

Part 1 – Global Migration

- The UN World Migration Report <https://worldmigrationreport.iom.int/msite/wmr-2024-interactive/>
- Climate Migration at COP29: Putting People at the Center of the Climate Change Discussion <https://www.iom.int/cop29-putting-people-center-climate-change-discussion>
- VIDEO How to manage the world's climate migrants <https://www.economist.com/films/2023/02/09/how-to-manage-the-worlds-climate-migrants>

Text 1 - A new wave of mass migration has begun

What does it mean for rich-world economies?

The Economist, May 28th 2023

Last year 1.2m people moved to Britain—almost certainly the most ever. Net migration (ie, immigrants minus emigrants) to Australia is currently twice the rate before the covid-19 pandemic. Spain's equivalent figure recently hit an all-time high. Nearly 1.4m people on net are expected to move to America this year, one-third more than before the pandemic. In 2022 net migration to Canada was more than double the previous record. In Germany it was even higher than during the "migration crisis" of 2015. **The rich world as a whole is in the middle of an unprecedented migration boom. Its foreign-born population is rising faster than at any point in history** (see chart 1).



The Economist

What does this mean for the global economy? Not long ago it seemed as if many wealthy countries had turned decisively against mass migration. In 2016 Britons voted for Brexit and then Americans for Donald Trump—both political projects had a strong anti-

migrant streak. In the global wave of populism that followed, politicians from Australia to Hungary promised to crack down on migration. **Then covid closed borders. Migration came to a standstill, or even went into reverse, as people decided to return home.** Between 2019 and 2021 the populations of Kuwait and Singapore, countries that typically receive lots of migrants, fell by 4%. In 2021 the number of emigrants from Australia exceeded the number of immigrants to the country for the first time since the 1940s.

◆In some places the surge in migration has brought back a sense of normality. Singapore's foreign workforce recently returned to its pre-pandemic level. **In other places it feels like a drastic change.** Consider Newfoundland and Labrador, Canada's second-smallest province by population. Long home to people of Irish-Catholic descent—with accents to match—net migration to the province is running at more than 20 times the pre-pandemic norm. St John's, the capital, once fairly homogeneous, feels more like Toronto every time you visit. Heart's Delight, a small rural village, now has a Ukrainian bakery, Borsch. The provincial government is setting up an office in Bangalore to help recruit nurses.

The new arrivals in Newfoundland are a microcosm of those elsewhere in the rich world. Many hundreds of **Ukrainians** have arrived on the island—a tiny share of the millions who have left the country since Russia invaded. **Indians** and **Nigerians** also appear to be on the move in large numbers. Many speak English. And many already have familial connections in richer countries, in particular Britain and Canada.

Some of the surge in migration is because people are making up for lost time. Many migrants acquired visas in 2020 or 2021, but only made the trip once covid restrictions loosened. Yet the rich world's foreign-born population—at well over 100m—is now above its pre-crisis trend, suggesting something else is going on.

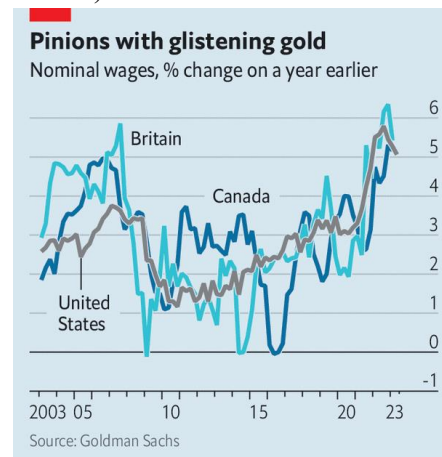
The nature of the post-pandemic economy is a big part of the explanation. Unemployment in the rich world, at 4.8%, has not been so low in decades. Bosses are desperate for staff, with vacancies near an all-time high. People from abroad thus have good reason to travel. Currency movements may be another factor. A British pound buys more than 100 Indian rupees, compared with 90 in 2019. Since the beginning of 2021 the average emerging-market currency has depreciated by about 4% against the dollar. This enables migrants to send more money home than before.

Many governments are also trying to attract more people. Canada has an explicit target to welcome 1.5m new residents in 2023-25. Germany and India recently signed an agreement to allow more Indians to work and study in Germany. Australia is increasing the time period some students can work after graduating from two to four years. Britain has welcomed Hong Kongers looking to flee Chinese oppression—well over 100,000 have arrived. Many countries have made it easy for Ukrainians to enter. Even those countries hitherto hostile to migration, including Japan and South Korea, are looking more favourably on outsiders as they seek to counteract the impact of ageing populations.

♦ **Economies that welcome lots of migrants tend to benefit in the long run.** Just look at America. Foreign folk bring new ideas with them. In America

immigrants are about 80% likelier than native-born folk to found a firm, according to a recent paper by Pierre Azoulay of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and colleagues. Research suggests that migrants also help to build trading and investment links between their home country and the receiving one. A slug of young workers also helps generate more tax revenue.

Some economists also hope that the wave of migration will have more immediate benefits. “High immigration is helpful for the Fed as it tries to cool down the labour market and slow down inflation,” says Torsten Slok of Apollo Global Management, an asset manager, expressing a common view. Such arguments may be a little too optimistic. Having more people does increase the supply of labour, which all else equal reduces wage growth. But the effect is pretty small. There is little sign that the countries receiving the most migrants have the loosest labour markets. In Canada, for instance, pay is still rising by about 5% year on year (see chart 2).



The Economist

Text 2 - The world's mayors want to change the conversation on migration

Today's Worldview - Column by Ishaan Tharoor, *The Washington Post*, October 4, 2024

Migration is the powder keg of our angry age. Disquiet over influxes of asylum seekers has animated nationalists and nativists on both sides of the Atlantic. An ascendant strain of right-wing politics in Western democracies is rooted in suspicion and resentment of migrants. Outside the West, from Tunisia to India and many countries in between, demagogic leaders grandstand over fears about foreign interlopers.

It's the main theme of an illiberal zeitgeist. In Austria over the past weekend, the country's far-right Freedom Party came first in national elections on a strident anti-immigrant platform. Borrowing from rhetoric once only heard among the extremist fringe, it has elevated the idea of “remigration” — the mass deportation of undocumented and even legal migrants — into a central pillar of potential national policy.

In the Anglophone world, home to societies more shaped by migration and multiculturalism, things are turning, too. In Britain, some 66 percent of voters now believe the country has let in too many migrants over the past decade. In Canada, new research shows considerable declines in support for increased migration in what's been a traditionally welcoming country. And in the United States — where former president Donald Trump echoes calls for remigration to a cheering base — 55 percent of Republicans say increased racial and ethnic diversity is a

threat to the country (that figure was 21 percent five years ago), according to CNN, while a majority of Americans believe immigration levels should be decreased, according to Pew.

The U.S. election cycle has produced some of the most garish manifestations of this change in mood. Hysteria and misinformation, amplified by the top of the Republican ticket, about Haitian migrants eating pets drew the small town of Springfield, Ohio, into a national maelstrom, leading to bomb threats, school closures and a surge in racist, anti-Haitian rhetoric.

“It’s frustrating when national politicians, on the national stage, mischaracterize what is actually going on and misrepresent our community,” the city’s mayor Rob Rue, a Republican, told *the New York Times*. “I am sorry this is going on in our community and that [our Haitian community members] have to endure this type of hate.”

Other municipal leaders concur. “We’re having the wrong conversation on immigration. We’re accepting the premise of the thesis which is that all our problems are because of immigrants or the boats coming from Calais,” London Mayor Sadiq Khan told the *New Statesman* last month, referring to the French port town from where myriad asylum seekers depart hoping to reach Britain. “And I think we’ve got to rebut that. Politicians have got to be bolder and braver at rebutting the misinformation and the disinformation on this.”

Khan is co-chair of an organization called C40 Cities, a network of some 100 cities collaborating together to reckon with the challenges posed by climate change. One of their key concerns is climate-induced migration. They forecast in a recent report that, if current trends hold, some 8 million people displaced by climate change would end up in a sample set of 10 major cities in the Global South.

Last week, along the sidelines of the meetings at the United Nations, a coalition of mayors from around the world came to New York City to trade notes and develop partnerships between their cities, focusing on their shared experiences grappling with the challenge of migrant influxes. “In a moment of toxicity, it’s important to stay pragmatic but also listen to the mayors who are closest to the people,” said Vittoria Zanuso, executive director of the Mayors Migration Council, the New York-based network linking these municipal leaders together. She added that it was important to “challenge this narrative that migration is a crisis simply because our politics is in crisis.”

Carlos Fernando Galán, the mayor of Bogotá and one of the members of this council’s leadership board, pointed to the Colombian capital’s experience. In less than a decade, Bogotá has received roughly a million migrants fleeing the economic collapse of neighboring Venezuela and worked gainfully to not just cope with the influx, but integrate many of the migrants into the city’s communities, schools and public services. This is at a time when Bogotá is also dealing with crippling water shortages thanks to a prolonged drought.

“We’ve done good things, but we still have huge challenges,” he told me last week, gesturing to his hope that a conversation on migration anchored in the needs of cities could help unlock more philanthropic attention and development assistance from international organizations. “We still need help.”

For all the panic of Western nativists, it’s cities in the developing world that arguably are on the real front lines of global migration patterns. Dhaka, Bangladesh, per the estimates of C40, may see 3 million new climate migrants alone by the midway point of the century. The roughly 120 million people currently displaced by conflict and persecution around the world are mostly trapped in war zones and impoverished neighborhoods far from the cities of the West.

“Expanding populations and increasing internal migration will result in 1.6 billion new urban residents worldwide by 2040, and about 80 percent of this urban growth will happen in countries that are least prepared to provide improved living standards,” noted a 2021 assessment put out by the U.S. intelligence community. “Consequently, many new city residents will face endemic poverty and limited access to food, water, and sanitation, increasing motivations to move elsewhere.”

Galán noted how while national leaders can set policy on arrivals and entries, it’s cities that actually have to “manage the implications of migration” and integrate (or fail to integrate) new arrivals into urban life. There are obvious frictions. In Bogotá, concerns have mounted over crime linked to Venezuelan newcomers. But the city’s mayor separates criminality from the simple fact of migration.

“I see politicians trying to use the situation to advance their political position,” he told me, in a reference to the anti-migrant rhetoric on show in the United States. “But this doesn’t solve the problems we actually have. It doesn’t see the opportunities that we could have.”

Part 2 – The United States

Glossary and references

ICE	Green card / Permanent resident Card
CBP	Temporary resident status
USCIS	Temporary worker
Department of homeland security	Naturalization
DACA	An asylee
Title 42	To deport
H -1B / H-2B visas	A port of entry
Visa lottery	

- Key Findings about US immigrants

Pew Research Center <https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2024/09/27/key-findings-about-us-immigrants/>

- AUDIO Despite a fortified border, migrants will keep coming, analysts agree. Here's why.

<https://www.npr.org/2024/04/22/1244381584/immigrants-border-mexico-asylum-illegal-immigration>

- AUDIO How climate-driven migration could change the face of the U.S.

<https://www.npr.org/2024/03/26/1239904742/how-climate-driven-migration-could-change-the-face-of-the-u-s>

- A Growing Number of Homeless Migrants Are Sleeping on N.Y.C. Streets

https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/09/nyregion/migrants-homeless-encampment-nyc.html?unlocked_article_code=1.Yk4.1Rvo.2fRvdlYaEzly&smid=url-share

- Why are migrants in the US being sent to Democrat-run areas?

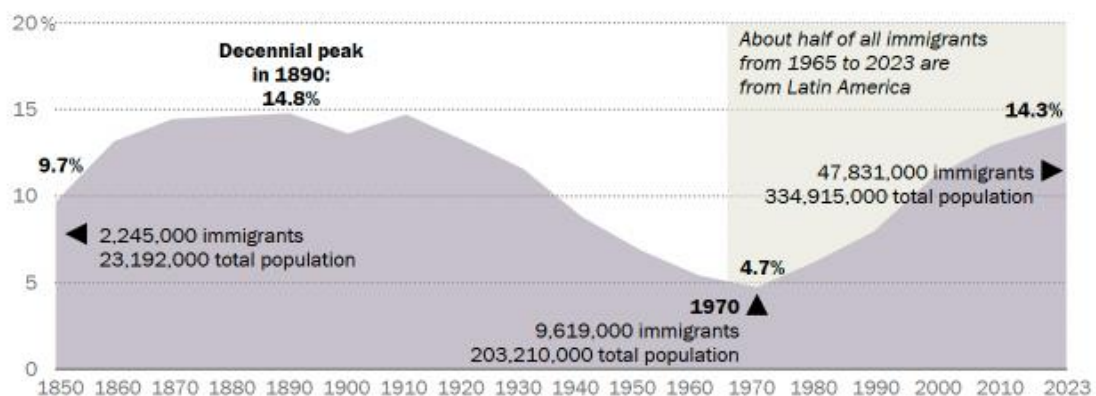
<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-62921858>

- Strong U.S. labor market drives record remittances to Mexico

<https://www.dallasfed.org/research/swe/2023/swe2310>

Immigrant share of the U.S. population, 1850-2023

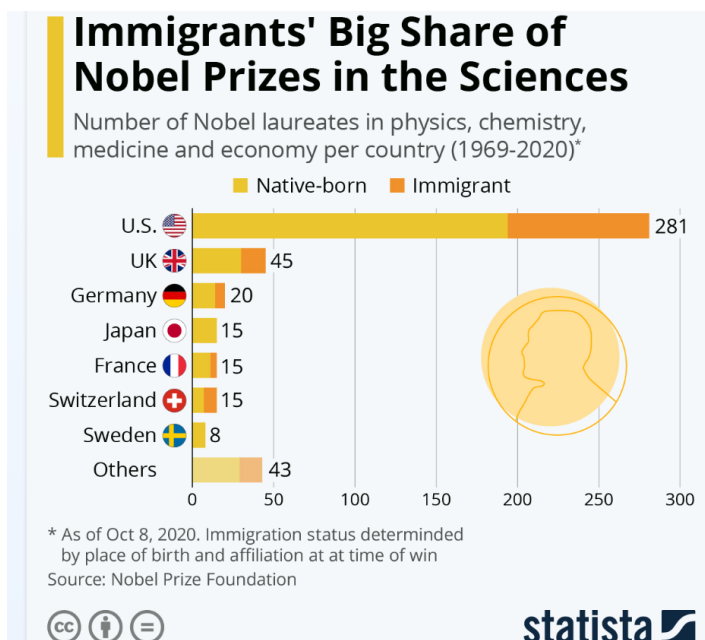
% of U.S. population that is foreign born



Note: Populations are rounded to the nearest 1,000. Shares are calculated using unrounded population numbers.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, "Historical Census Statistics on the Foreign-Born Population of the United States: 1850-2000"; and Pew Research Center tabulations of 2010 and 2023 American Community Surveys.

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TEXT 3 - Immigrant Nobel Prize Winners Continue To Impress

Stuart Anderson Senior Contributor, *Forbes*, Oct 5, 2023,

In 2023, four of the six U.S. recipients of Nobel Prizes in medicine, chemistry and physics came to America as immigrants. New research shows immigrants have contributed substantially to America in scientific fields, particularly in the past two decades.

“Immigrants have been awarded 40%, or 45 of 112, of the Nobel Prizes won by Americans in chemistry, medicine and physics since 2000,” according to an analysis by the National Foundation for American Policy (NFAP). “Between 1901 and 2023, immigrants have been awarded 36%, or 115 of 319, of the Nobel Prizes won by Americans in chemistry, medicine and physics.”

Katalin Karikó And mRNA

In 2023, Katalin Karikó and Drew Weissman shared the Nobel Prize in physiology or medicine “for their discoveries concerning nucleoside base modifications that enabled the development of effective mRNA vaccines against COVID-19.”

Karikó earned a Ph.D. in Hungary but did not want to raise a family or work under communist rule. She came to the United States but faced an uncertain career path, first as a postdoctoral researcher. Her story shows why ignoring an immigrant’s drive and potential closes the door to outstanding individuals.

“It is a story that began three decades ago, with a little-known scientist who refused to quit,” writes Damian Garde of *STAT*. “Before messenger RNA was a multibillion-dollar idea, it was a scientific backwater. And for the Hungarian-born scientist behind a key mRNA discovery, it was a career dead-end. Katalin Karikó spent the 1990s collecting rejections. Her work, attempting to harness the power of mRNA to fight disease, was too far-

fetched for government grants, corporate funding and even support from her own colleagues.”

35 At the University of Pennsylvania, Karikó collaborated with Drew Weissman and solved the problem plaguing mRNA by stopping the body from fighting the new chemical after an injection. “Karikó and Weissman [created] . . . a hybrid mRNA that could sneak its way into 40 cells without alerting the body’s defenses,” writes Garde. “And even though the studies by Karikó and Weissman went unnoticed by some, they caught the attention of two key scientists—one in the United States, another abroad—who would later help found Moderna [Rossi] and Pfizer’s 45 future partner, BioNTech.”

Karikó, who lives and works in America, is a senior vice president at German-based BioNTech, the company that worked with Pfizer to develop an mRNA Covid-19 vaccine.

50 In the coming years, medical experts expect mRNA to treat cancer. Memorial Sloan Kettering Cancer Center has opened a phase 2 clinical trial to test an mRNA vaccine to treat pancreatic cancer.

Immigrants Win Nobel Prizes In Chemistry And Physics

Two immigrants—Moungi G. Bawendi (born in France) and Alexei I. Ekimov (born in the former USSR)—shared with Louis E. Brus (born in the U.S.) the 2023 Nobel Prize in chemistry. “The Nobel Prize in chemistry 2023 rewards 60 the discovery and development of *quantum dots*, nanoparticles so tiny that their size determines their properties,” writes the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences. “These smallest components of nanotechnology now spread their light from televisions and LED lamps,

65 and can also guide surgeons when they remove tumor tissue, among many other things.”

Bawendi is an MIT professor, Brus is a professor at Columbia University and Ekimov works at Nanocrystals Technology Inc. in New York.

70 “Quantum dots now illuminate computer monitors and television screens based on QLED technology,” according to the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences. “They also add nuance to the light of some LED lamps, and biochemists and doctors use them to map biological tissue.

75 Quantum dots are thus bringing the greatest benefit to humankind.”

Pierre Agostini immigrated to America from France. He came to Ohio State in 2005 and is now professor emeritus of physics. **Agostini shared the Nobel Prize in physics**
80 **with two French scientists.**

“Scientists Pierre Agostini, Ferenc Krausz and Anne L’Huillier won the 2023 Nobel Prize in physics for creating ultra-short pulses of light that can give a snapshot of changes within atoms, potentially leading to better
85 detection of disease,” according to Reuters.

Not An Easy Path

Nobel Prize winners rarely come to the United States on the cusp of winning a prestigious award. Katalin Karikó and many other recipients traveled a difficult path. Rainer
90 Weiss was born in Germany and came to America as a teenager. He shared the 2017 Nobel Prize in physics with two other Americans, Kip S. Thorne and Barry C. Barish. Mounji G. Bawendi also immigrated to America as a child.

95 Dr. Ardem Patapoutian, an immigrant from Lebanon, shared the 2021 Nobel Prize in medicine with David Julius for “groundbreaking research that solved a long-standing mystery of how the body senses touch and other mechanical stimuli.”

100 “Dr. Patapoutian, who is of Armenian origin, grew up in Lebanon during the country’s long and calamitous civil war before fleeing to the United States with his brother in 1986 at age 18,” reported the *New York Times*. “Needing

to establish residency in California so that he could afford
105 college, Dr. Patapoutian worked eclectic jobs for a year, delivering pizzas and writing the weekly horoscopes for an Armenian newspaper.”

He left Lebanon after what Dr. Patapoutian describes as a harrowing experience. “The conflict continued to
110 escalate, and one fateful and terrifying morning, I was captured and held by armed militants. A few months later, I moved to Los Angeles. This first year in LA was a different kind of struggle to adapt, perhaps as challenging a year as a young adult as any I had experienced as a child
115 in Beirut. . . . What a relief it was to gain admission to UCLA to resume my student life.”

Immigration Laws Make A Difference

The report notes that two laws helped America attract outstanding talent. In 1965, ending the discriminatory
120 national origin quotas allowed immigrants from Asia and elsewhere to study and live in the United States. **The Immigration Act of 1990** raised employment-based green card numbers, although more than three decades later, the increase has proven insufficient.

125 **Still, a greater openness to immigration has drawn researchers to the United States from across the globe.** “One can see the increasing influence and importance of immigrants on science in America reflected in Nobel Prize winners,” the research found. “Between 1901 and 1959,
130 immigrants won 22 Nobel Prizes in chemistry, medicine and physics but won 93 prizes in these fields—more than four times as many—between 1960 and 2023.” Since 1901, immigrants have been awarded 38% of the U.S. Nobel Prizes in physics, 37% in chemistry and 34%
135 in medicine.

In 2021, three of the four U.S. winners of Nobel Prizes in medicine, chemistry and physics were immigrants to America. In 2016, all 6 American recipients of the Nobel Prize in economics and scientific fields were immigrants.
140 The study found, “Being open to immigration has allowed America to attract talented and ambitious individuals and benefit from scientific and technological innovation.”

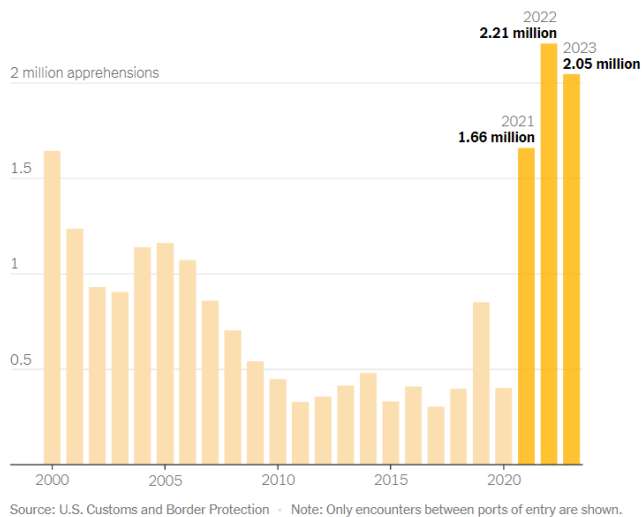
See also <https://theconversation.com/americas-nobel-success-is-the-story-of-immigrants-67219>

TEXT 4 - Why Illegal Border Crossings Are at Sustained Highs

By Ashley Wu , *The New York Times*, Oct. 29, 2023

For the second year in a row, the number of illegal crossings at the U.S.-Mexico border surpassed two million, according to government data released this month.

Annual southwestern border apprehensions



The 2022 fiscal year set a record of 2.2 million illegal border crossings. These numbers do not include crossings at official checkpoints. Including those, migrant crossings in the 2023 fiscal year hit a record high.

Immigration is a major issue for President Biden. Republicans say his immigration policies are too weak to reduce numbers at the border. Members of his own party — like the mayors of Chicago and New York — have said their cities do not have enough resources to provide shelter and other assistance to the growing number of migrants.

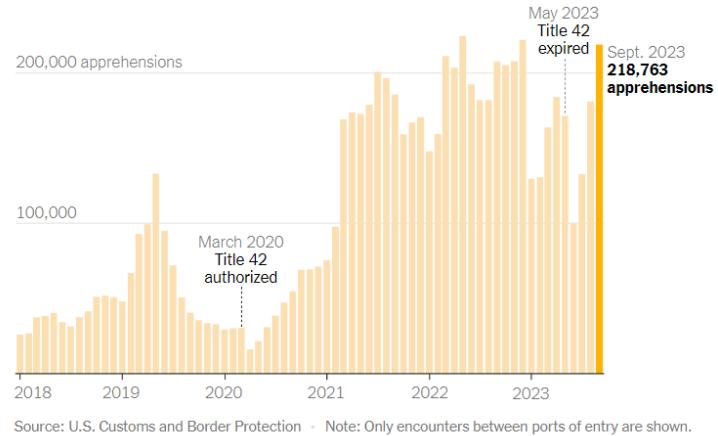
Shifting U.S. policies, global migration patterns and changing migrant demographics all factor into the high levels of illegal border crossings of the past few years.

U.S. Policy Changes

Title 42, a pandemic-era immigration policy, had been used for more than three years to quickly expel migrants who have tried to cross the border illegally, on the grounds of public health. It was enacted by former President Donald J. Trump in March 2020 and expanded under the Biden administration.

The policy expired in May, and the number of border apprehensions dropped by more than 40 percent in June. Since then, the number of illegal border crossings has increased every month, and border patrol agents made nearly 220,000 apprehensions in September alone.

Monthly southwestern border apprehensions



Before Title 42 expired, the Biden administration had created more legal pathways of entry for migrants. At the same time, harsher punishments were established for crossing illegally. Government officials say this drove unlawful crossings down in May and June, as more migrants were using the new and expanded legal pathways. But experts say they never expected the drop to last.

“Every time we see changes in the border policies, we see a sort of a lull while everybody figures it out, and then we see increased numbers after that,” said Denise Gilman, a professor and director at the University of Texas at Austin’s Immigration Clinic.

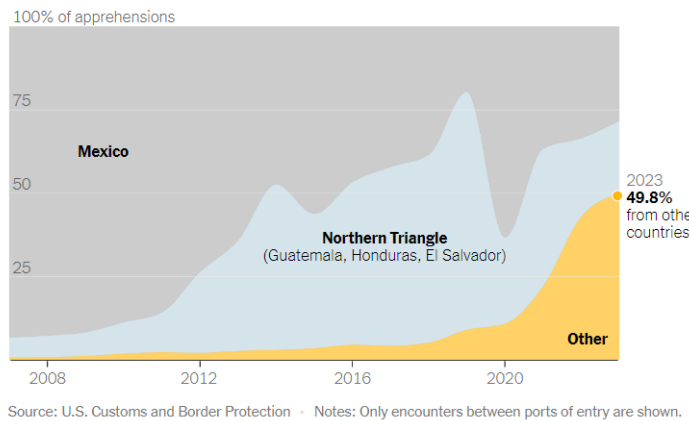
Global Migration

Patterns of global migration contributed to the recent rise in illegal border crossings. For example, Venezuela’s economy crumbled about a decade ago, leading to a massive outflow of the country’s population. Gang violence in Central America has forced many to flee. Economic shock, violence and political forces have displaced millions and sent more people to the United States to seek refuge.

Historically, most migrants have come to the United States from Mexico, with growing numbers in the last decade from the Northern Triangle (Guatemala, Honduras and El Salvador). But more recently, migrants from other countries have accounted for nearly half of illegal border crossings.

Share of southwestern border apprehensions by migrants’ countries of origin

By fiscal year, from October to September



For years, the United States and Mexico have had a diplomatic arrangement under which Mexico has agreed to accept Mexican migrants deported by the United States. Such an agreement is generally in place before the United States deports or expels migrants back to their home countries. When Title 42 was enacted, Mexico also agreed to accept expelled migrants from the Northern Triangle.

Migrants from other countries that lack these diplomatic relationships have taken their chances at the border, hoping to be released, at least temporarily, into the United States. In particular, hundreds of thousands of Venezuelans have shown up at the southern border since the beginning of the pandemic. They accounted for the third-most illegal border crossings in the past year, after Mexicans and Guatemalans.

Mexico later agreed to accept some migrants from Venezuela, Cuba, Haiti and Nicaragua. This month, the Biden administration began to deport migrants back to Venezuela, after its president agreed to accept them.

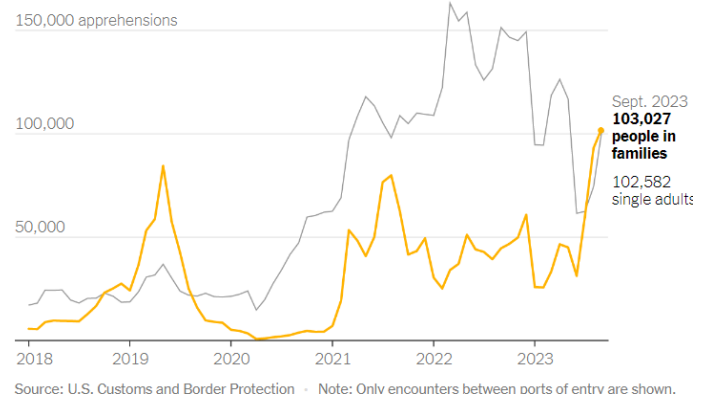
More Families

Single adults have previously accounted for a majority of border apprehensions. But U.S. border officials apprehended more family members trying to cross the border from June to September than in any previous full fiscal year.

It can be more difficult for border agents to detain, deport or otherwise enforce punishments on families than on single adults. There is a legal limit on how long children can be held, and the Biden administration ended the practice of detaining families in 2021.

Families may be responding to this, showing up at the border instead of waiting for an appointment at an official checkpoint or through a humanitarian program. From January to May, people in families crossing the border made up about a fifth of total border apprehensions. In both August and September, that share rose to about half.

Monthly southwestern border apprehensions, by demographic



Experts say the U.S. policies of trying to deter people from crossing cannot work long term. They say that although people want to be safe and follow the rules, legal pathways have limited capacity, location restrictions and long wait times. This leaves many migrants to try and enter the country whether or not they legally fit into the current policies.

“We have yet to see any restrictive border policy work in terms of actually keeping the numbers down at the border,” Ms. Gilman said. “It just doesn’t work that way because people are fleeing extremely dangerous situations.”

Text 5 - Amid Talk of Border Chaos, Crossings Have Sharply Declined

The New York Times, July 20, 2024

The soaring number of unlawful entries at the southern border was always going to be a central part of the 2024 presidential campaign.

On the campaign trail, former President Donald J. Trump has been showcasing a chart showing a rising mountain of migrant encounters at the border under President Biden. At the Republican National Convention, Gov. Greg Abbott of Texas got big cheers for his vow to continue busing migrants to liberal cities.

But amid the heightened rhetoric, the reality on the ground has recently changed.

There were 83,000 apprehensions of migrants last month, according to official data, down significantly from 117,000 in May. The June numbers represented the lowest monthly total since January 2021, and a significant drop from the record 250,000 recorded in December last year.

The decline has continued into July. The daily average of encounters at the border in the past week was under 1,900 as of Monday, according to a senior U.S. Customs and Border Protection official, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss internal statistics.

At that pace, there could be about 60,000 crossings in July, similar to numbers seen at the end of the Trump administration. Here's the latest on what's happening at the border.

President Biden's new policies reduced crossings. Mexico helped too.

Most migrants surrender to the U.S. Border Patrol after crossing unlawfully into the country and are then apprehended by agents. More than 2.4 million people were encountered by border authorities in fiscal 2023, a record.

Earlier this year, a bipartisan deal to tighten the border collapsed in the Senate after Mr. Trump prevailed upon Republican lawmakers to withdraw their support. That bill would have restricted asylum and set limits on the number of migrants admitted into the country.

Around that time, Mexico began intercepting migrants en route to the border, and unlawful entries began to drop in March.

They declined further after Mr. Biden, in the absence of action by Congress, issued an executive order in June that closed the border to migrants once the number of apprehensions reaches a certain number. The order empowered officials to swiftly deport those who cannot prove at the border that their lives would be endangered if they were returned to their countries.

The president invoked the same section of the Immigration and Nationality Act that Mr. Trump used to justify restrictions on asylum when he was in office.

Deportations have increased significantly to Latin America, and removal flights have also started to China. But many migrants come from countries that do not have diplomatic ties with the United States or that refuse to take back their nationals. They cannot be immediately flown out of the country, an obstacle that a Trump administration would also face.

Text 6 - Elon Musk, enemy of 'open borders,' launched his career working illegally

The Washington Post, October 26, 2024, adapted

PALO ALTO, Calif. — Long before he became one of Donald Trump's biggest donors and campaign surrogates, South African-born Elon Musk worked illegally in the United States as he launched his entrepreneurial career after ditching a graduate studies program in California, according to former business associates, court records and company documents obtained by The Washington Post.

5 Musk in recent months has amplified the Republican presidential candidate's claims that "open borders" and undocumented immigrants are destroying America, broadcasting those views to more than 200 million followers on the site formerly known as Twitter, which Musk bought in 2022 and later renamed X.

10 What Musk has not publicly disclosed is that he did not have the legal right to work while building the company that became Zip2, which sold for about \$300 million in 1999. It was Musk's steppingstone to Tesla and the other ventures that have made him the world's wealthiest person — and arguably America's most successful immigrant.

Musk and his brother, Kimbal, have often described their immigrant journey in romantic terms, as a time of personal austerity, undeterred ambition and a willingness to flout conventions. Musk arrived in Palo Alto in 1995 for a graduate degree program at Stanford University but never enrolled in courses, working instead on his start-up.

Leaving school left Musk without a legal basis to remain in the United States, according to legal experts.

15 Foreign students cannot drop out of school to build a company, even if they are not immediately getting paid, said Leon Fresco, a former Justice Department immigration litigator. [...]

In Elon Musk's public retelling of his immigration story, he has never acknowledged having worked without proper legal status. In 2013, he joked about being in a "gray area" early in his career. And in 2020, Musk said he had a "student-work visa" after deferring his studies at Stanford.

20 "I was legally there, but I was meant to be doing student work," he said in a 2020 podcast. "I was allowed to do work sort of supporting whatever."

Musk, his attorney Alex Spiro and the manager of Musk's family office did not respond to emailed requests for comment. U.S. immigration records generally are not open to the public, making it difficult to independently confirm a person's legal status. Musk denied having worked illegally in the United States over X early Sunday. [...]

25 On X, Musk has become an avid booster of anti-immigrant rhetoric, falsely accusing Vice President Kamala Harris and other Democrats of "importing voters." Undocumented immigrants are legally barred from voting in state and federal elections. In February, he wrote that "illegals in America can get ... insurance, driver's licenses."

Musk would have been required to have both to drive a vehicle, which associates attested he frequently did during the time he lacked a legal work permit.

30 U.S. immigration regulations for foreign students were more lax in the 1990s, before the Sept. 11, 2001, terrorist attacks prompted an overhaul, according to immigration law experts. Musk, who obtained Canadian citizenship through his mother, would not have needed a visa from the State Department to study at a U.S. university. He could simply show U.S. university enrollment documents to U.S. border officers and enter the United States with student status, legal experts said.

35 Foreign students enrolled in U.S. degree programs may be authorized to work part time and for limited periods to complete their degree requirements. Adam Cohen, author of "The Academic Immigration Handbook" and an attorney who specializes in employment visas, said Musk could obtain work authorization as a student, but that would have required him to be engaged in a full course of study at Stanford.

40 Otherwise, "that would have been a violation," Cohen said. If he didn't go to school, "he wasn't maintaining his status." [...]

TEXT 7 - No, Immigrants Aren't 'Poisoning the Blood of Our Country'

The New York Times, Nov. 13, 2023, By [Paul Krugman](#) - Opinion Columnist

Does Donald Trump ever visit Queens, the land of his youth? If he did, he would presumably be horrified. According to the census, Queens is the most racially and ethnically diverse county in the continental United States; it's hard to think of a nationality or culture that isn't represented there. Immigrants are almost half the borough's population and more than half its work force.

And I think that's great. When I, say, take a stroll around Jackson Heights I see the essence of America as it was supposed to be, a magnet for people around the world seeking freedom and opportunity — people like my own grandparents.

And no, Queens isn't an urban hellscape. It may not be leafy and green, but it has less serious crime per capita than the rest of New York City, and New York, although nobody will believe it, is one of the safest places in America. It's also relatively healthy, with life expectancy around three years higher than that of the United States as a whole.

20 But Trump has declared that migrants are "poisoning the blood of our country" — a phrase that, to steal from the late, great Molly Ivins, might sound better in the original German. Look, I know there's a debate over whether the MAGA movement fully meets the classic criteria for fascism, but can we at least agree that its language is increasingly fascist-adjacent? And so are its policies.

On Saturday *The Times* reported that Trump, if returned to office, intends to pursue drastic anti-immigration policies — scouring the country for undocumented immigrants and building huge camps to, um, concentrate them before deporting them by the millions. Suspected members of drug cartels and gangs would be expelled without due process. Suspected by whom, on what grounds? Good question. (...)

Given all this anti-democratic rhetoric, it seems almost crass to point out that a Trumpian war on immigrants would also be an economic disaster. But it would.

40 That's apparently not what the Trumpists believe. That *Times* article quotes Stephen Miller, who headed anti-immigrant operations when Trump was in the White House, as claiming that mass deportations will be "celebrated by American workers, who will now be offered higher wages with better benefits to fill these jobs."

Very few economists would agree. (...)

It seems to be the view that America has a limited number of jobs to offer and that immigrants take those jobs away from the native-born. In reality, however, except during recessions, the number of jobs, and hence the economy's growth, is limited by the available work force rather than the other way around.

And the contribution of immigrants to America's long-term growth is startlingly large. Since 2007,

according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the U.S. labor force has increased by 14.6 million. Of these additional workers, 7.8 million — more than half — were foreign born.

60 Oh, and if these immigrants are taking away American jobs, how can the unemployment rate be near a 50-year low? In fact, we desperately need these workers, among other things because they will help us cope with the needs of an aging population. (...)

65 And let's not forget that Trump officials tried to choke off the supply of skilled foreign workers to the U.S. technology sector, apparently believing that this would reserve good jobs for Americans — when in reality it would simply undermine our technological
70 edge.

None of this is to deny that sudden surges of migrants can place a burden on local communities and that we need policies to mitigate these impacts. But that's very different from a sweeping rejection of immigration, 75 which is as American as apple pie, not to mention pizza and bagels — foods brought by earlier immigrants who were, in their day, the targets of just as much prejudice and hatred as the immigrants of today.

America doesn't need to be made great again, because 80 it's already great. But if you wanted to destroy that greatness, the two most important things you would do would be to reject its commitment to freedom and close its doors to people seeking a better life. Unfortunately, if Trump returns to office, he seems determined to do 85 both of these things. (695 words)