

NOTES

1. FAIR's purpose. <http://www.fairus.org/html/fair.htm>, accessed 8/23/01.
2. A *Wall Street Journal* editorial on July 3, 1986 first made this proposal, which was repeated in an editorial on July 3, 1990.
3. Vernon J. Briggs, *Mass Immigration and the National Interest* (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 1992), p. 45.
4. The 1790 Act permitted white persons of "good moral character" to acquire citizenship after two years of residence. The period was briefly extended to fourteen years in 1798 and has been five years since 1800.
5. Woodrow Wilson, *A History of the American People*, vol. 4 (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1901), pp. 212–13.
6. Quoted in Oscar Handlin, "Memorandum Concerning the Origins of the National Origin Quota System," Hearings before the President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization, 82nd Congress, 2nd session. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1952), p. 755.
7. House of Representatives Committee on the Judiciary, *House report 1365*, 82nd Congress, 2nd Session, February 14, 1952, p. 37. Each country was guaranteed at least 100 visas, so that 154,477 visas were available annually.
8. Hispanics may be of any race: in responding to the census, about 90 percent of Hispanics designated themselves white.
9. U.S. Census Bureau, 1996.
10. In 1953, for the only time in the past 70 years, more than 10 percent of the public favored increasing immigration. Julian L. Simon, *The Economic Consequences of Immigration* (New York: Blackwell, 1989), p. 350.
11. "Immigration," *American Enterprise*, Jan.–Feb. 1994, pp. 97–100.
12. Quoted in Carl N. Degler, *Out of Our Past: The Forces That Shaped Modern America*, 2nd ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), p. 50.
13. Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1995 *Statistical Yearbook*, pp. 137–38.
14. Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Henry Holt, 1920), pp. 22–23.
15. See "Multiculturalism and Universalism: A History and Critique," *American Quarterly* 45, no. 2 (June 1993).

16. Francois Grosjean, *Life with Two Languages: An Introduction to Bilingualism* (Cambridge, Mass. and London, England: Harvard University Press, 1982), Chapter 2.
17. Calvin Velthmann, *The Future of the Spanish Language in the United States* (Washington, D.C. and New York: Hispanic Policy Development Project, 1988), Chapter 8.
18. Rodolfo O. de la Garza, Luis De Sipio, F. Chris Garcia, John Garcia, and Angelo Falcon, *Latino Voices* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1992), p. 42.
19. Joseph R. Meisenheimer II, "How Do Immigrants Fare in the U.S. Labor Market?" *Monthly Labor Review*, December 1992, p. 17. This conclusion is echoed by other studies: "[T]hose in the United States who speak English 'well' or 'very well' have 17 percent higher earnings than those with less fluency . . . The analysis suggests that spoken dominant-language proficiency is an important determinant of earnings and presumably other measures of economic success among immigrants." Barry Chiswick and Paul Miller, "Language in the Immigrant Labor Market," in *Immigration, Language and Ethnicity: Canada and the U.S.*, ed. Barry Chiswick (Washington, D.C.: AEI Press, 1992), p. 277.
20. de la Garza, p. 98.
21. "Census: 13 Million, 8.5 Million," *Migration News* 8, no. 9 (September 2001), <http://migration.ucdavis.edu/>
22. Douglas S. Massey, Joaquin Arango, Grame Hugo, Ali Kouaouci, Adela Pelligrino, and J. Edward Taylor, "Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal," *Population and Development Review* 19, no. 3 (September 1993): 431–66.
23. Varden Fuller argued that the structure of California agriculture—its system of large farms dependent on seasonal workers—developed because workers without other U.S. job options, that is, immigrants, were usually available. In his words, the assumption was "that with no particular effort on the part of the employer, a farm labor force would emerge when needed, do its work, and then disappear—accepting the terms and conditions offered, without question." Varden Fuller, *Hired Hands in California's Farm Fields* (Berkeley: Gianinni Foundation, 1991), p. vii.
24. U.S. Commission for the Study of International Migration and Cooperative Economic Development, 1990, p. xv.

25. Quoted in President Bush's letter to Congress, 1 May 1991, p. 17. In a September 10, 1992 speech to the Detroit Economic Club, President Bush said that the economic growth accelerated by NAFTA should "cut down on the cross-border flow of illegals that I think is burdening a lot of our country, particularly California."
26. "President Johnson's Message to Congress," *Keesing's Contemporary Archives*, 20–27 September 1995, p. 21083.
27. Cited by George Will, "Discomforting Truths about Bilingual Ballots," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 2 May 1996.
28. Michael Tomasky, "Reaffirming Our Actions," *Nation*, 13 May 1996, pp. 21–23.
29. *The Immigration Briefing Book* (Washington, D.C.: Carrying Capacity Network, 1994); Molly Ivins, "Our Problems Aren't Caused by Immigrants," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 26 April 1996.
30. Interview with Herman Kahn, *Conservative Digest*, September 1983, pp. 36–38. "False Bad News vs. Truly Bad News," *Public Interest* 65 (fall 1981): 71–89. For a detailed discussion of *Global 2000 Report to the President*, see "The Global 2000 Juggernaut" (Washington, D.C., Institutional Analysis, the Heritage Foundation, 1983).
31. Julian L. Simon, "Resources, Population, Environment: An Oversupply of Bad False News," *Science* 208 (27 June 1980): 1421–37. See also Simon, *Economic Consequences of Immigration*.
32. Julian L. Simon, *Immigration and Economic Facts* (Washington, D.C.: Cato Institute, 1995).
33. Thomas Sowell, *Ethnic America: A History* (New York: Basic Books, 1981), p. 220; and Barry Chiswick, "The Effects of Americanization on the Earnings of Foreign Born," *Journal of Political Economy* 11 (October 1978): 879–922.
34. George H. Borjas, "Immigration and Welfare: A Review of the Evidence," in *The Debate in the United States over Immigration*, eds. Peter Duignan and Lewis H. Gann (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1998), pp. 121–44.
35. Letter from T. J. Rodgers, president and CEO of Cypress Semiconductor, to Senator Spencer Abraham (R-Mich.), 26 February 1996, communicated to us by the author.
36. "The Best Americans?" *The Economist*, 26 November 1994, reporting on

- "The Index of Leading Immigration Indicators," Manhattan Institute, 1994.
37. Cited in Peter Duignan and L. H. Gann, *The Spanish Speakers in the United States* (Washington D.C.: University Press of America, 1998), pp. 346–50.
 38. Julian L. Simon, "Public Expenditure on Immigrants to the United States: Past and Present," *Population and Development Review* 22, no. 1 (March 1996): 99–110.
 39. Paul Rich, "Mexican Neoliberal Nightmares: Tampico Is Not Taiwan," *Journal of Interamerican Studies* 37, no. 4 (winter 1995): 173–90.
 40. John Tanton, "Rethinking Immigration Policy" (Washington, D.C., Federation for American Immigration Reform, 1980), p. 13.
 41. Paul R. Ehrlich, Loy Bilderback, Anne H. Ehrlich, eds. *The Golden Door: International Migration, Mexico and the United States* (New York: Wideview Books, 1981).
 42. B. Meredith Burke, "An Environmental Impact Statement for Immigration," *Wall Street Journal*, 1 April 1993, p. A15.
 43. Peter Brimelow, *Alien Nation: Common Sense About America's Immigration Disaster* (New York: Random House, 1995), *passim*.
 44. Roy Howard Beck, *The Case Against Immigration: The Moral, Economic, Social, and Environmental Reasons for Reducing U.S. Immigration back to Traditional Levels* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1996).
 45. George H. Borjas, "Immigration and Welfare: A Review of the Evidence."
 46. Lawrence Auster, "Massive Immigration Will Destroy America," *Insight*, 3 October 1994, p. 18.
 47. Peter Skerry, *Mexican-Americans: The Ambivalent Minority* (New York: Free Press, 1993), p. 367. See also Skerry, "Immigrants, Bureaucrats, and Life Choices," in *The Debate in the United States over Immigration*, eds. Peter Duignan and Lewis H. Gann (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1998), pp. 207–23.
 48. John Miller, "The Naturalizers," *Policy Review*, Jul–Aug 1996, p. 31.
 49. Stuart M. Butler et al., eds., *Issues '96* (Washington, D.C.: The Heritage Foundation, 1996), p. 355; for reforms of the U.S. immigration, see chapter 11, pp. 333–57.