SOCIAL SECURITY: ALIEN BENEFICIARIES

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AUTHOR:

David S. Koitz

Education and Public Welfare Division

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ISSUE DEFINITION

Mounting concern about the payment of social security benefits to aliens living abroad resulted in the enactment of legislation this year adding new restrictions on the payment of benefits to certain aliens, P.L. 98-21.

BACKGROUND AND POLICY ANALYSIS

RECENT CONCERNS

Beneficiaries Abroad

Under the law prior to enactment of the Social Security Amendments of 1983 (P.L. 98-21), there were restrictions on the payment of social security benefits to aliens residing outside of the U.S. However, in practice, benefits were suspended in only a relatively small number of cases -- about 1,200 in December 1979 -- while benefits were paid to more than 160,000 aliens living in more than 200 countries. Some Members of Congress expressed concern that payment of social security benefits abroad was causing a significant drain on the social security system at a time when it was having serious financial problems. A major additional concern was that some benefits abroad were being obtained through fraud and abuse. Yet another concern was that aliens who live and work in the U.S. legally may work here just long enough to earn the minimum number of quarters of coverage required, return to their native countries, marry and have children, and then collect social security benefits for themselves and their dependents for many years. In such cases, benefits very quickly exceed the relatively small amounts contributed and benefits are paid to persons who have no connection with the U.S. and who did not depend on the worker's earnings during the time he worked in covered employment in the U.S. Critics also argued that social security is intended to assure a decent standard of living for disabled and retired persons in this country, but that some beneficiaries have been using the benefits to live in comparative luxury abroad in countries with lower standards of living.

In an Aug. 19, 1981 press interview, social security Commissioner John A. Svahn stated that he had become aware of ways in which some overseas beneficiaries are "cheating the system." Among the problems cited by Svahn were unreported deaths, fake adoptions and marriages, and unreported work activity. He said that SSA investigators had found cases in which benefits were being paid to people who were dead and for dependents acquired in "paper adoptions" who were not really being supported by the recipient family. Beneficiaries in certain countries, he maintained, have "a higher degree of May-December marriages, adoptions by grandparents and other ruses." According to Svahn, such problems are particularly acute in Mexico, Italy, Greece and the Philippines, where large numbers of beneficiaries reside. He also said that in some countries "there is a kind of industry built up of so-called claims-fixers who, for a percentage of the benefit, will work to ensure tht somebody gets the maximum benefit they can possibly get out of the system."

A report by the General Accounting Office (GAO) in March 1983 ("Issues Concerning Social Security Benefits Paid to Aliens") pointed out that:

> In 1981, 313,000 social security beneficiaries lived abroad....
>
> Most beneficiaries living abroad... are not U.S. citizens. Aliens accounted for 66% of beneficiaries living abroad in 1981.
>
> The average alien beneficiary living abroad in 1981 had worked fewer years in social security-covered employment, had paid less taxes, and had more dependents than the average social security beneficiary....
>
> Because the Social Security Act provides for paying benefits to the wage earners' dependents and the benefit formula provides a higher wage replacement rate to the short-term low-income wage earner, alien beneficiaries are more likely to receive proportionately more benefits per tax dollar paid than the average beneficiary.

Specifically, with respect to dependents, GAO found that:

> Alien dependents outnumber wage earners by 180 to 100, in marked contrast to 50 dependents per 100 wage earners in the overall beneficiary population....
>
> ...about 56,000 (or 34%) of the 164,000 dependents living abroad in 1981 were added to the benefit rolls after the wage earner began receiving benefits. Of the dependents added, about 51,000 were aliens.
>
> We estimate that about 91% of all dependents abroad who were added to the rolls after a wage earner's retirement were aliens. And about 52% of those aliens were added as a result of the wage earner's getting married or having or adopting children after retirement. The remainder were added primarily because the spouse reached retirement age after the retired wage earner or became an eligible widow.

SSA statistics confirm that among the overseas beneficiary population, the percentage of retired or disabled workers is smaller, and the percentage of dependents and survivors is larger, than among the beneficiary population as a whole. The distribution of benefits by type of beneficiary as of December 1981 was as follows:

	Beneficiaries abroad	Total beneficiaries
Retired or disabled workers	150,017 (48%)	22,971,881 (64%)
Dependents and survivors	163,245 (52%)	13,034,490 (36%)

Illegal Aliens

Another concern is that the large number of undocumented aliens currently working in the United States could lead to large increases in future benefits payments abroad. Recent increases in the number of retirees in Mexico -- from 10.8% of the beneficiary abroad population in 1971 to 18.2% in December 1981 -- provided some evidence of this possibility. The most frequently cited estimates of the illegal alien population in this country range from 3 to 6 million. There are no statistics on the number of illegals who are currently working and contributing to the social security system, thereby potentially gaining entitlement to benefits, nor on the number who worked in the United States illegally in the past and are now receiving benefits. However, the Social Security Administration has stated that the number of illegal alien workers earning social security coverage should decrease in the future as a result of the stricter regulations for obtaining social security numbers promulgated by SSA in 1978. A 1980 study by David North of the New TransCentury Foundation reported some evidence indicating that these stricter regulations may have reduced the number of social security numbers issued to newly arrived illegal migrants. In 1978 and 1979, only about 5 million new numbers were issued each year, as compared to more than 7 million in 1977. [Source: North, David S. Immigration and income transfer policies in the United States: An analysis of a non-relationship. Washington, D.C., New TransCentury Foundation, 1982.]

The amount of social security taxes paid by illegal aliens each year is not known. While not directing its findings specifically at illegal alien workers, the GAO report stated that:

> The average alien beneficiary living abroad in 1981 had earned about 39 quarters of social security credits before retirement or onset of disability. This is equivalent to 9.8 years of social security-covered employment. The average social security beneficiary in 1978 had earned 82 quarters of social security credits, or an equivalent of 20.5 years of employment....
>
> The shorter average work history in social security-covered employment is partly reflected in the aliens' lower average FICA tax payments. Aliens on the rolls in 1981, on the average, paid an estimated $1,202 in taxes before they began receiving social security benefits, compared to an average of $2,170 for all beneficiaries.
>
> The amount of benefits aliens have received relative to their FICA tax payments has been substantial. We estimated that the average alien family had received about $24 in benefits for every $1 in FICA taxes paid before retirement.

It also has been suggested, however, that illegal aliens may contribute more to the system than they take from it. For instance, the North study estimated that illegal aliens contribute from $500 million to $1.7 billion to the social security system each year [Source: Ibid., p. 27-28]. According to SSA, it is reasonable to assume that as a group, undocumented aliens working in this country illegally may be contributing more to the program than they will receive in benefits because: (1) many illegal aliens are young, work here for a while and pay social security taxes, but do not work long enough to become eligible for benefits, and (2) many probably use fraudulent social security numbers belonging to someone else so that they do not receive earnings credits in SSA's records for the taxes they pay. Even those with legitimate numbers might not claim benefits because of fear of dealing with a government agency.

Another study conducted for the Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy, which issued its final report in 1981, examined data from a 1976 Census Bureau survey of the income of and use of social services by over 150,000 families, including about 15,000 immigrant families. The researchers concluded from the data that, generally, "immigrants contribute more to the public coffers than they take." [Source: Simon, Julian L. What immigrants take from, and give to, the public coffers. In U.S. Select Commision on Immigration and Refugee Policy. U.S. Immigration and the National Interest; Papers on Legal Immigration to the United States, Appendix D to the Staff Report. (Washington, D.C.) 1981, pp. 224-226].

Arguments Made Against Further Benefit Restrictions

Legislation restricting the eligibility of aliens for social security benefits because they live outside the U.S. has been opposed by some on several grounds. First, it is sometimes viewed as unfair to restrict the circumstances under which benefits are paid to certain workers and their family members when those workers were required to pay the social security tax. They argue that workers who are required to pay the tax throughout their careers in the U.S. should be eligible to receive monthly benefits without regard to citizenship, legal status in the U.S., or absence from the U.S. Proponents of this "earned right" principle are particularly concerned about protecting the benefit rights of persons who lived and worked in the U.S. for many years and who made plans for retirement based on expected social security benefits.

A second major objection to adding new restrictions on the circumstances in which benefits can be paid to aliens living abroad is that they could prompt other nations to retaliate by imposing restrictions on the eligibility of U.S. citizens living abroad for benefits paid under foreign social security systems. Other nations could retaliate by cutting off benefits to persons living in the U.S. who presently receive benefits provided under foreign social security systems. Although complete data is not available, the following statistics for selected countries show that considerable sums of money are paid by foreign systems to persons living in the U.S. (See Table 1.)

Table 1. Social Security/Pension Benefits Paid in the U.S. by Selected Foreign Countries

Country	Beneficiaries	Dollars (annual)
Austria 1 /	12,895	$56,042,000
Canada 2 /		
Old Age Security	20,700	37,230,000
Canadian Pension Plan	3,853	4,602,750
Quebec Pension Plan	1,391	4,263,600
West Germany 2 /	69,926	203,245,000
Italy 2 /	10,362	22,600,000
Poland 2 /	750	600,000
United Kingdom 1 /	23,300	36,000,000
TOTAL:	137,933-143,177	$364,583,350

1 / Figures for 1980.
2 / Figures for 1981.
Source: Office of Policy, Social Security Administration, March 1982.

As American business expands overseas to become part of an international market and as the involvement of foreign businesses in the U.S. economy grows, more and more individual workers will have spent part of their careers in the U.S. and part of their careers in one or more other countries. In this context, some observers believe that it is more constructive to pursue efforts to coordinate benefits and coverage among social security systems than to impose new unilateral restrictions on U.S. benefits paid abroad. Through treaties of friendship, commerce and navigation and through "totalization" agreements, the U.S. has formally agreed to pay social security benefits to the nationals of seven countries on the same terms that they are paid to our own citizens. In return, these nations have agreed to provide equal treatment to U.S. citizens and their citizens. Additional agreements are in process with nine countries and two of those agreements (with Canada and Belgium) are expected to be in effect in the near future. In addition, although no formal reciprocity agreement exists, about 40 other countries pay pension benefits to U.S. citizens who have earned them no matter where they live. These countries include Canada, Mexico, and the Philippines.

With respect to restrictions on social security benefits paid to illegal aliens living in the U.S., the primary objection seems to be the imposition on the Social Security Administration of another major administrative task which is perhaps better performed by the immigration authorities -- identifying and taking legal action against illegal alien workers. Other concerns have to do with the fairness and/or constitutionality of collecting taxes from these workers, but denying them benefit eligibility.

LEGISLATION IN THE 98TH CONGRESS

The major social security financing legislation enacted in April 1983 (P.L. 98-21), the Social Security Amendments of 1983, included several provisions affecting aliens. As part of the provision to tax a portion of social security benefits, 30% of one-half of a nonresident alien's social security benefit will be withheld beginning in 1984. There also was a provision restricting the eligibility of certain nonresident aliens seeking social security benefits as dependents or as survivors of an insured worker. Alien workers seeking benefits based on their own U.S. work records were not affected by the new law.

Legislative action on the issue of eligibility of aliens for benefits began in the Senate Finance Committee which adopted an amendment to S. 1 (the Senate version of the social security financing package) to restrict the payment of benefits to alien workers and to their dependents and survivors who resided abroad for more than 6 months. Under the Finance Committee's measure, benefits were to be paid only if the worker was a citizen of a country with which the United States had a treaty or totalization agreement. Further, even under these circumstances, benefits were to be paid to the wage earner and dependents only until they equalled the amount of social security taxes payable by the wage earner plus interest. This provision was to apply to persons becoming newly eligible for benefits on or after Jan. 1, 1985.

In addition to these measures, a floor amendment by Senator Nickles was adopted providing that where beneficiaries were under final orders of exclusion or deportation, or had agreed to voluntary departure in lieu of deportation from the U.S., and it could be shown by the Attorney General that they earned social security credits during periods of illegal work, the earnings credits from that work could not be used in computing social security benefits, thereby potential eliminating benefits.

The provision further prohibited the payment of social security benefits to noncitizens who were unable to establish at the time they applied for benefits that they had ever been legally admitted to work in the United States.

These limitations were included in H.R. 1900 as passed by the Senate on Mar. 23, 1983 (the provisions of S. 1 as reported out of the Finance Committee were substituted early in the Senate floor action for those in the House-passed version of H.R. 1900 when it was taken up on the floor). The House-passed version of H.R. 1900 has no similar restrictions.

Conferees from the House and Senate agreed on a final version of H.R. 1900 on Mar. 24, 1983, including among its many recommendations, a compromise provision that called for suspending the payment of benefits to any alien receiving benefits as a dependent or survivor of an insured worker (whether or not the worker is a U.S. citizen) when the alien beneficiary has been outside the U.S. for six consecutive calendar months. Alien auxiliary beneficiaries who could prove that they lived in the U.S. for a total of at least five years during which their relationship with the worker was the same as the relationship upon which eligibility for benefits was based (e.g., spouse, child, parent) would be exempt from the suspension of benefits. Children would be deemed to meet the 5-year residence requirement if the residence requirement could be met by their parents.

The conference agreement was agreed to by both Houses on the same day. It was signed into law by President Reagan on Apr. 20, 1983 (P.L. 98-21).

SOCIAL SECURITY RULES PERTAINING TO ALIENS AND NON-RESIDENTS

Under current law, U.S. citizenship is not required for receipt of benefits under the Old Age, Survivors and Disability Insurance program. Any alien in the U.S. -- whether in the United States legally or illegally, or as a permanent or temporary resident -- is eligible for benefits provided he has engaged in covered employment and otherwise meets the eligibility requirements (i.e., age, disability, minimum quarters of coverage, etc.). Dependents and survivors are also eligible for benefits regardless of their immigration status or that of the insured worker. The only exceptions to this general rule are for three categories of nonimmigrant aliens: foreign students, exchange visitors, and temporary foreign agricultural workers admitted under subparagraphs (F), (J), and (H), respectively, of the Immigration and Nationality Act, who are specifically excluded from coverage (26 U.S.C. 3121(b)). These workers do not pay the social security tax and are not eligible for benefits.

No data are maintained on the number of alien social security beneficiaries residing in the United States. Likewise, no data are available on the number of aliens, whether legal or illegal, who are working in the United States and paying into the system.

Benefits also are paid to U.S. citizens who reside abroad without restriction. However, there are restrictions on the payment of benefits to persons outside the United States who are not U.S. citizens or nationals. Under Section 202(t) of the Social Security Act, enacted in 1956, benefits are not payable to aliens living abroad for 6 months or more. This restriction on the payment of benefits applies to an insured worker who is an alien, as well as to any of his dependents or survivors who are aliens. There are several broad exceptions to this restriction, however, that result in its affecting only a small number of aliens and their dependents.

As a result of the most recent social security amendments (March 1983), benefits to dependents of aliens living abroad who qualify under these exceptions are subject to a new restriction. Dependents' benefits cannot be paid for more than 6 months under any circumstances unless it can be shown that (1) the dependent had lived in the U.S. for at least 5 years and (2) his or her relationship with the insured worker during that period was the same as the relationship on which the dependent's benefits are being pursued. (For instance, if a spouse is seeking benefits on the insured worker's record, the spouse had to be married to the worker for at least 5 years while he or she resided in the U.S.) If child's benefits are being pursued, the child also must meet the 5-year residency requirement, except where the parents can meet it (both must meet it if there are two). Further, if the child is adopted outside of the U.S., no benefits can be paid. These restrictions apply to those becoming eligible in 1984 or later.

Also, under the new law, 30% of one-half of the social security benefits of nonresident aliens will be withheld beginning in 1984. This is in conformity with an existing provision of the tax code. Under section 871 of the Internal Revenue Code, the U.S. income of all nonresident aliens is subject to income tax at a flat rate of 30%, unless a lower rate is fixed by treaty. To capture tax that otherwise would not be paid -- because nonresident aliens ordinarily don't file tax returns -- this tax is withheld from every dollar of the individual's U.S. income. Because the U.S. Government does not know the amount of other income of these individuals on which to base a tax rate, an arbitrary rate of tax (i.e., 30%) was set.

Before P.L. 98-21, social security was not included in the definition of income under this provision because SS benefits were not taxable. The new amendments subject up to one-half of social security benefits to taxation beginning in 1984, so hereafter social security benefits will be treated in a manner similar to other pension income paid to nonresident aliens. However, for everyone besides nonresident aliens, social security benefits are taxable only if the recipient's other income plus one-half of social security benefits exceed certain amounts ($25,000 for single individuals, $32,000 for couples). These threshold amounts are not applicable to nonresident aliens. The net effect of P.L. 98-21, therefore, is simply to cut benefits to nonresident aliens by a total of 15% (30% of half their benefits).

The reason Congress excluded nonresident aliens from the thresholds was that there is no practical way to determine their income -- thus, it was decided that the best way to ensure that nearly all the tax that should be paid will be paid was to withhold from the first dollar of benefits.

An issue raised by this provision is whether it is equitable to treat nonresident aliens in this manner. For everyone else, initially only "high" income" individuals are taxed. Nonresident aliens, some of whom may in fact have little or no other income, are taxed from the first dollar of benefits. However, the alternative in most cases would have been to assume that all aliens living outside the U.S. have incomes below the thresholds (effectively excluding them from the taxation provision), an erroneous assumption and obviously unfair to other social securities beneficiaries who must pay tax on their benefits.

Exceptions to Restrictions

An alien who is a citizen of a foreign country that has a social insurance system, under which benefits are payable without restriction to eligible U.S. citizens who are outside that country, can receive benefits beyond 6 months. Examples of countries that meet this "social insurance exception" are Canada, France, Mexico, the Philippines, and the United Kingdom. This exception, however, does not pertain to dependent's benefits -- the 6 month limit still applies.

Benefits also are not withheld (either from the worker or his dependents) where such withholding would be contrary to a treaty obligation in existence on Aug. 1, 1956, between the United States and the country of which the beneficiary is a citizen or national. These countries are the Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan and Nicaragua (and, for survivors' benefits only, the Netherlands). This exception also pertains generally to countries with whom the U.S. has social security totalization agreements (currently, Germany, Italy and Switzerland).

If the alien worker has a total of at least 40 quarters of social security coverage, or resided in the United States for 10 years or more, benefits continue even if the alien beneficiary remains outside the United States for 6 months or more. However, if the beneficiary is a citizen of a country that does not provide for full social insurance payments to eligible U.S. citizens who are outside that country, the nonpayment provision applies regardless of the 40 quarters of coverage or 10-year U.S. residence. Examples of such countries include Hungary, Iceland, Libya, New Zealand, Rumania, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Uruguay, and Zambia.

Furthermore, no benefits may be paid to individuals who reside abroad in a country that has been designated by the Secretary of the Treasury as a country to which payment of benefits must be withheld because there is "no reasonable assurance that a person would receive his or her check and be able to negotiate it at full value." Most of these countries have Communist governments and they include Albania, East Germany, North Korea and Vietnam.

Reporting Requirements for Beneficiaries Abroad

SSA requires each beneficiary abroad to complete a questionnaire once a year testifying to facts bearing on the beneficiary's continuing eligibility for benefits. The beneficiary must sign the questionnaire in the presence of an American consular official or a responsible foreign official who, in turn, certifies to the identity of the signer and to the fact that the person has, as far as the official knows, responded truthfully to each question. Payments are terminated if a properly completed questionnaire has not been submitted on time.

In addition, SSA, in cooperation with the Department of State, has an ongoing program of validation surveys to determine whether benefits payments abroad are based on adequate evidence of entitlement. Validators go to foreign countries and interview a selected sample of beneficiaries to see if any event which might affect entitlement, such as marriage or work activity, has occurred. Special followup investigations and direct-mail questionnaires are used to obtain reports in areas or from beneficiaries where the surveys have indicated significant prblems of failure to report. SSA field agents have been stationed in several strategic locations where large numbers of beneficiaries reside -- Athens, Rome, Frankfurt, London, the Philippines, and Mexico.

Social Security Number Requirements

Although social security taxes are paid to the Government and social security benefits are paid to beneficiaries without regard to a workers's immigration status, alien status is relevant for the purpose of obtaining a social security number. In 1972, Congress amended the Social Security Act to bar illegal aliens from obtaining social security numbers (Act of Oct. 30, 1972; P.L. 96-603; 86 Stat. 1329). Under regulations issued in 1978, the Social Security Administration (SSA) requires applicants for numbers to furnish documentation of their legal presence in the United States and requires a personal interview with all card seekers over the age of 18. Aliens who had been issued Social Security numbers previously were not affected.

CHARACTERISTICS OF FOREIGN BENEFICIARIES

As of February 1982, approximately $80.8 million was being paid monthly to all beneficiaries outside the United States, which represents about 0.7% of the total social security benefits paid that month. As of February 1982, approximately 313,951 social security beneficiaries resided abroad -- slightly less than 1% of the total beneficiary population of some 36 million.

According to December 1979 statistics, 31% of these foreign beneficiaries were U.S. citizens, 52% were non-U.S. citizens, and 17% were of unknown citizenship. However, in several of the countries where large numbers of beneficiaries reside, the proportion of non-U.S. citizens is larger than the overall average:

	U.S. citizen	Alien	Unknown
Mexico	11.5%	63.7%	24.7%
Canada	33.9%	50.4%	15.7%
Italy	33.2%	53.9%	12.8%
Philippines	12.6%	68.4%	18.9%
Greece	38.2%	46.7%	15.1%

Although almost half (about 47%) of retired and disabled workers living abroad in 1979 were U.S. citizens, only 35% of dependent and survivor beneficiaries were known to be U.S. citizens.

Of the 217,536 workers living abroad and receiving benefits in 1979, 154,704 (or about 71%) were known to have lived in the U.S. for at least 10 years.

The number of social security beneficiaries abroad increased rapidly during the 1960s -- from 100,815 in 1960 to 216,877 in 1969, a faster growth rate than that of the total recipient population. However, the rate of growth slowed during the 1970s (see Table 2). Overseas beneficiaries as a fraction of total beneficiaries peaked in 1972 and 1973 at 0.93%, but dropped below .90% in 1976 and has remained lower since. One possible reason for the lower growth rate is the reduced purchasing power of the U.S. dollar relative to many foreign currencies over the last several years.

TABLE 2. Social Security Beneficiaries, Program Total and Total Abroad: at end of 1960-1981

Year	Total beneficiaries	Beneficiaries abroad
1960	14,844,589	100,815
1965	20,866,767	171,311
1970	26,228,629	232,575
1975	32,084,511	289,619
1980	35,618,840	313,592
1981	36,006,371	313,262

Source: David S. North. Immigration and income transfer policies in the United States: An analysis of a non-relationship. Washington, D.C., New TransCentury Foundation, 1980, p. 40; and Social Security Administration data.

Most beneficiaries abroad live in the Eastern hemisphere (about 71% in 1981), but there is a trend toward greater representation from the Western hemisphere, largely because of a substantial increase in the number of retirees in Mexico. Historically, a majority of overseas beneficiaries lived in Europe, but the percentage on that continent dipped below 50% in 1975 and has continued to decline. (See Table 3.)

TABLE 3. Geographical Distribution of Social Security Beneficiaries Abroad, at end of 1971 and 1981

	1971		1981	
Hemisphere	Number	% of total *	Number	% of total *
Eastern	177,041	(71.4)	190,705	(60.9)
Africa	1,308	.5	1,158	.4
Asia	14,717	5.9	15,840	5.1
Europe	134,088	54.1	138,233	44.1
Oceania	1,422	0.6	2,156	0.7
Philippines	25,506	10.3	33,318	10.6
Western	70,794	(28.6)	122,557	(39.1)
Canada	35,897	14.5	49,505	15.8
Mexico	26,878	10.8	56,944	18.2
South America	2,403	1.0	5,319	1.7
Central Amer.	5,258	2.1	10,528	3.3
Canal Zone et al.	358	.1	261	.1
TOTAL	247,835	(100.0)	313,262	(100.0)

*Percents may not total 100 due to rounding.

Source : U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Social Security Administration. Social Security Bulletin, Annual Statistical Supplement, for 1971; and Social Security Administration unpublished data for 1981.

As for individual nations, for many years Italy had the most overseas beneficiaries, but it was recently surpassed by Canada and then Mexico. Although benefits are paid to persons living in more than 200 countries, about 90% of beneficiaries abroad lived in 20 countries as of February 1982. (See Table 4.)

Table 4. Beneficiaries Residing Abroad in Current-Payment Status, February 1982.

Country	Number	Monthly amount ($ thousands)
Total	313,951	$80,807
Mexico	57,624	9,928
Canada	49,753	14,440
Italy	40,433	11,142
Philippines	33,353	6,423
Greece	16,834	4,316
Germany	16,785	5,268
United Kingdom	12,381	3,892
Israel	6,891	2,184
Ireland	6,421	1,954
Portugal	6,363	1,609
Spain	6,154	1,782
Norway	5,024	1,593
France	4,432	1,386
Yugoslavia	4,236	1,276
Sweden	3,683	1,201
Japan	3,262	900
Poland	3,094	958
Switzerland	2,500	810
Hong Kong	2,343	572
Dominican Republic	2,336	566
All others	30,046	$ 8,607

Source: Social Security Administration, Office of Research and Statistics.

LEGISLATION

P.L. 98-21, H.R. 1900/S. 1
Social Security Amendments of 1983. (See preceding section on LEGISLATION IN THE 98TH CONGRESS.)

Other measures introduced in the 98th Congress which would restrict or prohibit benefits to aliens or non-resident aliens are contained in the following bills: S. 213 (Lugar), S. 595 (Nickles), H.R. 97 (Duncan), H.R. 805 (Gyados), H.R. (Daub), H.R. 1272 (Whitehurst) and H.R. 1538 (McEwen).

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