on the international level . . ."³

The WFTU has always declared itself ready to cooperate with other international centres and national organisations for united trade union action in this important field. Last October, these problems were among those examined by the delegations of the WCL and the WFTU.

The two delegations expressed similar opinions in regard to the lot of immigrant workers and also on certain steps which should be taken to end discrimination and win their legitimate rights. They considered it was desirable and possible to hold an international meeting. The two organisations indicated that they were disposed to cooperate with other trade union organisations to make this meeting a success.

SOLIDARITY IN ACTION

THE position of immigrant workers is deteriorating every year and has become a major concern for the trade union movement. Many trade union organisations, particularly in Western Europe, both in countries of emigration and countries of immigration, are seeking to unify their efforts to achieve aims such as the elimination, both legislatively and in practice, of any discrimination against the worker who emigrates, and the applica-

³ Report presented to the 3rd session of the WFTU Bureau.

tion and control of international standards and Community regulations and directives, as well as participation in drawing up and concluding bilateral agreements which would ensure that the immigrant worker and his family do not feel themselves to be foreigners in the host country.

Unions are opposed to the campaigns of xenophobia and racialism and to the threats and intimidation used against immigrants when they stand alongside their class brothers to struggle jointly against capitalist exploitation and for the workers' legitimate rights.

In this field we can learn lessons from the two big French confederations, the CGT and the CFDT.

Last September, they decided to add to their struggle a third campaign for demands — the struggle against the discrimination which affects immigrant workers. It was the moment when racialism, xenophobia and chauvinism in France underwent a disturbing recrudescence; it was also the moment when the employers, stirred up by the affair of Algerian oil, made Algerian workers the first ready-made victims.

In calling for equal rights with French workers in all fields, the two confederations insisted on the immediate adoption of Bills aimed at putting down provocation, racial hatred and racial discrimination.

They arrived at the conclusion that the source of this discrimination was nothing other than capitalist exploitation. The deep solidarity which unites French and immigrant workers and which is shown in various struggles for claims, corresponds to a community of class interest in the face of the capitalists who are encouraging division by every means, including racialism.

In December 1971, the CFDT and the CGT met together to define their aims and the methods they intended to employ towards the government and the employers so as to obtain absolute equality of rights between immigrant and French workers. One of the initiatives adopted was a week of action and publicity for the rights of immigrant workers. In the joint statement made public on the eve of the week, the two confederations state:

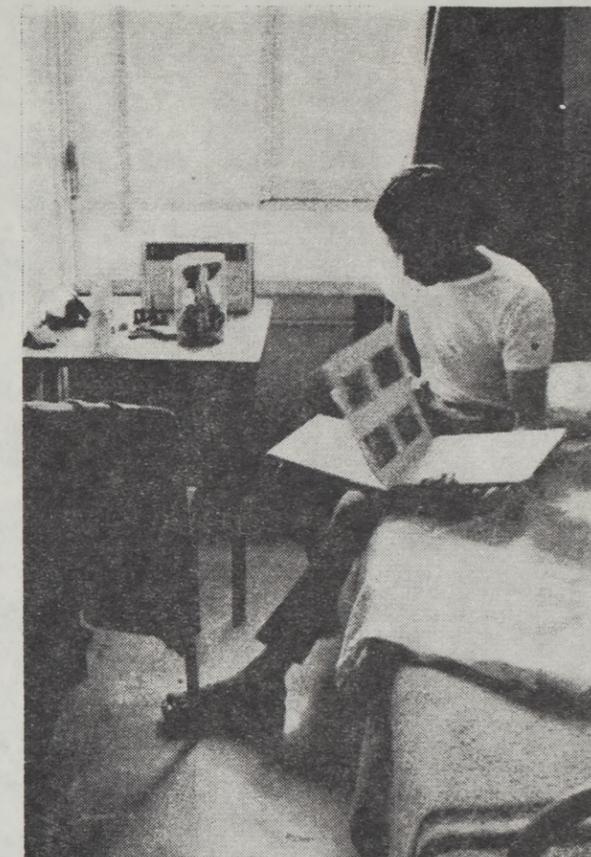
"Immigrant workers are an integral part of the working class and are not competitors of French workers. They intend to place action with and for immigrant workers within the general struggle of all workers."

"Whether it is a question of jobs, purchasing power, living and working conditions or trade union rights, immigrant and French workers are both concerned. Thus, at this moment when the employment situation is continuing to deteriorate and may become still more serious because of the foreseeable consequences of the international monetary crisis, it is the workers as a whole who are threatened . . ."

The two confederations decided to make a joint approach to the Prime Minister and the public authorities to demand real consultation with the representative trade union organisations with the aim of drawing up an immigration policy in conformity with the interests of immigrant and French workers, and those of the country, on the basis of their proposals.

The expression of a deep concern for united action in support of immigrant workers is also to be seen in the proposals contained in the letter of the General Secretary of the CGT, Georges Seguy, to all trade union centres in Western Europe dealing with the employment and immigration situation. The Central Council of Yugoslav Trade Unions, as well as the unions of Africa and the Near and Middle East, countries which provide this labour, have been informed of this initiative.

Noting that the deterioration of the employment situation affects the countries of Western Europe to various degrees, George Seguy says in his letter: "The employment crisis stems from the process of extreme concentration of production on the national and



To leave the shanty-towns for modern flats is the dream of many North African immigrants, a dream that only a few of them can achieve. (ILO photograph)

international levels, and from the development of science and technique. The consequences of the international monetary crisis threaten to make it more serious still in the coming months.

"In this context, the social problem of immigration, like that of the movement of labour, are serious subjects of concern for national centres where there is a high density of immigrant labour.

"It seems to us that these questions of jobs, of the defence of the interests of immigrant workers and of the movement of labour, on which our trade union organisations have particular responsibilities to assume, justify our coming together in order to seek bases for a cooperation which would give our respective actions greater effectiveness."

The need to undertake joint action has also been demonstrated by bilateral meetings between trade union centres from countries of emigration. Here we would recall the meetings between the three Italian trade union centres — the CGIL, the CISL and the UIL, with the Yugoslav Confederation of Trade Unions (September 13 and 14, 1971). The delegations noted the existence of many serious problems because of the non-application of the rights laid down in agreements, which leads to certain inequalities and discrimination. They have decided systematically to strengthen cooperation between the two movements and to act in common on the international level so as better to defend the interests of immigrant workers, particularly when there is a recession or unemployment.

The journal of the DGB, *Welt der Arbeit* of January 5, 1971 has given news of the meeting between the delegations from the DGB and the Yugoslav Federation of Trade Unions. The journal emphasises that the results of this meeting were very positive, particularly in connection with the living and working conditions of Yugoslav workers employed in the Federal German Republic. Joint efforts must be made so that equal rights between Yugoslav workers and their German colleagues become a reality, and in order that protection of their rights and their access to social security shall be assured.

Among other initiatives, there should again be mentioned the meeting between the Italian and Swiss unions and the Yugoslav unions with the General Confederation of Algerian Workers, all these talks having the theme of defending the rights of immigrant workers.

UNITY — THE GUARANTEE OF SUCCESS

THE development of bilateral and multilateral relations is obvious proof that the unions are fully aware, both of the difficulties that have to be solved and the fact that no trade union organisation can obtain the desired results by acting alone against this infernal machine of exploitation — the multi-national companies, the national monopolies and the government in the system of state monopoly capitalism.

Unity, solidarity and joint actions are necessary in the struggle against tendencies toward racialism, xenophobia and terrorism against immigrant workers; they will be necessary in the great battle of the unions against the very roots of exploitation of the workers, against the social system of capitalism.

In this important field of the struggle for the rights of the working class represented by the struggle for the rights of immigrant workers, big steps forward have been taken during the past year.

It is in the interest of the workers of all countries to make still more progress through concerted action by all means and all regional and international trade union organisations.

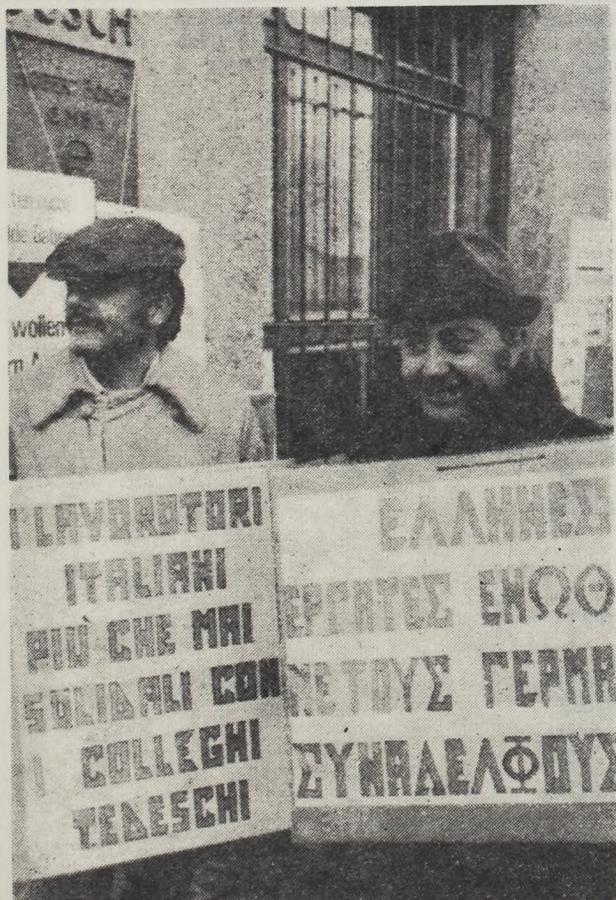
In the region of North Wurtemberg and North Baden, anonymous leaflets were distributed before the metalworkers' strike. Counting on the immigrants' fear of losing their job, the authors sought to put them on their guard against the so-called dangers of the class struggle. Here are a few extracts from the "advice" which the agents of the employers offered to immigrants :

"Decide against the strike in full consciousness and responsibility. Otherwise it will be the beginning of a labour dispute which could cost you dearly."

"Don't allow yourselves to be deceived by radical forces."

"Illegal actions can lead to your dismissal and loss of your job in Germany."

The reaction of immigrant workers is shown in our photograph. Two workers, one Italian and the other Greek, in front of the Bosch factory in Stuttgart, show in their own languages that the Italian and Greek workers are more solid than ever in support of the striking German workers.





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

THE CASE AGAINST THE IMMIGRATION LAWS

by Richard Ebeling

*Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed to me,
I lift my lamp beside the golden door!*

—Emma Lazarus

Economic privilege is never so visible as it is during periods of crisis and depression. What are merely lone voices crying for protection from the rigors of the market-place during normal times, becomes a chorus of special interests begging for high tariffs and import quotas to camouflage their inefficiencies. Rarely has the state turned a deaf ear to their pleas. More often than not, reason and consumer interest have failed in their attempt to withstand the pressure of those who have striven for gain through government intervention.

"The Protectionist creed rises like a weed in every soil," lamented the Classical economist Walter Bagehot over a hundred years ago. "Every nation wishes prosperity for some conspicuous industry. At what cost to the consumer, by what hardship to less conspicuous industries, that prosperity is obtained, it does not care . . . the visible picture of the smoking chimney absorbs the whole mind."

The economic recession of the past few years has revived the ideology of protectionism once again. The steel industry won limitations on the importation of European and Japanese steel by ranting about "dumping." American farmers mass at the Mexican border chanting incantations to ward off the flow of cheap food from south of the Rio Grande. And the trade unions conjure up the image of millions of unemployed workers if protectionist policies are not enacted to "save" American jobs.

All of these myths have been answered and demolished hundreds of times over. In every case logic has refuted the conclusions of the protectionist rationale. And in every instance it has been demonstrated that the purpose of the restrictions were to preserve the economic status of some while victimizing others.

The most invidious form of protectionism, however, does not pertain to the barriers placed in the way of the free movement of goods. As harmful and as illogical as these interventions are, none cause the human hardship and misery that immigration restrictions impose.

The importance of the principle of *laissez-passer* was understood early in American history. It was clearly enunciated by Thomas Jefferson, when he insisted upon " . . . the natural right which all men have of relinquishing the country in which birth or other accident may have thrown them, and seeking subsistence and happiness wheresoever they may be able, or may hope to find them."

Leaving behind poverty, despotism, war and conscription, millions came to the American shores, to build "a nation of immigrants." Between 1800 and 1840, about 800,000 immigrants arrived in the United States, of whom 750,000 remained in America. And from the middle of the 19th century until the 1930s, gross immigration tended to exceed 200,000 per year (with the number exceeding 1,000,000 per year on six occasions).

Of course, this inflow of immigrants was not without opposition. There were those who feared the "alien" element and the "impurities" that were "polluting" the American soil. In 1903, John R. Commons, a leader of the American Institutionalists, begged for limitations on the immigration of particular ethnic groups. "Our democratic theories and forms of government were fashioned by but one of the many races and peoples," Commons insisted.

America was not the child of one racial or cultural strain, but rather the offspring of diversity and change. America developed precisely because of its multicultural fluidity, constantly fed by newcomers.

"That race, the so-called Anglo-Saxon, developed them out of its own insular experience unhampered by inroads of alien stock."

But arguments such as Commons had already been shown the contempt they deserved during the heyday of the Know-Nothing Party in the mid-19th century. In 1855, Abraham Lincoln expressed his disgust with this "Americanist" philosophy. "When the Know-Nothings get control," Lincoln said, "it [the Declaration of Independence] will read 'all men are created equal *except negroes and foreigners and catholics.*' When it comes to this, I should prefer emigrating to some country where they make no pretense of loving liberty—to Russia, for instance, where despotism can be taken pure, and without the basic alloy of hypocrisy . . ."

The nation of immigrants

Now, in fact, it is difficult to see what exactly that American "stock" was that Commons and others were so concerned about preserving and protecting. To the contrary, America's history has been one of ever-new faces and peoples. America *has* truly been a nation of immigrants.

In the 1830s, 500,000 new arrivals touched upon American soil. In the 1840s, that number increased to 1.5 million, with an additional 2.6 million added in the 1850s. By the turn of the century, ten million people of foreign birth were living in the United States. And out of a total U.S. population of slightly over 76 million, 26 million were the children of foreign-born parents.

During the period 1900-1920, approximately 13.5 million more immigrants arrived in America. It was only the post-World War I hysteria about foreign subversives

and the influence of vested interests that brought that movement to an end. As the historian Charles Beard aptly put it, "The gates of the once wide-open 'asylum for the oppressed of all lands' had been brought together with a bang . . ."

In the period 1931 to 1945, only 900,000 new people were allowed entrance. In the post-World War II era, the fear of foreigners dampened slightly and 4.4 million were allowed to enter the country between 1945 and 1965.

This multitude of humanity, however, had not been the product of one culture, but of many. In vast numbers they came from Britain, Ireland, Germany, Italy, the Balkans, Russia, Mexico and Asia. America was not the child of one racial or cultural strain, but rather the offspring of diversity and change. Not bound by one cultural heritage or one concept of social strata, America developed precisely because of its multicultural fluidity—constantly fed by newcomers supplying fresh spirit and potential.

America became a wide-open—yes, let's not be afraid to use that cliché—"land of opportunity." It was clearly seen by the Italian classical liberal Guglielmo Ferrero. Writing at the turn of the century, he gave

thanks to the almost complete lack of intellectual protectionism—that is, of academical degrees which ensure the monopoly of certain professions—thanks, in consequence to the lack of a government *curriculum* of unprofitable studies, America is exempt from an intellectual proletariat and from the *declasses*, the chronic disease of the middle classes in Europe. Let him who can do a thing well step forward and do it, no one will question *where* he learnt it: such is the degree required of an American engineer, barrister, clerk, or employee.

At the heart of the anti-immigration sentiment, however, has been the belief that the newcomers glut the labor market, lower the level of wages and rain economic misery upon the domestic population. The racist elements merely serve as the convenient method of separating "them" from "us." This is most obviously seen in the case of the Chinese. Within two years of the California gold discoveries in the late 1840s, at least 25,000 Chinese had come across the Pacific to serve as the manpower in the gold fields and mines. The number of Chinese brought over soon increased with the building of the western railroads. Comprising nine percent of California's population between 1860 and 1880, the Chinese were accused of lowering the wages of white workers. The Caucasian clamors reached hysteria levels after 1869, with the completion of the Union Pacific Railroad. With *European-born* workers often taking the lead, the anti-Chinese feeling resulted in riots, plundering and murder.

In 1882 (four years before the Statue of Liberty was given to the United States), the first immigration laws were imposed upon the Chinese. From 40,000 Chinese immigrants in 1882, the number tumbled to ten in 1887. Even to stay in the United States every Chinese required the sworn testimony of a white man. Writing in a recent issue of *Society*, Betty Lee Sung explained that "before 1943 Chinese immigrants were not permitted to become citizens no matter how long they had resided in this country. . . . They were forbidden by the Alien Land Acts to own land.

... They were also denied the right to intermarry in many western states."

More recently, the unfair labor competition arguments have been directed against the potential Mexican immigrant (though more generally to all immigrants). With a force of 9,600 men and a budget of \$250 million, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) every year sends its men scurrying along the U.S.-Mexican border rounding up "illegals" and sending them back to a Mexican economy that suffers from high inflation and an unemployment rate of 20 to 30 percent. In 1973, the INS deported 655,928 of these "aliens"; in 1974 788,145; in 1975, 766,600; and in 1977, the number exceeded one million.

However, for every one potential immigrant captured at the border, the INS admits three to five others escape detection and join the estimated seven to 12 million illegal aliens already residing in the United States.

Economic consequences

Thus the logical step is to ask what exactly are the economic consequences that follow from the free flow of people from one geographical area to another. Let us first abstract from the rest of the world and inquire into how a labor force is distributed within our own country.

Within America, freedom of trade and freedom of movement are established principles. At any given moment in time, consumers are spending their income in a manner that reflects their relative preferences for various goods and services sold on the market. In turn, producers are purchasing various factors of production—including labor—in the anticipation that the costs incurred in hiring them will be compensated when their products are sold on the market. Workers, in turn, look for the best job opportunities that they can find, based upon their view of which employers are offering the highest wages and best working conditions, given the particular skills that they possess.

Producers establish their businesses in various parts of America based upon, among other things, the location of raw materials necessary for their production activities and the transportation costs that must be paid to get the products to their markets. The laborers will, to the extent that they are willing and able to bear the cost of moving from one location to another, move from one job to another in such a way that the same wage rate tends to be paid in all parts of the country for each of the respective types of labor. (Unions, the cost of living, welfare benefits, unemployment insurance, and other such differences, of course, might lead people to act differently.)

Suppose there occurs an increase in the demand for the products produced in a particular part of America—in California, for instance—and a decrease in the demand for products made in, say, New York. The anticipation of a higher selling price for their products will induce these California producers to offer higher wages, to attract more workers into their industries. On the other hand, the fall in the demand for New York products will result in those producers offering wages lower than before. The fall in New

York wages rates will create an incentive for *some* of those workers to migrate to California where higher wages are now available. As more and more workers move to California, the increase in the labor supply will begin to lower California wages. And as more and more workers leave New York, the decrease in the labor supply will raise New York wages. The process will come to an end when the wages received in New York and California are roughly equivalent and the incentive for migration has disappeared.

Of course, there will be some individuals who, because of nonmonetary attachments to their hometown or home state, may choose not to move when a change in wage rates occurs between two locations. Thus, the people residing near Lake Tahoe may decide to remain there even though higher wages could be received somewhere else. In turn, some people may choose to move from somewhere else without monetary incentives; a desired change in climate or a disapproval of the ideas or morals of the people around them may stimulate immigration to another part of America.

Immigration to California due to these nonmonetary reasons will tend to cause lower wages there. But it will, on the other hand, set off market forces to correct the imbalance. Other areas of America will be offering wages

Workers look for the best job opportunity that they can find, based on their view of which employers are offering the highest wages and best working conditions, given the particular skills that they possess.

that now are higher than in California. For some residents of California, this will act as an incentive to move elsewhere, until wages are once again adjusted throughout America.

The same principles apply when the geographical area being considered incorporates more than one country. This is most clearly seen when we consider the case of Mexico and the United States. Prior to the U.S. Immigration Act of 1924, movement between the two countries was completely open. A major emigration from Mexico occurred during the decade 1910-1919. The initial cause was the extreme violence in Mexico during that country's revolutionary war. However, labor shortages (particularly in agriculture) began to develop once the United States entered the First World War. In 1910, 17,760 Mexicans moved into the United States. In 1919, the number increased to 28,844 new arrivals. It peaked in 1923, with the movement of 62,709 Mexicans to areas north of the Rio

Grande. But the 1924 immigration act soon brought this torrent to a halt, and by 1933 only 1,000 Mexicans were being allowed into the United States each year. Under the 1968 immigration act, only 120,000 people from the Western Hemisphere were allowed into the United States annually, with Mexico being allowed a maximum of 40,000 out of that total. (Of course, the restrictions on free movement have not been totally the fault of the United States. Under Article 123 of the 1917 Mexican constitution, the unregulated hiring of Mexican citizens by foreign nations had been prohibited.)

The barriers placed in the way of free immigration have prevented the adjustment of wage rates between the United States and Mexico. Under *laissez-passer*, the discrepancy between what was paid for one type of labor in the United States and what was received for same type of labor in Mexico would act as an incentive for workers to move, until economic adjustments were made. Instead, this rigidity imposed on the market by the governments concerned has caused the wage differentials to widen more and more.

In 1976, the average hourly wage for agricultural labor in the United States was \$2.66; in Mexico, the average hourly wage in the agricultural industry was equivalent to \$0.45. In 1977, U.S. manufacturing industries paid, on the

Some 32 "exclusion" categories expressly forbid individuals with particular talents from residing in the United States—lumping physicians with prostitutes.

average, \$5.65 an hour; in Mexico, the equivalent wage was \$1.58 per hour. The hourly average wage for American construction workers in 1974 was \$6.54; in Mexico, it was \$0.84 an hour. In 1973, in the United States, the average hourly salary on the principal railroads was \$5.40 (on local railroads and bus lines it averaged \$3.97 an hour); in Mexico, the equivalent wage rate in the transportation industry was \$0.94 an hour.

While Mexican immigrants in the United States may earn less than the national average in these areas, they will still earn much more than they would have in Mexico.

It is not surprising, then, that many Mexican workers desire to immigrate to the United States. And what would be the terrible consequences if the gates were opened to these Mexicans? In those industries in the American economy that would be affected by the larger labor supply, a lowering of wage rates would occur. Some of the workers in those industries might have to shift to work in other established firms. However, there exist alternative possibilities as well. Since labor, like any other commodity, is a scarce resource, the larger labor force in America

could enable a greater intensification of the division of labor—thus raising the productivity of workers in general. The larger supply of workers would also enable the application of labor towards the production of goods and services that previously could not be supplied at all because of the scarcity of hands. As Stephen Chapman points out in his excellent article "Let the Aliens In," in *The Washington Monthly* (July-August 1977):

Many of the jobs held by illegal aliens are the kind that few Americans would accept, regardless of their skills. A California businessman who hires illegals told *New West* magazine, "If you pulled out every illegal alien in Los Angeles at midnight tonight, you would wake up tomorrow morning in a town without busboys, maids, or parking-lot attendants."

Chapman cites a case in San Diego in which the State Human Resources Agency could not fill 2,154 jobs "made available by the deportation of illegal workers."

Privilege vs. freedom

The flexibility of wage rates—a necessary ingredient for a stable and progressive economy—has been something vehemently resisted by the trade unions. Their opposition to free immigration has always been a key element in their drive for union privileges. "The oft-referred to 'miracle' of the high wages in the United States and Australia," Ludwig von Mises has observed, "may be explained simply by the policy of trying to prevent a new immigration, . . . that the unions in all those countries which have more favorable conditions of production, relatively fewer workers and thus higher wages, seek to prevent an influx of workers from less favored lands. . . ."

At the turn of the century, for example, Samuel Gompers insisted that "as these immigrants flooded basic industries they threatened to destroy our standards." Gompers proudly added that "as a nation we began to consider policies of regulation. The labor movement was among the first organizations to urge such policies. . . ."

The restrictions pertain, however, not only to unskilled labor and farm workers, but to all types of skilled labor, as well. In fact, there are 32 "exclusion" categories expressly forbidding individuals with particular talents from residing and working in the United States. Pressure from the American medical profession has resulted in foreign medical graduates being placed on that restriction list. Laurier B. McDonald, a Texas lawyer long involved with illegal alien cases, has pointed out that existing law "places physicians in the same category as prostitutes, thieves, idiots and subversives."

The immigration laws have both seen and unseen consequences. The obvious effects are evident all around the world. They are seen in the state of starvation that is the human condition in dozens of countries; they are seen in the cardboard hovels that many Mexicans call "home," in the area surrounding Tijuana and Ensenada; they are seen on the faces of the desperate individuals who time and time again make the vain attempt to enter the United States—both legally and illegally; and they are seen in the mass attempts to escape from various despotisms and in th

bickerings among nations over who will have to take these refugees—most recently in the cases of the Ugandan Asians, and with the Vietnamese and Cambodians.

The unseen burden of immigration laws falls upon those who illegally reside in the United States. As Stephen Chapman wrote, in his *Washington Monthly* article:

The illegal alien's outlaw status undercuts his bargaining power and compels him to accept nearly anything his employer chooses to inflict on him, from low pay to long hours to poor working conditions. . . . If he is maltreated, defrauded, or injured on the job, he is not likely to seek legal redress. All the pressures on the illegal worker encourage him to do what he's told, take whatever pay he's given and keep his mouth shut. . . . If he complains, his employer can fire him or even have him arrested by the INS.

While it is the trade union and professional association members who benefit from the barriers that prevent the arrival of new competition, the immigration laws rebound to the advantage of those business firms that hire the illegal aliens once they have entered the country. In the grasp of these employers is a pool of labor ripe for economic exploitation. The life of the illegal aliens become a nightmare of fear—fear of the demands of the employers on one side and the fear of apprehension by the state on the other. The incentive for exploiting these workers is reinforced by the laws that make it a felony to be an illegal alien, but not to hire one.

Economic reality and basic human justice, therefore, call for the immediate removal of all immigration and emigration restrictions.

One might object that there still remains the problem of the welfare state. Just as the differential in welfare payments between various states has enticed a migration of people to the high-paying welfare areas in America, the same process might occur among nations. But surely this is more an argument against the continuance of the welfare state itself than against the free flow of people. The existence of one set of statist impositions should not be the rationale for imposing yet another set.

Moreover, as Chapman has pointed out, the picture of the illegal alien as a welfare-grasping bum is viciously unjust: "Aliens, like most immigrants, generally appear eager to accept work of any kind because of the social stigma they attach to not working, the improvement it represents over jobs in their native countries, and the hope of advancement." Moreover, a Department of Labor study by David North and Marion Houston reported the following in 1976:

This group of illegal alien workers were significantly more likely to have participated in tax-paying systems (many of which are automatic) than to have used tax-supported programs . . . while 77 percent of the study group reported that they had had social security taxes and 73 percent reported that they had federal income taxes withheld. Only 27 percent used hospitals or clinics, four per cent collected one or more weeks of unemployment insurance, four percent had children in U.S. schools, one percent secured food stamps, and .5 percent secured welfare payments.

In San Diego County, the best estimates are that the county's cost in "social services" to illegal aliens is about \$2

million, while the aliens' taxes amount to more than \$48 million. To this, Chapman appropriately responds: "Instead of aliens being a burden to the rest of us, it's the rest of us who are a burden to the aliens."

Even those who should know better fall into the collectivist snares. In a letter to the *London Times* on February 11, 1978, Professor Friedrich A. Hayek—himself an immigrant several times in his life—praised the British Conservative leader, Margaret Thatcher, for her call for stringent immigration controls. "While I look forward, as

In San Diego County, the best estimates are that social services to illegal aliens cost about \$2 million, while the aliens' taxes amount to more than \$48 million.

an ultimate ideal, to a state of affairs in which national boundaries have ceased to be obstacles to the free movement of men," Hayek declared, "I believe that within any period with which we can now be concerned, any attempt to realize it would lead to a revival of strong nationalist sentiments."

The problem facing the world is not the *possibility* of a revival of nationalism and other collectivist atavisms, but rather that they *already* dominate all social thought and policy. We cannot passively wait for the day when mankind will somehow "naturally" evolve out of collectivism. It must be resisted and abolished—and that includes the abolition of immigration barriers and the human suffering that they cause.

We must embrace the philosophy expressed by the French classical liberal, Emile Levasseur:

As a free and unfettered commercial intercourse between two countries is advantageous to both, for by the exchange of their commodities the producer and the consumer are both benefited, so also must the unrestricted circulation of the human race be advantageous to all countries concerned . . . it . . . must be viewed in the more comprehensive and enlightened scope of the enormous benefits it confers upon the human race at large.

If human liberty is to be complete, *laissez-faire*, the freedom to trade, must be at long last matched by *laissez-passer*, the freedom to move. The standard of the free society must once again be raised high, and America must once more become, as it was in the beginning, the "nation of immigrants," and the land of individual liberty. ●

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Plight of Immigrant Workers in the U.S.A.

Soledad Alatorre

ALL U.S. workers are suffering deeply from the present economic crisis that is shaking the U.S.A. But, as always, under the capitalist economic order those least able to exist and defend themselves are those that are the hardest hit. In this instance, it is the immigrant workers, with or without visas, non-white workers, workers that are not unionized and of course women workers. These are the most vulnerable in the face of the growing and persistent unemployment, rampant inflation and the cut-backs in social services to those in need, that characterize the present crisis in the United States.

Immigrant workers not only are especially vulnerable to the usual and normal vicissitudes of these contractions in economic activity but they are also being more acutely victimized and made scapegoats for the joblessness and suffering of millions of native and permanent resident workers. This is especially so as this crisis is of major dimensions and of a unique type (in the sense that with growing mass unemployment, there is a persistent inflation and increasing costs). The practice of finding scapegoats and making the victims the culprits have been a U.S. pastime in the arena of politics for more than 100 years. The campaign of calumny, defamation and obloquy directed against immigrant workers and primarily against Mexican and other Latin American immigrants has become more strident and reached new levels in infamy in radio, television, press and other forms of public media. It is fanned by a new breed of "nativist" racists that has emerged in this country. In some areas it has provoked physical violence against immigrant workers on the streets and against their children in the schools and public playgrounds.

Immigrant workers are being continually maligned in the public media as causing increased public assistance costs, increased taxes, unemployment, contributing to the deficit in the international balance of payments of our trade, of bringing in diseases, of failing to pay their taxes, of causing the rise in prostitution and of drug traffic. Every ill and evil that is inherent in our capitalist society is now attributed to immigrant workers and their families. The principle tactic used by these apologists and defenders of the system is to try not to place the blame for growing unemployment upon the machinations of the multinational corporations, the obstinate refusal of the Nixon and

now Ford administrations to take the necessary and effective measures needed for the creation of new jobs, and, of course, they never mention the inherent cyclical and unstable nature of capitalism.

HARASSMENT OF IMMIGRANT WORKERS

Immigrant workers actually pay a higher proportion of taxes. All taxes that come off of payroll cheques are deducted from their own cheques. They pay all the same sales, liquor, gasoline, tobacco and gasoline taxes that everyone else pays. In the exorbitantly high rents they pay for slum-type of crowded dwellings, they also pay the landlords property taxes which are included in the monthly rents. They cannot receive government welfare assistance, cannot collect unemployment insurance, Social Security benefits, nor do they qualify for the many government subsidies such as Ford Stamps, scholarships, disability and rehabilitation payments even though they contribute weekly to these funds and insurances. When their spouses or U.S.-born children contract indebtedness for these services in hospitals or in public assistance, these immigrant families must pay every single cent that the government institutions wish to charge them for the services (which are charged on the basis of their being 'non-residents') before they can receive a permanent resident visa. Thus the pay-back of these county government-provided services by immigrant workers and their families is much higher than by all other workers or families who receive these so-called "public charge" benefits.

The hated "MIGRA" and Border Patrol that persecute immigrant workers not only along the U.S.-Mexico border but throughout the entire country has of late turned itself to the most blatantly discriminatory harassment of all brown, Spanish-looking persons and persons that appear to them to be, or might be, immigrants, in the streets, churches, stores, restaurants, bus-stops and social centres of our "barrios" and "colonias"). They stop the automobile traffic, they go into our homes, they go into the factories in the industrial centres and parks and take our people away without giving us the "Due Process" rights of the U.S. Constitution, without search or arrest warrants. They have been known to abuse our young women, to extort and blackmail persons without visas. Our children who live here but have no visas are being de-

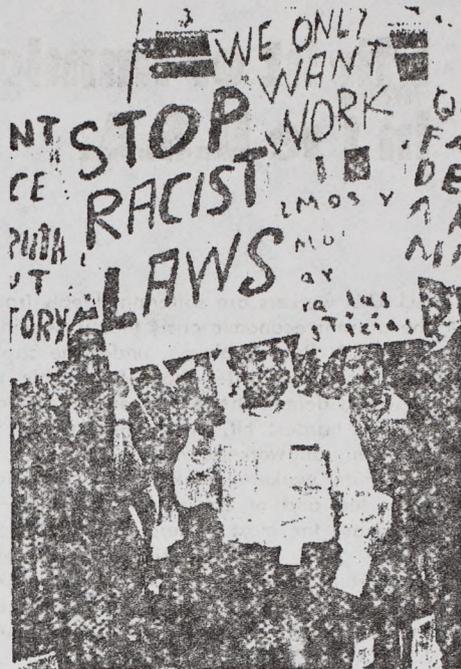
nied matriculation in the public schools and even forced to turn in their parents if they do not have visas. The mass deportations go on every single day dividing families and leaving hundreds of thousands of U.S.-born persons without their parents or forced to depart themselves. The more than 15,000,000 Mexican, Puerto Rican and other Latin Americans in the U.S.A. bear their mark of inferiority in their brown skin, speech and surname as the Jews in Hitler's Germany were forced to bear it in their yellow stars.

In large "colonia" towns of California such as San Fernando, Pacoima, Oxnard, Chino and many others in California, in Chicago, in Texas, Colorado and many other states in the nation, the "MIGRA" stops every "Latin-looking" person on the streets, in the cars and on the buses on a daily basis. These "wide-brush" sweeps by government agents against our entire people under the pretext of looking for persons who might not have a visa have made a mockery of the so-called "American Freedoms For All".

GESTAPO-TYPE ACTIVITIES

Deportations of Mexican and other Latin Americans in the year 1975 reached close to the one million mark. The mass harassment of Mexican, Puerto Rican and other Spanish-speaking peoples in the U.S.A., whether they be native-born, have visas or do not have them, has reached such critical proportions that on 29 September 1975, the major national civic organizations of the Spanish-speaking people in the United States forced, through their protests, upon the U.S. Commissioner for Immigration, General Leonard Chapman to admit and concede that his agents would have to stop the "Gestapo-type" activities in the Mexican and other Spanish-speaking communities. The Mexican and Puerto Rican Federal Congressmen and Senators from New York and the Southwestern states as well as the Governors of the states of New Mexico and Arizona, both of whom are of Mexican ancestry, have begun to speak out more energetically about the growing repression of all Latin Americans through deportations and the mass detentions. The state Governor of Arizona, Raul Castro, has complained that even he has been stopped and "shaken-up" by the U.S. Immigration agents.

The blatantly anti-worker character of this constant harassment is brought out in the fact that the immigration agents are always "raiding" those plants and work-sites or farms that are being organized by trade unions. In September, 1975, the immigration agents not only harassed the workers that are members of the United Farmworkers Union, AFL-CIO, at the giant Mapes Vegetable Produce Ranch on the Colorado River at Blythe, California at the very



A march by the immigrant workers in the U.S.A. against discrimination and racist laws

Photo by Mark Day

moment when they were conducting an election to determine whether their union or the grower-dominated Teamsters Union should represent the workers, but the immigration agents also arrested the five minor children of Brother Jose Galvan, with ages ranging from two to twelve years for deportation to Mexico. This in spite of the fact that both parents are permanent residents and the grand-parents are also U.S. residents. The children have no one in Mexico to care for them. All this is typically the way immigration agents work.

ILLEGAL SEARCHES AND DEPORTATIONS

At the Sylmar, California plant in the San Fernando Valley of the giant furniture conglomerate known as the Rowe Furniture Co., Bauman-Weitz Division, the Immigration Service in collusion with the management walked freely and openly into the plant without search or arrest warrants and searched all of the workers taking more than sixty of them immediately to Mexico. This took place on the 26 September 1975, right when the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union was conducting an organization drive in several plants of this firm in the area. On 10 October 1975, at the Flintridge China plant of the Franciscan Pottery Corporation in Pasadena the same operation took place. The agents took nearly one hundred members of the Tile and Ceramic Workers Union, AFL-CIO, several of whom are U.S.-born workers with

every right to stay inviolate in the country, and deported them immediately to Mexico.

One has to understand that these types of actions described above occur almost on a daily basis in plant after plant and in town after town throughout the length and breadth of the nation and not only in the Southwestern states where there is a large concentration of Mexican people. The same is taking place in the greater New York and Eastern seaboard manufacturing towns and in Chicago and the mid-western manufacturing towns where large numbers of Puerto Ricans, Dominicans, Haitians and other Caribbean Americans work. The irony of this is that the people from the Caribbean area to a great extent have been made into economic refugees by the total penetration and domination of their home countries' economies by the rapacious multinational corporations who have taken the best lands, forests, beaches and acquired other facilities in those countries for exploiting them for immediate and highest profits for themselves.

POWER OF MULTINATIONALS

These consequences of U.S. imperialist operations in Latin America at the present time are not too dissimilar to the total control over emigration and immigration that companies exercised in the centuries of the colonial monarchies and colonizing companies exercised in the centuries of colonisation and mercantile capitalism. Then they made use of slavery, indentured servitude, expulsion and banishment as well as false propaganda in order to lure workers and immigrants. Today with the awesome domination of whole economies and politics of entire nations and even of whole regions of continents, these multinational companies can determine the emigration and immigration of millions of people. They thus guarantee to their operations abroad and at home a permanent and ample ready reserve labour pool that they totally control and manipulate at their every whim for the highest of profits.

The mass of U.S. workers have as yet not been able to see all this as clearly as they could and eventually will. The media, the political establishment and the collaborationist policies of too many of the top labour leaders in the U.S. unions see to it that organized workers should not come to understand that the exploitation to such an inhuman degree of the workers and peoples of the so-called "under-developed" countries and of the immigrant workers inside the United States from those very countries as well as of non-white workers and women workers, results in setting back or even impeding the progress and attaining of much needed guarantees and security for native and permanent resident white and male workers themselves.

RACIST AND ANTI-WORKER HYSTERIA

In spite of the growing racist and anti-worker hysteria that is directed against immigrant workers in the U.S.A., there are growing signs that important forces are beginning to assess correctly the nature of the immigration of workers to the U.S. and of the exploitation of these workers by the employers. Such important U.S. trade unions as the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union, led by Harry Bridges, the International Union of Molders and Allied Workers, AFL-CIO, the United Farmworkers Union, AFL-CIO, led by Cesar Chavez and many important trade unions have come out in defence of the rights of immigrant workers, against deportations and against the "Rodino Bill.⁵⁾ Many civic and social organisations as well as some of most advanced trade union locals have also condemned the hysteria that is being whipped up continually against immigrant workers. There is a growing concern over the divisiveness within the plants, the farms and the entire nation that this hysteria is causing. The U.S. Catholic Conference, which is the permanent legislative policy institution in Washington, D.C. of the U.S. catholic hierarchy, through its General Secretary, Bishop James S. Rausch, has condemned such racist and discriminatory legislation as the Rodino Bill. It has come out for amnesty against deportation and for the reunification of families of immigrants in the U.S.A.

INTERNATIONAL UNITY

Growing international unity actions such as the recent International Conference on Discrimination Against Immigrant Workers in Geneva, the strong positions of such world labour federations as the World Confederation of Labour and the WFTU and other local or national trade union federations in support of a Charter of Rights For Immigrant Workers and finally the strong support of international organisations such as the World Peace Council for such a universal Charter can bring important breakthroughs in the fight for the rights of immigrant workers.

1) "Nativist"—a retrograde, racist and chauvinist movement of the 19th century in the U.S.A. directed against immigrants.

2) "La MIGRA"—a folk term used by the Mexican people in the U.S. for the hated Immigration and Border Patrol agents who harass them so direly.

3) "Barrio"—a Mexican neighbourhood, similar to a ghetto in urban centres and cities of the U.S.A.

4) "Colonia"—a Mexican small town or community in a farm or rural or semi-rural community in the U.S.A., some of which are centuries old.

5) "Rodino Bill"—pending Federal legislation in the U.S. Congress which would make immigrant workers with or without visas and all Latin American or Spanish-looking persons vulnerable to the employer questioning their status, their right to work, etc.

STRUGGLE AGAINST DISCRIMINATION

Discrimination against Migrant Workers in Europe

Charles Barontini

The Sub-Committee on Racism, Racial Discrimination and Apartheid of the Special NGO (non-governmental organisations) Committee for Human Rights, organised an international conference at the "Palais des Nations" in Geneva from 16 to 19 September 1975, the subject of which was discrimination against migrant workers in Western Europe.

It was a good idea on the part of the organisers to take such an initiative on the European front. Today more than 12 million workers and their families are forced to live outside their own countries.

Whether they come from India, Turkey, Africa or Portugal, they are seriously exploited in the host countries, being forced to do the most insalubrious jobs, to live in substandard accommodation, virtually on probation and altogether in very poor conditions.

The worsening crisis in the advanced capitalist countries is becoming a weapon in the hand of the ruling classes for use against immigrant workers in order to put pressure on the living conditions and struggle of the national workers in each country.

Only recently, these same ruling classes for their own selfish reasons drew on the reserve of the unemployed in Europe and far beyond.

In a period marked by the development of the multinational corporations, the internationalisation of production and of export of capital and goods on world markets, we have also seen an internationalisation of the labour market.

Thus between 1960 and 1969, there was mass import of labour and unprecedented illegal immigration. This was followed by the implementation of a policy of controlled and selective immigration which, today, has turned into a threat of hundreds of thousands of unemployed workers being sent back home.

UNDER-EXPLOITATION BY MULTATIONALS

Immigration was presented by the ruling classes as a way of helping the developing countries. But the opposite has happened.

The inequalities between the developed and less developed countries have become more acute.

Today the same people are calling for the export of factories to the countries of emigration where labour is cheap. In this way, the multinational corporations are trying to use new methods of superexploitation, under the guise of "cooperation", without the least concern for the national interests of the countries involved.

The search for ever greater profits is at the root of this policy. The new factor is that it is coming up against growing opposition, of which the Geneva Conference was an example. It is reflected in the recommendation adopted at the International Labour Conference in June, 1975 which declared itself in favour of the "guarantee of fundamental human rights and effective equality of rights as concerns the individual and collective freedoms of migrant workers".

This is expressed too in the Final Act of Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe which traces out the direction which immigration policy should take in the light of the spirit of cooperation and mutual interest of the countries concerned. At the same time it wants to "ensure equality of rights between migrant workers and nationals of the host countries with regard to conditions of employment and work and to social security, and to endeavour to ensure that migrant workers may enjoy satisfactory living conditions, especially housing conditions".

It seems to us that the international conference in Geneva made a contribution in this field. Indeed, it proposed to encourage a large number of national and international NGOs to engage in practical action with a view to eliminating discrimination against migrants. Its task was to identify legal, economic, social and cultural forms of discrimination existing in European Countries and to draw up the broadest possible programme of action to eliminate such discrimination.

More than 200 people attended the conference. Four international inter-government organisations were present—United Nations,

UNESCO, ILO and WHO—as well as more than 45 non-governmental organisations, including the World Peace Council. There were also eight Catholic and Protestant, four Arab, two Jewish and two Zionist organisations.

Thirteen countries were represented by national organisations and there were two political parties—the French and Italian Communist Parties.

Many immigrant organisations attended, notably Spanish, Indian, Turkish and Algerian, etc. There was notable representation from 23 governments.

The opening speech was made by Mr. Winspeare Guiccardi, UN Assistant Secretary-General and Director-General of the UN in Geneva.

The importance of this conference resides both in its representative nature and in the frank and genuine debate which took place, as well as in the unanimity of its decisions.

Most of the work of the conference was done in four commissions which dealt with discrimination against migrants in the legal, political, social and cultural field respectively. On the basis of this, the international conference adopted a programme of action and a series of recommendations.

EQUAL SALARIES AND SOCIAL RIGHTS

In the economic field, after having condemned the immigration policy being practised by the ruling classes, the economic commission set out several basic claims: the right to equal salaries, social benefits and guarantee of employment on the same terms as all other workers; the right to free choice of place of residence, provision of adequate housing, the right to freely change one's place of residence, job or profession; the right to exercise fully trade union and political rights both in one's own country and in the country of immigration; the right to subsidies for social and cultural activities undertaken by migrant workers and their organisations, both from the government of the country of origin and that of the host country; the right to control the activities of officials from the country of origin work-

ing among emigrants in the host countries, particularly those attached to private banks and saving banks and labour attachés at Embassies, etc.

In the social field, the conference stressed that non-governmental organisations should make full use of co-operation with migrant workers' associations, mass media and other educational channels in helping workers to adapt themselves to conditions in the host country and creating an atmosphere conducive to understanding on the part of the population of the host country.

STRUGGLE FOR EQUAL LEGAL RIGHTS

In the legal field, the conference recommended notably that the governments of the host countries should ratify Acts 1 and 2 of ILO Convention No. 143; that migrant workers should be made fully aware of all the aspects for their employment contract at the time they are taken on and that existing laws prohibiting illegal trafficking should be implemented, the punishment being meted out not to the victims, but to the traffickers. Immigrants should have the right of legal appeal against measures aimed at withdrawing their work permits. Deportation should be suspended until the result of such an appeal is known. Expulsion should not occur as a result of loss of employment or exercise of rights and freedom granted in the host country. After a two-year period of residence and regular employment, the migrant worker should receive a work permit valid for all kinds of work and without any geographical restrictions. Effective exercise of fundamental freedoms, first and foremost freedom of expression, political rights, and propaganda in favour of such rights, must be recognised for migrants on the same basis as for nationals of the host country.

This implies, notably, freedom of gathering, freedom of association and the right to hold public meetings, the only restriction being those imposed on nationals.

As for signs of intolerance, all appropriate measures should be taken to severely repress any demonstration of racism, xenophobia and all forms of racial discrimination.

THE RIGHT TO BE DIFFERENT

At the cultural level, stress was laid notably on guarantees of material conditions allowing migrant workers to safeguard their tra-

"Mass worker migration to the industrial countries of Western Europe represents one of the major problems of our time. These countries have benefited through discriminatory measures which make lower production costs possible."

ditions, practise their religion and have access to education, professional training and leisure activities.

In the educational field, the national languages of immigrant children should be taught on a regular basis in the framework of normal schooling, so that they may have permanent contact with the culture of their country of origin. Workers' education should take place at the factory during working hours and should be paid as such. Literacy should not be considered as an end in itself, but as a necessary introduction to professional training courses. Such training should simultaneously take account of the needs of the host country and those of the workers' country of origin. Immigrant children should be guaranteed the same opportunities at school as those available to nationals and should have guaranteed access to professional training schools and higher education—including the provision of study grants—on the same basis as children from the host country.

Finally, the representatives of migrant workers, on behalf of their communities, must be able to co-operate with the bodies

concerned in the host country in formulating a leisure policy.

INVOLVEMENT OF PUBLIC OPINION

These are some of the important recommendations approved at the concluding plenary session of the international conference in Geneva. Certainly, the issues raised are very complex, but the conference showed that it is possible to reach agreement on these terms between nationals and migrant workers and between organisations and individuals. However, only the involvement of public opinion in each country can bring about a global solution.

This implies that everywhere, in the broadest possible unity with the NGOs (where they exist), trade unions, immigrant organisations, political parties, Catholic and other organisations should take action to see that these legitimate demands of immigrant workers are met, not only for humanitarian reasons, but also because it is in the interests of all workers, whatever their nationality. As the final resolution states, the aim is to have an international statute for migrant workers in Europe.

Europe's Twelve Million Migrant Workers

Over twelve million people are affected by the mass worker migration to the developed countries of Western Europe.

According to the Churches Committee on Migrant Workers, which submitted a paper to the International Conference on Discrimination Against Migrant Workers in Europe held in Geneva in September 1975, the migrant workers are both European and non-European hailing from, among other countries, Yugoslavia, Turkey, Greece, Italy, Spain, Austria, Portugal, Netherlands, Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria.

The Churches Committee's estimate is that one-third of the migrant workers comprises women who suffer greater discrimination than male migrant workers and get the lowest wages in the largest and most tiring working conditions.

The International Association of Democratic Lawyers in its paper to the Conference said: "Mass worker migration to the industrial countries of Western Europe represents one of the major problem of our time . . . Up to now, the countries of immigration have encouraged such movements because of their immediate and beneficial effect on the economy, through the contribution made to it by an adult labour force which had been educated at the expense of the country of origin, and in addition through the discriminatory measures which made possible lower labour costs in production while migrant workers were contributing significantly to the development of industrial nations. These discriminatory measures are further encouraged by xenophobia and racism which are still rampant in our society."

EUROPE'S EXPENDABLE WORK FORCE
Those Convenient Migrants

John Berger

For capitalism migrant workers fill a labor shortage in a specially convenient way. They accept the wages offered and, in doing so, slow down wage increases in general. The significance of this is explained in a report by the German Institute for Economic Research:

Although opposition to the continual inflow of foreign workers is to be found here and there, it is necessary to realize that with a labor market cut off from other countries the pressure of wages in the Federal Republic would become considerably stronger, due to increased competition by employers for the domestic labor potential. This increased pressure of costs could hardly fail to affect the competitiveness of West German enterprises, both in the export markets and at home.

Capitalism requires an ever increasing accumulation of capital. This demands ever increasing productivity. But the market does not always respond in regular correspondence with production: hence the cycles of recession and expansion and the rising tendency to inflation. Since the war these have been controlled, but controlling them involves fluctuations creating unemployment. There must be a labor reserve, which can be laid off during recessions and brought in when the economy is expanding. If the organized national working class formed this entire labor reserve and suffered accordingly, they might begin to demand that an end be put to the system: they might become a revolutionary proletariat. If, however, a large part of the labor reserve is made up of migrant workers, they can be "imported" when needed and "exported" (sent home) when made temporarily redundant, and there need be no political repercussions, for the migrants have no political rights and little political influence.

The migrant is in several other ways an "ideal" worker. He is eager to work overtime. He is willing to do shift work at night. He arrives politically innocent - that is to say without any proletarian experience. Those who apply for work at Citroen are often asked to show their tickets to prove that they have just arrived in France.

Any individual migrant who does become a leader or "militant" can be immediately and easily expelled from the country. The trade unions are unlikely to defend him. Migrants pay taxes and Social Security contributions but will not draw many benefits during their temporary residence. Their cost to the system in terms of social capital can be kept to a minimum. It is made difficult for a migrant's family to join him: hence his children don't have to be educated. As a "single" man (a man made single) he will not greatly exacerbate the working class housing shortage. By German law a migrant must have a living-sleeping space of 64.5 square feet. Seventy per cent of migrant workers in Germany live singly, using not much more than that guaranteed minimum space. It is true that he may send a third of his wages out of the country, but a large proportion of the money sent away is spent on goods manufactured in the country where he works. Intergovernmental agreements about the reception of migrants often involve trade agreements in the obverse direction.

the taxpayers money. The estimated cost of the new plan was \$11 million. (It will cost far more.) It proposed a drainage system which would serve not only the new suburbs but all the part of Geneva which lies on the right bank of the lake.

To install drainage at street level would have seriously dislocated traffic - local and international - over a period of years. It would also have rendered new building more difficult - by overcrowding the network of pipes and services just below the surface. So the plan envisaged tunneling 90 or more feet underground.

One tunnel was to run for 3 miles under the town and would collect all the rain and gutter water of the right bank and discharge it into the Rhone below the lake. A second tunnel was to run parallel with the first for more than half the way, and would carry electricity and telephone cables and water mains for the new buildings and the new offices in which so many plans on a world scale were being drawn up. The diameter of each tunnel was to be 11.8 feet.

Tunneling began in June 1971 and will continue until 1976. In tunneling, space restricts the amount of labor that can be used. Even with three faces being worked simultaneously, there is work for only 100 men. Most of the men now working are Yugoslavs. There are also Spaniards and some Italians from southern Italy. On the many building sites in Geneva most workers are migrants. In the tunnels they are 100 per cent migrant. The two engineers and one of the foremen are German.

The workers, except for a specialist machanic and electrician, are on nine-month contracts. When the contract finishes, they return to their Bcsnian or Andalusian or Calabrian villaages and then reapply for another year's chance of tunneling under the international metropolis. According to Swiss law the residence permits (Type A) of these workers do not permit them to stay longer than nine months (although they may continue to come year after year) nor to bring with them any of their family. While working in Geneva, they live in a wooden barracks belonging to the Swiss private contractors who are building the tunnel.

The plan, relying on the advice of geoligists, assumed that nearly all the tunneling would be through sandstone. For the planners of tunnels sandstone is ideal because it is rock, not clay, yet it is not a hard rock; consequently there is no need for digging (as with clay) or blasting (as with hard rock) and, instead, a rotary cutting machine. "a mechanical mole" can bore through the sandstone (at the rate of about 30 feet a shift) and leave the tunnel behind it.

Unfortunately the geologists in Geneva were wrong in their predictions and the tunnels have run into wet earth and shingle. Here only shovels and hand-held pneumatic drills can be used, and after each advance of 30 feet-which may now take a whole week-tubes are rammed 45 feet into the face and solidifying chemicals injected to hold the water back. If the water breaks through, it can come at the rate of 30 gallons per minute.

These two sets of conditions offer the underground worker a choice. He can work with the machine in the dry, or with the drills in the wet. Working with the machine is more unhealthy because of the very high dust content in the air. Masks are available but the strenuousness of the work means that wearing them - with a reduced oxygen intake - makes the heart race. Nobody, except sometimes the sitting driver of the machine, wears one. The dust carries with it the risk of silicosis. Silicosis is often cited as a common occupational disease afflicting coal miners.

It is caused by fine particles of silica which have been breathed into the lungs, remaining there and causing nodular lesions along the lymphatics and in the lung tissue. Two years' exposure to the dust particles can be enough to provoke the disease. Once it has begun there is no cure, and it can lead to total disability through the poorer and poorer functioning of the lungs. In coal itself there is no silica, but it is often present in the rock between seams. Sandstone - such as they are tunneling through under Geneva - may consist of as much as 90 per cent silica. Working in the wet is higher paid because it is more immediately uncomfortable and because the drilling and mucking out by hand require considerable endurance.

The workers are divided into gangs of seven or eight. They are never all of the same nationality. Whereas the town above specializes in the international interpreting, the members of a gang have scarcely a dozen words between them. Misunderstandings have led to accidents. On the other hand - benefiting output - work proceeds with little talk. Except for one crane driver, none of the work is highly skilled and is fairly interchangeable; it involves mucking out earth and rocks at the face, keeping the conveyor belt clear, drilling when necessary, driving the train of trams between the face and the pit bottom, fitting the iron sections and grills which brace and line the inside of the tunnel, hosing liquid cement onto the grills, shoveling up, certing, and driving the machine. Each gang works an eight-hour shift, and three shifts work around the clock.

A gang is paid for nine hours, including a one-hour meal break. But nobody wants to eat in the tunnel. The air is stale. (Neither the water pumps nor the ventilating system work properly, but they are patched up when the word comes round that there is going to be an official inspection.) If the mole is drilling, a gray powder, fine as talc, lines skin, hair, nostrils, throat, lungs. The alternative of walking back to pit bottom and climbing up the ladders to the surface would take too much time and effort. So the gangs work eight hours without a serious stop. Anyway they have an interest in forcing the pace.

As the wages offered, indigenous labor refuses this work. Migrants undertake it in order to earn and save the maximum amount of money in the shortest time. Officially, bonuses for extra output are illegal, but there are ways round this. And so the interests of migrant and contractor are made - apparently - to coincide. The faster a man works, or the worse the conditions so that he is entitled to a small compensatory supplement, the more he can save. For the contractor, the quicker the job is done, the greater the profit margin. An underground worker in the tunnels can earn between \$650 and \$750 per month.

About a quarter of his wages goes in tax, Social Security, and trade union dues (80 per cent of the men belong to the union). If he lives austerely, he can still save or send home \$325 a month. With these savings he imagines he is transforming his own life and his family's. Working in the tunnel, each man is more or less locked in his personal vision of a different future. This adds to the isolation caused by language. It can lead, sometimes, to a kind of negligence - of the present and of the self.

Several aspects of the self are denied by the migrant's situation. He has no natural existence as a sexual being and no legitimate existence as a political being. He is there on sufferance for as long as he works in a tunnel.

At the beginning of 1973 four Spanish workers demanded better work conditions and went out on a half-day strike. By themselves. They were immediately sacked. Without a job they had no right to remain in the country. They were forced to return to Spain. Their record as undesirable "extremists" was doubtless made known to the Spanish authorities. The Swiss trade union did nothing to protect them. As a result of the Spaniards' action, however, a commission of four men, including a trade union representative, came to inspect the tunnel working conditions. It declared them satisfactory.

During the remainder of the same year - with a work force which never exceeded 100 - two workers were killed, a third had both his legs smashed (and was still in hospital months later), a fourth had his spine seriously damaged, a fifth lost his hearing because of an explosion, and there were numerous minor injuries. The immediate causes of accidents are lack of space (for example between the trams and the sides of the tunnel there is no clearance on either side for a man), muck falling from unprotected conveyor belts sometimes running at above head level, poor lighting, the difficulty of hearing due to the noise level, problems of language, fatigue, impatient roofing in at the the wet face, carelessness with machine controls.

Behind the immediate causes there is a general one. The only initiative still open to the migrant is the maximization of his earnings for the sake of a transformed future - or his attempt to transform his future. The contractors are concerned with the maximization of their profits. The relation between the two is exploitative. But, for very different reasons, both strive to reach the end of the tunnel as quickly as possible. For the migrant the alien present is expendable. (It is not only that the machines he uses were, at first, unfamiliar; compared with his previous life in the village, everything is alien.) For the contractor, the migrant is expendable.

The barracks, in which the tunnel workers lodge, are owned by the contractors. Rent and food are deducted from wages and marked on the pay slips. The barracks are situated on the other side of the town from the main shaft. Each gang is transported to and from work in a minibus belonging to the firm. Transport is free. After work, at the head of the shaft, there are cold-water washing facilities: for hot water the men await their return to the barracks. Geneva is a comparatively small town and the journey takes ten minutes.

In the main building of the barracks (housing approximately seventy men) there is a washroom with seven hot-water taps, seventeen cold-water taps, five lavatories and five showers (with hot water). The men sleep four to a room. The room measures 13 by 18 feet: walls and ceiling are wood. The heating is adequate in winter. Apart from the cramped space, the principal inconvenience is noise, and this is exacerbated by the fact that each shift gets up and goes to bed at different hours. Voices and footsteps sound very loud even from the next room. In situations in which time is served (conscripted service, prison) and which involve absence and sexual deprivation, to sleep is a deliverance from time. Sleeping becomes an active positive action.

Each occupant in a room has a bed, a small metal wardrobe (16 inches wide or alternatively half a wooden one; his locked suitcase on top of it), two small shelves, and the walls around, the ceiling above, his corner, to pin his pictures on. The bed costs \$1.10 a night. The sheets

are changed every two weeks. Except on Sundays, the rooms are tidied by three women (two Italians and one Yugoslav) who run the canteen and generally service the barracks.

There is a kitchen where men can prepare food themselves and eat it. Padlocked cupboards, like the wardrobes in the sleeping rooms, are supplied for keeping their food in. There is also a canteen - large enough for 100 men. Lunch costs 90 cents, breakfast (coffee and bread) 25 cents, supper 75 cents. In one corner there is a TV set. Scarcely any of the tunnel workers know enough French to follow the words. In the opposite corner there is a counter at which beer, wine, cigarettes, washing powder, razor blades are on sale.

For most men in the barracks, time off is time prolonged and wasted. They use the little they have to sleep in, wash their clothes, write letters. Nine out of ten are married. A few of the younger ones, who are willing to spend more money immediately, go into town on Sundays. For the majority their room with their bed in it is the center of their leisure. Men from other rooms drop in to talk or listen. (During the silence they return home.) Often one of the four in the room has a portable gramophone. They put on records bought in the capital of their own province. Sometimes they sing or play cards. Much of the time, though sitting together, they withdraw into personal anticipations or memories.

No tunnel worker who has found that he has the necessary endurance for the work, wishes to stop working in the tunnel before he has fulfilled his savings target - which is likely to take between three and five years. He knows that compared to many of his compatriots he is well placed. Each year, after nine months' work, he has to return to his country. Usually the contractor is willing to re-employ him when he reapplies. But when he re-enters Switzerland, he has to undergo a routine medical examination like all other migrants entering for the first or nth time. One of his recurring fears is that the next time this happens, he will be refused entry on the ground of a shadow on his lung X-ray.

Mexican Petroleum and U.S. National Security

Richard R. Fagen

But if we wait, we will constantly live in fear of embargoes. We could endanger our freedom as a sovereign nation to act in foreign affairs. Within ten years we would not be able to import enough oil—from any country at any acceptable price.

—President Carter in a broadcast address
on energy problems, April 18, 1977

Conservative reserve-to-production ratios used in the oil industry suggest that Mexico might be able to produce 10 million barrels a day by 1985 or 1990. Some Mexican government officials anticipate that production will indeed rise to these levels. If it does, Mexican petroleum could be an important factor in holding down world energy prices and in reducing the West's dependence on Saudi Arabia and other OPEC sources.

—Lead editorial, *The New Republic*,
August 19, 1978

In the long run, Mexico is "a bigger threat to the U.S. than the Soviet Union." . . . "One of the most serious problems we have to face" is the doubling of the population of Mexico by the end of the century, which, Colby said, would drive an additional 20 million illegal aliens across the border into the United States . . .

—Fragments from an interview with ex-CIA
Director William Colby, *Los Angeles Times*,
June 6, 1978

In the national security dialogue, the key word is *vulnerability*, followed closely by the related concepts of *stability* and *predictability*. No event in the past decade has made policy elites in the United States feel as vulnerable as the Arab oil embargo of 1973, the quadrupling of prices under the OPEC umbrella, and the subsequent management of both price and supply under cartel conditions. President Carter's oft-quoted statement that the energy issue in the United States is "the moral equivalent of war" has its roots in these events and clearly reflects the national security theme which runs through all discussions of petroleum and international and domestic politics.

This is a revised version of an essay first published in *Foro Internacional* (Mexico), No. 74, Vol. XIX, No. 2, October-December, 1978. This and related writings on the United States and Mexico have been supported by the Rockefeller Foundation.

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Energy Vulnerability: Perceptions of the Problem

At first glance, U.S. vulnerability in the energy area seems to be based on the fear of another oil embargo. While containing the seeds of an important truth, this greatly oversimplifies the situation. Actually, as noted in many contemporary analyses, a confluence of factors, trends, and predictions is involved. In brief, the major features of the landscape are the following:¹

OVER THE PAST HALF DECADE:

- A continuing and even increasing U.S. dependence on imported oil as a percentage of all petroleum consumed in the United States. This derives from the fact that U.S. petroleum production has peaked while demand has increased—and will most probably continue to increase, albeit more slowly. (In 1977, the United States imported 8.7 million barrels per day [MBD] or 47 percent of its total oil consumption. In 1973 the respective figures were 6.3 MBD and 36 percent).
- A steadily rising percentage of U.S. oil imports has been coming from OPEC countries, with the Arab OPEC nations becoming increasingly important both in absolute and percentage terms. (There is a widespread feeling that the United States is becoming a hostage to certain OPEC nations, particularly Saudi Arabia. The complexities introduced into U.S.-Middle East relations by this situation are legion, as are the domestic consequences of the U.S.-Saudi and U.S.-Iranian linkages—and the disintegration of those linkages).

OVER THE NEXT HALF DECADE OR MORE:

- A widely shared feeling that by the middle or late 1980s the current world oil surplus will turn into a shortage, thus placing new leverage in the

1. Representative recent documents are, *World Energy Outlook*, The Exxon Corporation, Exxon Background Series, 1977; *The International Energy Situation: Outlook to 1985*, Central Intelligence Agency, April, 1977; *U.S. Oil Supply and Demand to 1990*, Petroleum Industry Research Foundation, Inc., New York, October, 1977; *International Energy Supply: A Perspective from the Industrial World*, International Policy Studies, the Rockefeller Foundation, May, 1978; John C. Sawhill, Keichi Oshima, and Hanns W. Maull, *Energy: Managing the Transition*, The Trilateral Commission, Triangle Paper No. 17, 1978; Daniel Yergin, "The Real Meaning of the Energy Crunch," *New York Times Magazine*, June 4, 1978. For a sketch of the main points of the Carter Energy Plan, see Congressional Research Service, "Excerpts from an Initial Analysis of the President's National Energy Plan," Library of Congress, June 1, 1977 (and subsequent analyses in the same series).

hands of suppliers, particularly the Saudis, as the only OPEC country with substantial capacity to expand production—although this capacity is itself a matter of some controversy. (The most dramatic projection of this shortfall is contained in the CIA's *The International Energy Situation: Outlook to 1985*. The most controversial part of the CIA study is the prediction that Soviet and East European production could fall behind domestic needs by as much as 4.5 MBD by 1985, thus greatly increasing world demand for oil).²

- Pessimistic projections concerning the possibility of developing alternative energy sources in the United States (and elsewhere in the First World) at a rate fast enough to substitute substantially for oil—thus lowering the demand for imported oil. (In the United States, the development of coal-related energy sources—and to a lesser extent nuclear and solar resources—is or at least was central to the Carter Energy Plan. For a wide variety of political, economic, and environmental reasons, however, most observers do not expect these energy alternatives to be developed nearly as rapidly as the Carter Plan envisaged. This is particularly the case given the massive legislative difficulties encountered by the Plan in 1978.)
- Serious doubts about the capacity of the United States as a society and economy to develop an effective program of energy conservation. U.S. per capita energy use is, with the possible exception of Canada, the highest in the world—double that of some European societies with comparable standards of living. This profligate use of energy is woven deeply into the fabric of U.S. society and is possibly not amenable to reduction at a rate fast enough to substantially affect U.S. oil imports. Compounding the problem of conservation is the particular nature of the political process in the United States, a process particularly open to the operation of special interests and “blocking coalitions”: Witness the success of the automotive industry, in alliance with sectors of the petroleum industry and organized labor, in

2. Estimates of when curves of supply and demand will cross vary widely. Among the many variables (really unknowns) that enter into the equation are the willingness and capacity of present suppliers (Saudi Arabia in particular) to increase production, the rate and quantity of new oil discoveries, the economic and technological feasibility of extracting oil from shale and other non-conventional sources, and the overall growth rates and levels of energy usage in both developed and less developed countries. For differing perspectives and much useful information see “Energy in the Eighties: Can We Avoid Scarcity and Inflation?” Hearings before the Subcommittee on Energy, Joint Economic Committee, 95th Congress, 2nd Session, March 8, 9, and 21, 1978 (Washington, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1978). A composite estimate of the sources consulted suggests that serious shortages are likely to occur within about ten years.

the threat to the "American way of life" posed by a rapidly multiplying and northward-migrating Mexican nation.¹⁷

For at least some analysts, the proper approach to this floodtide of threatening Mexican immigration is clear: there must be a much-toughened stance by the U.S. authorities on the border. Others add to this the notion that Mexico must use its oil revenues in ways that will sharply diminish "push" factors in Mexico; jobs must be created, working conditions and wages upgraded, and patterns of land tenure restructured.¹⁸ However correct these developmental suggestions may be for the long run—and we shall return to them in the final section—they are almost certain to prove ineffectual in the short run. Too many persons have already been pushed off the land in Mexico, the human and economic scale of the employment problem is too huge, the wage differentials and opportunities north and south of the border too large, the frontier too long, and the payoffs of (possibly) massive development projects too far in the future for push factors to be diminished rapidly. Meanwhile, politics in the United States dictate that the government must appear to be "doing something." That "something" can only lead in the direction of quasi-military measures along the border. Such are the consequences of framing the immigration issue in narrow national security terms.

"Sowing the Oil:" Long Run Perspectives

If a national security perspective on the question of immigration leads almost inevitably to a rather nasty police approach to the problem (therein defined

17. There are, of course, various economic interests that depend, in whole or in part, on the labor and purchasing power of the immigrants. From huge agricultural enterprises to motel chains to humble diners employing a single dishwasher, thousands of U.S. businesses depend on immigrant labor to do the work that many others seem not to want to do—at least not at the wages offered. From this perspective, the immigrants are not a *problem* but rather the *solution* to a continuing need for a low cost, semi-skilled, non-unionized, and elastic labor supply. The owners, managers, and foremen who hire, fire, and often ruthlessly exploit the Mexican immigrants may share many of the negative and racist social and cultural perceptions of their fellow citizens, but they also know which side their bread is buttered on and thus continue to employ immigrant labor whenever possible.

18. In the hands of some, this argument is given a special twist. What is advocated is not just a tighter border policy on the part of the U.S., but an overt threat to "close down" the border to force Mexican elites to come to grips with their serious developmental problems. In other contexts this tactic is known as "deepening the contradictions" and it is, of course, widely resented in Mexico as well as fraught with difficulties and dangers for the United States. For an example of such reasoning and advocacy, see George W. Grayson, "Mexico's Opportunity: The Oil," *Foreign Policy*, No. 20, Winter 1977-78, particularly p. 82.

as too many immigrants), the developmental side of the equation is both more complex and far-ranging. Precisely because of the profound U.S. national interest in internal political and economic outcomes in Mexico, what Mexico does with its oil revenues is necessarily of deep concern to U.S. elites. Even if the oil revenue cannot be "sown" so as to achieve a relatively rapid and significant reduction in the northward flow of Mexicans, the Northern hope is that *petropesos* will be used in ways which ameliorate inequality and injustice sufficiently to keep the lid on the Mexican volcano. To sustain this hope, no highly developed sense of equity or concern for the downtrodden is necessary. It is quite sufficient to have a modestly acute sense of long-range U.S. interests coupled with a latent survival instinct. In this there is substantial congruence between U.S. and Mexican elites. ✱

An optimistic scenario for the use of oil income envisages export revenues and new capital flows sufficient to enable the huge foreign debt to be repaid, capital goods for the further development of the hydrocarbons to be manufactured or imported, with enough left over to make massive investments in developmental projects that will—in time—reduce unemployment, arrest the flight from the countryside to the cities, and help to reduce the glaring inequalities between those who live in comfort or opulence and the millions consigned to misery and poverty. While all of the above is taking place, populist measures (subsidies to basic foodstuffs and consumer goods, etc.) of the sort that have served the Mexican political system so well at critical moments in the past should aid in securing the time necessary to accomplish some needed structural changes. Roughly speaking, in this scenario the oil revenues are seen as the necessary and prior—if not by themselves sufficient—motor of reform.

A more pessimistic scenario emphasizes that the repayment of debt, increased foreign confidence, and impressive liquidity have little to do with development—and even less to do with social justice. The critical issue of discovering (one might say *inventing*) ways of "sowing the oil" so as to benefit more than a small minority of the Mexican population remains. The experience of other oil-boom nations is sobering: Inflation, swollen import bills, luxury consumption, capital intensive industrialization, the continued neglect of agriculture, regional and other disequilibria, unsatisfied rising expectations, and in general an inability to break with many of the most unattractive patterns of the past are all common in the recent histories of nations otherwise as diverse as Venezuela and Iran. In this scenario significant structural reform tends to be seen as a necessary *precondition* to the

• Public relations campaign

effective use of the future flow of oil income, and such reform is not viewed as highly probable.

Official Mexican thinking as of early 1979 clearly suggested concern with some of the difficulties highlighted in the second, more pessimistic scenario. The relatively modest petroleum production goals for 1982, the serious warnings about inflation, and the cautionary statements about the absorptive capacity of the economy all suggest that managing the boom in relatively conservative fashion will be the basic policy for the second half of the López Portillo administration. Immediately, these cues were picked up by important business publications in the United States, essentially seconding the notion that prudence in generating and investing oil revenues, rather than maximum production and exports, was the best policy for all concerned.¹⁹ But whether the revenues are huge or simply large, and whether Mexico turns out to be a potential "OPEC-buster" or simply a substantial exporter, problems associated with "sowing the oil" so as to ameliorate inequality, unemployment, and misery remain.

From the point of view of U.S. policy, the vexing aspect of these developmental issues is that in conventional diplomatic terms they are, in the main, considered to be Mexico's "domestic affairs." This inhibits both a clear articulation of U.S. security interests in how the oil is sown in Mexico as well as a frank admission that what the United States does in many areas is highly consequential for Mexican possibilities, decisions, and outcomes. There is a paradox here: Perhaps the most important long-run U.S. national security concerns relating to Mexican petroleum—issues involving the manner in which Mexican development is affected by the oil boom—are precisely those concerns that are most difficult to articulate both conceptually and politically. So complex and so historically fragile is the oil-reform-social justice-political stability nexus, and so problematic and suspect is U.S. involvement in any attempt to affect that nexus in Mexico, that clear-headed discussion of the issues seems nearly impossible in governmental circles at this time.²⁰ Yet in

19. See, for example, *Business Week*, "Mexico's Reluctant Oil Boom," *op. cit.*, and "Mexican Oil: The U.S. is most definitely *not* in the driver's seat," *Forbes*, January 22, 1979. It should be noted that the business press shows only passing concern with the question of social justice. The major concerns are good relations with Mexico, prudent management, and political stability south of the border. Issues of inequality and misery enter to the extent that they are seen as "destabilizing."

20. I am consciously avoiding an analysis of various interests and contradictions which make the discussion even more problematic. For example, given the capital intensive, income-concentrating aspects of most direct foreign investment, equity and employment-sensitive ap-

the absence of such a discussion, more obvious and traditional security concerns will surely occupy center stage: Mexico as a future, more secure, petroleum supplier; Mexico as potentially "another Cuba or another Chile;" and Mexico as an exporter of unwanted and threatening labor—unwanted and threatening at least in moments of substantial unemployment, welfare backlash, and recrudescence racism.

Some might argue that the recent elevation of Mexican-U.S. relations to the category of "high politics" contains within it the seeds of hope. Surely, the argument goes, with top-level public officials (instead of the third and fourth ranks) debating the issues, it will be possible to keep the "big picture" in focus, overcome bureaucratic infighting and fragmentation, and introduce coherence and rationality where little existed before.²¹ But at least in the United States, the outcomes of the high politics of international oil do not present an altogether attractive picture—as recent events in Iran and elsewhere remind us. On the other hand, it is also true that the United States—despite its energy relationship with Canada—has never had to engage in the high politics of oil with a nation with which it has such a contiguous, asymmetrical and in many ways historically rich and conflictual relationship. This time, the international energy dialogue involves not only barrels of oil and cubic feet of gas, but also—and very directly—the lives, property, and futures of the citizens of two societies joined together along a 2,000 mile border. The dangers for Mexico and also for the United States of this situation are very substantial. But so are the as yet not understood and unforeseen opportunities.

proaches to Mexican development would suggest that the U.S. Government should actively *discourage* U.S. transnational corporations—particularly those engaged in manufacturing and certain sectors of agriculture—from locating in Mexico. The utopian nature of the suggestion is an index of the contradictions implied. For a more general discussion of this and related points, see Richard R. Fagen, "Equity in the South in the Context of North-South Relations," in Albert Fishlow, *et. al.*, *Rich and Poor Nations in the World Economy* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1978).

21. President Carter's February 14-16, 1979 visit to Mexico does not give much reason for optimism. The relatively cool and strongly nationalistic reception he received suggests that much hard bargaining between the two nations lies ahead. No matter how much "coherence and rationality" may be introduced into U.S. policy (and to date there does not seem to be very much), there is no necessary or easy convergence between U.S. and Mexican interests.