Series D: International Relations Activities. 1961-1992
Box 74, Folder 8, Undocumented aliens, 1977.
July 8, 1977
Bert Gold
Seymour Saret

In a conversation which I had with Sidney Linkofsky on July 7th, he raised the question of AJC immigration policy as it would apply to requests for our potential support of the admission into this country of Indo-Chinese refugees. In its broader sense the question was whether we should favor all or most such requests as they continue to be presented to U.S. authorities. Sidney noted that in addition to the traditional humanitarian issues there are legitimate concerns of a socio-economic nature that are raised by many individuals concerned about these matters.

As you know the issue has presented itself with many nuances over the past couple of years. The Miami Chapter has asked for guidance re the request by Haitians to be admitted into this country on grounds that they were political refugees, although there was none indication of the fact they were probably a form of Haitian "wetbacks." Church authorities have spoken to Marc about their interest in the plight of "undocumented aliens." Similar conversations have been held by representatives of the ethnic communities in their discussion with Irv Levine. At the last meeting of the DMC our speaker for the first time raised the issue of illegal aliens and the possibility of some form of amnesty for them. We took no action on the recommendation. Finally, Sidney has been representing us for many years on the Council on Immigration Policy.

As the above indicates several of our departments in small ways are involved in various aspects of immigration policy matters. Yet we have no program and no one individual or department given a responsibility to coordinate or develop these matters further. It may well be that there is no need for anything other than what is not being done. On the other hand it would be my recommendation that there at least be an interdepartmental meeting to discuss this or perhaps to bring it up at a Staff Advisory Committee meeting in order to determine if additional action should be taken.

SS/cco
cc: I. Levine, S. Rabinove, S. Linkofsky, M. Tanenbaum
The U.S. is being invaded so silently and surreptitiously that most Americans are not even aware of it. The invaders come by land, sea and air. They fly commercial and private aircraft; they jump ship or sail their own boats; they scale mountains and swim rivers. Some have crawled through a mile-long tunnel; others have squeezed through the San Antonio sewerage system. No commandos or assault troops have shown more ingenuity and determination in storming a country that tries to keep them out. They are the illegal immigrants who come not to destroy but to enjoy the blessings of the most prosperous nation on earth.

**Vast Scale.** What was once a trickle has become a flood. Exact figures are hard to come by, but U.S. officials estimate that between 6 million and 10 million illegal aliens are living in the U.S. Last year alone, between 500,000 and 1 million arrived—while another 750,000 were caught and deported. If these numbers are added to the 400,000 legal newcomers who enter every year, it is apparent that the U.S. is experiencing an immigration on the vast scale of that of the turn of the century.* Last week, while concentrating on energy, the Carter Administration was studying the implications of the invasion and trying to solve the problems it raises.

The growing population and unemployment of the Third World countries are propelling people to a better life in the U.S. Some 80% of the illegal aliens now living in America came from Mexico, where the population is growing at the rate of 3.5% a year, the jobless rate approaches 40%, and a man lucky enough to find work may be paid $1 a day. Small wonder that close to 10% of all Mexicans actually reside in the U.S., and Los Angeles has the third largest concentration of Mexicans (after Mexico City and Guadalajara).

In the past few years increasing numbers of Haitians, Colombians, Jamaicans, Greeks, Filipinos and Nigerians have joined the migration. The aliens used to do mainly farm work in the South and Southwest. But they have now established enclaves in major urban centers. According to the Immigration and Naturalization Service estimates, there are 50,000 illegal aliens in Washington, D.C., more than 500,000 in Chicago and 1.3 million in the New York metropolitan area. Says Leonard Chapman, who stepped down last month as commissioner of the INS: "We have become the haven for the unemployed of the world. I think it's going to be catastrophic."

This incessant invasion presents the U.S. with a basic dilemma. A nation of immigrants is reluctant to reject other immigrants, particularly those who want to get ahead in the best American tradition. Few come for a handout; they are anxious to make a living. An illegal alien who is currently employed as an industrial painter in Brooklyn used to live on a South Pacific island where he dreamed of the American paradise of hard work. "It is the obsession of every islander," he says, "to come and be rewarded for what he does"—a dream shared round the world.

But there is growing apprehension that the illegal immigrant’s dreamcome-true may turn out to be a national nightmare. The AFL-CIO argues that the illegals not only take jobs away from Americans but force down wage levels by being willing to work for low salaries. The INS estimates that the newcomers cost the American taxpayer $13 billion a year in social services, and aggravate the already unfavorable balance of payments by annually sending home $3 billion—or more.

Getting into America illegally is one of the easiest crimes to commit and one of the least punished. Says Chapman: "An illegal alien who is caught has to be one of the unluckiest fellas in the world." Most of the illegal immigrants who arrive in the U.S. cross the 2,000-mile-long Mexican border, where a small number of federal agents are overwhelmed by the size of their job (see box page 30). Professional smuggling rings provide guides for a fee ranging from $100 to $1,000, forged papers from $300 to $1,200, depending on the quality of the forgery and the influence of the immigrant. Last year the INS apprehended 9,600 smugglers and figure at least twice that number got away.

**Brisk Trade.** Finding work is seldom a problem, as long as the immigrants are not fussy about what they do. Many are. All they have to show an employer is a Social Security card, which is about as hard to acquire as a Popsicle. They can either borrow one, buy a forged one or get a genuine one by submitting a driver’s license.

If they are reasonably cautious, they will probably never be detected. The understaffed INS, whose enforcement staff numbers fewer than 2,500, operates mainly on tips it receives. No government agency is under any pressure to report the "undocumented" aliens it comes across. Even if an immigrant is caught, he is often released on his pledge
that he will leave the country; he may renege and simply move to a different job in another area. Criminal penalties are seldom imposed by courts with overcrowded dockets.

Once an alien is settled in America, he seeks legitimacy as fast as possible. The easiest route is marriage. If he weds a U.S. citizen, he can become a legal resident. A brisk trade flourishes in quickie, temporary marriages; for a fee of around $1,000, many American men and women will offer to wed an illegal alien. The couple are soon divorced; the alien wins the right to stay in the country while the American is ready for the next match. If a marriage partner is not available, an illegal alien can use another close relation to gain legality. Gino Ciampa, 28, a hairdresser in Boston, preferred not to wed in order to stay in America. "I wanted to marry for love," he explains. Instead he persuaded his mother to come from Italy to live for a year with her brother, an American citizen. That made her a legal U.S. resident. Once she was legal, so, with the proper filing of papers, was Gino. Then Mama returned to Italy.

The illegal immigrants often have more to fear from exploiters, or "coyotes," as they are called, than they do from American authorities. They are fair game for every kind of shyster lawyer and racketeer, many of their own ethnic background. The victims of the fleecing can scarcely complain to the police, lest they give themselves away.

Unshaken Resolve. To survive, the aliens gladly accept lower wages than Americans; their average hourly rate is often one-third or more below the standard. U.S. officials have found farm laborers in the West who were paid $15 a week. Unscrupulous employers threaten to turn over the illegals to the INS if they complain. Kickbacks to the boss are commonplace; migrant workers often bed down in open fields. "We live the life of a concentration camp," says an illegal Mexican in California. "It is cruel here, but one can at least eat."

Whatever the costs, most illegals are determined to have their slice of paradise and nothing shakes their resolve.

> "Juan," 48, an illegal Mexican immigrant who now works in Florida, has crossed the border so often in search of work that he has lost count. He has been arrested at least a dozen times and lives in constant fear of being sent home again. Just last month he narrowly escaped detection when a border patrol questioned him at the nursery where he works, but the officers did not ask for his papers. Says he, "I will work like this until I die."

> Jorge Guererro, 24, is an Ecuadorian who jumped ship in San Francisco at the age of 16. Three years later he was caught and deported. He returned by paying a smuggler $200 and enrolled in a federal job-training program in Massachusetts, hoping to become an engineer. Discovered once again, he is now in jail on a charge of illegal entry. Will he try to come back to the U.S. still another time? "Why not?" he shrugs. "I've nothing to lose."

> Giaccomo Fosse, 32, arrived in Boston from Italy on a 30-day visa and stayed on when he could not get it extended. One Sunday after Mass, he paid $1,000 to a priest who promised to help him. Two weeks later the priest had disappeared and Fosse was arrested and deported to Italy. Undeterred, he went to Germany, obtained another 30-day visa to the U.S. and returned to Boston. He looked up a girl he had met on his first trip and married her. That set up Giaccomo to become a legal resident, although INS agents checked the hotel to make sure the couple had spent their wedding night together.

> Andre Tassy, 30, was accused of plotting against the Haitian government and imprisoned for 2 1/2 years. After his release in 1974, he and his wife and 31 others fled in a leaky 14-ft. boat. First they landed in Cuba, where the craft was repaired. Then they pushed on to Florida. As soon as they had beached the boat, the men were jailed for illegal entry. Tassy was released on $500 bond and is now awaiting a court decision on his deportation. Unlike Cubans, most Haitians are not recognized as political refugees by the U.S. and are not permitted to stay. Says an embittered Tassy: "Cubans get papers, money and food stamps. Nothing for the Haitians."

Guillermo Morales, 28, lived with a dozen brothers and sisters in a Mexican border town. He learned to weld but could barely make a living. Finally, he heard about an outfit that would supply him with an American wife for $100. He paid up, crossed the border and married the woman in Laredo. After working as a welder for three years, he saved enough money to marry the Mexican woman he really loved. Unfortunately, he forgot to get a divorce from his first wife. He barely escaped to Mexico with the border patrol on his heels.

A curious mixture of groups—civil rights and Mexican-American organizations, large farmers and the Wall Street Journal—is sympathetic to the illegal immigration. They claim that these foreigners fill the kinds of jobs that most Americans shun. The aliens serve as busboys, dishwashers, laundrymen, porters, sweepers. They have been found painting the Statue of Liberty and cleaning up the INS offices in Washington. Desperate for domestics, many affluent households hire illegal aliens, and some housewives in Beverly Hills even forge documents for their maids and pay for their secret trips back to Mexico. Farmers—particularly those in Florida and California—are especially dependent upon the newcomers. Asks Perry Ellsworth, executive vice president of the National Council of Agricultural Employers: "Do you know how many Americans are interested in stoop labor?"
THE NATION

quit and try to collect unemployment.

Yet there is evidence that illegal aliens are taking at least some jobs from Americans because of their willingness to work for less money. Unemployment, for example, is high among union carpenters in Houston even though the city is in the midst of a building boom. The reason is that contractors are holding out for Mexican immigrants who will accept less than the minimum wage. Says Labor Secretary Ray Marshall: "We work hard to create a few jobs, and these are swamped by people crossing the border."

Cursory Proof. The INS figures that in 1975, 1 million jobs that were held by illegals could have been switched to Americans. 150,000 of them in heavy industry, 214,000 in light industry, 301,000 in the service trades and 335,000 in agriculture. That would be enough today to reduce the unemployment rate from 7.3% to 6.3%.

There is also mounting concern about the additional pressure that illegal immigrants are putting on already overburdened social services and facilities. For the most part, illegals avoid welfare since they come to the U.S. to work. But increasingly, as they bring their families along with them, the newcomers are taking advantage of relief programs, which are all too easy to apply for. In 1975, 70% of the 51,039 illegal aliens who were apprehended in New York City were discovered to have received $500,000 in welfare payments, although they owned $1.4 million in assets. Aliens manage to get on the rolls for Medicare and Medicaid, and they get free emergency treatment at hospitals. They also send their children to school as required by law. As they register for various programs, they are asked only cursory proof of their legal status and take a small risk of detection. Some court decisions, in fact, have made it harder for the INS to check up on aliens. In 1975 a California court ruled that school officials cannot release the names of illegal immigrants.

Illegal aliens are probably among the most law-abiding people in America, if only to avoid coming to the attention of the police. But like other groups, they are becoming more involved in crime, ranging from muggings to narcotics smuggling. Last week in New York City, an illegal Panamanian immigrant shot two policemen when they tried to arrest him in the course of a drug sale; one was killed. Says Charles Kaufman, a troubleshooter for the U.S. Labor Department: "We're setting up a whole new underclass of people who are essentially outside the law."

This week, Cabinet members are submitting a broad-gauged attack on the problem for President Carter's consideration. The program is expected to offer a considerable concession to illegal immigrants now in the U.S. Those who arrived before a certain date—perhaps 1979—would be offered complete amnesty and recognized as U.S. citizens. "Some element of amnesty will be mandatory," says Carter. Some of these illegal aliens have been here for 15 or 20 years. They are American citizens in the practical sense of the word.

To control the number of illegal aliens entering the U.S. in the future, the administration is considering sanctions—presumably stiff fines—against employers who knowingly hire such immigrants. That approach is supported by the AFL-CIO, but has been bitterly resisted in Congress by farm-state representatives, notably Senator James Eastland of Mississippi, chairman of the Judiciary Committee, which would have to approve the bill.

More money and manpower would go to the hard-pressed INS, and the Federal Government could take other steps to tighten the net against the flood of illegal aliens. The U.S. could follow the example of other democracies and accede to aliens more closely at ports of entry. At the same time, border patrols must be increased to head off the far greater number of immigrants who enter the U.S. without ever being seen. The Social Security Administrations would check on an immigrant's status before it issued him a card. As in Britain and France, local police might be authorized to help the INS apprehend illegal aliens. More immigration judges could be appointed and empowered to levy fines as well as to rule on deportations.

Confounding Burden. As he prepares his amnesty along with his crackdown, Carter made another gesture of good will toward the immigrant community by nominating a Mexican-American, Leonel J. Castillo, 37, to be INS commissioner. Born and raised in Texas, Castillo served in the Peace Corps, then returned to Texas to lead a desegregation fight in Houston. He was elected Houston controller in 1971 and was twice re-elected. Although he has yet to be confirmed by the Senate, Castillo has already worked with Attorney General Griffin Bell on the new program.

Castillo will have the job of trying to persuade Mexico to reduce the flow of illegal immigrants to the north. As an incentive, Carter's program is expected to include economic aid to Mexico to help set up labor-intensive projects, with an emphasis on farming, that will reduce the nation's chronic unemployment. That may help some, but certainly not enough. In the years ahead, the U.S. is likely to continue to be burdened with the fact that it is still pre-eminently the land of opportunity and promise—and that millions of people who cannot immigrate legally will try everything in their power to cross the border somewhere, sometime, somehow, and stay as long as they can.
"NO SUPPORT FROM WASHINGTON"

The letter that appears on these pages was written to President Carter by Frank C. Dupuy, a criminal investigator for the Immigration and Naturalization Service in El Paso, Tex., as an expression of his personal views on the illegal-alien problem. He made a copy available to U.S. News & World Report. Dupuy, who once lived in Mexico for six years, is a graduate of the University of Texas. He went to work for the Immigration Service as a Border Patrol agent in 1974.

White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave.
Washington, D.C.

Dear President Carter,

I am a criminal investigator for the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service, stationed in El Paso, Tex. I am writing this letter because I am extremely concerned about the tremendous effect illegal aliens are having on our country. There are millions of illegal aliens in the United States. This does not alarm me nearly as much as congressional and presidential apathy regarding illegal aliens.

Official estimates place the number of illegal aliens employed in the United States between 10 and 12 million. Approximately 60 per cent are from Mexico. These people are costing this country billions of dollars every year, and they are taking jobs from American workers at a time when unemployment is at an all-time high.

For several years, the U.S. has had a balance-of-payment deficit. One of the factors contributing to this is that many illegal aliens send their wages out of the country. Mexico’s second-largest dollar income is from illegal aliens. It is not surprising that Mexican officials are less than energetic in trying to keep their people from leaving Mexico.

Illegal aliens who are in the lower income brackets are not at all bashful about getting on welfare. At my office in El Paso, Tex., we give hundreds of leads from the Texas department of public welfare about illegals who are trying to get on welfare. According to an immigration investigator in New York City, there are thousands of illegal aliens on the welfare rolls in that city. New York City might have less trouble making ends meet if they could get rid of their illegals.

Public education, especially in the Southern border States, suffers from illegal aliens. illegals who enroll their children in our schools are harmful in two ways: First, they pay no property taxes, and do not contribute to the support of the school system. Secondly, their children retard the educational process because they do not speak English and must be placed in special classes.

It is unnecessary to cite more examples. Illegal aliens are harmful to our country and labor force and a direct burden to the taxpayer. Illegal aliens have no right to be in our country, but our elected and appointed officials are remarkably unconcerned. In fact, many are openly concerned about the rights of the illegal aliens in this country. What I want to know is this: Who is concerned about the rights of American citizens to be protected from illegal aliens? Obviously not our present group of elected officials.

Our immigration laws were designed to keep undesirable elements out of our country and to encourage the type of people who could contribute to our society to immigrate. There are many qualified people who waited for years for a chance to immigrate to our country, and many others are still waiting. These people have shown by their patience and willingness to put up with government red tape that they are willing to comply with our laws. This is the kind of person we have traditionally encouraged to immigrate.

However, in recent years, due to changes in policy and not the law, we are rewarding people for coming into our country illegally. We are allowing them to stay here and are helping them resident aliens solely on the fact that they were managed to have a child born in the U.S. or have a married citizen. Many of these people are illiterate, have no skills and are not on welfare. What we are in effect telling the rest of the world is that it is foolish to work within the American system. You will receive preferred treatment if you break the law. How people who have no respect for our immigration laws are supposed to have respect for the rest of our laws is beyond me.

Many critics of the immigration laws claim that they are unenforceable. As the laws are presently being administered, they are unenforceable—basically because there is very little result, they are becoming more prone to violence when confronted by an immigration officer. All of the Border Patrol agents and INS investigators that I know are deeply committed to enforcing the immigration laws of this country. This is a very lonely and frustrating job because we get no support from Washington.

The U.S. taxpayer is guaranteed protection under the Constitution, but illegal aliens are given preferential treatment by our Government. The U.S. citizen has been placed in a rubric of unfair position to foreigners who blatantly break our laws. We are the only country in the world who cannot and will not defend its borders and enforce its immigration laws.

The only explanation I can find for this is that our Government leaders are afraid that our “image” will be hurt if we try to enforce our own laws. Apparently our leaders are willing to sacrifice the rights of U.S. citizens for an image. The only image I get from Washington is that our elected officials have a severe lack of intestinal fortitude—except in matters of granting themselves pay hikes.

I am writing this letter as a private citizen, and my views do not necessarily reflect the views of my Government. I urge you to support and initiate programs and legislation that will control the flood of illegal aliens coming into our country. Anyone who has been to the border knows that the United States of America cannot defend its borders and enforce its own laws is worse than misinformed. He is the type of individual who would give up before they had ever started to build our nation.

Sincerely,

Frank C. Dupuy

U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT, April 25, 1977
OVERTAYED AND UNDOCUMENTED ALIENS: FACT AND FICTION ABOUT "ILLEGAL ALIENS" AN OVERVIEW

by Anthony J. Bevilacqua
Ira Golobin
H. Gerald Malmud

Bills have been introduced in Congress, state legislatures (some have been enacted and municipalities to make criminals of employers, who knowingly hire non-residents, who are unauthorized to work by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). The claim is made that these unauthorized workers are depriving citizens and residents of jobs, the government of taxes, and are burdening social services.

There is extensive factual documentation that the vast majority of overstayed and undocumented entrants ("illegal aliens") are: (a) largely employed in low paid, menial, dead-end jobs shunned by citizens, residents, particularly in agricultural and domestic labor; and (b) paying substantial taxes, although not receiving many of the social service benefits to which those taxes entitle them. Imposing a criminal penalty on employers will cause widespread discrimination against citizens and residents, especially those of Latin American Hispanic origin; it would require employers at their peril to act as immigration law experts and policemen; it would clog the courts and cost a considerable amount of scarce tax dollars to enforce.

Furthermore, the problem involves mainly the Southwest and Mexico and is declining nationally, including in New York City, the major port of entry for the nation. Some key INS officials apparently ignore their own statistics and widely fluctuate in their guestimates.

Largely underlying the hue and cry over the so-called "illegal alien" problem and the proposed employer penalty "solution" are basic differences in social outlook. As in past times of unemployment and social stress, the main alternatives are in essence genuine constructive measures versus spurious destructive measures, such as making overstayed and undocumented persons the scapegoats. Though some key INS officials repeatedly declare that enactment of the penalty will open up jobs, many unions, such as the United Farm Workers, point out that the penalty provision is "not the answer to our problems...."

1 Opposite Approaches to Overtayed or Undocumented Persons

Two basically opposite approaches have emerged. The first, favored by various religious groups including the U.S. Catholic Conference, some unions, Bar Associations, and others, would deal with: (a) those already here as mainly a human problem, to be solved by regularizing their status, as was done in Canada; and (b) as for those who may attempt to come in the future, by various deterrent bilateral measures, inasmuch as this is mainly a regional economic problem of the Southwest and Mexico, to be solved in negotiations between the two governments.

The President's Domestic Council Committee on Illegal Aliens urged in its report (N.Y. Times, 1/9/77), "a limited form of amnesty.... The Committee believes that massive deportation is both inhumane and impractical." The committee, headed by the Attorney General, comprises the Secretaries of Agriculture, Labor, State, Commerce, Treasury, and Health, Education and Welfare. Similarly, President Carter declared (Houston, Texas, 7/1/76): "First, you have to recognize the permanent residents who came in here originally illegally and not try to root them out."

The second approach, favored by the Commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, General Leon F. Chapman, Jr., some unions, much of the media and by others, would treat the situation as mainly a police problem, to be solved by criminalizing employers and by considerably increasing appropriations for INS to "beef up" enforcement.

Background

The United States, a nation of nations, has a proud tradition of welcome to the stranger at our gates, who is viewed as a prime source of the greatness of America. The Statue of Liberty has for generations been the visible symbol of this tradition.

Yet, in times of social stress the newcomer has met with hostility and has been made a scapegoat for unsolved social problems: the Irish in 1798 and in the 1840s; the Chinese in the 1880s and 1890s; the Italians and Eastern European Jews in the early 1900s; and the Slavs in the 1920s, '30s and '50s. Today Hispanics have become a major object of concern and debate. Typically the most recently arrived ethnic group, filling the necessary jobs at the bottom of the ladder, is singled out for attack. Many small and marginal businesses, employing citizens and documented residents as well as overstayed and undocumented residents, are directly dependent on their labor.

For almost 200 years U.S. borders were open to our hemispheric neighbors, north and south. But in 1965 a law (effective in 1968) limited total Western Hemisphere immigration to 120,000 annually, and required entrants without close family ties to have needed skills. Simultaneously, in 1965 the "bracero" program, under which Mexicans were admitted for temporary farm labor, was terminated.

These changes in the law converted many law-abiding Mexicans - tied by history and long-established close family relationships to free access to the Southwest, which was once part of Mexico - into so-called "illegal aliens". Yet the demand of Southwest agribusiness for temporary farm labor - back breaking, very low paid and for long hours - continued unabated.
Commening with the last recession and the claim that overstayed and undocumented persons are depriving Americans of needed jobs (and burdening the social services), the Nixon administration sponsored legislation in January 1971 that would criminally penalize such employees and the employers who hire them.

Extensive Congressional hearings were held on the Nixon administration bill and subsequent modified bills, similarly penalizing only the employer (in the 92nd Congress, HR2328; 93rd Congress, HR982; in the 94th Congress, HR8713 and S2074, which includes immigration and other changes, and just introduced in the 95th Congress, HR1663).

The vast majority of overstayed and undocumented persons are employed in low paid, mental, dead-end jobs shunned by citizens and residents, particularly in agricultural and domestic labor.

The penalty on employers specifically deals only with symptoms and would leave unresolved the underlying causes of the problem. Similar to other large modern industrial, the labor force of the United States upgrades itself, the society finds itself less able to fill its own ranks menial and low paid jobs. This creates a continuing vacuum which attracts workers from abroad who are so far down on economic scale that they tend to come here regardless of the risks and penalties they may encounter.

1) A U.S. Labor Department research report (Linton, 11/17/75) finds: Their "impact is least likely in the American labor market... Moreover they are not only primarily employed in low-level jobs, they are apparently quite consistently paid at wages at the lowest range of the low-wage scale, though they are working longer hours than similarly employed U.S. workers." This applies not only to the uneducated Mexican farmworker, "it is also the case that more educated, more skilled, and more often bilingual, illegals from other nations are also likely to be working as operatives, or laborers, or service workers.

2) Similarly, the former INS District Director for New York City area, Sol Marks, testified before the House Immigration Subcommittee (3/10/72) that the types of businesses hiring illegal aliens are "essentially those requiring manual labor, those with menial skills..."

3) "In a city like New York, which has been driving away businesses through high costs, the illegals may well be providing the margin of survival for entire sectors of the economy, like the restaurants" (Wall Street Journal editorial, 6/18/76).

4) In regard to union organization, 37% in New York are union members (Linton report). Likewise, Sol Marks testified that "in a good proportion of the factories they are unionized...

The vast majority of overstayed and undocumented persons are paying taxes but are not receiving many social service benefits.

1) The U.S. Department of Labor Linton report finds that so-called illegals "were far more likely to have participated in programs that involved the payment of taxes than the use of tax-supported services"; Social Security taxes were withheld for 77% of "illegals," and Federal Income taxes for 73%. But only 47% collected unemployment insurance, 13% obtained food stamps, and 0.5% secured welfare.

2) Federal regulations now bar overstayed and undocumented persons from receiving unemployment insurance.

3) Because of fear of exposure of their status, such persons usually shun any contact with government agencies, even in extreme circumstances.

4) In regard to overstayed and undocumented persons on welfare in New York City, Welfare Commissioner Dumpsn stated (1/1975) "fewer than 200 in New York were on welfare as of 12/31/74.

Many of these are unwed mothers. As to the assertion that thousands of them are on welfare, N.Y. State Deputy Commissioner of Social Services Bernard Shapiro testified before the House Immigration Committee (3/10/72): "These are not facts... these are all guesses, wild guesses."

A criminal penalty on employers would cause discrimination against citizens and documented residents:

1) Employers, concerned to avoid any criminal liability and not being experts in immigration law, will tend to discriminate against documented residents and foreign-appearing U.S. citizens.

2) In vetoing the bill criminalizing employers of overstayed and undocumented persons, N.Y. State Governor Malcolm Wilson declared (1974): "In addition, the bill could result in discrimination against natural-born citizens of the United States who are members of minority groups, but who cannot provide documentary proof of their birth by reason of local vital statistics problems. Aliens who are legally entitled to work might also be excluded from work by necessarily cautious employers, thereby putting them on welfare rolls, contrary to the objectives of the bill."

3) The United States Commission on Civil Rights, commenting on a similar bill in Congress, concluded (7/26/75) that it "will have a direct discriminatory effect on minority persons seeking employment... Minority citizens as well as minority legal aliens will be the victims of discriminatory hiring... attempts to solve this country's serious economic problems cannot be made at the expense of the civil and constitutional rights of minority persons."

4) California State Senator Richard Alston, speaking in behalf of the U.S. Spanish Television network at a convention of Democratic Spanish-surnamed elected officials (Washington, D.C., 11/1/75), declared that the INS "war" against overstayed and undocumented persons is causing a backlash which results in unjust prejudice against all Hispanic Americans. The INS has already subjected Hispanic-looking persons to dragnet raids in which even U.S. citizens and documented residents have been summarily deported to Mexico.

5) Javier Rodriguez, President of CASA, a large Los Angeles-based community service organization, compared the attack on Hispanics to the mode used to single out Jews for discrimination in Germany. "Only rather than yellow stars, Latin Americans would be set apart by the color of their skin."

Enforcement of a penalty provision would have adverse social consequences:

1) Enforcement of the criminal penalty would require a considerable amount of scarce tax dollars (for INS and other enforcement agencies) and dog the courts, which are already unable to cope with serious crimes. Even housewives employing out-of-status domestics or babysitters would become subject to prosecution. Former N.Y. State Deputy Labor Commissioner Louis Silbin testified (1976) that the Labor Department lacked the funds to deal with violations of existing labor laws. Aggravating this acute lack of funds would be the further substantial diversion of money required for the costly enforcement of an employer penalty bill.

2) The penalty bill would turn employers into policemen, as well as sour suspicion among neighbors and incite vigilante acts. At a public rally in Sunnyside Gardens, Queens, N.Y. against "illegal aliens" there were shouts of "kill them" (N.Y. Post, 10/24/75).
3) Many U.S. citizens and documented residents would lose their employment in small and marginal businesses which are often dependent on the labor of overstayed and undocumented persons.

4) The penalty bill would also have the result in driving overstayed and undocumented persons further underground, perpetuating and enlarging an outlaw subclass. Fearing discovery and deportation, parents in that subclass necessarily tend to shun any governmental contact. The situation of their children, already deprived of proper and adequate access to schooling and other community services because of their parents' fear of exposure, could well become catastrophic. "Current policies of school reform won't reach them. Guaranteed minimum income programs won't help them, because they will never enroll. Their medical problems will be beyond reach of community health facilities. ... They will not seek help until driven by injury and disease more threatening than the risk of apprehension by the INS." (Michael Pinto, The New Republic, February 22, 1975).

5) Demands for universal registration of citizens would intensify. Former Immigration Commissioner James Farrell (testimony in 1971 before House Subcommittee on Immigration) and Passport Office Director Frances Knight (U.S. News and World Report, 3/3/75) urged making a "National Identity Card" mandatory for citizens in order to ferret out so-called "illegal aliens".

Some union views sympathetic to overstayed and undocumented persons

1) ILGWU President Sol C. Chalik (American Immigration and Citizenship Conference, 4/9/75): "God help us if we come back to the days of the Know-Nothings in this country. God help us if we come back to the divisiveness and the contempt and the fear and the suspicion which reigned years ago when people who were here for 10 or 15 years looked askance at people who just came. We don't want that."

2) International Ladies Garment Workers Union Vice-President Cornelius Wall (N.Y. Times, 2/16/75): "We have no choice, if we are to safeguard the conditions and wages we have won over the years, ... but to organize illegal aliens and bring their standards up. ... We will protect these workers."

3) Amalgamated Clothing Workers Vice-President Leonard Levy, testifying before the House Subcommittee on Immigration (4/9/71): "I do not believe that unions have the responsibility to turn over illegals to the Immigration authorities."

4) The United Farm Workers, headed by Cesar Chavez, condemned (3/3/73) the Congressional bill criminalizing employers of illegals as "not the answer to our problems in the fields nor the answer to our brother in the city."

5) The United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Union Convention (9/13-17/1976) condemned making undocumented workers "scapegoats" for unemployment and called for legalization of such workers.

6) The United Auto Workers (International Convention, April 1972), commenting on the congressional penalty bill: "Reactionaries have a long tradition of trying to make the foreign born scapegoats for the failure of the government to solve the problems of the people ... but these problems will not be solved by the simplistic expedient of pitting native-born workers against foreign born."

Overstayed and undocumented persons are mainly a Southwest and Mexican problem

1) In the fiscal year of both 1975 and 1974 (and similarly since 1965), Immigration and Naturalization Service figures show that 93% of all those deported or required to leave on their own were from Mexico. And 99% of those were apprehended in border areas of California, Arizona and Texas. In 1975, INS in New York City "located" only 989 Mexicans, many as spouses of citizens presenting themselves to INS in order to regularize their status.

2) From 1964 to 1975 those from Mexico deported or required to leave escalated 1500% (from 44,000 to 680,000) whereas the increase was only 85% (from 47,000 to 87,000), from all other countries, throughout the entire United States.

3) In 1974 and 1975, 96% of Mexicans deported or required to depart entered without inspection. They had violated criminal laws and thus were "illegal aliens". Other entrants, who entered legally and overstayed, committed only a civil, an administrative violation. They are not "illegal aliens". In 1974, 92% of the Mexicans apprehended were caught within 6 months of entry.

The number of overstayed and undocumented entrants has recently declined nationally

1) The number of Mexicans deported or required to depart in the Southwest declined 9% (from a high of 673,000 in 1974 to 613,000 in 1975). The 1975 figure for deportable Canadians (which includes many eligible for residence based on marriage to U.S. citizens or residents) is only 9,048.

2) In the New York district of the INS (which includes New York City) an 18% decline occurred in those deported or required to depart (from 14,927 in 1974 to 12,296 in 1975).

3) The number of deserting seamen deported or required to depart — for the entire U.S. — declined 75% (from 12,208 in 1974 to 3,093 in 1975).

4) A law enacted October 30, 1972 (P.L. 92-603) bars issuance of social security cards to persons not authorized to work. Except for exempt agricultural labor, most employers, and especially for better paying jobs, will not hire persons unable to present a social security card.

5) U.S. consuls have tightened admission requirements for visitors and students.

6) During the Great Depression more people left the United States than came (1932-1938). Though today the relationship between push-pull factors differs considerably, the present economic decline does diminish the opportunities and incentives to come here as well as to remain out-of-status.

Some key INS officials apparently ignore their own statistics and widely fluctuate in their guesses.

General Chapman and some other key INS officials apparently ignore INS's own statistics as to the regional and declining character of the number of overstayed and undocumented entrants. Also, they are almost uniformly silent as to the social security law amendment restricting the issuance of social security cards to citizens and noncitizens authorized to work and to the amendment's deterrent effect.

Furthermore, INS did not publicize "wage data collected on 48,000 illegals apprehended in the first three months of 1975" (Linton Report). The Linton Report on this data disclose that 65% of these overstayed and undocumented persons earned less than $2.50 an hour, and 30% from $2.50 to $4.49 ($4.47 is the 1975 hourly wage for U.S. production and nonsupervisory workers). Instead of disseminating these statistics, so damaging to the anti-public campaign of the INS for a penalty bill, some top INS officials resort to anecdotal evidence of individual apprehensions and sheer speculations, not based on sound statistical data.

Moreover, INS officials oscillate between declaring that they do not know the number of illegals and doling out widely varying
estimates. Service officials frequently refer to 8 million or more "legals" and General Chapman declares that "a growing, silent invasion of illegals…now threatens to become a national disaster." (Readers Digest, October 1976). Yet General Chapman also states that "if you could catch them, you could count them," and "we really don't know how many legal aliens there are in this country" (testimony at House Subcommittee on Immigration, 2/4/75).

Deputy INS Commissioner James F. Greene declares: "There have been estimates as has been said from two to twelve million. We don't know how the legislators or the people that are involved can really make good judgments unless we have a better fix on the problem." (Channel 2 TV, New York City, on "Look Up and Live," 5/2/76).

Sol Marks, INS District Director for New York, testified in 1972 before the House Subcommittee on Immigration that he had "absolutely no idea" as to the number of "legals" in the New York area, and the then Deputy INS District Director, Maurice Kiley, likewise testified (1972): "To speculate today on how many illegal aliens are in the labor market, it is very difficult to say." Yet in 1975, New York "INS officials" admitted that there were 1.5 million illegals in the New York metropolitan area holding 100,000 jobs which citizens and residents would like to fill (Long Island Press, 10/24/75).

The INS has not issued any reliable statistical data as to how many citizens or residents secure jobs replacing overstayed and undocumented persons caught by INS. In a joint statement opposing a Congressional bill for employer penalties, Congressmen Billo (D-N.Y.), Conyers (D-Mich.), Drinan (D-Mass.) and Edwards (D-Cal.) noted: "In all candor, we do not know precisely what kind of positions and what kinds of jobs are being filled. There are no statistics on how many illegal aliens were by some magic suddenly "expelled from their employment" (H.R. Rep. No. 506, 94th Congress, 1st Session, 367, 1975).

Nor do INS officials present data as to the number of citizens and documented residents laid off when overstayed and undocumented persons are not replaced and employers curtail operations or go out of business. While seemingly ignoring character of most of the jobs held by such persons as well as that profitability of many businesses depend on such labor, INS officials nevertheless make the facile, mechanical assumption that every overstayed and undocumented person ousted from a job opens one for a citizen or documented resident. Notwithstanding the lack of reliable data and the contradictory and nebulous INS estimates, the legislative representative of the INS investigator's union, Edward Kavazanjian, asked Congress for 1,000 more investigators, costing $150,000,000 (testimony before House Subcommittee on Immigration, 3/24/72).

Lesko Associates, the research agency hired by INS to secure an accurate figure, found "that actual data (samples or otherwise) regarding the number of illegal aliens in the U.S. do not exist within INS or any other government or private agency." (The Lesko Associates study, October 15, 1975, conceded that its estimate of over 8,000,000 illegals was "not analytically defensible." Vincent B. Barabbas, Census Bureau Director, commented that the study was "based on weak and untenable assumptions" and "should be regarded as conjectural at best." Capitol Hill Forum, March 22, 1976.) The dearth of actual data and plethora of guesses continues to date.

Conclusions

Bills that would make criminals of employers hiring overstayed and undocumented persons unauthorized to work are unsound, inhumane, and would have serious adverse social consequences. Instead of being resolved, the present situation would be made worse. Such bills are an abduction and evasion of the need for constructive measures to deal with the complicated underlying economic and political problems. In characterizing a similar anti- alien scarecrow campaign, Thomas Jefferson warned that while the ostensible target and initial victim is the "friendless alien...the citizen will soon follow." American history has repeatedly shown that such anti-alien campaigns inevitably lead to assaults upon the Bill of Rights. Anti-alien penalty bills are profoundly alien to the American dream!

Those already here should be dealt with as mainly a human problem, to be solved by regularizing their status, as was done in Canada. Concerning those who may attempt to come in the future, there should be various deterrent bilateral measures, bearing in mind this is mainly a regional economic problem of the Southwest and of Mexico, to be solved in negotiations between the two governments.

In regularizing the status of those who have come here seeking a better life, the United States, a nation of nations, will give renewed vitality to the biblical mandate of extending "a welcome to the stranger" in our midst and to our country's motto, E Pluribus Unum— from many, one!
RELIGIOUS NEWS SERVICE

FOR RELEASE: Weekend of March 18, 1977 or later

RELIGIOUS SPOKESMEN SEEK 'AMNESTY' FOR ILLEGAL ALIENS ALREADY IN U.S.

Legislative efforts to halt the flow of undocumented or illegal aliens into the U.S. by penalizing employers and issuing identity cards have stirred up considerable opposition from American religious leaders. Some call proposed remedies "dehumanizing, unjust and discriminatory."

"Amnesty" for illegal aliens, especially those long-established with their families in this country, is the proposed alternative to restrictive legislation.

Recently at a New York consultation, a Catholic bishop and two members of Congress echoed widely felt sentiments when they criticized current U.S. policies on illegals and made a plea for across-the-board amnesty for the undocumented population -- estimated to number anywhere from 1.5 million to 8 million. A large percentage of them are from Latin America.

Bishop Rene Gracida of Pensacola-Tallahassee, Fla., chairman of the Catholic bishops' committee on migration, charged that the influx of illegals and the current economic recession "have prompted a series of repressive measures" by the government, including "raids" on Hispanic communities, restrictive legislation and the initiation of "questionable family planning programs" in the migrants' native countries.

Declaring that illegals are "vulnerable to exploitation and prejudice" and that the U.S. Government's reaction is "more politically expedient than socially aware," he said total amnesty, not qualified amnesty, "is not only morally demanded but it is, as the recent Presidential Domestic Council admits, the only practical solution..."
In Miami, Bettye Wiggs, a staff member of the National Council of Churches who works with Haitian refugees, also criticized U.S. policies towards illegal aliens who fled what they consider a repressive government in Haiti. The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) has not allowed the refugees to work or to apply for government aid pending disposition of their status by the courts.

Among those who have opposed U.S. restrictions on Haitian illegals are the Rev. Jack Cassidy, director of the Christian Community Service Agency in Miami; the Rev. August Vandenbosch of the NCC’s Division of Church and Society, and Archbishop Coleman Carroll of the Miami Catholic archdiocese.

Mr. Cassidy said that "while we are very happy to be of assistance to the Haitian refugees, we find that it is very demeaning...to force individuals to rely on charity when they are capable of working for their own support."

For several years, the Episcopal Church’s National Commission on Hispanic Affairs has opposed legislation penalizing employers of illegal aliens. It said that such legislation "creates a context for the division of the institution of the family...provides a basis for the infringement of civil rights...(and) is directly related to the whole system of economic and human exploitation" which uses aliens as a labor pool for profit and then discards them.

Last year, a Roman Catholic archbishop of Hispanic background charged that proposed legislation on illegal aliens would lead to a renewed program of importing foreign workers to cope with temporary labor shortages and would have a "disastrous effect on the American labor force."

Archbishop Robert Sanchez of Santa Fe, N.M., told a Senate subcommittee on immigration and naturalization that illegal aliens are in the U.S. "because the government has been both unwilling and unable to enforce its own immigration laws."
"Most of the people," the prelate said of those illegals already in the U.S., "have established families, part of whom are American citizens... It is unconscionable that our government should even consider separating families by forcing a mass exodus or deportation of possibly millions of men, women and children."

The general secretary of the Lutheran Council in the U.S.A., Dr. George Harkins, while favoring sanctions against employers of illegal aliens and issuance of tamper-proof identity cards, stressed that "family unification" is a paramount consideration. He said that illegals must be treated humanely and every effort must be made to keep families together.

In a 1975 letter to President Ford and the Congress, Bishop James S. Rausch, former general secretary of the U.S. Catholic Conference, urged the rejection of proposed legislation on illegal aliens on the grounds that it provides a "scapegoat" solution to the nation's economic problems.

He pointed to a U.S. Civil Rights Commission statement which said passage of the bill on illegal aliens "will have a direct discriminatory effect on minority persons seeking employment, whether they are citizens or aliens authorized to work in the U.S." The bishop urged a "meaningful amnesty" for illegals.

Several religious leaders, in effect, have recommended that the government grant amnesty to illegal aliens already established with their families in this country and deal with the problem of the future influx of illegals separately. Some have recommended that the latter question be handled through diplomatic negotiations with nations from which the aliens come.

Recently, a Mexican Methodist bishop visiting New York urged churches in his country and in the U.S. to collaborate in efforts to help illegal aliens with their problems.
RELIGIOUS NEWS SERVICE

Bishop Joel Mora Pena, head of the Methodist Church in Northern Mexico, lamented that the churches had not taken a more active role in the dilemmas facing illegals. He said: "We hear that they...take away the jobs available for U.S. citizens; that they have come to cash in on the benefits of welfare; that they just want to receive and never give. Few stop to consider that they are exploited and are victims of economic and political interests and powers beyond their control."

The Methodist bishop joined other church officials in pointing out that many illegal aliens who have been in the U.S. for many years would most likely face rejection if they returned to their native countries.

While proposed legislative remedies to the illegal alien question continue to be debated, religious leaders have also confronted a related problem -- efforts by the INS and the U.S. Border Patrol to ferret out illegals and the subsequent indictment of individuals (including a Catholic nun) charged with aiding illegals.

Two Roman Catholic bishops from the Southwest, Archbishop Sanchez and Bishop Francis Green of Tucson, Ariz., warned in February of a rising "climate of fear" along the U.S.-Mexican border and called for a Congressional investigation into incidents of violence and conflicts in the area.

Following the intervention of the Catholic prelates, spurred by alleged mistreatment of Mexican Americans by federal agencies, the Presbytery de Cristo of the United Presbyterian Church announced it would give top priority to work in behalf of undocumented aliens this year.

For the past year, INS agents have been accused of increasingly arbitrary actions with regard to Mexican-Americans -- both documented and undocumented. In addition, there are reports that vigilante groups are forming, adding to the sense of hostility developing among Anglos who feel threatened by Mexican-Americans.

The deteriorating situation became further inflamed after the indictment last year of four women who operate the Hanzo Area Council, a Tucson social service agency. They were charged with violations of immigration laws because they attempted to help Mexicans regularize their residency in Arizona. Charges against two of the four were subsequently dropped.
In San Antonio, Tex., a Catholic bishop started a controversy last August by supporting a restaurant owner's protest against U.S. immigration policies. The restaurant owner, Mario Cantu, was charged with "shielding" five illegal aliens at his place of business.

Auxiliary Bishop Patrick Flores of San Antonio offered the restauranteur the use of the archdiocese's Mexican-American Cultural Center for the man's self-imposed fast to protest INS "violence" to the dignity of the individual.

The Cantu case aroused considerable public attention in the Southwest. Many Mexican-American leaders have claimed "federal harassment" and have alleged an INS campaign against Hispanics based on race.

At a New York consultation on illegal aliens, several hundred participants made a plea for the "regularization" of overstayed and undocumented aliens and expressed opposition to criminal penalties for employers who hire them.

In resolutions to be presented to the Carter Administration, the participants agreed that measures must be taken to remove incentives for future illegal aliens. But they also said that this is mainly a regional economic problem affecting the U.S. and Mexico and can be resolved through diplomatic negotiations.

The one-day consultation was supported by 17 national and local organizations, including the World Council of Churches and the U.S. Catholic Conference.

As it stands now, most religious leaders concerned about illegal aliens are calling for the government to go easy in its legislative efforts, until authoritative studies determine how many illegals are in the country. And, in calling for a broad-based amnesty, they ask that illegal aliens, once regularized, not be charged against existing immigration ceilings.
Fact and Fiction About Illegal Aliens will be the issue addressed at our D.A.C. dinner meeting to be held May 11, 1977 at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York City. There will be a reception at 5:00 P.M. and the dinner meeting will begin at 6:00 P.M.

The United States has never had to think about sealing itself off from the world's poor. Now it does. But it is a morally distasteful prospect, and one that may not be physically possible.

Faced with high unemployment rates amid charges that illegal aliens have taken jobs away from millions of United States workers, the Carter Administration is under considerable political pressure to curtail the flow of illegal migrants into this country. And, faced with accusations of widespread exploitation and abuse of these people at a time when he is pressing human rights issues around the world, President Carter feels morally bound, according to some aides, to crack down on Americans who prey upon these frightened and pliable workers.

The intergroup and interreligious tensions growing out of these conditions call for an A.J.C. response. The enclosed fact sheet is background for our discussion.
At our last meeting the DAC authorized our Legal Committee to prepare a brief amicus on behalf of Bakke in his case against the Regents of the University of California. At issue is the constitutionality of the university's creation of separate categories admission standards, and places for minority applicants which thereby allegedly deny equal protection of the law to better qualified non-minority applicants. The Bakke Case is being described as one of the most important to face the Supreme Court since 1954 when it ordered desegregation of the public schools in Brown vs. Topeka. Howard Greenberger, chairman of our Legal Committee will report to us on the current status of our plans in this landmark case.

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AJC's 71st Annual Meeting begins the next day. The following domestic affairs agenda issues will be considered at "mini" plenaries on Friday, May 13, 1977:

May 13, 1977 - 9:30 AM Mini Plenium, Section "C"

School Integration - Threat or Promise?
Approaches to Quality Education

We have long been committed to the view that one test of the adequacy of our public school system is its effectiveness in fostering a respect for group differences. Integration within our schools has had this as one of its purposes. Another has been to assure quality education to all students. At this session, we will examine the problems faced by many northern school systems as they strive to achieve both of these objectives. Using case studies, the participants will focus on actual chapter experiences in some cities where desegregation has been mandated by the courts and in others where it has been undertaken voluntarily. Carol Stix, Education Committee chairperson, will preside.

May 13, 1977 - 2:30 PM Mini Plenium, Section "F"

The Economics of Social Progress

Herbert Bienstock, New York Regional Director of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor will report to us on the social costs of national economic policy. In particular he will highlight the impact of these policies upon the Jewish community. Peter J. Strauss will preside.

The intergroup conflicts engendered by economic stress and programmatic responses will be commented on by a panel consisting of:

1. Jordan Harburger, St. Louis Area Director
2. Charlotte Holstein, Chairperson, National Committee on the Role of Women
3. Kathleen Strauss, Chairperson, Detroit Chapter

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DOMESTIC AFFAIRS COMMISSION

MAY 11, 1977 DINNER MEETING

WALDORF ASTORIA HOTEL

TENTATIVE AGENDA

TRIBUTE TO ALFRED H. MOSES
ELMER WINTER, NATIONAL PRESIDENT

RESPONSE
ALFRED H. MOSES, CHAIRMAN, DAC

REMARKS
SEYMOUR SAMET, DIRECTOR
DOMESTIC AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT

UPDATE ON THE BAKKE CASE
PROF. HOWARD GREENBERGER
CHAIRMAN, NATIONAL LEGAL COMMITTEE

FACT AND FICTION ABOUT ILLEGAL ALIENS
An analysis of the tensions growing around this issue followed by panelist commentary and discussion from the floor.

enclosures: Migration Today
Two reservation forms
A return envelope