FUTURE IMPACT OF ILLEGAL ALIEN POPULATION ON LAW ENFORCEMENT

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MARCH 1986

PREFACE

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The future impact of the illegal alien population on law enforcement is a research report on what the author has concluded is a serious emerging issue facing California law enforcement. A research methodology was developed by and presented at the California Police Command College, a program sponsored by the California Commission on Peace Officer Standards and Training.

The United States, the richest nation on earth, is a magnet for many of the world's immigrants. Generally, America has been very generous in accepting political and economic refugees and the seemingly unending flow of illegal immigrants.

This report in its findings, conclusions and recommendations should not be viewed as a final product on these important issues. It is the author's desire that it serve as a starting point to stimulate interest and to assist others including participants in the Command College.

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C O N T E N T S

SUMMARY

The concern about the illegal alien population and their involvement in crime has increased greatly during the past several years. Many people believe that immigrants, be they legal or undocumented, are the root cause of many of the crime problems and social ills facing America today. Many studies have been conducted on the impact of illegal aliens and job displacement, social services and other related issues. Currently, no comprehensive empirical report exists that addresses the issue of crime and the illegals.

This study was undertaken by the author to assess not only the current situation with regard to illegal aliens and crime, but also to look at possible future implications. This report contains the results of a survey of law enforcement agencies throughout Western United States. It also looks at present programs that are in operation, along with future programs that are in the planning stages. Site visits, personal observations and interviews were conducted at selected agencies that were the most progressive and responsive with regard to the illegal alien issue.

Illegal immigrants come from many different parts of the world. They are predominantly from Latin America or Asia. The United States is experiencing its fourth wave of immigrants which will continue at least through the next decade. Presently it is probably at the highest level of this century. Estimates of the number and geographic distribution of undocumented aliens show that almost half are in California. It is estimated that

there are over one million illegal aliens in California with over 700,000 of these being from Mexico.

Law enforcement agencies deliver police services to a community, as such, they must be responsive to changes and culture and the type of population which they serve. Conditions in Califonia, particularly Southern California, have been changing dramatically as a result of the United States' inability to control its borders. Reports from the U.S. Department of Justice indicate that over one million illegal immigrants are apprehended each year.

The profile of our newest immigrants show that they typically have a low education level and are of the age group that could be crime prone. There is no indication that the next decade will be substantially different than our present experience. Law enforcement agencies need to be aware of the demographics of the future and develop plans that deal with these. Some of the important findings that should be considered are as follows:

- Illegal aliens are a significant factor in the crime rate.
- The hidden population (illegal aliens) should be considered in staffing levels and deployment strategies.
- Victims (illegal aliens) are generally reluctant to report crimes or become involved with law enforcement agencies.
- Community police store front offices in conjunction with foot beat programs for neighborhoods that are concentrated with illegal aliens are highly effective strategies.
- Task force approaches to crime problems that include other segments of government, i.e., health department, housing, code enforcement and building departments are successful.
- Community education, community watch programs and crime prevention programs be developed and presented in Spanish as part of a community outreach involvement strategy.

- Local police agencies develop policies that deal with the role of local law enforcement and immigration law and publish these publicly to help calm community fears.

There are many successful programs which the author viewed or had personal experience with that are adaptive to police agencies throughout the Western United States. It is important that all agencies recognize the problems in their changing communities, facilitate the exchange of information and reporting of crime, and develop strategies to address these service needs.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The future impact of the illegal alien population on law enforcement is a result of a six phase study. The first phase of this research project was devoted to library research on the social, cultural changes and major reasons that brought about the illegal alien phenomenon. Phase two involved the development of survey questionnaire instruments for the purpose of determining present and future impacts on crime and strategies that are currently being used to address these problems. Phase three included the review of selected programs that appeared most responsive to the illegal aliens. Phase four was the analyses of the research and survey data. Phase five was the development of futures. Phase six was the development of a strategic plan.

PHASE ONE

An extensive literature review was conducted in an effort to learn as much as possible about the problem of immigration and the current and future effects on California. This review included newspaper articles, magazine accounts, government documents, pending legislation, subcommittee hearings and recent books. This review confirmed personal observations and opinions formed after many years of witnessing social, cultural and demographic changes in Southern California.

PHASE TWO

A survey instrument was developed to be distributed among law enforcement agencies in Western United States. Only selective agencies were picked outside the State of California. California was the main emphasis for this survey. The survey form included statistical data if known, opinion on the present and future impact in the seven major crime categories. Also collected was information on the special programs that are presently in operation or planned that address specific problems in each crime category, both in the areas of apprehension and prevention. (A copy of the Survey is attached, refer to Page 43A.)

PHASE THREE

A selection of the agencies to be surveyed was done based on the following criteria: 1) The agency had a member of its staff in one of the Command College classes; or 2) The agency had sent members of its staff to the Senior Management Institute sponsored by the Police Executive Research Forum. The author felt that after reviewing the agencies involved in these two areas represented every major agency in the Western United States and the likelihood of a response to the survey would be much greater.

Based on personal knowledge of existing programs and from results of the questionnaire, certain sites were selected for personal visits by the author. Interviews were conducted at the site visits and observations, conclusions and recommendations were developed to assist other agencies in dealing with similar problems.

PHASE FOUR

As a result of the survey data, focus was placed on the most responsive agencies. There was very little, in fact almost nonexistent, research that has been done on the impact either present or future of the illegal alien population on law enforcement. The author looked to the profile of the illegal alien, the detention of aliens in the bureau of prison facilities, the survey results and tried to establish trends for the development of the futures.

PHASE FIVE

The development of alternative futures was based on a long history of immigration predominantly through the Mexican-United States border which has been the result of economic, social and political conditions on both sides.

PHASE SIX

The development of a strategic plan was based upon an likely future for the year 1996. Consideration was given to INS enforcement policies, pending legislation, findings of the subcommittee on immigration refugees and international law for the committee on the judiciary of the House of Representatives, 98th and 99th sessions. Consideration was also given to successful programs that are in effect now as well as the capability of local agencies to address the problems.

INTRODUCTION AND HISTORY

During the past ten years concern about illegal immigration from Mexico has increased sharply. Many people believe it has reached crisis proportions, with immigrants taking jobs away from native born workers, using public services for which they have not paid and spawning barrios where their separate language and culture permanently isolate them from U.S. society.[1] Attention has been focused on the U.S.-Mexican border and the endless cat and mouse game between border patrolmen and Mexican workers.

Gross illegal immigration to the United States during the 1970's exceeded 4 million, the fourth highest level for any decade in American history. This was the highest gross level since the 1910 to 1920 period. In the 1980 census, 5.6 million foreign born persons were enumerated that had entered during the decade. Although no reliable numbers are available, in Thomas Mullers book The Fourth Wave, he believes it is likely that the entry to the United States of immigrants is at the highest level in this century.

Most immigrants are from Asia or Latin America. Among the immigrants across the nation, 34 percent are from South and Central America, 34 percent from Asia, 16 percent from Europe and 10 percent from the Carribean. The remaining 6 percent are from other continents, Canada, or other unspecified nations. In comparison, prior to 1960, 69 percent of the immigrants came from Europe. We are now entering our fourth major wave of immigration, Hispanics and Asians.

At first, mass immigration to the United States took place between 1840 and 1870. These movements came predominantly from the British Isles and the nations that were later combined to form Germany. These two areas together represented almost 9 out of 10 new settlers during this time period. In the 1860's, they accounted for 8 out of 10 and 2 out of 3 in the 1870's. These early immigrants were the building blocks of this country because they were similar ethnically to the Americans who were here at the time of independence and they predominantly spoke English.

The Irish in later stages of this first wave became dominant. They came from the most overpopulated and underdeveloped parts of Western Europe and had been made desperate for survival as a result of repeated famines from potato crop failures in the 1840's and 1850's. The Irish were different from other immigrants of the period because they were poor, more rural and less educated. They were also Catholic in a Protestant America and were the first white settlers to experience white prejudice. Even with these factors working through our political system, the Irish have made substantial progress. In a span of two decades, two U.S. Presidents were of Irish extraction, John F. Kennedy and Ronald Reagan.

The first wave of immigrants from Western Europe continued to enter the United States until the 1920's but this movement peaked

during the 1880's and was overtaken by a more ethnically diverse second wave of immigrants.

The second wave of immigrants came from Eastern and Southern Europe and spoke neither English nor German. They were predominantly Catholic with a substantial number of Jews from Eastern Europe and they came from rural areas and small towns in the underdeveloped part of the continent. These arrivals faced more discrimination than earlier immigrants. Like the Irish, they became blue collar workers providing the manpower for the unprecedented industrial revolution that followed the civil war. The availability of this large work force and the introduction of automation made it possible for the United States to become the leading industrial power in the world. A standard of living was developed and established that surpassed that of Western Europe. During this same time period, our cities became overcrowded and urban slums commonplace. But even with these deficiencies, conditions here were still better than what new workers had left behind.

During this second wave, new immigration records were set. More than 2 million Italians and 1½ million immigrants from the Soviet Union came to the United States. During this same time period, English, Germans, Scots, Irish still continued to entered the nation with more than a million arriving between 1900 and 1910.

Large scale immigration from Europe effectively ended during the 1920's. Population movement across the Atlantic became difficult during World War II and more than 12 million potential workers were inducted into the armed forces. There was an unprecedented industrial expansion stimulated by the needs of war.

Although one generally thinks of immigrants as persons who cross national borders, however, the immigration of the Blacks from the South was in many ways similar to the waves of immigrants who came from Europe. In both circumstances, the people leaving came from impoverished small town and rural areas. Like the European immigrants before them, they tended to be young and went to the northern industrial cities.

Blacks first began leaving the south in great numbers during World War I and the flow of Blacks increased again following restrictive immigration legislation in 1921 and 1929, which effectively stopped migration from Europe. The movement stopped during the Great Depression but greatly increased during World War II because of the demand for labor from the industrial centers. During the 1970's more Blacks moved into the south than left the region reversing a century long trend.

The fourth wave began in the late 1960's and is comprised of three major groups: Legal immigrants admitted as permanent residents, refugees and increasingly large numbers of undocumented (illegal) aliens.[2] This wave coincided with two major events. Those were discontinuation of the Bracero program and the enactment of a new immigration law.

In 1965, Congress enacted an immigration law that for the first time put limits on immigration to the United States from countries in the Western Hemisphere and went into effect in 1968. The effect was to change immigrants who might previously have been legal to illegal entrance. The new law also increased the number of Asians who could enter this nation legally. After implementation, the share of Asian immigrants rose. All other migrations had little impact on the west. The fourth wave is rapidly changing the ethnic character of California.

The first large number of entrants to California were driven here by the gold discovery in 1848. Within three to four years, people driven to strike it rich had caused California's population to rise to more than 200,000. Among these people to California shores were the first Chinese immigrants who constituted approximately 10 percent of the State's population. Congress would later enact the Chinese exclusion act but not before some 300,000 Chinese had reached California. Most of these were centered around the San Francisco area and were low wage laborers.

The railroads found the Chinese workers ideal for their needs. As the gold mines began to dwindle, the Chinese workers left the mines to help build railroads. The Chinese were high producers and when combined with the low wages for which they worked, this produced significant economic gains for their employers. While in the 1880's the Chinese constituted only 8 percent of California's population, they accounted for three-quarters of

the State's agricultural labor. It is not surprising that a newly formed labor union led by Irish workers based on the assertion that the Chinese were taking jobs away from the Whites gained broad support which led to the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act. In United States history, this was the first time that a specific ethnic group was excluded.

THE MIGRATION

Illegal immigration to the U.S. has been traditionally associated with Mexico and Mexico is currently estimated to account for 50 to 60% of the undocumented alien population living in the United States.[3] The available literature shows a movement from agricultural employment during the 1960's and early 70's to low level industrial employment and a shift from predominately temporary employment by single males to a more settlement oriented employment that is family oriented. Among the significant findings are that the undocumented aliens work primarily in low status jobs for low wages.

Estimates of the number and geographic distribution of undocumented aliens show that almost half were in California, 49.8%. New York had 11.4%; Texas, 9%; Illinois, 6.6%; and Florida, 3.9%. No other state reached 2% (see Table I).

Large numbers of Mexican undocumented aliens are reported to be employed in manufacturing in Los Angeles through three different studies. One of them reported that while undocumented aliens' lowered wages in manufacturing and other industries it was also a result of increased benefits through new jobs, higher profits and lower prices. Studies from the Center for U.S. Mexican Studies have produced mixed results, one study arguing that domestic workers are being displaced by undocumented workers in restaurants and agriculture largely because of employers' preference for undocumenteds.

TABLE I

WHERE ILLEGALS LIVE[1]

(Numbers in thousands)

State	Illegal aliens	Percent of total	Undocumented aliens from Mexico	Undocumented aliens from all other countries
Total	2,057	100.0		
California	1,024	49.8	763	261
New York	234	11.4	6	228
Texas	186	9.0	147	39
Illinois	135	6.6	101	34
Florida	80	3.9	7	73
New Jersey	37	1.8	2	35
Virginia	34	1.7	1	34
Maryland	32	1.6		32
Arizona	25	1.2	20	5
Washington	22	1.1	11	11
Colorado	19	.9	11	8
Massachusetts	17	.8		17
Oregon	15	.7	7	8
District of Columbia	14	.7		14
New Mexico	13	.6	10	3

[1] More than 90 percent of illegal aliens lived in 15 States in 1980.

Source: Slater, 1985, p. 28, based on Passel and Woodrow, 1984.

TABLE II

America's Asian Population
(Distribution based on ancestral identification in 1980)[1]

	Number (in thousands)	Percent distribution			
		West	North-Central	South	Northeast
Chinese	894	55%	9%	12%	25%
Filipino	795	68	11	11	10
Japanese	701	77	9	9	7
Korean	377	43	18	20	18
Asian Indian	312	19	23	23	35
Vietnamese	215	44	14	33	9

[1]American-born and immigrant people of Asian descent.
Source: "Census Bureau."

No organization is an island unto itself. All organizations must perceive and cope with pressures from their external environment. Some writers have argued that environmental factors become more important for organizations as the environment becomes more turbulent with accelerating rates and new directions of change. Environmental factors include technology, legal, ecological, demographic, cultural, political and economic conditions.

Organizations vary in the way they perceive their environments and in the degree to which they are vulnerable to pressures from the outside world. Organization theorists suggest that an organization's effectiveness, even its survival, depends on its ability to perceive and adapt to its external world.

Law enforcement agencies deliver police services to a community. As such, police agencies must be responsive to changes in population, cultural, political and legal conditions in the community they serve. Changing conditions may require that a police agency reassess the form and/or function of the services that they provide. For example, an agency may change its deployment strategy to meet increasing demands from increasing minority populations, or it may adjust its service delivery to better meet the needs of a different emerging culture. Again, the ability of the law enforcement agency to make these changes, to be adaptive, is critical to its effectiveness.

Conditions in California, particularly Southern Calfiornia,

have been changing dramatically as a result of the U.S's inability to control its own borders. The Immigration Service in the southwestern part of the United States has an enormous task with only minimal resources to deal with the problem. In 1978, the U.S. Immigration & Naturalization Service announced it would replace and extend about a dozen miles of chain link fence along the Mexican border in Texas and Southern California. But the controversy surrounding this announcement destroyed it before the immigrants had their shot at it. The Governor of Texas compared the toughened barrier to the Berlin Wall. Citizens in both countries swamped public officials about the injuries that could occur from people trying to cross it.

Today, the fence is full of gaping holes, bent and battered, and serves as a monument to the nation's contradictory policies on immigration. INS severely lacks enough officers to stop the illegal immigrants who are entering the United States at about a rate of four per minute. We are a nation that proudly describes itself as a melting pot of the world and by keeping the INS weak, Washington is able to persue two contradictory immigration policies. Its stated policy is one of selected immigration while its actual policy is one of quite liberal immigration.(refer to Table III).

The Reagan administration recently has taken budgetary steps to strengthen the INS forces. The agency is using their increases

TABLE III

Illegal Immigrants Apprehended

Year	Number of Apprehended Illegal Immigrants
1965	110,371
1966	138,520
1967	161,608
1968	212,057
1969	283,557
1970	345,353
1972	505,949
1973	655,968
1974	788,145
1975	756,819
1976	866,433
1977	1,033,427
1978	1,047,687
1979	1,069,400
1980	910,361
1981	975,780
1982	962,687
1983	1,248,000

Source: U.S. Department of Justice, "Annual Reports" of the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

in budget to hire an additional 850 border patrol officers. However, even with these additions INS will not be able to cope with the ever-increasing tide of illegal immigrants. Since 1972 the number of INS investigators in Los Angeles has decreased significantly while the number of illegal immigrants living in the city is believed to be approximately one million.

Mexicans and Central Americans are not the only ones illegally migrating to the United States. We are receiving immigrants from all over the world. Last year, border patrolmen reported arresting illegal aliens from 43 countries, including China, Korea and Poland (refer to Table IV, which covers 1 week in San Diego).

Illegal aliens are also playing a major part in the economy in southwest United States. In Los Angeles alone, the center for the California apparel industry, over two-thirds of the garment labor is made up of illegal aliens. In the Silicone Valley, between 10 and 20% of the workforce are illegals. The change of illegals and the type of work they are doing has not occurred overnight.

In Santa Ana, California, illegals have demonstrated that they can be a political pressure and have influence. Hundreds of tenants living in a run-down apartment neighborhood recently marched on City Hall to protest evictions. They vehemently refused to pay their rent. A local activist organized them

SAN DIEGO SECTOR APPREHENSIONS - 7 DAYS

JANUARY 17, 1986 - JANUARY 23, 1986

FRIDAY	01/17/86	1,808
SATURDAY	01/18/86	2,372
SUNDAY	01/19/86	3,249
MONDAY	01/20/86	2,332
TUESDAY	01/21/86	1,917
WEDNESDAY	01/22/86	1,798
THURSDAY	01/23/86	1,547
TOTAL - 7 DAYS		**15,023**
AVERAGE PER DAY		**2,146**

MEXICO:		
Male	12,940	
Female	1,454	
Children	310	
TOTAL		**14,704**
OTHER COUNTRIES:		
Argentina	1	
Belize	2	
Bolivia	5	
Brazil	2	
Chile	1	
Colombia	17	
Costa Rica	2	
El Salvador	151	
Ecuador	8	
Guatemala	89	
Honduras	5	
India	2	
Jordan	3	
Nicaragua	13	
Peru	5	
Philippines	2	
Venezuela	1	
Yugoslavia	10	
TOTAL OTHER COUNTRIES		**319**
TOTAL ALIENS		**15,023**

TABLE IV

and formed Hermidad Mexicana Nationale to protect them and their interests. He collected funds from them that would have normally paid their rents in order to file legal actions to help improve their living conditions. While once an underclass destined to being prey victim to unscrupulous landlords and live in substandard conditions, they are now becoming not only an economical and social force but also a political one to be dealt with.

THE PROFILE OF NEW IMMIGRANTS TO CALIFORNIA

Both the U.S. Bureau of Statistics and the Immigration & Naturalization Service collect data that can be used to estimate the number of recent immigrants to California. The number who are undocumented or illegal are of special concern.

The estimate for the total immigration to California between 1970 and 1980 was 1,800,000. This number represents approximately 8% of Calfiornia's total population for the year 1980 (23 million).

INS statistics provide the basis for estimates for the net number of legal immigrants to California. This estimate of 800,000 reflects the net number of legal immgrants coming to California from places outside the United States. Subtracted from the total number of immigrants suggests the net number of 1,000,000 entered the States in an illegal status.

Mexicans are the largest single group of foreign born, however, they do not constitute a majority of the immigrant population because only one-third of all foreign born residents in California and 37% of recent arrivals are Mexican. Even Hispanics as a whole, Mexican and non-Mexican Hispanics, make up less than one-half of the immigrant population.[4]

Mexican immigration to California is a fairly recent experience. Two-thirds of all Mexicans in California in 1983 had arrived since 1970. The majority of the recent non-Hispanic arrivals are Asian.

During the late 19th and early 20th century, a minority of the immigrants who came to the United States were skilled workers. The jobs that these workers were able to obtain used to required less skill than the jobs held in their own countries. This pattern is being repeated among skilled workers who have recently come to the United States. (Refer to Table V, Page 31.)

Mexican immigrants typically have less education than other entrants. A substantially higher portion of non-Mexican Hispanics have completed high school or college. The non-Mexican Hispanic immigrants fall into two categories: 1) very little skill or education; 2) a smaller group with higher education. (Refer to Table VI, Page 32.)

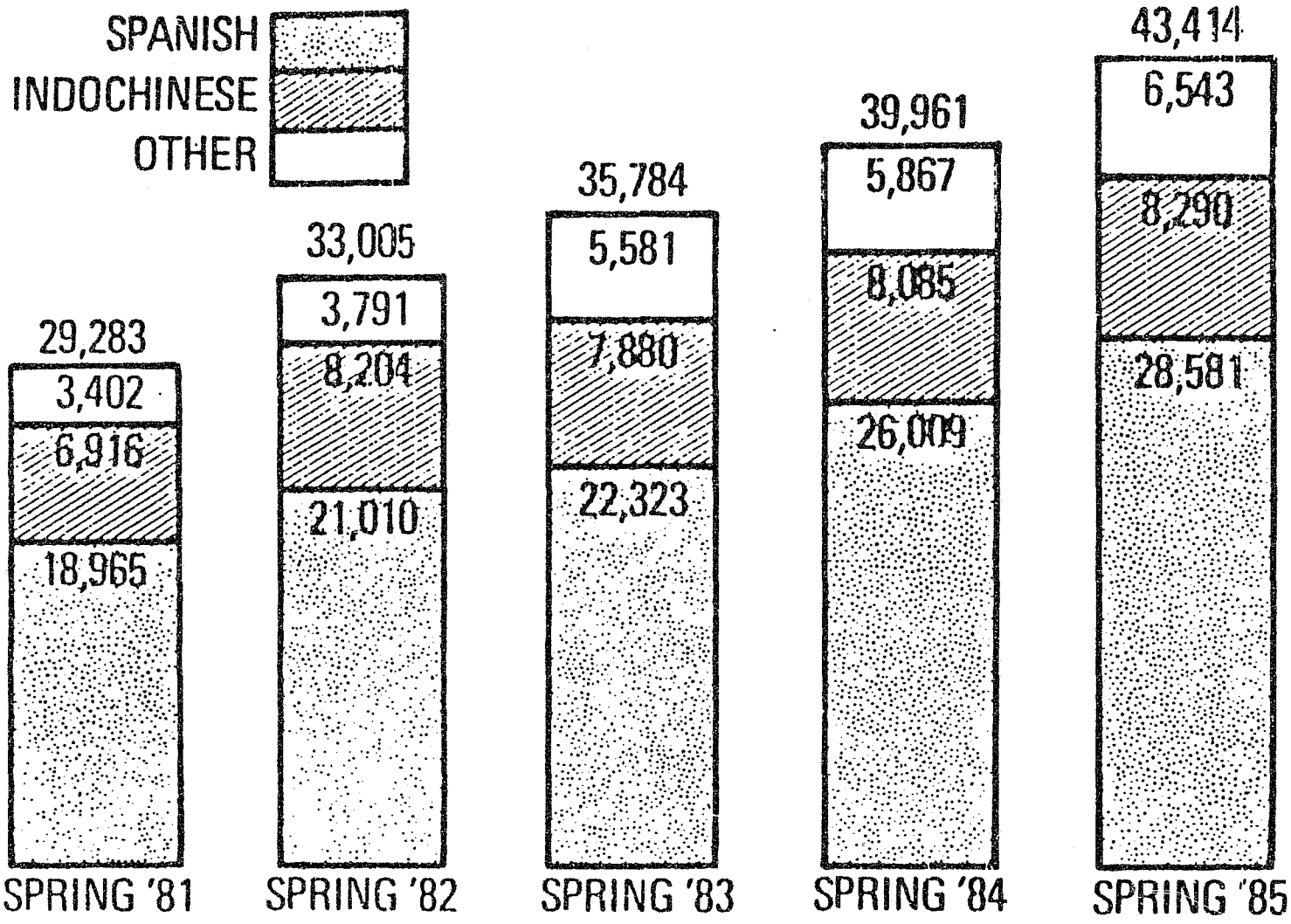
A significant study conducted by individual researchers concluded that the characteristics of undocumented and legal Mexican immigrants to California were basically the same. They have received legal permanent resident alien status but used this status only to obtain work in the United States. They are usually older married men who leave their dependents in Mexico and spend eight or nine months annually working in the United States.

Permanent Legal Immigrants

The majority of this category are married and have at least one child who has been born in the United States. They seldom return to their homes in Mexico except for vacations. They generally come from families who have a history of migration to the United States. An important subgroup consists of men and their dependents who first came to the United States during the period of the Bracero program. They have the longest work experience in the United States and earn the highest wages of all categories of Mexican immigrants.

A single immigrant family may contain individuals who fall into more than one of the categories mentioned above. Also many of the people in the long-term illegal category are in some stage of the process of legalizing their status but it may take many years to complete. The list of subgroups in various categories does not even begin to capture the diversity of individual situations and motivations that affect the Mexican immigrant population of California. The shift toward more permanent settlement is most evident in the urban areas. Recent surveys conducted in Los Angeles and San Diego have found that substantial portions of the undocumented workers have established permanent or semi-permanent residence in those cities. The results, however, probably reflect a growing reality that Mexican immigrants now comprise a significant portion of the stable work force of large cities in Southern California.[5]

ENROLLMENT OF LIMITED ENGLISH PROFICIENT STUDENTS IN ORANGE COUNTY



Source: Santa Ana Unified School District ESL Coordinator.

GRAPH I

TABLE V

Occupations of Immigrants in California Who Arrived in the United States Between 1970 and 1980 and of U.S.-Born California Residents, 1980

(Percent)

Occupational Category	Mexicans	Other Latin Americans[a]	Europeans	Asians	U.S.-Born California Residents
Professional/ managerial	2.7	8.2	28.1	22.7	26.6
Other white-collar	7.4	19.9	25.6	33.6	34.4
Skilled blue-collar	13.2	13.7	14.3	10.3	12.2
All other[b]	76.7	58.2	32.0	33.4	26.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: 1980 Census, "Detailed Population Characteristics."

a. Persons from the Western Hemisphere, except Canada and Mexico

b. Unskilled or semiskilled blue-collar, service, and agricultural occupations.

TABLE VI

Educational Level of Adult Immigrants in California Who Arrived in the United States Between 1970 and 1980 and of Adult U.S.-Born California Residents, 1980

(Percent)

Years of Schooling	Mexicans	Other Latin Americans[a]	Europeans	Asians	U.S.-Born California Residents
0 - 8	73.8	36.2	19.3	18.1	9.5
9 - 15[b]	24.1	53.3	55.5	48.1	70.1
4 years or more of college	2.1	10.5	25.2	33.8	20.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: 1980 Census, "Detailed Population Characteristics, General Social and Economic Characteristics."

a. Persons from the Western Hemisphere, except Canada and Mexico.
b. 1 to 4 years of high school and 1 to 3 years of college.

Border Crossings by Non-Latinos on Rise

By PATRICK McDONNELL,
Times Staff Writer

TIJUANA—In January, 1985, Dong Chan Kim had a rendezvous in this border town. Dong, a Korean native who was living legally in Los Angeles, met four South Koreans who arrived at the Tijuana airport from Mexico City. Afterward, Dong and his son-in-law drove the visitors in a 1966 maroon Mustang convertible to a fancy downtown restaurant, where U.S. authorities say the four newcomers passed Dong an envelope containing $5,600.

The following day, U.S. border authorities arrested the four Koreans as they attempted to enter the United States illegally through a rugged Tijuana canyon. During questioning, they soon fingered Dong as their smuggling contact, the man who had helped arrange the deal during a meeting three weeks earlier and thousands of miles away in a hotel in Seoul, South Korea.

U.S. authorities say Dong's case represents a trend: increasingly, illegal immigrants from far-flung nations such as South Korea, Yugoslavia, Poland, India and Ghana are following the well-blazed trail of aliens from Mexico and elsewhere in Latin America who attempt to enter the United States illegally by crossing its 1,900-mile border with Mexico. For these immigrants, as for tens of thousands of Mexicans and Central Americans, the United States represents a chance at a better life, an escape from poverty and repression.

In the first four months of the current fiscal year, for example, immigration authorities in San Diego, the nation's busiest border crossing, arrested 52 Yugoslavians, 41 Indians, 16 South Koreans, 8 Poles and 8 Chinese.

Investigations Difficult

While the numbers are but fractions of the multitude of illegal Mexican aliens, U.S. officials are nonetheless concerned, particularly since language and cultural barriers make investigations difficult and prosecutions costly.

"Trying to find a court-approved Albanian translator can be a mammoth undertaking," one federal prosecutor noted.

"It's a lot more difficult to infiltrate or break up a smuggling ring in Yugoslavia, as opposed to something that's local," said John Belluardo, director of congressional and public affairs for the Immigration and Naturalization Service's regional office in Los Angeles. "And even if we infiltrate two or three a week, there are probably two dozen still operating. These are million-dollar operations. . . . The United States is becoming the lifeboat for the rest of the world."

One INS investigator said: "We can break up four Mexican rings in the time it takes to crack one of these Yugoslavian cases."

Moreover, whereas Mexican nationals are routinely bused back to Mexico after signing voluntary departure forms, non-Mexicans, who cannot be deported to Mexico, must be held—at government expense—until their deportation cases are heard or until they post bond.

Sophisticated Networks

"There's a tremendous expense involved here," said Harold Ezell, INS commissioner for the western region.

During recent investigations of smuggling rings, INS officials have learned of sophisticated networks of airline routes, safe houses, preferred hotels, guides, couriers and back roads stretching from Europe, Asia, the Mideast and Africa to Mexican border cities and into the United States.

With legal visas to the United States in short supply, the porous barrier that is the U.S.-Mexico border is often the easiest path to the United States. And U.S. authorities say that Mexico, with its liberal policy for visitors' visas and its well-known reputation for corruption, is a convenient conduit for smuggling people of all nationalities into the United States. Officials expect to see more and more aliens from all nations attempting to enter the United States through Mexico.

"The word has gone out to the rest of the world that the United States . . . that there are jobs available," said Ed Pyeatt, a supervisory agent of the U.S. Border Patrol in San Diego. "It's the age of mass communications, satellites. . . . They see how good it is here on American TV. . . . Then one person comes and sends word back home how good it is, and another person comes and then another. . . . There's a blossoming effect."

'Yearning to Be Free'

What they seek is nothing less than the American dream, and their point of embarkation is not Ellis Island but Tijuana.

"Their basic motivations are on the Statue of Liberty—they're tired, hungry and yearning to be free," said Robert Mautino, an attorney in San Diego who handles immigration cases. "Unfortunately, if you fit that description, you probably can't emigrate legally to the United States."

Once considered a border oddity, non-Latino illegal aliens are now being picked up at border outposts as varied as the rugged mountain terrain of Texas' Big Bend, the flat desert of Arizona and the sprawling metropolis of San Diego. Like many Latin Americans, these newest aliens travel enormous distances—often at considerable personal danger—and pay exorbitant sums—up to $10,000, investigators say—to often unscrupulous smugglers.

The increased smuggling of non-Latinos from Mexico, which authorities say dates from the early 1980s, has resulted in some cultural paradoxes.

In Mexican border cities such as Tijuana and Ciudad Juarez, cheap hotels have been playing temporary hosts to groups of these newest tourists, Eastern Europeans and Asians who speak no Spanish or English and are there strictly to seek illegal entry into the United States. In largely Latino areas of the U.S. border region, authorities have seized vehicles transporting groups of oddly dressed foreigners along isolated back roads.

And all along the border, U.S. immigration authorities long accustomed to dealing with Mexicans and other Latin Americans have schooled themselves in such suddenly useful esoterica as the cultural nuances of the turbaned Sikhs of the Punjab or the historical roots of Yugoslavia's ethnic Albanians—many of whom previously had fled Albania, Europe's most dogmatic Communist nation.

'Looked Like KGB Men'

"We've had to educate ourselves," said Gerald S. Marchese, a Border Patrol investigator based in San Diego who has helped break smuggling rings of South Koreans and Yugoslavs. "When we first starting seeing these Yugoslavs a few years ago, they looked like your classic KGB men, all dressed

Cont'd

up in these black suits with little stripes. Just like you'd see in a spy movie. . . . Some of these Albanians talked about how they risked their lives, crawled on their bellies under the barbed wire, just to get out of Albania."

An El Paso immigration lawyer recalled seeing a pair of Eastern Europeans in an immigration detention facility filled with Latin Americans.

"You had to feel sorry for these guys," the lawyer said. "They were so out of place. They were all dressed up in these loud clothes, and they didn't speak English or Spanish."

In fiscal 1985, U.S. immigration authorities along the southern border recorded apprehending more than 1.2 million aliens from more than 70 nations. The vast majority—97%—were Mexican nationals. However, the 40,500 non-Mexican nationals apprehended—mostly Central Americans—represented an increase of 13% from the year before.

For non-Latino aliens, the increase appears to be even sharper, although the INS does not break it down on a national basis. In San Diego, immigration officials apprehended 782 aliens from non-Latino nations in fiscal 1985—a 90% increase from the previous year.

Some Active Politically

Apart from the difficulty and increased costs associated with investigating non-Latino smuggling rings, officials voice some concern that illegal entrants who are members of politically active groups could become involved in criminal activities in the United States. Officials said the issue was raised during the investigation of a ring that was allegedly smuggling hundreds of Yugoslav nationals through Mexico during the early 1980s. Most of the aliens were young, single men of ethnic Albanian heritage who "have very active political affiliations," according to a government sentencing memorandum.

"It was right around the time that we had the Olympics in Los Angeles, and we were concerned there could be some kind of incident," said Pamela J. Naughton, an assistant U.S. attorney in San Diego who helped prosecute the Yugoslav case.

Defense attorneys, however, maintained that the smuggled aliens were mostly poor ethnic Albanians who were fleeing discrimination and poverty in Yugoslavia. Indeed, many non-Latino aliens do file for political asylum in the United States, although such applications are granted infrequently.

The Yugoslav case, one of the broadest East European smuggling operations uncovered in recent years, centered on Dragisa (Dragan) Terzioski, a Yugoslav-born naturalized U.S. citizen who allegedly ran his smuggling operation from his travel agency in Paterson, N.J., a working-class city west of New York with a substantial Yugoslav-American population. Terzioski was a prominent member of the area's Yugoslav community, host of a weekly television program and a media commentator during U.S. visits by Josip Broz Tito, the late Yugoslav leader.

When Terzioski was arrested in May, 1984, and bail was set at $1 million, federal prosecutors charged in court papers that "it was only a matter of days before one of his countrymen appeared at the Magistrate's office with a plastic bag full of $100,000 in cash" to bail him out. The funds were collected from Yugoslav-Americans whose relatives had been smuggled into the United States with Terzioski's help, according to the government sentencing memorandum.

Federal authorities charged that Terzioski was becoming rich on profits garnered by smuggling Yugoslav citizens into the United States via Mexico. Most were ethnic Albanians seeking to meet relatives in the New York-New Jersey area.

Terzioski's network was well-established, according to court documents based on interviews with captured illegal aliens. Officials say its operations are similar to those of other smuggling rings now bringing in Europeans, Asians and others.

In the Terzioski case, prosecutors said that a relative of the alien to be smuggled would first contact Terzioski at his travel agency. Terzioski would insist on being paid an average of $4,000 in cash. The smuggler would then arrange to have Mexican visas issued to the aliens in Belgrade, Yugoslavia.

Shortly thereafter, the government charged, the aliens would fly from Belgrade to Amsterdam, and from Amsterdam to Mexico City, where Terzioski or one of his accomplices would meet them and arrange for their transportation to Mexican border cities such as Tijuana. A guide would accompany the illegal immigrants across the border, and the aliens would be put on a plane in San Diego bound for New York or New Jersey.

135 Aliens Smuggled

Federal prosecutors believe that Terzioski helped hundreds of citizens of Yugoslavia to enter the United States illegally. In the nine-month period beginning in September, 1983, prosecutors estimated in court papers, Terzioski garnered more than $300,000 in illicit profits for smuggling in 135 aliens from Yugoslavia.

Unknown to Terzioski, his prosperous enterprise began to unravel in the fall of 1983, when immigration officers intercepted four Yugoslavs being smuggled in from Tijuana. An American driver told investigators that he had been recruited by a man known only as *Dragan*.

Through telephone records, airline ticket receipts and interviews with other smuggled Yugoslavs, Dragan was soon identified as Terzioski and traced to his New Jersey travel agency. In October, 1984, Terzioski pleaded guilty to two smuggling counts; he was sentenced to four years in jail. Five other accomplices also pleaded guilty and received varying sentences.

'They see how good it is here on American TV. . . . Then one person comes and sends word back home how good it is, and another person comes and then another. . . . There's a blossoming effect.'

—Ed Pyeatt, supervisory agent of the U.S. Border Patrol in San Diego

SURVEY

In February 1986, a survey was conducted by the author to collect data on the seven major crimes in the following areas: 1) Documented criminal statistics for 1985 of crimes involving illegal aliens; 2) opinion of the agency representative on the percentage of illegal aliens who are committing a specific crime; 3) Summary of special apprehension programs directed toward arresting illegal aliens in a specified crime category; 4) Summary of crime prevention programs in specific crime categories; 5) Opinion of the agency representative of the future impact of illegal aliens in specific crime categories for the year 1996.

A total of 115 survey instruments were sent out to agencies in California, Colorado, Nevada, Oklahoma, Oregon, Texas and Washington. Responses were received back from the following agencies:

California

Arvada P.D.
Berkeley P.D.,
Buena Park P.D.
California Highway Patrol
Carrollton P.D.
Chino P.D.
Concord P.D.
Downey P.D.
Escalon P.D.
Escondido P.D.
Folsom P.D.
Fresno P.D.
Garden Grove P.D.
Gilroy P.D.
Hermosa Beach P.D.
Kingsberg P.D.
Long Beach P.D.
Los Angeles P.D.
Menlow Park P.D.
Monterey Park P.D.
Mountain View P.D.
Newport Beach P.D.
Oakland P.D.
Perris P.D.
Pleasanton P.D.
Redwood City P.D.
Riverside P.D.
Sacramento P.D.
Salinas P.D.
San Bernardino County Sheriff
San Diego P.D.
San Gabriel P.D.
Santa Paula P.D.
Simi Valley P.D.
Torrance P.D.
Tulare County Sheriff
Vallejo P.D.
Ventura County Sheriff
Walnut Creek P.D.

Agencies Outside California

Arlington, Texas
Colorado Department of Public Safety
Colorado Bureau of Investigation
Department of Public Safety, Lakewood, Colorado
Las Vegas Metropolitan P.D.
Portland, Oregon Bureau of Police
Washington State Patrol
Fort Collins, Colorado
Houston, Texas

Crime Statistics 1985 Year Totals

Of the agencies surveyed, 3 agencies kept actual statistics and provided the following information. NOTE: The first number is the number of illegal aliens committing the particular crime; the second number in the offense is the actual number of crimes occurring.

CRIMINAL HOMICIDE	FORCIBLE RAPE	ROBBERY	ASSAULT	BURGLARY	LARCENY	MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT
0/3	0/22	4/240	12/93	500/1346	450/2087	50/507
2/3	4/20	15/35	5/105	611/233	98/508	8/69
			0/1	3/10	1/15	0/2

Opinion on Crime Statistics

NOTE: 41 agencies responded to this question. Each of the responding agencies was asked to rank each crime category of the number from 0 to 10 (0 indicating the lowest, 10 indicating the highest). This number should represent their opinion on how serious this crime was connected with illegal aliens.

CRIMINAL HOMICIDE	FORCIBLE RAPE	ROBBERY	ASSAULT
0/18 agencies	0/12 agencies	0/8 agencies	0/4 agencies
1/9 "	1/15 "	1/16 "	1/14 "
2/2 "	2/7 "	2/6 "	2/9 "
3/6 "	3/5 "	3/5 "	3/6 "
4/4 "	4/2 "	4/2 "	4/1 "
5/1 "		5/3 "	5/3 "
7/1 "		6/1 "	6/1 "

BURGLARY	LARCENY	MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT
0/5 agencies	0/3 agencies	0/8 agencies
1/17 "	1/18 "	1/17 "
2/10 "	2/7 "	2/9 "
3/4 "	3/8 "	3/3 "
4/2 "	4/4 "	4/1 "
5/1 "	6/1 "	8/1 "
6/1 "	9/1 "	
8/1 "		

Special Note: Not all counts may add up to 41 agencies as some agencies may not have answered a particular crime question or may have responded improperly, in which case it was not counted.

(Refer to Graphs II through VII, Pages 45-51.)

Future Impact of Illegal Aliens on Crime in 1996

In this category the respondent was asked, again using a scale of 0 to 10, what they see the future impact of illegal aliens would be in the year 1996.(46 agencies responded).

CRIMINAL HOMICIDE	FORCIBLE RAPE	ROBBERY	ASSAULT
0/9 agencies	0/8 agencies	0/4 agencies	0/2 agencies
1/11 "	1/11 "	1/10 "	1/9 "
2/5 "	2/9 "	2/4 "	2/7 "
3/4 "	3/6 "	3/5 "	3/6 "
4/5 "	4/6 "	4/5 "	4/2 "
5/4 "	5/2 "	5/4 "	5/7 "
6/3 "	6/2 "	6/4 "	6/2 "
7/3 "	7/1 "	7/7 "	7/5 "
8/1 "		8/1 "	8/2 "
9/1 "		9/1 "	9/1 "

BURGLARY	LARCENY	MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT
0/No agencies responded that Burglary would not be a problem.	0/No agency ranked this 0.	0/4 agencies
1/10 agencies	1/8 agencies	1/15 "
2/8 "	2/6 "	2/7 "
3/3 "	3/6 "	3/3 "
4/7 "	4/7 "	4/4 "
5/4 "	5/4 "	5/6 "
6/6 "	6/4 "	6/2 "
7/2 "	8/3 "	8/3 "
8/3 "	9/2 "	9/1 "
9/2 "	10/2 "	
	Note: This is the only category that received a 10 rating.	

(Refer to Graphs II through VII, Pages 45-51.)

SAMPLE OF SURVEYS

	1 CRIME STATS	2 OPIN.	3 SPECIAL PROGRAMS/ APPREHENSION	4 CRIME PREVENTION PROGRAMS	5 FUTURE IMPACT	6 FUTURE PROGRAMS
Criminal Homicide	N/A	* See Notation (over) 0	N/A	(Spanish speaking) Domestic Violence Community Service Program for Community Crime Resistance Program	1	(Victim orientated) Continiation of Neighborhood Watch concept i.e. personal protection application.
Forcible Rape	N/A	0	N/A	(Spanish speaking) Domestic Violence and Rape Prevention Community service program per Community Crime Resistance Program.	1	(Victim orientated) Stranger Danger Program K-3 grades (CCRP Grant 3rd yr) - continuation of rape and personal protection programs.
Robbery	N/A	1	N/A	(Spanish speaking) Personal Protection Community service program per Community Crime Resistance Program	1	(Victim orientated) Continuation of Chino Youth Services personal protection program
Assault	N/A	1	N/A	(Spanish speaking) Same program as listed under Robbery plus Child Abuse Program.	1	(Victim orientated) Stranger Danger CCRP
Burglary	N/A	0	N/A	(Spanish Speaking) Home Security and Neighborhood Watch community service programs per CCRP Grant listed above.	2	(Victim orientated) Continuation of Neighborhood Watch and related programs.
Larceny	N/A	0	N/A	(Spanish speaking) Coverage inclusive of Robbery/Assault and Personal Protection programs above.	2	(Victim orientated) Continuation of Neighborhood Watch and related programs.
Motor Vehicle Theft	N/A	0	N/A	(Spanish speaking) Home Security program as listed above.	1	(Victim orientated) Spanish speaking Lock-It Program.

	1 CRIME STATS	2 OPIN.	3 SPECIAL PROGRAMS/ APPREHENSION	4 CRIME PREVENTION PROGRAMS	5 FUTURE IMPACT	6 FUTURE PROGRAMS
Criminal Homicide		3	Mexican Extradition Detail-Implemented to facilitate apprehension of major violators who have fled to Mexico. Also assist in arrest of persons in Los Angeles wanted by Mexican authorities.		3	Already in development stages are expanded crime prevention materials for various Asian languages.
Forcible Rape		2	Asian Task Force-Implemented to monitor criminal activity of Asian immigrants, many of whom are undocumented entrants.	Lady Beware Program-Rape and Assault Prevention program presented in many languages by Department personnel and volunteers	3	
Robbery		2		Various crime prevention programs presented in foreign languages by Department personnel and volunteers.	3	
Assault		2		Operacion Estafadores-Store front facility in predominately Spanish-speaking area. Implemented to encourage reporting of crime	3	
Burglary		2		and dissemination of crime prevention material. Similar operations in Chinese and Korean communities.	5	
Larceny		3		Presentation of crime prevention material in several languages in newspapers, and on radio and television.	5	
Motor Vehicle Theft		2			3	

	1 CRIME STATS*	2 OPIN.	3 SPECIAL PROGRAMS/ APPREHENSION	4 CRIME PREVENTION PROGRAMS	5 FUTURE IMPACT	6 FUTURE PROGRAMS
Criminal Homicide	106	2			3	
Forcible Rape	338	2	Border Crime Prevention Unit. 10 Officers in rugged foothills and canyons on the border patrol at night to apprehend those who perpetrate these crimes on aliens surrepticiously entering the United States.		3	
Robbery	3073	4			4	
Assault	2754	3		Most crime prevention material is printed in Spanish.	3	
Burglary	16359	3	Special Investigations detectives surveil known locations for loot to change hands, load cars, etc.	Our Community Relations officers are Hispanic and recruit "Neighborhood Watch" members in Spanish.	6	
Larceny	35220	3			6	
Motor Vehicle Theft	10062	3	Southern Division maintains incentive program similar to "10851" Program.		6	

*FYI ONLY -- 1985 STATS BUT NOT SPECIFICALLY RELATED TO ALIENS.

CITY OF SANTA ANA
POLICE DEPARTMENT
24 CIVIC CENTER PLAZA • P.O. BOX 1981
SANTA ANA, CALIFORNIA 92702

February 19, 1986

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

I am a member of the Command College, a program sponsored by the California Commission on Peace Officer Standards and Training (POST). Research is a very important part of this program designed to train future law enforcement leaders.

I am conducting research on the future impact of illegal aliens on crime. In this research, I will be analyzing current data as well as developing probable future scenarios. Strategic planning and transition management recommendations will also be developed for use by California law enforcement agencies.

Attached please find a letter of introduction and a survey which I am conducting. The survey is a very integral part of this research project. I would greatly appreciate your response to this survey. If possible, would you return it to me by February 28, 1986 in the self-addressed stamped envelope enclosed.

Thanks for your help.

Sincerely,

PAUL M. WALTERS, Captain
Community Oriented Policing Division

jb

SURVEY
THE FUTURE IMPACT OF ILLEGAL ALIENS AND CRIME

Name of person completing survey:_____

Title:_____

Agency Name:_____

Agency Size:_____

Population Serving:_____

Racial Breakdown:

White:____ Hispanic:____ Black:____ Asian:____ Other:____

Percentage of population who are illegal aliens (estimate):_____

INSTRUCTIONS FOR FILLING OUT ATTACHED QUESTIONNAIRE:

Column #1: Crime Statistics 1985-year totals

If you keep statistics on the number of illegal aliens involved in the 7 major crimes, please indicate the number of arrests for the particular crime in which an illegal alien was arrested and the total number of arrests made by your agency in each category, i.e., 7 illegal alien arrests out of 50 would be 7/50.

Column #2: Opinion on Crime Statistics 1985

If you do not keep crime stats, please fill out this column. Please rank each category with a number from 0 to 10 (0 indicating the lowest, 10 indicating the highest). This number should represent your opinion on how serious this crime problem is connected with illegal aliens. For example, if you felt that 80% of all homicides were committed by illegal aliens, then an 8 would be an appropriate number to go in this column.

Column #3. Special Programs/Apprehension

If you have any special apprehension programs that are directed toward arresting illegal aliens involved in this crime category, please give a brief summary of the program. For example, a unit that deals with non-English speaking robbery suspects would apply.

Column #4: Crime Prevention Programs

If you have any special programs geared toward crime prevention, please give a brief summary in each crime category. For example, Spanish public service announcements on crime prevention techniques.

Column #5. Future Impact 1996

Please estimate in this column, again using a scale of 0 to 10, what you see as potential future problems involving illegal aliens in the next 10 years. For example, if you foresee burglary as a major problem involving illegal aliens, an 8, 9 or 10 would be appropriate.

	1 CRIME STATS	2 OPIN.	3 SPECIAL PROGRAMS/ APPREHENSION	4 CRIME PREVENTION PROGRAMS	5 FUTURE IMPACT	6 FUTURE PROGRAMS
Criminal Homicide						
Forcible Rape						
Robbery						
Assault						
Burglary						
Larceny						
Motor Vehicle Theft						

STATE OF CALIFORNIA
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMISSION ON PEACE OFFICER STANDARDS AND TRAINING
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EXECUTIVE OFFICE
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BUREAUS
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(916) 739-5354
Compliance and Certificates
(916) 739-5377
Information Services
(916) 739-5340
Management Counseling
(916) 322-3492
Standards and Evaluation
(916) 322-3492
Training Delivery Services
(916) 739-5394
Training Program Services
(916) 739-5372
Course Control
(916) 739-5399
Professional Certificates
(916) 739-5391
Reimbursements
(916) 739-5367
Resource Library
(916) 739-5353
Center for Executive Development
(916) 739-5328

GEORGE DEUKMEJIAN, *Governor*
JOHN K. VAN DE KAMP, *Attorney General*

To Whom It May Concern:

This is to introduce Captain Paul M. Walters of the Santa Ana Police Department, Santa Ana, California. Captain Walters is conducting law enforcement research. He is a member of the Command College, a program for future law enforcement leaders sponsored by the California Commission on Peace Officer Standards and Training (POST). Independent research is an integral part of the program and is a requirement for graduation.

Assistance provided toward the research project will benefit law enforcement in general. The final research product produced by each member of the Command College will be made available through POST.

If you have any questions, you may contact me at (916) 739-5336. This letter of introduction expires on May 1, 1986.

Your assistance is greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

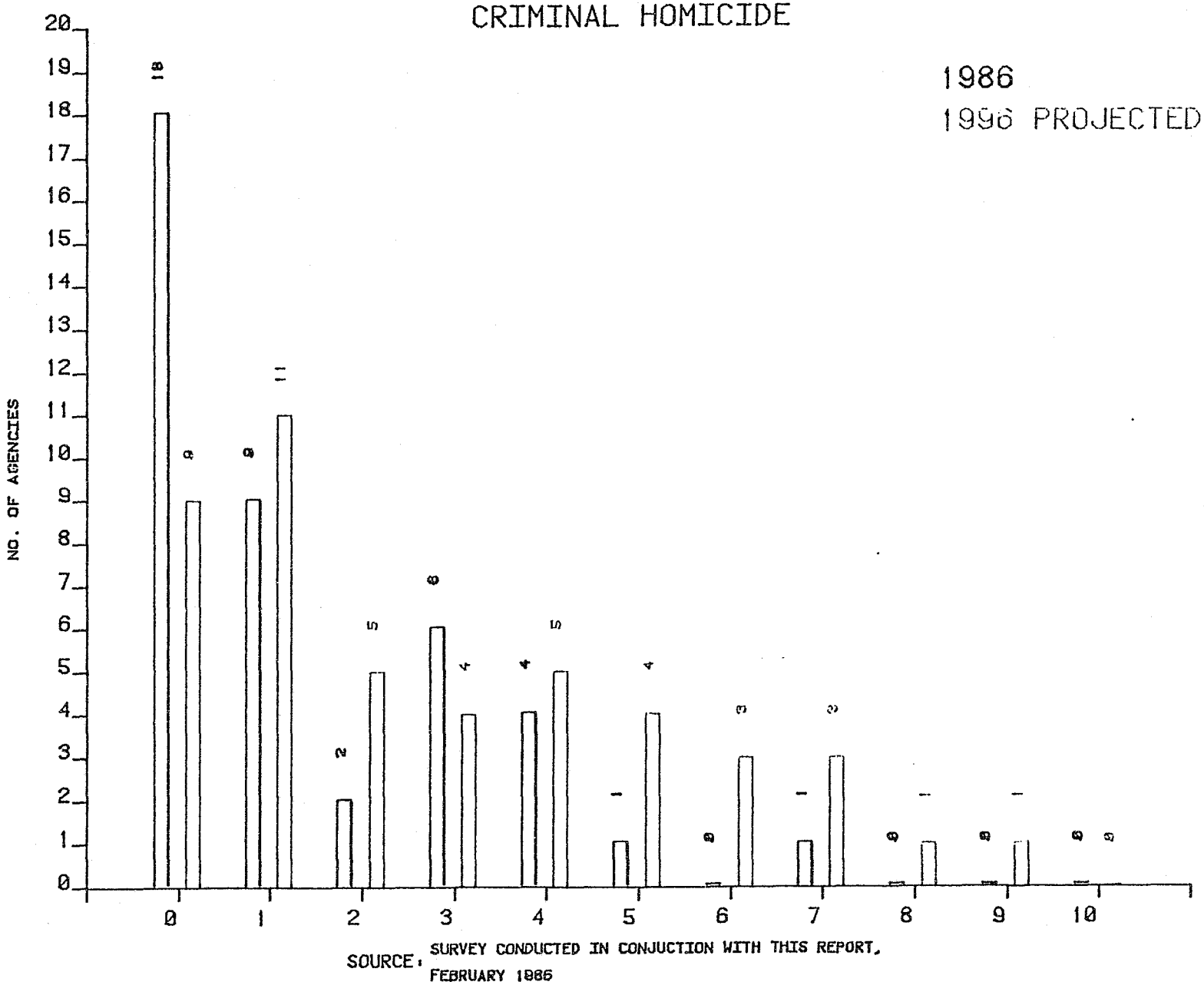
Doug Thomas

DOUG THOMAS
Senior Consultant
Center for Executive Development

GRAPHS

CRIMINAL HOMICIDE

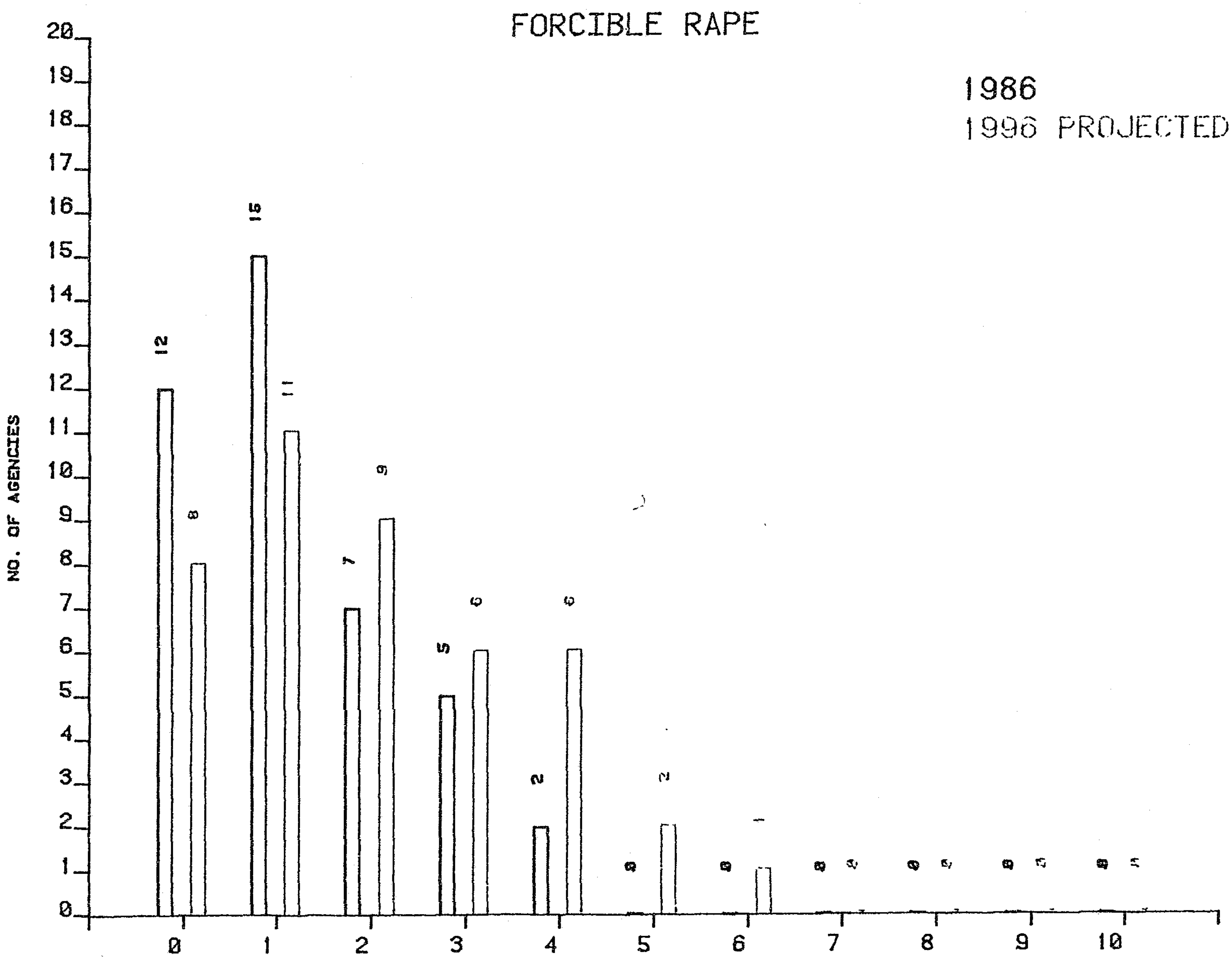
1986
1996 PROJECTED



SOURCE: SURVEY CONDUCTED IN CONJUCTION WITH THIS REPORT, FEBRUARY 1986

GRAPH II

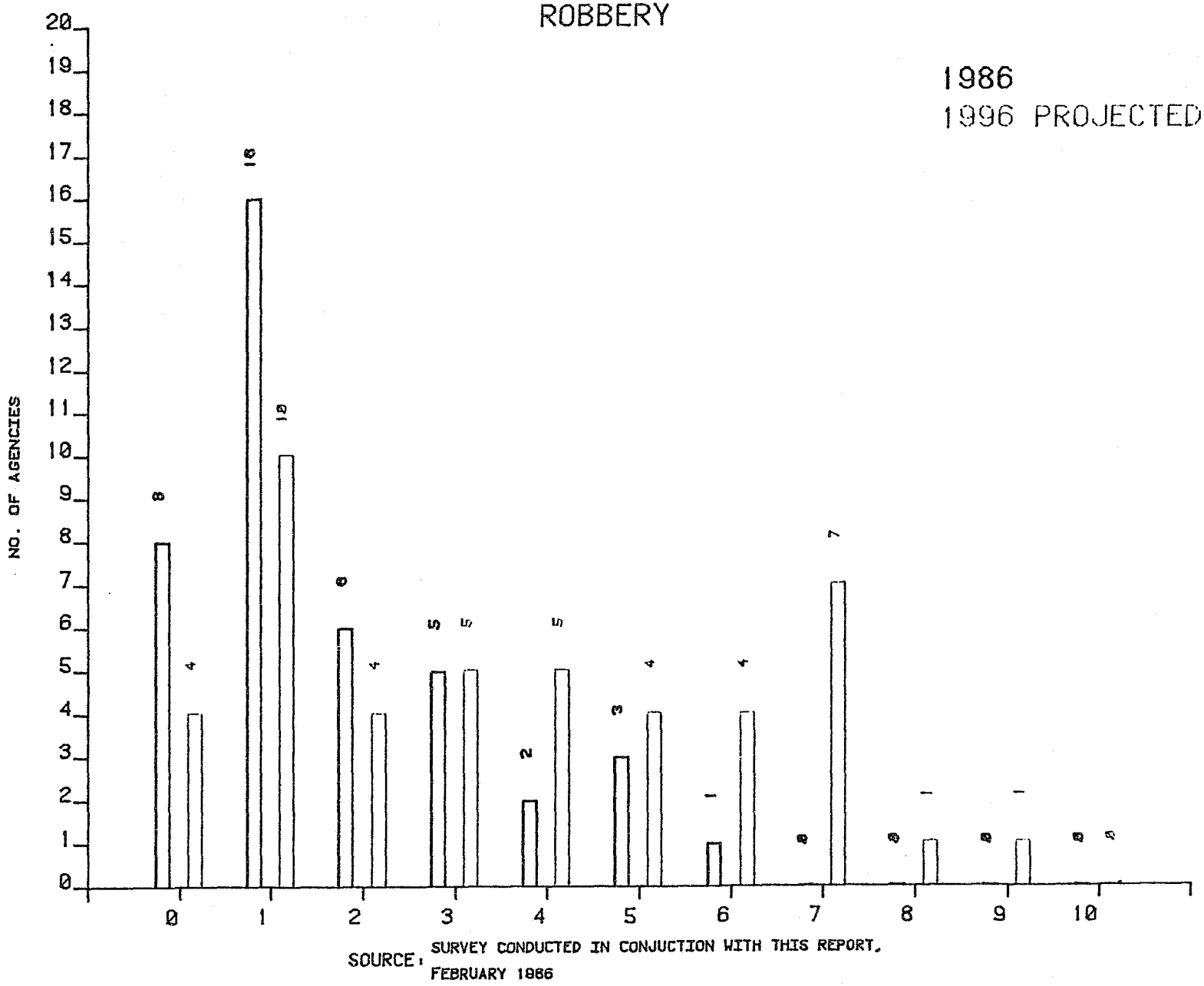
GRAPH III



SOURCE: SURVEY CONDUCTED IN CONJUCTION WITH THIS REPORT. FEBRUARY 1986

ROBBERY

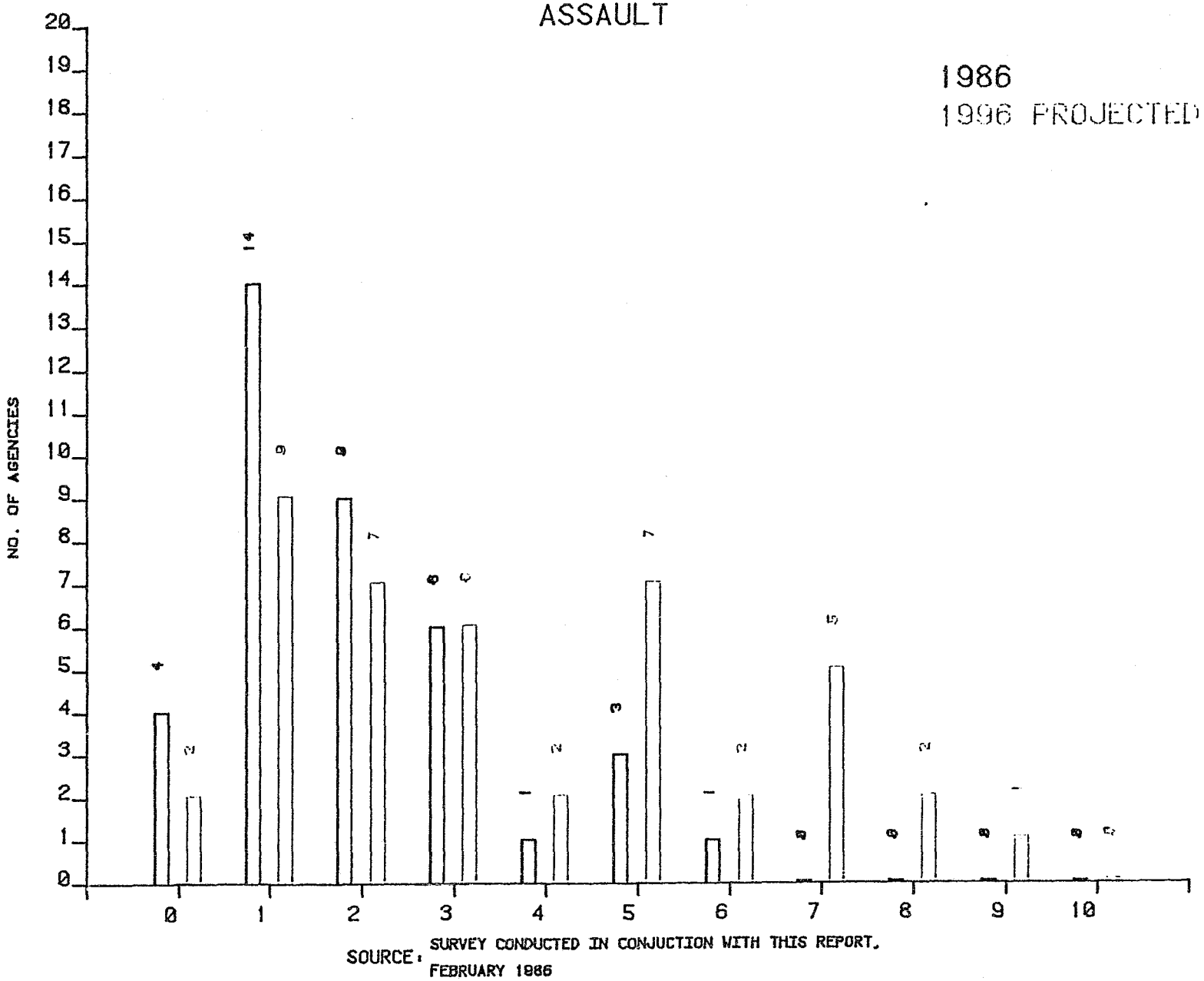
1986
1996 PROJECTED



SOURCE: SURVEY CONDUCTED IN CONJUCTION WITH THIS REPORT, FEBRUARY 1986

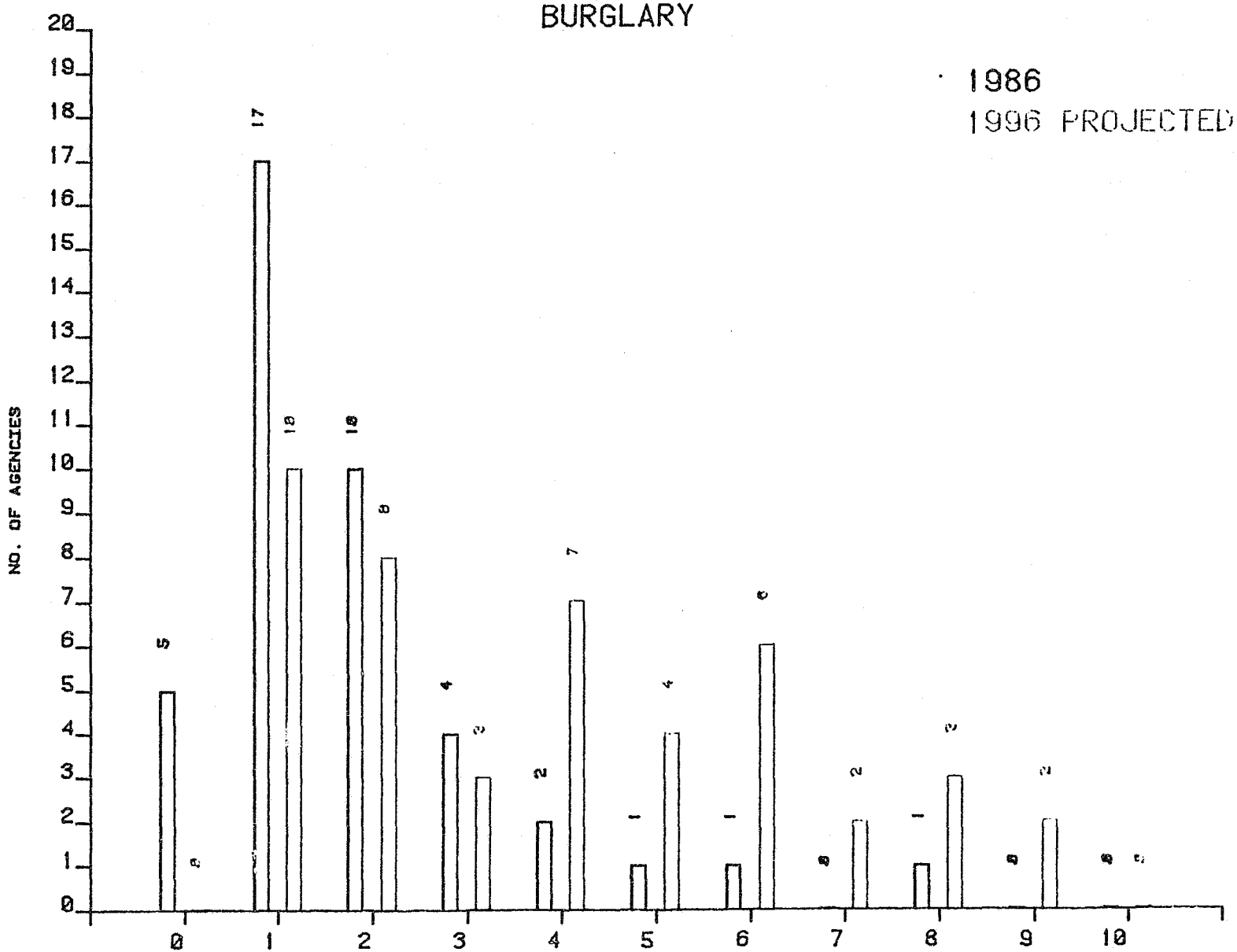
GRAPH IV

ASSAULT



GRAPH V

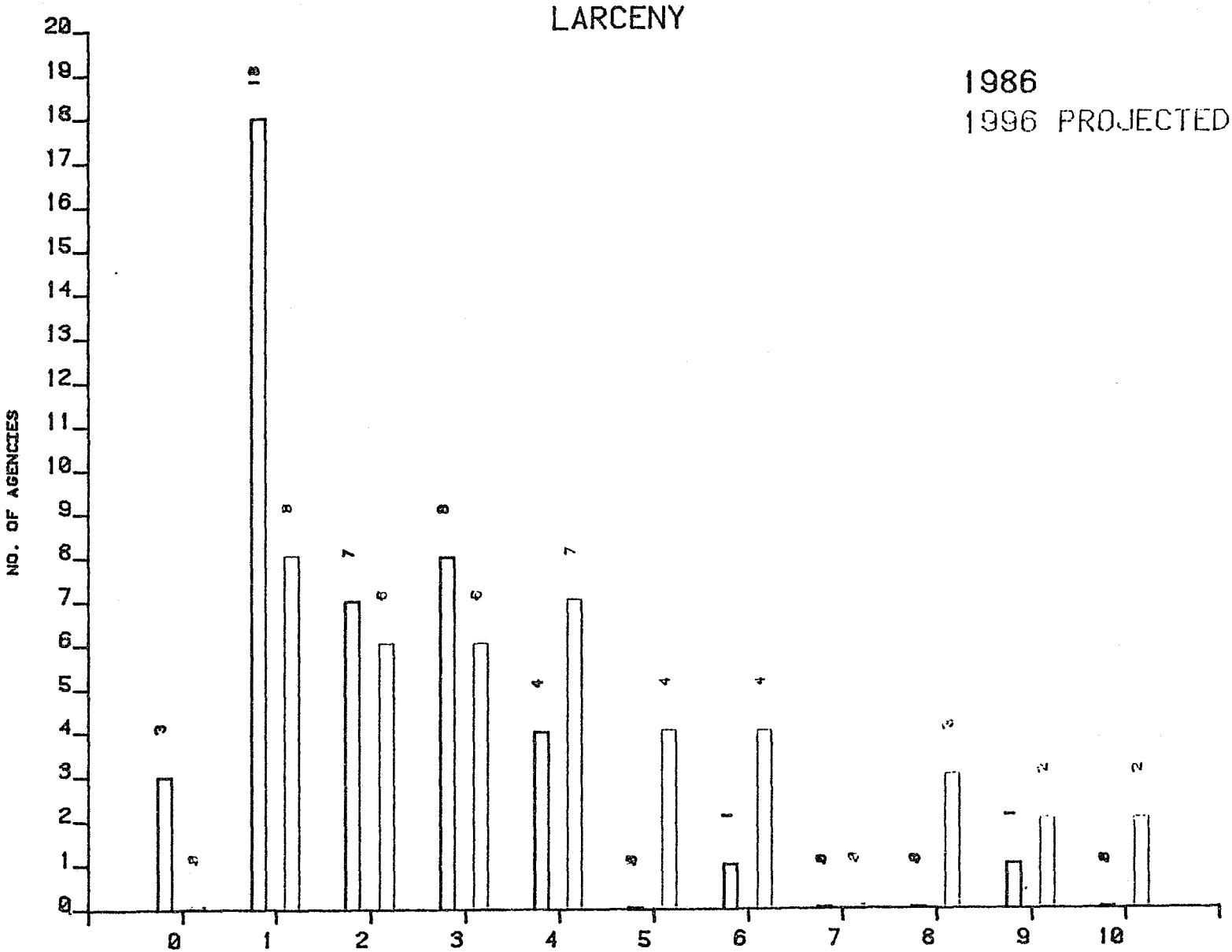
BURGLARY



GRAPH VI

LARCENY

1986
1996 PROJECTED

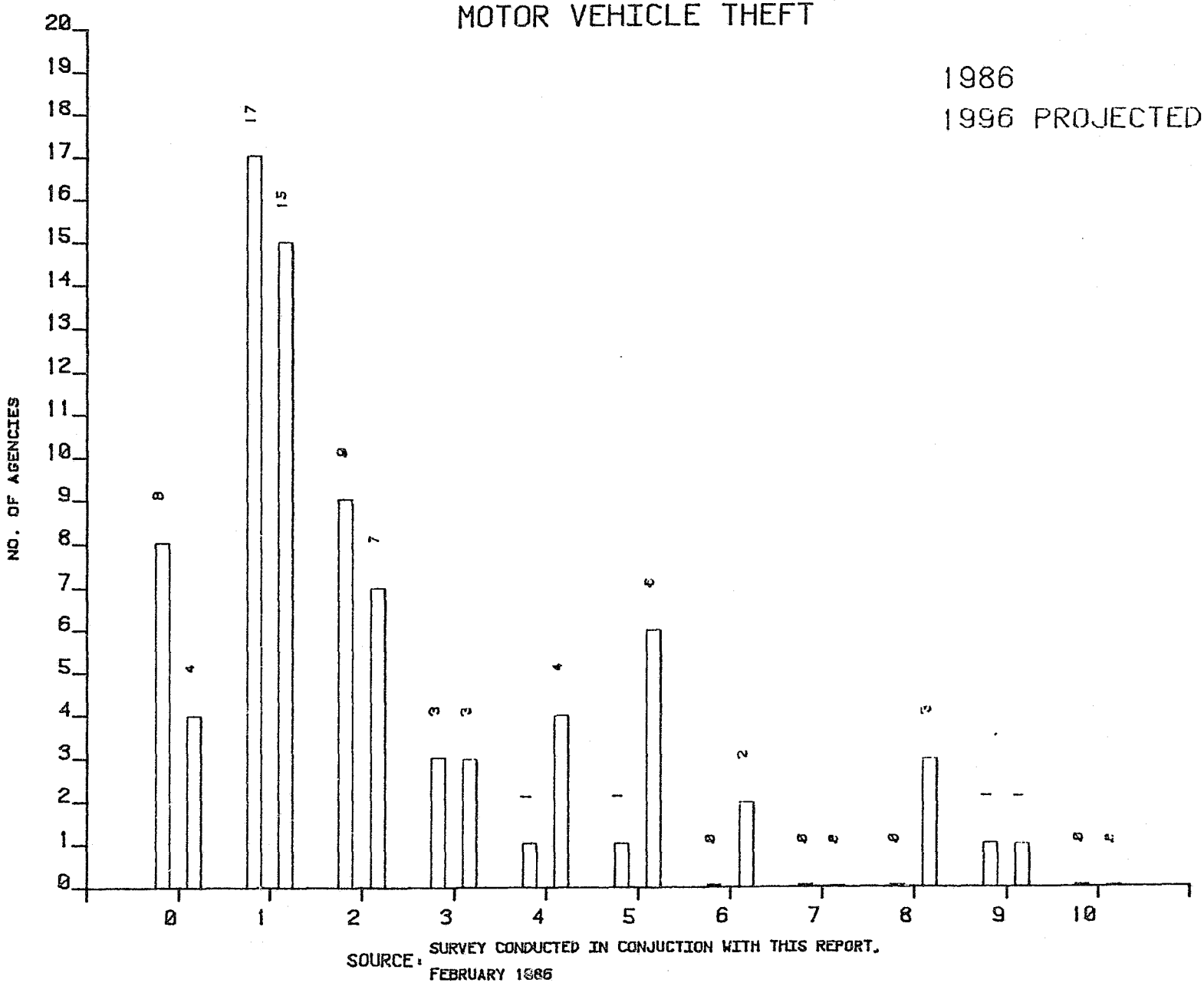


SOURCE: SURVEY CONDUCTED IN CONJUCTION WITH THIS REPORT, FEBRUARY 1986

GRAPH VII

MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT

1986
1996 PROJECTED



SOURCE: SURVEY CONDUCTED IN CONJUCTION WITH THIS REPORT. FEBRUARY 1986

GRAPH VIII

IMPACT OF ILLEGAL ALIENS ON LAW ENFORCEMENT

There has been much controversy surrounding the debate over whether illegal immigrants take jobs away from Americans. The Western Regional Commissioner of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service relies heavily on research by Professor Donald Huddle, an economist at Rice University in Houston. Huddle in his report concluded that for every 100 employed illegal immigrants, 66 American citizens are denied employment. He also estimates that every 1 million illegal immigrants cost taxpayers $1 billion a year in social services.

This position, however, is contrary to studies done by the Rand Corporation in Santa Monica, California. The major conclusion of that study which was published in November of 1985 is that widespread concerns on Mexican immigration are generally unfounded. Overall the study found that immigrants provide economic benefits to the state. Most researchers believe that although undocumented workers cause some job displacement there is insufficient knowledge about the extent of the displacement to accurately estimate its size or cost. The literature and the positions are very extensive. Major studies have been conducted since the late 1960's. The major area that has not been addressed is what is the impact of the illegal alien on crime.

In Thomas Muller's book, The Fourth Wave, only two pages out of 217 address this issue. Muller's book is considered to be one of the most comprehensive studies on California's newest immigrants.

Crime is perhaps the most serious urban ill facing Los Angeles. The chances of being a victim of violent crime in the City of Los Angeles are higher than in most other urban areas; Los Angeles ranks fourth in the nation's twenty largest metropolitan areas. Because crime rates were rising during the 1970's when immigration surged, it is not surprising that the possible relationship between the two events causes public concern.[6]

In 1977, the staff officers of the Los Angeles Police Department held a retreat to address the illegal alien problem and its impact on the Los Angeles Police Department resources. The report cites that among the five largest cities in the United States, Los Angeles has the lowest ratio of police officers to population. When you adjust the city's population for the illegal aliens, the problem is far greater than believed. When based on the census, the police ratio is 2.63 officers per thousand citizens, but when based on the actual population, the police ratio is only 2.14 officers per thousand; a decrease of 18.6 percent. To increase the ratio and level of service to a 2.63 police ratio for the actual population would require a sworn strength of 9,143 officers, or an additional 1,703 officers at a salary cost of $59,809,360 per year.[7]

As a part of this report, an opinion survey was conducted in conjunction and the findings are as follows:

1) Many of the officers surveyed believed that illegal aliens were significantly contributing to the drain on police resources.

2) Officers estimated that over 30 percent of all radio calls for service in their area involved illegal aliens.

3) Personnel from specialized investigation divisions estimated that city-wide illegal aliens were responsible for 20 to 25 percen of all burglaries, 20 percent of auto thefts and 30 percent of hit and run accidents. The report believes that because many illegal aliens are in the crime prone age group (16 to 24) this helps to account for their high incident of criminal behavior.

In June of 1974, Rampart area personnel conducted an arrest survey to determine the involvement of illegal aliens in crime. This study revealed that 36.3 percent of all felony arrests were verified illegal aliens. The report also mentions that if the assumption was made that illegal aliens commit no more or less crime than any other segment of the population based on their representative group, they would be responsible for approximately 18.7 percent of the crimes committed.

In September 1976, the Los Angeles Sheriff's Department investigative team maintained a file which identified over 200 illegal aliens who were known to be burglars and active throughout the greater Los Angeles area. This file was developed after the Southern California Burglary Investigators Association members concluded that illegal aliens were committing an increasing number of burglaries. Some of these illegal alien suspects were career criminals and were apprehended numerous times in various

jurisdictions. Many of them would carry no identification, give false names and birthdates and were treated as first-time offenders. Some of the adult suspects would claim to be juveniles in order to be voluntarily deported only to soon reenter the United States to resume their criminal activities.

In San Diego, investigators reported that the number of burglaries by illegal aliens was on the increase. Because of the concern about illegal aliens and crime in San Diego County, some agencies have reviewed arrest reports to consider the number of arrestees who were illegal aliens. Assistant San Diego Police Chief Bob Burgreen said that during the month of December 1985, 26 percent of all persons arrested for thefts were illegal aliens. He also said that 16 percent of all felony arrests in December were illegal aliens and 10 percent of all misdemeanor arrests were of illegal aliens. The Commander of Vista Sheriff's Station said that of the 1,821 arrests made during the 1984-85 fiscal year, 30 percent were undocumented aliens or 555. The specific categories are listed below:

118 arrests for burglary of which 33 or 28 percent were undocumented aliens.

42 arrests were made for receiving or being in possession of stolen property, 7 or 17 percent were illegal aliens.

37 arrests for assault with deadly weapon, 6 or 16 percent were aliens.

58 arrests for weapons violation of which 12 or 21 percent were aliens.

94 arrests for felony and misdemeanor theft and 24 or 26 percent were aliens.

At the Vista jail which holds prisoners on behalf of all North San Diego County's local law enforcmeent agencies, 18 percent of the 391 inmates on January 28, 1976 were illegal aliens according to Jail Captain John Burrows. Burrows also said that the illegal alien jail population usually runs about 20 percent.

In Escondido, Lt. Mike Stein said that of the 2,765 people arrested in 1985, 349 or 13 percent were illegal aliens. In Escondido, 43 percent of all robbery arrests were illegal aliens, 13 percent of all aggravated assault arrests, 26 percent of all burglary arrests, 19 percent of all theft arrests, 12 percent of all auto theft arrests and 57 percent of all hit and run driving arrests.

In the San Diego area, some police executives are saying that the flow of illegal aliens across the border is so out of control that Tijuana and San Diego might as well be considered one huge megalopolis. The Assistant Police Chief for San Diego cited the same concerns that L.A.P.D. had expressed in their report in 1977 that they have a police department based on size of the community excluding the illegal alien population.

Historically, immigrants have often been thought to contribute significantly to the number of crimes being committed. During the 19th Century, the Irish were thought to be highly criminal. During the second mass immigration, the Italians gained a similar stereotype attitude. Mexicans nor illegal aliens have escaped

criminal association during the 20th Century. In 1929, a commission examined the Mexican problem in California.

A high portion of Mexican households have incomes at the provery level. This low socio-economic status accompanied with youthful age are both associated with an increased crime rate.

CRIMINAL HOMICIDE

In our survey, we found that only two agencies kept actual statistics on their number of illegal aliens involved in criminal homicide. One agency reported that none of their homicides were committed by illegal aliens and in another community, 2 of the 3 homicides were committed by illegal aliens, or 66 percent.

Attached is a graph on Santa Ana's victim profile in January through November 1984. The graph depicts the racial breakdown of 35 homicide victims. (Refer to Graph IX, Page 72.)

Attached also is a suspect profile chart which depicts a racial breakdown of homicide suspects when their race was known. Hispanics accounted for 70 percent of the known suspects and 38 percent of these were undocumented workers. Attached are charts which deal with the location, time profile, motivation, day of week, and area profile. (Refer to Graphs X through XIV, Pages 73-77.)

In the opinion portion of this survey, 43.9 percent said that the illegal aliens had no impact on their criminal homicide rate and 21.9 percent ranked this area as a 1, the lowest possible score that they could give without saying that it had no impact. Nineteen percent of the agencies ranked this area a 2 or 3. (Refer to Graph II, Page 45.)

FORCIBLE RAPE

In the area of forcible rape, 29.2 percent of the agencies responding rated that illegal aliens have no impact on the forcible rape area and 36.6 percent of the agencies responding ranked forcible rape as a 1; 17 percent ranked this as a 2 and 17 percent as a 3 or 4. (Refer to Graph III, Page 46.)

ROBBERY

Of the agencies responding, 19.5 percent said that illegal aliens had no impact on their robbery rate, while 39 percent of the agencies ranked this area as a 1; 26.8 percent of the agencies ranked this either a 2 or 3, approximately 12 percent ranking it a 4 or 5 and only 2 percent or 1 agencies ranked this as a 6. (Refer to Graph IV, Page 47.)

ASSAULT

Of the agencies responding, 10 percent gave a 0 rating or no impact on the assault area; 36.8 percent of the agencies ranked this as a 1. While over 39 percent of the agencies ranked this as either a 2 or 3 area; 2.6 percent ranked this as a 4; 7.9 percent ranked this as a 5 and 2.6 percent as a 6. (Refer to Graph V, Page 48.)

BURGLARY

Of the agencies responding, 12.2 percent ranked this as having no impact while 41.5 percent ranked this as having a very low impact of 1; 24.4 percent ranked this as a 2; 9.7 percent ranked this as a 3, while the remaining, 5, 6 and 8 rankings received 1 each, or 2.4 percent. It seems that this area runs contrary to some of the experiences being felt in the San Diego area. This may be due to their close proximity to the border as it is certainly not typical of experiences being felt throughout the state. (Refer to Graph VI, Page 49.)

The heroin addict is believed to be one of the contributing factors to the rising crime rate particularly in the area of burglary, robbery and theft. In Santa Ana in October 1985, a specialized task force was implemented to combat narcotics specifically and related crimes. This program was created in response to an increasing public and department awareness of a narcotics problem. Patrol officers were instrumental in gathering information from citizens about the nature and extent of the street crime.

The purpose of the task force was to reduce the crime rate by deploying officers directly to attack narcotic houses throughout the City. In theory, the feeling was that if narcotics crimes were reduced the number of narcotic related crimes would also be reduced.

The project involved a number of phases. During phase two, a mass search warrant service involving 22 locations in the city where narcotics were being sold were serviced. When possible, the premises were sealed for building code violations after they were vacated. Phase three of the project involved implementation of high visibility patrol. The main targets were known narcotics locations and bars where there was a high amount of criminal activity. Emphasis was placed on arrest and incarceration of heroin addicts since this group was believed to be responsible for a high percentage of property crimes. Due to the number of homicides occurring in Santa Ana and their relationship to the illegal alien population, one would also be led to believe that illegal aliens would be most likely to be arrested under this special task force project.

Attached is a chart which depicts the breakdown of illegal alien arrests, the total number of arrests and the offense for which they were charged. Thirty-five percent of all arrests involved illegal aliens, however, in the area of use and influence of narcotics, Health and Safety Code 11550, only 16.4 percent of the persons arrested were illegal aliens, but one area where they were involved very highly was in the narcotics sales activity. Our experience in these cases showed that illegal aliens were being recruited to work in houses that sold narcotics on an employer-employee basis. Once the seller employee was arrested, he would be quickly replaced by another illegal alien.
(Refer to Graph J, Page 62.)

CHART I

Selected Task Force Arrest Statistics

OFFENSE	ALIEN	ACTUAL
10-33 Drinking in Public	2	6
10-34 Urinating in Public	5	9
11350 Possession of Controlled Substance	19	61
11352 Unlawful Transportation/Sale of Controlled Substance	7	11
11357b Possession of Marijuana	11	48
11359 Possession of Marijuana for Sale	40	60
11360 Unlawful Transportation/Sale of Marijuana	6	17
11364 Possession of Narcotics Paraphernalia	3	11
11550a Use and Influence	35	213
12025 Carrying a Concealed Weapon	2	5
12031 Carrying a Loaded Firearm in Public Place	3	3
148 Resisting Arrest	1	3
148.9 False Information to Police Ofr.	6	13
211 Robbery	1	7
23152a Driving Under Influence	2	5
23226 Open Container	1	2
24046 Post Business License	1	1
245a Assault with Deadly Weapon	8	9
25607a Possession/Unauthorized Sale of Alcoholic Beverages	1	2
25658a Selling to Minors	1	1
25662 Possession of Alcohol by Minors	1	3
330 Gambling	15	16
332 Gambling/Fraud (Cheating)	1	1
381 Possession of Toluene	1	2
4143a Possession of Hype Kit	7	47
459 Burglary	1	10
496 Receiving Stolen Property	9	28
602 Trespass	1	1
647f Drunk in Public	9	23
647g Vagrancy	1	2
Misc. Municipal Code Violations	7	17
Warrant Arrest	18	110
	291	821

NOTE: Illegal aliens represent a very high percentage of the total arrests for narcotics sales activity, however, they do not appear to be narcotics users from these statistics.

LARCENY

Of the agencies responding, 3 or 7.1 percent said that illegal aliens had no impact on their larceny rate, while 42.9 percent of the agencies ranked this area as a 1; 35 percent of the agencies responding ranked this either as a 2 or 3; 9.5 percent ranked this as a 4 and 4.7 percent ranked this as a 6 or higher. (Refer to Graph VI, Page 49.)

MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT

Of the agencies responding, 28.5 percent ranked this area as having no impact by illegal aliens; 43.6 percent ranked this area as having a 1 rating; 23 percent ranked this as a 2 and 7.7 percent ranked this as a 3 with the remaining 5 percent ranking it as a 4 or higher.

Clearly from the survey results, illegal aliens are having an impact on crime. The predominant emphasis appears to be in the very low end of the scale from no impact to as high as 20 percent of the crime, with a few agencies reporting major impacts.

One illegal alien woman from El Salvador said she started her journey from Central America with $3,000 in cash and ended up in Orange County with only $100 after paying off everybody along the line.[7] Most illegal aliens say they come to the United States in search of a dream. In Mexico and Central America, refugees frequently have to bribe their way to cross borders. At the American/Mexican border, aliens many times pay to be smuggled into the country. Once they are in the United States,

they are preyed upon by border bandits. Once they finally reach their destination, they must often settle for inadequate housing and minimum wages.

Orange County officials are concerned with the sale of fake legal documents as well as legal misrepresentation. Recently the State of California passed a law making it a misdemeanor to represent oneself as an immigration lawyer or consultant in this area because of the problems.

Bob Minton, INS District Director in San Diego, who has dealt with illegal aliens for 30 years, said in the Orange County Register recently "If we can take the whole gammit of aliens being robbed or victimized then we could say one out of four or five is touched in some way by this crime." Generally, figures are not available on how many illegal aliens are being taken care of because they are reluctant to go to the authorities for fear of deportation.

Hermandad Mexicana Nacional, a Santa Ana based immigration rights group has entered the limelight in this community. Nativo Lopez is the moving force behind a rent strike movement that has grabbed the attention of many city local officials, landlords and judges. (Refer to Attachments B, C and D, Pages 65-68.)

In July 1985, an unprecedented city-wide rent strike involving more than 200 families occurred in Orange County. The opinion of housing experts and tenants rights leaders from New York to Sacramento say that it's history in the making.

ATTACHMENT B

HERMANDAD MEXICANA NACIONAL

DEL CONDADO DE ORANGE

FELIPE USQUIANO, ORGANIZADOR FUNDADOR, 1951, SAN DIEGO, CA

June 7, 1985

PRESS STATEMENT

Some say unprecedented. Perhaps an exaggeration. But the City of Santa Ana will definitely record it as part of its history.

Today we are releasing the contents of two agreements recently consummated between two landlords and their respective tenants. Beach West Properties headed by Mr. Richard Zanelli, which owns approximately 140 apartment units in Santa Ana, and J. & D. Property Management, directed by Mr. Joe DeCarlo, which controls some 100 units, settled their respective rent strike situations on satisfactory terms. These include a commitment to make all needed repairs and guarantee permanent quality maintenance of their properties; rent relief; replacement of on-site management; formal recognition of the tenant organizations; no retaliatory evictions of strikers; cooperation with Community Oriented Police and Communnity Services Programs of the City of Santa Ana; and mechanisms to assure regular communication between the owners and tenant families.

We sincerely believe that these can be considered model agreements beneficial to the property owners, the tenant families, and the City of Santa Ana, and should be replicated throughout the many blighted neighborhoods that dot this otherwise wealthy county. The reasonableness of these property owners to settle on mutually beneficial terms is directly correlated to the united resolve of these poor working families in exercising their constitutional right of redress for decent habitable living quarters and reasonable rents.

We must distingush between this expression of reasonableness and the nasty speculative activity that haunts this city and county. This parasitism results in

further deterioration and blight of neighborhoods, impovishment of the tenant families due to exorbitant rents and actural rent gouging, eventual reduction of the property value and the creation of neighborhood "black holes" - areas almost totally ignored by municipal government even though these areas are used to justify Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) allocations of significant size. The City of Santa Ana receives the largest allocation of these funds than any other city in the County of Orange.

The David Coalition For Housing and Hermandad Mexicana Nacional will increasingly raise these issues to the public conscience, demand an end to speculative activity of the parasitic character, demand the elimination of "black holes" in our community through humane redevelopment and targeted expenditures for services, and the construction of affordable housing for the working poor that comprises and contributes so much to our city and county.

Rent strike may grow, experts say

Housing advocate says 200-family protest is 'history in the making'

By Anita Snow
The Register

SANTA ANA — An unprecedented citywide rent strike involving more than 200 families could mushroom into a militant tenants' rights movement spreading across Orange County and the state.

That's the opinion of housing experts and tenants' rights leaders from New York to Sacramento, who have been watching the Santa Ana rent strike with interest since it began in a handful of Minnie Street apartments Jan. 1.

"It's amazing what's going on down there," said Mike Rawson, president of the Sacramento-based California Housing and Action Information Network.

"There are no other rent strikes like this in California. We frequently have rent strikes in San Francisco and Los Angeles, but they're never of this magnitude."

"The Santa Ana rent strike is exciting. It's history in the making," said Joe Caux, a local network member and housing advocate for the Orange County Community Development Council, a non-profit anti-poverty agency. "It's quite a thing to see in conservative Orange County."

Though the strike has won the praise of tenant advocates, it has been criticized by landlords who fear it could lead to rent control and loss of property-ownership rights.

"A strike traditionally is a last resort people try when all else has failed," said William Krauss, executive director of the 3,000-member Orange County Apartment Owners' Association. "We don't think everything else has been tried.

"The legitimate issues existing between an isolated number of owners and renters in Santa Ana should be addressed in an environment where both parties are dedicated to coming up with a workable solution. A rent strike can increase the cost of rental housing, which compounds and complicates the problem."

"There's no reason for a lot of this garbage, such as strike flags and demonstrations," agreed Terrence Lee Calder, attorney for landlord Carmine Esposito. Forty-five families who live in Esposito's apartments at 1207-1230 W. Brook St. have withheld rent since February to protest substandard conditions.

ORANGE COUNTY REGISTER July 7, 1985

Rent-strike organizer enters the limelight — reluctantly

By Anita Snow
The Register

SANTA ANA — As a Norwalk teen-ager, Nativo Lopez led hundreds of placard-carrying students in front of Excelsior High School.

Large-scale protests have been his stock in trade ever since.

In 1969, 17-year-old Lopez and his brothers, Sam and Larry, led 300 students on a walkout to protest school policy. The walkout was called off three weeks later when school administrators set up a program to prepare Hispanic students for college, rather than industrial-arts careers.

Today, Lopez, 33, is the moving force behind a rent strike that began Jan. 1 when 20 families living in Minnie Street apartments began withholding rent to protest substandard conditions. More than 200 families are now involved in the strike Lopez predicts will grow this summer.

"We were reluctant to get involved at first because we didn't have too much experience in housing issues," Lopez said. "I really never thought it would get this big."

As head of Hermandad Mexicana Nacional, a Santa Ana-based immigrants' rights group, Lopez plays an active role in the strike.

Lopez is often seen at City Council meetings and in county courtrooms speaking out for the tenants. He has led marches of as many as 500 people through substandard apartment buildings and outside homes of landlords he refers to as "millionaire slumlords."

As a result, Lopez's comments appear frequently in local newspapers. City officials, attorneys, landlords and judges immediately recognize him when he walks into the courthouse or past the City Council chambers carrying a clipboard and being trailed by hundreds of tenants and their small children.

Despite his high visibility, Lopez prefers to keep his personal life out of the spotlight. Even those who work with him every day know only bits and pieces about the man they refer to as a charismatic, dynamic leader.

> "I don't believe in the personality cult. That's not why I'm doing this."
>
> **Nativo Lopez**
> rent-strike organizer

Lopez cringes when newspaper reporters choose him as the target for stories. He points out there are many others — such as his wife, Maria Rosa Lopez, and Sister Carmen Sarati, a Roman Catholic nun from Santa Ana — who have played important roles in the strike.

"I don't believe in the personality cult," he said. "That's not why I'm doing this." Too much focus on one personality can weaken a movement such as the strike, he said.

Lopez's family agrees and refuses to answer personal questions for fear it will hurt his work with the tenants. "If you want to know about my brother, you'll have to talk to him," said Sam Lopez of Bellflower.

Lopez insisted the tenants, not he, are the strike leaders. But it is not the tenants who lead the picket lines. It is Lopez.

Despite Lopez's desire to keep a low profile, landlords targeted by the rent strike and their attorneys see him as a publicity hound trying to parlay his community involvement into a city council seat.

"I guess the thing that bothers me about this whole rent strike thing is that there seems to be a lot of opportunism involved," said Terrence Lee Calder, attorney for landlord Carmine Esposito. "I understand he's using this for a political office in the future."

Lopez and those who work with him deny rumors he plans to run for office. He would not be eligible to run for the Santa Ana City Council because he lives in Anaheim.

"I'm not going to canonize him or anything, but I don't think he's an opportunist and I don't think he wants to run for political office," Sarati said. "He could be using his charisma to make a million dollars. But he's not."

Lopez receives no salary for his work with Hermandad Mexicana Nacional, she said. His wife works full time as an architectural draftsman in south Orange County.

Lopez's willingness to work without pay for a cause he believes in is a trait shared by his entire family, said those who knew the Lopezes when they lived on the outskirts of Barrio Norwalk.

"His family were pioneers in the city in working with the undocumented community and on affirmative action matters," said Jesse Luera, Norwalk Director of Social Services.

Lopez's mother, Beatrice, was an active community member who spoke out at Norwalk City Council and school board meetings, Luera said.

"I don't know of another family in this area that has done so much for the Hispanic community," said Ceci Medina, coordinator for Chicano studies at Cerritos College.

Medina said he first heard about Lopez in 1976, when she was hired by the college as an associate professor. Lopez helped form the college's Chicano studies department as a student there in 1971, she said.

Several years later she met Lopez on Los Angeles' Olvera Street at a rally protesting the proposed Simpson-Mazzoli immigration bill. After Cerritos College, Lopez transferred to Cal State Dominguez Hills and was graduated with a bachelor's degree in political science and Spanish literature in the mid-1970s. He then worked for a short time as a Spanish-English translator and court interpreter.

In 1981, Lopez was hired by the American Friends Service Committee, said Lee Thorton, director of the committee's Pacific-Southwest Regional Office in Pasadena.

Lopez left the Friends group in 1983 to work for the now-defunct Anaheim Organizing Project, a small civil rights group.

About a year later, he went to work for Hermandad Mexicana Nacional.

Most of the agencies which responded to this question described programs which would cover all 7 areas of crimes that were listed.

- One agency provides non-English speaking individuals (implemented under all seven crimes).
- Two agencies have an Asian Task Force to address the language, culture and trust gap when dealing with Asian victims, witnesses, and suspects (implemented under all seven crimes).
- One agency has an SPL Liaison program with the Mexican government for fugitives for felonies, primarily 187 (implemented under all seven crimes).
- One agency has a Border Crime Prevention Unit-10 officers in rugged foothills and canyons on the border patrol at night to apprehend those who penetrate these crimes on aliens surrepticiously entering the United States (implemented under all seven crimes).
- One agency has Buena-Clinton Task Force-Specialized team of officers, building inspectors, zoning officers and an attorney to deal with the problems of Buena-Clinton. They do various things, such as ID potential victims and educate them in preventive measures. They are also starting a new program called "OASIS" with a group out of Florida. No other information was available because they are just meeting on it (Garden Grove Police Department).
- One agency has Mexican Extradition Detail-Implemented to facilitate apprehension of major violators who have fled to Mexico; also, assist in arrest of persons in Los Angeles wanted by Mexican authorities.

- One agency established a Chicano Squad that contains 5 Sergeants and 8 Police Officers to work murders dealing with illegal aliens.

BURGLARY

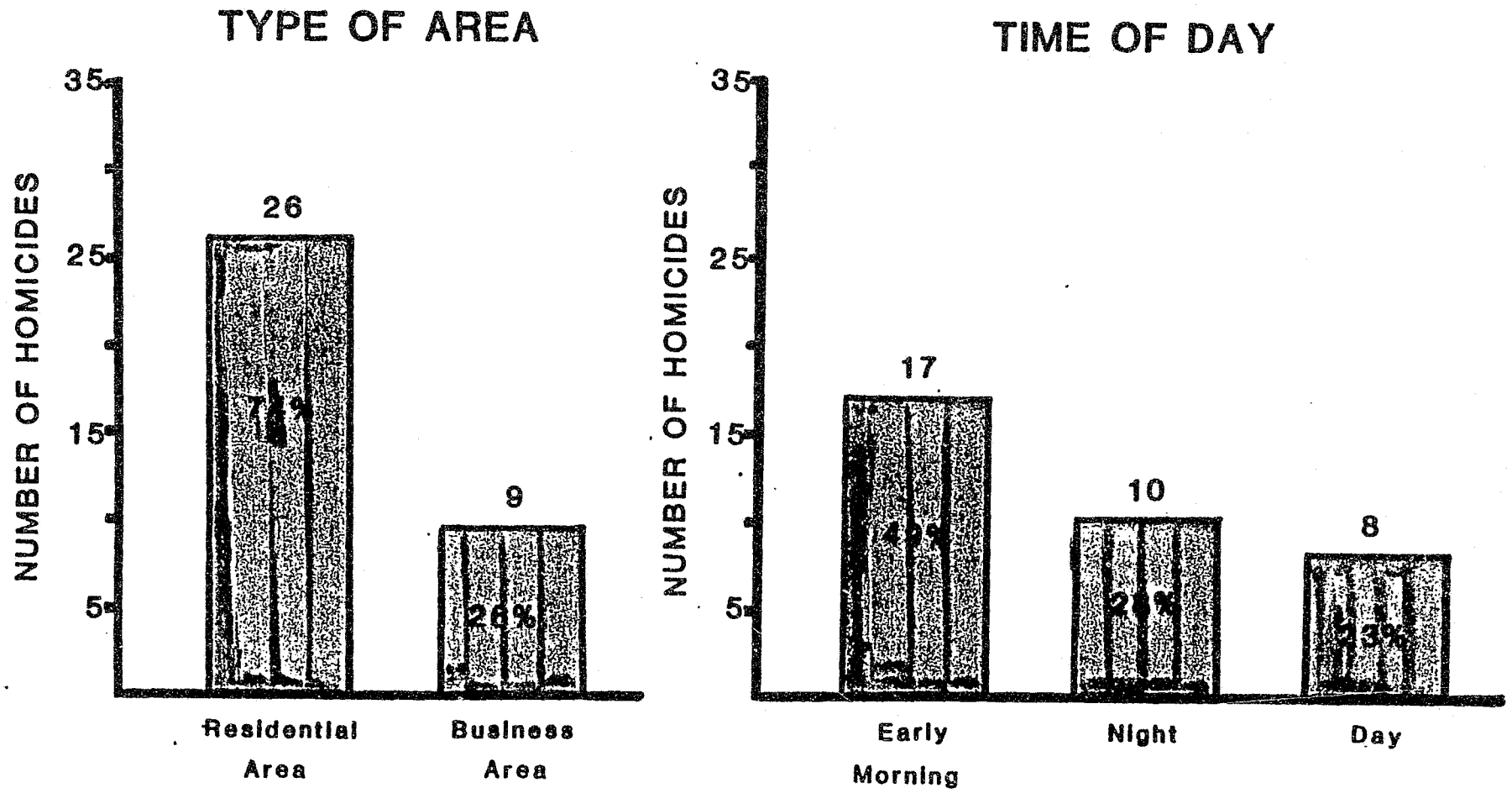
- One agency has special investigations detectives surveilance for loot to change hands, load cars, etc.

MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT

- One agency has a Southern division which maintains incentive program similar to "10851" program.
- One agency-many recoveries of stolen vehicles are made at the USBP Check Point at San Onofre, vehicles are used in alien smuggling.
- One agency has Mexico Liaison Program-coordinate recovery of vehicles and arrest of suspects involved in international vehicle theft and insurance fraud activities between the U.S. and Mexico.

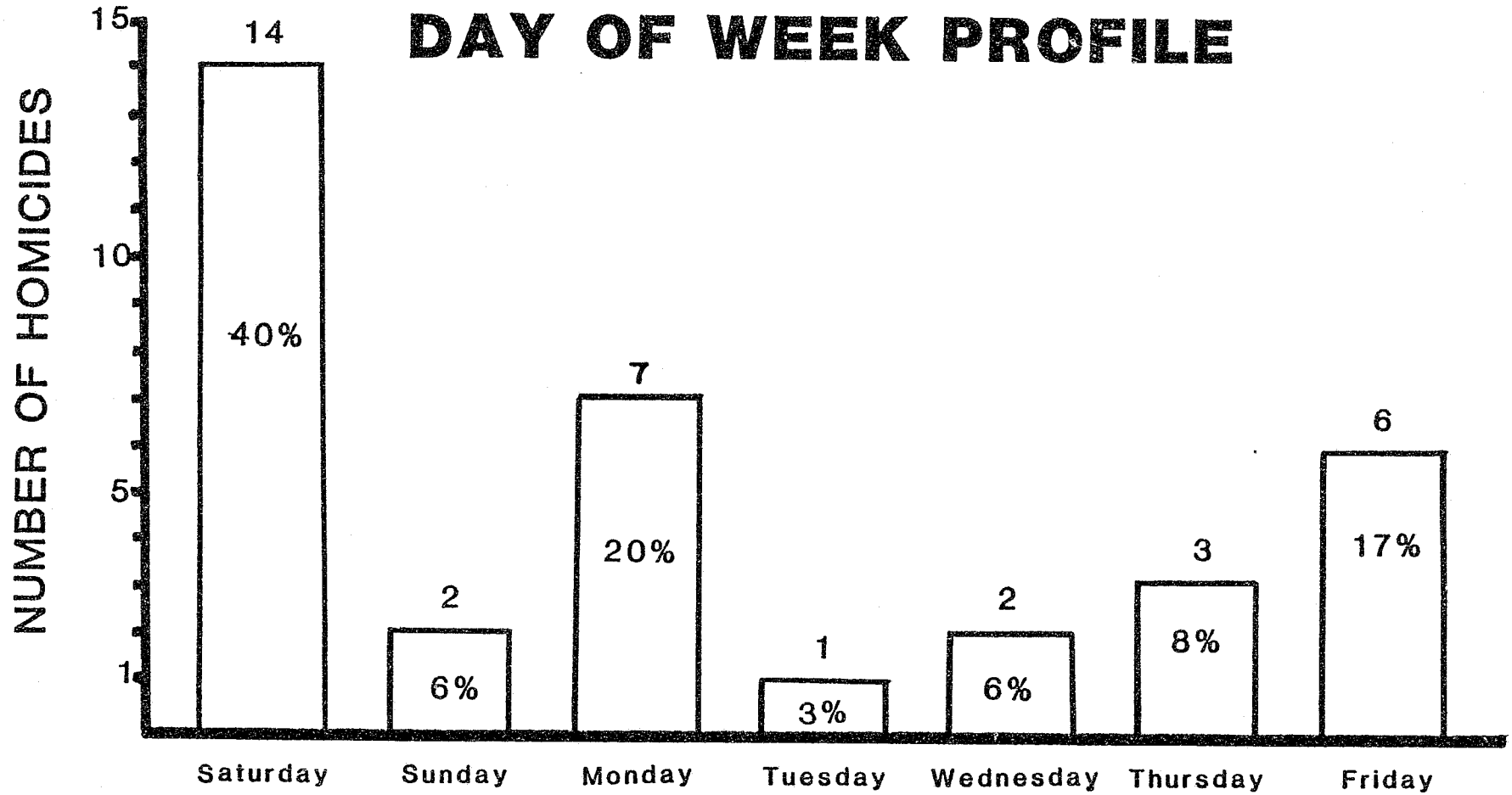
SANTA ANA HOMICIDE GRAPHS

SANTA ANA HOMICIDES
JANUARY - NOVEMBER
1984
LOCATION/TIME PROFILE



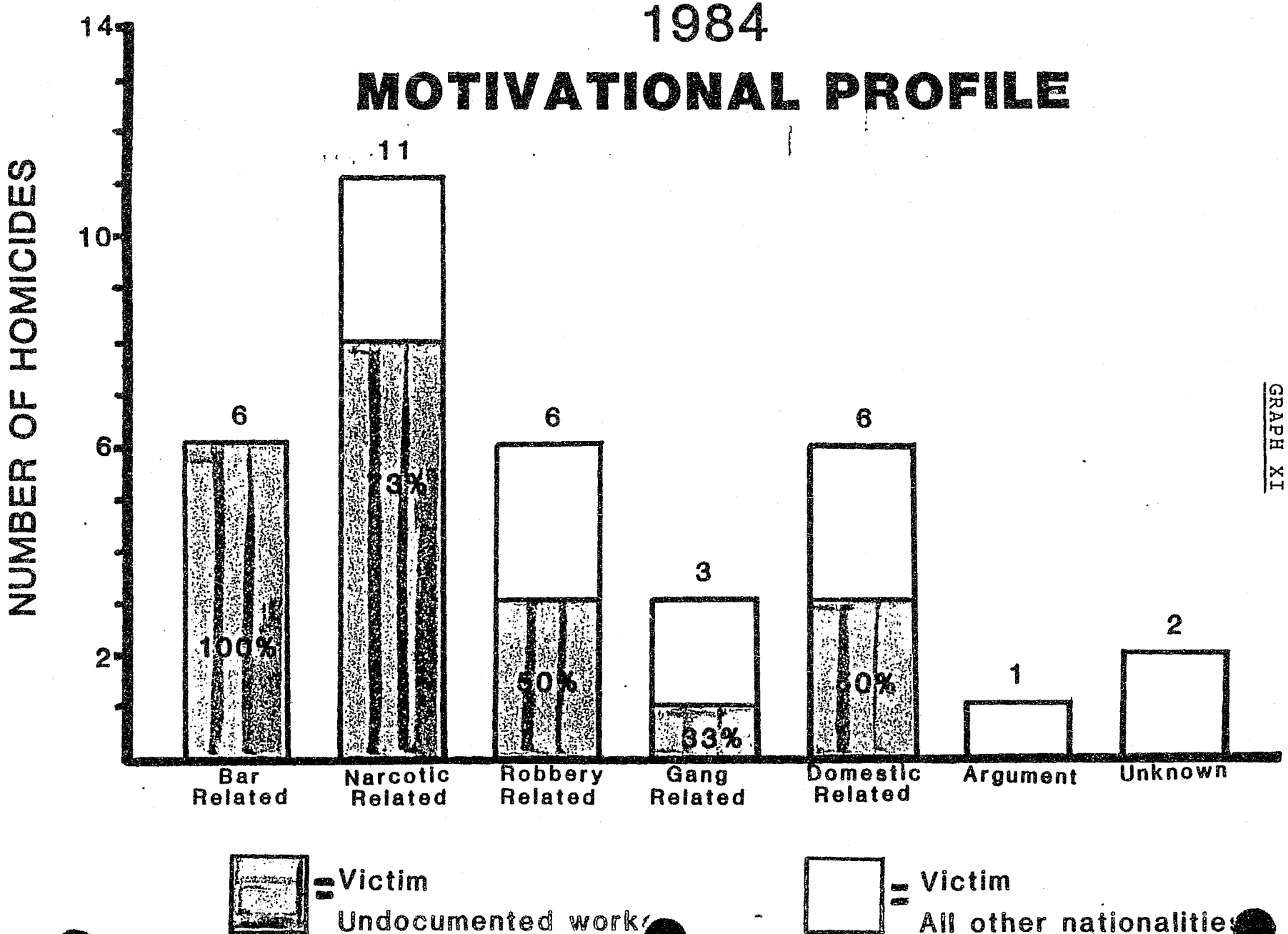
GRAPH IX

SANTA ANA HOMICIDES
JANUARY - NOVEMBER
1984



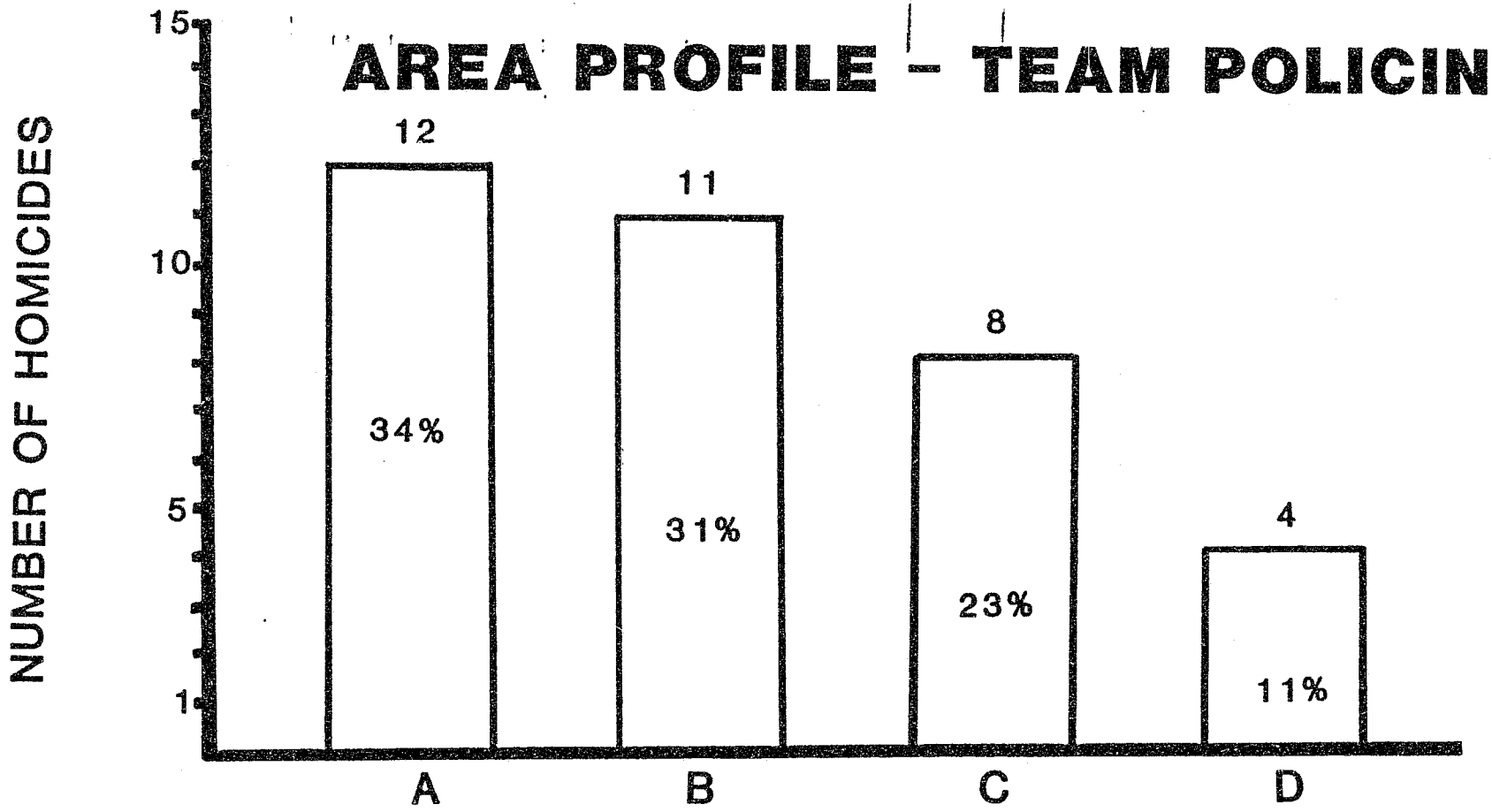
GRAPH X

SANTA ANA HOMICIDES
JANUARY - NOVEMBER
1984
MOTIVATIONAL PROFILE



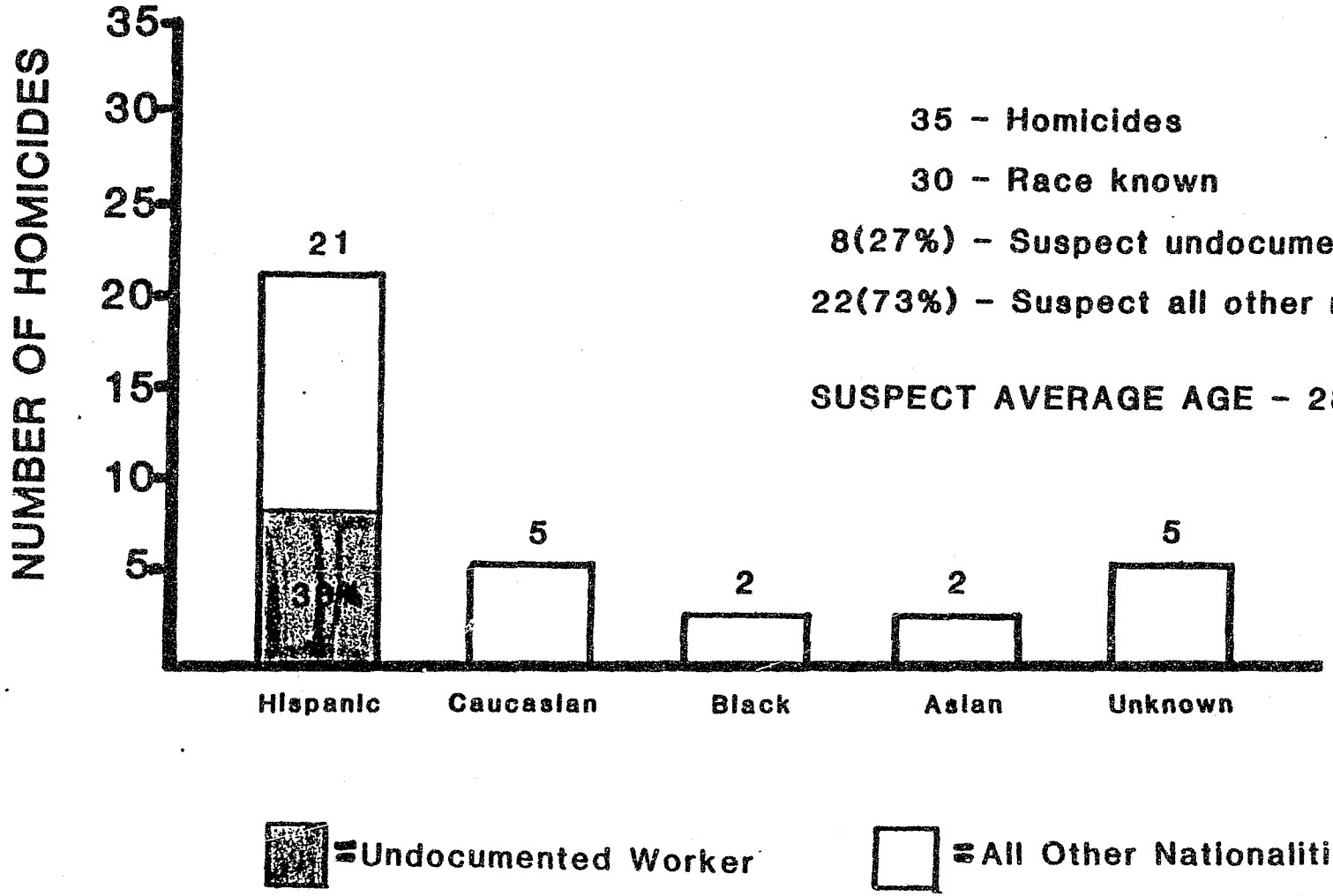
GRAPH XI

SANTA ANA HOMICIDES
JANUARY - NOVEMBER
1984



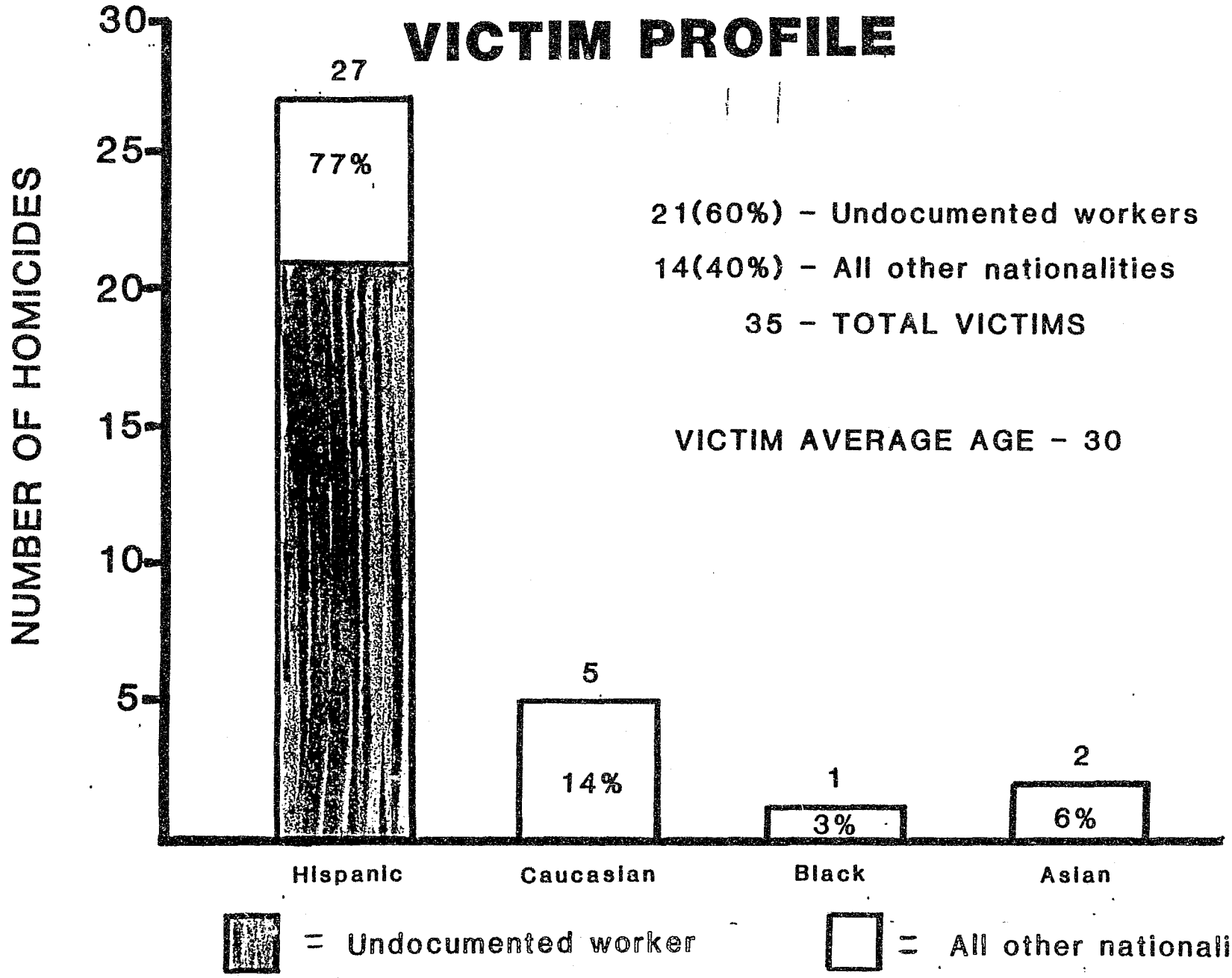
GRAPH XII

SANTA ANA HOMICIDES
JANUARY - NOVEMBER
1984
SUSPECT PROFILE



GRAPH XIII

SANTA ANA HOMICIDES
JANUARY -NOVEMBER
1984
VICTIM PROFILE



21(60%) - Undocumented workers

14(40%) - All other nationalities

35 - TOTAL VICTIMS

VICTIM AVERAGE AGE - 30

GRAPH XIV

CRIME PREVENTION PROGRAMS

There are many agencies which described programs which serve the purpose of helping minorities in all, or more than one area of crime.

- Ten agencies use special news media releases (PSA's), brochures, Spanish T.V. and radio station, flyers and hadingout material.
- One agency has translator services available in Spanish. Also bilingual counseling and bilingual cultural awareness programs.
- One agency uses the Spanish paper La Voz to inform the public.
- One agency has close ties with the Tijuana Police and liaison officers with Mexico.
- Two agencies have Border Crimes Prevention Units-Officers are assigned to patrol the border area, dealing with border and alien crime.
- One agency is producing a documentary for minorities on substance and alcohol abuse in Spanish and English with both adult and child versions.
- One agency created a new staff position (Lt.) which is called Community Liaison Officer. He will be directly involved in community concern ethnic and cultural problems.
- One agency has a "Mexico Liaison Program", acts as an information and training resource for Mexican law enforcement officials; assist allied U.S. law enforcement agencies in contacting their counter parts in Mexico through diplomatic and informal channels.
- Two agencies have a program called "Community Resistance Program"-in Spanish with programs dealing with domestic

violence, rape prevention, personal protection, child abuse, home security assistance and awareness programs in Spanish.

- Two agencies have a "Lady Beware" program. It is offered in many languages and included lectures and films. One agency has a "Personal Safety Program".
- Six agencies have "Neighborhood Watch Programs".
- Three agencies have commercial awareness programs-for bilingual robbery information in the form of lectures and films; there are also programs for banks using films and lectures.
- Three agencies have established "Store Front" community stations to accomodate Hispanic, Chinese and Korean victims and to discuss methods of crime prevention.*
- Two agencies offer Spanish crime prevention speakers; another also has Chinese.
- One agency has the following programs: Rape Prevention, Robbery Prevention, Burglary Prevention, Theft Prevention, and Auto Theft Prevention. All of these programs are presented in Spanish by the Community Services Division.

*Refer to Attachments E through H, Pages 81-88.

ATTACHMENT E

Ygnacio Hanetti/The Register

When Tuan Nguyen, 3, couldn't find her mother Friday, officer Tim Murray held her until mom arrived.

Little Saigon gets police station

Vietnamese welcome Garden Grove officers to community

By Jeffrey Brody
The Register 329

GARDEN GROVE — When Oanh Doan and Thien Cao began working as police community service officers, they sent letters to more than 150 Vietnamese merchants, asking for their help in fighting crime.

They received two, maybe three, replies.

Althouth they, too, are Vietnamese, the officers learned they had to talk directly with the people to establish trust, and little would be accomplished using the mail.

■ **UNISEX:** New fire station accommodates female firefighters/B6

On Friday, Doan and Cao began working in Little Saigon at the first police station to be located in the Vietnamese business district along Bolsa Avenue in Westminster and Garden Grove.

"We're going to be with the people everyday," Doan said. "We're going to show them the police department cares about their concerns."

The station, located in a closet-size office in the Bolsa Mini Mall, received a warm welcome from the Vietnamese community at opening ceremonies Friday. Several merchants brought gifts and flowers. Punch and cake were passed around. Police officers and Vietnamese sampled eggrolls.

"Instead of being strangers, the police are being neighbors," said Tran Kiem Lu of the Vietnamese Chamber of Commerce. "We welcome them here and hope this office will improve police community relations."

Tuyet Hung of the nearby Professional Service Center brought the officers a decorative clock, one of five they received. "I feel

Please see POLICE/B11

POLICE

FROM B1

safer having a police station down here," Hung said. "There is a crime problem — especially with the young kids who come in asking for money."

Sgt. Dan Lyons said extortion, especially by young gang members, has been a problem in Little Saigon. The office was opened to deter some of the criminals who prey on customers and merchants, Lyons said.

In addition to Doan and Cao, five uniformed officers will patrol the area and neighboring residential section from 9 a.m. to 11 p.m. daily.

"The idea is to get people to know the officers and get people used to having the police around," Lyons said. "We want to bridge the gap between the Vietnamese and the Americans."

Ho Au, the president of the Vietnamese Chamber of Commerce, said people will soon know that the police can be trusted, unlike the police in Vietnam who were corrupt and took bribes.

ORANGE COUNTY REGISTER February 1986

Costa Mesa police work to ease Hispanic fears

By Erin Kelly
The Register

COSTA MESA — The people of Shalimar Drive have not forgotten the raids.

Servando Marino said the Hispanic residents of the west Costa Mesa neighborhood still remember the immigration officers who swept through their homes several years ago, rounding up illegal aliens and deporting them to Mexico.

Although the raids were conducted by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, people still remember that Costa Mesa police officers blocked off the streets to prevent the undocumented Mexican nationals from escaping.

"Ever since then, many of the people have felt that the police were working in conjunction with INS," Marino said. Because of that perception, some west-side residents still are afraid to report crimes to the police for fear the police will deport them, Marino, a six-year Costa Mesa resident, said.

But today, police say the only people they want to send packing are the criminals.

A federal court ruling that took effect in the early 1980s has all but put an end to widespread immigration raids in residential neighborhoods, said attorney Linda Wong of the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund in Los Angeles. As a result, police no longer are called into neighborhoods to assist the INS with its sweeps.

"We want to stop people from being victimized, whatever their status," senior Costa Mesa patrol officer Chano Camarillo said. "We're here to help people, not hurt them."

To spread that message, Costa Mesa this month will open a west side substation designed to bring the police and the Hispanic community closer together. The substation, which is being set up in a rehabilitated house at 1878 Placentia Ave., is modeled after similar outreach efforts in Santa Ana and Garden Grove.

Costa Mesa police estimate that 80 percent to 85 percent of the Hispanic population the new station will serve are illegal aliens, who began coming here in force about 10 years ago, residents said.

The goal of the substation, which will be headed by Camarillo and manned by two bilingual police aides, is to fight crime by encouraging area residents to tell police when they are victimized or need help.

In addition to providing a convenient place for residents to make crime reports, the substation will serve as an information center where people can find out about crime prevention and their legal rights, police said.

Berta Garcia of Shalimar Drive said she believes the substation will make a difference.

Without a phone or a car, she has no way to communicate with the main police station on Fair Drive, which is four miles from her west Costa Mesa home.

"I'll feel much better when the substation opens," she said.

Police say the west side has been plagued with drug-trafficking, prostitution and burglaries. Often, the crime victims are illegal aliens who have come here from Mexico or El Salvador.

"They're easy prey for scams," Camarillo said.

But Camarillo said some west-

Costa Mesa police officers Cristina Toron and Chano Camarillo explain new west-side substation to Berta Garcia and niece Alondra Garcia.

Costa Mesa police seek better communication

side residents, encouraged by police, are fighting back.

He credits citizen cooperation, combined with officers getting to know the west side better, for the area's declining crime figures. In 1985, there were an average 113 reports a month of major crimes in the area, down from 147 in 1984 and 155 in 1983. (Major crimes include murder, rape, robbery, assault, burglary and theft.)

Camarillo said a group of laborers recently called him to report that its members had been cheated by a con man who sold them jobs for $20 apiece and then never paid them for their work.

"Normally they'd just have shined it on," Camarillo said. But this time, the workers agreed to make a citizen's arrest of the man who had pulled the scam.

When they were booking the man, police discovered that the con artist also was wanted by the FBI on a charge of kidnapping a boy.

"It led to something terrific for everybody involved," Camarillo said. "That's the kind of thing we want to see more of."

Genevieve Valdez, a U.S. citizen and eight-year resident of the west side, said she believes the police already have made inroads in the area.

"If someone in the neighborhood was acting up, I used to be hesitant to call the police, because the police used to come and take the people away to Mexico," she said. "Now they just come and talk and try to straighten out the problem. I don't hesitate to call them anymore."

Lt. Leslie Harrison, the west-side area commander, said officers have been making a concerted effort to develop more trust among the undocumented people for the past two years.

Although police believe the substation will help keep those numbers down, Camarillo said, they realize that crime is not going to go away overnight.

Jean Forbath, the executive director of the non-profit west-side organization Share Our Selves, said crime will remain a problem until its root causes — unemployment, inadequate housing and a lack of education — are addressed.

Still, Forbath said, she believes the substation is a good start.

"You're only frustrated if you try to do an impossible task, like reduce the crime rate to zero," Camarillo said. "But if I say I'm out here to help people — to make it easier for them to give reports and get information — then that's a realistic goal."

Camarillo, who is greeted by children and adults as he walks down Shalimar Drive, said things have come a long way in the 20 years he's been on the force.

"Times are changing," Camarillo said. "There was a time when, if the people saw an Anglo (reporter), a police officer and a photographer walking down the street they would have hurried inside and kept the doors shut. You don't see anybody running now."

NOTICIAS DEL MUNDO
(TRANSLATION)
6-10-86

"SANTA ANA POLICE INITIATES NEW PROGRAM FOR HISPANICS"
By Jaime Olivares.

A program with the aim becoming closer to the Hispanic Community was initiated by the Santa Ana Police Department with the goal of getting rid of crime on the streets and teach them the best way to protect themselves against criminals.

Officer Adeline Vargas, who has been selected to start such program, will visit periodically different portions of the city where Hispanics live, in order to know their needs and to inform them on what to do before certain emergencies.

"What we are trying to do is to help the community" said Officer Vargas, not only on matters related to crime, but on all problems, that face said community and when the people do not know what to do or who to go to, we are able to tell them where to go about a tree that has fallen or what to do when somebody has defrauded them.

Officer Vargas said that many times, Hispanics do not take action during an emergency because they do not know the laws or where to go to find the answer. During the contacts that she will have with the Hispanic residents, she will explain to them the role of the police and other city departments.

The program will be presented all year long, by way of talks and presentations with neighborhood groups, on dates and times agreed upon. The Santa Ana Police feels that this new program oriented towards the Hispanic community, will lower the crime rate and the residents of different neighborhoods within the city will feel safer.

"This is a fantastic program, I love it", says Officer Vargas, because I was born in Guadalajara, Mexico, and feel that I have certain duty towards my community".

The Hispanic Officer makes an invitaion to all neighborhood groups to participate in this program.

Policía de Santa Ana Inicia Nuevo Programa para Hispanos

Por Jaime Olivares
NOTICIAS DEL MUNDO

Un programa de acercamiento hacia la comunidad hispana, inició el Departamento de Policía de Santa Ana con el fin de ayudar a erradicar el crimen y enseñarles a protejerse contra los delincuentes.

La oficial Adelina Vargas, quien ha sido designada para llevar a cabo dicho programa, visitará periódicamente diferentes sectores de la ciudad, donde viven hispanos, para conocer sus necesidades e informarles sobre lo que deben hacer ante determinadas emergencias.

"Lo que queremos hacer es ayudar a la comunidad -manifestó la oficial Vargas- no sólo en lo relacionado con el crimen, sino también en todos esos problemas que se presentan en la comunidad y la gente no sabe como resolverlos o a quien dirigirse. Nosotros podemos decirles dónde tienen que ir para resolver el problema de un árbol que se cayó o de alguien que los estafó".

La oficial Vargas dijo que muchas veces los hispanos no reaccionan ante una emergencia porque desconocen las leyes y no saben a quién tienen que hablar para solucionarlas. En los contactos que ella tendrá con los residentes hispanos les explicará las funciones de la policía y de otros departamentos de la Ciudad. También les indicará la forma como dirigirse a ellos.

La oficial Adelina Vargas, del Departamento de Policía de Santa Ana, que está a cargo de un nuevo programa de información y lucha contra el crimen, orientado hacia la comunidad hispana de esa ciudad.

El programa se desarrollará a lo largo de todo el año, en forma de charlas o conversaciones con agrupaciones vecinales, en las fechas y los hor[illegible] que se fijen de común acuerdo.

La policía de Santa Ana estima que este nuevo programa orientado hacia la comunidad hispana, hará disminuir el crimen y los residentes de los diversos barrios de la ciudad se sentirán más seguros.

"Es un programa fantástico, me encanta -dice la oficial Vargas- porque yo soy nacida en Guadalajara, México, y siento que tengo que estar comprometida con mi comunidad".

La policía hispana hizo una invitación para que los diferentes grupos vecinales participen en este programa.

ATTACHMENT H

GARDEN GROVE POLICE DEPARTMENT
INTRA-DEPARTMENT MEMORANDUM

DATE: 14 NOVEMBER 1983

FROM: M. WALKER, SERGEANT

TO: J. R. ROBERTSON, LIEUTENANT

SUBJECT: BUENA-CLINTON SPECIAL ENFORCEMENT PROJECT (SIX-MAN OPERATION)

The following is my recommendation for the Buena-Clinton project. Stated will be the problems to be addressed, hours and days to be covered, personnel, agencies and units needed to assist, and reporting procedures. This program follows the eariler detailed two-man operation. The goals and objectives of that operation are inclusive.

Overall Goals

A) To upgrade the safety in the Buena-Clinton area by reducing the stated crime count by 50% (605 in 1982).

B) Continue to build a solid working relationship with citizens and property owners in the area.

C) Continue to address the stated problems.

Problem Areas

1. Overcrowding.
2. Lack of community involvement.
3. Violent crime.
4. Gang related crime.
5. Youth crime.
6. Hazardous or substandard conditions.
7. Health hazards.
8. Communication with property and business owners.

Coverage - (Based on manpower allocation printouts for the Buena-Clinton area.)

1. Wednesday through Sunday to be covered by the Buena-Clinton detail.

2. Day shift 0900-1700 (with flexibility) provides exposure to the community, owners, managers, and other agencies necessary to accomplish the goals.

3. Swing shift 1600-2400. This will provide a one-hour overlap with day shift to exchange information and/or give direction.

4. Cover shift 1900-0300. This will provide a five-hour overlap giving maximum coverage and potential contact with elements of the community creating the majority of the violent crimes.

5. Support coverage. Priority Patrol projects handled by Team III personnel to cover time periods when the project officers are off duty.

6. Additional Personnel

a) Reserve officers will be encouraged to work with the task force primarily evenings and weekends.

b) Special Investigation Unit will be utilized and coordinated by the task force sergeant.

c) Crime Suppression Unit will be used and coordinated by the task force sergeant.

Personnel and Shift Assignment

1. Day shift 0900-1700

Sergeant
Officer

NOTE - The sergeant will be working varied shifts within the given 0900-0300 time frame.

2. Swing shift 1600-2400

Master Officer
Officer

3. Cover shift 1900-0300

Officer
Officer

Using this coverage and comparing it to called for service requests, we can handle approximately 65% of all the calls for service (7 days a week) and still provide maximum coverage during peak hours.

The personnel assigned to the Buena-Clinton Special Enforcement Detail will handle all calls for service during their work shift. They will also be responsible for all activity during that shift.

Resources (in addition to those not listed)

1. HCD officer Ownby.
2. Orange County Welfare.
3. Buena-Clinton Property Owners Association (BCPOA).
4. Orange County Health Department.
5. Garden Grove Fire Department.
6. Garden Grove City Attorney.
7. Other public and private organizations.

The detail will also be familiar with and use all the standard police resources.

Program Reports

A) Weekly Report - Primarily statistics to show activity for the week.

1. Copy put in files.
2. Copy to Team III Commander.

B) Monthly Report - A total breakdown of the month's statistics and progress in all stated goals.

1. Copy put in files.
2. Copy to Team III Commander.
3. Copy for Operational Services Bureau Commander.

C) Quarterly Report - A total breakdown of the stats and progress for three-month period.

1. Copy put in files.
2. Copy to Team III Commander.
3. Copy for Operational Services Bureau Commander.
4. Copy for Chief of Police.

D) Yearly Report - A total breakdown of the stats and results of all activity. Before and after type report showing program results.

1. Copy put in files.
2. Copy to Team III Commander.
3. Copy for Operational Services Bureau Commander.
4. Copy for Chief of Police.

Files

A) Administration File - Contain all reports and memos dealing with the program, also officer logs, and stat forms, etc..

B) Background File - Contain all reports and material leading up to this project.

C) Gang Activity File - Contain all reports and contacts with gang members or related to gang activity.

D) Informant File - Identification of informants, when contacted, what type information and disposition of that information.

E) Supporting Agency File - To provide the ability to follow up and show results in this area. (Problems turned over to other agencies.)

F) Newspaper Clippings - To provide a record of press coverage.

M. WALKER, SERGEANT
TEAM I SUPERVISOR
OPERATIONAL SERVICES BUREAU

MW:lw

FUTURE

Futurists often say the most reliable way to anticipate the future is to understand the present. The preceding portions of this report have tried to assess not only the present impact but also the history of immigration in the United States. This section will develop some possible scenarios on which to base strategic planning efforts for the 1990's and beyond.

Population

Today there are 4.5 billion people in the world and there are an additional 2 billion expected before the end of this century. There are not enough resources in the world to care for them all. Today one quarter of the world's population lives below the poverty level. In spite of legislation and increased enforcement efforts to stem the flow of migration northward through Mexico into Southwest United States, there are powerful factors that will continue for at least several decades. Birth rates will also continue for at least the next decade to be higher among Hispanics than among Anglos. In many of the predominantly Hispanic areas, the language will in most parts be bilingual but Spanish will be the common language of the street and the marketplace. The Hispanic community particularly new arrivals and illegal immigrants throughout the Southwestern United States will be developing more effective political awareness and will be a major force in urban politics. As school districts become flooded with the children of immigrants, increased bilingual programs will be instituted. Education is the key factor to occupational

progress. The process begins when the lowest level jobs are taken. However, their children move into more skilled positions becoming highly trained craftsmen and specialists. The grandchildren of the immigrants, the second born generation, are found in professional positions such as teaching, accounting and management. The newest immigrants typically have no more than a sixth grade education, but with their children a high school education is their ticket to the next occupational rung. College education opens up white collar opportunities.

Overall employment is projected to increase in California by 30 percent by 1995, approximately 3 million new jobs. This growth rate is at about half of what it was in the 1970's. It is projected that about 70 percent of these new jobs will be in the white collar and skilled areas. That means many of them are beyond the range of recent immigrants. About 1 million jobs are projected to be evenly divided between temporary and permanent immigrants. California's economy will continue to generate a tremendous demand for work that has traditionally been done by illegal immigrants. However, it is projected that this demand will grow more slowly during the next 10 years than it has in the past.

Crime

Most agencies saw changes in the future impact of illegal aliens on crime. Attached is a chart which depicts the responses in each category (Pgs. 44-51). Not only do many agencies have special programs

geared at both crime prevention and apprehension, they also are planning or developing future programs (refer to Pages 94-95). There are many common factors that point toward store front or community police centers in highly concentrated areas of the city. Special task forces and bilingual programs at the police officer level and investigator level will be implemented. Task force approaches involving agencies outside the criminal justice area will be necessary to deal with the complex problems. Foot patrols and outreach programs involving community watch will be adopted. Agencies will consider the hidden population when addressing their respective governing bodies for resources.

Technology and innovations will play an important part in the future. This will be particularly important in identifying criminals through computerized state systems, such as CAL-ID. Technology will aid in providing linkages between cities and countries, particularly along the U.S./Mexican border.

Technology alone cannot solve the problems of the future. The keys to successful application will be the employment of what John Naisbitt of Megatrends terms 'high tec/high touch,' which is the intergration of the human factor and implementation of technology.

There has been an increasing alienation of people from all forms of government, including law enforcement. In large part, the alienation stems from the public's inability to relate to a law enforcement system that is generally remote. Most

people identify with their neighborhoods, but have little sense of ownership for their city, county or state government systems.

Future goals must be to integrate the community with the law enforcement agency. There must be a system of feedback, so that when community problems or issues are raised, the public will be aware of what is being done to address the problem. This will be an increasingly difficult problem as a greater diversity of ethnic and racial communities develops in the future. (Refer to Pages 94-95)

Citizen support of law enforcement has been enhanced through Neighborhood Watch Programs. As citizens come to understand the program and take more responsiblity for it, there is also a lessening of the distrust for law enforcement in general. Law enforcement is not without challenges and adversary relationships that come largely from special interest groups whose biases do not necessarily reflect the good of the community at large.

What is most important to law enforcement, is to have a vision of the future; there is no future but the one we develop.

FUTURE PROGRAMS

FUTURE PROGRAMS

This is a list of plans that agencies hope to start or develop in the future.

- One agency wants to expand existing liaison to include countries of Central and South America.
- One agency is starting a program called "OASIS". They need a task force to combat crime related crimes with illegal aliens want to pool resources with other government groups to attack slum areas, where illegals tend to gather "Store fronts will be common in the future".
- One agency wants a Spanish speaking hotline and talks in Spanish.
- Five Agencies feel it is important for officers to be familiar with languages and cultures-develop a cultural awareness program for officers.
- One agency wants to develop a central Spanish speaking information exchange to assist private industry, law enforcement and the public in the return of stolen vehicles found on either side of the border.
- One agency has begun developing expanded crime prevention materials for various Asian languages.
- One agency-consideration to adopt, as part of Department Uniformed Deployment Formula, a factor that considers illegal alien population to help determine workload.
- One agency would like a Federal Treaty to require sentence be served in Mexico.
- Two agencies would like to use PSA's encouraging rape victims to report the crime. Also PSA's, in Spanish, giving crime tips.

- One agency feels they need to develop capabilities for tracking illegal alien victims/suspects.
- One agency wants to expand the Border Crimes prevention Unit.
- Two agencies are developing task force to combat specific crime problems and focus more effort to those areas where illegals are.
- One agency is working on a film and lectures for auto theft.
- One agency would like landlord/tenant information to combat abuse of tenant's rights.
- One agency would like programs for legal and illegals to counteract victimization by organized crime and white collar criminals.
- One agency is planning more focus on foot patrols in illegal areas.
- One agency is considering a radio talk show and developing Hispanic Crime Watch groups.
- Two agencies are continuing their Neighborhood Watch Programs.
- One agency is developing a Spanish speaking "Lock-It" Program.
- One agency is developing a "Stranger Danger Program" K-3 grades, and also continuing rape and personal protection programs.
- One agency would like to start a gun program in Spanish, and this will be presented by the Community Services Division.

STRATEGIC PLANNING

The trends are clear, while at one time the police institution was hermitically sealed and nonresponsive to outside influence, today management has opened somewhat to outside pressure and is far more responsive to the demands of those segments of the community who in the past received no recognition at all.[8] As has been mentioned previously, immigrants will become a significant political force to be dealt with. This is also true in the area of police services.

Recently published research has shown that foot patrol programs have a capacity to improve the quality of life in contemporary communities.[9] In 1982 by a grant, the national neighborhood foot patrol center was established. The center is housed in Michigan State University's School of Criminal Justice and is designed as a national clearinghouse for information on foot patrol and other progressive community policing techniques. In Santa Ana, the modern version of the foot patrol was first experienced in conjunction with our Community Oriented Policing program and our store front (community center) operations.

Headlines in our local newspapers read, "Santa Ana Police-Local Merchants Team Up to Fight Santa Ana Image." "Foot Patrol Cleans Up Santa Ana's Seamy Side." Colorful blue and gold billboards were found throughout the city proclaiming Businessmen and Police, A Working Combination, Join The Community Team, It's Your Business. There were posters and miniature billboards that could be seen on display throughout the business community carrying the

message to get involved in the Businessmen's COP Program. Radio and television carried feature stories on the program.

In April 1981, the Santa Ana City Center Association honored Chief of Police, Raymond C. Davis, and the members of the downtown office and special enforcement team for outstanding performance in the field of law enforcement. The results, public offenses had been reduced 80 percent and major crimes had been reduced up to 50 percent through a problem centering on citizen involvement.

The program drew together many elements of the community. The concepts and philosophies that had been used very successfully in residential neighborhoods were applied to the business community. Under the direction of the Area Commander, a special unit was established within the team policing concept. This was a walking beat consisting of four officers (two two-man teams working day shift and evening shift). Community meetings were held with local business persons to make them aware of the problems and policies of the local courts. Subsequently, public meetings were held with the District Attorney, Municipal Court Judges, public officials and the Police Department in attendance. A case tracking system was established to follow each case through the courts to disposition. In February 1980, a small police store front office had been opened in the downtown area to serve local merchants and shoppers and was used by the special enforcement team as a substation. Because the officers were restricted to walking a foot beat, many contacts and observations that

a regular patrol officer might miss were now utilized. The foot patrol was able to establish a rapport with citizens and business persons in the downtown area. It was these contacts combined with their broad experience and knowledge that enabled them to quickly identify the career criminals. These individuals were then targeted by the foot beat for arrest and prosecution. Gradually over an extended time period, more and more businesses became involved in the program. A major media campaign was implemented encouraging participation. CBS "60 Minutes" included a piece on this business program in the their coverage of Santa Ana's citizen involvement and crime prevention programs.

The strategic plan that was developed was a result of a multi-phase process. The first phase of this was the stakeholder identification. In order to do this it requires familiarity with the community, its history, its process of development and its current politics and problems. All of these factors influence the attitudes of the citizens toward the problems and toward problem solving techniques. One needs to consider the economic base. What are the community attitudes toward expansion? What are the employment prospects and what are the prospects likely to be in the future? Is the local economy dominated by a single company or is it diversified? Cultural Makeup--What are the class divisions and is there a history of class cooperation or conflict? To what degree does the class and/or cultural divisions affect mobility? Social Organizations--What social, fraternal or church organizations exist? How influential are they? Are these organizations

in conflict or are they capable of cooperating for a common cause or need? What are the political affiliations of the organizati Official Functions--What are the social service agencies present? Is there a cooperation or conflict between the various agencies involved in the criminal justice system? Are programs centrally planned and coordinated or are resources fragmented?

Once each one of these steps has been completed, it is important to identify leaders in the community and bring these leaders together for a common cause. Particularly an important portion of this is determining what the critical mass is. In order for a successful foot patrol program to be established, there must be a coalition between community leaders who are genuinely interested in solving problems in their neighborhoods. It is very important to discover who has real influence and power in the community and a reputation for getting things accomplished. In one community, for example, civic, business and government leaders may have public support and confidence necessary to get things done. However, in another community these efforts may be greeted by hostility and distrust.

After the critical mass have been identified, they should be brought together in a meeting to allow an exchange of views and to bring their concerns into the open. After this first meeting, more specific meetings must be established with the major objectives identified and strategies on how to accomplish them. The first few meetings may be difficult, however, establishing leadership in advance will make the entire process more productive.

THE SEARCH FOR FUNDS TO SUPPORT THE PROGRAM

A determination will have to be made whether it will be a reallocation of existing resources; done through state or federal grants; or through the use of private funds such as community service groups, corporations or foundations. Once a source(s) has been established a proposal will have to be developed stating the purpose of the project, details of the budget and what is expected to be accomplished. In this phase of the development, it is very important to have already established the critical mass and key leaders who can have influence on funding.

Another special area although not very popular or successful are special taxes. In Santa Ana, our program was first developed using existing resources and later was expanded through the use of federal block grant funds. When the program was expanded to include many parts of the city, the following objectives were established: 1) To reduce crime in targeted neighborhoods; 2) To increase positive police/citizen interaction in neighborhoods; 3) To increase citizen perceptions of safety within the targeted neighborhoods; 4) To provide a link between the community and the government by referring citizens in need to city service agencies.

As the first step toward program development, the department identified geographic areas of the city which fell within the community development block grant as blighted areas. The area selected for foot patrol were showing increasing social deterioration

and rising crime and were therefore most likely to benefit from the services provided by foot patrol officers. The department identified nine areas which encompassed nearly three miles or ten percent of the total area of the city. Each area consisted of primarily residential neighborhoods, however, all included many small businesses. The population density of the neighborhood foot patrol was approximately 44,000 citizens not including a fluctuating number of undocumented aliens.

Personnel selection is very important whether it be foot patrol or any program that has special needs and problems. In the area of a foot patrol officer, it is particularly important because every day he is interacting with the citizens on a much more extensive level. The same holds true of community service centers where community leaders and organizers will frequently visit.

A determination must be made of what sort of personal profile is desirable for the assignment and a selection based on this criteria. Some of the major factors that have to be considered are communication skills, interpersonal skills, crisis intervention skills, knowledge of community resources and services and a knowledge of social and political awareness.

Social changes in contemporary America are enormously changeable. Mobility of our citizens, the dynamism of a free market economy and rapid changes in technology can alter the makeup of a community markedly in a very short period of time. This being so, police

administrators will have to anticipate and make allowances for change. A patrol strategy which works well in a neighborhood now, may be less than adequate five years from now if the neighborhood changes. Obviously, talented administrators will monitor developments so they can make necessary adjustments.[10]

Foot patrols have been used as a central theme around which to develop a strategic plan. Transition management is the important element that develops the answers on how to get from the present to the desired future. The implementation of the transition plan must be managed carefully and continually adjusted and refined so that the goals can be achieved.

FOOTNOTES

[1]K. F. McCarthy and R. B. Valdez, Current and Future Effects of Mexican Immigration in California, The Rand Corporation, R-33651/1-Cr., page vii.

[2]T. Muller, The Fourth Wave: California's Newest Immigrants: A Summary, Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute Press, 1984, page 13.

[3]_____. 1985. Impact of Illegal Immigration and Background on Legalization. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, page 2.

[4]T. Muller, The Fourth Wave: California's Newest Immigrants: A Summary, Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute Press, 1984, page 42.

[5]W. A. Cornelius, L. R. Chavez, and J. G. Castro, Mexican Immigrants in Southern California: A Summary of Current Knowledge, Research Report Series 36, Center For U.S.-Mexican Studies, University of California, San Diego, 1982, page 21.

[6]T. Muller, The Fourth Wave: California's Newest Immigrants: A Summary, Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute Press, 1984, page 68.

[7]The Illegal Alien Committee, The Illegal Alien Problem and Its Impact On Los Angeles Police Department Resources, 1977, page 6.

[8]William A. Geller, Police Leadership in America: Crisis and Opportunity, American Bar Foundation, 1985, page 59.

[9]Robert C. Trojanowicz, Paul R. Smyth, A Manual For the Establishment and Operation of a Foot Patrol Program, The Neighborhood Foot Patrol Center, School of Criminal Justice, Michigan State University, 1984, page 32.

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Thursday, February 27, 1986 ROCKY MOUNTAIN NEWS (Colorado)

Colorado can't afford to ignore illegal aliens

By Richard D. Lamm

THE number of illegal aliens in Colorado and elsewhere in the United States always has been difficult to pin down. However, the suggestion that Colorado's problem with illegal aliens has been exaggerated because 91% of Hispanics reported to the Census Bureau that they were American citizens at birth ignores more reliable evidence to the contrary.

The figure, as reported by the Latin American Research and Service Agency (LARASA) based on the 1980 U.S. Census, is a fairly shaky indicator. Would you really expect undocumented aliens to reveal their true status to government census takers?

Facts more reliable than personal polls indicate a significant and probably growing number of illegal aliens live in Denver and elsewhere in Colorado and use public services.

A clue is in our schools. Currently 37.1% (12,439) of the Denver elementary school students are of Hispanic descent. Of these, 40% enrolled in the schools' limited English proficiency programs. Surely this is not compatible with the notion that 91% of Colorado's Hispanic population was born in the United States.

A prime indicator that the illegal alien population is rising can be found by comparing the number of new legal immigrants with the overall number of arrests of foreign-born people here.

Colorado Bureau of Investigation records show that the number of foreign-born people arrested in Colorado has been rising — from an average of 1% of total Colorado arrests in 1967-1980 to 10% last year.

In contrast, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) says legal immigration to our state has remained steady in the past several years, ranging between 5,100 and 5,500 new entrants a year. The 1980 Census found that Colorado had 114,130 legal residents and citizens who were foreign-born, representing 4% of the state's population.

The disparity in these figures leads to the conclusion that the increase in arrests of foreign-born reflects a decided rise in the number of illegal aliens, who represent a growing percentage of the total population of Colorado.

The growing number of illegal aliens in Colorado is a reality and it is increasingly important to understand the implications better.

A Denver General Hospital study conducted by INS in 1981 found that the hospital treated an average of 18 new foreign-born patients each day. Of these 57% were non-immigrants or illegal aliens not entitled to free services. INS projected the annual cost of these services 5 years ago at $8 million. I think we'd find a significant increase today.

Other studies across the nation echo this trend. In 1984, an INS study concluded that, although illegal aliens contributed an average of $995 per year in taxes, this contribution was more than offset by social service costs (including costs associated with the displacement of American workers) of $1,977 per alien. At this rate, 6 million illegal aliens represent a net drain to U.S. taxpayers of $5.89 billion per year — more than the total of economic assistance we contributed to the entire developing world in 1984 through the Agency for International Development.

Do illegal-alien costs affect our quality of life in Colorado? You bet. Colorado and the rest of the nation need to improve education and rebuild infrastructure while stretching social service dollars as far as they go. If illegal immigrants compete for benefits, the quality of services available to needy Colorado citizens will suffer.

We need to ask: How much better medical care could we provide our poor if we refused non-emergency treatment to illegal aliens, as do some hospitals in California and Texas? How much better public housing could we provide? A senior INS investigator says that in his 8 years here he has never received an inquiry from Denver authorities about whether an applicant for public housing is a legal resident.

How much higher quality law enforcement could we provide if authorities were not dealing with illegal aliens? The cost of incarceration and judicial processing mounts with every person arrested. Our jails already are overcrowded.

One has to wonder how funding needed to educate the dependents of illegal aliens might be used to improve the quality of education for our own children.

We must gather information about the impact of Colorado's illegal immigrants, and then make policy decisions ensuring that we reserve public assistance for needy citizens and legal residents. That is why I suggested recently an audit of illegal-alien impacts on the city of Denver.

Promoting the notion that the problem of illegal immigration is exaggerated does a disservice to us all. Let's find out how we're affected instead of dismissing the issue because of a personal poll.

Richard D. Lamm is governor of Colorado.

APPENDIX A

LOS ANGELES HERALD EXAMINER

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Facing the flood

Reagan should support immigration bills

The flood of illegal aliens entering the U.S. from Mexico has increased dramatically in recent months, according to Immigration and Naturalization Service officials. And for every alien who's apprehended, the INS says two or three make it across the border undetected. Those statistics have forced INS Commissioner Alan Nelson to call for tougher immigration laws. Unfortunately, his bosses in the Reagan administration don't seem to share his concern. Unless that changes, there's little chance Congress will take the steps necessary to deal with the issue.

A solution is urgently needed, especially for Southern California, where illegal aliens make up an increasingly large part of the populace. Although the jobs of most Angelenos aren't threatened by illegals, it's been found that they do take jobs from other recently arrived Latino immigrants. And illegal aliens exacerbate the overcrowding created by the area's growing population.

Nelson's solution to the problem is the passage of immigration reform legislation that has already been approved by the Senate and is pending in the House. The bills' attempt to slow the future flow of illegals by penalizing employers who hire them, while providing legal status for aliens who've already put down roots in the U.S., seems to be a reasonable and humane approach to the problem. But unless Nelson's boss, President Reagan, shows support for the legislation, which he so far hasn't been willing to do, it won't move through the House.

The White House's hesitance stems in part from the supply siders in the administration who believe immigration reform's employer sanctions could hurt the economy by doing away with a cheap labor source. There's also opposition to the part of the law that would increase the government's welfare responsibilities by giving legal status to aliens already in the U.S.

Reagan's lack of leadership isn't making the INS commissioner's job any easier. Nor is it helping to solve the critical problem of illegal immigration facing Southern California.

APPENDIX C

Heading North

Upheaval in Mexico Is Prompting Millions To Resettle in the U.S.

Villages Wither, Industry Is Desperate for Laborers; The Crowds of Tijuana

Culture Clash in California

By George Getschow
Staff Reporter of The Wall Street Journal

NAPIZARO, Mexico—Five years ago, this rural mountain village of 1,200 people was bursting with pride over the accomplishments of its foreign legion: the young men who had left here to work in North Hollywood, Calif.

Because of those men and their earnings, Napizaro boasted streetlights and modern brick homes, some with saunas and landscaped courtyards. A modern community center, an infirmary and a new bullring, the last fittingly named "North Hollywood California," had been completed. An elementary school and a giant cathedral were just getting under way. Each January, the villagers working in the U.S. would return briefly for the town festival to celebrate the fruits of their labor and lay the foundations for their families' future here in central Mexico.

But times have changed, both here and in North Hollywood. Here, the streetlights have been dimmed, and the last new home built has never been lived in. The cathedral is barely half completed. Cattle graze on the elementary-school site; not long after the school was planned, the villagers sadly concluded that there weren't enough children around anymore to justify a new building.

First in a series of stories on Hispanic workers in the U.S.

"We're running out of people," sighs Adolfo Paz, who recently sold the homestead he was saving for his five children and their families because they have decided to live permanently in North Hollywood. At the town cemetery, the 66-year-old town elder is overcome with grief as he inspects the graves of his parents and grandparents. "For generations, our families lived together and were buried together in Napizaro," says Mr. Paz, his eyes brimming. "But now our children have become strangers to us. They live in a different world, and they will die in a different world."

Permanent Resettlement

In the past, the men from the village migrated alone to work as illegal immigrants in small plants and businesses in North Hollywood. And for years, they sent their pay home, part of it earmarked for civic improvements, before eventually returning home for good themselves.

Today, however, nearly three-quarters of Napizaro's 156 heads of household and their families have settled permanently in North Hollywood. Although most are there illegally, some have bought homes and started businesses, and their children have grown up, gotten married and begun raising families of their own. That means there is less money to save in the States and fewer dollars to be sent back to Mexico.

In North Hollywood, 68-year-old Napizaro-born Augustin Campos says, "Our village has put down roots here, and they grow deeper every year." It was Mr. Campos who years ago got work in North Hollywood and led the way north for his fellow villagers; still, he always returned to preside over the town festival. This year, however, the elder wasn't on hand, having settled for good in North Hollywood. With him are his three sons, two daughters and 16 grandchildren, all of whom have taken up permanent residence there as illegal immigrants. Mr. Campos lives with two children in a comfortable four-bedroom home that they financed with a 30-year mortgage. He works in a factory assembling computer keyboards, earning $180 a week. And he recently severed his only remaining ties to his hometown by selling his land and cows.

"I love Napizaro," he says, "but I couldn't survive there anymore."

Drought and Debt

Since "la crisis" struck their villages several years ago, countless peasants from throughout poverty-stricken rural Mexico have reached the same conclusion. A devastating combination of drought, devaluations and huge debt has plunged the country into its worst economic upheaval since the 1910 revolution. The crisis has created hardships and reduced expectations for all Mexican classes, but it has caused misery and starvation for the country's bulging population of landless *campesinos*, or peasants. The government estimates that as many as 85% of all Mexican farmers live at or below subsistence levels and that some 30 million Mexicans don't have enough to eat.

Even such grim statistics, however, don't convey the depth of the destitution gripping today's Mexico. The poor pouring into the squalid slums of Guadalajara, a once-sleepy college town, beg for pesos with fire-swallowing acts. Barefoot children with bloated stomachs crowd street corners cleaning windshields and selling gum. And houses of prostitution, once staffed mostly by jaded urbanites, now are filled with young mothers from the country trying to put meat and milk on their families' tables.

For millions of Mexican families caught in these circumstances, the only choice is between starvation and migration. So they head northward, in numbers that are impossible to document but that are painfully apparent on a recent 1,500-mile journey from central Mexico to the border.

Extra Buses

At the sprawling bus station in Morelia, 60 miles southwest of Napizaro and a main launching point to the border, 12 extra buses a day (now 20 in all) barely dent the demand; weary women and children, their life possessions in tow, sleep on suitcases while a seemingly endless procession of men snakes its way toward the ticket counter. At the cathedral in Caparo, a decayed mountain village in the state of Michoacan, Padre Miguel Huerta's blessings for U.S.-bound families have become a regular ritual. Near the California border, the city of Tijuana now is swamped with families sleeping on park benches, in bus stations and in seedy hotels, waiting for smugglers to slip them into the U.S. "What was a trickle of families has turned into a flood," says Humberto Rolarte, who turns away many more families at his Tijuana hotel than he can possibly take in.

The increasing flow northward has already drained the central Mexican countryside of so much manpower that farm fields lie fallow and the local industry often can't come close to finding the workers it needs to operate even at half capacity. Children cut leather under towering sewing machines in shoe factories. Women rope calves and sink fence posts on the ranches. And old men, covered with feathers and blood, slice chickens at local slaughterhouses.

Now even the cities are being affected as a growing stream of skilled workers and even some professionals, pushed by the plummeting standard of living and pulled by pay scales at least 10 times better than anything Mexico has to offer, are fleeing to the U.S., often for good. The exodus is evident at a half-completed office tower in Guadalajara, where several hundred young boys lug concrete and steel in the shadow of a billboard imploring: "We Need 500 Peons and 500 Skilled Workers." Where are the men? "They've all gone to the States," says Superintendent Alfonso Cambron. "Since the crisis, they can't make enough here to eat and pay the rent."

What worries all working classes is that there now appears to be little hope of correcting the social and economic conditions that each day drive more Mexicans into the migrant stream. Staggering debt and sinking oil prices have foiled Mexico's ambitious industrialization, which was supposed to provide enough high-paying jobs to keep the nation's bulging population of 75 million people at home. Instead, real wages have tumbled and prices of most basic commodities have tripled in the aftermath of the 1982 devaluation. The upshot is that most working-class Mexicans earning the minimum wage of $3.75 a day can't feed their families, even on a diet of beans and tortillas.

Over the years since the revolution, every Mexican president has promised the peasants that he would greatly expand the country's arable acreage through irrigation and other rural development projects. But few of these "agrarian reform" projects have ever been built on the small farms. And those that have been built often have benefited the government at the peasants' expense.

One morning, as the sun rises over Lake Patzcuaro in the state of Michoacan, about 50 dairy farmers gather on the rooftop of the municipal government's office in Tzintzunzan to meet with Silviano Guillen, the commissioner of agrarian reform for the region. The government, it turns out, has quietly expropriated the *ejido*, a communal farm, which serves as the only remaining public entrance to the lake and the only source of water for the farmers' animals.

Commissioner Guillen, trying to pacify the peasants, explains that the government plans to build a giant greenhouse at the site to help reforest the denuded mountains surrounding their villages. "It will create jobs and income for your communities, and everyone will benefit," he assures them.

Airing Grievances

"It will destroy us," shouts a one-armed peasant, as the others nod in agreement. "Without water, our animals will die and then what will we do?" The commissioner seethes for several minutes as the men air their grievances, then explodes: "I couldn't care less about you. You don't have rights to this land. And with or without your approval, the greenhouse will be built."

The commissioner begins to leave, but one of the peasants grabs him by the arm. "You're stepping on us," the peasant fumes. "But we're not going to lie still. That land is our life. Either we fight for it or we go north."

And many are making remarkable sacrifices to reach the States. One such migrant is Salomon Estrada of Puacaro, a dilapidated village 10 miles up a dusty mountain road from Napizaro.

Until last year, the closest Mr. Estrada ever got to the U.S. was watching the bullfights in Napizaro's "North Hollywood California" bullring during the town's New Year's festival. The 34-year-old peasant, whose life possessions until last year consisted of a milk cow and a mud hut, says he was always "filled with jealousy" when the men from North Hollywood would return each year "in their big cars and fancy clothes" to beautiful homes built with U.S. dollars.

So Mr. Estrada sold his family's only source of protein—the milk cow—to pay his passage to South Texas, where he worked as a gardener for two months last year until he was caught by authorities and sent home. Now, with himself, his wife, Juanita, and his eight children half-starved, Mr. Estrada has been working 13 hours a day, seven days a week, for the past five months making bricks in a backyard pit to earn enough money to get back to the States. "These bricks are the only hope I have left," says the mud-caked peasant, pointing to the day's output. "My family is hungry, and we're running out of food."

Such day-to-day struggles are something the Napizaro villagers living in North Hollywood have been about to put behind them. Aside from anxieties about their legal status, their concerns are no different than those of any American family: getting a good education for their children, making more money, paying less in taxes and meeting the monthly mortgage.

"Our plan was always to move back to Napizaro, but it doesn't seem possible anymore," says Adelina Santiago, who hasn't been to the Mexican town in five years. She and her husband now live in a comfortable suburban home with a two-car garage. They both hold down steady jobs. And their four children have all grown up in the States, speaking English instead of Spanish, eating hamburgers instead of enchiladas and tuning into Michael Jackson instead of Mexican *mariachis*. "Our children aren't Mexicans anymore, they're Americans," says Mrs. Santiago, passing out Donald Duck and Mickey Mouse party favors for her two-year-old son's birthday.

But middle-aged and older immigrants often cling to the old country culture even after many years in the U.S., creating a giant generation gap. As Mrs. Santiago cuts her son's birthday cake, for example, the children sing "Happy Birthday to You" in English while most of the parents sing *Las Mananitas*, "The Little Mornings," a Mexican birthday ballad, in Spanish. And when little Mario Santiago smashes the *pinata* with a stick, some of the parents are piqued that M&Ms and Twix Bars tumble out instead of traditional Mexican cookies and candy.

Many parents fret that their children are being corrupted by American values. Back in the village, single sons and daughters dutifully gave any pesos they earned to their parents out of respect for them; the parents, in turn, doled out an allowance to their offspring. And if the children wanted to go on a date, they would need both parents' permission and a chaperon. In America, however, "our children don't respect their parents and have developed loose morals," says Santiago Rodriguez, a 56-year-old immigrant whose 15- and 16-year-old daughters recently had children out of wedlock.

Social Upheaval

The campesinos are even getting caught up in the social upheaval sweeping U.S. households. Young women today are no longer content to stay home as their mothers did in Napizaro and cater to every need of their men. They have full-time jobs, bear fewer children and read womens' magazines that speak to them about independence and sharing household duties.

"I work as many hours and make as much money as my husband does, but he still expects me to come home, clean house and cook supper for him while he takes a siesta," says 19-year-old Maria Eugenia, a supervisor at an industrial tools plant who just married a recent arrival from Napizaro. "He thinks the old way; I think the American way."

For Mexican immigrants of all generations, melting into the mixture of the American pot is a slow and painful process. The Napizaro villagers live in the same neighborhoods, work in the same factories and go to the same church. They socialize with each other, marry each other and bury each other. This is done partly out of cultural identity but also to provide a sense of security; even after years in the States, the villagers live in constant fear of *la migra*, their Spanish slang term for the immigration authorities.

"We don't dare go anywhere alone for fear la migra will grab us," says 21-year-old Carlos Jaramillo, taking a break from a basketball game between the "old generation" and "new generation" Napizaro villagers. Such fears even afflict the youngsters. Four-year-old Mary Lou Ramirez, born in Napizaro, faces constant teasing from her two older sisters, born in the U.S. If she isn't nice to them, she says, her sisters call her an "illegal" and threaten to call the authorities and have her sent back to Mexico. "I wish I could be born again in the U.S.," she says with a sigh.

These days, of course, there are very few children like Mary Lou being born here in Napizaro because most of the parents have settled in the States. But some of the children have been left behind, often waiting for years for their parents to save enough to smuggle them across the Rio Grande. The separation "is worse than death," says Napizaro's Maria de Jesus Anaya, 77, who has been looking after six of her son Louis's 11 children for the last 10 years. "Sometimes the children say, 'Maybe Mommy and Daddy won't come because they don't love us anymore,' " she says.

Recently, Louis Anaya returned to the village to bring two more of his children to the States. But the reunion is hardly a happy occasion. "It's sad that I wasn't here to watch my children grow up," Mr. Anaya says, pointing to his 15-year-old son, Melesio. "He became a man while I was gone." And now the father must choose which of his children to bring back and which to leave behind. "It's an impossible situation," he says, shaking his head.

The women left behind fare no better. Marcelina Soloria, who is 40 years old, bore two of her husband's five children while he was working in the States. Now, pregnant again, she worries what would happen if she died during delivery. "He wouldn't even get back in time for my funeral," she says, recalling what happened when her sister died while the sister's husband was away two years ago.

The problem of Napizaro's prodigals dominates the discussions early one Sunday morning as the old people of the village gather at the giant, half-completed cathedral before Mass to hear the latest report on the church's construction fund.

Adolfo Paz, who coordinates the fund-raising drive in the States through his son, Melitón, doesn't have good news to report. "I'm afraid there's no collection this month," he advises the villagers, who have heard the same report for months now. "Melitón tells me some of the boys have been laid off, and others have too many family obligations." An old woman clutching a rosary mutters, "If something isn't done soon, we'll all be dead before the church is finished."

Back in North Hollywood, many of the villagers no longer see a need for such a big church. "My children are all dyed-in-the-wool Yankees," says Salvador Campos, who left Napizaro 20 years ago, started a clothing factory and has raised 11 children as U.S. citizens, some of them currently in college. Napizaro is so foreign to them, he says, "they couldn't even drink the water."

APPENDIX D

A World Apart

Area Along Border Of Mexico, U.S. Has A Culture All Its Own

Biggest Industry in Region Is Illegal Immigration; How to Speak Spanglish

Juarez's Wading Commuters

By Matt Moffett
And Steve Frazier
Staff Reporters of The Wall Street Journal

CIUDAD JUAREZ, Mexico—About the time each morning that workers in New York are elbowing through subway crowds or workers in Los Angeles are weaving through traffic jams, commuters here are wading through the knee-deep Rio Grande to jobs in the U.S.

As the sun rises behind the silhouetted skyline of El Paso, Texas, a bus on the Mexican side of the border drops its load of laborers near a shallow bend in the river. A catering van trundles by selling coffee and pastries to groups of Mexicans waiting to wade across.

After rolling up his trousers and splashing across the river, Guillermo Perez spots one of the U.S. Border Patrol's conspicuous green Dodge Charger vans. "I'm going to be late for work," huffs Mr. Perez, a construction worker, almost dropping his sack lunch in his agitation. He walks over to a group of people waiting for the Border Patrol's change of shift, which will provide the opportunity to make a dash for the U.S.

So begins another workday on the border, where each morning thousands of Mexicans like Mr. Perez illegally commute to jobs that are vital to them and to the U.S. cities where they toil. And each of those mornings, hundreds of federal agents try to prevent the Mexicans from getting to work. It is the way life goes along the 2,000-mile Mexican-American border, the junction of the Third World and the First World but a part of neither.

Second in a series of stories on Hispanic workers in the U.S.

"People around here always say they live near three countries: the U.S., Mexico and the border," says Donald C. Shuffstall, an El Paso banker.

Artificial Line

The political boundary maintained by Washington, D.C., and Mexico City functions largely as an annoyance in the daily lives of the eight million Mexican and U.S. residents who live near it. To most of these people, the border is an artificial line on the map; they view their region as a land between two lands, with its own economy, its own culture and even its own language.

The region's lifeblood is the flow of goods and people across the border. The U.S. side depends upon the constant stream of cheap Mexican laborers, an abundance of Mexican consumers and a healthy and stable Mexican currency. Mexican border cities, lacking the capital for their own industries and retail sectors, rely on their U.S. neighbors to put their people to work and to provide them with quality goods.

The strong economic bonds between the boundary area's residents become strikingly apparent as one travels the border from east to west. Unemployment reaches 50% in the Rio Grande Valley of Texas; across the border from Texas, in flooded, cinder-block slums of Mexican cities like Reynosa and Matamoros, the figure is even higher. But on the Pacific Coast, prosperous San Diego is just 15 miles north of Mexico's most affluent border city, Tijuana, which boasts a lavish cultural center, a new panoramic theater and a bustling airport.

No Man's Land

These ever-changing cities have grown into some of the largest yet least understood urban centers on the continent. The 1.5 million residents of El Paso and its larger neighbor, Ciudad Juarez, would rank that binational metropolitan area as the sixth largest city in the U.S. Last year, according to Immigration and Naturalization Service statistics, more than twice as many foreigners passed legally through the city of Laredo, Texas, than through all the international airports in the U.S. combined.

The border has been an independent no man's land from the beginning. The U.S. surveying party sent to draw the new border in the 1850s was stranded in the wilderness without money, causing many of the explorers to desert to the goldfields of California. When Washington did send a check, it bounced.

Mexicans on the border have a history of rebellion against those in the interior. Disenchanted with the dictatorship of Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, Mexican federalists in 1840 declared three northern states of Mexico as their own country, the Republic of the Rio Grande. But the new state didn't last long. An army from Mexico City swiftly crushed the border rebels.

The treaty ending the two-year Mexican-American War in 1848 gave Mexicans the choice of staying in newly acquired U.S. territory or moving back south of the border. Embittered Mexicans who elected to leave Laredo, Texas, dug up many of their dead and reburied them across the river in a new city, Nuevo Laredo, with a central square that was a mirror image of the city across the river.

Today, the border is still a political rather than a practical boundary. In Texas, wading to work across the Rio Grande is more akin to violating a "Don't Walk" signal at a downtown intersection than violating an international border. In Nogales, Ariz., the border is a 7-foot-high chainlink fence that is kept in a constant state of disrepair by wirecutting crossers. And in the rocky caverns between Tijuana and San Ysidro, Calif., the border is a land controlled not by INS officials but by gangs of bandits that prey upon illegal crossers.

The Mexicans and Americans who live along the border have developed a distinctive way of life that is a blend of their two native cultures. At high-school football games in Rio Grande City, Texas, vendors hawk tacos and chili pies instead of hot dogs and peanuts; and on the Mexican side, American football has become nearly as popular as *futbol*, or soccer.

A language frequently spoken on the border is a hybrid called Spanglish, which contains words found in neither Spanish nor English dictionaries. In Spanish, the English expression "to park a car" is *estacionar*; in Spanglish, it becomes *parquiar*. In Spanglish, truck is *trucka* and lunch is *lonche*.

Sometimes, though, it is simpler to compromise. Father Roy Snipes says Sunday Mass in Spanish at Our Lady of Refuge in Roma, Texas, but delivers the sermon in English. "This way everone understands something," he says.

Cultural ties reinforce commercial ties. When the Mexican government battled for power with the politically potent Catholic Church in the 1920s, waves of Mexicans were forced to cross the border to attend Mass during the Holy Week before Easter. U.S. merchants enticed the visitors with sales that made it the most profitable week of the year. The open animosity between church and state has long since ended, but Mexicans continue their traditional Easter pilgrimages to U.S. shopping malls and department stores.

Today, all sorts of unusual businesses and services along the U.S. side of the border compete to capture the Mexican market. Brownsville, Texas, may be the only place in the world where selling used clothing by the pound is a highly competitive retail business. A grocery store in Nogales, Ariz., offers carryout service both to the car and to the border bridge. And when Mexican shoppers find U.S. currency hard to come by in cities like El Paso, they swap pesos for dollars in the backs of station wagons that display the latest exchange rates on placards taped to the windshields.

The McDonald's in Nogales, just 200 yards from the border, does 70% of its business with Mexicans. Owner Joe Canchola staffs his restaurant with bilingual employees, accepts both pesos and dollars and serves hot sauce and jalapeno peppers with Egg McMuffins and Big Macs. "This isn't like running a McDonald's in Iowa," he says.

But this shared economy creates shared problems as well. After the peso devaluations of 1982, consumer spending by Mexicans on the U.S. side of the border dropped to $450 million from $4.8 billion in 1981. More than 700 businesses closed in Laredo alone. "We live and we die with Mexico," says Sammy Ladabaum, the owner of a Brownsville clothing store. "These days we're all dying."

Unscrupulous entrepreneurs also proliferate along the border, where the long arm of the law must strain to reach them. A woman in Laredo was arrested last year for operating what was nicknamed a "Brown Baby Association," which provided 70 Mexican babies from Nuevo Laredo to childless families in Utah. Airplane

Cont'd

A World Apart: The Area Along the Border Dividing Mexico and the U.S. Has Culture That Is All Its Own

pilots smuggling U.S.-manufactured televisions and radios to secret desert landing strips in Mexico have sometimes been fired upon by Mexican customs officials. And in Nuevo Laredo's stone-walled circle of bars and brothels called "Boystown," a transvestite tavern named "The Dallas Cowboys" is evidence of the more sordid economic link between opposite sides of the border.

The murder last March of a U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration agent from Southern California brought attention to the increasing importance—and danger—of the border drug trade. One-quarter of the marijuana and cocaine and one-third of the heroin sold in the U.S. enter through the border with Mexico, estimates Marion Hambrick, special agent in charge of the DEA's Houston Field Division.

DEA officials say that only smuggling profits could account for the big, new homes and late-model automobiles in Starr County, Texas. The 1980 census ranked Starr County as the second-poorest county in the U.S., with 50% of its residents living below the federal poverty level. With an estimated half of the county's families involved in drug trafficking, "Starr County exists on smuggling," says Kenneth Miley of the DEA McAllen office.

Illegal immigration may be the biggest border industry. Juan Reyes carries immigrants on his back across the Rio Grande for 50 cents a ride, but more polished professionals called *coyotes* charge between $200 and $600, a figure that may include passage to Houston or Los Angeles, a phony Social Security card and assistance in finding a job. A couple of years ago, the INS broke up a border smuggling ring that is believed to have grossed $24 million a year.

More conventional service industries also sprout up around illegal immigration. Enterprising Mexicans sell tacos and, on chilly nights, sweaters, to the people gathered on the outskirts of Tijuana waiting to cross illegally into California. On the other side of the border, illegal immigrants make up as much as 15% of the weekend trade at the Holiday Lodge motel in San Ysidro, Calif. "If someone comes in with money we'll give them a room," says Ricardo Santa Cruz, the hotel's night manager. "We're not here to ask questions."

And once the Mexican commuters cross the border, they are vital to such businesses as washing dishes, picking crops and cleaning buildings. Carlos Cruz Garcia has lived across from Brownsville in Matamoros for eight years, but has never worked a day in Mexico. Instead, he earns a living on Brownsville's shrimping fleet, even though he boasts of being arrested 50 times by immigration officers. "The pay is better on the American side," he says, where he can earn as much in one day as he can in a week at home.

Because of the economic ties, political ties between border cities are closer than ever. When directors of the El Paso Chamber of Commerce get into traffic disputes with police in Juarez, some of them say they need only flash a "distinguished visitor" pass signed by the Juarez mayor to resolve the problems. Del Rio, Texas, firefighters race their engines across the international bridge to Ciudad Acuna when that city's aged trucks aren't able to control a blaze. And governors of border states on both sides have met regularly since 1980 to discuss such issues as immigration, pollution and trade.

The relationship between border cities and their own national governments has been far less congenial. "Every time Washington or Mexico City tries to help out the border, they always seem to screw things up worse," says Thomas Lee, a business consultant in El Paso.

Mexico's federal government has been unable to help its border cities cope with the influx of thousands of new citizens from the interior. Last year in Reynosa, 1,000 squatters wielded bricks and baseball bats against police attempting to move them from their land. Mass transportation is so inadequate here in Juarez that some women factory workers must wake up at 4 a.m. to catch the bus for the morning shift at the American-owned factories in and around the city that employ 70,000 Mexicans.

Mexican border residents' growing dissatisfaction with the interior has greatly strengthened a conservative opposition party called the National Action Party, or PAN (the acronym is the Spanish word for bread). Recently, in staggering upsets against the ruling Partido Revolucionario Institucional, or PRI, PAN ousted ruling-party officials in several border cities, sending tremors all the way to Mexico City. "We have been ignored by Mexico City for too long," says Ciudad Juarez mayor Francisco H. Barrio Terrazas, the PAN's most charismatic leader.

U.S. efforts to deal with illegal immigration have also seriously strained relations with citizens along the border. The death of the Simpson-Mazzoli immigration bill in Congress last October relieved Mexicans, who feared the loss of their incomes, as well as Americans, who feared the loss of their workers and customers.

The bill, whose provisions included amnesty for millions of illegals in the U.S. and penalties for employers knowingly hiring undocumented workers, "didn't go over well on the border," says Ellwyn Stoddard, a border expert at the University of Texas at El Paso. (Rep. Sen. Alan Simpson of Wyoming, one of the bill's sponsors, says he plans a new legislative initiative to overhaul the nation's immigration policy; but this time, he says, there will be no provision for amnesty because many Americans are strongly opposed to it.)

The Reagan administration, too, has come under fire for its neglect of the border. After the devaluations, Vice President George Bush headed the specially created Southwest Border Action Group, which promised to speed the delivery of millions of dollars of border aid. But officials closer to the border say the group brought more hype than help. Included in the aid package was $4.3 million that went to provide housing for the elderly in Cathedral City, Calif., a relatively affluent retirement community near Palm Springs about 100 miles from the border. Other money went to construct or renovate schools in six New Mexico cities, most of which were more than 200 miles from the border. (A spokeswoman for the vice president says both actions "put money where it was urgently needed.")

"I am continually astounded by how little is known of our problems in Congress," says Rep. Ronald Coleman, Democrat of El Paso, chairman of the Congressional Border Caucus. "They didn't even know where the border was."

Vital Resources

Illegal Immigrants Are Backbone of Economy In States of Southwest

They Make Computer Parts, Package Arthritis Pills, Cook, Clean and Baby-Sit

Prisoners in the Bunkhouse

If you are like most Americans, you probably think of illegal immigrants as the anonymous brown-faced people who stoop in California farm fields, clear tables in New York restaurants or mop up the men's rooms in Houston.

They do all that, but they also do a lot more.

Illegals in Silicon Valley make printed-circuit boards for IBM personal computers and assemble microchips for use in guided missiles. In Southern California, they make artificial-heart valves for a company that supplied parts used in the Jarvik-7 artificial heart. Elsewhere in the Southwest, they package contact-lens solution and arthritis pills, assemble baby strollers, pluck Thanksgiving turkeys, stitch Levi's sportswear and help make air conditioners installed by General Motors and Chrysler dealers. That car of yours may have a tankful of gasoline from an Exxon refinery in Texas where hundreds of illegals have worked.

This article was prepared by Thomas Petzinger Jr., Mark Zieman, Bryan Burrough and Dianna Solis, Wall Street Journal staff reporters in Houston.

"Undocumented" Hispanic workers, in fact, are the backbone of the Southwest economy. So dependent has the region's business become on these cheap, docile and abundant laborers that some industries would collapse without them. Illegals also improve the quality of life for millions of Southwesterners by keeping their offices spotless, by making home improvements affordable and by watching the kids so mom can hold a job. Across the Sun Belt, the idea of life without illegals is almost as alarming as the thought of life without sunshine.

Third in a series of stories on Hispanic workers in the U.S.

'Like a Drug'

"It's like a drug," says Thomas Muller, an economist at the Urban Institute of Washington, D.C. "If you withdrew it at this point, the effects would be severe."

Consider that:

—In Los Angeles, center of the $3 billion-a-year California apparel industry, two-thirds of the garment labor is estimated to consist of illegals. "Without these people from south of the border, we wouldn't have an industry," says Bernard Brown, the regional vice president of a Levi Strauss & Co. unit that makes ladies' sportswear. "It would be a catastrophe."

—In Silicon Valley, where illegals constitute between 10% and 20% of the work force, "we'd have a revolution" if all were deported, says John Senko, an Immigration and Naturalization Service official in San Jose.

—In overbuilt Houston, one-third of all construction workers are estimated to be illegals, doing jobs that nowadays most citizens refuse: lugging pots of hot tar to rooftops, pulling nails from concrete forms and clearing debris.

—In Brownsville, Texas, illegals working on fishing boats are helping to keep the shrimp industry afloat in its battle against cheap imports. "They're what make this impoverished economy tick," says David Eymard, the president of the Texas Shrimp Association.

—Illegals also work for state and local governments in the Southwest, cleaning city schools and highway litter and making up an estimated 70% of the highway-construction work force in Houston. The INS in 1980 even arrested eight illegal landscapers pruning trees at its own immigration-processing center near San Pedro, Calif.

Vital Necessities

The evolution of illegals from "wetbacks" to vitally needed workers in the Southwest hasn't occurred overnight. Mexicans helped put down the railroad track that opened the Southwest to begin with. From World War II to 1964, millions of Mexicans toiled on U.S. farms under the U.S.-sponsored Bracero Program, which took its name from the Spanish word for "arms." Mexicans and Central American refugees without work permits later moved into menial service jobs and finally, in the 1970s and 1980s, into construction and manufacturing jobs from the Louisiana Gulf Coast to Northern California.

During the big oil buildup of the early 1980s, when oil-field service companies advertised for pipeyard laborers and boardroad builders in Mexico City newspapers, as many as one in five residents of Louisiana was in that state illegally, according to the INS.

Today, illegals are helping to transform the Southwest into the nation's mecca of high technology. At Shiley Inc., of Irvine, Calif., where undocumented workers estimate that they make up 10% of the 1,200 employees, illegals are entrusted to make artificial-heart valves and disposable scalpels and syringes.

"What I do saves lives. It is very beautiful," says one employee, a Mexico City native. Shiley, a unit of Pfizer Inc., says it checks employees' working papers to make certain the workers are in the U.S. legally, but most employers admit they have no way of knowing if the papers are forged. If illegals work at Shiley, a company spokesman says, "We don't know it." Shiley pays some illegals nearly $9 an hour and includes them in company savings plans, the workers say, making the company a noteworthy exception in a region whose labor-relations policies usually confine illegals to the bottom rungs of pay scales.

Indeed, the willingness of illegals to work for the minimum wage or less has helped preserve the Sun Belt as a largely nonunion, cheap-labor zone for businesses moving from the North. In booming Los Angeles, where Mexicans hold 47% of the jobs in lumber, furniture, leather and other low-pay industries, wages in the 1970s rose about 25% less than the U.S. average. Illegals' depressing effect on wages in the border town of El Paso, Texas, helped the city lure a big part of the U.S. apparel industry.

"This economy was built on the assumption and reality of a heavy influx of illegal labor," says Leonel Castillo, a former INS commissioner.

Individuals are no less dependent on undocumented workers. In Houston, live-in maids can be had for $25 a day. Chauffeur-driven limousines from the city's affluent River Oaks area and station wagons driven by middle-class mothers make daily trips to the barrios to pick up maids wary of apprehension on a city bus. "They become, in the old-fashioned sense, a black nanny," says Polly Johnston of Houston, a housewife fluent in Spanish who helps her working friends find domestic help.

Secretaries, lawyers and bank officers in Houston's gleaming Texas Commerce Tower, the tallest building in the West, pay little attention to the crews of Mexican and Salvadoreans who rinse coffee cups, buff revolving doors and wash sidewalks every weeknight—all at a cost to tenants of about five cents a square foot monthly, about half the cost in New York.

The INS knows best how tightly woven illegals have become in the economic fabric of the Southwest. One recent Thursday, three agents on a sweep against contractors in north Houston hauled three drywallers from a residence being built by Ryan Homes Inc., the nation's ninth-largest home builder. A short drive later, they apprehended another three illegals pouring a sidewalk for No. 4-ranked U.S. Homes Corp. near a sign reading, "America calls us home." After another two arrests, the agents entered a barbecue restaurant for lunch and walked out with an illegal plucked from behind the counter.

But for the most part, employing illegals is a worry-free practice for major employers in the Southwest. The Los Angeles INS office generally doesn't bother raiding companies with 75 or more employees, or those with more than one building on the premises, because immigration agents could never cover all the avenues of escape.

A number of employers brazenly rehire illegals even after they have been raided, the INS claims. The Dallas INS office maintains files on about 150 so-called notorious employers, including Melody Homes Inc., which makes mobile homes.

"I'm a notorious character, all right," the president of Melody Homes, Bill Norris, says sarcastically. Like many other employers, he doesn't think it is right for industry to demand documentation from Hispanic people when blacks, whites and others don't have to offer any proof of legal residence. "Anybody who walks in the front door of our factory—we should be able to rely on them as a citizen of our country," he says.

Illegal employment flourishes in the Southwest by a highly efficient underground employment system. In the barrios near downtown Houston every morning, dozens of the undocumented show up at Spanish-language radio station KLVL, listening to help-wanted broadcasts in a crowded waiting room. Those who can't fit into the room pace the nearby sidewalks near a mural depicting the Statue of Liberty, hoping to be among the first to leap into trucks or vans cruising the neighborhood in search of cheap labor for the day.

A network of siblings, cousins and *coyotes*, or professional smugglers, keeps the Southwest's labor pipeline full of illegals. Donald Huddle, a Rice University economics professor, recalls taking a team of graduate students to Exxon Corp.'s Baytown, Texas, refinery during the last oil boom and watching an estimated 400 blue-helmeted illegals enter the plant gate every morning for painting, insulating and other maintenance work.

Vital Resources: Illegal Workers Are Southwest's Backbone

Continued From First Page

Whenever Exxon's labor contractor needed additional workers, the researchers found, smugglers would import Mexican villagers faster than the Texas Employment Commission could send unemployed citizens to the site. "Their job-placement system operated beautifully," Mr. Huddle says of the illegals. "Ours was like a Model T." Exxon says it can't find any record of a contractor using any illegals at the plant.

In recent years labor contractors have used illegals on maintenance or construction contracts at oil and petrochemical refineries throughout the Gulf Coast area, including plants operated by Dow Chemical, Monsanto Co., Texaco Inc. and Phillips Petroleum Co., labor organizers say. Southwestern Bell Telephone's ditch-digging contractor also makes heavy use of illegals.

"We don't think our contractor's employment practices are any of our business," says a Southwestern Bell spokesman, echoing the views of many companies. "We're not a police agency," he adds.

One of the world's largest refinery and nuclear-plant contracting firms, the Brown & Root Inc. division of Halliburton Co., hires so many Spanish-speaking workers that it conducts training classes in Spanish and puts bilingual foremen in certain jobs. A spokesman asserts that Brown & Root requires job applicants to show work papers or Social Security cards because its policy prohibits hiring illegals. But a spokesman concedes that "it isn't very difficult to obtain authentic looking papers."

For manufacturers in multinational industries forced to compete with cheap Third World labor, directly employing illegals can help make the difference between survival and extinction. The 10,000 illegals estimated to be manufacturing printed-circuit boards in Silicon Valley, often at below the minimum wage, give companies there a chance to compete against firms in the Far East, where wages run as low as 30 cents an hour.

Some defense contractors, such as Hughes Aircraft Co., can't move electronics production offshore because of national-security regulations, but they can still enjoy the use of immigrant labor right here at home. Thus, Hughes recently took steps to assure employees at its AZ Engineering unit in Santa Ana, Calif., that it was doing all it could "to help you with your immigration problems."

Although Hughes employs U.S. citizens on most of its defense jobs, in this case its use of noncitizens is perfectly legal, a company spokesman says. The illegals working at the plant, who number only about 20 of 100 employees, obtained jobs with forged documents, he adds. Nevertheless, when the INS informed Hughes that it had illegals on the payroll, "we certainly felt some loyalty to those employees," the spokesman says. "Some of these people have been here five or six years."

Without undocumented workers, "some precision machine shops that 'stuff' printed circuit boards might be forced to close due to their nearly complete reliance on undocumented workers," according to a University of California study.

A survey by the same researchers also found that in food processing, health care and a variety of other California industries, more than half the 177 employers surveyed would have to go out of business, transfer jobs overseas, raise prices or reduce their profit margins if they had to do without illegals. City officials in San Jose, Calif., sensitive to the importance of illegals to the local economy, adopted a resolution against "the unwarranted disruption of the business community" after a series of INS raids there in 1984.

Undocumented workers have come to dominate the dirtiest and most dangerous jobs because citizens have long since deemed such work beneath themselves. "When we would hire Anglos, their work was lousy," says Ron Britt, who supervises tree-trimming subcontractors for Houston Lighting & Power Co. But Mexican nationals, he says, happily dangle in branches and power lines for the minimum wage: "They get up and do the work and they don't complain." Ascertaining the legal status of the tree trimmer is the contractor's job, not the utility's, he adds.

Illegals' willingness to work without even basic benefits makes them all the more attractive to employers. "Whenever there's an accident on the site, the Chicano (Mexican-American) will stay home and ask for worker's compensation. The Mexicans, they work," says Raphael Maldonado, supervising a crew of five *mohara*—"little fish from the river"—finishing concrete at an Exxon station near Houston's Galleria shopping district.

Happily for industry, illegals keep not only wages but unions under control. Some auto-parts manufacturers have moved illegals into their work forces as part of a strategy "to weaken union strength, keep wages low and promote competition among workers of different race and citizenship," according to an academic paper presented last February at a meeting of the Los Angeles Business-Labor Council.

Illegals, where necessary, have functioned as effective strikebreakers as well. Last year, about 100 members of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders Union walked off the job when Mission Foods Inc., a tortilla maker for Taco Bell Restaurants, Safeway Stores and others, cut entry-level wages to $3.75 an hour from $5.25 to meet competition from other manufacturers employing illegals. Seven months later, with illegals helping to man the production lines at Mission Foods, the union caved in.

"The thing that scared us was that they hired these people so fast," says John Martin, an official of the union. The company says it didn't deliberately hire illegals, but the president of Mission's parent company adds, "I wouldn't be surprised if 50% of them were."

Employment of the undocumented has become so widespread in basic Sun Belt industries that some unions have begun courting illegals for membership and winning job protection for them. Several locals of national unions say they know or suspect that they have illegals in their memberships. The International Ladies Garment Workers Union's contract at Hollander Homes Fashions Inc., a Los Angeles maker of bedspreads and pillows, requires the company to rehire any undocumented worker who is deported and comes back to work with a new name or Social Security number. (Hollander declines to discuss the matter.)

But illegals' complete dependence on their employers—for a safe harbor from the law, as well as for their livelihoods—still makes them easy targets for rip-offs and abuse. For example, in 1983, a federal court jury convicted two East Texas tree planters of involuntary servitude after they transported 19 illegals for hundreds of miles in an 8-by-13-foot U-Haul trailer, held them in a tiny bunkhouse at gunpoint for several days and fed them just one meal of bologna sandwiches or tortillas and beans after each hard day in the fields.

Illegals also pay an estimated $1 billion a year into the underground service economy that has sprung up to take advantage of their illegal status. Besides the average of $450 that most must shell out to coyotes, illegals often pay inflated rents at temporary "safe houses," pay high prices for shoddy counterfeit papers and sometimes are blackmailed by landlords and employers.

Flagrant abuses, meager wages and severe working conditions endured by illegals usually aren't part of the statistics documenting the economic vigor of the Southwest. The irony is especially evident in Silicon Valley, says Lenny Siegel of the Pacific Studies Center, a worker-rights group there.

"Most people assume that everybody here is a Yuppie engineer driving a Porsche," he says. But for everyone in a Porsche, he adds, "there are people who have to do the dirty work and don't get paid enough to survive."

The Gatekeepers

Immigration Service Has Mammoth Task, Minimal Resources

Border Patrol in Southwest Lacks Manpower to Cope With Illegal Immigrants

Koreans at the Rio Grande

By Matt Moffett
Staff Reporter of The Wall Street Journal

EL PASO, Texas—In the autumn of 1978, the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service announced without fanfare that it would replace and extend about a dozen miles of chain-link fence along the Mexican border near here and in Southern California. The project came to be known as the "Tortilla Curtain" because, as one skeptical Texas social worker put it, "it's thin, it's flexible and the Mexicans are going to eat it up."

But controversy devoured the fence before the Mexicans had a chance. The governor of Texas likened the toughened barrier to the Berlin Wall. Jose Lopez Portillo, then Mexico's president, condemned it as "a discourteous, inconsiderate act." Citizens on both sides of the border swamped public officials with letters after hearing reports that the fence would be sharp enough to slice off the toes and fingers of those trying to scale it.

Fourth in a series of stories on Hispanic workers in the U.S.

Finally, the INS backed down. It scrapped plans to make the existing fence longer. And it replaced portions of the old barrier only after promising that the reconstructed fence would be perfectly safe for those wishing to climb over it.

Today the fence—bent, battered, full of gaping holes—is a monument to the nation's ambivalence toward the agency that enforces its embattled immigration policy. At the border, the INS lacks enough officers and equipment to stop the illegal immigrants who are entering the U.S. at a rate of about four per minute. In the interior, its ponderous and archaic bureaucracy causes foreigners who want to immigrate legally to wait years for approval. In Washington, the INS hasn't the friends in Congress or the White House to provide it with the resources it needs.

'Illegitimate Stepchild'

"The INS has been treated like an illegitimate stepchild," says California Rep. Dan Lungren, the ranking Republican member of the House subcommittee on immigration. One reason is that a lot of people—even its supporters—have a low regard for the efficiency of the agency, which is a branch of the Justice Department. Republican Rep. Henry J. Hyde of Illinois once argued against cuts in the INS budget on the ground that the service was already "the worst agency in government . . . literally the pits."

But most people find it more convenient to ignore the INS entirely. If agents of the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration were left without enough gasoline to take their cars on routine patrol, cries for action would echo on Capitol Hill. If the Internal Revenue Service kept the bulk of its information on sheets of paper stuffed in manila folders, the news would be on the front page. If most government agencies were left for 2½ years without a permanent director, the White House would doubtless face political pressure to fill the vacancy.

When the INS has been so neglected, few people outside the agency itself have uttered a word of concern on its behalf. "We are a lot like the soldiers in the Vietnam War," says Fred Stevens, a supervisory patrol agent in San Ysidro, Calif. "The country really hasn't decided whether its on our side, or the illegal immigrants' side."

Contradictory Policies

Indeed, the INS's war against illegal immigration often makes it highly unpopular in a nation that proudly describes itself as a melting pot. And by keeping the INS weak, the U.S. is able to pursue two contradictory immigration policies: its stated policy of selective immigration and its actual policy of quite liberal immigration. "We [as a nation] are opposed to illegal immigration in principle, but we really object to the idea of the INS arresting some hard-working guy and taking away his chance to make a living," says Milton D. Morris, the director of research for the Joint Center for Political Studies in Washington.

Leonel Castillo knows the nation's ambivalence toward the INS only too well. As an INS commissioner in the Carter administration, "The only person who was picketed more than me was the president," he says. "In one week, I was picketed both by people demanding we deport more immigrants and people demanding we deport fewer."

The Reagan administration recently has taken a few steps to strengthen the INS. The agency is using a budget increase to hire 850 new border patrolmen, its largest staff addition ever. Over the next few years, the INS will also spend about $60 million to begin in earnest the daunting task of computerizing its files. "The image of the INS as the stepchild and the scapegoat . . . is changing," says the INS commissioner, Alan C. Nelson. "But like turning around the battleship, it's going to take time."

Meanwhile, INS troops are rapidly being overrun by a swelling tide of illegal immigrants. At any one time, there are fewer border patrol officers on duty along the 2,000-mile Mexican-American border than there are policemen on the day shift in Philadelphia. The INS has slightly more than a dozen immigration investigators in Houston to round up an estimated 500,000 illegal immigrants. Since 1972, the number of INS investigators in Los Angeles has been more than halved, to 60 from 140, while the number of illegal immigrants living in the city is believed to have grown to between 500,000 and one million.

Immigrants' Ingenuity

The illegal immigrants are ingenious in frustrating their outnumbered adversary. Some wear horseshoes to throw mounted pursuers off the track. A well-aimed rock from an illegal immigrant brought a low-flying INS helicopter crashing to the ground in Southern California a few years ago. When border patrolmen in Eagle Pass, Texas, planted sophisticated electronic detection devices along the Rio Grande, some Mexicans stole one and forced the Border Patrol to pay an intermediary a $100 ransom to arrange for its return.

"When you're trying to stop a man who hasn't eaten in a day or two, you find he can be a very clever opponent," says Gene R. Smithburg, assistant chief patrol agent in the service's San Diego sector.

Mexicans and Central Americans aren't the only ones who penetrate America's soft underbelly. Last year, border patrolmen in the Rio Grande Valley of South Texas arrested illegal immigrants from 43 countries, including China, Korea and Poland. Agents in Los Angeles recently broke up a network that smuggled Indian Sikhs into the U.S. through Tijuana. Last year, the INS cracked a South American smuggling ring nicknamed the "Andes Express" that brought immigrants on a trek across two continents from Ecuador to Chicago. "I come to work knowing I might meet anyone in the world," says Ed Barrett, a border patrolman in El Paso.

The INS was neglected long before immigration became a major issue. In 1924, the first 450 border patrolmen went to work after being selected from the same Civil Service register used to fill railway mail-clerk positions. The men received little training and worked in civilian clothes during their first several months on the job.

Like those who followed them in later decades, the first border patrolmen were outnumbered by the undocumented immigrants who swarmed across the Rio Grande. There were so many illegal immigrants in South Texas during the 1920s that border patrolmen often stopped arresting them by midday, "knowing inspectors at the port of entry would be unable to process more out of the country," according to the memoirs of one border patrolman.

Today, the greatest number of illegal immigrants passes through San Ysidro, where the INS has concentrated a defense system that has elements of both "Star Wars" and the Old West. On one typical night, a border patrolman operates an infrared detection device that picks up crossers' body heat and transmits their ghostlike images to a tiny viewing screen. The searchlight of a helicopter stabs menacingly into the darkness. Officers on horseback spur their mounts in search of crossers spotted in a rocky canyon.

But there are just too many immigrants and too few border patrolmen. Agent Paul Blocker Jr. questions two captured Mexicans outside of his Dodge Charger van when the radio dispatcher warns that a dozen more illegal crossers have been spotted in a downtown convenience store. There is nothing he can do about it. "Sometimes I feel like the Dutch boy with his thumb in the dike," Officer Blocker says with a sigh.

In El Paso, Texas, where more than 200,000 illegal immigrants were apprehended last year, the INS's technological superiority doesn't compensate for the immigrants' numerical superiority. Last year, the agency installed 11 television cameras to monitor illegal traffic splashing across the Rio Grande. But it doesn't have enough agents to catch all the crossers who appear on camera. "Part of the frustration of the television screens is that now we can see how many people actually do get in illegally," said Joseph P. Aubin, intelligence agent for the border patrol in El Paso.

The Gatekeepers: The Immigration Service Tackles Huge Job Trying to Stem Tide of Illegal Immigrants

Continued From First Page

And despite the INS's high-tech wizardry, it still lacks many of the basic tools of law enforcement. In recent years, officers in the Dallas district have at times been told not to arrest illegal immigrants because there hasn't been enough money left in the budget to pay for the gasoline needed to drive them back to the border. In McAllen, Texas, officers are sometimes forced to release 20 to 30 illegal immigrants from Central America a day on their own recognizance because there isn't room to detain them in INS facilities or money to house them in the county jail; almost all of the illegal immigrants released without bond are never seen again.

Political Upheaval

In Eagle Pass, Texas, political upheaval across the river in the Mexican city of Piedras Negras is making the Border Patrol's hopeless task even harder. Last February, after gunfire at a political demonstration drove a mob of 100 Mexicans across the bridge to the U.S., all border patrolmen were pulled from their regular policing duties to control the crowd. "I can't even imagine how many people waded across the river that weekend," says Lou Gonzalez, the assistant border-patrol agent in charge of the Eagle Pass area.

Even if immigrants enter the U.S. legally, the INS has a hard time making sure that they obey the terms of their visa. The deficiencies of INS record-keeping embarrassed the U.S. during the Iran hostage crisis of 1979, when President Carter ordered the agency to expel Iranian college students living here illegally. The White House was shocked to discover that the INS didn't even know how many Iranian students were living in the U.S., let alone how many were here illegally. A good number of the Iranians the INS finally identified as deportable failed to attend deportation hearings or to leave the U.S. when told to do so.

Documents issued by the INS are so confusing that even the INS has problems keeping them straight. Since 1946, for example, the INS has issued more than 15 versions of the "green card" that allows foreign workers to reside in the U.S. (The current green card is actually white.) Until recently, immigration documents were printed in several different locations, each of which added slight variations and contributed to the disarray. The INS recently began issuing documents whose authenticity can be verified by a machine but later decided it would be too expensive and time-consuming to check all of the immigration documents at the ports of entry.

Undocumented foreigners exploit the confusion by counterfeiting identification cards. Today, Silicon Valley is flooded with counterfeit green cards that sell for anywhere from $50 to $100. And as far north as Milwaukee, officials have seen dozens of fake green cards used by illegal workers in the town's industrial heart.

Convenient Alternative

Purchasing documents illegally is often a more convenient alternative to working through the overburdened and unwieldy INS bureaucracy. A line of Mexicans waiting to apply for immigration documents regularly forms overnight outside a port of entry in El Paso.

Dolores Alvarez, of Ciudad Juarez, Mexico, says she was turned away for a week when she tried to apply for a border-crossing card in El Paso. But that didn't stop her from entering the country. "It's easy to cross without a card," she says pointing to the dampened cuffs of her trousers.

The awkwardness of the INS bureaucracy encourages employers to hire illegal immigrants. For example, the INS H-2 program, created to allow foreign workers into the country for seasonal jobs, requires employers to apply 80 days ahead of time—often impractical for farmers harvesting perishable crops. Last year, no temporary farm workers entered Texas through the program, though thousands of undocumented farm workers make their home in the Rio Grande Valley, according to the state office of the U.S. Department of Labor.

When politicians do pay attention to the INS, it is often because they want an immigration matter settled favorably for a constituent. That was the case in 1981 when a congressional aide suggested that San Antonio District Director Richard Casillas change the listed age of a constituent on government records in order to make her appear eligible for retirement. "Not only does it illustrate a lack of sensitivity toward an overburdened agency but a willingness to have us commit an illegal act," Mr. Casillas wrote in an internal memorandum. (Mr. Casillas says he doesn't recall the name of the aide or the congressman.)

The work of other government agencies also takes priority over the work of the INS. To encourage the participation of Hispanics in the 1980 census, the Justice Department—at the Census Bureau's request—prohibited the INS from raiding businesses in search of illegal immigrants for several weeks. Apprehensions in some areas dropped to 25% of the previous year. "This told the troops in the field that the federal government has no interest in the job the immigration officers are trying to do," says Bill Chambers, the recently retired INS Dallas district director.

Away from Washington, the INS is frequently perceived as more of an enemy than the lawbreakers it tries to apprehend. The Berkeley, Calif., city council defied the INS in February by declaring the city a sanctuary for immigrants from war-ravaged Central America. After the border patrol and customs initiated intensive searches of automobiles at ports of entry along the Mexican border last winter, a committee of Mexican and San Diego County merchants threatened to sue the agencies for hurting their international business.

INS officers, in fact, are often made to feel like social outcasts. Raul Gutierrez's daughters were harassed at their El Paso elementary school after he helped prosecute a priest accused of smuggling illegal immigrants into the country. Kaye Cunningham says that several years ago women at a Methodist church in the Rio Grande Valley wouldn't speak to her after they found out her husband was an immigration officer. When Border Patrolman Louis Barragan's children are asked what their father does for a living, they have a standard and purposely vague reply: "Daddy works for the government."

David Jackson, a supervisory patrol agent in El Paso, says he spends a lot of his time devising ways to make his men remain interested in their formidable task. If an agent breaks the record for apprehensions in a day, Mr. Jackson will take him to lunch or let him dress in street clothes the next day.

"When you catch the same guy two or three times in a day, it gets frustrating," he says, driving along the U.S. side of the Rio Grande and gazing at the clusters of Mexicans waiting to dash across a railyard to downtown El Paso. "When you get right down to it, we're just truant officers going after people playing hooky from Mexico."

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL THURSDAY, MAY 30, 1985

The Underclass

Illegal Immigrants In U.S. Are Problem Defying Easy Solution

Competing Interests Impede Attempts by Lawmakers To Create New Policies

Emotional Issue of Amnesty

SANTA ANA, Calif.—It is a textbook case of citizenship in action.

Hundreds of tenants living in run-down apartments marched on City Hall here recently to protest evictions. They staunchly refused to pay rent. They sued their landlords for damages, demanding improvements. And now the tenants are threatening to carry their revolt to surrounding towns.

This article was prepared by George Getschow, Thomas Petzinger Jr., Matt Moffett and Dianna Solis, Wall Street Journal staff reporters in Houston.

There is nothing unusual about renters' strikes; however, this one involves mostly illegal immigrants who have the full support of city officials. "These folks are good, longtime residents and we're very defensive of them," says Wilson Hart, a city councilman elected to office with help from precinct workers who happened to be illegals.

Indeed, local officials here, where illegals make up about one-fourth of the population, have set aside more than $350,000 to help relocate evicted tenants. The local legal-aid society is helping evictees, most of whom are illegals, recover back rents and damages. Local courts have rallied to the defense of illegals when landlords have threatened to turn them in to federal authorities. And the police chief has refused to cooperate in any crackdowns by the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

Last in a series of stories on Hispanic workers in the U.S.

"We resist any efforts to harass these people because they're an integral part of the community," Mr. Hart says. "They have families here, they own homes and our economy depends on them. We're not about to let the INS or anyone else disrupt their lives."

Deep Roots

While the U.S. continues one of the longest immigration debates in its history, illegals are seizing rights that federal policy denies them. And as increasing numbers of illegals put down roots as deep as the Irish, Poles and other immigrant groups that preceded them, 15 years of federal indecision over what to do with them has only worsened. As a result, city councils and courtrooms throughout the Hispanic meccas of the Southwest are formulating de facto immigration policy on their own.

"Whoever happens to run across the problem has to make some policy," says Judge Ken M. Kawaichi of Superior Court in Alameda County, Calif., who recently ruled that five illegals qualified for in-state college tuition in California. "Congress has essentially abdicated policy making and leadership."

Five of the last eight presidential administrations and three top-level commissions have failed in efforts to overhaul illegal-immigration policy because of the competing interests and values aroused by this intensely emotional issue. Each reform proposal has pitted employers against the INS, Hispanic-rights groups against unionists, federal officials against local officials. And with every failure, legislators grow more fatigued.

"Congress is tired of this problem, and it wants a quick fix," says Virginia Lamp, an immigration lobbyist for the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. Adds Dan Haley, chief lobbyist for the Western Growers Association: "Policy makers have abandoned practicality for political expediency."

Sweeping 'Solutions'

As a result, many lobbyists say, current overhaul efforts call for sweeping, shopworn "solutions" that have been tried and proved unworkable elsewhere: some form of blanket amnesty for longtime illegals and fines against employers who hire the undocumented. Late last week, in fact, Republican Sen. Alan Simpson of Wyoming, a leader in the effort to change the nation's immigration laws, introduced at least the fourth bill in the current session of Congress aimed at controlling illegal immigration.

Sen. Simpson's package would make it unlawful for the nation's employers to hire illegal immigrants and would postpone resident rights for illegals until it is proved that employment of those illegals has declined sharply. But like Sen. Simpson's past efforts, his latest proposal has already ignited fierce resistance, something he has grown accustomed to. Immigration is a "no win" issue full of "fangs and claws," he says. Indeed, Muzaffar Chisti, an official of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, calls the new bill "the worst of all possibilities." Sidney Weintraub, an immigration specialist at the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs at the University of Texas, calls Sen. Simpson's proposal to delay amnesty "mean spirited" and "terribly cruel."

Yet most other proposals, which have called for an immediate blanket amnesty, have drawn equally emotional attacks. Many labor leaders say legalizing the undocumented will throw citizens out of work and only encourage more illegal immigration. County officials say it would drain social-service budgets if illegals suddenly became eligible for welfare. Others point out that blanket amnesty would reward lawbreakers while penalizing those patiently waiting to migrate legally.

Unfair Burden?

Employer sanctions, too, have encountered equally fierce opposition, though mostly from different camps. Employers say sanctions would place the burden of regulating immigration on their shoulders by, in effect, deputizing them as agents of the INS. Civil libertarians say proof of residency would require a forgery-proof national identification card, raising the specter of a police state. Hispanic-rights groups say sanctions would touch off widespread job discrimination against "foreign-looking" people.

Such discrimination was the case in California, home to the largest illegal population in the U.S., where employer sanctions remain on the books but haven't been enforced for years. Even some good-faith employers, the state found, refused to hire Hispanics to avoid unwittingly hiring an illegal. "The response of some employers was to screen employees on the basis of the color of their skin or their speech accent," a top labor regulator told the U.S. Civil Rights Commission in 1980.

At present, all the immigration-law changes that Congress continues to debate seem to ignore the experience of other countries. Employer sanctions have proven to be ineffective deterrents to illegal immigration in at least 20 nations, according to the U.S. General Accounting Office. Canada in 1982 convicted all of 29 employers under its sanctions law. In Canada and many countries, judges don't view employment of illegals as a serious offense and employers merely view fines as a routine cost of doing business.

"The number of sentences which have already been delivered is not so great," says Eckert Schiffer, an official of the German Interior Ministry, which clings to the concept nevertheless.

Other countries have found that simply granting blanket amnesty to illegal immigrants isn't any panacea either. Canada, France, Australia and others in recent years have declared blanket amnesties for their growing illegal populations and in each case only a small percentage even bothered to apply because of deep-seated mistrust of immigration authorities. "They just didn't trust us and I don't blame them," says Lloyd Axworthy, Canada's former minister of immigration and employment.

So Canada adopted a case-by-case amnesty program within the existing framework of its immigration policy—an approach that makes a lot of sense for the U.S., Canadian policy makers say. In fact, the Canadians commended their approach to U.S. lawmakers during last year's heated congressional debate as an inexpensive, practical and politically palatable way to slowly bring illegals into the economic mainstream of society. "We didn't get hung up in the competing interests that thwarted the bill in the U.S. Congress," says Mr. Axworthy.

To overcome fears of deportation, Canada's new policy provides for anonymous application through social-service agencies or other sponsors. To foster upward mobility of its newly legalized residents and to help assure that they remain off the dole, the government provides benefits ranging from instruction in French and English to job training and employment counseling. The government even extracted a commitment from certain employers to give time off for illegals so they can go to technical schools.

"There's a heck of a return in tax dollars," says Len Westerberg, a Canadian immigration official. "You're making someone a taxpayer instead of a tax-drainer."

Canadian authorities say U.S. lawmakers have also been unrealistic in trying to reduce illegal immigration without involving Mexico in its policy-making decisions. Canada, for instance, traveled to war-torn El Salvador, a major source of political refugees in North America, to enlist its assistance in controlling the exodus. Immigration experts say the U.S. for the first time is in a strong position to seek meaningful talks with Mexico on immigration issues, such as relaxation of Mexico's restrictive foreign-investment laws. That is because remittances from illegals—which represent Mexico's largest source of foreign exchange after oil—are declining as Mexicans settle permanently in the U.S.

Cont'd

The Underclass: U.S. Lawmakers Are Stymied by Illegal Immigrants

Continued From First Page

Tangled System

Mexican immigration authorities say current U.S. policy doesn't begin to take into account the swelling population and economic despair gripping Mexico, nor the likelihood of looming labor shortages in the U.S., where fertility is at an all-time low. But because of their huge numbers, Mexican immigrants are relegated to the bottom rung of the U.S. government's immigration apparatus, a tangled system of categories. Vietnamese arrive as "political refugees," Poles as "parolees," Haitians as "entrants." Most Mexicans arrive as "wetbacks" because only 20,000 permanent visas are allowed each year, the same quota allotted every other nation and only one third the level of 20 years ago.

Because so few of the Mexicans who arrive in the U.S. qualify for legal status, "We've created a caste society and Mexicans don't have the same rights and privileges" as other immigrant groups, says Kevin McCarthy, an immigration specialist at Rand Corp. He predicts that the nation will face "increasing conflict over these distinctions."

Congress's failure to deal with illegal immigration has inspired private citizens to dream up their own solutions. Chicago insurance man Jack Stacey suggests that the U.S. waive Mexico's multibillion-dollar debt in exchange for the Baja Peninsula and develop it into a winter resort using unemployed Mexican laborers. "We'd have the finest resort in the world and they would have less people coming across the border," he explains. John Ormiston of Santa Monica suggests an even simpler solution: "Just raise the level of the Rio Grande to make it 'non-fordable.'"

For all its pride in being a nation of immigrants, the U.S. has long been preoccupied with erecting barriers to new ones. "So filthy and ignorant a mass of humanity we have never seen on the face of the earth," the New York American Republican said of the Irish in 1844. The Know-Nothing Party elected 75 congressmen and several governors by campaigning against Irish and German immigrants as crooked voters and politicians but never advanced the nativist cause much further because interests in the South feared it would lead to a ban on slavery. Henry Ford decried the Jews as financial conspirators, and Samuel Morse called the Catholics "agents of the Pope" bent on a religious takeover.

Cultural Isolation

Even though America was never a land of hospitality, it was certainly a land of opportunity. Every major immigrant group quickly matched or outperformed native-born Americans in wages and many went further in school. Virtually all became citizens and many went on to control local politics. There was one exception: Hispanics.

Over the last decade, Hispanics have overtaken blacks as the nation's least-educated, lowest-paid and, after Asians, the fastest-growing minority group. Hispanics owe their low economic station to a variety of disadvantages that include language barriers, cultural isolation, traditional confinement to unskilled or seasonal jobs and frequent trips back to the nearby homeland.

For illegal Hispanics, however, the biggest barrier is the constant threat of deportation. They haven't forgotten the government's brutal "Operation Wetback" of the 1950s, when more than one million Hispanics were rounded up and expelled to Mexico without so much as a hearing in just one year of the campaign. In 1981, after a court ordered the INS to make 145,000 visas set aside for Cubans available to Mexicans, the agency invited 100,000 Mexicans who didn't qualify for permanent-resident status to its offices and gave many deportation orders instead of the visas they had expected. An INS spokesman says the agency "made a conscious decision not to do a roundup of these people," but many Mexicans say the deportation orders only deepened their mistrust of authorities.

Living with this fear has resigned millions of illegals to a docile existence enduring substandard wages and working conditions. It has made them vulnerable to exploitation by crooked "immigration consultants" charging exorbitant fees to fill out routine application forms. And it has made the ill and impoverished afraid to seek public assistance.

Entrenched Underclass

The irony is that studies show illegals pay several times more in state and federal taxes than they receive in total benefits, including payments to the struggling Social Security trust fund that may total upward of $2 billion a year. "We have a stake in keeping them illegal," says Julian Simon, an immigration expert at the University of Maryland. "We rip them off unconscionably."

Yet each day this disfranchised underclass becomes more entrenched in American life. Illegal immigration already accounts for about one-quarter of total U.S. population growth. In the Hispanic metropolis of Los Angeles County, authorities say illegal-immigrant mothers bear about 67% of the newborns in the county hospital system. Illegals have begun moving from seasonal agricultural jobs into year-round, urban employment. And they are buying homes, taking out mortgages and in some areas even starting businesses.

"I feel like my home is here now," says Orlando Ramirez, a 25-year-old Mexican who has been living in a Los Angeles suburb for eight years and who recently started a clothing factory there. "Life is starting to favor me."

Policy planners "haven't even begun to explore all the ramifications" of illegals' permanent settlement in the U.S., says Leo Chavez, a migration specialist at the University of California at San Diego. As a result, illegals are slowly starting to take matters into their own hands, standing up for civil rights to protect their growing stake in the U.S. Advocacy groups sponsor "know-your-rights" workshops that teach illegals how to avoid deportation, how to organize and how to demand what few public benefits they are eligible for. Illegals are even seeking union representation for on-the-job protection that the government isn't giving them. And just this week 200 illegals at a federal detention center in El Centro, Calif., began a hunger strike to protest everything from solitary confinement to inadequate bathing and sleeping facilities.

Court Cases

Increasingly, illegals are taking their case to court, where they are winning one ruling after another. In Los Angeles, they won the right to seek county medical benefits without having to declare their legal status. In Oakland, Calif., illegals succeeded in forcing state universities to admit them at in-state tuition rates. And in Texas, Hispanics pressured school districts to educate their illegal, Mexican-born children and have collected damages from a few recalcitrant employers when injured on the job.

Their efforts to seize rights that Congress has failed to grant them are bolstered by increasingly powerful Mexican-American political and religious groups. And now that Hispanics have begun to move into the Catholic hierarchy as bishops and archbishops, the church is becoming the kind of political vehicle that the Baptist Church became for blacks long ago.

Here in Santa Ana, priests and nuns in the Hispanic ministry of the diocese have helped to organize the indigent rent strikers and earlier this month marched through the blighted barrios of the city to rally more illegals behind the rent rebellion. "Illegals have a stake in our community," says Nativo Lopez, whose *Hermandad Mexicana* (Mexican Brotherhood) advocacy group speaks out for illegals. "And when they're pushed against the wall hard enough, they're going to come out and fight."

Mini Notas Policiacas

POR JOSE VARGAS

APPENDIX H
MINIONDAS SPANISH NEWS.
3-20-86

SE MERECE UN "10" LA POLICIA DE COSTA MESA.- Por haber reconocido la importancia de que exista comunicación con la población latina y haber tenido la bastante voluntad para abrir su nueva sub-estación, de la cual no dejarán ninguna duda que se había abierto para servir a la población hispana, así estuviese aquí legalmente o no. Este acto, a simple vista tan elemental y tan necesario, sin duda alguna tuvo sus críticos dentro del gobierno local, inclusive quizá dentro del cuerpo policial, pues para muchos guardianes del orden público, los indocumentados son criminales que debían ser castigados como cualquier otro grupo. El mirar la realidad de las cosas es algo que requiere pleno conocimiento de la situación total, y al parecer, el jefe Roger Neth la reconoce.

ALGUNA GENTE PROTESTO.- Depués de que salió un artículo en un periódico en inglés local, las cartas para el editor no se hicieron esperar. Los enviadores expresaron que no estaban de acuerdo con esta política y que era un acto inmoral proveer la protección de la ley a quienes violaban la misma. Estas son personas que miran el mundo blanco y negro, sin realizar que en estos tiempos, muchos temas son grises, incluyendo el de la inmigración a este país por personas sin documentos, provenientes de todo el mundo. Todavía algunos jefes policiacos se hacen a la idea de que algún día, del cielo descenderán un ejército de Patrulleros Fronterizos, quienes limpiarán las ciudades de este elemento "malo" y todo estará entonces "normal", como estaba la situación hace 40 o 50 años.

SON CRIMINALES LOS INDOCUMENTADOS?.- Nosotros ya sabemos la respuesta, pero muchas otras personas no. Para que una persona o un grupo de personas decidan no cometer ciertas acciones por respeto a la ley, se necesita hacerlas comprender que si las cometen, serán castigadas. La Constitución de este país requiere que un criminal sea llevado delante de un juez y proveido de un defensor y fiscal que lo acusará. al ser encontrado culpable, se le aplicará el castigo que rige en esos casos, sin excepciones, a todos por igual, cumpliendo con los procedimientos que se usan en contra de asesinos, ladrones, borrachos y prostitutas. Un indocumentado es deportado una docena de veces sin ninguna acusación formal, sin ser llevado a un tribunal, simplemente se le pide que firme un papel de salida voluntaria y está listo para regresar otra vez. (Conocemos a un respetable ciudadano que fue sacado fuera de Estados Unidos 35 veces y si no lo menciona, nadie se lo echa en cara). Por lo cual, una persona que se cohibiría por ser arrestado por "borracho en público" no siente esta misma pena al ser deportado sin castigo, pues la ley ya perdió el significado después de que millones de personas han sido detenidas sin recibir ningún castigo. Si agregamos el hecho que los que vienen de México vienen con la idea, quizá inculcada en las escuelas, de que vienen a una tierra que moralmente será de México para siempre, ese temor de cometer un delito deja de existir también. El sentindo común le dice a una persona que el gobierno federal podría mandar tanques y soldados a cerrar las fronteras en un término de 24 horas, si deveras quisiera hacer algo por este tema, pero no existe esa determinación tampoco, por lo cual, aparte de un pequeño grupo de agentes que resguardan la frontera, se puede decir que estas están abiertas para la gente determinada que quiera buscar un provenir mejor, y desafortunadamente para todos nosotros, para elementos del hampa y simples delincuentes que se aprovechan de la situación para hacerle daño a la sociedad en general.

LA COMUNIDAD LATINA HA CAMBIADO MUCHO.- En un tiempo, se podía decir que la inmensa mayoría de los latinos llegaban a Estados Unidos, era mexicanos, pero eso ya no es cierto. Ahora llegan de todos los países latinos. Unos buscan el pan de cada día. Otros la tranquilidad que no encontraron debido a la violencia. Llegan guerrilleros buscando apoyo para su causa y gente de sus gobiernos para no perderlos de vista. Vienen mafiosos a gozar del producto de sus sucios negocios y también profesionales decentes que quieren salir de sus países antes de que otros millones lo quieran hacer. Hay en el Condado de Orange orientales-mexicanos, japoneses nacidos en Perú, indios zapotecas que hablan español mal y sudamericanos que dominan varios idiomas. La mayoría de ellos son gente trabajadora, pero entre ellos se mezclan simplemente criminales que han vivido a costa del prójimo en sus países y aquí continúan haciendo lo mismo. Si alguien va a ser víctima de un criminal latino será lo más probable otro latino. Por eso es que la comunicación, la confianza que esta comunidad tenga con la policía, ayudará mucho a echar estas lacras de los barrios.

LO MAS PROBABLE ES QUE EL INDICE DE CRIMINALES AUMENTE EN COSTA MESA.- Y esto será porque mientras más comunicación exista, más crímenes serán reportados. Naturalmente que si los residentes deciden no dar parte a la policía, se dirá que existe poco crimen, pero el crimen no reportado de todos modos lastima a las comunidades. Y del único modo que eventualmente se lograra que de los barrios latinos se saque a los criminales, es [illegible] tando los mismos a la policía, a todas horas, a darles [illegible] sin cuartel, hasta que se convenzan que lo mejor será irse para otro lado, donde la gente no se queje tanto.

que pueden hacer ustedes, los latinos de costa mesa para ayudar?.- Pueden llamar o parar a visitar a los agentes de la sub-estación y decirles que están a sus órdenes, listos para lo que se ofrezca. Las ayudantes policiales Terrie Espinoza y Cristina Torón, los atenderán con una sonrisa. Introdúzcanse ustedes al Cabo Chano Camarillo, encargado de ese lugar, y aunque nuestro amigo Chano no es tan bien parecido como las damitas, de cualquier manera es una fina persona. Pregunte sobre programas de Vigilancia del Vecindario, folletos en cómo se puede proteger. Ya los días pasaron cuando la policía cooperaba estrechamente con las autoridades de inmigración, y el propio Procurador Estatal de Justicia, ha dicho que las autoridades municipales no tienen ningún negocio ni obligación de ayudar a las de Inmigración, por lo cual, eso de que la comunidad indocumentada tenga temor a la policía local ya pasó en Costa Mesa. Llámelos al (714) 722-6714 o vaya en persona al 1878 Placentia. Pase a saludarlos si no tiene ningún negocio pendiente, pero hágales saber que aprecia la ayuda de ellos.

Y POR ULTIMO, UN SALUDO DE SOMBRERO PARA EL JEFE ROGER NETH.- La historia de esa ciudad lo llamara un pionero, aunque ahorita algunas gentes no estarán de acuerdo con el. Pero algún día, las organizaciones latinas le harán saber que lo aprecian. Naturalmente que los miembros del Cabildo de Costa Mesa se merecen la gratitud de todos, pues ellos aprobaron los servicios. Por lo pronto, Jefe Roger Neth, de parte de un latino que escribe estas líneas y que aprecia a las personas que obran más allá de su deber para servir al prójimo, SEÑOR NETH, MUC[illegible] GRACIAS.

POLICE
MINI-NOTES.

Mini Notas Policiacas

POR JOSE VARGAS

BY JOSE VARGAS.

MINIONDAS, 3-20-86.

(TRANSLATION)

THE COSTA MESA POLICE DESERVES A "10".- For having recognized the importance of communication with the Latino population and having enough will to open their new sub-station, over which they did not leave any doubts that it had been opened to serve the Hispanic population, whether legally here or not. This action, at plain view so elemental and necessary, without a doubt had it's critics inside the local government, including the police department perhaps, because for many keepers of the peace, the undocumented are criminals that should be punished as any other group. The see the reality of things is something that requires a full knowledge of the local situation, and it seems that Chief Roger Neth did just that.

SOME PEOPLE PROTESTED.- After an article had come out in an English newspaper, the letters to the editor were there. The senders expressed that they were not in accord with such policy and that it was an inmoral act to provide protection by the laws to the ones violating the same. These are persons that see the world on black and white, without realizing that nowadays, many issues are gray, including the immigration to this country by people without documents, coming from all over the world. But still, some police chiefs hold this idea that an army of Border Patrolmen will descend from heaven who will proceed to clean the cities of this "bad" element and everything will be then "normal", as the situation was 40 or 50 years ago.

ARE THE UNDOCUMENTED CRIMINALS?.- We already know the answer, but not other people. For a person or a group of persons to decide not to commit certain actions for respect to the law, it is necessary to make them understand that if they commit the same, punishment will come. The Constitution of this country requires that a criminal be taken before a judge and provided of a defender and a prosecuting attorney that will accuse him. If found guilty, he will be given the penalty assigned to these cases, without exceptions, the same to all, complying with the procedures that are used against murderers, thieves, drunks and prostitutes. An undocumented person is deported one dozen times without any formal accusations, without being taken to a tribunal. He is just asked to sign a voluntary departure paper and he is ready to return. (We know of a respectable citizen that was taken out of the USA 35 times, and if he does not mention it, nobody has it against him). That is the reason why a person that would be ashamed for being picked up for drunk in public does not feel the same sorrow at being deported without punishment. If we ad the fact that the people that come from Mexico come with the idea, maybe given to them in school, that they are coming to a land that morally will belong to Mexico forever, the fear of committing a crime ceases to exist. Common sense tells people that the federal government could send tanks and soldiers to close the borders within 24 hours, if they would really try to do something about the situation, but this determiantion does not exist. That is why that besides a small group a agents taking care of the border, it can be said that this border is open to determined people that want to come and search for a better future.

mininotas two.....

But unfortunately for us, it also brings members of maffias and petty criminals that take advantage of the situation to do harm to society in general.

THE LATINO COMMUNITY HAS CHANGED A LOT.- At one time, it could be said that the vast majority of the Latinos that arrived to United States were Mexicans, but that is no longer true. Now they arrive from all Latin countries. Some look for the daily bread. Others the tranquility that they were unable to find due to violence. We have the guerillas looking for support for their cause and people from their governments keeping an eye on them. Maffia people arrive to enjoy the results of their dirty businesses and also decent professionals that want to get out of their countries before other millions try to do it. There are in Orange County Mexican-orientals; Japanese born in Peru; Zapoteca indians that speak bad Spanish and Southamericans that speak many. The majority of them are working people, but among them, some criminals that have lived from others in their countries also arrive and continue to do the same. If anybody is going to be victim of a Latino criminal more likely will be another Latino. That is why communications and the trust that this community will have with the police will help a lot to get rid of this bad elements from our barrios.

MORE LIKELY, THE CRIMINAL INDEX IN COSTA MESA WILL GO UP.- And this will be because when more communication exists, more crimes will be reported. Of course, if the residents decide not to call the police, it will be said that little crime exists, but unreported crimes still hurt the communities. And the only way that eventually the Latinos will be able to kick the criminals out, is by reporting the same to the police, at all times, without a break, to fight them without pity until the criminals are convinced that it will be best to go someplace else, where people will not bother them much.

WHAT CAN YOU DO, THE LATINOS OF COSTA MESA, TO HELP?.- You can call or visit the officers at the sub-station to tell them that you are at their service and ready to assist when needed. The Police Aides Terrie Espinoza and Cristina Toron will serve you with a smile. Introduce yourself to Corporal Chano Camarillo, in charge of that place. Even if our friend Chano is not as good looking as the ladies, he is a fine person nevertheless. Ask about their programs involving Neighborhood Watch and pamphlets on how to protect yourself. The days are over when the police would work hand in hand with the immigration authorities , and even the State Attorney General has stated that municipal authorities do not have to assist Immigration, that is why, the idea of the undocumented community being afraid of the local police is over and done with in Costa Mesa. Call them at (714)722-6714 or go in person to 1878 Placentia. Step in and say hello even if you do not have any business pending, but let them know that you appreciate their help.

AND AT THE END, A TIP OF THE SOMBRERO FOR CHIEF ROGER NETH.- The historians of the city will call him a pioneer, even if at this time some people do not agree with him. But someday, the Latino organizations will let him know that they appreciate him. Naturally, the members of the City Council in Costa Mesa deserve also the gratitude of all, for they were the ones that aproved the services.

mininotas 3.....

For the time being, Chief Roger Neth, from a Latino that writes these lines and that recognizes the persons that perform beyond their duties in order to serve their fellow men, SEÑOR NETH, MUCHAS GRACIAS.

END

Capt Walker

Immigrants are shunned and exploited, LA human-rights report says

By Niki Cervantes
United Press International

LOS ANGELES — They come in search of better lives, but the county's immigrants — its "new Americans" — are greeted by widespread and growing hostility, a report by the Los Angeles County Human Relations Commission has found.

"Discrimination and exploitation are a major problem for immigrants and refugees," the 11-page report says. "Hostile attitudes toward immigrants and refugees ... are widespread among the general public."

The study, called "The Plight of the New Americans: Discrimination Against Immigrants and Refugees," is based on public hearings held in April.

According to the report, foreign-born residents suffer discrimination in employment, housing, education and mental and physical health care and are perceived as "social and economic threats and heavy users of social services."

The report comes at a sensitive juncture for the county, which leads the nation in immigrant population with an estimated 1.6 million.

The county Board of Supervisors' conservative majority says that the health and welfare needs of immigrants cost the financially troubled county government more than $271 million last year.

Although both legal and illegal aliens pay millions of dollars in taxes, the county receives only about 8 percent, as the bulk goes to state and federal coffers.

Earlier this month, the supervisors voted to sue the federal government to recover the county's expenses for caring for illegal immigrants. The board also seeks a series of measures to curb illegal immigration.

Supervisor Deane Dana said last week that illegal immigrants are taking jobs from U.S. citizens — which is at odds with the human-rights report, which claims that aliens take jobs few would accept because of the low wages and lack of benefits.

"Immigrants and refugees are hired for the least desirable, lowest-paid positions," the report says. "If these workers are undocumented, employers capitalize on workers' deportation fears in order to pay even lower wages and force employees to accept unsafe working conditions."

Educators also deal poorly with immigrants, the study finds. Foreign students often are put in classes too difficult for their limited grasp of English.

The report criticizes the Immigration and Naturalization Service and county health officials.

The INS, it says, "has targeted Latinos and Asians in workplace raids, resulting in discriminatory treatment of ... Latinos and Asians who are American citizens."

The report also accused the county Department of Health Services, which is responsible for providing low-cost treatment to the poor, of denying "equal access to health care."

Based on testimony commissioners received from community leaders during the hearings, the report claims that the county does not tell immigrants that they need only pay what they can afford to be treated at county health facilities.

The 15-member commission recommends that the county supervisors order an investigation into whether immigrants are ill-informed of county health "ability-to-pay" plans.

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APPENDIX I

Illegal aliens may boost U.S. economy, researcher says

By Anita Snow
The Register

FULLERTON — Studies on undocumented workers contradict the widely held belief that they steal jobs from Americans and show that illegals may even boost the economy, an urban studies researcher said Friday.

"California throughout its history has depended on immigrant labor to promote its economic welfare," Thomas Muller of the Urban Institute in Washington, D.C., told an audience composed mostly of academics. "Immigrants as a group are an economic benefit. As the economy expands, the lower-level jobs are taken by the immigrants and the legal residents are able to move up."

Muller was among a dozen immigration specialists from throughout the nation who gathered at Cal State Fullerton on Friday to discuss the U.S. government's "repressive" immigration policies. Discussion topics ranged from political asylum for Central Americans to exploitation of undocumented workers.

The two-day symposium sponsored by the university's Chicano Studies Department will continue today from 9:30 a.m. to 2 p.m. in the conference room of St. Anne's Roman Catholic Church, 1300 S. Main St., Santa Ana.

Today's symposium will target the county's immigrant population and will be conducted mostly in Spanish, conference organizers said.

On Friday, Muller told the estimated 100 conference participants that a recently-completed Urban Institute study indicates Latin American immigrants in Southern California have helped the economy.

Though a 1983 survey indicated about half of all Americans believe Latin American immigrants "steal" jobs from legal residents, a study of U.S. Department of Labor statistics showed unemployment levels are lowest in areas with large immigration populations, Muller said.

> "California throughout its history has depended on immigrant labor to promote its economic welfare. Immigrants as a group are an economic benefit. As the economy expands, the lower-level jobs are taken by the immigrants and the legal residents are able to move up."
>
> **Thomas Muller**
> of the Urban Institute in Washington, D.C.

Orange and Los Angeles counties — which have large undocumented alien populations — had a 6.3 percent unemployment rate in December, he said. No precise figures are available, but U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service officials estimate there are more than 1 million undocumented aliens in the two-county area.

Statewide and national unemployment during the same month was more than 7 percent, he said. Unemployment rates in Texas and Florida — which also have large undocumented alien populations — were lower than the national average during the same month, he said.

The prevailing perception that undocumented aliens hurt the American economy has been shaped by U.S. government immigration policy, Muller said.

When reached after the conference Friday, U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service officials said they always have maintained that undocumented workers take jobs from Americans.

A study by economist Donald Huddle of Rice University in Texas showed that 66 U.S. citizens and lawful, permanent residents are denied jobs for every 100 illegal aliens employed in this country, INS Regional Director Harold Ezell has said.

Public and governmental opinion about the undocumented workers' effect on the U.S. economy recently has produced a number of "repressive" immigration bills, said Linda Wong, an attorney for the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Education Fund in Los Angeles.

The Simpson-Mazzoli bill, which died in Congress last year, was a "political response to this public perception about immigrants," Wong said.

Rep. Daniel E. Lungren, R-Long Beach, announced last month he had introduced a measure containing many of the elements of the controversial Simpson-Mazzoli bill.

The original legislation, sponsored by Sen. Alan K. Simpson, R-Wyo., and Rep. Romano L. Mazzoli, D-Ky., was passed by both houses of Congress last year but died when a dispute between members of Senate and House committees deadlocked. Members were unable to agree on a provision to protect legal residents against discrimination by employers who feared hiring people who look like foreigners.

Lungren's bill — like the Simpson-Mazzoli bill — would impose penalties on employers who knowingly hire undocumented aliens. It also would offer amnesty to undocumented workers who could prove they have lived in the United States since a certain date.

The newly proposed bill, however, has a more restrictive amnesty date than that of the earlier bill. Lungren's bill names a Jan. 1, 1982, cutoff date, while the House version of the Simpson-Mazzoli bill named Jan. 1, 1980.

Lungren's bill also does not deal with the anti-discrimination provision that killed the earlier bill.

Commissioner staunchly supports job-displacement theory

By Dan Weikal
The Register

LOS ANGELES — In the complex debate over illegal immigration, reliable statistics and uncontroverted policy can be as elusive as a 20-year-old Mexican national jumping the U.S. border in the dead of night.

Yet Harold Ezell, the Western regional commissioner for the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, has faith in his figures and wields them with conviction in his fight to check what he calls a flood tide of illegal immigrants coming into the United States.

Ezell, who is a leading proponent of the Reagan administration's line on immigration policy, heavily relies on research by Professor Donald Huddle, an economist at Rice University in Houston.

Huddle concluded that for every 100 employed illegal immigrants, 66 American citizens are denied employment. He also estimates that every 1-million illegal immigrants cost taxpayers $1 billion a year in social services to which they are not entitled, even assuming some illegal immigrants pay taxes.

"Of all the researchers, Huddle has the least of an ax to grind," Ezell said. "He was more truthful in his questioning and used actual cases that definitely show jobs are being taken away from Americans."

Huddle and Ezell argue that if illegal immigrants were removed from those jobs, the nation's unemployment rate, particularly among minority youth, could be reduced substantially.

Huddle's research has been contradicted by other studies that indicate illegal immigrants substantially contribute to the economy and take jobs many Americans refuse to do. Research by the Heritage Foundation, a conservative group, and the Urban Institute conclude there is very little job displacement.

The Heritage Foundation report, however, cited a San Diego Human Resources Agency study indicating that Americans sometimes refuse to take jobs traditionally filled by illegal immigrants because the pay often is below the minimum wage and working conditions often are deplorable.

But the San Diego Human Resources Agency also found that of 340 jobs opened up by deporting undocumented immigrants, 90 percent were re-filled by commuters from Mexico.

The scale of the problems Ezell perceives can be just as elusive. There are no fewer than nine studies on the size of the illegal immigrant population in the United States. Estimates range from a low of 1.5 million to 3 million immigrants, to a high of 8 million to 12 million immigrants. The most widely accepted figure has been 3.5 million to 6 million.

Nonetheless, Ezell said the fact that more than 1 million arrests of illegal immigrants were made during each of the past three years substantially supports his belief that illegal immigration adversely affects the United States.

Despite the arrest record, Ezell's critics say he often overstates his case. Even the federal General Accounting Office and INS officials say estimating the number of apprehensions and the flow of illegal immigrants into the country is difficult.

But even when statistics are available, Ezell has used them loosely. For example, he once said the U.S. Border Patrol in the INS Western region, which contains four states, arrested about 40 percent of all would-be illegal immigrants in 1983. Using that figure, the total number of apprehensions nationwide would be 1.6 million, about 400,000 more than the official INS tally that year.

The commissioner made a similar mistake when he said that 1.3 million illegals were caught on the United States southern border alone in 1984. The total number of arrests nationwide that year was about 1.2 million.

"One or two mistakes, and you lose all credibility? This is ridiculous," Ezell said. "I used the national total in the context of the southern border. The difference is only 100,000. That's nothing."

On the issue of sanctuary for Central Americans, Ezell's statements in support of denying immigrants political asylum or refugee status in the United States have been contradicted by the government.

For humanitarian and sometimes political reasons, churches and political activists have harbored Central Americans who claim they would be killed or jailed if they stayed in their native countries.

Ezell told the Register that illegal immigrants from El Salvador and Guatemala usually come to the United States for economic reasons and that civil strife has not caused an appreciable increase in the flow of refugees during the past 10 years. He also said civil strife in Central America is not as bad as it was several years ago.

Ezell partially is contradicted by a federal General Accounting Office study in 1984 that concluded civil strife in Central America was responsible for a substantial increase in the number of Salvadorans and Guatemalans trying to enter the United States.

The study said college professors, members of religious groups, labor organizers, political activists and youths of military age particularly have been vulnerable to persecution in those countries.

The GAO report is buttressed by the conclusions of a recent Massachusetts Institute of Technology study concluding that Salvadoran immigration to the United States increased during times of civil strife.

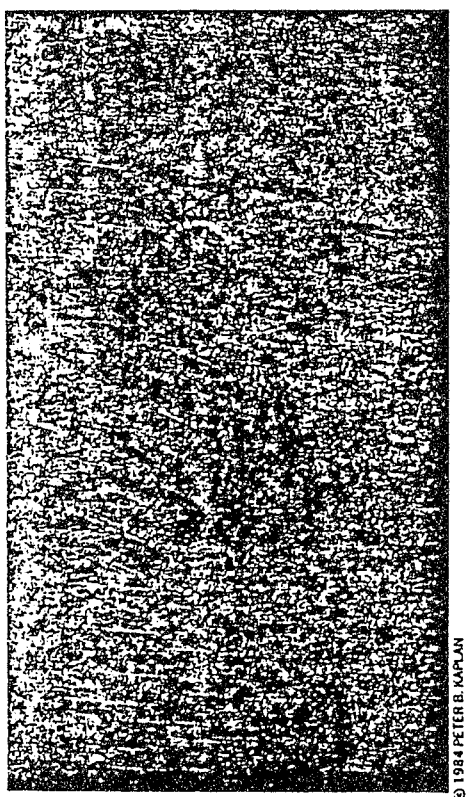
In addition, Ezell contends that during the last few years there has only been one documented case of a deportee being killed after his return to Central America. According to Ezell, the person was killed by communist guerrillas.

The Asylum Project of the American Civil Liberties Union said, however, that it found at least 112 possible cases of persecution out of 8,500 deportations to El Salvador the civil-rights group studied. According to the ACLU, there are strong indications that 47 deportees disappeared, 52 were killed, and the rest were arrested or tortured.

Newsweek NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Closing The Door?

America has 'lost control' of its borders, but remains deeply divided over how to curb the inexorable flood of illegal immigration—and still be true to the open-door tradition that helped to build the country.



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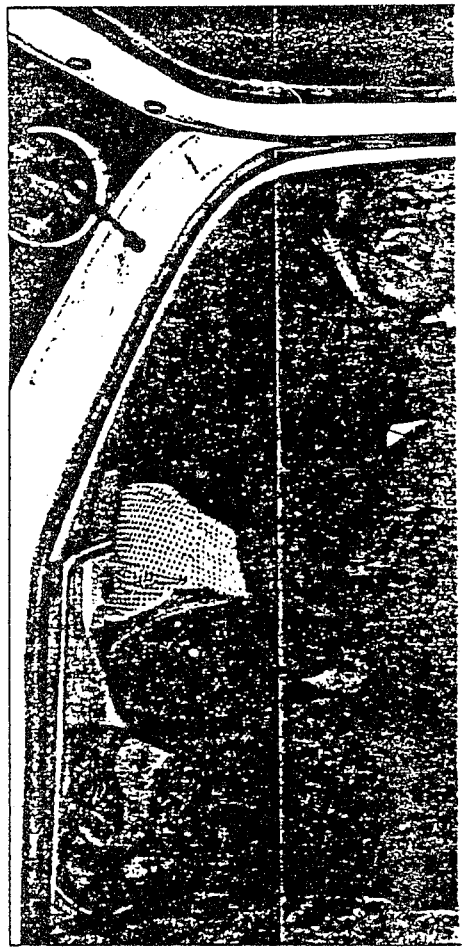
Restoration: Is the tradition in danger?

Ernest Gustafson, the director of the Los Angeles district of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, had just taken off on a routine flight from Phoenix to L.A. when he overheard a conversation in Spanish. "*Donde esta la linea* (where is the border)?" the speaker asked his two companions. As the discussion continued, Gustafson realized that the three young men sitting directly behind him had just come across the U.S.-Mexican border—illegally. But when the plane landed in Los Angeles, Gustafson let the trio walk away. "Ten years ago I'd have called for help and had them apprehended and deported," Gustafson said later. "But when there are more than a million illegals in Los Angeles and Orange County, what did those three really mean? What kept running through my mind was how preposterous this thing has become—the numbers are now so staggering, and the lack of control and resources so great. It's frightening."

In Washington last week, Ernest Gustafson's boss made the same point in different words: "The simple truth is that we've lost control of our own borders," Ronald Reagan said, "and no nation can do that and survive." The president was probably overstating the case: so far, at least, the nation's very survival does not seem to be at stake. But a compelling argument can be made that the decade-long increase in illegal immigration to the United States is jeopardizing an honorable American tradition—the tradition of Ellis Island, the Statue of Liberty and Emma Lazarus: "Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free . . ."

National Ambivalence: A brewing backlash against illegal immigration was evident on Capitol Hill last week as Congress began debating a landmark piece of legislation, the Simpson-Mazzoli bill, which embodies the most drastic reform of U.S. immigration policy in a generation or more. The debate, which continues this week to a showdown vote in the House, has already been marked by acrid rhetoric, strange political alliances and the sharply conflicting views of many special-interest groups about what is right for them, for America and for the millions of would-be immigrants waiting overseas. That conflict mirrors a deep national ambivalence on the future of U.S. immigration policy—and the outcome of the congressional debate may well affect the current presidential campaign.

The notion that the United States has lost control of its borders is true—but in a



Aliens in custody near the U.S.-Mexican bord

A family celebrates citizenship in New Yo

LESTER SLOAN—Newsweek

An epic battle to contain the invasion—and an immigration policy that is massively out of control

J.P LAFFONT—SYGMA

Would the flood of illegals taint their welcome?

BILL NATION—SYGMA

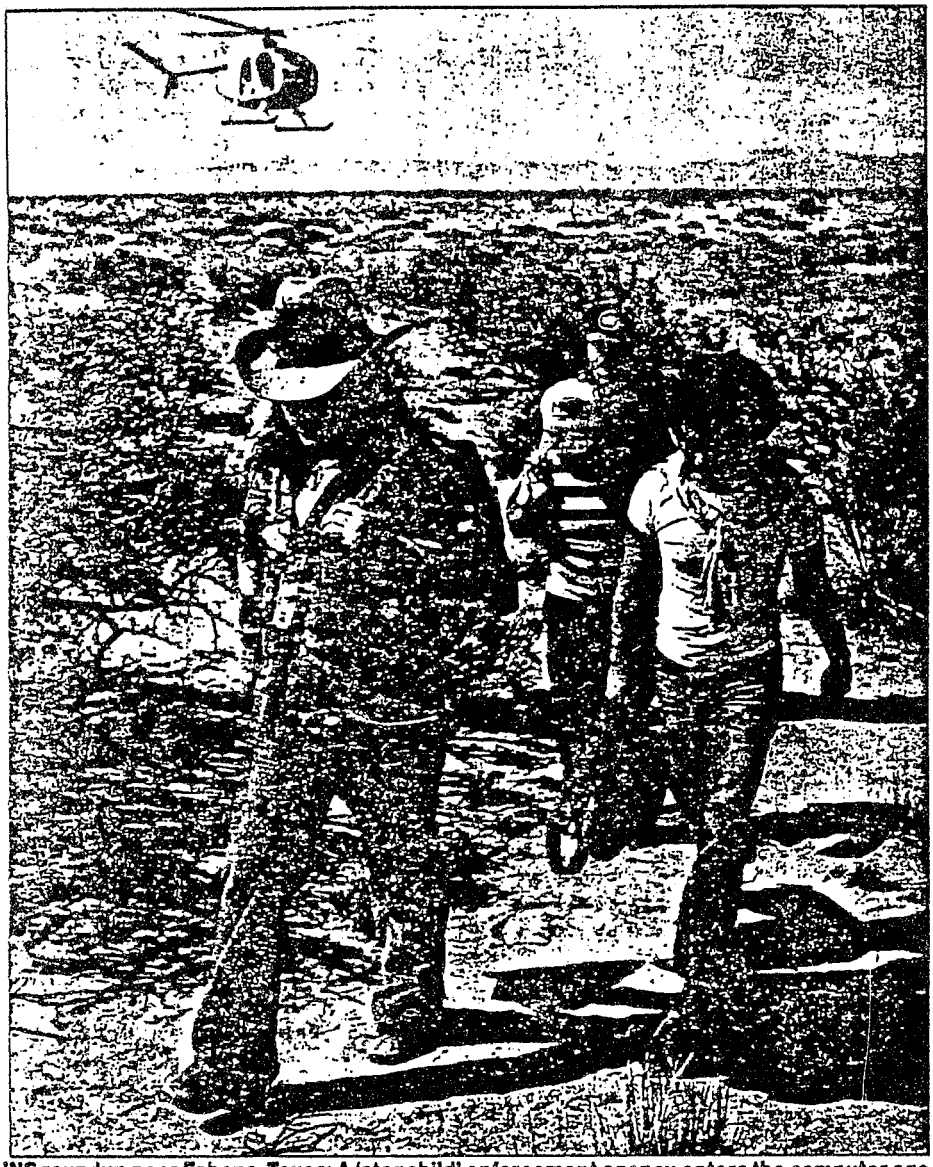
Taking the oath: No nation is ever 'full'

peculiarly limited sense. The government regulates legal immigration quite effectively: for the past several years legal immigration has amounted to around 500,000 persons a year, which is well within the nation's capacity to absorb. Illegal immigration is quite another matter. No one really knows how many illegal aliens now live in the United States, nor how many are entering the country every year. Estimates of the resident illegal population range from a low of about 2 million to a high of 10 million or more. Estimates of the yearly increase in that population are even less precise: perhaps 100,000, perhaps 500,000 or more. But by any reasonable definition, that is a policy massively out of control.

It is also the reason that immigration reform has been a Reagan administration priority for the past 3½ years. The Republican-run Senate has passed Simpson-Mazzoli twice, first in 1982 and again in 1983. In the Democratic-run House, however, the bill has been hanging fire, primarily because of opposition from Hispanic leaders and liberals, who think it will increase job discrimination against all Hispanics. Late last year House Speaker Thomas P. (Tip) O'Neill promised Sen. Alan Simpson of Wyoming, the bill's prime Senate sponsor, that he would bring the bill to the House floor—even though O'Neill himself does not support Simpson's legislation, which is cosponsored by Kentucky Democratic Rep. Romano L. Mazzoli. Despite the opposition of all three finalists in the Democratic presidential race, O'Neill has kept his word—and now, in the hot political summer of 1984, the House debate is reaching a discordant crescendo.

Unlovely: It is a debate that short-circuits longstanding political alliances and cuts across ideological lines. Viewed from any angle, Simpson-Mazzoli is an unlovely compromise that contains something for everyone to hate. Its basic trade-off: a crackdown on the U.S. job market to make it much harder for illegal aliens to find work—in exchange for a limited amnesty that would allow millions of illegals now living in this country to become legal residents. Business lobbyists criticize the proposed penalties on employers who knowingly hire illegals. Liberals oppose plans to create a government hot line that would allow employers to find out if a job applicant is an illegal alien. And last week a handful of House conservatives threatened to open fire on the amnesty plan, arguing that extending legal status to aliens who violated U.S. law by entering the country would cheapen the concept of U.S. citizenship itself.

The public's view of all of this is somewhat less impassioned—but it is fair to say that immigration reform is a serious national concern. A NEWSWEEK Poll conducted in early June by The Gallup Organization (page 21) shows that slightly more than a third of all Americans (38 percent) actually have noticed more foreign-born residents in



PHIL HUBER—BLACK STAR

INS roundup near Fabens, Texas: A 'stepchild' enforcement agency enters the computer age

LESTER SLOAN—Newsweek

Frisking garment workers after a raid in California: Would penalties on employers backfire?

their communities lately; 50 percent reported no significant change. Yet 55 percent of the public thinks illegal immigration is a "very important" problem—which places it well behind unemployment (84 percent), inflation (73 percent) and the threat of nuclear war (70 percent), but roughly on the same level of national priority as protecting the environment (57 percent). Significantly, that level of concern does not vary much from state to state: residents of states along the Mexican border are only slightly more likely (63 percent) to call the problem "very important." There is no significant difference by race: whites, nonwhites and blacks are about equally likely to say that illegal immigration matters. But Americans 50 and older are more likely than those in other age groups to see both illegal and legal immigration as very important problems.

The NEWSWEEK sample had mixed feelings about the basic elements of Simpson-Mazzoli. There is majority public support for one key element of the bill—penalties for employers who knowingly hire illegal aliens—but a majority also opposes the notion of amnesty. The split is more even (52-42) against the concept of using a national identity card to help screen out illegal aliens (the House has rejected the idea, too). But a 60 percent majority is persuaded that trying to control illegal immigration solely by improving enforcement along the border simply won't work; only 32 percent thought it would.

Ambivalence: Other findings from the NEWSWEEK Poll reflected the nation's ambivalence about all immigration, legal as well as illegal. NEWSWEEK'S polling showed most Americans do not believe that *legal* immigration generally is an important national problem—though 53 percent of all those surveyed thought too many Latin Americans are entering this country, and 49 percent said too many Asians were coming in. A question on bilingualism split the sample in half. While an overwhelming 80 percent of those surveyed had a positive view of hardworking immigrants who take unwanted jobs—and a sizable majority thought the newcomers brought worthy talents and cultural traditions—hefty majorities also said the foreigners took jobs from U.S. workers and drew on services paid for by American taxpayers.

What do such polls say about America and immigration reform? The message, according to experts, is that the public is disturbed by what it sees—rightly—as a historic new wave of immigration (chart, page 22). Brandeis University Prof. Lawrence Fuchs, who was executive director of the U.S. Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy, believes that "there is some discomfort ... over the dominance of immigrants from Latin-American and Asian backgrounds, and this xenophobia shows up in the polls." But does the nation want to slam the door shut? Is it

becoming strongly xenophobic or racist? Probably not. Edwin Harwood, a visiting scholar at Stanford University's Hoover Institution, sees a rise in "restrictionist" sentiment in the nation. But that trend, Harwood says, is based on the public's perception that simply "too many people are coming here." It is not, he says, "grounded in cultural animosity or prejudice," and it is not nearly as bitter, intense or overtly racist as America's anti-immigrant mood at the turn of the century.

Others see the present furor over illegal immigration as an outgrowth of the Reagan recession—as an expression of anxiety over jobs, security and the nation's economic future. "In 1981, when things got bad, we had to blame something," says Arnold Torres, executive director of the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC). "So this attitude developed that the refugee and the undocumented worker and the immigrant were a threat to our well-being." Linda Wong, immigration-policy director for the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF), agrees. "The public perception is that we're being overwhelmed right now, that we no longer have the resources to house [the immigrants] or give them jobs. But the facts do not bear that out."

Not 'Full': Wong is probably right. For one thing, though total immigration in the 1970s and '80s is becoming at least roughly comparable to the great historic peak of 1900-1910, both the population and the American labor force are far larger today—which means that the U.S. economy is able to absorb the influx more easily. For another, many experts believe immigration to be a net economic plus (page 23). Demographer Michael Teitelbaum, for example, says that the immigration trend is "serious" but not "of crisis proportions at this point"—and no country, he says, is ever "full." And though few economists would deny that immigrant competition hurts low-skilled American workers, Fuchs says his work on the immigration-policy commission left him convinced that even illegal aliens "probably create more jobs than they take away."

Then why crack down at all? Alan Simpson has one answer—a display of forged identification cards and papers seized several years ago by the INS, all of which had been used by one ingenious illegal alien. "Here's my whole pitch," Simpson says. "[The illegal] got an Illinois driver's license, he enrolled in college, got tuition [aid], picked up food stamps, got a social-security card, got an AFL-CIO card, got a supplemental food card, got Medicare and Medicaid, got another driver's license. And he got unemployment . . . If we allow this to continue, our systems will be gimmicked to death and will break down . . . I just think it's kind of foolish to have a law on the books that allows people to laugh at it."

The U.S. government, in short, has an enforcement crisis—immigration policies that cannot be enforced and whose widespread evasion erodes the intent of Congress. The current immigration law, which dates from the 1960s, has two broad and compassionate goals: to allow citizens and legal residents of the United States to bring their relatives into this country, and to provide safe haven for refugees from oppression. The law also has another, less altruistic goal: to admit a certain number of skilled and unskilled workers as immigrants, presumably because they have something to offer the nation. There are six categories of immigrant visas; generally, the State Department allocates no more than 20,000 immigrant visas to each country in the world each year. The number of refugees is regulated (72,000 will be admitted during 1984), but one type of visa is not. Those are visas granted to the immediate family members of a U.S. citizen—spouses and unmarried children under 21. There now is no annual cap on the number of visas that can be granted, but the Senate version of the Simpson-Mazzoli bill would impose one: that cap would be 425,000, excluding refugees, or about 170,000 fewer than in 1981.

It is at the border that the system really falls apart—at the Mexican border, at the Canadian border and at virtually any U.S. port of entry. The Immigration Service, says one veteran supervisor, has been the "redheaded, freckle-faced stepchild" of the federal government for many years—demoralized, underfunded, often criticized and sometimes investigated. It operates in a bureaucratic environment rife with over-

A NEWSWEEK POLL ON IMMIGRATION

Americans surveyed by NEWSWEEK were divided in their views on immigrants—and on several proposals to stem a rising tide of illegal immigration into this country.

1 Do you think the number of immigrants now entering the U.S. from each of the following areas is too many, too few or about right?

	Too Many	Too Few	About Right
European Countries	26%	11%	50%
Latin America	53%	5%	30%
African Countries	31%	12%	37%
Asian Countries	49%	6%	33%

2 Do you feel that English *only* should be used in all public schools, public signs, government forms and official messages in the United States. Or do you support the use of a second language in some areas to help immigrants participate in education, business, public affairs and daily life?

English Only 47% Second Language 49%

3 Some people say the government should make it much more difficult for illegal aliens to get work in the U.S. by penalizing companies that knowingly hire them. Others oppose such a penalty because it would restrict U.S. businesses too much and limit opportunities for legal immigrants—especially Hispanics. Which view comes closer to your own?

Penalize Companies 61% Oppose Penalties 28%

4 Some people propose that the federal government issue identity cards to all citizens and legal immigrants to distinguish them from those who are in the country illegally. Others oppose this plan on the grounds that it would give the federal government too much knowledge and control over all Americans. Which view comes closest to your own?

Issue ID Card 42% Oppose ID Card 52%

5 Some people say there are too many illegal immigrants living in this country for the authorities to arrest and deport them; they feel we should have an amnesty to let most of these aliens live here legally. Others say the government should do everything it can to arrest those living in this country illegally. Which comes closer to your view?

Amnesty for Those Here 34% Arrest and Deport 55%

6 Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

	Agree	Disagree
Immigrants take jobs from U.S. workers.	61%	36%
Many immigrants work hard—often taking jobs that Americans don't want.	80%	17%
Many immigrants wind up on welfare and raise taxes for Americans.	59%	33%
Immigrants help improve our culture with their different cultures and talents.	61%	35%

For this NEWSWEEK Poll, The Gallup Organization interviewed 751 adults by telephone on June 1, 2 and 3. The margin of error is plus or minus 4 percentage points. 'Don't knows' not shown. The NEWSWEEK Poll © 1984 by NEWSWEEK, Inc.

DONALD GARRIDO—Newsweek

lapping jurisdictions and turf wars. It operates in a thicket of legal maneuver and judicial activism; even illegal aliens have rights under U.S. law, and there are plenty of lawyers ready to defend them. "People have a right to be here," says veteran Houston immigration lawyer Sam Williamson, 74. "There's a constant movement of people around the world, and we in the U.S. are getting only a very small fragment."

But above all, the INS operates in the dark. It has no real idea how many illegals are in the United States, nor how many slip past its small army of agents on the Texas border. It has only a general idea where most illegal aliens go when they enter the United States, and it has relatively little success in catching individual illegals once they settle in their new homes and jobs. Its much-publicized sweeps of low-skill, low-paying industries, such as "Operation Jobs" in 1982, are by and large only symbolic. And until recently, it was totally unable to keep an accurate count of the millions of aliens who enter this country every year on tourist, student and business visas—a group which, according to the INS itself, is the source of a substantial portion of the nation's illegal immigration. Visa overstayers, says INS Commissioner Alan Nelson, "are the most difficult to apprehend. They have six months [the normal term of a tourist visa] to burrow into society. They're more sophisticated, generally, than the people who cross the Mexican border. They take better jobs and they're not likely to be found in a sweatshop."

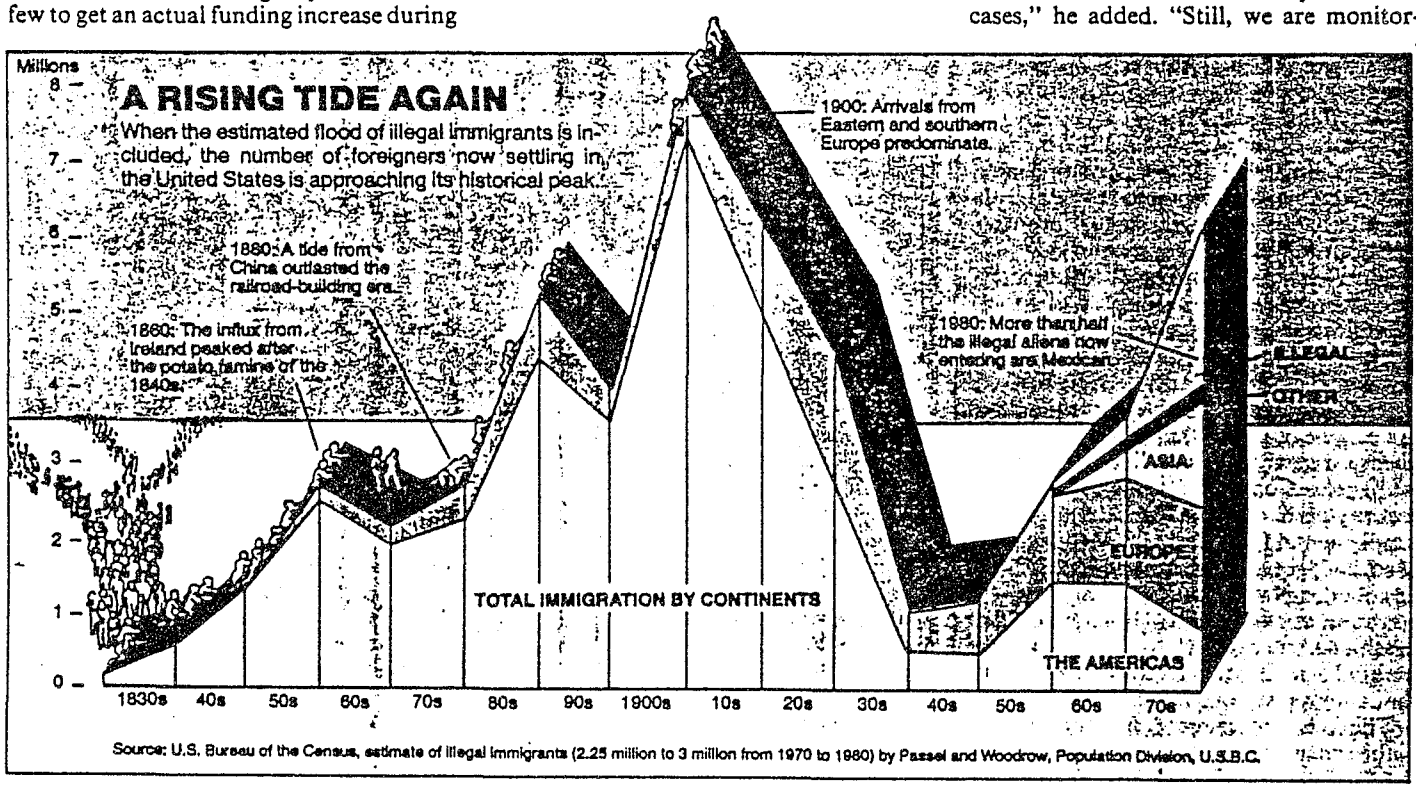
Computerization: Change is coming, even for the INS. The agency is one of the few to get an actual funding increase during Ronald Reagan's federal budget cuts: its 1985 budget, if it is approved, will add 1,000 new enforcement positions, most of which will be assigned to the Mexican border. The new agents, as well the old ones, will scour the desert with the help of an elaborate network of electronic sensors and low-light television cameras, which the agency is modernizing and expanding. And the INS has finally entered the computer age: since January 1983 it has maintained a computerized file on every one of the approximately 10 million aliens who enter the country on temporary visas every year.

KEN HEINEN

Simpson with fake ID's: 'Gimmicked to death'

The computer's first annual tally of apparent visa abusers was startling: there were 2.1 million entrants with temporary visas during 1983 for whom the agency had no record of departure. Even more remarkable, that figure is at least roughly comparable to the estimated number of illegals who cross the Mexican border. How many of last year's visa overstayers became illegal immigrants? Nobody knows. INS officials say 500,000 is perhaps a reasonable guess, but it is only a guess. Beyond all that, the computer's findings pose an awkward question for the consular service of the U.S. State Department, which issues both immigrant and nonimmigrant visas at U.S. embassies overseas. Consular officials interview each applicant for a temporary visa to try to determine if he or she really intends to stay in the United States permanently; at some consular posts, the refusal rate is very high, but others are clearly not screening closely.

'A Better Idea': Indeed, the INS's new computer count of visa overstayers suggests the unsettling possibility that one-fifth of all visitors' visas to the United States are based on fraudulent documents or declarations, and consular officials react with caution. "All NIV [nonimmigrant visa] applications are given close scrutiny by trained consular officers, and . . . many items of proof . . . can be requested," said consular-service press officer Richard Weeks. "We have greatly expanded our antifraud efforts . . . [and] we are attempting to do the best possible job of screening out those people who are likely to overstay in the U.S." The new INS statistics, Weeks said, will give consular officials "a better idea of what to look for" in combating visa fraud. "I don't mean to suggest that we think the bulk of overstays are fraud cases," he added. "Still, we are monitor-



BOB CONRAD

Costs and Benefits

Do illegal aliens take jobs from Americans? Do they strain social-welfare programs? Or do they play a useful role in the U.S. labor force—actually creating new jobs and paying more in taxes than they take in benefits? The debate is clouded by emotion and confounded by the shortage of reliable statistics. On balance, illegal immigrant workers seem a boon to the U.S. economy, to government revenues and to American consumers—but the burdens and benefits are far from evenly distributed.

The laws of supply and demand hold that any additional hands in the labor force put downward pressure on wages and displace some workers. Immigrants compete most directly with Americans in low-paying, low-skill jobs where native youths and minorities predominate and where the unemployment rate is highest. But some economists argue that alien workers may in fact create as many new jobs as they take. In a study of southern California in the 1970s, Urban Institute economist Thomas Muller found that the heavy influx of Mexican immigrants had little impact on the region's overall unemployment rate, in part because their presence created new white-collar jobs in areas such as social services. Black citizens often occupy those new positions—just as successive waves of immigrants have always pushed those above them up the economic ladder.

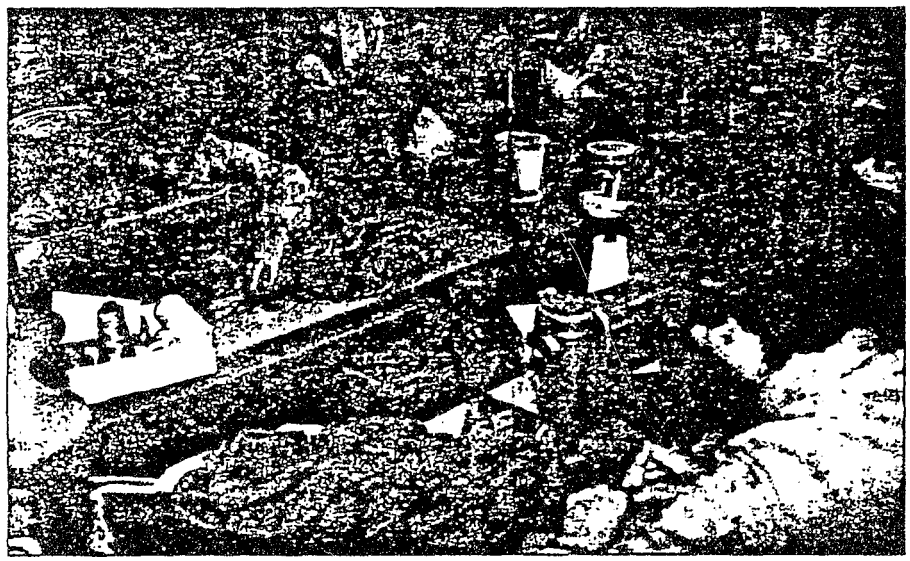
Shunned: That is cold comfort for Americans who had jobs or want jobs now held by illegals. Rice University Prof. Donald Huddle estimates that undocumented Mexicans hold one-third of Houston's commercial-construction jobs, many paying more than the minimum wage. Overall, Huddle claims that 65 Americans are left unemployed for every 100 illegal aliens in the work force. But other experts say that most aliens continue to occupy arduous, bottom-rung occupations that native Americans have shunned. New York's garment industry, for example, has always served as an economic way station for immigrants—first European Jews, then Italians, blacks, Puerto Ricans, Latin Americans, Caribbeans and Asians—whose offspring, in turn, rarely take to the sewing machines.

Be it cause or effect, the availability of eager immigrant labor frequently coincides with depressed wage rates and dismal working conditions. The Urban Institute study found that wages in low-skill manufacturing jobs in Los Angeles, where roughly a quarter of the nation's illegal workers are concentrated, rose only 77 percent of the average U.S. increase from 1972 to 1980. But low wages also mean low labor costs, which help keep many U.S. businesses alive, competitive and operating in this country instead of in factories overseas. Muller estimates that some 52,000 low-wage jobs in Los Angeles manufacturing industries would not exist if not for low-skilled Mexican labor. Cheap labor also keeps retail prices down. The consumer price index for Los Angeles rose less than that of other major metropolitan areas between 1975 and 1983, thanks largely to illegal workers.

Of course, expanding the gross national product on the backs of low-paid workers may not be morally just or economically sound. More restrictive immigration policies, proponents argue, would force U.S. employers to pay higher wages and make jobs more attractive to American citizens. Cheap immigrant labor also discourages the high-tech modernization desperately needed by many U.S. industries. Such arguments may prove moot, however, if current U.S. demographic trends continue: government analysts predict that 25 million new jobs will be created by 1995 but only 13.4 million Americans will be added to the work force. That gap, presumably, will lead to more automation, more immigration and higher wages for all.

In some ways, illegal immigrants cost the government money; in other ways, they contribute to government coffers. Though some are indeed paid "off the books," a Labor Department study in the 1970s found that 73 percent of working illegals had income taxes withheld from their paychecks, and 77 percent paid social-security taxes. Fearing detection, however, few file for the income-tax refunds owed them, and the vast majority are too young to apply for social-security benefits—even if they dared. The Social Security Administration thus reportedly nets an estimated $80 billion annually in payments that will never be collected.

Illegals do use neighborhood medical and educational services, however—squeezing state and local revenues in areas where they are concentrated. Texas figured its costs for educating illegal alien children at $85 million in 1982, when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that it could not bar them from public schools. Los Angeles County officials estimate that undocumented aliens will account for 67 percent of all births this year at six public hospitals (a staggering 1 in every 200 total U.S. births) and leave behind nearly $100 million in unpaid bills. Overall, Muller estimates that the average Mexican immigrant family in Los Angeles—two-thirds of them are undocumented—receives $2,199 more in state and local services each year than it pays in taxes.



FRANK FOURNIER—CONTACT PRESS IMAGES

Garment factory in New York's Chinatown: Traditional way station for immigrants

Gap: Granting amnesty to millions of illegal aliens under the Simpson-Mazzoli bill would substantially increase social-service costs. Both House and Senate versions of the bill would bar newly legalized aliens from federally funded social programs for three to six years. But state and city governments complain that they would come under pressure to supply the social safety net in the meantime, extending locally administered benefit programs. The House bill would require the federal government to reimburse those costs—estimated at up to $4 billion over the next four years. The Reagan administration, however, is pressing for a $1.4 billion cap on such payments. That could create a sizable financial gap at the grass-roots level. How—if at all—that gap is bridged will dramatically alter immigration's cost-benefit analysis and do much to shape the hospitality afforded the nation's underground immigrant population.

MELINDA BECK with CHRISTOPHER MA and DIANE WEATHERS in Washington, NANCY COOPER in New York and DANIEL PEDERSEN in Los Angeles

BOB CONRAD

ing all cases as closely as we can."

Given all the complexities of the nation's immigration problem, backers of the Simpson-Mazzoli reform believe that their bill is the least-worst solution that can be concocted. Better border enforcement may be a partial answer, but under real-world budget restraints it can never be enough. A mass roundup and deportation of all illegal immigrants is simply impossible: the United States, as Attorney General William French Smith observes, has neither the means nor the political will to uproot so many millions of residents. An employment crackdown will not eliminate all jobs for illegal aliens, nor will it eliminate every illegal immigrant's motive for coming here. But it is probably the only tactic that would affect both border-crossers and visa overstayers, and the House has passed safeguards to lessen its potential for discriminatory side effects against Hispanics.

Strange Bedfellows: The big issue is amnesty—which the House may decide this week. Backers of the Simpson-Mazzoli bill believe that only about 40 percent of the nation's illegal aliens would request or qualify for legalization under the stiff eligibility rules, but there is a palpable emotional quality to the debate. "The issue has aroused a lot of blue-collar workers in Texas . . . when you say 'amnesty,' people get to thinking there are a lot of people who have been waiting in line to get legal," says Rep. Kent Hance of Texas, whose strong Senate primary campaign in May was focused against amnesty. (Hance lost in a recount.) Amnesty is really a "jobs issue," Hance says—and he warns that "anyone who votes for it" in Congress "is giving his opponent an issue" in November.

To Rep. Robert Garcia of New York, chairman of the House Hispanic Caucus, Hance's argument has unmistakably racist overtones. "The brown-skinned, dark-skinned or yellow-skinned people who would come in under amnesty are people that some people don't want," Garcia says. Still, as an opponent of Simpson-Mazzoli's employer-penalty provision, the Hispanic congressman has joined Hance in a "Dear Colleague" letter opposing the bill—only one dramatic indication of the strange-bedfellow alliances this issue has created on Capitol Hill and around the nation.

The real argument for Simpson-Mazzoli is that there is probably no better way to clean up the mess—and that it is time to do *something*. "Unless we correct the situation," Simpson says, "we will truly forfeit our heritage of taking care of legal immigration." The backlash, he says, "will come in a ghastly way," and America could abandon its best national symbol—open arms.

TOM MORGANTHAU with GLORIA BORGER, NIKKI FINKE GREENBERG and ELAINE SHANNON in Washington, RENEE MICHAEL in New York, DANIEL PEDERSEN in Los Angeles and bureau reports

PHIL HUBER—BLACK STAR

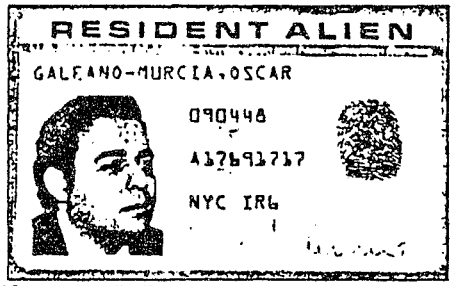
Crossing tracks at the border near El Paso: Mexicans—and 90 other nationalities as well

Games Illegals Play

Sophisticated smuggling rings help many get in, and crafty lawyers find many loopholes to help them stay.

A U.S. Border Patrol agent was making his rounds about 30 miles east of San Diego recently when he happened to see a group of young Asian males playing basketball on an outdoor court. Something caught his eye. All the players were wearing brand-new shoes and gym uniforms, but they didn't seem to know how to sink baskets. It turned out the men were Korean immigrants who had just slipped over the Mexican border. They were trying to blend into the population while waiting for a smuggler who had said he would transport them north.

Forget for a moment the stoop-shouldered Mexican farm laborer swimming the Rio Grande. Illegal immigration has grown and diversified so much that the old stereotype itself might well be deported. Mexicans are crossing the border in exploding numbers, but they now make up no more than 55 percent of the illegals in the United States. In the El Paso region—where border-patrol agents recently arrested three Yugoslavs wearing wool clothes in the sweltering heat—aliens of 90 different nationalities were apprehended last year. In posh Boca Raton, Fla., residents have spotted immigrants from as far away as Bangladesh, some of them wading ashore wearing business suits in order to mix in. "Their problem," says one Florida immigration official, "is that nobody else walks on the beach wearing a three-piece suit."



J.P. LAFFONT—SYGMA

'Green card': The passport to prosperity?

Legal Cracks: Most of these non-Mexican immigrants find their way into the United States through organized smuggling networks that often lead them on serpentine journeys through five or six countries. But hundreds of thousands of others skip the border adventure altogether and simply try their luck at American airports—with forged documents or visitors' visas that they intend to overstay. Once inside, the immigrants or their employers can hire lawyers to slip them through legal cracks; the number of immigration attorneys, about 1,700 nationwide, has doubled since 1976 and increased a hundredfold since 1946. Marriage to a U.S. citizen, reunification with family here and special job skills—often cobbled together to fit the particular immigrant—are the easiest ways to qualify for legal residence. Failing that, millions swallow their fears and risk the microscopic odds of being caught if they stay illegally.

Sneaking into the United States is now a big business. At a soccer field just across the border in San Ysidro, Calif., vendors hawk tacos, beer, even clothes for the trip

north. The going rate for transport from Tijuana to Los Angeles is $350 for Mexicans, $1,000 or more for Central Americans. One Cairo-based outfit called the Agency for Immigration and Tourism charged Syrians, Palestinians, Iraqis and other Middle Easterners several thousand dollars for a package trip to the United States via Mexico City. Serbo-Croatians go the same way. A $10 million-a-year ring busted earlier this month charged $3,000 to $5,000 a head—not including air fare, meals or lodging—to take clients from Belgrade to Mexico to jobs in restaurants awaiting them in Chicago and New Jersey.

One reason so many of the "coyotes," as smugglers are sometimes called, choose Mexico is that enforcement is more relaxed there than in Canada. Mexico receives nearly $1 billion a year—its third largest source of foreign exchange—from Mexicans who send money home from the United States, and some think Mexican authorities wink at the smuggling rings. Smuggling networks, many of them unanticipated outgrowths of the legal guest-worker program begun by the United States in the 1940s, are highly organized. A Wheaton College study of two neighboring villages found that migrants from Ihuatzio always ended up in Texas while their neighbors from Huecorio invariably went to California, despite the greater distances involved.

Bogus in Bogotá: For many border crossers, a large part of the cost goes for false documents. A bogus alien residency permit, or "green card," can fetch about $500 in Mexico; American birth certificates, the most effective document available, can bring $5,000. For about $2,000, a Colombian can buy an entire packet of custom-made counterfeit marriage certificates, tax statements and other papers he hopes will get him a visa. The false-papers problem has grown so serious that U.S. consular officers in Bogotá say they now tend to put less weight on documentation in making decisions on visa applications; instead they focus on the applicant's dress, demeanor and truthfulness. In 1981 the U.S. Embassy in Bogotá fired three employees and the sale of visitor visas stopped.

Immigration and Naturalization Service authorities have been particularly interested lately in smuggling rings operating out of the Philippines, Hong Kong and India, all places where political turmoil has created new business for international "travel agents." Mark Reed, an assistant INS commissioner, says Philippine rings are especially difficult to crack because they buttress the usual fraudulent passports and visas with completely fabricated identities—fake real-estate deeds and bank assets. Some are almost full-service institutions. "They'll stay with these people from the moment they enter the U.S. until they become U.S. citizens, assisting with fraudulent marriages, green cards and social-security cards," Reed says. The whole package can cost a Filipino alien $10,000. Without it—and without immediate relatives in the United States—he might have to wait 10 years for a visa.

Like drug smuggling, with which it is often compared, the alien business is not for the faint at heart. "You've got to remember that these smugglers are felons," says Jack L. Richardson, chief border-patrol agent for the Del Rio, Texas, sector. "These are slavers; they're the scum of the earth. Some are mean, outright vicious criminals, and some are old men and old women. Some are gringo fat girls who like to smuggle in their lovers. Then you have the cool, calculated, professional organization men, the farmers and ranchers wanting cheap labor."

The journey is not for shrinking violets either, particularly those who travel long distances at sea. Haitians must negotiate the treacherous Windward Passage en route to the Bahamas, where they contact smugglers who fly them to the island of Bimini, then load them into flimsy boats bound for Florida. Immigrants from as far away as Iran and Uganda have been drawn to the Bimini connection, but many aiming for Florida have been discouraged by recent tales of starvation and brutal voodoo murder on board the Haitian boats—and by increasing U.S. Coast Guard interdictions.

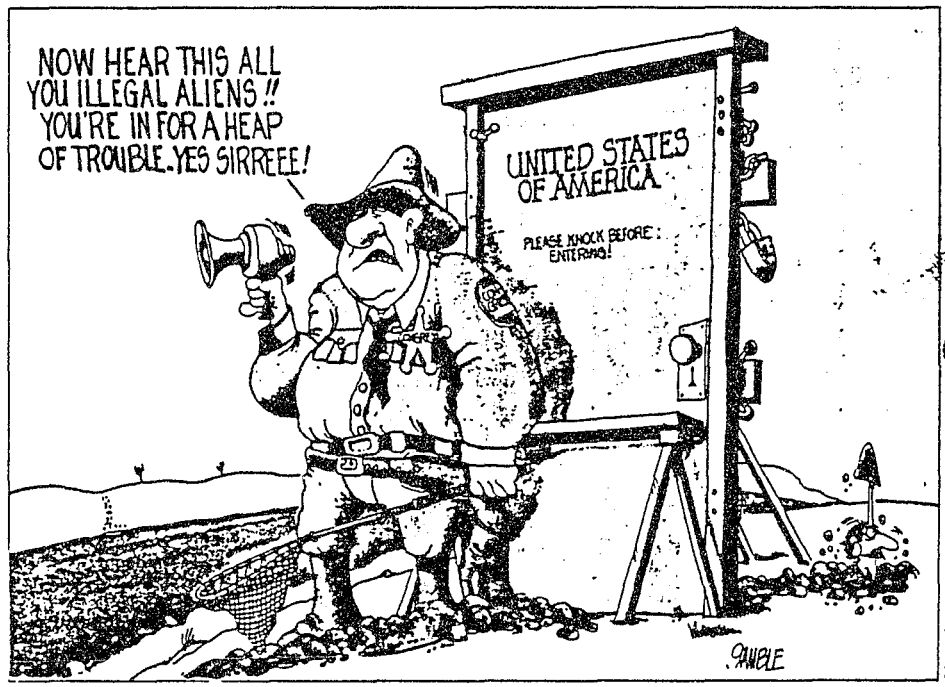
The trip from Mexico isn't much safer. In a three-month period this year, 108 aliens were robbed or beaten by bandits on the American side of the Tijuana border. Suspects are rarely arrested, because their victims usually decline to cooperate with authorities; illegal aliens who press charges are held in a federal detention center, while those who drop the matter are simply ferried back across the border to Mexico.

There is a less hazardous route than navigating squalls in small boats or evading marauders at night. Of the foreign visitors who enter the United States each year on temporary tourist, work or student visas, as many as half a million may end up staying on in an effort to live in the United States permanently. Having obtained visas in the first place, they are likely to be better educated than aliens who run borders, better at English, quicker to assimilate into American society. But they have at least as great a fear of being caught, and they worry about attracting official attention by changing jobs or moving around the country too freely. Those who can afford to pay lawyers will try to "get status"—legalize themselves.

Immigration lawyers, not surprisingly, look on the sharp increase in visa overstays as an attractive business proposition. For instance, the Los Angeles firm of Hogg and Benson, which has served Hispanic, Iranian, Chinese and Korean clients, is "attempting to diversify so that we're not too dependent on [global] conditions," says Fred Benson, himself a former INS inspector.

The key to profit in immigration law is volume—several thousand cases a year at $1,000 a case and up. "We're like an assembly line in a body shop," says Steven Mukamal, founding partner of one of the country's largest immigration firms.

'Newlywed Game': Recently, two Greek illegals decided to find American brides, the quickest way to stay in the United States. The INS is skeptical of many immigrant marriages and usually asks a series of "Newlywed Game" questions—How many phones do you have? What did your spouse have for breakfast?—to determine if the marriage is real. In this case, the Greeks married prostitutes they picked up in New York's Times Square. When they were tried for fraud, Mukamal agreed to represent them and argue that the marriage was val-



GAMBLE—FLORIDA TIMES-UNION

Besieged borders: In San Ysidro, vendors hawk tacos, beer, even clothes for the trip north

PHIL HUBLER—BLACK STAR

BERNARD GOTFRYD—Newsweek

An INS welcome to the United States: Millions of 'visitors' will never go home

id. "It's none of the INS's business how the marriage evolved," he says. "Even if the men paid for it, the bottom line is that it was consummated." The Greeks won.

Because U.S. law respects family ties above all others, an immigrant who obtains legal residence can usually drag in many relatives behind him. For instance, Maria Olina, a Salvadoran domestic, arrived 20 years ago and after receiving citizenship sent for her mother, brother and sister. Her mother then petitioned for two of her other daughters, her brother petitioned for his son, and her sister sent for her children. Now the Olinas number 20 or so—all legal. The Olinas who arrived as "immediate relatives" did not have to wait for visas and were not counted against their country's quota of permanent visas. Each year about 500,000 green cards are distributed to relatives, a nearly invisible element of immigration.

Mandarin Accountant: The illegal immigrant without close family ties has a tougher road. He needs a job in order to win permanent status through one of several preference categories, most of which have lengthy waiting lists. But the job itself is not enough to satisfy U.S. immigration officials; they want to see a published advertisement for the job, indicating that it requires the applicant's special qualifications, and they demand a letter from the employer swearing that the applicant was the best-qualified person he could find. Then a lawyer must submit all the paperwork to the Department of Labor for certification. In practice, this often becomes a paper charade in which the immigration lawyer drafts an ad that he hopes only his immigrant client can answer; newspapers are filled with such ads—for accountants who speak Mandarin or tutors who know Farsi folk songs. "That's what people are paying you for," says Houston immigration lawyer Beaumont Martin. "They're commissioning you to paint a great work of art."

Some immigration lawyers also develop a lucrative practice matching illegal aliens with people who need domestic help. "I work primarily with maids," says New York lawyer David Scheinfeld, pointing to a wall full of pictures of big-name politicians and movie stars. "I've gotten maids for all these people." Scheinfeld works to legalize their status but admits that the arrangement can lead to "indentured servitude." One of his clients, a Manhattan dowager, told him she liked Filipino maids because they "knew their place" and had a "slave mentality." Indians were also good because "they don't eat much." On a more positive note, some unions in fields employing many illegals—the garment industry, restaurants—provide them comprehensive legal services, despite organized labor's general opposition to employing illegal aliens.

Roughly one in three illegals who consult an immigration lawyer drops away after one visit—preferring life underground to jousting with the bureaucracy. But the INS is stretched so impossibly thin that immigration lawyers usually outmaneuver it. Deportation cases represent a paltry 1 percent of the immigration bar's total caseload, and a large number of them involve immigrants arrested for committing crimes. INS sweeps for illegal workers account for few arrests overall; their larger impact seems to be generating more fear among aliens—and a quick burst of business for the lawyers. "If the INS is quiet, then business is," says Mukamal. "Aliens don't come out of the woodwork unless they are bothered."

LESTER SLOAN—Newsweek

Hernandez: Asylum from Salvador?

Recently, the INS decided to fight back against the lawyers' principal weapon—delay, which attorneys use to buy time so that their clients can obtain spouses, good jobs or anything else that might win them better preference categories. The major stratagem for winning delay in recent years has been to apply for political asylum. Applications for asylum have spiked from 3,800 in 1979 to 178,000 today—clear evidence of a new lawyerly device at work. Last December the agency issued a rule that most immigrants fighting deportation would not be issued green cards during the long periods of litigation. But like most INS policies, that ruling itself is now being appealed in the courts.

Asylum Trap: Filing for political asylum is not always a good idea. Ana Prado, a Salvadoran domestic living in Houston, thought she was doing the right thing by explaining her need for asylum to authorities. She wasn't. While lawyers for immigrants from politically tranquil countries routinely apply for asylum and win delays, tens of thousands of aliens from El Salvador who sought asylum have been placed under deportation orders. Salvador Hernandez, caught near the Mexican border, is one of them. He fears being forced to return home to face the right-wing death squads: "If you stay there, you can be dead."

Ironically, most immigrants who want to get legal must in fact return home briefly. The law specifies that the process of obtaining permanent residence is not complete without an interview at the American Consulate in the country of origin. For Ramón López Carrillo, a supervisor at a California aircraft-parts factory, the return was a gratifying contrast to the arduous journey up. At 18, he slipped across the border and made his way to Los Angeles—only to be caught and deported before trying again. Now, 15 years and miles of red tape after he first emigrated, he is jetting to Mexico City for an appointment at the embassy. Soon, Ramón López will catch a flight back to the comfortable home he now owns in Los Angeles. On the way he may even fly over another group of illegal Koreans playing basketball and trying to blend in.

JONATHAN ALTER with JOSEPH CONTRERAS on the Mexican border, BARRY CAME in Bogotá, DANIEL PEDERSEN in Los Angeles, DANIEL SHAPIRO in Houston, SHAWN DOHERTY and DARRELL McWHORTER in New York

San Diego celebration. An easy mingling of two cultures.

The Disappearing Border

Riches, opportunity, the chance to reunite with loved ones. America is the symbol of it all to the millions of downtrodden Mexicans hungry for a better life.

Now sounds the march of new conquistadors in the American Southwest.

The heirs of Cortés and Coronado are rising again in the land their forebears took from the Indians and lost to the Americans. By might of numbers and strength of culture, Hispanics are changing the politics, economy and language in the U.S. states that border Mexico.

Their movement is, despite its quiet and largely peaceful nature, both an invasion and a revolt.

At the vanguard are those born here, whose roots are generations deep, who long endured Anglo dominance and rule and who are ascending within the U.S. system to take power they consider their birthright. Behind them comes an unstoppable mass—their kin from below the border who also claim ancestral homelands in the Southwest, which was the northern half of Mexico until the U.S. took it away in the mid-1800s. Like conquistadors of centuries past, they come in quest of fabled cities of gold. America's riches are pulling people all along the continent's Hispanic horn on a great migration to the place they call *El Norte.*

The force of this tide is felt as far north as New York and Chicago, where schools are filled with Hispanic children. Closer to Mexico, the impact is far stronger. Paul Ganster of San Diego State University calls it "the reconquest of California, Texas and the Southwest by Mexico—racially, biologically and culturally."

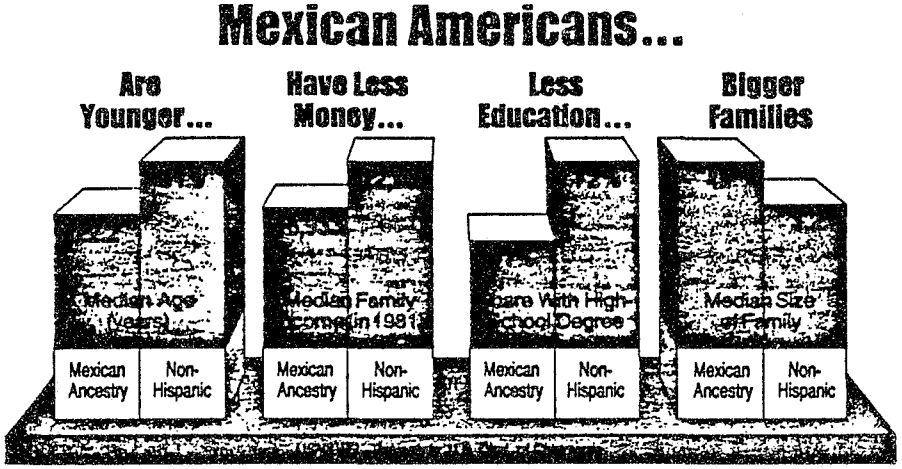
The push north stems from poverty at home. Mexico is an economic mess. Falling oil revenues make it hard to meet 26 billion dollars in loan obligations coming due to U.S. banks. With nearly half of all Mexicans unemployed or underemployed, more are sure to visit their rich Yankee neighbors. Already, by latest estimates, as many as 6 million illegal immigrants are in the U.S.—at least 60 percent of them from Mexico. Every day, thousands more sneak over a poorly guarded, 1,950-mile-long border.

"The Fourth Wave" is how the Urban Institute terms the flood of Mexicans and Asians coming both legally and illegally. The institute predicts this wave may be the largest ever to reach American cities, exceeding in numbers and impact the British, Irish and German immigrations of the mid-1800s, the Southern Europeans at the turn of the century and the mass movement of American blacks from the rural South to the urban North after World War II.

In 15 years, the Hispanic population in the U.S. has increased an estimated 60 percent to 18 million. It could top 27 million by the year 2000. Now more than 3,000 hold

office—2,100 of them Mexican Americans. "We hardly have to sue any more," quips voter-registration leader William Velasquez of San Antonio. "That old Texas tradition of stealing votes is dying away. One benefit of Mexican Americans getting in politics is that in some areas now they really count votes."

With 4 million voters nationwide, 2.5 million yet to be registered and 40 percent of their population 18 or younger, Hispanics are fast becoming a key factor in presidential politics. They are concentrated in nine states that control 193—or 71 percent—of the 270 electoral votes needed to elect a President. And they tend to vote in blocs.



The consequence of the Hispanic surge is just as profound on U.S. education, health and welfare. Hispanics are younger, poorer and less educated than most residents. Some 63 percent are under age 30, and 41 percent have only an elementary-school education or less. Financially, they are falling further behind the mainstream. In 1973, the median Hispanic family income was $19,538, and 2.4 million were in poverty. A decade later, their median family income was down to $16,956, and 4.2 million were living below the poverty level.

All this alarms many Americans. The rapid growth of the Hispanic population and the strains it may pose to social services are seen by some as signals that American folkways are endangered. Eleven states this year have considered laws to declare English their official language. California voters have approved a proposition urging that election ballots be printed in English only.

Such moves are a response to pervasive cultural changes along the border, where stores sell styrofoam tortilla warmers and Anglo bankers as well as Mexican fruit pickers speak "Spanglish," in which a car's clutch is *el clotch* and newspapers headline "*El Cowboy de la Cocaina.*" The fusing of language, habits and attitudes, too, seems inevitable. L. Ray Sadler of New Mexico State University observes: "Anglos and Hispanics play poker together, fish together, go hunting together and go to church together—and their kids marry each other."

Consequently, both business and government are bilingual in the borderlands. Budweiser, Crest toothpaste and even the U.S. Navy run ads in Spanish-language media. No wonder. The Hispanic share of the gross national product is 80 billion dollars.

This bite of the American pie irks the labor movement, which argues that illegal Mexican residents steal jobs from citizens. Unions say aliens fleeing poverty are willing to accept much less pay. In reaction to the outcry, bills have been introduced in Congress to punish U.S. employers who knowingly hire illegal aliens. Such measures also would toughen enforcement of immigration laws and create a free-trade zone 200 miles wide on both sides of the border—in hopes that increased economic opportunity will stem the flow. Similar measures have gotten nowhere in recent years, partly because they are opposed by the increasingly powerful Hispanic voting bloc.

Many farmers and businessmen also resist sanctions against illegal immigrants, who they say take low-paying jobs no Americans want. "You couldn't get your car clean in Southern California without them," asserts former Peace Corps Director Joseph Blatchford, who once was a captive of a carwash amid whirling brushes and sudsing soap when immigration agents raided and the help hightailed it over fences.

The Urban Institute found in a recent study that illegal aliens fuel the economy and do not deprive others of jobs. The Institute said that, despite the influx of Mexicans, Southern Californians can meet less than half of expected labor needs in this decade. It also determined that the presence of Mexican workers has led to higher profits for business and lower prices to consumers.

Workers from Mexico are a mainstay of the economy.

Another factor is that sealing borders could hurt both the U.S. and Mexico. Hispanic-rights activist Tony Bonilla argues: "Absent the safety valve we've been for Mexico, we could make it ripe for social revolution and greater Communist infiltration."

It is doubtful any barriers can fully stop the press of humanity determined to reach the land of opportunity. America has enormous symbolism for poor people the world over—especially to those closest to its borders. In Juárez in the evenings, a favorite pastime for the young is to burn a tire—for warmth and to signal a gathering point for slipping into the United States. As Rafael Valdivieso of the Hispanic Policy Development Project in Washington observes: "People listen to songs and stories, and they think the streets are paved with gold." □

By JOHN S. LANG with JEANNYE THORNTON

US MEXICO

On El Main Street, U.S.A., The Birth of a New Nation

Part Hispanic, part Anglo, the Southwest meshes customs and peoples to create a unique way of life. Its prime engine of change: A new wave of immigrants.

EL PASO

It is dawn in El Paso, and the border is coming alive.

José Martínez, with $172 in his pocket earned hauling cantaloupes, crouches behind bushes on Mexico's side of the Rio Grande. He wears jeans, high-top tennis shoes, a T-shirt bearing the logo of Tecate beer. Rolled into a bundle under his left arm are a green polyester suit, a frayed white shirt and a pair of scuffed patent-leather wingtips. "For when I get a job wearing a tie," he explains.

Martínez waits for a U.S. Border Patrol truck to complete its circuit along the other side. When it disappears, the teenager plunges into knee-deep water. His next stop is the Pablo Baray Apartments in El Paso, a tenement where waiting friends toast his crossing.

His arrival there an hour later is an unremarkable event that occurs thousands of times each day up and down a 1,950-mile border that stretches from struggling Brownsville, Tex., on the east to booming San Diego on the west. But with each newcomer, the line between Mexico and America, already as murky as the Rio Grande, blurs still further.

In the mid-1980s, America's southwestern frontier is well on its way toward becoming a new land that is neither truly Anglo nor truly Hispanic, a region like none other in the United States. What is emerging is a place of overlapping politics, culture and institutions—a place where even the language has begun to meld into "Spanglish" and where the economy turns on the sweat of tens of thousands of illegal aliens.

"Third country." Daily life, moving at a far different tempo than that of Main Street, U.S.A., is as much affected by events in Mexico City as in Washington. "Our southern frontier is not simply American on one side and Mexican on the other," wrote Tom Miller in his book *On the Border*. "It's a third country with its own identity . . . a colony unto itself, long and narrow, ruled by two faraway powers."

More state of mind than physical fact, the border has no real barrier to separate impoverished and dependent Mexico from its rich neighbor to the north. The check posts are there and lines on a map. But they mean little. To walk down any street or round any corner in El Paso, Las Cruces, N.M., or Nogales, Ariz., is to get the feel of going from the U.S. to Mexico and back again. Anglos and Hispanics alike refer to the area as *la frontera*, and to themselves as *fronterizos*. No other border in the world separates so much poverty from so much affluence.

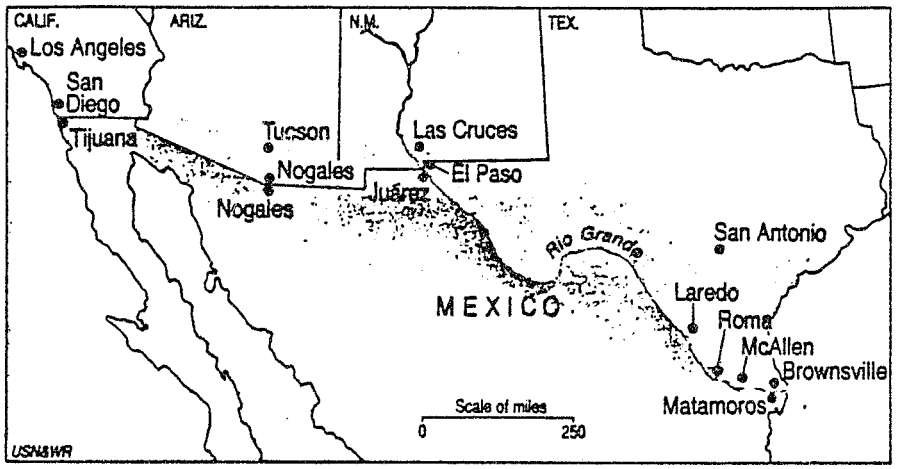
In still other places, such as the teeming Los Angeles barrios that house an army of Mexican factory workers, the life and language belie any notion of a melting pot.

It is a region of mountains, sagebrush desert and farmland. The awesome beauty of the Texas Big Bend country mixes with spaghetti-Western desolation in New Mexico. There are prosperous sun-belt cities such as San Antonio and Tucson, and dirt-poor *colonias*, where arrivals from Mexico crowd amid disease and squalor. These slums, it is said, are America's new Ellis Island.

To some, the area stands as a worrisome example of what

In the early morning, Mexicans wait for the right moment to cross the border.

more of America might experience unless the border is tightened. It is, they say, a chaotic place torn by a conflict of identity. But to others, it represents America's bright tomorrow—a place where minorities can scale the heights of commerce and politics and where the battle against racism, some say, has been won.



The New Arrivals

Any picture of day-to-day life in the border region, an area that contains nearly 60 percent of the nation's Hispanics, begins with illegal aliens like José Martinez. By estimates of the Border Patrol—the thin green line between the countries—there are 2 million illegal crossings a year.

In Texas, most are day workers such as maids, gardeners and laborers. They come across at dawn and go home to Mexico at nightfall. "We know where the police are watching," explains María Diaz, who mops floors in an El Paso office building. "But if you get caught, you try again. A week ago, I was caught three times. It means only that you will be late for work. But I have a nice boss. His mother lives in Juárez. He understands such matters."


DANNY LEHMAN

Of more interest to authorities are those who come to stay. No one knows for sure how many there are, although estimates range from 3 million to 6 million. While every large American city now has a sizable population of illegal immigrants, most live in the border states.

For those who come, the lure is the same: $50 earned in America can support a family of six for two weeks in rural Chihuahua state, where the minimum wage is $4 a day. "I go back to Mexico this time," says a 26-year-old bricklayer named Eduardo Diega soon after the Border Patrol catches him near El Paso's bus station. "Tomorrow, I try again to go to the city of Denver. There I make $200 a week, to send back to Hermosillo. There is no dishonor in this."

The Border Patrol concedes that Diega is right, that if he tries often enough, he will make it. For every Mexican caught—about a million a year since 1977—at least 2 more cross safely. Generally, the patrol must cover 10 miles of border with a dozen agents. Most of those apprehended are simply bused back to Mexico and told to stay there. Only those found carrying drugs or weapons, or from countries other than Mexico, are detained. "All we're doing," notes a veteran agent near Las Cruces, "is making a gesture. It's not really worth a damn."

The real answer to the problem, say law-enforcement officials, is legislation—now before Congress—to dry up the job market for undocumented workers. Its principal feature: Penalties on employers who knowingly hire illegal aliens.

Along the border, the measure is highly controversial. Tens of thousands of Mexicans are used on construction projects and to harvest crops. "If I had to pay Anglo wages to harvest my crops," says a grower near Vinton, Tex., "I'd go belly up. You would pay beef-filet prices for your salad."

Hurting When Mexico Hurts

Anyone who doubts Mexico's economic impact need only be on the border when the peso suddenly tumbles in value.

When this occurred in 1982, the result was a business nightmare. "We called it 'Black Thursday' when devaluation hit," recalls Chuck Snyder of the Laredo Convention and Visitors Council. "We had over 500 retail outlets close."

Unemployment rose to nearly 30 percent. Construction declined. Stores on the U.S. side were empty, as Mexicans stayed away and Americans crossed into Mexico to buy at rock-bottom prices. Scores of properties owned by Mexicans in places like McAllen, Tex., were auctioned. Banks were sent scurrying for borrowers in cities far from the

border. While the crisis is largely over, it is not forgotten. Paul Calapa, whose family owns a Brownsville clothing store just across the border from Matamoros, says an hour-to-hour sales fluctuation can be seen when news of a peso devaluation spreads.

Builders tracking Mexico's crumbling oil market—falling prices bode badly for that nation's economy—are rushing to complete projects. Thirty percent of the first luxury condominiums that developer William Burrow built at Padre Island, Tex., went to well-heeled Mexicans. Now he has few prospects from across the line.

Mutually dependent, the border economies are fragile. Yet the links steadily grow tighter. Tourism brings in well over a billion dollars annually to the region. Nogales, Ariz., estimates that it is 60 percent dependent on Mexican-American trade.

Cross-border shopping has become a way of life. Lupita Zuniga, born in the Mexican state of Sonora and now living in Nogales, Ariz., crosses to shop for meat, canned food, juices, liquor and other items that are cheaper on the Mexican side. Her relatives cross into the U.S. to buy milk, clothing and other specialty items. "My mother sometimes crosses the border nine times a day to get groceries and visit relatives," she says.

In recent years, the border economy has been shored up by American firms building plants in Mexico, where cheap labor makes products more competitive with foreign goods. On average, a Mexican worker costs $15,000-$18,000 less than an American would command in annual wages and benefits. Pay of 82 cents an hour is considered good. Further cutting costs is an arrangement by which raw materials are shipped duty-free to Mexico and the finished products taxed minimally on their return to the U.S. There are now 730 such plants employing 250,000. In Juárez alone, the payroll tops 70 million dollars a year.

The plants, however, are criticized by American union leaders who believe they depress wages on the U.S. side. But others, including most border mayors, contend that each job created on the Mexican side actually spawns two or three in the U.S. that pay the going rate.

The border economy is a mix of dire poverty and unbridled growth. While 15.2 percent of the U.S. population is considered impoverished, some border counties, such as Starr and Cameron in Texas, have in recent years suffered poverty rates ranging from 30 to 50 percent.

In contrast, surging San Diego is spurring development of homes and industrial parks all the way to the border, creating new opportunities for Mexicans seeking a better life in the U.S.

Troubled Partnership

While proximity to Mexico has fueled the economy of many border communities, it also has brought worries over pollution, drug running and strains on public services.

Nowhere is the transborder pollution problem more evident than in El Paso, whose dry, sunny climate traditionally has drawn many residents with respiratory problems. But now, if there is no wind, the sky takes on an orange haze by nightfall, and the air begins to smell of chemicals. El Paso is the only city in Texas that exceeds federal standards for four pollutants—ozone, carbon monoxide, particulates and lead.

Part of the problem is American made. The western part of El Paso is dominated by the tall smokestack of Asarco, Inc., a lead-and-copper-smelting operation whose emissions still contain large amounts of lead despite investment of 90 million dollars in pollution-control equipment. But part of the blame must go to neighboring Juárez, where environmental controls are even less stringent, and cars burn leaded gasoline. Carbon-monoxide fumes are so bad on bridges between the two cities that beggars have taken to wearing handkerchiefs over their faces as filters.

Despite the signing of cooperative pacts by Mexico and the United States—the latest only two years ago—the pollution problem is growing and now afflicts many border towns. In 1983, for instance, a stretch of beach near San Diego had to be closed after storms drove into American waters raw sewage that Mexico dumps off its coast, some of it containing industrial pollutants known to cause cancer.

Impact of large tax drains. For the past 20 years, San Diego has treated part of Tijuana's sewage at an annual cost to California taxpayers of 1 million dollars. Other border towns complain of similar drains on taxes to provide a range of services.

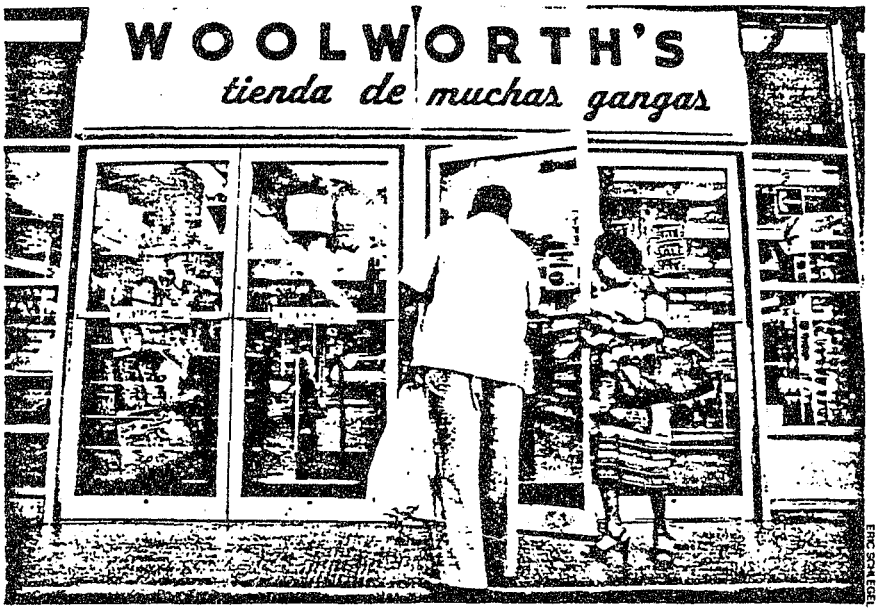
For Texas, the cost of educating more than 29,000 offspring of undocumented Mexican aliens is reckoned at 76 million dollars a year. A large part of the money goes to provide bilingual education for those who do not yet speak English. In Roma, Tex., a small border community between Rio Grande City and Laredo, 98 percent of the enrollment is Hispanic, and the district's annual 12-million-dollar budget is stretched thin with the addition of about 200 more students each year.

Hospitals also strain to meet the influx of needy newcomers. During the first five months of 1985, Memorial General Hospital in Las Cruces delivered some 45 infants free of charge to illegal alien parents. Each infant cost local taxpayers $1,400. In Los Angeles County, where illegal immigrants are thought to account for 13 percent of the 7.9 million residents, officials estimate that health-care costs for aliens top 100 million dollars a year.

Law enforcement is another burden, but one borne by more than the cities. Washington is pumping many millions

She's Irish; he's Hispanic. Intermarriage is nothing new in San Antonio.

TIMOTHY A. MURPHY—USN&WR



Street scenes and store signs carry a bilingual message.

into a crackdown on drug running that has paid major dividends. Mexico's share of the U.S. heroin market has dwindled from an estimated 90 percent 10 years ago to about a third at the present time. Even so, officials believe Mexico still ships well over a ton of heroin to America each year and serves as the main conduit for a third of the cocaine.

Men carrying loads of marijuana and other drugs on their backs—"mules"—regularly cross the border west of El Paso, moving through mesquite scrub to pickup points on a maze of rural dirt roads around the small town of Vinton.

Power at the Polls

For much of its history, the border region had a class system only slightly less rigid than medieval peonage. The white man shaped politics to his taste, which meant exclusion of Mexicans. That era of rampant discrimination ended with the civil-rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s. The congressional district that includes San Antonio sent a Hispanic to the U.S. House in 1961, followed three years later by election of a Hispanic House member from the Rio Grande region.

In New Mexico, by the mid-1970s, Hispanics were able to elect statewide candidates in their own right. Prior to that, the political establishment had "balanced" tickets by putting a chosen Hispanic alongside Anglo nominees.

Today, along the border, cars driven by Hispanics sport bumper stickers declaring, "*Sí se puede,*" Spanish for "Yes we can." Hispanic voting power is recognized both in the Southwest and in Washington as a growing political force. One example: Hispanic groups, threatening to retaliate at the polls, led the 1984 drive that derailed immigration legislation known as the Simpson-Mazzoli bill.

This electoral muscle, heavily Democratic, is felt at every political level. There are 13 Hispanic members of Congress, and 3,000 other Hispanics holding elective office, including the governorship of New Mexico and the mayor's job in San Antonio and Denver. The figure, double the number in office only 10 years ago, is climbing as Hispanics prevail in lawsuits aimed at abolishing at-large representation when it is found to discriminate against them.

The voter rolls of several counties in south Texas and New Mexico, where few Hispanics were registered 30 years ago, are now 90 percent Hispanic.

"It is not unusual to have them not only more registered than Anglos but to have a higher turnout at the polls," declares William Velasquez, head of the Southwest Voter Registration Education Project.

A Cultural Blend

In Laredo, a singularly American event—Washington's birthday—brings into focus the meshing of two cultures. It features a *Noche Mexicana,* with Latin entertainment. In the pageant depicting America's founding, George and Martha are as likely to be portrayed by a Longoria or Zuniga as by a Powell or Foster.

"A lot of Americans can't understand why a bunch of Mexicans on the border would celebrate George Washington's birthday," says Velia Uribe, director of the four-day annual celebration. "The Latins have their heroes—Simon Bolivar and others—who fought for independence, and here comes George, who broke away from Great Britain."

Along the border, what is Anglo is partly Hispanic, and what is Hispanic is partly Anglo. In El Paso—63 percent of the population is of Spanish descent—crowds cheer when the U.S. flag is paraded across a stage, then cheer just as lustily for the Mexican banner.

Undercurrents of tension occasionally surface. Hispanic leaders the length of the border complain about subtle prejudice. But, over all, residents seem to mix easily in an atmosphere of tolerance. Intermarriage has become commonplace. In Nogales, most residents have Mexican ancestry and many have relatives in Mexico. "There are a lot of people with blond hair speaking Spanish," says former Mayor F. D. Fontes, whose two sons married non-Hispanics.

"I cite New Mexico as an example of how cultures can live together and prosper," says New Mexico's Governor Toney Anaya. "But it's not all peaches and cream. Courts have thrown out reapportionment plans here and criticized the Legislature for a bigoted approach in some counties."

The use of Spanish is fast becoming a necessity. Some experts believe that about 20 percent of the Anglo population is now bilingual. Many hospitals require bilingual skills, and most law-enforcement agencies insist that officers have at least a working knowledge of Spanish. It is rare to meet a border lawyer—or politician—who speaks no Spanish.

Some Hispanics feel a tension between their lives in America and their roots in Mexico. "Maybe Saturday and Sunday you are a Chicano, and Monday through Friday you are Anglo. It becomes very hard," says Rosa Guerrero, an educational consultant in El Paso. "Our people tell us, 'You speak too much English—you are losing your origins.' Yet Anglos are pressuring us to be what we call in Segundo Barrio a *Tío Taco*—an Uncle Taco, like your Uncle Tom."

There is also a growing class consciousness among Mexican Americans. Lines are drawn between newcomers and those descended from the region's original Spanish settlers. "The old-time Spanish resident with history and ties here is more apt to relate to an Anglo at his level, and not to a peasant who is a recent arrival from Mexico," says City Manager Dana A. Miller of Las Cruces.

Such nuances are part of the complex fabric of a unique region, one that is both on the frontier of social change in America and at the doorstep of a troubled nation brimming with restless people. □

By WILLIAM L. CHAZE with SARAH PETERSON, GORDON WITKIN and STEVE L. HAWKINS of the domestic bureaus

PHOTOS BY DEREK DEBONO FOR USN&WR

With so many off to America, Opopeo seems all but deserted.

The Desolate Village They Left Behind

It's not quite a ghost town, but the lifeblood of a tiny community flows northward in search of prosperity.

OPOPEO, Mexico

Every year after planting their corn in May, the young men of this poor farming town deep in central Mexico set off on a 1,300-mile journey.

By pairs and groups of 10 or more, they go north on Opopeo's one paved road heading for the U.S. border, where they slip across in search of jobs.

Most are back by fall to harvest the crop and take part in the October 7 celebration of the town's patron, the Virgin of the Rosary. "They go because we are poor," says Marta Lucas, who has three of six sons in the United States. "Here we have nothing to live from. Here there are no factories. There is nothing but farming. In these three months there is no work."

For the past three years, one of her sons has gotten a call on Opopeo's only telephone from his *patrón* in California, who tells him when to come and how many friends to bring.

"He calls one night, and the next day my son is gone," says Lucas. Normally, her son takes up to 15 friends, but this year his boss told him to bring only four others because the harvest is bad.

In past years, Lucas's son has sent his wife $300 a month—about three times what the minimum wage would bring in Mexico. This year, less money is being mailed home.

Across the street, all five sons of Lucas's neighbors are now "on the other side." Even the mayor, Florentino Pérez, has two of his seven sons working across the border illegally.

"I went every year myself until they made me this," says Pérez, referring to his job as mayor.

Today, there are almost no men between ages 20 and 30 to be found in this town of 12,000. A visitor in midsummer sees mostly women carrying food or babies wrapped in striped shawls along the rock-paved streets. Older men in stained cowboy hats stand in the central plaza, a weed-grown square, with little to do. To find someone to dance with on a Saturday night, some 20 young women climb into a pickup truck and ride to a party miles to the south.

For all the sacrifices in sending

young men north, there are scant signs of wealth in this huddle of one-story concrete-and-adobe buildings with peeling paint and dangling signs.

Residents do not carry around tape decks or radios or wear American-bought clothes. About the only signs of U.S. consumerism are several men sporting baseball caps with emblems such as "Foxy the Nunes Company."

No one here knows exactly how many townsmen are currently in the U.S., and neither local nor state governments keep statistics. Mayor Pérez guesses 300 to 400 are gone.

Based on the most conservative estimates, some 10 percent of the 3,000 heads of families in this town, located 225 miles west of Mexico City in a mountainous region, are illegally in the United States. Some estimates put the figure as high as 30 percent.

The men rarely advise anyone but their immediate families when they leave, although sometimes they ask the village priest for his blessing. A few take their wives, but no one can remember a woman going north alone.

The Opopeo men are among the 750,000 Mexicans that the Colegio de México calculates travel to the U.S. for an average six-month stay. That figure does not include 1 million other Mexicans that the college believes live habitually in the U.S. without papers.

The surrounding state of Michoacán and nearby states of Guanajuato and Jalisco send the largest number of Mexicans north in search of work. The reason, says a researcher at the Colegio de México, is that these states have far too many people for the meager land to support.

The sons of Román Angel, a 61-year-old night watchman, are a case in point. One is co-owner of Opopeo's popsicle shop. The other three, age 19, 22 and 28, could find only occasional jobs as construction workers here, and now they are in the U.S.

This year, none has sent any money home, although they have been gone six weeks. Angel's daughter-in-law gets by stringing the straw seats and backs of rustic pine chairs made in the town's only cottage industry. Most families make their living here at the furniture shop or by growing corn in surrounding communal lands, called *ejidos*.

A few hold jobs at the furniture shop.

Even worse off economically are the Indians of southern Mexico. Yet they rarely go to the U.S., probably because they lack the networks that help other Mexicans find jobs or the resources necessary to get across the border.

Opopeo's leaders have no estimate of the income level here or of how much pay the undocumented workers contribute to the town. Figuring earnings is complicated by the fact that thousands of money orders sent from the United States are lost or stolen in the mail.

"Some make a good deal of money," says Mayor Pérez, who also notes that others fail to find steady work and earn just enough to get by or sometimes only enough to pay their passage home.

Yet he thinks many return with $2,500 and others with as much as $5,000. In contrast, a minimum-wage earner in Mexico, working 240 days last year, would have earned $1,080.

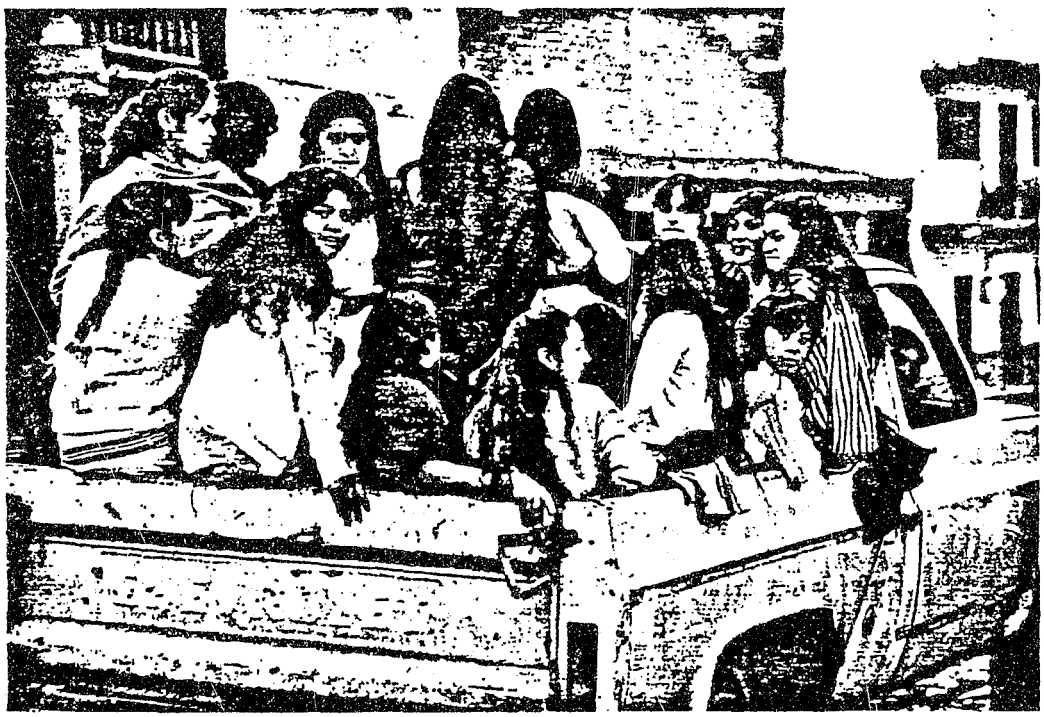
Economic impact. Research by the Colegio de México finds that undocumented workers contributed some 1.8 billion dollars to Mexico's economy in 1984. That's almost 10 percent of the nearly 22 billion dollars Mexico earned from its exports and only slightly less than the 1.9 billion earned from tourism.

Mexican researchers say there are about 100 towns in Mexico where undocumented workers contribute half of the village income.

"If there were a severe immigration restriction, we're talking about severe economic dislocation in those communities," says Mexican economist Jaime Arángois. The United States, he adds, is "an escape valve for overpopulation in this region. The resources just are not sufficient. More people are not needed in fishing or agriculture."

Opopeo's priest, Father Diego Peña, puts it more simply. "The people are poor. They live from what they plant—corn. But there are people who have nothing to eat today."

Father Peña says that to help pay the $1,500 cost of Opopeo's Virgin of the Rosary celebration, men working in the States sent home $375. Even those who go to stay in the U.S., says the priest, do not forget the town, its traditions and its needs. □



The man shortage. Young women travel to neighboring town for a party.

By JANE BUSSEY on special assignment for the magazine

US MEXICO

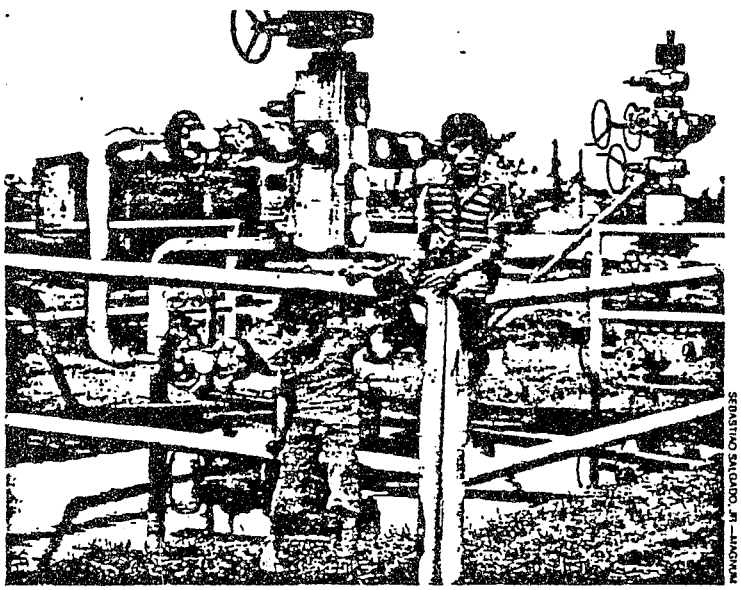
A Sick Economy That Drives Out Mexico's Poor

Few jobs, an oil bust and falling living standards. It is a formula that spells exodus for thousands.

The Mexicans streaming across the border are fleeing an ailing economy that could become even more feeble.

Three years after Mexico's plunge into a severe economic crisis, hopes for a revival are being shattered. Tumbling oil prices, a prime source of revenues, and the government's new austerity program are likely to bring more hard times to a nation that has suffered a 40 percent decline in living standards since 1982. "Our country may become poorer and poorer, and our people will have to endure it," says a Mexican official.

Now, the country faces this dilemma: Risk recession by cooling off the economy, or risk higher inflation and interest rates that would alarm international lenders. President Miguel de la Madrid, whose party won nationwide elections in July, apparently has decided to take his chances with a downturn. After the elections, he announced tough new controls intended to check inflation.



SEBASTIAO SALGADO—MAGNUM

Bleak future? Children play in a Mexican oil field.

Mexico's dimming economic prospects amount to the collapse of a dream. In the late 1970s, the nation set out to put its newfound oil riches to work building an industrial base that would generate new jobs for its rapidly expanding population. With oil prices high, Mexico found banks in the U.S. and the rest of the world willing to lend vast sums of money to finance construction of roads, dams and power plants, as well as social needs.

The flood of money touched off a boom, but it overheated the economy, driving up prices. The bubble burst in 1982 as the first slide in oil prices exposed the weaknesses in Mexico's economy, especially the difficulty of meeting payments on massive debts.

Just this year, the government got lenders to go along with repayment delays for 44 billion dollars in loans that had been due between 1982 and 1990. Although banks granted lower interest rates, Mexico still must pay interest on the debt, an obligation threatened by falling oil prices.

Mexican crude, which sold for $34 a barrel in 1981, now commands only $24.50 a barrel. The price has been reduced three times so far in 1985. Oil is likely to contribute a disappointing 13 billion dollars to the national treasury by the end of this year, down from the 16 billion officials had expected and barely enough to pay interest on the external debt.

The oil bust isn't the only worry. Decades of land redistribution have divided Mexico's farms into small, inefficient parcels. Output is so meager that Mexico will have to import as much as 3 billion dollars' worth of U.S. farm products, up from 240 million in 1977. Mexico's farmers, tired of trying to eke out a living from the soil under a system that limits prices, are moving to cities, scrambling for jobs that were already scarce.

Inefficient Mexican industry, bloated by years of government subsidies, can't begin to meet the needs of a labor force growing by nearly 1 million each year. The highly successful *maquiladores*—plants just south of the border that use Mexican workers to produce goods for U.S. firms—employ only about 250,000 people in a labor force of 22 million. To force native manufacturers to become more competitive with foreign firms, the government recently took steps to open up its markets by lowering tariffs. But this could add to Mexico's woes in the short run by raising imports.

Economic shocks are almost sure to follow the government's new campaign to tame inflation by braking an economy that de la Madrid pumped up to enhance his party's chances at the polls.

The government's spending spree helped push real economic growth ahead by 6 percent so far this year—double the government's target—causing higher prices and soaring interest rates. "We were going a little too fast," admits Finance Minister Jesús Silva.

To gain control, de la Madrid announced new budget cuts. He eliminated the jobs of 15 top officials and their staffs, froze salaries and chopped funds for telephones and travel. The President himself took a 10 percent pay cut.

All told, the government trimmed only 410 million from its 51-billion-dollar budget for 1985—but promised bigger cuts in 1986. To curtail imports, Mexico is allowing the peso to float to its free-market value. "They have to devalue to make their exports more attractive and cut down on imports," says Gilbert Cardenas, an economist at Pan American University.

In addition, the Bank of Mexico, the country's central bank, tightened up on money growth in June. Bank lending is now under stiff controls.

"In theory, the austerity measures should be able to help Mexico," Cardenas points out. "The President means well, but unless he can control inflation, everything becomes self-defeating."

One reason for austerity is the need to bolster the confidence of American banks, which hold 26 billion dollars in Mexican debt. The bankers and the International Monetary Fund push debtor nations to put their economic houses in order. The prescription usually calls for reducing government spending and expensive subsidies.

Mexico's recent misfortunes are sapping its people's confidence in the future. During the 1960s and 1970s, the economy grew at an average of 6 percent a year. Many Mexicans felt that conditions would be better for their children, even if they still lived in misery. Now, facing little but hardship ahead, more Mexicans are likely to decide their only hope lies across the border in the United States. □

By RICHARD ALM and CARL J. MIGDAIL

Success in U.S., Stranger in Land Of His Roots

From Richard Rodriguez, author of *Hunger of Memory*, comes a bittersweet look at the land of his ancestors.

What I knew that day in Mexico is that I am not a Mexican. What I learned is that I must match Mexico's seriousness.

A few weeks ago, I was in San Diego on business. I found myself on a Sunday with nothing to do. I thought of looking around the Salk Institute in La Jolla, that splendid hive facing the sea.

But then I thought of Mexico.

I have published essays that were interested in Mexico. But in truth I am haunted by Mexico. A Mexican American, more gringo than Mexican, I had measured my life against a country that both of my parents fled. As much as you could be, I am afraid of Mexico; it is a mystery, a profanity.

The signs on Interstate 5 turn cautionary, announcing the international border. A sloped roof is painted with an advertisement for Mexico insurance, while ahead Mexico looms, a bank of gray houses on brown hills.

Tijuana faces north, toward America. San Diego stares resolutely out to sea. San Diego is busy, clean. Tijuana is fabled, more or less—one of the world's great cities of desire. It was created by the Mexican's desire for America. It is the gangplank for illegal immigrants. For the American Navy, "TJ" is the sailor's rest, a gambling town, whore town. For the gringos, it is perhaps the ideal tourist town. A quick shot. A measured thrill of the foreign, Disney Calcutta. Bullfights. Foreign tongue. Unmetered taxis. Vague danger.

I stand for a while on the American side. My eye follows a Border Patrol jeep down a mountain road. In front of me, blond teenagers are returning from Mexico, as though from some state fair, lugging baskets of clay pots and *piñatas* and dolls.

Oh, I have traveled in Mexico. As a boy, I went with my parents to visit our relatives. My father kept a sheaf of papers always on his person. These were his children's birth certificates—to get us back into America.

I approach a Border Guard with my driver's license extended. Will I have any trouble getting back—I don't have my passport? The guard seems surprised by my question. "Are you an American citizen? Then you won't need a thing."

There is a turnstile. There is a concrete bridge "between good neighbors," needing paint. Immediately, there is something to buy. Stalls, rows of identical merchandise, none surpassing. Rugs, plaster naked ladies, Madonnas, gnomes.

To get into town, you need a cab. The cabbie knows in an instant that my Spanish is fake. His reply is in English: "Five dollars downtown." When we get downtown, he indicates with a circular gesture of the hand "*El* Main Street."

MICKEY PFLEGER

Rodriguez: "In truth, I am haunted by Mexico."

On Tijuana's main drag, it is easy to spot Mexican American families in the crowd. Like me, the Mexican Americans carry an American slouch. Bermuda shorts. They dress differently from Mexico. They are taller, less heavy. They speak English to each other, and to Mexicans they speak Spanish, but they have lost the confidence of it.

My mother has always said that Tijuana is not to be trusted. Tijuana is not Mexico. And it is true, in a way. Tijuana is not the Mexico of skyscraper cities or noble ruins or colonial villages. But Tijuana is truly a Third World capital, deepest Mexico.

I cut away from the main street and head for the towers of a Catholic church. The government's party, the perennial PRI, is handing out promises at a rally up the corner. Peasant faces listen impassively with no hint of derision, no hint of belief.

The church is wide open, crowded at midafternoon, though it isn't mass time. One is quite free in a Mexican church to do as one likes. I sit for a while and watch a young man with a straw hat in his hand gazing up at a picture of Mary. Old women sit in silence. Children stare at the ceiling. Young men stand near the door. I look at my watch. These are people at ease with eternity. But I am an American. I get up and leave.

I wander around for a while. I am very thirsty. Everywhere I see fruit juices, the colors of calcified paints, brilliant syrups, translucent candies, wedges of pineapple, slices of melon. All are tempting, all are inedible. But Mexicans bite and lick and chew and swallow.

Tijuana becomes a dream-walk city, a city of staring eyes. What do they make of my cautious way? What do they know of me? That I am a border crosser?

I have choices. Whenever I pause over merchandise, I am asked if I want to buy. I have money to spend; I am not Mexico.

An old lady sits under a tree of paper flowers, each branch a stick with one bloom, each bloom for sale. An Indian woman sits on the sidewalk with her hand extended over her head, the palm open. She is begging. She is disinterested, perhaps because starvation is eloquent. I watch the hand for a moment. It is undulating slightly, like a cobra. If I put pressure on that palm, I will wake up the eyes. I dare not look into her eyes. I turn away.

I don't wait to barter my way onto a cab. I just get in and sit close to the open window, feeling the wind as the car rushes back toward America. But already I know that the old tourist trick of turning one's back on Mexico is not going to work.

Back at the border, the tourists are tired. They will not look at the stalls. They will not consider the snow cones, the green, the blood-red. At the exit for Mexico, a tiny boy sings a full-throated, raw lament—like a memorized prayer, a sentimental love song. Both hands are extended, palms open. And the tourists pay *him*. They put coins in his hands, even his pockets. But the boy does not stop singing. He does not let them look into his eyes. They cannot make him smile. □

Illegal Mexican Workers "Should Not Be Exploited"

The seemingly endless flow of undocumented laborers into the U.S. remains a sore point between the two countries.

Interview With John Gavin, U.S. Ambassador to Mexico

Q. Mr. Ambassador, is the flood of illegal aliens hurting U.S.-Mexican relations?

A No, it is not. Our relations continue to be respectful and friendly. But the immigration issue is, of course, a difficult one. It is one that we have to treat, on both sides of the border, with care and dignity. Mexican workers coming to the United States should not be exploited. We believe, as do Mexicans, that their human rights should be protected. But we also believe it is important to have control over our own territory.

Q. Why the recent surge in numbers?

A Traditionally, the flow of Mexican workers to the United States has been a safety valve for Mexico. The fact is, however, that it is obviously a symbiotic situation. Although there are complaints about the strains that illegal aliens put on hospitals, schools and other services, many businesses in the U.S.—both in industry and agriculture—say they desperately need these workers.

Now, with the Mexican economy suffering, there are increased pressures for people to go north to get jobs. Only 600,000 new jobs are created each year in Mexico, while 900,000 new people come into the labor market. And while the rate of population growth has declined somewhat, estimates are that there will easily be 150 million Mexicans by the middle of the next century—up from 78 million now. There is already considerable unemployment and even greater underemployment. What Mexico needs to do is to create wealth in order to create jobs.

Q. What sort of immigration policies would you like to see from Congress?

A I would like to see more done by regulation and less by legislation. If certain industries need workers from other countries, such as Mexico, then we ought to have responsible, properly regulated guest-worker programs. These people should be allowed to work with dignity—not be exploited—and then return to their own countries.

Q. Would you recommend a substantial boost in legal immigration from Mexico?

A That has to be considered, and I hope it will be. Now the quota for Mexican immigrants is 20,000 a year, but by using unused portions of other quotas such as Canada's, the number is close to 40,000.

Q. Why can't the Mexican economy provide enough opportunity for its people?

A A major factor was Mexico's decision to depart from its traditional policy of importing capital and to concentrate on developing its resources through loans. That happened when oil became a big factor in the economy. Counting on revenue from its petroleum reserves, Mexico felt that it could keep increasing its foreign debt. But instead of creating efficient jobs, this policy has tended to protect inefficient ones and to add to the nation's debt. Now Mexico desperately needs new investment, either its own or from outside the country.

Q. Would Mexico benefit by giving more incentives to attract U.S. industries?

A I personally believe so, but the Mexican authorities always have to walk gingerly when you talk about foreign investment, particularly from the United States. There is a vociferous left here that does not want to see any kind of closer connection to the U.S. It's a great shame. You get the feeling that they would rather see their country not prosper than to have it forge closer ties with the United States.

Q. Is Mexico doing enough to stop drug trafficking across the border?

A For a number of years we have had a very positive program of cooperation and collaboration on this issue. It's had its ups and downs, but I feel confident that the President of Mexico wants to do everything he can to eliminate this horrendous problem, which he quite properly has called a cancer in both our societies. Yet neither one of us can ever be satisfied until the problem is eliminated.

Q. With reports of violence earlier this year, is Mexico safe for American tourists?

A We have been concerned for some time about the safety of American citizens in certain areas of Mexico. There have been violent crimes involving murder, rape and armed robbery. In some cases local authorities have failed to act expeditiously to prevent or to investigate these crimes.

My embassy colleagues and I have worked diligently over the past year to convince responsible Mexican authorities to take the necessary measures, and I am pleased to tell you that we have made a considerable amount of progress. We are getting cooperation from many authorities but unfortunately not from all. Much more remains to be done. I want to stress, however, that neither the U.S. government nor this embassy has ever mounted a campaign to harm Mexican tourism, contrary to slanders that have appeared in the Mexican press. These lies fall of their own weight.

Q. Should Mexico take more action to stem Marxism in Central America?

A President de la Madrid and other responsible Mexicans do not want to see a Communist regime in Central America. I believe that Mexico and the U.S. have the same goals in Central America. The problem is that sometimes we try to reach those goals via different avenues. The important thing is to come closer together on the methods because the goals are noble ones that we both not only want but need. □

DARNELL MCKEE—USN&WR

John Gavin, 53, was appointed chief envoy to Mexico in April, 1981. A special adviser to the secretary general of the Organization of American States for 12 years, he is a former Screen Actors Guild president and speaks fluent Spanish.