

Notes

Abbreviations

COIN Committee on Immigration and Naturalization
CR *Congressional Record*

Chapter 1

1. Elizabeth Meehan, *Citizenship and the European Community* (London: Sage, 1993).

2. On erosion, see Richard J. Barnet and Ronald E. Muller, *Global Reach* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1974); John Herz, "The Rise and Demise of the Territorial State," *World Politics* 9/4 (July 1957), 473–93; Jarat Chopra and Thomas Weiss, "Sovereignty is No Longer Sacrosanct," *Ethics and International Affairs* 6 (1992), 95–117; Jean-Marie Guehenno, *The End of the Nation-State* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1995); Robin Brown, "Globalization and the End of the National Project," *Boundaries in Question*, ed. John MacMillan and Andrew Linklater (New York: Pinter, 1995), 54–68; Vincent Cable, "The Diminished Nation-State: A Study in the Loss of Economic Power," *Daedalus* 124/2 (spring 1995), 23–53; Walter B. Wriston, "Technology and Sovereignty," *Foreign Affairs* 67/2 (winter 1988/89), 63–75; Saskia Sassen, *Losing Control?* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996); in opposition, Janice E. Thomson and Stephen D. Krasner, "Global Transactions and the Consolidation of Sovereignty," *Global Changes and Theoretical Challenges*, ed. Ernst-Otto Czempiel and James N. Rosenau (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1989), 195–219. There are thousands of popular and scholarly treatises on this theme, in addition to the large literature focusing on the loss of sovereignty in the European Union (Community). Even E. H. Carr, in *The Twenty Years' Crisis*, foresaw the end of the nation-state (viii)!

3. Friedrich Kratochwil, "Of Systems, Boundaries, and Territoriality," *World Politics* 39 (October 1986), 27–52.

4. For discussions of the origins and nature of sovereignty, see F. H. Hinsley, *Sovereignty*, 2d ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Stephen D. Krasner, "Sovereignty: An Institutional Perspective," *Comparative Political Studies* 21/1 (April 1988) and "Westphalia and All That," *Ideas and Foreign Policy: Beliefs, Institutions, and Political Change*, ed. Judith Goldstein and Robert Keo-

hane (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 235–64; Hendrik Spruyt, *The Sovereign State and Its Competitors* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).

5. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), articles 13(2), 15(1), 14(1).

6. Joan Biskupic and William Branigin, “Court Curbs Free Speech of Illegal Immigrants,” *Washington Post* (25 February 1999), A1.

7. For discussions of territoriality, see Ivo Duchacek, *The Territorial Dimension of Politics—Within, Among, and Across Nations* (Boulder: Westview, 1988); John Gerard Ruggie, “Territoriality and Beyond,” *International Organization* 47/1 (winter 1993).

8. Aristide Zolberg, “International Migration Policies in a Changing World System,” *Human Migrations: Patterns and Policies*, ed. William H. McNeill and Ruth S. Adams (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978), 241–86.

9. T. H. Marshall, *Class, Citizenship, and Social Development: Essays* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1964).

10. See, for example, Charles Keely, “Immigration Composition and Population Policy,” *Science* 185/4151 (16 August 1974), 587–93; David M. Reimers, “Recent Immigration Policy: An Analysis,” *The Gateway*, ed. Barry Chiswick (Washington, DC: American Enterprise Institute, 1982), 13–53; Elizabeth Midgley, “Comings and Goings in Immigration Policy,” *The Unavoidable Issue*, ed. Mark Miller (Philadelphia: ISHI, 1983), 41–69; Gary Freeman, “Migration and the Political Economy of the Welfare State,” *Annals* (AAPSS) 485 (May 1986), 51–63; “Race, Votes and Power: The Numbers Game,” *Economist* (26 December 1987), 63–66; Maldwyn Allen Jones, *American Immigration*, 2d ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); Francis Fukuyama, “Immigrants and Family Values,” *Commentary* (May 1993), 26–32; Debra DeLaet, “Interest Group Politics, U.S. Immigration Policy, and Globalization,” presented to International Studies Association Meetings, February 1995; Thomas Espenshade and Katherine Hempstead, “Contemporary American Attitudes toward U.S. Immigration,” *International Migration Review* 30/2 (summer 1996), 535–70.

11. On political argument, see Brian Barry, *Political Argument* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990); Giandomenico Majone, *Evidence, Argument and Persuasion in the Policy Process* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).

12. Two other analyses of arguments, specifically about different others, are William Lee Miller, *Arguing about Slavery* (New York: Knopf, 1995), and Stephen Riggins, ed., *The Language and Politics of Exclusion* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1997).

13. David R. Cameron, “Public Expenditure and Economic Performance in International Perspective,” *The Future of Welfare*, ed. Rudolf Klein and Michael O’Higgins (New York: Basil Blackwell, 1985), 17.

14. Together these are about three-quarters of federal social service spending. Robert Morris, “Re-thinking Welfare in the United States: The Welfare State in Transition,” *Modern Welfare States: A Comparative View of Trends and Prospects*, ed. Robert R. Friedmann et al. (Sussex, England: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1987), table p. 85.

15. In fact, other studies of American immigration have adopted this puzzle: how can a liberal country justify keeping anyone out? See James F. Hollifield, *Immigrants, Markets and States* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), and Gary Freeman, “Can Liberal States Control Unwanted Migration?” *Annals* (AAPSS) 534 (July 1994), 17–30. This approach also fuels much of the writing on migration and ethics, such as the work of Joseph Carens and Robert Goodin. Christian Joppke similarly asks why actual levels of immigration exceed the levels declared in policy, in his view a liberal outcome that needs explanation: “Why Liberal States Accept Unwanted Immigration,” *World Politics* 50 (January 1998), 266–93.

16. Fredrik Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference*, ed. Fredrik Barth (Boston: Little, Brown, 1969).

17. Matthew Evangelista, *Innovation and the Arms Race* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988); Alastair Iain Johnston, *Cultural Realism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995).

18. Work on sovereignty in this tradition includes John Gerard Ruggie, “Continuity and Transformation in the World Polity,” *World Politics* 35 (1983), 261–85; Alexander Wendt, “The Agent-Structure Problem in International Relations Theory,” *International Organization* 41 (1987), 335–70; Alexander Wendt, “Collective Identity Formation and the International State,” *American Political Science Review* 88 (1994), 384–96; Thomas J. Biersteker and Cynthia Weber, eds., *State Sovereignty as Social Construct* (New York: Cambridge, 1996).

Chapter 2

1. The uses of rationality here follow those originally put by Weber: instrumental rationality looks to reasons for the means to an end, value rationality looks to the principles that guide moral action, and traditional rationality looks to what has been done in the past to provide a reason for current behavior. “Types of Social Action,” *Economy and Society*, ed. Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), 24–25.

2. Richard Dagger, “Politics and the Pursuit of Autonomy,” *Justification*, ed. J. Roland Pennock (New York: New York University Press, 1986), 271.

3. Giandomenico Majone, *Evidence, Argument, and Persuasion in the Policy Process* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 29.

4. John Dewey, *Democracy and Education* (New York: Free Press, 1944). This was proposed more recently by Robert Reich: “Politics . . . should entail the creation of contexts in which people can critically evaluate and revise what they believe.” Robert B. Reich, “Introduction,” *The Power of Public Ideas* (Cambridge, MA: Ballinger, 1988), 6.

5. Talcott Parsons, “The Role of Ideas in Social Action,” *Essays in Sociological Theory*, rev. ed. (Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1954), 29–30.

6. The idea of issue-framing is discussed in Amos Tversky and Daniel Kahneman, “The Framing of Decisions and the Psychology of Choice,” *Rational*

Choice, ed. Jon Elster (New York: New York University Press, 1986). Judith Goldstein and Robert Keohane refer to metaphorical road maps in Judith Goldstein and Robert O. Keohane, “Ideas and Foreign Policy: An Analytical Framework,” in *Ideas and Foreign Policy: Beliefs, Institutions, and Political Change* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 3–30.

7. Albert O. Hirshman, *The Rhetoric of Reaction: Perversity, Futility, Jeopardy* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap, 1991).

8. Judith Goldstein and Robert O. Keohane distinguish causal beliefs from worldviews and principled beliefs, and argue that each can affect behavior by serving as a road map, by defining an equilibrium point, or by becoming embedded in institutions. Their schema is set up to address how ideas can delimit the options that a rational decision-maker would consider, rather than to explain how social debate creates ideas or why one is selected. See their “Ideas and Foreign Policy: An Analytical Framework,” in *Ideas and Foreign Policy: Beliefs, Institutions, and Political Change* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 7, 10.

9. Kathryn Sikkink, *Ideas and Institutions: Developmentalism in Brazil and Argentina* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 6.

10. Giandomenico Majone, *Evidence, Argument and Persuasion in the Policy Process* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 31.

11. Brian Barry, *Political Argument* (New York: Humanities Press, 1965), 190. Virginia Held discusses three dominant views about how the public interest ought to be determined in *The Public Interest and Individual Interests* (New York: Basic Books, 1970).

12. C. W. Casinelli, “The Public Interest in Political Ethics,” *The Public Interest*, ed. Carl J. Friedrich (New York: Atherton, 1962), 46.

13. Glendon Schubert, *The Public Interest: A Critique of the Theory of a Political Concept* (Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1960), 31.

14. Friedrich Kratochwil, “On the Notion of ‘Interest’ in International Relations,” *International Organization* 36/1 (winter 1982), 1–30.

15. John W. Kingdon, *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies* (New York: HarperCollins 1984), 21.

16. See Laura Lynn Stoker, *Morality and the Study of Political Behavior* (University of Michigan, Ph.D. dissertation 1990), and her “Interests and Ethics in Politics,” *American Political Science Review* 86 (June 1992), 369–80.

17. Realism is different from ethical egoism in that it carries additional assumptions of relative maximization. For example, an egoist in Prisoner’s Dilemma would prefer the 3–3 to the 1–1 outcome but a realist would be indifferent.

18. First statement from G. E. Moore, “Is Egoism Reasonable?” 49; next from Thomas Nagel, *The Possibility of Altruism* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1970), 84.

19. Robert E. Osgood, *Ideals and Self-Interest in America’s Foreign Relations* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953), 4.

20. Henry A. Kissinger, “The Moral Foundations of Foreign Policy,” *American Foreign Policy*, 3d ed. (New York: Norton, 1977), 200.

21. David Hendrickson, “Migration in Law and Ethics: A Realist Perspec-

live,” *Free Movement: The Transnational Migration of People and of Money*, ed. Brian Barry and Robert E. Goodin (New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf/Simon and Schuster, 1992), 217.

22. I am aware that communitarians have quite a bit in common with other liberals, that many of the differences are exaggerated while others are understated, and that people have been arguing about this for a while. This point here is not to draw conclusions about “communitarianism,” for example (this is the sordid truth about communitarians), but to use ideas it values and explains to help explicate why people make certain types of arguments about exclusion.

23. David C. Hendrickson, “Migration in Law and Ethics: A Realist Perspective,” *Free Movement: The Transnational Migration of People and of Money*, ed. Brian Barry and Robert E. Goodin (New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf/Simon and Schuster, 1992), 215.

24. David Miller, “The Ethical Significance of Nationality,” *Ethics* 98 (July 1988), 657, emphasis in the original.

25. E. H. Carr, *The Twenty Years’ Crisis, 1919–1939*, rev. ed. (New York: Harper, 1939/1946), 160.

26. Michael Walzer, *Spheres of Justice: A Defense of Pluralism and Equality* (New York: Basic Books, 1983), xv, 39, 32, 61.

27. Peter H. Schuck and Rogers Smith, *Citizenship without Consent: Illegal Aliens in the American Polity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 28.

28. Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, ed. William Peden (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1955 [1787]), 85. Jefferson later changed his mind about immigrants.

29. Frederick G. Whelan, “Citizenship and Freedom of Movement: An Open Admission Policy?” in *Open Borders? Closed Societies? The Ethical and Political Issues*, ed. Mark Gibney (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1988), 22.

30. Hans Morgenthau, *Politics among Nations*, 10. This is exactly the response of Henry Stimson and Karl Compton to critics of the U.S. decision to drop atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. See Henry Stimson, “The Decision to Use the Atomic Bomb,” *Harper’s* 194/1161 (February 1947), 97–107+; Karl T. Compton, “If the Atomic Bomb Had Not Been Used,” *Atlantic Monthly* 178 (December 1946), 54–56.

31. Timothy King, capturing the point of view argued by John Rawls and Charles Beitz; “Immigration from Developing Countries: Some Philosophical Issues,” *Ethics* 93/3 (April 1983), 527.

32. Immanuel Kant, “Third Definitive Article for a Perpetual Peace,” extract from *Perpetual Peace in On History*, ed. Lewis White Beck (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1963), § 358, 102–3.

33. Roger Nett, “The Civil Right We Are Not Ready For: The Right of Free Movement of People on the Face of the Earth,” *Ethics* 81/3 (April 1971), 218, 219.

34. John Stuart Mill, “Utilitarianism,” *Utilitarianism and Other Essays*, John Stuart Mill and Jeremy Bentham (New York: Penguin, 1987/1861), 288.

35. David Resnick, “John Locke and the Problem of Naturalization,” *Review of Politics* (summer 1987), 377.

36. Peter Singer argues that we have obligations actively to relieve human suffering, regardless of distance, and to the point at which our resources equalize; see “Famine, Affluence, and Morality,” *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 1/3 (spring 1972), 229–43.

37. Charles R. Beitz, *Political Theory and International Relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), 151.

38. John W. Kingdon, *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies* (New York: HarperCollins, 1984), 17–18, 99.

39. John W. Kingdon, *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies* (New York: HarperCollins, 1984), 83.

40. John Kingdon notes that “problems” are solvable while “conditions” are not. *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies* (New York: HarperCollins, 1984), 115.

41. Richard Hofstadter describes this in *Social Darwinism in American Thought*, rev. ed. (Boston: Beacon, 1959). Examples include Madison Grant’s influential *The Passing of the Great Race* (New York: Scribner’s, 1916).

Chapter 3

1. See E. Edward Proper, *Colonial Immigration Laws* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1900), and an Immigration Bureau history of colonial immigration policy, in its *Annual Report 1930*.

2. The United States once had a program to facilitate the entry of temporary agricultural workers. Called the Bracero Program, it operated from 1942 through 1964.

3. Maldwyn Allen Jones, *American Immigration* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), 41.

4. Aristide Zolberg, “International Migration Policies in a Changing World System,” *Human Migrations: Patterns and Policies*, ed. William McNeill and Ruth S. Adams (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978), 241–86.

5. Benjamin Franklin letter to Peter Collinson, May 1753, in Edith Abbott, ed., *Historical Aspects of the Immigration Problem: Select Documents* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1926), 415.

6. John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860–1925*, 2d ed. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1958), 9. Note that “native American” until the 1960s always meant Anglo-European in the Americas since the time of the Mayflower in theory if not in practice.

7. A good and direct discussion of this process is in James C. Thomson et al., *Sentimental Imperialists* (New York: Harper, 1981), 79–92.

8. John Burnett (D-AL), *Restriction of Immigration*, Hearings before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization (hereafter COIN), House of Representatives, 64th Congress, 1st Session (hereafter 64C/1S), 21 January 1916, 28.

9. William P. Dillingham (R-VT), *Congressional Record* (hereafter CR), v. 53, pt. 4 (64C/1S), 25 February 1916, 12773.

10. Commissioner-General of Immigration (Daniel J. Keefe), Bureau of Immigration, *Annual Report 1911* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1911), 3.

11. Also foreshadowing debate to come was both sides' use of parable and fable to make their points. About literacy, for example, Herbert Friedenwald (individual) told the following story. "A Jew applied for a position as sexton of a synagogue, and when he was asked if he could read and write he said 'No.' So they could not employ him. But he went into business and was very successful, and one day he was perfecting a loan, and to the surprise of the new clerk he could not sign his name but made his mark, and the new clerk said to him, 'Why, my God, can't you write?' 'No,' he said, 'I cannot write.' 'And you have been able to make all this money while being unable to read and write. My God, what would you have been if you could read and write?' And he replied, 'I would have been a sexton of the synagogue.'" *National Origins Provision of Immigration Law*, Hearings before the Senate Committee on Immigration (70C/2S), 4–13 February 1929, 62.

12. Grover Cleveland, Senate Document 185 (54C/2S), 21 March 1897.

13. Woodrow Wilson (president), veto of 14 February 1913. He repeated his words in his veto message of 28 January 1915. Congress overrode the second veto to pass the Immigration Act of 1917.

14. Charles Cody (R-MD), CR v. 53, pt. 5 (64C/1S), 24 March 1916, 4803.

15. Ambrose Kennedy (R-RI), CR v. 53, pt. 5 (64C/1S), 25 March 1916, 4846.

16. Joseph (Hampton) Moore (R-PA), CR v. 53, pt. 5 (64C/1S), 25 March 1916, 4844.

17. George Kennan, letter to the House COIN. *Further Restriction of Immigration*, Hearings before COIN, House of Representatives (62C/2S), 2 February 1912, 60.

18. William S. Bennet (R-NY), CR v. 53, pt. 4 (64C/1S), 25 February 1916, 3163.

19. Excluded were "persons who are natives [the committee did not consider Anglo-Europeans natives of Asia even if they were born there, so this did not apply to them] of islands not possessed by the United States adjacent to the Continent of Asia, situate south of the twentieth parallel of latitude north, west of the one hundred and sixtieth meridian of longitude east of Greenwich, and north of the tenth parallel of latitude south, or who are natives of any country, Province, or dependency situate on the Continent of Asia west of the one hundred and tenth meridian of longitude east from Greenwich and south of the fiftieth parallel of latitude north, except that" Australia and New Zealand did not count. In sum, this included all of Asia and the Pacific Islands from Japan to Afghanistan and Ceylon to Mongolia. CR v. 54, pt. 2 (64C/2S), 12 January 1917, c. 1290.

20. Frederick Gillett (R-MA), CR v. 53, pt. 5 (64C/1S), 25 March 1916, 4860.

21. John Box (D-TX), CR v. 62, pt. 6 (67C/2S), 5 May 1922, 6409.

22. Robert Bacon (R-NY), CR v. 65, pt. 6 (68C/1S), 8 April 1924, 5901.

23. See, for example, John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860–1925*, 2d ed. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1958), 301.

24. Letter from Abe Spring, *Restriction of Immigration*, Hearings before COIN, House of Representatives (14 January–12 February 1924), 1163.

25. This chapter uses for its source material the complete congressional debate about immigration (as well as alien and refugee) policies logged in the *Congressional Record* volumes running from 1894 to 1930. It also relies on the available records of congressional hearings held during this time period.

26. Samuel Shortridge (R-CA), CR v. 65, pt. 6 (68C/1S), 7 April 1924, 5806.

27. Samuel D. McReynolds (D-TN), CR v. 65, pt. 6 (68C/1S), 8 April 1924, 5856.

28. William Vaile (R-CO), CR v. 61, pt. 1 (67C/1S), 20 April 1921, 509.

29. Samuel Shortridge (R-CA), CR v. 65, pt. 6 (68C/1S), 7 April 1924, 5806.

30. Ellison Smith (D-SC), CR v. 65, pt. 6 (68C/1S), 9 April 1924, 5962.

31. Thomas Jefferson Busby (D-MS), CR v. 65, pt. 6 (68C/1S), 9 April 1924, 6124.

32. James Phelan (D-CA), *Percentage Plans for Restriction of Immigration*, Hearings before the COIN, House of Representatives, 66C/1S, 12 June–25 September 1919, 197.

33. John Watkins (D-LA), *Restriction of Immigration*, Hearings before COIN, House of Representatives, 14 January–12 February 1924, 1038.

34. Frederick Gillett (R-MA), CR v. 53, pt. 5 (64C/1S), 25 March 1916, 4860.

35. David Walsh (D-MA), CR v. 65, pt. 7 (68C/1S), 15 April 1924, 6354.

36. L. Ethan Ellis, *Republican Foreign Policy, 1921–1933* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1968), 13.

37. Clarence Lea (D-CA), CR v. 65, pt. 6 (68C/1S), 5 April 1924, 5696.

38. U.S. Supreme Court, *Nishimura Ekiu v. U.S.* 142 U.S. 651 (1891) at 659 (decided 18 January 1892).

39. Wesley Jones (R-WA), CR v. 61, pt. 1 (67C/1S), 2 May 1921, 927.

40. Milton C. Garber (R-OK), CR v. 65, pt. 6 (68C/1S), 5 April 1924, 5693.

41. Samuel D. McReynolds (D-TN), CR v. 65, pt. 6 (68C/1S), 8 April 1924, 5854.

42. John Miller (R-WA), CR v. 65, pt. 6 (68C/1S), 8 April 1924, 5883

43. John Raker (D-CA), CR v. 65, pt. 6 (68C/1S), 8 April 1924, 5892.

44. Henry Cabot Lodge (R-MA), CR v. 65, pt. 6 (68C/1S), 14 April 1924, 6305.

45. Commissioner-General of Immigration (Harry E. Hull) Bureau of Immigration, *Annual Report 1927* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1927), 2.

46. Commissioner-General of Immigration (Harry E. Hull) Bureau of Immigration, *Annual Report 1928* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1928), 3.

47. Supreme Court 130 U.S. 606

48. Earl Michener (R-MI), CR v. 65, pt. 6 (68C/1S), 8 April 1924, 5907.

49. Bertrand Snell (R-NY), CR v. 65, pt. 6 (68C/1S), 4 April 1924, 5643.

50. Thomas Jefferson Busby (D-MS), CR v. 65, pt. 6 (68C/1S), 11 April 1924, 6123.

51. John Cable (R-OH), CR v. 65, pt. 4 (68C/1S), 26 February 1924, 3422.

52. Benjamin Focht (R-PA), CR v. 53, pt. 5 (64C/1S), 24 March 1916, 4806.

53. William Borah (R-ID), CR v. 53, pt. 4 (64C/1S), 25 February 1916, 12764.
54. James Aswell (D-LA), CR v. 64, pt. 6 (67C/4S), 3 March 1923, 5435.
55. Charles Stengle (D-NY), CR v. 65, pt. 6 (68C/1S), 8 April 1924, 5848.
56. John Works (R-CA), CR v. 53, pt. 4 (64C/1S), 14 July 1916, 11024.
57. Albert Johnson (R-WA), CR v. 62, pt. 12 (67C/2S), 31 August 1922, 12062.
58. Riley Wilson (D-LA), CR v. 61, pt. 1 (67C/1S), 20 April 1921, 502.
59. Albert Johnson (R-WA), CR v. 62, pt. 12 (67C/2S), 31 August 1922, 12062.
60. Walter Newton (R-MN), CR v. 64, pt. 1 (67C/4S), 13 December 1922, 437.
61. Albert Johnson (R-WA), CR v. 65, pt. 3 (68C/1S), 20 February 1924, 2841.
62. John Box (D-TX), CR v. 65, pt. 5 (68C/1S), 15 March 1924, 4268.
63. Albert Vestal (R-IN), CR v. 65, pt. 6 (68C/1S), 2 April 1924, 5443.
64. James J. Davis (Secretary of Labor) letter to Albert Johnson (COIN Chair), *Correspondence with Executive Departments*, COIN, House of Representatives (68C/1S), 17 April 1924, 1194.
65. Ralph Lozier (D-MO), CR v. 65, pt. 6 (68C/1S), 12 April 1924, 6264.
66. William Mason (R-IL), CR v. 61, pt. 2 (67C/1S), 13 May 1921, 1436.
67. John Box (D-TX), CR v. 62, pt. 6 (67C/2S), 5 May 1922, 6409, 6410.
68. Commissioner-General of Immigration, Bureau of Immigration, *Annual Reports* 1927 through 1930 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1927–1930), 8 (1927), 259 (1928), 4 (1929), 11–12 (1930).
69. Riley Wilson (D-LA), CR v. 61, pt. 1 (67C/1S), 20 April 1921, 502.
70. Calvin Coolidge (president), quoted in CR v. 65, pt. 6 (68C/1S), 8 April 1924, 5853.
71. William Vaile (R-CO), CR v. 61, pt. 1 (67C/1S), 21 April 1921, 562.
72. Frank Mondell (R-WY), CR v. 61, pt. 1 (67C/1S), 22 April 1921, 588.
73. Park Trammell (D-FL), CR v. 61, pt. 1 (67C/1S), 2 May 1921, 928.
74. Its origin was in response to California's attempt to segregate schools. The state government let the law die for fear that it would jeopardize the Paris peace talks then under way. James Phelan, *Percentage Plans for Restriction of Immigration*, Hearings before the COIN, House of Representatives, 68C/1S 187.
75. James Mann (R-IL), CR v. 53, pt. 5 (64C/1S), 25 March 1916, 4868; reiterated by Everis Hayes (CA), CR v. 54, pt. 2 (64C/2S), 12 January 1917, 1294.
76. Samuel Shortridge (R-CA), CR v. 65, pt. 6 (68C/1S), 14 April 1924, 6303.
77. William Borah (R-ID), CR v. 65, pt. 6 (68C/1S), 14 April 1924, 6304.
78. Emanuel Celler (D-NY), CR v. 65, pt. 4 (68C/1S), 14 March 1924, 4170.
79. Romanian ambassador's letter in CR v. 65, pt. 3 (68C/1S), 20 February 1924, 2841.
80. Albert Johnson (R-WA), CR v. 65, pt. 3 (68C/1S), 20 February 1924, 2841.
81. James Phelan (D-CA), *Percentage Plans for Restriction of Immigration*, Hearings before COIN, House of Representatives (68C/1S), 12 June–25 September 1919, 183–84.
82. Gustave Sonnenburg (individual), *National Origins Provision: Immigration Act of 1924*, Hearings before COIN, House of Representatives (69C/2S), 18–26 January 1927, 70.
83. John Box (D-TX), CR v. 62, pt. 6 (67C/2S), 15 April 1922, 6410.

84. John Box (D-TX), CR v. 62, pt. 6 (67C/2S), 15 April 1922, 6410.
85. John Box (D-TX), CR v. 62, pt. 8 (67C/2S), 2 June 1922, 8070
86. John Box (D-TX), CR v. 65, pt. 6 (68C/1S), 8 April 1924, 5876.
87. James Thomas Heflin (D-AL), CR v. 65, pt. 6 (68C/1S), 9 April 1924, 5960.
88. John Cable (R-OH), CR v. 65, pt. 4 (68C/1S), 26 February 1924, 3166.
89. James Phelan (D-CA), *Percentage Plans for Restriction of Immigration*, Hearings before the COIN, House of Representatives, 12 June–25 September 1919, 184.
90. Claude Swanson (D-VA), CR v. 65, pt. 6 (68C/1S), 14 April 1924, 6307.
91. Charles Stengle (D-NY), CR v. 65, pt. 6 (68C/1S), 8 April 1924, 5848.
92. Bertrand Snell (R-NY), CR v. 65, pt. 6 (68C/1S), 5 April 1924, 5643.
93. Will Taylor (R-TN), CR v. 65, pt. 6 (68C/1S), 8 April 1924, 5872.
94. John Raker (D-CA), *Restriction of Immigration*, Hearings before the COIN, House of Representatives, 68C/1S, 14 January–12 February 1924, 1044.
95. James Gallivan (D-MA), CR v. 65, pt. 6 (68C/1S), 8 April 1924, 5849.
96. Samuel Dickstein (D-NY), CR v. 65, pt. 6 (68C/1S), 5 April 1924, 5654.
97. Sidney Gulick, *Percentage Plans for Restriction of Immigration*, Hearings before the COIN, House of Representatives (66C/1S), 12 June–25 September 1919, 45.
98. James Gallivan (D-MA), CR v. 65, pt. 6 (68C/1S), 8 April 1924, 5850.
99. Walter Chandler (R-NY), CR v. 61, pt. 9 (67C/1S), 20 April 1921, 8228.
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118. Walter Chandler (R-NY), CR v. 61, pt. 9 (67C/1S), 20 April 1921, 8227.
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Chapter 4

1. No systematic polling captures American opinion on immigrants during this era. Historians agree that it was a period of anti-immigrant feeling, but if the pattern in later public opinion polls holds during this earlier period, this means that the proportion in favor of immigration remained constant and tiny, while a portion of the noncommittal became, temporarily, opposed to immigration. Immigration legislation, though, does not follow such shifts in public opinion. Or, rather, it does, but public opinion shifts as dramatically and as often in legislatively fallow periods. See Rita James Simon, *Public Opinion and the Immigrant: Print Media Coverage, 1880–1980* (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1985), and Edwin Harwood, “American Public Opinion and U.S. Immigration Policy,” *Annals (AAPSS)* 487 (September 1986), 201–12.

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21. Irvine Lenroot (R-WI), CR v. 61, pt. 1 (67C/1S), 2 May 1921, 927.
22. William Vaile (R-CO), CR v. 61, pt. 1 (67C/1S), 20 April 1921, 509.
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43. Addison Smith (R-ID), CR v. 65, pt. 6 (68C/1S), 5 April 1924, 5698.
44. James MacLafferty (R-CA), CR v. 65, pt. 6 (68C/1S), 5 April 1924, 5680.
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72. Meyer London (Socialist-NY), CR v. 61, pt. 1 (67C/1S), 20 April 1921, 552.
73. Isaac Siegel (D-NY), CR v. 54, pt. 3 (64C/2S), 1 February 1917, 2444.
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89. Benjamin Focht (R-PA), CR v. 53, pt. 5 (64C/1S), 24 March 1916, 4806.
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93. John Robsion (R-KY), CR v. 65, pt. 6 (68C/1S), 5665.
94. John Raker (D-CA), CR v. 61, pt. 1 (67C/1S), 20 April 1921, 514.
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105. Scott Leavitt (R-MT), CR v. 65, pt. 6 (68C/1S), 12 April 1924, 6265.
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111. William Bruce (MD), CR v. 65, pt. 6 (68C/1S), 9 April 1924, 5955.
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114. Albert Johnson (R-WA), CR v. 65, pt. 4 (68C/1S), 1 March 1924, 3424.
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119. M. C. Garber (D-OK), CR v. 65, pt. 6 (68C/1S), 5 April 1924, 5689.
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64. William Floyd (Regular Veterans' Association), *To Deny Admission to the United States of Certain Aliens and to Reduce Immigration Quotas*, Hearings before the COIN, House of Representatives (79C/2S), pt. 1, 21 February–6 March 1946, 22.

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202. Thomas Jenkins (R-OH), CR v. 83, pt. 4 (75C/3S), 17 February 1938, 4229, previously cited.

203. Edward Rees (R-KS), CR v. 89, pt. 3 (78C/1S), 21 October 1943, 8624, previously cited.

204. John Vorys (R-OH), CR v. 98, 24 April 1952, 4411, previously cited.
205. Dwight Eisenhower (presidential candidate), speech of 17 October 1952, in *Whom We Shall Welcome*, requested 4 September 1952, submitted 1 January 1953 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1953), 60.
206. Acting Commissioner of Immigration (A. R. Mackey), Immigration and Naturalization Service *Annual Report 1950* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1950), 37.
207. In fact, political borders were somewhat smaller than federal boundaries, in that they contained only citizens, and not all of those who happened to be on U.S. territory at a given time.
208. With the development of intercontinental ballistic missiles, the country also increased its power by eliminating borders' importance to defense.
209. Nathan Perlman (justice and former congressman (R-NY)), *To Deny Admission to Certain Aliens and to Reduce Immigration Quotas*, Hearings before the COIN, House of Representatives (79C/2S), pt. 1, 21 February–6 March 1946, 55–56.

Chapter 6

1. Patrick McCarran (D-NV), CR v. 99 (83C/1S), 28 July 1953, 10113.
2. Harold Donohue (D-MA), CR v. 102, pt. 7 (84C/2S), 8 June 1956, 9892.
3. Francis Walter (D-PA), CR v. 101, pt. 8 (84C/1S), 11 July 1955, 12173.
4. Brady Gentry (D-TX), CR v. 99 (83C/1S), 28 July 1953, 10157.
5. Patrick McCarran (D-NV), CR v. 99 (83C/1S), 28 July 1953, 10115.
6. Francis Walter (D-PA), CR v. 103, pt. 7 (85C/1S), 8565.
7. Maston O'Neal (D-GA), CR v. 111, pt. 16 (89C/1S), 25 August 1965, 21786.
8. James Eastland (D-MS), CR v. 111, pt. 18 (89C/1S), 21 September 1965, 24552.
9. Patrick McCarran (D-NV), CR v. 99 (83C/1S), 28 July 1953, 10114.
10. Howard Smith (D-VA), CR v. 99 (83C/1S), 28 July 1953, 10150.
11. John McClellan (D-AR), CR v. 111, pt. 18 (89C/1S), 21 September 1965, 24555.
12. Joseph (Frank) Wilson (D-TX), CR v. 99 (83C/1S), 28 July 1953, 10153.
13. Ovie C. Fisher (D-TX), CR v. 111, pt. 16 (89C/1S), 25 August 1965, 21774.
14. H. Allen Smith (R-CA), CR v. 111, pt. 16 (89C/1S), 24 August 1965, 21572.
15. Brady Gentry (D-TX), CR v. 99 (83C/1S), 28 July 1953, 10157.
16. Patrick McCarran (D-NV), CR v. 99 (83C/1S), 28 July 1953, 10114, 10115.
17. Patrick McCarran (D-NV), CR v. 100, pt. 7 (83C/2S), 6 July 1954, 9757.
18. John Robsion (R-KY), CR v. 100, pt. 1 (83C/2S), 11 January 1954, 134.
19. Michael Feighan (D-OH), CR v. 110, pt. 6 (88C/2S), 10 April 1964, 7628; Frank Lausche (D-OH), CR v. 111, pt. 2 (89C/1S), 20 January 1965, 1248.
20. James (Strom) Thurmond (R-SC), CR v. 111, pt. 18 (89C/1S), 17 September 1965, 24237.
21. Sam Ervin (D-NC), CR v. 111, pt. 18 (89C/1S), 17 September 1965, 24231.

22. James Eastland (D-MS), CR v. 111, pt. 18 (89C/1S), 21 September 1965, 24551.
23. James Eastland (D-MS), CR v. 102, pt. 11 (84C/2S), 27 July 1956, 15004.
24. Lyndon Johnson (president), H. Doc. 52, CR v. 111, pt. 1 (89C/1S), 13 January 1965, 638.
25. Sam Ervin (D-NC), CR v. 111, pt. 3 (89C/1S), 4 March 1965, 4144.
26. Emanuel Celler (D-NY), CR v. 111, pt. 16 (89C/1S), 24 August 1965, 21579.
27. To this extent, regimes originate with early cold war attempts to make allied cooperation automatic. The core work on regimes is collected in Stephen D. Krasner, ed., *International Regimes* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983).
28. Jacob Javits (R-NY), CR v. 111, pt. 18 (89C/1S), 20 September 1965, 24472.
29. John Dent (D-PA), CR v. 111, pt. 16 (89C/1S), 25 August 1965, 21777.
30. Torbert MacDonald (D-MA), CR v. 106, pt. 5 (86C/2S), 22 March 1960, 6314.
31. John Pastore (D-RI), CR v. 103, pt. 11 (85C/1S), 21 August 1951, 15497.
32. Charles Diggs Jr (D-MI), CR v. 101, pt. 2 (84C/1S), 10 March 1955, 2679.
33. Victor Anfuso (D-NY), CR v. 101, pt. 1 (84C/1S), 11 January 1955, 262.
34. Emanuel Celler (D-NY), CR v. 111, pt. 16 (89C/1S), 25 August 1965, 21759.
35. H. Alexander Smith (R-NJ), CR v. 99 (83C/1S), 30 June 1953, 7622.
36. Homer Ferguson (R-MI), CR v. 99 (83C/1S), 28 July 1953, 10115.
37. Jacob Gilbert (D-NY), CR v. 111, pt. 16 (89C/1S), 25 August 1965, 21770.
38. Jacob Javits (R-NY), CR v. 106, pt. 5 (86C/2S), 17 March 1960, 5892.
39. John Pastore (D-RI), CR v. 99 (83C/1S), 28 July 1953, 10095.
40. John Dingell (D-MI), CR v. 103, pt. 2 (85C/1S), 18 February 1957, 2190.
41. Jacob Javits (R-NY), CR v. 104, pt. 1 (85C/2S), 29 January 1958, 1274.
42. Dean Rusk, *Congressional Quarterly*, 20 July 1964, 100.
43. Emanuel Celler (D-NY), CR v. 99 (83C/1S), 28 July 1953, 10152.
44. Thomas Lane (MA), CR v. 99 (83C/1S), 27 July 1953, 9953.
45. Carlton Sickles (D-MD), CR v. 109, pt. 11 (88C/1S), 19 August 1963, 15358.
46. H. Alexander Smith (R-NJ), CR v. 99 (83C/1S), 30 June 1953, 7622.
47. Thomas Lane (D-MA), CR v. 99 (83C/1S), 27 July 1953, 9953.
48. Irving Ives (R-NY), CR v. 99 (83C/1S), 28 July 1953, 10100.
49. Philip Hart (D-MI), CR v. 109, pt. 12 (88C/1S), 23 August 1963, 15781.
50. Patrick McCarran (D-NV), CR v. 99 (83C/1S), 28 July 1953, 10114.
51. Herman Welker (R-ID), CR v. 99, pt. 8 (83C/1S), 29 July 1953, 10246.
52. Herman Welker (R-ID), CR v. 99, pt. 8 (83C/1S), 29 July 1953, 10246.
53. Hubert Humphrey (D-MN), *The Stranger at Our Gate: America's Immigration Policy* (New York: Public Affairs Committee, 1954), pamphlet no. 202, 20.
54. Alexander Wiley (R-WI), CR v. 99 (83C/1S), 10 July 1953, 8424.
55. Herbert Lehman (D-NY), CR v. 102, pt. 3 (84C/2S), 20 February 1956, 2970.

56. Jacob Javits (R-NY), CR v. 104, pt. 1 (85C/2S), 29 January 1958, 1276.
57. Kenneth Keating (R-NY), CR v. 107, pt. 6 (87C/1S), 3 May 1961, 7071.
58. Robert Hendrickson (R-NJ), CR v. 99 (83C/1S), 28 July 1953, 10102.
59. Patrick Hillings (R-CA), CR v. 100, pt. 1 (83C/2S), 22 February 1954, 2091.
60. Robert Hendrickson (R-NJ), CR v. 99 (83C/1S), 15 July 1953, 8885.
61. Daniel Flood (D-PA), CR v. 101, pt. 8 (84C/1S), 11 July 1955, 10238.
62. John McClellan (D-AR), CR v. 111, pt. 18 (89C/1S), 21 September 1965, 24554.
63. Jacob Javits (R-NY), CR v. 104, pt. 13 (85C/2S), 6 August 1958, 16311.
64. Claiborne Pell (D-RI), CR v. 108, pt. 4 (87C/2S), 19 March 1962, 4484.
65. Fernand St. Germain (D-RI), CR v. 108, pt. 4 (87C/2S), 19 March 1962, 4537.
66. Jacob Javits (R-NY), CR v. 103, pt. 1 (85C/1S), 25 January 1957, 972.
67. Kenneth Keating (R-NY), CR v. 103, pt. 6 (85C/1S), 4 June 1957, 8328.
68. Hiram Fong (R-HI), CR v. 109, pt. 10 (88C/1S), 29 July 1963, 13462.
69. Joseph Clark (D-PA), CR v. 111, pt. 18 (89C/1S), 20 September 1965, 24500.
70. Pat Hillings (R-CA), CR v. 99 (83C/1S), 28 July 1953, 10154.
71. Alvin Bentley (R-MI), CR v. 99 (83C/1S), 28 July 1953, 10158.
72. Silvio Conte (R-MA), CR v. 105, pt. 6 (86C/1S), 7 May 1959, 7755.
73. Emanuel Celler (D-NY), CR v. 111, pt. 16 (89C/1S), 25 August 1965, 21757.
74. CR v. 104, pt. 13 (85C/2S), 6 August 1958, 16392.
75. CR v. 104, pt. 13 (85C/2S), 6 August 1958, 16392.
76. CR v. 107, pt. 15 (87C/1S), 19 September 1961, 20222.
77. CR v. 106, pt. 14 (86C/2S), 31 August 1960, 18847.
78. Jacob Javits (R-NY), CR v. 106, pt. 5 (86C/2S), 17 March 1960, 5892.
79. Peter Rodino (D-NJ), CR v. 102, pt. 10 (84C/2S), 23 July 1956, 14127.
80. Philip Hart (D-MI), CR v. 108, pt. 4 (87C/2S), 21 March 1962, 4675.
81. Claiborne Pell (D-RI), CR v. 109, pt. 2 (88C/1S), 7 February 1963, 2030.
82. John Lindsay (R-NY), CR v. 111, pt. 6 (89C/1S), 13 April 1965, 7978.
83. Albert Cretella (R-CT), CR v. 102, pt. 6 (84C/2S), 2 May 1956, 7359.
84. Robert Kennedy (D-NY), CR v. 111, pt. 18 (89C/1S), 20 September 1965, 24485.
85. John Pastore (D-RI), CR v. 103, pt. 11 (85C/1S), 21 August 1957, 15497.
86. John Kennedy (president), CR v. 109, pt. 10 (88C/1S), 23 July 1963, reprinted 31 July 1963, 13769.
87. Claude Pepper (D-FL), CR v. 111, pt. 16 (89C/1S), 25 August 1965, 21794.
88. Peter Rodino (D-NJ), CR v. 99 (83C/1S), 25 March 1953, 2322.
89. Robert Hendrickson (R-NJ), CR v. 99 (83C/1S), 28 July 1953, 10101.
90. For a table of mortgages, see CR v. 98 (82C/2S), 19 May 1952, 5412.
91. Richard Nixon (vice president), CR v. 103, pt. 1 (85C/1S), 17 January 1957, 730–31.

92. Dwight Eisenhower (president), H. Doc. 85, CR v. 103, pt. 1 (85C/1S), 31 January 1957, 1355.
93. John Dingell (D-MI), CR v. 103, pt. 1 (85C/1S), 18 February 1957, 2190–91.
94. William Langer (R-ND), CR v. 102, pt. 8 (84C/2S), 8 June 1956, 10872.
95. Leverett Saltonstall (R-MA), CR v. 108, pt. 16 (87C/2S), 21413.
96. DeWitt Hyde (R-MD), CR v. 99 (83C/1S), 28 July 1953, 10151.
97. Joe Holt (R-CA), CR v. 99 (83C/1S), 28 July 1953, 10160.
98. Paul Douglas (D-IL), CR v. 99, pt. 8 (83C/1S), 29 July 1953, 10243.
99. Emanuel Celler (D-NY), CR v. 110, pt. 1 (88C/2S), 13 January 1964, reprinted 29 January 1964, 1389.
100. Dwight Eisenhower (president), State of the Union Address, CR v. 102, pt. 1 (84C/2S), 12 January 1956, 1502, repeated almost verbatim 8 February 1956, 2384.
101. Arthur Watkins (R-UT), CR v. 102, pt. 11 (84C/2S), 27 July 1956, 15006.
102. Irving Ives (R-NY), CR v. 99 (83C/1S), 28 July 1953, 10101.
103. Hiram Fong (R-HI), CR v. 109, pt. 12 (88C/1S), 23 August 1963, 15780.
104. Durward Hall (R-MO), CR v. 111, pt. 16 (89C/1S), 25 August 1965, 21775.
105. Hugh Addonizio (D-NJ), CR v. 105, pt. 5 (86C/1S), 15 April 1959, 5859.
106. Claiborne Pell (D-RI), CR v. 107, pt. 6 (87C/1S), 3 May 1961, 7257.
107. Ogden Reid (D-NY), CR v. 111, pt. 3 (89C/1S), 23 February 1965, 7979.
108. Paul Fino (R-NY), CR v. 111, pt. 16 (89C/1S), 25 August 1965, 21807.
109. Emanuel Celler (D-NY), CR v. 104, pt. 1 (85C/2S), 16 January 1958, 665.
110. William Proxmire (D-WI), CR v. 106, pt. 5 (86C/2S), 18 March 1960, 5960.
111. Kenneth Keating (R-NY), CR v. 107, pt. 1 (87C/1S), 23 January 1961, 1082.
112. Leverett Saltonstall (R-MA), CR v. 108, pt. 16 (87C/2S), 21413.
113. Ronald Cameron (D-CA), CR v. 111, pt. 2 (89C/1S), 10 February 1965, 2494.
114. Hubert Humphrey (D-MN), CR v. 99 (83C/1S), 28 July 1953, 10107.
115. Brockman Adams (D-WA), CR v. 111, pt. 16 (89C/1S), 25 August 1965, 21766.
116. John Lindsay (R-NY), CR v. 111, pt. 6 (89C/1S), 13 April 1965, 7978.
117. Thomas O'Neill (D-MA), CR v. 111, pt. 16 (89C/1S), 25 August 1965, 21790.
118. No legislator in the public record, though, ever claimed that the Vietnamese were fighting badly or attempting to sabotage the war out of spite, although this was what their general arguments implied was to be feared.
119. Unemployment figures from Census Bureau, *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, various years, and *Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1970* (Washington, DC: GPO).
120. Sam Ervin (D-NC), CR v. 111, pt. 3 (89C/1S), 4 March 1965, 4144.
121. Maston O'Neal (D-GA), CR v. 111, pt. 16 (89C/1S), 25 August 1965, 21786.
122. William Jenner (R-IN), CR v. 99, pt. 8 (83C/1S), 29 July 1953, 10239.

123. John Stennis (D-MS), CR v. 103, pt. 3 (85C/1S), 2 March 1957, 2938.
124. Legislators in earlier eras charged that immigration policy revealed to Americans how the country felt about people of their heritage. This made some sense when the Americans spoken of were first- or second-generation immigrants and could personalize charges leveled in the debate. More interesting is that this argument was also made regarding black Americans and Africa in the 1960s. Whereas Bohemians after a few decades were no longer identified with Austria-Hungary or Czechoslovakia, one to four hundred years after the last significant influx of blacks to the country, in the terms of public debate black Americans were still foreign.
125. Maston O'Neal (D-GA), CR v. 111, pt. 16 (89C/1S), 25 August 1965, 21786.
126. John McClellan (D-AR), CR v. 111, pt. 18 (89C/1S), 21 September 1965, 24556.
127. Jacob Javits (R-NY), CR v. 107, pt. 1 (87C/1S), 23 January 1961, 1081.
128. Frank Annunzio (D-IL), CR v. 111, pt. 5 (89C/1S), 6 April 1965, 7135.
129. Laurence Burton (R-UT), CR v. 111, pt. 16 (89C/1S), 25 August 1965, 21783.
130. Abraham Ribicoff (D-CT), CR v. 111, pt. 18 (89C/1S), 22 September 1965, 24782.
131. Bernard Grabowski (D-CT), CR v. 111, pt. 16 (89C/1S), 25 August 1965, 21793.
132. John Kennedy (D-MA), CR v. 103, pt. 12 (85C/1S), 29 August 1957, 16493.
133. Stephen Young (D-OH), CR v. 111, pt. 13 (89C/1S), 5 August 1965, 19581.
134. Jacob Javits (R-NY), CR v. 110, pt. 1 (88C/2S), 15 January 1964, 477.
135. Benjamin Rosenthal (Democrat-Liberal-NY), CR v. 111, pt. 9 (89C/1S), 1 June 1965, 12104.
136. John Conyers (D-MI), CR v. 111, pt. 19 (89C/1S), 6 October 1965, 26152.
137. Hiram Fong (R-HI), CR v. 109, pt. 12 (88C/1S), 23 August 1963, 15765, 15766.
138. Alfred Santangelo (D-NY), CR v. 108, pt. 17 (87C/2S), 5 October 1962, 22607.
139. Philip Hart (D-MI), CR v. 109, pt. 2 (88C/1S), 7 February 1963, 2022.
140. Torbert MacDonald (D-MA), CR v. 101, pt. 4 (84C/1S), 13 April 1955, 4413–14.
141. Francis Walter (D-PA), CR v. 107, pt. 5 (87C/1S), 13 April speech reprinted 17 April 1961, 6026.
142. Francis Walter (D-PA), CR v. 108, pt. 9 (87C/2S), 27 June 1962, 11968.
143. Michael Feighan (D-OH), CR v. 110, pt. 6 (88C/2S), 10 April 1964, 7628.
144. Hubert Humphrey (D-MN), CR v. 110, pt. 16 (88C/2S), 21 August 1964, 20860.
145. Hiram Fong (R-HI), CR v. 109, pt. 12 (88C/1S), 23 August 1963, 15766.
146. Philip Hart (D-MI), CR v. 108, pt. 4 (87C/2S), 21 March 1962, 4675.

147. John Kennedy (D-MA), CR v. 103, pt. 8 (85C/1S), 27 June 1957, 10455–56.
148. Jacob Javits (R-NY), CR v. 107, pt. 11 (87C/1S), 9 August 1961, 15222.
149. Jacob Javits (R-NY), CR v. 103, pt. 1 (85C/1S), 25 January 1957, 972.
150. Hubert Humphrey (D-MN), CR v. 105, pt. 7 (86C/1S), 2 June 1959, 9523.
151. Emanuel Celler (D-NY), CR v. 104, pt. 1 (85C/2S), 16 January 1958, 665.
152. Hubert Humphrey (D-MN), *The Stranger at Our Gate: America's Immigration Policy* (New York: Public Affairs Committee, 1954), pamphlet no. 202, 16.
153. Hubert Humphrey (D-MN), *The Stranger at Our Gate: America's Immigration Policy* (New York: Public Affairs Committee, 1954), pamphlet no. 202, 21.
154. Hubert Humphrey (D-MN), *The Stranger at Our Gate: America's Immigration Policy* (New York: Public Affairs Committee, 1954), pamphlet no. 202, 14.
155. Edward Kennedy (D-MA), CR v. 111, pt. 18 (89C/1S), 17 September 1965, 24226.
156. Hugh Addonizio (D-NJ), CR v. 100, pt. 12 (83C/2S), 19 August 1954, 15232.
157. Emanuel Celler (D-NY), CR v. 100, pt. 12 (83C/2S), 19 August 1954, 15232.
158. These shepherders, who became something of a joke, were destined for Nevada, home of Pat McCarran, chair of the senate immigration subcommittee.
159. Philip Hart (D-MI), CR v. 108, pt. 4 (87C/2S), 21 March 1962, 4674.
160. Michael Feighan (D-OH), CR v. 110, pt. 6 (88C/2S), 10 April 1964, 7627.
161. Ogden Reid (D-NY), CR v. 111, pt. 3 (89C/1S), 23 February 1965, 3401.
162. Homer Ferguson (R-MI), CR v. 99 (83C/1S), 24 April 1953, 3745.
163. Dwight Eisenhower (president), CR v. 99 (83C/1S), 23 April 1953, 3693–94.
164. Dean Rusk, *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, 24 May 1965.
165. Hubert Humphrey (D-MN), *The Stranger at Our Gate: America's Immigration Policy* (New York: Public Affairs Committee, 1954), pamphlet no. 202, 23; introduced by Jacob Javits (NY), CR v. 100, pt. 4 (83C/2S), 12 April 1954, 4985; Peter Rodino (NJ), CR v. 103, pt. 2 (85C/1S), 7 February 1957, 2189.
166. Dwight Eisenhower (president), H. Doc. 36, CR v. 106, pt. 5 (86C/2S), 17 March 1960, 5894.
167. These divisions differ from those used by the Immigration and Naturalization Service, though they mirror those used by Congress. The INS summarizes immigration by geographical division, whereas immigration law separates immigrants by political divisions. For example, in its summaries the INS groups together all immigrants from Asia, including both those from Israel and those from Mongolia, whereas immigration law separates Asia into the Barred Zone and the colonial areas, regulated differently. The divisions used above are those on which laws were based.
168. Philip Hart (D-MI), CR v. 108, pt. 4 (87C/2S), 21 March 1962, 4675.
169. Restrictionist Patrick McCarran (D-NV) managed to institutionalize annual special legislation admitting Basque shepherders to the United States. They headed for ranches in Colorado . . . and Nevada.

170. Emanuel Celler (D-NY), CR v. 111, pt. 16 (89C/1S), 25 August 1965, 21811.
171. Paul Findley (R-IL), CR v. 111, pt. 16 (89C/1S), 25 August 1965, 21783.
172. John Kennedy (D-MA), CR v. 103, pt. 11 (85C/1S), 29 August 1957, 16493.
173. Emanuel Celler (D-NY), CR v. 111, pt. 16 (89C/1S), 25 August 1965, 21762.
174. James Corman (D-CA), CR v. 111, pt. 16 (89C/1S), 25 August 1965, 21813.
175. Barratt O'Hara (D-IL), CR v. 111, pt. 16 (89C/1S), 25 August 1965, 21815.
176. Jacob Javits (R-NY), CR v. 111, pt. 18 (89C/1S), 20 September 1965, 24470.
177. Clark MacGregor (R-MN), CR v. 111, pt. 16 (89C/1S), 24 August 1965, 21573–74.
178. William McCulloch (R-OH), CR v. 111, pt. 16 (89C/1S), 25 August 1965, 21579.
179. Cornelius Gallagher (D-NJ), CR v. 111, pt. 16 (89C/1S), 25 August 1965, 21797.
180. CR v. 111, pt. 16 (89C/1S), 25 August 1965, 21816.
181. House Report 1101, September 1965.
182. Herbert Lehman (D-NY), CR v. 100 (83C/2S), 3 March 1954, 2556.
183. Hubert Humphrey (D-MN), CR v. 100 (83C/2S), 3 March 1954, 2558.
184. Ovie C. Fisher (D-TX), CR v. 111, pt. 16 (89C/1S), 25 August 1965, 21773.
185. Frank Horton (R-NY), CR v. 110, pt. 9 (88C/2S), 28 May 1964, 12223.
186. Edward Kennedy (D-MA), CR v. 111, pt. 18 (89C/1S), 17 September 1965, 24228.
187. Emanuel Celler (D-NY), CR v. 104, pt. 1 (85C/2S), 16 January 1958, 665.
188. Emanuel Celler (D-NY), CR v. 111, pt. 16 (89C/1S), 25 August 1965, 21757.
189. Lyndon Johnson (president), H. Doc 52, CR v. 111, pt. 1 (89C/1S), 13 January 1965, 639.
190. Robert Giaimo (D-CT), CR v. 111, pt. 16 (89C/1S), 25 August 1965, 21767.
191. Jacob Gilbert (D-NY), CR v. 111, pt. 16 (89C/1S), 25 August 1965, 21771.
192. Arch Moore (R-WV), CR v. 111, pt. 16 (89C/1S), 25 August 1965, 21780.
193. Robert Kennedy (D-NY), testimony reprinted in CR v. 110, pt. 13 (88C/2S), 22 July 1964, 16590.
194. Donald Irwin (D-CT), CR v. 111, pt. 16 (89C/1S), 24 August 1965, 21597.
195. Arch Moore (R-WV), CR v. 111, pt. 18 (89C/1S), 30 September 1965, 25658.
196. CR v. 111, pt. 16 (89C/1S), 25 August 1965, 21816.
197. CR v. 111, pt. 18 (89C/1S), 22 September 1965, 24783.
198. CR v. 111, pt. 19 (89C/1S), 30 September 1965, 25664.
199. Please refer to chapter 9 for evidence that the differences by region are stronger than those for party.

200. These numbers are from the Immigration and Naturalization Service, *Statistical Yearbook of the Immigration and Naturalization Service* (Washington, DC: GPO), various years.

201. Peter Rodino (D-NJ), CR v. 111, pt. 16 (89C/1S), 25 August 1965, 21812.

202. Harry Golden (individual), CR v. 110, pt. 18 (88C/2S), 20 August 1964, reprinted 2 October 1964, 23607.

203. Everett Dirksen (R-IL), CR v. 106, pt. 5 (86C/2S), 18 March 1960, 5948.

204. Frank Thompson (D-NJ), CR v. 101, pt. 7 (84 C/1S), 28 June 1955, 9429.

Chapter 7

1. Ed Koch (D-NY), CR v. 117, pt. 4 (92C/1S), 4 March 1971, 5118.

2. John Rarick (D-LA), CR v. 117, pt. 8 (92C/1S), 7 April 1971, 10266.

3. Jesse Helms (R-NC), CR v. 120, pt. 29 (93C/2S), 10 December 1974, 38830.

4. John Brademas (D-IN), CR v. 121, pt. 11 (94C/1S), 14 May 1975, 14358.

5. Paul Simon (D-IL), CR v. 131, pt. 17 (100C/1S), 11 September 1985, 23323.

6. Edward Kennedy (D-MA), CR v. 113, pt. 2 (90C/1S), 30 January 1967, 1907–8.

7. B. F. Sisk (D-CA), CR v. 123, pt. 22 (95C/1S), 4 August 1977, 27727.

8. Leonard Chapman (Commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service), CR v. 122, pt. 13 (94C/2S), 1 June 1976, 16145.

9. William Lipinski (D-IL), CR v. 135, pt. 116 (101C/1S), 13 September 1989, H5662.

10. Edna Kelley (D-NY), CR v. 114, pt. 4 (90C/2S), 4 March 1968, 4918.

11. Robert Wilson (R-CA), CR v. 114, pt. 4 (90C/2S), 4 March 1968, 5351.

12. John Rarick (D-LA), CR v. 117, pt. 8 (92C/1S), 7 April 1971, 10266.

13. Millicent Fenwick (R-NJ), CR v. 122, pt. 9 (94C/2S), 12 April 1976, 10576.

14. George Huddleston (D-AL), CR v. 121, pt. 12 (94C/1S), 16 May 1975, 14849.

15. Edward Kennedy (D-MA), CR v. 121, pt. 12 (94C/1S), 16 May 1975, 14860.

16. Peter Rodino (D-NJ), CR v. 121, pt. 11 (94C/1S), 14 May 1975, 14339.

17. Joshua Eilberg (D-PA), CR v. 121, pt. 11 (94C/1S), 14 May 1975, 14340.

18. James Abourezk (D-SD), CR v. 121, pt. 11 (94C/1S), 8 May 1975, 13499.

19. Jesse Helms (R-NC), CR v. 121, pt. 12 (94C/1S), 16 May 1975, 14852, 14859.

20. Donald Riegle (D-MI), CR v. 121, pt. 11 (94C/1S), 14 May 1975, 14365.

21. Jack Kemp (R-NY), CR v. 121, pt. 11 (94C/1S), 14 May 1975, 14355.

22. This particular poll is representative of those at the time although it was not specifically discussed. The question to which the public responded was “Thinking about the Indochinese refugees, the so-called ‘boat-people,’ . . . would you favor or oppose the U.S. relaxing its immigration policies so that many of these

people could come to live in the U.S.?” *Gallup Opinion Index 170* lists this figure (September 1979, 9).

23. John Anderson (R-IL), CR v. 121, pt. 11 (94C/1S), 14 May 1975, 14325.
24. William Dickinson (R-AL), CR v. 125, pt. 24 (96C/1S), 8 November 1979, 31536.
25. Lawrence MacDonald (D-GA), CR v. 125, pt. 24 (96C/1S), 9 November 1979, 32033.
26. Samuel Hayakawa (R-CA), CR v. 126, pt. 5 (96C/2S), 26 March 1980, 6671.
27. Samuel Hayakawa (R-CA), CR v. 127, pt. 1 (97C/1S), 6 January 1981, 179.
28. Leon Gordenker makes this point in general—not about Nicaraguan refugees—in *Refugees in International Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987).
29. David Durenberger (R-MN), CR v. 129, pt. 8 (98C/1S), 18 May 1983, 12827.
30. Dennis DeConcini (D-AZ), CR v. 129, pt. 11 (98C/1S), 26 May 1983, 14127.
31. Steven Symms (R-ID), CR v. 131, pt. 17 (100C/1S), 16 September 1965, 23807.
32. CR v. 133, pt. 15 (100C/1S), 28 July 1987, 21325.
33. Shirley Chisholm (D-NY), CR v. 127, pt. 8 (97C/1S), 14 May 1981, 9894.
34. Arlen Specter (R-PA), CR v. 133, pt. 2 (100C/1S), 20 January 1987, 1525.
35. Jesse Helms (R-NC), CR v. 129, pt. 8 (98C/1S), 16 May 1983, 12365.
36. Les Aspin (D-WI), CR v. 126, pt. 18 (96C/2S), 5 September 1980, 24422.
37. Daniel Moynihan (D-NY), CR v. 133, pt. 1 (100C/1S), 6 January 1987, 456.
38. Edward Kennedy (D-MA), CR v. 113, pt. 2 (90C/1S), 30 January 1967, 1907–8.
39. Barney Frank (D-MA), CR v. 130, pt. 11 (98C/2S), 31 May 1984, 14755.
40. Alan C. Nelson (commissioner), Immigration and Naturalization Service, *Annual Report 1980* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1980), 11.
41. Alan Cranston (D-CA), CR v. 131, pt. 1 (100C/1S), 21 January 1985, 655.
42. Robert Drinan (D-MA), CR v. 123, pt. 9 (95C/1S), 19 April 1977, 11128.
43. This number is based on data in table 1, page 17, of IISS, *The Military Balance, 1988–1989* (London: International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1988).
44. William Clay (D-MO), CR v. 116, pt. 14 (91C/2S), 4 June 1970, 18409.
45. George Huddleston (D-AL), CR v. 127, pt. 17 (97C/1S), 1 October 1981, 22741.
46. Edward Roybal (D-CA), CR v. 123, pt. 22 (95C/1S), 5 August 1977, 27816.
47. Claiborne Pell (D-RI), CR v. 126, pt. 13 (96C/2S), 23 June 1980, 16339.
48. Theodore Weiss (D-NY), CR v. 128, pt. 23 (97C/2S), 17 December 1982, 32016.
49. Edward Kennedy (D-MA), CR v. 129, pt. 8 (98C/1S), 28 April 1983, 10204.
50. William Richardson (D-NM), CR v. 131, pt. 12 (100C/1S), 24 June 1985, 16938.

51. James Traficant (D-OH), CR v. 134, pt. 52, 20 April 1988, H2176.
52. Alan Simpson (R-WY), CR v. 129, pt. 8 (98C/1S), 28 April 1983, 10226.
53. Edward Kennedy (D-MA), CR v. 134, pt. 87, 14 June 1988, S7721.
54. Arlen Specter (R-PA), CR v. 135, pt. 93 (101C/1S), 13 July 1989, S7872.
55. Stanley Lundine (D-NY), CR v. 130, pt. 12 (98C/2S), 19 June 1984, 17062.
56. Jesse Helms (R-NC), CR v. 135, pt. 92, 12 July 1989, S7750, echoed CR v. 135, pt. 93 (101C/1S), 13 July 1989, S7872.
57. Lawrence Pressler (R-SD), CR v. 128, pt. 15 (97C/2S), 13 August 1982, 21027.
58. Frank Annunzio (D-IL), CR v. 116, pt. 21 (91C/2S), 10 August 1970, 28082.
59. John LaFalce (D-NY), CR v. 125, pt. 20 (96C/1S), 28 September 1979, 26877.
60. Carl Curtis (R-NE), CR v. 121, pt. 3 (94C/1S), 7 February 1975, 2816.
61. Alfonse D'Amato (R-NY), CR v. 134, pt. 31, 15 March 1988, S1844.
62. Dale Bumpers (D-AR), CR v. 129, pt. 8 (98C/1S), 16 May 1983, 12385–86.
63. Dale Bumpers (D-AR), CR v. 135, pt. 92, 12 July 1989, S7769.
64. Ben Nighthorse Campbell (D-CO), CR v. 136, pt. 150 (101C/2S), 27 October 1990, H12362.
65. William (Phil) Gramm (R-TX), CR v. 134, pt. 30, 14 March 1988, S2131.
66. Dale Bumpers (D-AR), CR v. 135, pt. 92, 12 July 1989, S7769.
67. John Bryant (D-TX), CR v. 136, pt. 150 (101C/2S), 27 October 1990, H12366.
68. Glenn Anderson (D-CA), CR v. 136, pt. 127 (101C/2S), 3 October 1990, E3098.
69. Dale Bumpers (D-AR), CR v. 134, pt. 30, 14 March 1988, S2129.
70. Harold Daub (R-NE), CR v. 131, pt. 18 (100C/1S), 19 September 1985, 24270.
71. Jack Brooks (D-TX), CR v. 136, pt. 127 (101C/2S), 3 October 1990, H8717.
72. *U.S. Immigration Policy and the National Interest* 4, 20.
73. Theodore Hesburgh (president, Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy), CR v. 127, pt. 7 (97C/1S), 13 May 1981, 9535.
74. Edward Kennedy (D-MA), CR v. 127, pt. 24 (97C/1S), 16 December 1981, 32234.
75. Robin Beard (R-TN), CR v. 127, pt. 4 (97C/1S), 24 March 1981, 5115.
76. Jennings Randolph (D-WV), CR v. 128, pt. 15 (97C/2S), 12 August 1982, 20845.
77. Robert Garcia (D-NY), CR v. 128, pt. 23 (97C/2S), 16 December 1982, 31808.
78. Jesse Helms (R-NC), CR v. 128, pt. 15 (97C/2S), 12 August 1982, 20858.
79. Alan Simpson (R-WY), CR v. 136, pt. 136 (101C/2S), 12 October 1990, S15037.
80. Edward Kennedy (D-MA), CR v. 127, pt. 24 (97C/1S), 16 December 1981, 32234.
81. Alan Simpson (R-WY), CR v. 128, pt. 15 (97C/2S), 12 August 1982, 20827.

82. Alan Simpson (R-WY), CR v. 134, pt. 31, 15 March 1988, S2212.
83. George Huddleston (D-AL), CR v. 126, pt. 12 (96C/2S), 18 June 1980, 15278.
84. Eldon Rudd (R-AZ), CR v. 128, pt. 23 (97C/2S), 16 December 1982, 31791.
85. Lawton Chiles (D-FL), CR v. 128, pt. 15 (97C/2S), 12 August 1982, 20843.
86. George Huddleston (D-AL), CR v. 126, pt. 25 (96C/2S), 12 December 1980, 33868.
87. Lloyd Bentsen (D-TX), CR v. 128, pt. 16 (97C/2S), 17 August 1982, 21669.
88. Eldon Rudd (R-AZ), CR v. 130, pt. 11 (98C/2S), 11 June 1984, 15744.
89. George Gekas (R-PA), CR v. 131, pt. 18 (98C/2S), 19 September 1985, 24268.
90. Romano Mazzoli (D-KY), CR v. 132, pt. 21 (99C/2S), 9 October 1986, 29988.
91. James Scheuer (D-NY), CR v. 132, pt. 21 (99C/2S), 9 October 1986, 30054.
92. Although some, including the INS, prefer “undocumented” I use “illegal” because it is colloquial and more readily understandable.
93. Daniel (Bob) Graham (D-FL), CR v. 133, pt. 11 (100C/1S), 4 June 1987, 14638.
94. Mack Mattingly (R-GA), CR v. 128, pt. 15 (97C/2S), 12 August 1982, 20846.
95. Alan Simpson (R-WY), CR v. 134, pt. 30, 14 March 1988, S2121.
96. Richard Shelby (D-AL), CR v. 135, pt. 92, 12 July 1989, S7751.
97. Howard Berman (D-CA), CR v. 130, pt. 7 (98C/2S), 11 April 1984, 9056.
98. Daniel Glickman (D-KS), CR v. 130, pt. 12 (98C/2S), 11 June 1984, 17037.
99. Daniel Glickman (D-KS), CR v. 130, pt. 13 (98C/2S), 20 June 1984, 17247.
100. James McNulty (D-AZ), CR v. 130, pt. 13 (98C/2S), 20 June 1984, 17250.
101. Peter Rodino (D-NJ), CR v. 128, pt. 23 (97C/2S), 16 December 1982, 31785.
102. Lane Kirkland (individual), CR v. 129, pt. 4 (98C/1S), 7 March 1983, 4114.
103. Alan Simpson (R-WY), CR v. 128, pt. 15 (97C/2S), 13 August 1982, 21052.
104. Lawton Chiles (D-FL), CR v. 128, pt. 15 (97C/2S), 12 August 1982, 20842.
105. Charles Grassley (R-IA), CR v. 128, pt. 15 (97C/2S), 12 August 1982, 20866.
106. Herman Badillo (D-NY), CR v. 123, pt. 22 (95C/1S), 5 August 1977, 27785.
107. Robert Garcia (D-NY), CR v. 127, pt. 13 (97C/1S), 23 July 1981, 17029.
108. Lane Kirkland testimony, reprinted CR v. 129, pt. 4 (98C/1S), 7 March 1983, 4115.
109. Lawrence Smith (D-FL), CR v. 132, pt. 21 (99C/2S), 9 October 1986, 29991.
110. Ron Dellums (D-CA), CR v. 130, pt. 13 (98C/2S), 20 June 1984, 17239.
111. William Frenzel (R-MN), CR v. 130, pt. 13 (98C/2S), 20 June 1984, 17290.
112. William French Smith (attorney general) letter to Peter Rodino (D-NJ), CR v. 128, pt. 22 (97C/2S), 14 December 1982, 30609.

113. Jesse Helms (R-NC), CR v. 128, pt. 13 (97C/2S), 22 July 1982, 17712.
114. Harold Daub (R-NE), CR v. 131, pt. 18 (100C/1S), 19 September 1985, 24271.
115. John Conyers (D-MI), CR v. 121, pt. 11 (94C/1S), 14 May 1975, 14348.
116. Frank Lautenberg (D-NJ), CR v. 135, pt. 92, 12 July 1989, S7778.
117. Richard White (D-TX), CR v. 117, pt. 27 (92C/1S), 5 October 1971, 34914.
118. Jack McDonald (R-MI), CR v. 117, pt. 33 (92C/1S), 29 November 1971, 43349.
119. Ron Packard (R-CA), CR v. 132, pt. 18 (99C/2S), 23 September 1986, 25384.
120. Such proposals became popular on several occasions. One advocate is James Buckley (R-NY), CR v. 121, pt. 26 (94C/1S), 20 October 1975, 33082; also see John Exon (D-NE), CR v. 135, pt. 93 (101C/1S), 13 July 1989, S7859. The U.S. Supreme Court, in *Plyler vs. Doe* (1982), found that states, in this case Texas, could not deny federally guaranteed public benefits such as education to children who were illegal immigrants.
121. George Huddleston (D-AL), CR v. 126, pt. 12 (96C/2S), 18 June 1980, 15270.
122. John Ashbrook (R-OH), CR v. 124, pt. 12 (95C/2S), 6 June 1978, 16421.
123. Robert Byrd (D-WV), CR v. 135, pt. 93 (101C/1S), 13 July 1989, S7902.
124. James (Strom) Thurmond (R-SC), CR v. 129, pt. 8 (98C/1S), 28 April 1983, 10191.
125. Harold Daub (R-NE), CR v. 130, pt. 13 (98C/2S), 20 June 1984, 17247.
126. CR v. 130, pt. 12 (98C/2S), 13 June 1984, 16278.
127. *U.S. Immigration Policy and the National Interest* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1982), 2.
128. Lawton Chiles (D-FL), CR v. 126, pt. 12 (96C/2S), 18 June 1980, 15284.
129. B. F. Sisk (D-CA), CR v. 124, pt. 24 (95C/2S), 2 October 1978, 33123. Parentheses in original.
130. Robert Dole (R-KS), CR v. 126, pt. 12 (96C/2S), 18 June 1980, 15287.
131. Robin Beard (R-TN), CR v. 127, pt. 4 (97C/1S), 24 March 1981, 5115.
132. George Huddleston (D-AL), CR v. 125, pt. 18 (96C/1S), 6 September 1979, 23242.
133. George Huddleston (D-AL), CR v. 127, pt. 12 (97C/1S), 14 July 1981, 15604–5.
134. Edward Roybal (D-CA), CR v. 128, pt. 23 (97C/2S), 17 December 1982, 32019; echoed by Republican Rudolf Boschwitz (R-MN), CR v. 134, pt. 30, 14 March 1988, S2139.
135. CR v. 136, pt. 127 (101C/2S), 3 October 1990.
136. Durward Hall (R-MO), CR v. 118, pt. 1 (92C/2S), 18 January 1972, 34–35.
137. Samuel Hayakawa (R-CA), CR v. 128, pt. 15 (97C/2S), 13 August 1982, 21071.
138. CR v. 135, pt. 93 (101C/1S), 13 July 1989, S7862.
139. John Dow (D-NY), CR v. 114, pt. 9 (90C/2S), 30 April 1968, 11048.
140. Herman Badillo (D-NY), CR v. 120, pt. 19 (93C/2S), 23 July 1974, 24814.

141. Patricia Schroeder (D-CO), CR v. 132, pt. 12 (99C/2S), 22 July 1986, 17332.
142. Judith Goldstein, “Ideas, Institutions, and American Trade Policy,” *International Organization* 42/1 (winter 1988), 179–217.
143. Theodore Hesburgh (chair, Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy), words of early May, reprinted in CR v. 127, pt. 7 (97C/1S), 13 May 1981, 9535.
144. James Hollifield, *Immigrants, Markets and States: The Political Economy of Postwar Europe* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992).
145. John Ruggie, “International Regimes, Transactions and Change: Embedded Liberalism in the Postwar Economic Order,” *International Regimes*, ed. Stephen D. Krasner (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), 195–231.
146. Peter Rodino (D-NJ), CR v. 116, pt. 11 (91C/2S), 5 May 1970, 14209.
147. Jack Kemp (R-NY), CR v. 121, pt. 11 (94C/1S), 14 May 1975, 14355.
148. Robert Garcia (D-NY), CR v. 127, pt. 20 (97C/1S), 10 November 1981, 27179.
149. Charles Percy (R-IL), CR v. 128, pt. 15 (97C/2S), 12 August 1982, 20878.
150. Douglas Bereuter (R-NE), CR v. 135, pt. 151 (101C/1S), 1 November 1989, H7911.
151. George Mitchell (D-ME), CR v. 130, pt. 12 (98C/2S), 12 June 1984, 15955.
152. Abraham Kazen (D-TX), CR v. 118, pt. 23 (92C/2S), 12 September 1972, 30167.
153. William Armstrong (R-CO), CR v. 128, pt. 15 (97C/2S), 13 August 1982, 21015.
154. Patricia Schroeder (D-CO), CR v. 128, pt. 23 (97C/2S), 18 December 1982, 32151.
155. Cardiss Collins (D-IL), CR v. 130, pt. 11 (98C/2S), 11 June 1984, 15705.
156. Henry Gonzalez (D-TX), CR v. 132, pt. 21 (99C/2S), 9 October 1986, 29993.
157. Edward Kennedy (D-MA), CR v. 128, pt. 10 (97C/2S), 10 June 1982.
158. Peter Rodino (D-NJ), CR v. 118, pt. 13 (92C/2S), 4 May 1972, 15811.
159. Don Bonker (D-WA), CR v. 123, pt. 27 (95C/1S), 21 October 1977, 34788.
160. Don Bonker (D-WA), CR v. 125, pt. 3 (97C/1S), 11 March 1981, 4115.
161. Daniel Lungren (R-CA), CR v. 130, pt. 12 (98C/2S), 15930.
162. Peter Rodino (D-NJ), CR v. 132, pt. 22 (88C/2S), 15 October 1986, 31631.
163. Although the people granted amnesty were already on American soil, that grant was legally identical to approval to immigrate. Each person was entitled to establish legal residence in the country and to file for naturalization after the statutory period had elapsed.
164. William McCollum (R-FL), CR v. 130, pt. 11 (98C/2S), 11 June 1984, 15718.
165. Theodore Hesburgh (chair, Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy), quoted by Peter Rodino (D-NJ), CR v. 134, pt. 110, 28 July 1988, H6064.
166. Dale Bumpers (D-AL), CR v. 128, pt. 15 (97C/2S), 13 August 1982, 21036.

167. Gary Hart (D-CO), CR v. 131, pt. 18 (100C/1S), 20 September 1985, 24503.
168. Edward Kennedy (D-MA), CR v. 128, pt. 15 (97C/2S), 12 August 1982, 20832.
169. George Huddleston (D-AL), CR v. 128, pt. 15 (97C/2S), 12 August 1982, 20838.

Chapter 8

1. For these purposes, a *major effort* is defined as at least four days of legislative discussion on at least one bill in each House of Congress, combined with hearings on the issue, while *immigration policy* is still defined as the package of policies that sets out the restriction and admission criteria faced by most of the world. This discussion minimum is reasonable because any change requires this. This definition also helps to exclude the hundreds of occasions when individual congresspeople introduce bills that go nowhere, which happens every session. This definition also serves to exclude debate over policy toward one very small group of potential immigrants, such as Cuban, Salvadoran, or Haitian immigrants to the United States, that may be peripheral to American immigration policy.

2. *Fortune Magazine* (May 1938).

3. While these polls do measure American insularity and anti-Semitism, they also reveal a more complex picture of American opinion. For example, in 1939, 83 percent of Americans said that larger numbers of Germans should not come, while only (given this result) 71 percent said the same regarding Jewish exiles. The hostility toward Jews seems to have been extended in full measure to non-Jewish immigrants. This data is reported in Rita Simon, *Public Opinion and the Immigrant: Print Media Coverage, 1880–1980* (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1985), 33.

4. Edwin Harwood, “American Public Opinion and Immigration Policy,” *Annals (AAPSS)* 487 (September 1986), 206.

5. Edwin Harwood, “American Public Opinion and Immigration Policy,” *Annals (AAPSS)* 487 (September 1986), 202.

6. Gallup Organization, National adult ($N = 1,500$) USGALLUP.43–301.QT09, 26 August–2 September 1943.

7. Gallup Opinion Index May 1975, #119; Gallup Opinion Index September 1979 #170.

8. Gallup Political Index August 1965, #3.

9. Wayne Cornelius cites 1981 research (in Spanish) by Jorge A. Bustamante that in Cornelius’s words “places heavy emphasis on these economic indicators as determinants for public tolerance for the presence of Mexicans in U.S. labor markets.” See Cornelius, *America in the Era of Limits: Migrants, Nativists, and the Future of U.S.-Mexican Relations* (La Jolla: UCSC Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, 1982), working paper II, footnote 7.

10. For example, in a regression to explain change in (the residual of) the

immigration ceiling divided by the U.S. population, unemployment is most significant when lagged three years: it is not statistically significant even when it is the only independent variable ($p = .08$) and washes out immediately when any other variables are added.

11. As with the other data presented here, correlations are with residuals, with the exception of unemployment, which has no secular trend.

12. An apprehension is “the arrest of a deportable alien by the Immigration and Naturalization Service. Each apprehension of the same alien in a fiscal year is counted separately.” The deportable alien subject to this apprehension is “an alien in the United States subject to and of the 19 grounds of deportation specified by the Immigration and Nationality Act. This includes any alien illegally in the United States, regardless of whether the alien entered illegally or entered legally but subsequently violated the terms of his or her visa” (*Statistical Yearbook of the INS 1988*, 138, 139).

13. A. F. K. Organski, *The \$36 Billion Bargain: Strategy and Politics in U.S. Assistance to Israel* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), 27.

14. T. H. Marshall, *Class, Citizenship and Social Development: Essays* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1964).

Chapter 9

1. Trade policy dates and trade volume are here used solely as a comparison, as a measure against which to view immigration policy and immigrant volume. They are not the essay’s focus.

2. Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (New York: Random House, 1979), 164–65.

3. Hans Morgenthau, *Politics among Nations*, 5th ed. rev. (New York: Knopf, 1978).

4. An immigrant is “an alien admitted to the United States as a lawful permanent resident. Immigrants are those persons lawfully accorded the privilege of residing permanently in the United States” (*Statistical Yearbook of the INS 1988*, 141). Immigrants may petition for citizenship.

5. Robert O. Keohane, *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), chap. 3; Duncan Snidal, “The Limits of Hegemonic Stability Theory,” *International Organization* 39/4 (autumn 1985), 579–614.

6. Discussion of this point is in John Gerard Ruggie, “Multilateralism: The Anatomy of an Institution,” *International Organization* 46/3 (summer 1992), 561–98.

7. Aristide R. Zolberg, “International Migration Policies in a Changing World System,” *Human Migration: Patterns and Policies*, ed. William H. McNeill and Ruth S. Adams (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978), 241–86.

8. This view infuses, for example, work done in regime theory. Without hegemony, states should move toward autarky, bringing about chaos. Order without

hegemony requires explanation. See Robert Keohane, *After Hegemony*, and Stephen Krasner's preface to *International Regimes* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983).

9. David Mitrany, *A Working Peace System* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1966).

10. David Mitrany, *The Progress of International Government* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1933), 116, emphasis in the original.

11. David Mitrany, *The Progress of International Government*, 68.

12. One work, Brian Barry and Robert E. Goodin's *Free Movement: Ethical Issues in the Transnational Migration of People and of Money* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1992), starts with the assumption that trade has become freer while immigration policies have not necessarily become so, then goes on to examine the ethical implications of continued immigration restriction. But examining these policies' actual trends and relationships and detailing them over a long period of time are important because the central theories in international relations each contain implicit hypotheses about these relationships and trends. Realism and functionalism, for example, each deny that different border control policies are heading in different directions at all.

13. Data used to test these hypotheses are drawn from public sources and except where an alteration is explicitly indicated in the text have not been reconstructed. Sources from which the set was compiled are listed in a codebook attached to the dataset, so they are not generally cited in the text. All variables cover the years from 1890–1989 or as many of those years for which data are available or sensible. For example, the National Bureau of Economic Research constructed consistent GNP figures for this whole period, but the Immigration and Naturalization Service did not always count alien border crossings, and Congress did not establish a numerical limit until 1921. The statistical picture is fairly complete, but even so, only cases (years) for which all information is available have been used.

14. Tariffs are a tricky measure because the proportion of imports subject to them depends not just on the level Congress sets but also, of course, on the volume of dutiable and nondutiable goods that people then decide to purchase. I am using tariffs levied as a proportion of dutiable goods as the best measure available, rather than the best measure, period. The main American legislative interventions into the tariff level are the McKinley tariff of 1890, Wilson-Gorman of 1894, Dingley of 1897, Payne-Aldrich of 1909, Underwood of 1913 (all in the 40 percent range), Fordney McCumber of 1922 and Smoot-Hawley of 1930 (both boosting tariffs into the 50 percent range), the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act of 1930 and the Extension Acts of 1945 and 1948. Legislation following these are titled "trade expansion act of . . ." and lower tariffs into the GATT rounds. Prior to World War II, these legislative dates coincide with those to restrict immigration. They are within months of each other.

15. Numbers in parentheses indicate correlations between residual variables.

16. Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye distinguish between sensitivity and vulnerability in their *Power and Interdependence* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1977). "Sen-

sitivity involves degrees of responsiveness within a policy framework—how quickly do changes in one country bring costly changes in another and how great are the costly effects? . . . The vulnerability dimension of interdependence rests on the relative availability and costliness of alternatives the various actors face” (12, 13).

17. These and following uncited figures are my own, calculated in the data set upon which this section is based.

18. Some relatives have been quota immigrants and some have been nonquota. Different groups of relatives have fallen into different categories at different times.

19. Relatives stayed mainly outside a numerical ceiling until the 1980s, when the large numbers of Vietnamese refugees began to petition for their relatives’ admission. Relatives were then pulled entirely under the numerical ceiling.

20. A nonimmigrant is “an alien who seeks temporary entry to the United States for a specific reason. The alien must have a permanent residence abroad and qualify for the nonimmigrant classification sought. The nonimmigrant classifications are: foreign government officials, visitors for business and for pleasure, aliens in transit through the United States, treaty traders and investors, students, international representatives, temporary workers and trainees, representatives of foreign information media, exchange visitors, fiances(ees) of U.S. citizens, intracompany transferees, and NATO officials” (*Statistical Yearbook of the INS 1988*, 143).

21. Refugees have for the most part been handled outside of regular immigration policy. They were first charged against country quotas, then accorded parole status or adjusted through special ad hoc legislation. In 1965, they received a small preference within the general policy, but by the late 1970s it became clear that the refugee problem was too unwieldy to remain a part of a policy that was revised only once a generation. In 1980, refugees were taken care of through separate legislation.

22. Before the 1960s, colonial territories were included in the allotment assigned to the metropole. During this period, colonies received a cap; in addition, only “white” or “Negro” residents were eligible.

23. Competing demographic theories of migration each rest on this central fact. See Larry Sjaastad, “The Costs and Returns of Human Migration,” *Journal of Political Economy* 70/5 (1962), 80–93; Julie DaVanzo, “Microeconomic Approaches to Studying Migration Decisions,” *Migration Decisionmaking*, ed. Gordon DeJong and Robert W. Gardner (New York: Pergamon, 1981), 90–130; Michael P. Todaro, “Internal Migration in Developing Countries,” *Population and Economic Change in Developing Countries*, ed. Richard A. Easterlin (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 361–402.

Chapter 10

1. Katherine Organski and A. F. K. Organski, *Population and World Power* (New York: Knopf, 1961); A. F. K. Organski, Jacek Kugler, J. Timothy Johnson,

and Youssef Cohen, *Births, Deaths, and Taxes: The Demographic and Political Transitions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984).

2. Craig Calhoun, "Nationalism and Ethnicity," *Annual Review of Sociology* 19 (1993), 211–39.

3. James Mayall, *Nationalism and International Society* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 27.

4. Friedrich Kratochwil, "Of Systems, Boundaries, and Territoriality."

5. Milton C. Garber (R-OK), CR v. 65, pt. 6 (68C/1S), 5 April 1924, 5693.

6. Samuel Hobbs (D-AL), CR v. 96, pt. 8 (81C/2S), 17 July 1950, 10456.

7. James (Strom) Thurmond (R-SC), CR v. 111, pt. 18 (89C/1S), 17 September 1965, 24237.

8. George Huddleston (D-AL), CR v. 126, pt. 25 (96C/2S), 12 December 1980, 33868.

9. Dwight Eisenhower, House Document 85, CR v. 103, pt. 1 (85C/1S), 31 January 1957, 1355.

10. Stanley Lundine (D-NY), CR v. 130, pt. 12 (98C/2S), 19 June 1984, 17062.

11. The large-scale changes in the racial composition of the American population in the 1970s and 1980s had their origin in the ad hoc admission of refugees from the Indochina wars. Once they had been given permission to enter as prospective citizens, they could petition for their relatives' entry. Since few Southeast Asians had immigrated earlier, this was the first opportunity for this "market" to be tapped; response was therefore huge.

12. Samuel Dickstein (D-NY), *Study of Naturalization Laws and Procedures*, Hearings before Subcommittee II of the COIN, House of Representatives (79C/1S), 9 May to 5 June 1945, 15.

13. James Hollifield, *Immigrants, Markets, and States* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992).

14. See Kay Hailbronner, "Citizenship and Nationhood in Germany," *Immigration and the Politics of Citizenship in Europe and North America*, ed. William Rogers Brubaker (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1989), 67–79.

15. For discussion, see William Rogers Brubaker, "Citizenship and Naturalization: Policies and Politics," *Immigration and the Politics of Citizenship in Europe and North America* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1989), 106–8.

16. For overviews and discussions of immigration in the European Union, see Giuseppe Callovi, "Regulation of Immigration in 1993: Pieces of the European Community Jig-Saw Puzzle," *International Migration Review* 26/2 (summer 1992), 353–72; Sarah Collinson, *Beyond Borders: West European Migration Policy Towards the Twenty-first Century* (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1993); Elizabeth Meehan, *Citizenship and the European Community* (London: Sage, 1993).