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Special Registration: A Fervor for Muslims

By Louise Cainkar

On September 11, 2002 the Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) implemented the "special registration" program, requiring "certain non-immigrant aliens" (hereafter referred to as "visitors") to register with the US immigration authorities, be fingerprinted and photographed, respond to questioning, and submit to routine reporting.[1] In May 2003, after stating for months that the program was not targeting certain groups because it would be eventually expanded to all visiting aliens, the government announced the end of the program. During the program's tenure, its scope was never expanded beyond males age 16 and over from 23 Muslim-majority countries, plus heavily Muslim Eritrea and North Korea. Although at times government officials stated that the countries whose citizens and nationals were required to register were selected because of Al-Qaeda presence, countries with no proven Al-Qaeda presence were included, and countries with known Al-Qaeda presence, such as Germany and England, were excluded. In a May 19th press statement, the Department of Homeland Security, which took over immigration functions from the now-defunct INS, referred to Special Registration (using its NSEERS acronym) as a "pilot project focusing on a smaller segment of the nonimmigrant alien population deemed to be of risk to national security."[2] Implicit in this statement is a view that Muslims, or more specifically, non-US born Muslims from Asia, the Middle East, and North Africa, were/are considered a security risk for the United States. This view has been at the foundation of several other Bush Administration programs, like FBI Director Muelller's initiative, announced in late January 2003, to tie FBI field office goals for wire-tapping and undercover activities to the number of mosques in the field area.[3]

This article provides extensive detail about the special registration program and its historical context. It should inform the debate as to whether – measured by the methods, subjects, goals, and outcomes of US federal government anti-terrorism programs – Islam is being "racialized" or "criminalized" in the United States and/or whether Muslims are being profiled because Islamic beliefs are considered potentially subversive. It is difficult to explain why the search for terrorists would cast a net so broadly, and stigmatize an entire religious population, unless these programs are founded on stereotypic assumptions held by a highly uniformed and discriminatory government elite. The magnitude of the special registration program's impact is quite profound. Some 13,000 Arab and Muslim men have been slated for removal from the United States as a result of the program.[4] While those with a pending application for adjustment of status can make their case for staying, it is important to note that none of these persons is

charged with connections to terrorist activity. Prior to special registration, more Arabs and Muslims (none accused of terrorist connections) had already been removed from the United States since September 11, 2001 than the number of foreign nationals deported for their political beliefs after the infamous 1919 Palmer Raids.[5] The addition of up to 13,000 more deportees rounded up for visa violations through the special registration program – a highly select group comprising less than 1% of the estimated 3.2-3.6 million persons living in the US while "out of status" and the 8 million undocumented -is without historic precedent.

Although the government has ended the domestic "call-in" part of NSEERS (National Security Entry and Exit Registry System), the name given to the body of rules governing special registration, the program is still quite alive for the more than 100,000 persons who registered, if still in the US, and for the unknown number who did not comply.[6] In addition, an unknown number of family members of the 13,000 men and boys in the removal process will be affected by the program's outcomes, through separation or departure. Registrants allowed to stay in the US must still comply with regular reporting requirements and Port of Entry exit registration. Willful non-compliers are subject to criminal charges, fines, and removal, and may not be able obtain immigration benefits in the future, even upon marriage to a US citizen. Attorney General Ashcroft amended the Code of Federal Regulations (CFR) declaring willful failure to register and provide full and truthful disclosure of information a failure to maintain nonimmigrant status, a deportable offense.[7] He also amended the CFR by declaring that failure to register upon departure from the US is an unlawful activity, making one presumed to be inadmissible to the US because one "can reasonably be seen as attempting to reenter for purpose of engaging in an unlawful activity."[8] He thus made non-compliance with special registration a bar to immigration, although only Congress has the right to establish such categories of inadmissibility. Special registration may also deny Arabs and Muslims the right to benefit from any future amnesty or legalization program.

Special registration was not, as often asserted by the Bush Administration and in the media, a program mandated by Congress. Members of the Executive Branch of government, more specifically Attorney General Ashcroft, crafted it. Ashcroft cited legislative authority for this program that encompasses a history going back to the 1798 Alien and Sedition Acts, which were primarily aimed at restraining and deporting aliens living in the US who were considered subversive. Ashcroft specifically cites as his authority the 1940 Smith Act. The Smith Act, formally known as the 1940 Alien Registration Act, was passed to strengthen national defense. It was passed in the year that Hitler occupied Paris, and was a response to a fear of foreign communist and anarchist influences in the United States. It required that all aliens over the age of 13 be fingerprinted and registered, and required parents and legal guardians to register those

13 years of age and younger. In turn, they received a numbered Alien Registration Receipt Card from the DOJ/INS proving registry and were required to carry this card with them at all times.[9] The Smith Act was built on 1919 legislation making past and present membership in "proscribed organizations and subversive classes" grounds for exclusion and deportation. The 1919 Act was built on the Aliens and Sedition Acts of 1798. The Smith Act was not only aimed at foreigners. It also prohibited American citizens from advocating or belonging to a group that advocated or taught the "duty, necessity desirability, or propriety" of overthrowing any level of government by "force or violence." It was the first peacetime federal sedition law since 1798, and was the basis of later prosecutions of persons alleged to be members of communist and socialist parties. As such, the special registration program would lie within the family of policies permitting the government to monitor, restrain and remove persons whose political beliefs and ideologies it perceives as a threat.

The 1950 Internal Security Act added annual registration and 10-day notification of change of address requirements for all aliens, as well as quarterly registration for temporary aliens.1o It also made present or former membership in the Communist Party or any other totalitarian party a ground for inadmissibility. It allowed the Attorney General to deport aliens without a hearing if their presence was prejudicial to the public interest. The 1952 Immigration and Nationality Act (also known as the McCarran-Walter Act) brought all prior laws concerning aliens into one comprehensive statute, retaining the registry, reporting, and address notification features. In addition to exclusions for the sick, insane, criminal, likely public charges and anarchists from earlier laws, the 1952 law contains ten provisions for excluding aliens based on their political beliefs, especially, communism, anarchy, and any other belief that advocates the overthrow of the US government by unconstitutional means.[11] It is on this grand tradition that Ashcroft's special registration rests.[12]

On the other hand, because the special registration program targets persons because of their country of birth (citizens and nationals), not their beliefs, it shares features of the family of US policies based on ideas of racial exclusion, (beginning with slavery, abolished in 1865, and Indian removal) such as the 1790 Naturalization Law, denying naturalized citizenship to non-whites, repealed in 1952; the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, repealed in 1943; the Asia Barred Zone, and immigration quotas, enacted in 1921, revised in 1924 and 1952, and abolished in 1965, signaling the end of an era in which US immigration policies were based principally on race. After this time, it was considered against liberal democratic principles to blatantly discriminate by country of birth. It was not until 1981 that the regulation of persons from certain "foreign states" re-emerged in immigration legislation. While eliminating many reporting

requirements for aliens, the 1981 amendments to immigration law allowed the Attorney General to give 10-days notice to "natives of any one or more foreign states, or any class of group thereof" to require them to provide address and other information. It is this law that Attorney General Ashcroft used to authorize call-in special registration."[13] Interestingly, the Iran Crisis of 1980 was specifically mentioned in the House Judiciary Committee report submitted for the 1981 law, noting "immediate access to records of nonimmigrants may be vital to our nation's security."[14] Thus, the reemergence of place-based immigration procedures is tied historically to the resurgence of Islam.

Country of birth emerged again in 1991 during the tenure of George Bush, Senior's Attorney General, Dick Thornburg, who implemented the special registration of persons holding Iraqi and Kuwaiti passports and travel documents. Thornburg cited the 1940 Smith Act, permitting "special regulations for the registration and fingerprinting" of: alien crewmen, holders of border-crossing identification cards, aliens confined to institutions, aliens under order of deportation, and aliens of any other class not lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence.[15] He made Kuwaitis and Iraqis a "class" of people.[16] From that point on, special registration policies based on country of birth or nationality have been applied solely to Muslim-majority countries, until North Korea was added in November 2002. While it is evident that Muslims and Arabs are the target of place-based discriminatory immigration policies, the question remains, are these policies about ideology, race, or something else all together? Are they based on assumptions that generalize certain characteristics to all persons from a certain geographic area, race, or religion, or are they based on credible facts?

The Special Registration Program

According to an INS (now Department of Homeland Security) official, the purpose of special registration was to facilitate the "monitoring" of aliens required to register because their residence in the United States warrants it "in the interest of national security.[17]" Special registration will enable the INS to "contact them quickly if necessary" and ensure that aliens comply with the terms of their visas and the conditions of their admission.[18] The INS was split into the Directorate of Border and Transportation Security and the Bureau of Citizenship and Immigration Services of the Department of Homeland Security on March 1, 2003. The former is charged with responsibility for special registration. Continued compliance with the rules of special registration is mandatory for visitors to the US who are citizens and nationals of the selected countries. Willfully not registering and lack of truthful disclosure upon registration constitute "failures to maintain nonimmigrant status" and are grounds for removal from the US

(deportation). Failure to register upon exiting the US was declared a "ground for future inadmissibility" by Attorney General Ashcroft, even though only Congress can create new grounds of inadmissibility.[19]

The special registration program was eventually given a name by the Department of Justice -the National Security Entry and Exit Registry System (NSEERS). This system requires visitors from countries designated by the Attorney General, visitors who consular officials or INS inspecting officers have "reason to believe" are nationals or citizens of a designated country, and other non-immigrants who meet or are believed to meet "preexisting criteria" specified by the Attorney General to: 1] Be fingerprinted, photographed, and "provide information required" by the INS at their US Port of Entry; 2] Report in person to the INS within 10 days after staying in the US for 30 days and provide "additional documentation confirming compliance" with visa requirements, such as proof of residence, employment, or study, and any "additional information" required by the INS; 3] Report annually, in person, to the INS, within 10 days of the anniversary of entry to the US with any documentation and additional information required; 4] Notify the INS, by mail or other means decided by the Attorney General, within 10 days of any change of address, job, or school; and 5] Report to an INS inspecting officer upon departure from the US, from ports specified by the INS and published in the Federal Register.2o Registrants are given "finger print identification numbers," which are written in their passports (sometimes on their I-94). The INS has created a special change of address form for special registrants, AR-11 SR.

The special registration program also included "Call-In" registration, part of the NSEERS program now ended. Although call-in registration was included in Ashcroft's final rule of August 12, 2002, where he amended the Code of Federal Regulations to lay out his special registration program, this aspect of the program was not implemented until November 6, 2002. On that day, the Attorney General published a notice in the Federal Register requiring certain visiting "nationals, citizens, or residents of specified countries or territories" who had been inspected and admitted to the US prior to September 11, 2002, to report to specified INS locations for registry, including fingerprinting, photography, and to provide "supplemental information or documentation".[21] Ashcroft invoked the authority of a discretionary 10-day notice clause contained in 1981 immigration legislation that cancelled annual address reporting for permanent residents and quarterly address reporting for visitors, but which permits the Attorney General to require "natives of any one or more foreign states, or any class of group thereof " to notify the AG of their current address and "such additional information as the Attorney General may require."[22]

The information that was required of registrants at call-in registry included: 1] answering questions under oath before an immigration officer, who recorded them, and 2] presentation of all

travel documents, passports, and an I-94; presentation of all government issued identification; proof of residence, including land title, lease or rental agreement; proof of matriculation at an educational institution; proof of employment; and "such other information as is requested by the immigration officer." Persons who reported for call-in special registration remain subject to all of the other special registration requirements listed above (e.g., report in person annually, report changes of address within 10 days, exit register upon departure).

A national entry and exit system was first mandated by Congress in 1996, as part of the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act. In 2000, Congress amended this mandate, directing the INS to use "available data" to create an integrated entry and exit data system, and stated that no additional data collection was authorized. The INS and Congress had rethought the idea after a new system tested at the Canadian border resulted in massive backups. Funding for a national entry and exit system was again authorized in the USA PATRIOT Act (10/2001) and reinforced in the Enhanced Border Security Act of 2002. The NSEERS program, however, was neither created by nor subjected to the approval of Congress. It is a set of administrative regulations created by members of the Bush Administration; the "call-in" aspect of special registration was totally discretionary and went well beyond an entry and exit system. It is with call-in registration that the abuses of the system became evident. While the Department of Justice said repeatedly that NSEERS would be implemented for visitors from all countries by 2005, this discriminatory system targeting mainly Arabs, Africans, and Asians from predominantly-Muslim countries has been largely ended, never went beyond these groups. A new entry-exit program, US-VISIT, will be implemented incrementally in 2003. Similarly, when the INS launched its "absconders" initiative in January 2002 to track down and deport some 6,000 males from Arab and dominantly-Muslim countries who had been ordered deported, a group composing less than 2% of all "absconders" in the US, government authorities responded to charges of racial profiling by saying other communities would be next.[23] They never were.

HEY ARAB AND MUSLIM MAN: THIS NOTICE IS FOR YOU

INS flyers produced to advertise the call-in program had *THIS NOTICE IS FOR YOU* splayed across the top, eerily reminiscent of the notices posted for Japanese living in the western US during WWII. Visiting citizens and nationals of Iran, Iraq, Libya, Syria, and the Sudan were the first required to comply with Ashcroft's special registration program on its effective date of September 11, 2002. To designate countries whose citizens and nationals are required to specially register upon entry to the US, the Attorney General needs only to confer with the Secretary of State and then publish the names of the countries as a notice in the Federal

Register. This quick and simple formula for designating countries was instituted in 1993 under former Attorney General Janet Reno.[24] However, at that time, "extra" registration procedures conducted in the name of national security were limited to port of entry fingerprinting and photography, in addition to the 1-94 registration (Arrival-Departure Record) required of nearly all non-immigrants. Reno's one paragraph addition of Section 264.1 (f) to the Code of Federal Regulations hardly parallels Ashcroft's 13-paragraph re-writing of 264.1 (f).

Credit for inaugurating "extra" national security port-of-entry registration procedures goes to former Attorney General Dick Thornburg of the George Bush, Sr. Administration, who amended the Code of Federal Regulations in January, 1991 to require the port of entry registration of visitors "bearing Iraqi and Kuwaiti travel documents."[25] Reno rescinded this rule in December 1993, amended the Code of Federal Regulations to make the country designation process simpler, and then published a Federal Register notice requiring "certain nonimmigrants from Iraq and the Sudan" to register.[26] In 1996 Reno added "certain nonimmigrants bearing Iranian and Libyan travel documents.[27] Ashcroft added Syria to this list on September 6, 2002, and at that time declared that citizens and nationals of these five countries, and persons believed to be such, were subject to the new expanded special registration. One impact of the "persons believed to be such" clause was the requirement that dual nationals register, such as persons who are Canadian and Syrian citizens, or Swiss and Iranian citizens. The Canadian government issued a travel warning for its citizens traveling to the US shortly after the program was implemented, following the US deportation to Syria of a Canadian citizen in transit at JFK and the reported harassment of Canadians of Arab and Asian descent at US borders. It later lifted this warning after the US government promised to treat Canadian citizens better, although registry still applied.

The next program expansion occurred on November 6, 2002, when the Attorney General published a Call-In notice in the Federal Register for "certain visiting citizens and nationals" of Iran, Iraq, Libya, Syria, and the Sudan who had entered the US and been inspected by the INS prior to September 11, 2002.[28] Providing the required 10-day notice, these persons were ordered to report to specified INS offices between November 15 and December 16, 2002, unless they were leaving the US prior to the latter date. At this time, the call-in special registration program was limited to males only, 16 years of age and older, based on "intelligence information" and "administrative feasibility" and excluded applicants for asylum. While US permanent residents and citizens were excluded from special registration, applicants for adjustment of status (to permanent resident) were required to register.

The arrests and detention of between 400 and 900 registrants, mostly Iranians, in

southern California during this period sparked nationwide protest, as persons seeking to voluntarily comply with the new rules were handcuffed and led off to jail for visa violations. Others reported verbal abuse and body cavity searches. Most of these detainees were working taxpayers with families who had lived lawfully in the US for decades. Many had pending applications for permanent residency.[29] Eventually, most of the detainees were released on bail, but removal proceedings were started by the INS at the same time. The director of the Southern California chapter of the ACLU said the arrests were "reminiscent of the internment of Japanese Americans during world War II.[30]

On November 22, thirteen more countries were added to the Call-In list: Afghanistan, Algeria, Bahrain, Eritrea, Lebanon, Morocco, North Korea, Oman, tar, Somalia, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, and Yemen. Visiting male citizens and nationals of these countries age 16 and over who entered the US with inspection prior to October 1, 2002 were required to report to designated INS offices for special registration between December 2, 2002 and January 10, 2003, unless they left the country by the latter date. The addition of North Korea captured "six of the seven designated state sponsors of terror," excluding only the Cubans.[31] North Korea remained the only non-predominantly Muslim country on the call-in list.

The INS later extended the call-in period for "Groups 1 and 2" through February 7, 2003, in response to protests from organizations across the US. In mid-December, a class action lawsuit was filed by the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC), the Alliance of Iranian Americans, the Council on American Islamic Relations and the National Council of Pakistani Americans seeking 1] an injunction against arrests of persons registering without federal warrants and 2] an order preventing deportations without due process. On December 12, Senators Feingold, Kennedy, and Conyers sent a letter to Attorney General Ashcroft requesting suspension of the NSEERS process. The three Senators demanded that the Department of Justice release information about what it was doing "to allow Congress and the American people to decide whether the Department has acted appropriately and consistent with the Constitution."[32] Nonetheless, the overall program forged ahead. Since the special registration program was an executive branch creation, and not the result of a new law -as is mistakenly assumed by many -there was little recourse available for stopping it. It was yet another aspect of the "parallel legal system" advanced by the Bush administration, one that has clearly stated that aliens do not have the same rights as citizens, and some citizens do not have the same rights as others.[33]

Pakistanis and Saudis were added to Call-in Registry on December 16, 2002. Male visitors 16 and over who were citizens or nationals of these countries were given from January

13 through February 21 to register, unless they departed the US by the latter date. Armenia had been included in the initial Federal Register notice for this group, but was removed two days later after protest from the Armenian government. Similar protests from other governments produced no such change and left clear the evidence that the special registration program is targeting Arabs and Muslims. The addition of Pakistanis to call-in registry sent hundreds of Pakistani families fleeing to the Canadian border to seek political asylum. The Canadians gave them future return dates and sent them back to the US. where the INS began removal proceedings against the males.[34] On February 14. this deadline was extended to March 21. 2003 to make registration "as convenient as possible."[35]

The last group to be called-in was male visitors who are citizens and nationals of Jordan. Kuwait. Bangladesh. Egypt. and Indonesia. On January 16. 2003 these persons were notified to register between February 24 and March 28. 2003,[36] but this period was extended on February 14 to April 25. Although the call-in program effectively ended on the latter date. late registrations were still being accepted in June. To avoid immediate removal. however. these persons needed to establish that they did not willfully fail to register.

In addition to citizens and nationals of these countries. a visitor of any nationality can be required to submit to port of entry special registration if an INS inspecting officer has reason to believe that he/she meets preexisting criteria determined by the Attorney General. Some of these criteria were contained in an undated "limited official use" INS memo that became publicly available, They include: unexplained trips to Iran, Iraq, Libya, Sudan, Syria, North Korea, Cuba, Saudi Arabia, Afghanistan, Yemen, Egypt, Somalia, Pakistan, Indonesia, or Malaysia; travel not well explained by the alien; previous overstays; meeting a characterization established by intelligence agencies; identified as requiring monitoring by local, state, or federal law enforcement; the alien's behavior, demeanor, or answers; or, information provided by the alien. "To date, individuals from well over 100 countries have been registered," yet another proof that the program is not targeting Muslims and Arabs, according to the INS.[37]

NUMERICAL IMPACT

The number of persons who actually registered in this program are not known, since published figures vary widely from 80,000 to 200,000. The special registration program applied to newly arriving visitors from designated countries and visitors from these countries already in the US. It is nearly impossible to estimate how many persons this could cover since persons subject to call-in registry could have entered the US in any year. Table 1 indicates the number of persons from each of the designated countries who were awarded visitors visas in FY 2002

(October 1, 2001 and September 30, 2002) and FY 2001 (October 1, 2000 and September 30, 2001). It indicates sharp decreases in FY 2002 for all countries except Eritrea. If FY 2003 were about the same as FY 2002, more than 300,000 persons (less than 1 % of the 35 million visitors who enter each year) would be subject to port of entry special registry in FY 2003, plus tens if not hundreds of thousands for call-in registry who entered in prior years. For example, while the INS estimated that 15,000 Pakistanis would be subject to call-in registry, the Pakistani Embassy estimated this number at 65,000.[38] A report from the Indonesian Embassy indicates that 107,000 Indonesians had responded to call-in registry by February 20.[39] Countries with the largest numbers of visitors in recent years include Indonesia, Pakistan, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Morocco, and Lebanon. The number of persons subjected to call-in registry is related to earlier admissions and how long persons from each of these countries stayed in the US, a proportion we can assume to vary by country.

CALL-IN REGISTRATION IN ACTION!

The vignettes below provide a sample of the stories circulated among immigration lawyers and specialists on e-mail lists created to help them understand and advise their clients about the "special registration" process. They highlight some of the problems, inequities, and disruptions of life caused by the special registration program. They also characterize the overall context in which the program exists in the US – unrestrained, federal government "nabbing" of male visitors from Arab, North African, and Asian countries. The program has struck fear among Arab as well as Asian and North Africa Muslim communities, who are wondering, "what's next?" As in the first round-up of more than 1,000 Arabs and Muslims just after September 11th, 2001, the arrests, detentions, and removals resulting from special registration have so far produced nothing that contributes to national security. The latest data from the Department of Homeland Security show that 11 persons of the tens of thousands who registered are suspected of having terrorist ties. Indeed, as many Arab and Muslim organizations have stated, the special registration program alienates these communities instead of weaving them into the fabric of the nation.

E-mail Queries on a Special Registration List-Serve

Subject: question - how to update our information at INS?

During special registration we gave the INS our information like addresses,

employer/school info, credit/ debit card numbers, telephone numbers etc., etc. If any of this information changes (like address, employer/school, telephone #) we have to inform the INS using AR-11 form. But what about the rest of the information (which we gave them during registration) like credit/bank card numbers, relative/friends contacts ("who can be contacted if INS cannot reach us" – this explanation was given by the officer who did my registration)? Does INS has some other form for these details or ???? [Name deleted]

Importance: High

Last night there was a chilling change at the Lacolle/Champlain port of entry – north of Plattsburg, N.Y. The U.S. INS port of entry – Champlain – is fed up with Canadian Immigration returning large groups of families late at night. Last night CIC returned 15 people to INS late at night – families with young children (by the way the temp last night was a deadly – 30). All individuals return with appointment dates. This morning INS decided to begin stopping anyone from going north – basically doing a rigid outbound check. State police have set up road blocks. Anyone who is out of status is put into proceedings – all Pakistani men will be detained as well as some other men on a case-by-case basis... We will keep you posted – but for now – NO OUT OF STATUS PEOPLE SHOULD TRY TO MAKE ASYLUM CLAIMS AT THE CHAMPLAIN/LACOLLE PORT OF ENTRY.

It seems that INS is continuing to detain people during registration, despite their revised policy of issuing the registrants with I-56 to allow them to post bond. In San Diego I am aware of at least three people who were detained because they were out of status with pending cases and no criminal record. At least one came in with a visa waiver but is 245(i) eligible. Surprisingly INS has put him in removal proceedings, even though he is a visa waiver holder. Any one else has a story of warrantless arrest at INS while registering a client?

I have one who was charged with failure to register by Jan 10th. He registered on Feb 6th, during the grace period. I have another who filed on Feb 10th, 3 days after the grace period ended, he was also charged with failure to register by Jan 10th.

Response: I AM NOT SURPRIZED TO HEAR OF ONE OVERZEALOUS OFFICE CHARGING ONE WITH FAILURE TO REGISTER. IT SEEMSFROM THE LANGUAGE OF EXTENSION REGS-THAT PEOPLE WHO WILLFULLY DID NOT REGISTER FOR THE FIRST ROUND STILL CAN BE CHARGED FOR FAILURE TO REGISTER. THE REG. EXTENTED THE TIME FOR PEOPLE WHO DID NOT REGISTER INNOCENTLY.

I have a colleague at my work who is from Afghanistan. His brother came to the US a month ago from Pakistan to interview with a few hospitals in the US for a residency program. He went on Monday to get an extension on his visa until March since the match results will not be out before then. When he was at the INS in Des Moines, they took his passport and told him you have to leave the country right away. He came back to Iowa City and changed the ticket that he already had to go back to Pakistan on Wednesday. The FBI came yesterday to his house and took him away. No one knows where he is and they can't contact him. Only he can call them. They told him yesterday that they will keep him till Wednesday and they will take him to the airport. But he got a call from his brother today that they are not letting him go and they are moving him to another facility. Do you know of any organization or someone that can help him. At least to know where his brother is and are they planning on doing.

If Iranian becomes citizen of another country, is he no longer a citizen of Iran? If he is not a citizen of Iran, and owes no allegiance to Iran, is he therefore not a national of Iran? If he is not a citizen of Iran, nor a national of Iran, he would not be required to register per NSEERS, right?

I had two here in Tampa. Neither had criminal issues, one had adjustment pending, the other had not filed yet. One got $5k bond, the other got $10k bond. No rhyme or reason. Also, the Notice To Appear charged them with failing to register by Jan 10 when they were in the group given until Feb 7th to register. What's up with that?

Dear Colleagues, My client is a US Citizen of Jordanian origin. Three weeks ago he was picked up by INS and held for 14 days until he was released 2 days before a scheduled appearance before an Immigration Judge. INS kept his naturalization

certificate and social security card. He is not politically active and he sells ice-cream on an ice-cream truck. Are there grounds for suing INS? How do we retrieve his naturalization certificate and social security card? Thanks in advance, [Attorney's name removed]

Moscow, Idaho ...yesterday was an exciting day in my small town. The FBI flew in 120 agents, fully armed in riot gear, on two C-17 military aircraft to Moscow Idaho to arrest one Saudi graduate student for visa fraud. The raid went down in University of Idaho student housing at 4:30 a.m. in the morning, terrorizing not only the suspect's family (he lived in student housing with his wife and three elementary school age children) but also the families of neighboring students who were awakened by the shouting and lights and were required to remain in their homes until after 8:30 a.m. At least 20 other students who had the misfortune to either know the suspect or to have some minor immigration irregularities were also subjected to substantial, surprise interrogations (4+ hours) although none were detained or arrested yesterday. Now, however, a witch hunt for additional unnamed suspects who supposedly helped the guy who was arrested is on. The INS and FBI are working together using gestapo tactics to question the students -threatening their immigration status (and hence their education) if they don't answer questions which are really aimed at the criminal investigation. They have also threatened their partners and spouses with perjury charges if they don't talk .... Reading about this stuff is one thing. Having it in your backyard is another. The international students at the University of Idaho are terrorized and scared. [Name removed; Professor University of Idaho College of Law]

From USA TODAY 2/28/03

Alleged cyber-terrorist pleads innocent to visa violations

BOISE (AP) – A Saudi Arabian man accused of establishing Internet sites promoting violence against the United States faces an April 15 trial after pleading innocent to visa violations....Sami Omar AIHussayen, 34, a University of Idaho graduate student arrested early Wednesday in his Moscow home ....AI-Hussayen is charged with seven counts of visa fraud and four counts of making false statements on visa applications and related paperwork. Authorities contend his enrollment at the school was a cover for his work with the Islamic Assembly of North America. Its offices were also raided

> by FBI agents. ... "This firm and two immigration specialists are of the opinion that the indictment recites one status violation times eleven," the [attorney's] statement said. "The federal government is 'bootstrapping' the criminal implications off of the one status violation." The statement said the Immigration and Naturalization Service interviewed AI-Hussayen in February and gave no indication he was violating his stay.

Is the special registration program a form of racial profiling? Ashcroft has stated that designating "specific countries, the nationals and citizens of which are subject to special registration" is "not new," referencing the actions of Reno and Thornburg, who also targeted Arabs and Muslims. The area of immigration, he says, has always "drawn distinctions on the basis of nationality." Citing case law in an attempt to refute this charge, he speaks of the "inevitable process of line drawing" and notes, "Congress regularly makes rules that would be unacceptable if applied to citizens."[40] In the words of the INS: “(R)egistration is based solely on nationality and citizenship, not on ethnicity and religion."[41]

As a result of protests surrounding INS handling of the first group called in to register (most notably its handling of Iranians), the Attorney General's Valentine's Day press release stated that "prosecutorial discretion" would be considered if a registrant had a current application for change of status (to permanent residency), the applicant appeared eligible, and no adverse information was revealed from "indices, checks, or other sources." In other words, persons would be handled on a case-by-case basis and "some" who are out of status but have legitimate claims for adjustment of status would be allowed to post bond and appear before an immigration judge. Meanwhile, removal proceedings would be started against them. Stories of shackling, detention, and being shuffled from one detention center to another continued through this round. At the end of January, the INS said it had 2,477 men in custody, about 10% of the 25,000 persons who had registered at that point. [42]

The demeaning treatment of one young Pakistani man in Chicago, who is married to an American citizen and seeking work on an Optional Practical Training extension of his F-1 student visa, which he received after completing his masters in electrical engineering, is informative.[43] Upon voluntarily arriving for registry at 9:30am on February 6, he was interviewed, arrested, handcuffed to a Syrian doctor, and then transferred with a dozen other men to another INS office. His offense: looking for work instead of working. His passport, driver's license, and work permit were taken from him. After fingerprinting, photography and a second round of interviews, he was issued a $7500 bond. Most of the others with him were issued $5000 bonds. He was then relieved of his watch and keys, transported with other men to an INS detention facility in the

Chicago suburbs, and issued a green jumpsuit with "INS" on the back. Now visibly a "national security" prisoner, he was taken around midnight with other men to a jail in DuPage County and then around 4am taken back to the suburban jail and placed in a locked room. Meanwhile, his father in law had posted bond and been sent from place to place looking for his son-in-law. Four days after being released from custody, he received a receipt of his green card application. If only he would have waited! On the other hand, he was treated far better than the Iranian-born, Canadian citizen database manager who was handcuffed, leg-shackled, flown to a grim prison near San Diego, forced to sleep on a cement floor, and awakened at 15-minute intervals for five days by guards shouting questions. His offense: he was two days late registering for a program he wasn't sure applied to him.[44]

During call-in registry, no one could predict whether someone who appeared for registry and was out of status would be held in detention or released on bond, even if they have a pending application for immigration benefits. There was considerable variation in treatment from case to case and region to region. Bonds for persons considered out of status were set at widely varying levels, ranging from $1000 to $10,000 in cases that otherwise appear quite similar. Some immigration attorneys communicated by list-serve and conference call to try to determine the best route of advice for their clients. The only agreement they reached is that persons with a stamped receipt for application for adjustment of status would probably not be detained and may not be placed in removal proceedings. Persons with any complications in their case were advised to have a family member or friend ready with cash. While attorneys were permitted to be present at the questioning of clients, in some cases they were prevented from doing so. Some attorneys advertised $500 fees to accompany a client to registry. Persons released on bond usually did not get their travel documents, driver's licenses, work permits, or other forms of identification back.

Questions also surround the "additional information" INS and other agents took from persons who registered. There were many reports of photocopying credit, airline frequent flyer, cash station, and video rental cards. Some persons had every document in their wallet and on their person copied. Some, but not all, were asked about their friends, organizations they belong to, and their political beliefs. All of this information was taken under oath. If at some future date the INS wants to remove someone, it need only allege that a statement given during registration was false to start the removal process. A comment sent to Ashcroft on the proposed special registration rules asserted that judges have determined in prior cases that the veracity of "immaterial" information cannot be used as a basis for determining maintenance of status. Attorney General Ashcroft replied that in the case of special registration "information that aliens

are required to provide is material to their immigration status" (emphasis in original).[45]

One Chicago attorney with many Pakistani clients, including families with grown kids, workers, and professionals who have been contributing to American society for decades said: "I advise my clients who have no hope to adjust their status to leave with dignity before the registration program ends. They can't imagine that Americans would want to deport them. The dream of America is over for them. The only other option is to live as a psychological fugitive." While at this point in time only males are being removed from the US, what happens to the rest of the family, and the American born children? For sale signs are popping up all over Pakistani neighborhoods in Chicago. Among the 8 million undocumented immigrants in the US, members of many other national groups spend their entire lives in the US in undocumented status, cautious but carrying on. Arabs and Muslims in this status live in deep fear.

The special registration program relied on publication in the Federal Register to inform immigrants to register. Not likely a well-read publication among immigrants, the INS enlisted community and ethnic organizations to cooperate in publicizing the program. Placed in a position not entirely dissimilar to the Japanese voluntary registry prior to internment, these organizations had to promote the program despite their dissent. An Iranian magazine editor in California said he felt "used by the government" when his publication of their notice contributed to the arrest hundreds of well-intentioned Iranians.[46] Persons not in the loop of these organizations and magazines were out of luck, and may find themselves out of America. Although the INS extended registry deadlines for all groups, its staff also charged people appearing for registry during the grace periods with "failure to register," a deportable offense.

Critics also say the INS/DHS was not clear about who the program affects. The rule that "citizens and nationals" of designated countries must register confused many, including immigration lawyers. What is a citizen? A national? Does it vary by country? Whose rules apply? The INS definition of these terms produces little clarification. Does one ever cease to be a citizen of the place in which one was born? Must a dual citizen register? [Yes, unless they are a US citizen or permanent resident.] Does the type of document with which one entered the US matter? [In some cases.] What happens to persons who entered on visa waivers? Or who are applicants for adjustment under 245 (i)? What if one entered the US as a visitor but has since become a permanent resident? [Registration does not apply to permanent residents.] What about travel documents that are not passports? Are Palestinians with Jordanian passports Jordanian citizens? [In general, no, according to Jordanian law. Only if they have a Jordanian identification number and family book, and then it depends on when they received these.] How does an attorney or immigration specialist advise people at risk in a context of unclarity? Across

the country, considerable local efforts by Arab, Asian, and Muslim organizations were made to inform community members about the registration process and attempt to answer these questions. Meanwhile, instead of spending their time and resources on enhancing civic participation and community development, the Arab and Muslim American communities must organize around self-defense.

A February 2003 (H.R. Res. 2) Congressional attempt to remove funding for NSEERS passed in the Senate but was removed by the House from the final Omnibus Budget Bill. However, a provision requiring the Attorney General to provide Congress with "documents and other information on the creation, operation, and effectiveness ... for national security" of NSEERS was retained. Such accountability is sorely needed: on how this system was created, its scope, the FBI role, the number of detentions and removal orders, the use of information collected from registrees, and future plans. It must be noted, however, that more than 100 Congressional requests for information from the Bush Administration have gone unanswered over the past year.

COMMUNITY RESPONSE AND EXTERNAL PUBLIC SUPPORT

One outcome of the special registration program is that it forged a sense of commonality of status among ethnically-Asian, Arab, and North African Muslim communities in the US. As it targeted Muslims of diverse ethnicities and countries of birth, the program forced these communities to develop shared resources to work with their communities. Special registration was implemented without clear policies, leading to widespread confusion about who needed to register and what could be expected once they did. To clarify and advise, local Muslim communities across the United States held ongoing informational meetings. While the audiences for these meetings generally emerged from pre-existing community formations, the experts and advisors were a mix of Arabs, Africans, Asians, and others, as were the subjects of the cases brought for illustration. In Chicago, Muslim women were key organizers and speakers at many of these events, often as attorneys and sometimes as civil rights activists.

Civil rights and legal advocacy organizations within and outside the Arab and Muslim communities were quite active in efforts to track the experiences of persons who have registered. The American Immigration Law Association, National Immigration Forum, American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, and American Immigration Law Foundation teamed up to develop a web-based special registration questionnaire to document people's experiences. Local organizations handed out flyers asking people to call and report their experiences. The Iranian American Bar Association asked everyone with first hand knowledge of detentions and

allegations of misconduct against Iranian nationals to call a toll-free number and share their information for an independent special report. The purpose of the report was "to ensure transparency and accountability in government" and to analyze whether the detentions or mistreatment by INS officials violated any laws. Some local branches of the Council for American Islamic Relations (CAIR) assembled support teams to provide pre-registration checkin offering free legal advice and refreshments, and to track persons detained. CAIR-New York, in coalition with other organizations, set up an Emergency Family Fund to assist families of "uncharged" detainees. Other local groups trained human rights monitors to be positioned near INS offices. In an action mirrored in other US cities, during the last week of call-in registration, the Arab American Action Network in Chicago assembled teams of multi-ethnic, religiously diverse volunteers to advise and support registrants and their families. The American Civil Liberties Union has been a prominent actor in opposing special registration policies and in taking actions to stem abuses.

History will show that the NSEERS special registration program was nothing short of a massive round-up of out-of-status Arabs, Asians, and North Africans from predominantly Muslim countries, a group that constitutes a very small fraction of the estimated 3.2 to 3.6 million persons in the US who are out of status and the 8 million undocumented.[47] As a result of the program, some 13,000 Arabs and Muslims have been slated for removal from the US. Many of these persons have pending applications for adjustment of status (to permanent residency) or are eligible to apply for such adjustment. They may be granted relief from deportation when they appear before an immigration judge. But granting such relief is discretionary. While the round-ups resulting from special registration are much larger in scope than immigration agency workplace raids, they have evoked far less public and institutional protest than the latter, including among parts of the immigrant rights movement. This is cause for concern should a legalization/amnesty campaign be renewed. Undocumented and out of status Arabs who (willfully) did not register will not be eligible for immigration benefits and can be charged with a misdemeanor, jailed, fined and removed if they make themselves known. Will the immigrant rights and legalization movement ignore their dilemma or advocate for them? The law requiring aliens (visitors and permanent residents) over age 17 to carry their registration documents with them at all times is still on the books, but has not been enforced.[48] The immigration authorities are placing the finger print identification number of all special registrants on their passports. If the law requiring proof of registry becomes enforced, it is possible that Arabs and Muslims can be selectively checked for registry. Will local authorities be empowered to conduct these checks? Will the immigrant rights movement advocate against such a development? The historic

exclusion of Arabs and Muslims from American civic society, which I have been writing about for years, helps to produce these outcomes. Organizations sense they cannot build broad support for other immigrant issues if they take on the abuses of Arabs and Muslims. As was noted during the Los Angeles 8 arrests in 1988, Arabs (and now Muslims) are the weak link in the civil rights chain.

CONCLUSION

In the post-9/ 11 period, despite all of the negative events affecting Muslim and Arab communities in the US, Muslim civic participation in American society appears to be ascending. Muslims in the US are actively working in civil rights and participating in and convening public discourses about Islam, so as to not leave its definition to members of the Bush Administration, hostile groups, and a basically uninformed media. Mainstream American organizations are taking concrete steps to have a Muslim voice at their events, something that occurred only occasionally in the pre-9/ 11 period. These and other indicators show that more than at any time before, Islam is being acknowledged by large sectors of the American public and media as an American religion.[49]

At the same time, programs like special registration have increased feelings of alienation from mainstream American society among Muslim and Arab communities in the US. Instead of helping to weave Muslims into the fabric of the nation and garner their support in anti-terrorism efforts, recent government policies have singled them out as a group that is dangerous and suspect, as potential subversives. By requiring Muslim community organizations to use their resources on self-defense -resources that have been substantially depleted by government closures of charitable institutions and community fears -programs focused on community building must be cut-back or sacrificed. (Not unlike the resource drain caused by the federal government's targeting of civil rights activists in the 1960's.) Certain spokespersons of the conservative, fundamentalist Christian community routinely express displeasure with the idea of acknowledging and embracing Muslims, whether in the US or abroad, describing Islam as a religion outside the pale of humane values and labeling Muslims "worse than Nazis".[50] It is no comfort to Muslims that Franklin Graham, who called Islam an "evil and wicked religion" was invited to deliver the Good Friday homily at the Pentagon.[51] Members of these communities are wondering, what's next? It is not surprising to learn that Arabs and Muslims fear that the provisions of pending legislation USA-Patriot II permitting the revocation of citizenship will be used against them. All forms of safety in the US are then lost.

Further study is needed to determine how these positive and negative outcomes have

played out in the larger US Muslim community, native and foreign born, and what their impact has been on relationships between its immigrant-based sectors and its largest sector, African American Muslims. Globally, the special registration program evoked protests from the governments and citizens of the countries whose nationals were affected. The State Department thought it an ill-advised program because it would strain important political relationships. Nonetheless, the Justice Department and Homeland Security went ahead with it. As has been noted elsewhere, the sympathy the US had attracted because of the 9/11 attacks has been squandered by undemocratic policies and global arrogance.[52]

Are Muslims experiencing a difficult period in the United States similar to that experienced by Catholics and Jews when they were newcomers to this country? Analysis of this question requires careful study. Certain issues emerge as important considerations in the global era that may have not been important to religious accommodation during earlier times. With the strength of transnational ties that now characterize immigrant communities, foreign policy matters are important to immigrants. Indeed, an analysis of 39.5 months of releases issued by the Council on American Islamic Relations, a pan-Muslim organization, shows that foreign policy issues are consistently present, whether concerning Asia, the Middle East, or North Africa. In 2000, these issues comprised 8% of all releases, in 2001 they were 10%, in 2002 they were 44%, and in 2003 through mid-April they were 7%. Integrating a religious group into the fabric of US civil and political society in the 21st Century may require giving voice and serious consideration to their foreign policy concerns. The strength of feelings held by many American Jews on US policies toward Israel may be an indicator of the importance of such issues to American Muslims. Certainly many American Jews feel embraced in the US in part due to the nature of the US government's foreign policy with regard to Israel. US government policies in Muslim countries might similarly be important components of the democratic integration of Muslims into American society.

While foreign policy issues are a constituent part of Muslim c1aimsmaking in American society, as measured by the concerns of CAIR, they are not the only issues. Primary concerns include civil rights, job discrimination, and hate crimes. Another major topic of CAIR releases is Muslim civic participation activities. An increasing concern in 2003 is the Bush Administration's ties to anti-Muslim personalities and groups. Through April 11, 2003 these concerns comprised 28% of all releases, rising from 8% in 2000 and 2002, and none in 2001. Emerging in April 2003 was CAIR's concern over President Bush's nomination of known anti-Muslim author and speaker Daniel Pipes to the Board of the United States Institute of Peace, a government think tank and funder of scholars. Pipes has been repeatedly criticized in the mainstream US press and by

scholars for low standards of data collection and unscholarly work, making him an odd choice.[53] Pipes, who has said that Islam "would seem to have nothing functional to offer" yet makes his living educating the American public about Muslims, repeatedly claims that the majority of Muslims are troublesome, violent, terrorists, or terrorist-supporters. 54 This selection by President Bush would point to an ideological opposition to Islam, rather than ignorance and misunderstanding, laying at the foundation of Bush Administration programs like Special Registration that target Muslims. Special registration and other "national security" programs recently implemented by the federal authorities have proven of little value for domestic security. Yet they may be killing democracy under the guise of saving it.

Notes

1. "Non-immigrant aliens" includes all immigrants who are inspected by the INS upon entry to the US and are not US citizens; permanent residents, applicants for permanent residency, or applicants for asylum. The rule for special registration excludes non-immigrants who are diplomats, persons working with international organizations, and a few other narrow categories of non-immigrants (categories A and G).
2. US Department of H omeland Security "Fact Sheet: US-V ISIT Program" 5 / 1 9/03.
3. See, e.g. Michael IsikofT "The FBI Says, Count the Mosques" Newsweek 2/3/03. For a list of some of the earlier programs, see Cainkar, Louise 2002 "No Longer Invisible: Arab and Muslim Exclusion After September 1 1 " MIddle East Report (Washington DC: MERIP) Fall. Volume 224. http://www.merip.org/mer/mer22412243ainkar.html
4. Richard Swarms "More than 1 3,000 May Face Deportation" New York Times 6/7 /03.
5. 556 foreign nationals were deported during the Palmer Raids. Alex Gourevitch "Detention Disorder" The American Prospect 1 /3 1 /03.
6. The published numbers of registrants vary widely, often confusing call-in registrants and Port-of Entry registrants. A minimum of 80,000 persons registered through both means.
7. 8 CFR 214.1
8. 8 CFR 261.1 (f) (9). This presumption can be overcome. Consular officials are initially in charge of making this determination.

9. The law requiring aliens to carry their registration documents with them at all times is still on the books. This would mean that carrying one's passport bearing registration information is mandatory, although not currently enforced.

10. Section 265.

11. From 1903, 1917, and 1918, 1920, and 1940 laws.

12. Over the years, the meaning of "registry" has changed and loosened up. The photos used to apply for visas are considered part of registry, the fingerprint rule was waived for most nationals, and the Form I-94 (Arrival-Departure Record) or other specified form processed upon entry to the US became evidence of "registry."

13. Public Law 97-116.

14. House Judiciary Committee Report No. 97-264, 1 0/2/1 981 . "Need for Legislation"

15. 1940 Smith Act; Section 32 (c) 5. Now section 263.

16. As Ashcroft made "males age 1 6 and over" from the designated countries a class of people for special registration.

17. INS Memo (undated) HQINS 70/28 from Johnny Williams, Executive Associate Commissioner, Office of Field Operations.

18. 67 Federal Register 5 25 84 (8/1 2/2002).

19. AG Ashcroft says he is not establishing a new ground of inadmissibility, but rather invoking the already existing "reasonable grounds to believe that (the alien) seeks to engage in unlawful activity." 67 FR 52592.

20. Ibid. On September 30, the INS listed the US ports of entry that registered aliens were required to use upon departure. 67 FR 61352

21. Persons not inspected by the INS upon entry are not covered by the special registration program at this point in time. However, Ashcroft's final rule of 8/1 2/02 reads "nonimmigrant aliens...who have already been admitted to the US or who are otherwise in the US." 8 CFR 264.1

22. Public Law 97-116; December 29, 1981. Immigration and Nationality Act Amendments of 1981.

23. Statement made at a meeting with top regional government officials and members of Chicago's Arab community.

24. 58 FR 68024.

25. 56 FR 1566. This registry was during the 1990/91 Gulf War period, The government's stated reasons for registry include: the Iraqi theft of Kuwaiti travel documents,

the "potential for anti-US terrorist-type activities" because of "US condemnation of and economic sanctions against the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait," and "securing information on terrorists."

26. 58 FR 68157. Reno removed 8 CFR 264.3 (Thornburg) and added 8 CFR 264.1 (f). It was one paragraph at the time. It is now 13.

27. 61 FR 46829.

28. Persons not inspected by the INS upon entry were not covered by this special registration program.

29. Reuters 1 2/ 1 8/02.

30. Reuters 12/18/02; BBC News Online 12/19/02; Newsday 12/13/02.

31. 67 FR 70526

32. Letter to John Ash croft, 1 21 1 2/02.

33. Nat Hentoff "A Citizen Shorn of All Rights" Village Voice 1 2127/02.

34. See e.g. Adam Saytanides "In Pakistan. She would be Dead" The Reader (Chicago) 2/28/03.

35. Attorney General press release, 2/14/03.

36. 68 FR 2363.

37. INS Q&A, 12/23/02.

38. National Council of Pakistani Americans, 2/15/03.

39. "Indonesian Officials meet with Washington D C Community" 2/22/03 Memo.

40. 67 FR 52585.

41. INS Q&A, 12/23/02.

42. The first number is from the Washington Post (1 /1 7/03) and the second from the San Jose Mercury News (1/31/03).

43. Mike Sula "Instant Prisoner" Chicago Reader 2/28/03.

44. "Canadian passport 'meant nothing' to US immigration officials" Canadian Broadcasting System News. 1/13/03.

45. 67 FR 52588.

46. Jessie Mangaliman "Role in Registration Worries Ethnic Media" San Jose Mercury News; 1/20/03.

47. Persons out of status are thought to be 40 to 45% of the estimated 8 million undocumented persons in the US. The rest are persons who "entered without inspection." The latter category is not subject to special registration, and contains few Arabs and Asians.

48. Section 264(e).

49. For other indicators, see Cainkar, Louise 2002 "No Longer Invisible: Arab and Muslim Exclusion After September 11" Middle East Report (Washington DC: MERIP) Fall .Volume 224. http://www.merip.org/mer/mer224/2243ainkar.html

50. Mathew Lee "US Evangelist says Muslims 'Worse than Nazis'" *Agence France Press* 11/12/02.

51. See, e.g., Omeira Helal and Arsalan Iftikhar "Pipes Nomination a slap in the face for Muslims" San Francisco Chronicle 5/11/03.

52. See e.g., Study by The Pew Research Center for the People and the Press, cited in Christopher Marquis "World's view of US sours after I raq war, poll finds" New York Times 6/3/0 3.

53. Bill Tammeus "Let's not repeat the hysteria of McCarthyism" Kansas City Star 5/24/03. Omeira Helal and Arsalan Iftikhar "Pipes Nomination a slap in the face for Muslims" San Francisco Chronicle 5/11/03.

54. Ibid.

Appendix

Table 1: Visitor Visas Approved-FY 2002 and FY 2001 and % Change

Rank # Visas FY 2002	Country	2001	2002	Decrease	Rank % Decrease	Registry Group
9	Iran	20,268	12,284	39%	12	1
18	Iraq	3,071	1,837	40%	11	1
24	Libya	449	343	24%	19	1
17	Sudan	4,576	2,258	51%	7	1
11	Syria	14,399	8,529	41%	10	1
22	Afghanistan	1983	1,178	41%	10	2
13	Algeria	7,516	5,084	32%	16	2
16	Bahrain	4671	2,279	51%	7	2
20	Eritrea	1,590	1,574	1%	21	2
6	Lebanon	32,321	21,741	33%	15	2
4	Morocco	26,159	22,775	13%	20	2
15	Oman	3,963	2,312	42%	9	3
19	Qatar	3,769	1,826	52%	6	3
23	Somalia	1,003	429	57%	3	3
14	Tunisia	9,161	4,269	53%	5	3
12	U.A.E.	17,247	6,090	65%	2	3
21	Yemen	2,875	1,304	55%	4	3
2	Pakistan	95,595	61,538	36%	14	4
5	Saudi Arabia	66,721	22,245	67%	1	4
8	Bangladesh	21,107	15,556	26%	18	5
3	Egypt	61,828	37,381	40%	11	5
1	Indonesia	96,961	68,478	29%	17	5
7	Jordan	33,548	21,043	37%	13	5
10	Kuwait	19,756	11,242	43%	8	5
	Total	**550,537**	**333,595**	**39%**		
North and South Korea		841,863	802,552	5%		