

[ppt 1: "DYING TO GET IN" cover slide]

[ppt 2: CLAUDIA SMITH, guest]

[ppt 3: Minutemen in Vista]

Our special guest this evening is CLAUDIA SMITH,

Director of the Border Project for the California Rural Legal Assistance Foundation, based in Oceanside.

Claudia is one of the country's leading public interest lawyers specializing in immigration. She was born in GUATEMALA and received her legal training in the United States. She is very active as an ADVOCATE FOR IMMIGRANTS' RIGHTS, internationally as well as nationally and locally.

Claudia, a very warm welcome.

First, please give us some sense of WHAT KIND OF WORK you do, as the representative of a non-governmental organization operating in the immigration field.

How would you describe the MEXICAN GOVERNMENT's position on the issues that concern you?

With respect to migrant deaths at the border, the AVERAGE AMERICAN seems to think that it's WRONG to blame the U.S. government or government policy for

these fatalities. It's the MIGRANT who has placed himself (or herself) in these dangerous situations. WHY SHOULD THE U.S. GOVT BE HELD ACCOUNTABLE?

The U.S. GOVERNMENT routinely blames "coyotes" for these deaths.

LAST WEEK, Border Patrol union president TJ Bonner told us that it was a matter of SHARED RESPONSIBILITY: He acknowledged that it's the federal government BORDER ENFORCEMENT STRATEGY that's killing migrants, but with A LOT OF HELP FROM 'COYOTES.' How would you assess the responsibility of professional people-smugglers?

In your judgement, is there any way to make the current border enforcement strategy LESS DANGEROUS, or MORE HUMANE?

-- What are the best ALTERNATIVES to the current strategy?

About the problem of UNIDENTIFIED migrants whose bodies are recovered along the border? WHY are more than 1,000 unidentified migrants sitting in anonymously marked graves in U.S. cemeteries, *rather* than having their bodies returned to their loved ones?

[PPT 3-4]

We have some photos of the HOLTVILLE CEMETERY, near EL CENTRO, which contains 400 unidentified migrants.

Based on *your* observations, is the Border Patrol more disciplined, more humane in its treatment of apprehended migrants TODAY than it was 10-15 years ago?

[PPT 5]

On the 'MINUTEMEN' phenomenon:

You've had quite a bit of interaction with the *San Diego Minutemen*.

TJ Bonner described them last week as “essentially POLITICAL PROTESTERS,” who don't really affect the way the Border Patrol does its business. How do YOU see their role?

[PPT 6]

CONTROLLING IMMIGRATION: THE EUROPEAN EXPERIENCE

Our main topic this evening is the EUROPEAN experience with immigration, mostly from Third World countries.

[PPT 7]

Here's the big picture:

In the European Union, on average, about 10% of the total population is now foreign-born.

By comparison, the U.S. share of foreign-born is about 13%. But it took SEVERAL CENTURIES for the U.S. to reach that level. For most West European countries, immigration is a relatively RECENT phenomenon.

Hitler forcibly moved *millions* of people around within his empire during World War II, but the experience of Western Europe with large—scale, VOLUNTARY, LABOR MIGRATION only began in the 1950s or '60s, with the advent of the “guestworker” programs that we’ve discussed.

For many years, countries like BRITAIN and GERMANY insisted that they’re NOT “countries of immigration.” Germany didn’t even HAVE a national immigration law until 2 years ago [2004]. But the REALITY is that all of these countries have become COUNTRIES OF IMMIGRATION in the last 20 years.

As you see on this map, the darkest-blue countries – SWITZERLAND and AUSTRIA – now have over 15% of their population FOREIGN-BORN.

But IRELAND, GERMANY, SPAIN, FRANCE, BELGIUM, and THE NETHERLANDS are all between 10-15% foreign-born.

[PPT 8]

In the last 2 years, there has been a mass migration from EASTERN EUROPE into the WEST European countries. The impetus was the EXPANSION OF THE EUROPEAN UNION in 2004, to include all the countries colored in RED.

The YELLOW countries are candidates to join the EU. ROMANIA and BULGARIA are scheduled to join next year; TURKEY, probably not for several MORE years.

But ROMANIANS are already flooding into SPAIN. And during the past 2 years, more than 400,000 POLES and other East Europeans have come to work in the UK.

The East Europeans are mostly migrating LEGALLY, *taking advantage* of the access that they were granted to West European labor markets after their home countries were admitted to the E.U.

[PPT 9]
Initially, Western Europe's main sources of immigrants were the Europeans' FORMER COLONIES in Asia and North Africa -- countries like ALGERIA, which supplied most of the immigrants to FRANCE during this early stage of immigration.

Then, after the collapse of Communist regimes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, there was a heavy flow of ECONOMIC REFUGEES from those countries.

[PPT 10]
And, there were ASYLUM-SEEKERS: *Hundreds of thousands* of them, looking for work in countries like GERMANY and the U.K. , which had the most LIBERAL laws for *claiming political asylum*.

Applications for asylum-seekers in Western Europe PEAKED in 1992 (the BLUE portion of each bar in this slide). That was the year when GERMANY clamped down and passed restrictive legislation on asylum.

The number of asylum-seekers coming to Europe has DROPPED from about 400,000 a year in the *early 1990s* to about 65,000 a year *at present* -- an illustration of how LEGISLATION can sometimes affect immigration flows, rather *dramatically*.

[PPT 11]

But a **LARGE PORTION** of the immigration to Western Europe in the last 15 years or so has been ‘**IRREGULAR,**’ as the Europeans prefer to call *illegal* immigration.

For migrants who enter **CLANDESTINELY**, these are the *main routes of entry*: the southern coastlines of **SPAIN** and **ITALY** – often referred to as the ‘**SOFT UNDER-BELLY**’ of Europe -- and, on the *east*, the **POLISH land border**.

[PPT 12]

In recent years, it’s estimated that the illegal-immigrant population of the European Union has been growing by about **HALF A MILLION A YEAR** – about the same growth as in the **U.S.**

1 OUT OF 10 of Europe’s foreign-born population is believed to be there **ILLEGALLY**. (That includes both *clandestine entrants* and *visa-overstayers*.)

The countries with the largest stocks of “irregular” migrants are all in **SOUTHERN Europe** – Spain, Italy, Greece, and Portugal.

[PPT 13]

Even though economic growth has been **SLUGGISH** in several of the EU countries, for more than a decade, European employers have a **strong appetite** for foreign labor.

As you can see in this slide, foreign workers make up MORE THAN 10% of the work force today in AUSTRIA, SPAIN, and SWITZERLAND.

Switzerland is actually the MOST IMMIGRANT-DEPENDENT COUNTRY in the industrialized world, with about 18% of its labor force foreign-born – MUCH HIGHER than in the U.S.

But immigrants are *also* a significant part of the labor force in FRANCE, GERMANY, the UK, and several other countries.

[PPT 14]

Immigrants in Europe work in THE SAME KINDS OF INDUSTRIES where they work in the U.S.:

AGRICULTURE from vegetables to vineyards;

[PPT 15]

CONSTRUCTION and the HOSPITALITY INDUSTRY....

[PPT 16]

RESTAURANTS and RETAIL BUSINESSES.

[PPT 17]

Several West European countries have also started new “guestworker” programs to attract HIGHLY-SKILLED immigrants to work in their information technology industries.

At the same time, there has been a strong trend in immigration policymaking AGAINST providing visas for low-skilled immigrant workers – at least from OUTSIDE the E.U. immigration.

GERMANY, FRANCE, and BRITAIN have all passed new immigration laws within the last year, that **TILT THEIR LEGAL IMMIGRATION SYSTEMS in favor** of highly skilled foreign workers, and **AGAINST** low-skilled workers.

The *clear message* of these countries is: ‘**LET THE SKILLED COME.... and ONLY the skilled.**’ They’re all using modified versions of the **POINT SYSTEM** for getting immigration visas – the system that’s been used for many years by countries like **AUSTRALIA** and **CANADA**.

But by **CLOSING THE DOOR** to legal immigration for **UNSKILLED** workers from outside the EU, these countries are just generating more **ILLEGALITY** in their immigration flows ... because, like the U.S., their *economies* have a demand for both low-skilled **AND** high-skilled immigrants.

And the evidence clearly indicates that the economies of Western Europe are **EASILY ABSORBING** the hundreds of thousands of new, mostly **LOW-SKILLED** Third World migrants that they receive each year.

Even in the countries that have the highest growth rates in their immigrant populations -- **SPAIN, ITALY, and GREECE** – the impact of immigration on wages and employment turns out to be **NEGLIGIBLE** or slightly **POSITIVE**.

That’s because immigrants are acting as **COMPLEMENTS** to native-born workers, rather than **COMPETITORS**. The growth in **PRODUCTIVITY** and in the **DEMAND**

FOR GOODS AND SERVICES resulting from immigration has actually created **MORE** employment opportunities.

[PPT 18]

The polling data show that most West Europeans **RECOGNIZE** this complementary of immigrants and natives in the labor market.

When asked whether immigrants mostly **TAKE JOBS AWAY** from native-born workers, or whether they're mostly **TAKING JOBS THAT CITIZENS DON'T WANT**, from **TWO-THIRDS** to **THREE-QUARTERS** of interviewees in these five EU countries said that immigrants are **TAKING THE JOBS SHUNNED BY NATIVES**.

[PPT 19]

We've talked before about the **DEMOGRAPHIC IMPLOSION** that the West European countries are facing.

The UN has projected that during the next 50 years, European populations will **SHRINK DRASTICALLY**, *absent* a very large increase in immigration.

[PPT 20]

How large an increase?

Here are *three examples*:

- **GERMANY** would need to receive, and **RETAIN**, over 25 million immigrants over this 50-year period;
- **ITALY** would need nearly 20 million;
- **FRANCE** would require nearly 6 million.

OVERALL, immigration to Western Europe would have to DOUBLE over this 50-year period, to maintain population stability.

(Of course, immigration on that scale wouldn't be SOCIALLY AND POLITICALLY

TOLERABLE in these countries. So immigration CAN'T be “the solution” to

Europe's demographic implosion, but it can EASE the *financial strains created in health and pension programs*, by population decline and aging.)

[PPT 21]

¿How did Europeans get themselves into this predicament?

A DEEP, AND SUSTAINED, FALL IN BIRTH RATES is the key culprit.

FOR EXAMPLE: Last year, the birth rate in GERMANY fell to its lowest level since 1945, at the end of World War II.

SPAIN and ITALY are tied with JAPAN for the lowest birth rate among major, industrialized countries.

Here are the “total fertility rates” for European countries, as of 2 years ago.

The “total fertility rate” is the *number of children born to each woman* in her lifetime, on average.

OVERALL, the fertility rate for these countries is only 1.50.

The so-called ‘REPLACEMENT LEVEL’ – the fertility rate that would be necessary to keep the population from shrinking – is 2.1.

For comparison, the UNITED STATES has a fertility rate close to the replacement level. But that's only because of IMMIGRATION, as is also the case in Western Europe. The fertility of IMMIGRANTS is higher than that of native-born citizens.

IN OTHER WORDS: If it weren't for BABIES BEING BORN TO IMMIGRANTS in these countries, their populations would be declining even MORE rapidly, and the 'DEPENDENCY RATIO' – the ratio of retirees to economically active workers – would be skyrocketing.

[PPT 23]

With immigration *staving off* economic decline and the collapse of public finances in their countries, *YOU MIGHT THINK* THAT West Europeans would view immigration QUITE POSITIVELY.

INSTEAD, the polling data reveal that public opinion is BADLY DIVIDED. Nearly HALF OF THE PUBLIC in these five major EU countries thinks that immigration is having a 'BAD INFLUENCE' on their country.

[PPT 24]

ALL of the West European countries now have at least ONE extremist, ANTI-IMMIGRANT POLITICAL PARTY.

These parties are capable of PUTTING PEOPLE INTO THE STREETS, sometimes WINNING LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS, and sometimes PROVOKING ANTI-IMMIGRANT VIOLENCE.

Among the MOST SUCCESSFUL of the European anti-immigrant parties, in terms of VOTING-GETTING ability, is the FREEDOM PARTY in Austria, formerly led by Joerg Haider.

Haider's party won 28% of the vote in national elections held in Austria in 2001.

[PPT 25]

In the famously tolerant NETHERLANDS, the party of PIM FORTUYN

("FORTEEN") stood a good chance of finishing FIRST in the 2002 Dutch elections, according to the pre-election polls. Fortuyn was former *Marxist university professor*, turned "*populist-conservative*" politician.

He didn't win, but *only because* he was ASSASSINATED by a mentally deranged man, a few days before the election.

[PPT 26]

In BRITAIN, the BRITISH NATIONAL PARTY, currently headed by NICK GRIFFIN, has been *noisily stirring up anti-immigrant sentiment* since the 1980s.

The BNP hasn't managed to elect many of its candidates, even to LOCAL offices.

But it has continued to prod the British government to take a harder line on immigration, and it has *increased its vote share* in some economically depressed cities.

And that the REAL SIGNIFICANCE of far-right, anti-immigrant parties like the BNP: They can “nudge” the more MAINSTREAM political parties to adopt more RESTRICTIVE immigration policies.

In Britain, TONY BLAIR’S LABOR PARTY has been pursuing distinctly ILLIBERAL immigration and asylum policies, in an effort to outflank the right.

[PPT 27]

The most IMPORTANT anti-immigrant party in Europe during the last 15 years has been the NATIONAL FRONT in France, headed by Jean Marie LE PEN.

In April of 2002, Le Pen won 17% of the vote in the first round of the French presidential elections....enough to finish SECOND and knock out the SOCIAL PARTY’s candidate.

[PPT 28]

This provoked massive COUNTER-demonstrations in MARSEILLE and PARIS.

HERE’S A VIDEO CLIP ON LE PEN’S 2002 CAMPAIGN for the presidency.

[RUN VHS TAPE #1: ‘LE PEN CAMPAIGN’]

Le Pen was soundly DEFEATED by Jacques Chirac, the “mainstream” conservative candidate, in the second round.

But he had demonstrated that an anti-establishment, anti-European Union, anti-immigrant message CAN resonate powerfully in France.

[PPT 29]

And since last fall, Le Pen's political stock has been GOING UP, AGAIN.

He was given a considerable BOOST by the RIOTS that erupted in Paris and nearly 300 other cities last year.

You have a couple of articles on the October 2005 riots in your reader, so I won't repeat what's there.

SUFFICE IT TO SAY THAT these were NOT really "*immigration riots*," as Le Pen and anti-immigration groups in the U.S. tried to paint them.

[PPT 30]

The rioters WERE NOT immigrants, but rather, the France-born *children and grandchildren* of immigrants who arrived in the 1960s and '70s.

These SECOND- AND THIRD-GENERATION young people had their OWN issues, *as we see in this video clip.*

[RUN DVD: CBS NEWS, 'FRANCE AFLAME']

[PPT 31]

Playing off the riots, Le Pen's approval rating rose to 21% in a national poll last spring.

He's running for President again, in next year's election, with the slogan:

"Immigration,...explosion in the suburbs....Le Pen FORETOLD IT!"

[PPT 32]

The riots also gave a boost to THIS MAN -- Nicolas Sarkozy, who is the leading presidential prospect of the center-right ruling party.

Sarkozy himself is the son of an immigrant – a HUNGARIAN immigrant.

As the current *Interior Minister*, Sarkozy was responsible for PUTTING DOWN the October riots.

Since then, he has pushed a series of hard-line immigration measures, including the *deportation of tens of thousands* of irregular migrants this year, and the immigration law passed in June that restricts legal immigration to high-skilled workers.

Well, ¿How do we EXPLAIN *rising anti-immigration* sentiment in the *general public*, and a flurry of hard-line responses by EU governments?

Sluggish economic growth has been a factor, in countries like GERMANY and FRANCE. It's easy to DISPLACE FRUSTRATION over slow growth to IMMIGRANTS.

[PPT 33]

Another contributing factor is the still-generous West European WELFARE STATE.

In countries like BRITAIN and THE NETHERLANDS, the public has become convinced that social welfare programs are being PILLAGED by OUTSIDERS.

The children of immigrants are an increasingly large presence in West European schools, calling attention to the *taxpayer expense* of providing basic human services to the immigrant population.

[PPT 34]

The “cultural” *objection* to immigration from the Third World is another factor.

A smoldering backlash against MULTI-CULTURALISM, in general, fuels *much* of the anti-immigrant sentiment in Europe today.

These are ALL countries that have become MULTI-CULTURAL since the end of World War II.

But public tolerance of multiculturalism is still *limited* – even in countries like BRITAIN, where ethnic-immigrant communities have been well-established in the large cities for *several decades*.

[PPT 35]

Not that ALL elements of cultural diversity being imported through immigration are *rejected* by the native-born population.

In the realms of CUISINE, POPULAR CULTURE, and SPORTS, multiculturalism often seems to be more of a PLUS than a NEGATIVE.

[PPT 36]

More than *anything else*, it is the ISLAMIC RELIGION of many the immigrants that's generating *anxiety* in Western Europe today.

A high percentage of recent immigrants since the 1980s have been MUSLIMS.
[PPT 37]

The building of MOSQUES in formerly homogenous, Catholic or Protest neighborhoods, has often been a flash point.

[PPT 38]

But anti-immigrant sentiment can be provoked by ANY open manifestation of adherence to Islam, such as the *wearing of traditional Islamic HEADSCARVES* by female Muslim students in public schools.

[PPT 39]

In France last year, the National Assembly voted OVERWHELMINGLY to prohibit the wearing of the headscarf – and *other* religious symbols – in schools.

Here's how the headscarf controversy developed in France.

[RUN VHS TAPE #3: 'MUSLIM HEADSCARF CONTROVERSY']

[PPT 40]

A similar controversy erupted recently in GERMANY. It landed a public school teacher who had insisted on wearing a headscarf in her classroom in COURT.

She lost the case.

[PPT 41]

And of course, since the subway bombings in MADRID in 2004, and in LONDON last year [2005], public anxiety about the influx of Muslim immigrants has been *heightened*.

The attacks were carried out by ISLAMIC EXTREMISTS -- mostly MOROCCAN IMMIGRANTS in Madrid; British-born, second-generation PAKISTANIS in London.

To many West Europeans, the implication is that their governments have been

TOO SOFT on immigrants who may post a threat to SECURITY, and TOO LAX on *immigration control*.

[PPT 42]

¿WHAT HAVE THE WEST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES BEEN DOING TO CONTROL IMMIGRATION?

Border enforcement has been the *policy instrument of choice*.

In 1985, a *subset* of E.U. countries formed the so-called SCHENGEN GROUP.

Today it includes ALL of the original E.U. member countries, EXCEPT the U.K., Ireland, Denmark, and Norway.

The purpose of the Schengen agreement was NOT to impose uniform IMMIGRATION policies – policies regulating *who will be admitted*, legally -- but rather to establish common policies for BORDER control.

That meant gradually ABOLISHING border controls WITHIN the territory of the European Union, while STRENGTHENING the E.U.'s external borders: the land borders and sea coasts that could be penetrated by so-called 'THIRD-COUNTRY' migrants, from NON-E.U. countries.

The **FIRST** of these goals has been accomplished. Today,. When you travel by car from Spain to France, or from Germany to Austria, you won't encounter border guards, fences, or inspection stations.

But the **SECOND** goal of the Schengen agreement—strengthening the **EXTERNAL PERIMETER** of the E.U. against illegal immigration -- is still a **WORK IN PROGRESS**.

Conspicuous efforts have been made by the **AUSTRIAN** government to fortify its border with **HUNGARY**;

[PPT 43]
...by the **GERMAN** government to patrol the border with **POLAND**;

[PPT 44]
...and by the **FRENCH** and **BRITISH** governments, to catch would-be illegal migrants who try to *hitch a ride on trucks and railroad cars* passing through the **CHANNEL TUNNEL** that links Britain with France.

[PPT 45]
Several governments have been cracking down on ASYLUM-seekers.

Britain has done **THE MOST** to discourage would-be asylum-seekers from coming.

The Tony Blair government has confined growing numbers of asylum-seekers to so-called 'RECEPTION CENTERS' in various parts of the country.

Some would call them *concentration camps*.

This one is just outside the city of OXFORD.

[PPT 46]

It used to be a prison for *juvenile delinquents*.

[PPT 47]

For the past year, the ITALIAN government has tried to apprehend would-be asylum-seekers ON THE SEAS, before they LAND on Italian shores.

Migrant-smugglers have been taking their cargo to the small Italian island of LAMPEDUSA, and also to *remote beaches* on SICILY.

[PPT 48]

Many of these would-be asylum-seekers are actually ECONOMIC MIGRANTS, mostly from North Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa.

[PPT 49]

Since the fall of last year, the Italian government has been loading apprehended migrants on PLANES and deporting them to Libya.

But the flow *continues*.

Both the Italian and the German governments and have proposed setting up what they call off-shore 'PROCESSING CENTERS' in Libya and *other* North African countries, to SCREEN prospective refugees from Africa and Asia. Only migrants whose claims for asylum are *approved* in those centers would be permitted to continue on their journey.

[PPT 50]

LET'S TAKE A CLOSER LOOK AT THE CASE OF SPAIN, which in many ways ex-
emplifies the recent European experience with immigration control.

[ppt 49]

In the *last 20 years*, Spain has gone from being an EXPORTER of its own workers
to one of the most rapidly growing RECEIVING COUNTRIES for migrants from
non-EU countries.

Many of those who reach Spain are still IN TRANSIT to other, “northern tier” EU
countries. But with one of the most robust economies in Europe, Spain has a
powerful ‘JOBS MAGNET’ of its own.

[PPT 50]

8.4% of Spain's total population is now foreign-born.

The most rapidly growing immigrant populations are MOROCCANS, ECUA-
DOREANS, and COLOMBIANS. But RUMANIANS are coming on strong, and
SUB-SAHARAN AFRICANS are increasingly numerous.

[PPT 51]

The leading CONSUMERS of immigrant labor in Spain are agriculture, construc-
tion, and the hospitality industry.

Since Spain joined the European Union in the mid-1980s, Spaniards have become
very PROSPEROUS. They now SHUN the dirty, manual jobs in that their parents

and grandparents once did, both in Spain and, *as migrants*, in many other parts of Europe.

[PPT 52]

Spain is now one of the TWO MOST COMMON POINTS OF ENTRY for illegal migrants trying to enter the E.U. – the OTHER one being ITALY. That’s not too surprising, considering the CLOSE PROXIMITY of the Spanish coast to the Third World.

Cities like TANGIER – which belongs to MOROCCO – and the Spanish enclaves of CEUTA and MELILLA, lie just *across the Strait of Gibraltar*.

[PPT 53]

At its narrowest point, the Strait is only 9 miles wide.

You can clearly SEE the “First World” fromn the “THIRD world.”

[PPT 54]

The SMUGGLING of illegal migrants to Spain’s southern coast is HIGHLY ORGANIZED.

They are transported across the sea in RUBBER RAFTS called “*pateras*.” (We would call them “*Zodiacs*.”)

The trip from Tangier or Ceuta takes between 2 – 5 hours, depending on weather conditions and the horse-power of the boat’s outboard motor.

Smugglers charge about \$1,000 a head.

The rafts are often OVERLOADED and capsize in the rough waters, *drowning* their occupants.

[ppt 55]

A few years ago, the Spanish government began to CRACK DOWN on migrant smuggling in the STRAIT OF GIBRALTAR, using an elaborate radar-detection system.

This has only pushed the traffic WESTWARD, from the western tip of Morocco to the CANARY ISLANDS, which are Spanish territory. That trip is a lot LONGER and MORE DANGEROUS.

[ppt 56]

As you can see in this slide, as soon as the anti-smuggling operation took hold in the Strait of Gibraltar, the number of illegal migrants apprehended near the CANARY ISLANDS began to rise (the YELLOW portion of each bar).

[ppt 57]

[ppt 58]

Many migrants don't make it to Spanish territory – at least ALIVE.

Their bodies are washed up on the beaches, several days later.

[ppt 59]

Between 600 – 1,000 bodies are recovered each year by Spanish authorities.

[ppt 60 - 61]

[ppt 62]

Hundreds are also RESCUED from sinking “pateras”.

[ppt 63]

[ppt 64]

They are treated for their injuries by the Red Cross and turned over to Spanish authorities, who deport them within HOURS if they are of Moroccan nationality.

[ppt 65]

Those whose nationality CAN'T BE DETERMINED immediately are detained in processing centers like this one.

[ppt 66]

Spain's border enforcement efforts aren't limited to the *coastlines*.

This is a section of the LAND border between Spain and Morocco, on the CEUTA peninsula.

The Spanish government has erected U.S.-style fortifications along 8 kilometers of this border.

[ppt 67]

It has built 20 guard towers with video-surveillance cameras...

[ppt 68]

..and double-wire FENCES.

[PPT 69]

Spain's border fence at Ceuta *ends* in the ocean.

Just BEYOND the fence, "pateras" loaded with illegal migrants leave each night for the Spanish mainland.

[ppt 70]

Prior to his defeat in the elections of March 2004, the main architect of Spain's hard-line immigration policy was PRIME MINISTER JOSE MARIA AZNAR.

[PPT 71]

His successor, JOSE LUIS RODRIGUEZ ZAPATERO, initially pursued a more progressive policy, choosing to treat immigration as a 'STRUCTURAL phenomenon', and LEGALIZING as much as possible of the unauthorized population, to bring these workers out of the so-called "black" economy so that they and their employers will PAY TAXES.

[ppt 72]

Nearly 700,000 illegal immigrants – who had to have at least 1-year WORK CONTRACTS -- *applied* for legalization this past spring.

[ppt 73]

All seemed to be going well until a *few weeks ago*, when would-be illegal migrants from AFRICA began *storming the border fences* in Ceuta and Melilla.

[ppt 74]

Immigration now appears to be OUT-OF-CONTROL; and the Spanish public is *alarmed* and is *turning against the government*.

Here are the most recent polling data: *[read from slide]*

[ppt 75]

Last weekend, there was a protest demonstration in Madrid, with 1,500 people – mostly young men dressed as "skinheads" – claiming that the government's immigration policy is "turning *Spaniards* into foreigners in their own country."

All this may end badly for the government, and for public tolerance,

in what up to now has been one of the most “tolerant” EU countries on immigration.

* * *

[PPT 75]

After the break, we'll watch a video on the AFRICAN EXODUS to Spain, and I'll

introduce our expert guests for this evening.

[BREAK]

[After break: RUN VHS #3, “EXODUS”]

[PPT 76]

Tonight's guests are two visiting scholars in the Center for Comparative Immigration Studies: EIKO THIELEMANN, a political scientist who teaches in the London School of Economics, and MAURIZIO ABRAHANI, an anthropologist based at UC-Irvine. Both are experts on European immigration and immigrant integration policies.

QUESTIONS FOR EIKO THIELEMANN AND MAURIZIO ABRAHANI:

1. Let's begin with the subject of tonight's video. AFRICA has become a LEADING SOURCE of immigration to the European Union. At a press conference last month [Oct. 2005], the Spanish Prime Minister said, *“Europe will continue to have a security problem on its borders until it changes its attitude toward AFRICA.”*

What did he mean by that?

2. Maurizio, in ITALY, the government has been *doing battle* against migrant-smugglers for several years now. How successful has that effort been, and what more COULD be done to control illegal immigration to Italy?

3. Italy is one of the EU countries with a very ACTIVE anti-immigrant political party – the NORTHERN LEAGUE, lead by UMBERTO BOSSI.

He and his party have promoted legislation authorizing the Italian NAVY to OPEN FIRE on boats carrying illegal immigrants on their way to Italian shores. How important has the Northern League's influence been, in terms of HARDENING the Italian government's immigration policy?

4. Let's talk about ISLAM and its role in the European immigration debate.

Starting with the "headscarf" controversy in France and Germany, what was this battle really about? Immigration? Secularism in public education? What ELSE?

5. Maurizio, you have been studying RELIGIOUS organizations, and how they have been dealing with MUSLIM immigrants to Italy. *Tell us what you've found.*

6. Generally speaking, *how goes* the cultural and economic integration of immigrants in Europe? -- Are immigrants and refugees being incorporated successfully into these societies?

7. What about the ALBANIANS in Italy? – Albania is the SOURCE of most of the illegal migrants who stay in Italy, and they seem to be detested by most Italians.

WHY?

8. What about the so-called “second-generation problem,” in the “older” countries of immigration like FRANCE and GERMANY, where the offspring of NORTH AFRICAN and TURKISH immigrants are often seen as POORLY INTEGRATED and PRONE TO VIOLENCE, as we have seen in the suburbs of Paris during the past week?

9. Let’s talk about immigration policy at the EUROPEAN UNION level. The EU governments talk a great deal about ‘HARMONIZATION’ of policies in this area. What does that MEAN, and how much “harmonization” has actually been ACHIEVED?

10. A couple of weeks from now in this course, we will be discussing the “developmental” approach to immigration control. What can be done to create ALTERNATIVES to emigration, in the migrant-sending countries? It’s often said that the European Union PIONEERED this approach. It decided, 5 decades ago, to undertake a large-scale program of development assistance to the poorer countries in southern Europe, to reduce economic disparities between southern and northern-tier countries, before the southern countries were admitted to the E.U. How did that project really *work*, as an instrument for controlling immigration? (Could it be REPLICATED in North America?)

11. The EU's enlargement last year touched off a *fascinating debate* about the potential *consequences* of enlargement for migration.

Why has it worked out SO WELL, and why didn't the *worst-case* scenarios materialize? (Why have only the UK, Ireland, and Sweden opened their labor markets *completely* to citizens of the enlargement countries?)

12. Have anti-immigrant politics PEAKED in Western Europe? The heyday of the anti-immigrant parties seems to have been 2001-2002, when they were scaring the political establishment to death in many of these countries. Why have these parties been unable to make MORE HEADWAY?