

STATEMENT

DATE: MARCH 18, 1973

2673 W. PICO BLVD.
LOS ANGELES, CALIF. 90006
TEL. 487-4171

NATIONAL COALITION FOR FAIR
IMMIGRATION LAWS
AD HOC COMMITTEE COORDINATOR:
FATHER MARK DAY

AT A MEETING HELD IN NEW YORK CITY ON MARCH 11, 1973 AT THE ST. FRANCIS XAVIER COMMUNITY CENTER ATTENDED BY THE FOLLOWING PERSONS:

| | |
|----------------------------|--|
| FATHER S.M. TOMASI | CENTER FOR MIGRATION STUDIES, STATEN ISLAND |
| MARIA ISABEL PIEDRA, | COALICION OF THE LATIN AMERICAS, NEW YORK |
| STEVE HOLAPETER, | GENERAL COUNSEL, C.A.S.A., LOS ANGELES |
| FATHER FRANK BUISMATO, OFM | CENTER FOR PEACE AND SOCIAL JUSTICE, SAN FRANCISCO |
| KATHY ANDRADE | HISPANIC AMERICAN LABOR LEADERS ASSN, NEW YORK |
| MIGUEL E. LOPEZ, | COALICION OF THE LATIN AMERICAS, NEW JERSEY |
| FATHER MARK DAY, OFM | ST. JOSEPH'S CHURCH, 12 & LOS ANGELES STS., L.A. |
| ATTY. IRA GOLUBIN, | AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION OF THE FOREIGN BORN, NEW YORK |
| D. DAYASWAL | KENNEDY CENTER INDIAN STUDENTS, NEW YORK |
| DR. CARLOS RODRIGUEZ, | COALICION OF THE LATIN AMERICAS, QUEENS |
| CHAS. MUSIL, | AM. COMM. PROTECTION FOREIGN BORN, NEW YORK |
| GLADYS CASTRO, | CIRCULO SOCIAL SALVADOREÑO, CORONA, NEW YORK |
| MANUEL COLON, | UNIDAD CENTRO AMERICANA, NEW YORK CITY |
| BERT N. CORONA | C.A.S.A., LOS ANGELES |
| ISABEL RODRIGUEZ, | HERMANDAD GENERAL DE TRABAJADORES, LOS ANGELES |

THE FOLOWING AGREEMENTS WERE REACHED:

1. THAT THESE GROUPS REPRESENTED AS WELL AS THOSE GROUPS WHICH MAY WISH TO JOIN FROM THE PREVIOUS CONFERENCE HELD AT LOS ANGELES ON FEBRUARY 3, 1973 AND ALL OTHER PERSONS AND ORGANIZATIONS THAT WISH TO SUPPORT THIS COALITION AND ITS STATEMENT STAND UNITED ON
2. OPPOSITION TO THE PRESENT RODINO AND EILBERG AND KENNEDY IMMIGRATION AMMENDMENTS THAT CARRY THE SO-CALLED THREE-STAGE EMPLOYER PENALTY PROVISIONS FOR SUPPOSEDLY "KNOWINGLY" HIRING PERSONS WITHOUT VISAS AND IN WHICH THE EMPLOYERS ARE CONVERTED INTO IMMIGRATION INSPECTORS ON THE JOBS WITHOUT ANY SAFEGUARDS FOR THE WORKERS NOR REAL PENALTIES FOR UNSCRUPULOUS AND UNFAIR EMPLOYERS.
3. THAT WE ALL UNANIMOUSLY OPPOSE THE HIRING, TRANSPORTING OR RECRUITMENT OF STRIKEBREAKERS FROM WHATEVER AREA, REGION OR SOURCE, THRU LAWS.
4. WE FULLY CONDEMN THE USE OF SOCIAL SECURITY INFORMATION TO SERVE AS A POLICE FACTOR IN DETERMINING, ARRESTING OR CONVICTING OF WORKERS WHO MAY NOT HAVE VISAS.
5. WE CONDEMN THE WHOLESALE RAIDS, ILLEGAL VIOLATIONS OF DUE-PROCESS AND OTHER CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS OF PERSONS WITHOUT VISAS, U.S. BORN CITIZENS AND PERSONS WITH VISAS BY THE IMMIGRATION AUTHORITIES IN THE U.S. AS MANIFESTED BY THE PRESENT IMMIGRATION PRACTICES.
6. WE FULLY SUPPORT THE AMENDMENTS TO OBTAIN ADJUSTMENT OF STATUS

FOR SPOUSES, PARENTS, CHILDREN AND OTHER IMMEDIATES RELATIVES OF U.S. BORN OR PERMANENT RESIDENT WHO HAVE NO VISAS AND WHO ARE FROM WESTERN HEMISPHERE COUNTRIES WITHOUT HAVING TO LEAVE THE U.S. AS IS NOW POSSIBLE FOR PERSONS OF THE EASTERN HEMISPHERE.

7. THAT THE PARENTS OF U.S. BORN CHILDREN BE PLACED IN A PREFERENCE AND NOT SUBJECT TO DEPORTATION WHILE THEY ARE IN THE PROCESS OF OBTAINING THEIR VISAS

8. REUNITE DIVIDED FAMILIES BY GRANTING IMMEDIATE ENTRY TO PARENTS OF U.S. CITIZENS AND PERMANENT RESIDENTS WHO HAVE BEEN FORCED TO LEAVE THE U.S.

9. PROVIDE FOR EQUAL PROTECTION UNDER THE LAWS FOR FOREIGN BORN AND END THE DISCRIMINATORY TREATMENT BY SUCH AGENCIES AS WELFARE, SOCIAL SECURITY, UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE, WORKMEN COMPENSATION, THE INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE AND TO PUT AN END TO "SECOND CLASS" CITIZENSHIP FOR PERSONS WHO ARE FOREIGN BORN WITH OR WITHOUT VISAS.

10. PROHIBIT THE ENFORCEMENT OF IMMIGRATION LAWS BY LOCAL POLICE, SHERIFFS, TAXI DRIVERS OR OTHER NON AUTHORIZED AGENCIES OF GOVERNMENT.

THAT TO IMPLEMENT THE ABOVE ALL OF OUR ORGANIZATIONS IMMEDIATELY SOLICIT AND SEND LETTERS TO THE NINE MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE SUB COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION, CONGRESSMAN JOSH EILBERG, CHAIRMAN, URGING ALL THE ABOVE.

THAT WE INITIATE AND SUPPORT REGIONAL CONFERENCES THROUGHOUT THE NATION ON BEHALF OF ALL FAIR IMMIGRATION LAWS AND TO INFORM OUR COMMUNITIES. that we fully support the forthcoming conferences for fair immigration LAWS ON MARCH 24, 1973 IN SAN FRANCISCO, ON APRIL 1, 1973 IN NEW YORK, ON JUNE 1, 1973 IN DENVER, COLORADO AND THOSE THAT ARE PLANNED FOR SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS AND WASHINGTON, D.C.

THAT WE INITIATE AND PUBLISH A NATIONAL STATEMENT OF ALL THE FOREGOING TO BE SPONSORED BY PROMINENT, LEADERS AND ORGANIZATIONS THROUGHOUT THE U.S.

THAT A MONTHLY NEWLETTER BE PUBLISHED TO INFORM ALL GROUPS OF THE STATUS OF LEGISLATION, PROBLEMS AND CRISES IN THIS AREA AND TO MOBILIZE OUR FORCES. SUCH NEWLETTER TO BE PUBLISHED IN C.A.S.A. AT LOS ANGELES FOR NATIONAL DISTRIBUTION. THAT ALL GROUPS AND PERSONS MAKE CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE COSTS OF GETTING OUT THIS NEWSLETTER.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CALL:
FATHER MARK DAY AT (213) 748-5394
BERT N. CORONA, AT (213) 487-4171
MARIA ISABEL PIEDRA AT (202) 429-4948

China Protestará Ante la ONU por la Explotación de Ilegales en EU

Por Ricardo Acevedo Ramirez
Enviado Especial.

PEKIN, República Popular China.- El gobierno chino, se pronunció hoy en apoyo a México para levantar ante la organización de las Naciones Unidas una protesta "pidiendo que en los Estados Unidos se de un trato humano, de respeto a los derechos, a la dignidad de los mexicanos indocumentados que laboran en aquel

país norteamericano.

Las declaraciones del licenciado José López Portillo, ante más de 200 estudiantes de la clase de idioma español, de la Universidad de Pekín en el sentido de que "la falta de documentos de muchos mexicanos que llegan a trabajar a los Estados Unidos, con frecuencia permite la explotación de sus patrones, quienes abusan de su condición, los persiguen y no les hacen justicia, violando así los derechos humanos" causaron inconformidad aquí.

Anoche se dio a conocer
Pasa a la Pag. 8-A, Col. 6

Compra en Común, Salvación del Pequeño Comercio

La compra en común es la salvación directa del pequeño comercio, aseguró Silverio Correa, gerente de la Cámara Nacional de Comercio en Pequeño, quien señaló que la creación de Centros de Almacenamiento en la frontera es buena siempre y cuando el gobierno los maneje pues en caso contrario se pre-
Pasa a la Pag. 8-A, Col. 6

A point by point rebuttal of Judge Turrentine's 39 page decision was also made by Ad Hoc Committee spokesman. "Judge Turrentine talks extensively of what he labels the "illegal alien" problem. The following rebutals were offered to Judge Turrentines charges:

Charge (1) There are between 800,000 to over 1,000,000 illegal aliens now residing in the United States.

Rebutal

Judge Turrentine mis-states and over simplifies this number, by not mentioning that a significant number of the technical "illegal aliens" who are close relatives of legal resident aliens and U.S. citizens, ~~who~~ have a right to remain here while fixing their status. Example: spouses of Legal Residents, and parents of U.S. children.

Charge (2) 85% of the "illegal aliens" are persons of Mexican Ancestry.

Rebutal

This is obvious and correct. This same situation we feel would no doubt exist along the Canadian Border and with people from the Eastern Hemisphere if the same Laws and economic conditions were applied to them. Example: Canadians in the Western Hemisphere are allowed in the United States up to six months without a visa. Aliens from the Eastern Hemisphere are allowed to remain the United States while securing their status while those from the Western Hemisphere cannot.

Charge (3) One of the causes of the "illegal alien" problem is that Mexico has a high unemployment rate and one of the highest birth rates in the world.

Rebutal

The simple fact of this statement that is not mentioned is that 50% of Mexico's economy is controlled by U.S. ~~economy~~ ^{ECONOMIC} interest. Also, according to a National Bank of Mexico report, for every one dollar invested by U.S. economic interest in Mexico, 4 dollars are taken out. This is the economic cause for the high unemployment rate and poverty in Mexico.

Carter May Seek 4,000 More Border Patrol Officers

(Continued from Page A-1)

plaining the status of studies that will lead to a reorganization plan seeking to improve the management of services provided by various federal agencies along U.S. borders.

No final conclusions have been reached, the officials said, particularly not a decision to create a single, suggested super border management agency, although that remains a possible option.

Nevertheless, the current thinking is that a number of options will be presented to Mr. Carter in December and, once he makes a decision, a formal reorganization plan will be submitted to Congress early next year.

It will be the fifth to be hammered out by the reorganization team working under the President's direction in the Office of Management and Budget.

Two plans are now before Congress, and two more will go up before Jan. 1.

The reorganizers have been studying the overlapping functions of up to eight federal agencies involved in border management, including the Departments of the Treasury; Health, Education and Welfare; Justice; State; Interior; Agriculture and Transportation, plus the Drug Enforcement Administration, and Coast Guard.

More specifically involved are the immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) and its subagency, the Border Patrol, both in the Justice Department; the Bureau of Customs in Treasury, and the Coast Guard in Transportation.

The officials said they have isolated a number of duplicate functions performed by these agencies and are concentrating on eliminating them in the options they are proposing.

The duplicate functions include both INS and Customs screening persons who enter the country to determine whether they can be admitted; both Customs and the Border Patrol patrolling between ports of entry, and the Coast Guard and Customs both maintaining sea patrols.

To a lesser extent there is a conflict also in the fact that the State Department, through its consular services, controls the extension of visas to persons wanting to come to the United States, but it is INS that has the final say at the border whether they can enter.

The officials said there is also a feeling that better screening of those who are granted visas, at the time those visas are granted, could help eliminate the 300,000 persons INS has to track down every year because they overstay their authorized time. Many of these are students.

While the officials said they have not drawn up any new organization chart, one possible form of consolidation being considered would involve:

— Consolidating the inspection functions performed by INS and Customs into one new enlarged Customs Service and the Customs Patrol and the Border Patrol into one enlarged Border Patrol.

— Grouping these combined Customs and Border Patrol

studies going back 40 years to draw upon in their effort. The overlapping border functions have been known that long.

The officials said the Cabinet was briefed on the overall reorganization effort Wednesday, including the proposals for consolidating border functions.

Despite the main thrust of eliminating duplication of functions, the officials said they do not envisage any reduction in total personnel or in total budget outlays. But by eliminating duplication, they said, there should be greater efficiency and accountability and more personnel will be freed to do other needed tasks.

At present, of the 2,200 border patrol members, about

1,500 are customs patrol officers, 4,400 customs inspectors and 1,450 INS inspectors — a total of 9,550 involved in the main border management tasks.

Their fiscal 1977 budgets totaled \$359 million for the Customs Service and \$245 million for INS. When added to the \$1.4 billion outlays for the Coast Guard, total border management costs come to slightly more than \$2 billion.

Political resistance is expected to any effort to combine agencies, the officials said, but they maintained there is widespread acceptance within the various agencies that change is needed.

The United States has 96,000 miles of land border and coastal areas to police, including the Great Lakes.

4,000 More Sought For Border Force

By JAMES CARY
Copley News Service

WASHINGTON — President Carter may ask Congress to authorize a total of 4,000 new Border Patrol officers during the next three months, nearly tripling the personnel available to intercept aliens entering this country illegally.

Administration officials said funds for the first 2,000 will be requested soon in a supplement to the fiscal 1978 budget and an additional 2,000 slots may be requested in the fiscal 1979 budget.

The fiscal 1979 budget will go to Congress in January.

When added to the 2,200 present Border Patrol members, the new positions would create a force of 6,200 officers.

Plans to seek the first 2,000 officers have been disclosed previously, and their authorization — which is separate from the funding — is ex-

Bob Betts
Copley News Service 299-3131

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|-------------|-------------|
| 2200 | 2200 |
| 4400 | 1500 |
| 1450 | 4400 |
| <u>8050</u> | <u>1450</u> |
| | 9550 |

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**FARMWORKER
DATA NETWORK**

A Colorado Migrant Council Component

LA ONDA CAMPESINA by lalo 1-8-79

CALIFORNIA: UNIV. OF CALIF. AT DAVIS, LOUISE BACHTOLD, APPLIED BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE DEPARTMENT IS HEADING THE PROJECT, "CHILD DEVELOPMENT IN A CULTURAL RISK." THIS PROJECT WILL DEVELOP A MODEL FOR PROVIDING A MILIEU IN WHICH NATIVE AMERICAN CHILDREN WILL BE ABLE TO INCORPORATE THE BELIEFS AND CUSTOMS OF THEIR TRIBES INTO THEIR EDUCATIONAL experiences at the pre school level.---

TEXAS: FROM EL CUHAMIL, 1-15-79, ---SENATOR WALTER MENGDEN, R-HOUSTON, THURSDAY PRE-FILED TWO BILLS TO STRENGTHEN TEXAS' RIGHT-TO-WORK LAWS.--- IN ANOTHER STORY, ---ON DEC. 18, STATE REPRESENTATIVE, TONY GARCÍA (D) PHARR AND PAUL MORENO (D) EL PASO, PRE FILED TEXAS AGRICULTURAL LABOR RELATIONS BILL 277. THIS BILL WOULD GIVE COLLECTIVE BARGAINING RIGHTS TO FARMWORKERS.---

OHIO: NUESTRA LUCHA, JAN. 1979, ---UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE FARM LABOR ORGANIZING COMMITTEE (FLOC), FARMWORKERS ARE CALLING FOR A NATION WIDE CONSUMER BOYCOTT OF LIBBY AND CAMPBELL PRODUCTS.---

COLORADO: E.P.A. GAVE A WORKSHOP TO THE C.M.C. STAFF ON THE DANGERS OF PESTICIDES. THE KEY ISSUE HERE IS THE DEATH OF A MIGRANT CHILD ATTRIBUTED TO PESTICIDES. ON ANOTHER NOTE, THE COLORADO LAWYERS COMMITTEE IS PLANNING OF OPENING SERVICES TO TAKE KEY CASES OF UNDOCUMENTED WORKERS ABUSES AND VIOLATIONS OF THEIR RIGHT

GUATEMALA: A BIT OF POETIC (IN)JUSTICE, THE NEW AMBASSADOR OF GUATEMALA IN MEXICO, JORGE ALEJANDRO PALMIERI GARCÍA ON HIS ARRIVAL IN MEXICO FROM HIS COUNTRY SAID, ---JUST AS MEXICO ASKS THE U.S. FOR COMPREHENSION AND RESPECT FOR ITS MIGRATORY WORKERS, WE ARE ASKING FOR THE SAME FROM MEXICO. MEXICO HAS A CONSIDERABLE NUMBER OF UNDOCUMENTED CAMPESINOS WORKING THE COFFEE PLANTATION FROM GAUTEMALA.

HISTORY: BEGINNING IN 1975 THE TEXAS MIGRANT COUNCIL WAS AWARDED A THREE YEAR GRANT TO CONDUCT A CHILD ABUSE AND NEGLECT PREVENTION PROGRAM. IT WAS FUNDED BY THE NATIONAL CENTER FOR CHILD ABUSE AND NEGLECT.

WASHINGTON D.C. IN THE ANNUAL NAFO CONFERENCE THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED FARM WORKERS OF AMERICA, CÉSAR CHÁVEZ, HAS AGREED TO BE ONE OF THE KEY NOTE SPEAKERS.

IDEA STATEMENT

THE IMMIGRATION COALITION

PROBLEM

The recent passage of new immigration legislation, called the Eilberg Bill, during the heat of the presidential election campaign brought into focus the tragic lack of an organized voice in California and the Southwest which can reflect a point of view regarding immigration law/practice from the part of the United States that has, by far, the largest population of recent immigrant/refugee arrivals. The 7.5 million Los Angeles County population alone includes 1.5 million foreign-born persons. Over half of this population is from Mexico. Further, the population includes more foreign-born groups with the largest population outside of their country of origin than any other place in the world. While the Eilberg Bill, now law, was presented as an equalizing and nondiscriminatory law in the field of legislation, it will have the effect of compounding the so-called "illegal alien" problem in California and the Southwest -- an area of concern that has complex economic, social, international, humanitarian, cultural and historical implications that cannot readily be perceived from the limited perspective of new "immigration legislation."

On January 8, 1977, in the aftermath of the Eilberg Bill becoming law, the United States Department of Justice issued a press release which commented on a preliminary report to the President by the Domestic Council Committee on Illegal Aliens. While calling for a policy that stressed the prevention of illegal entrance, the Report acknowledged that massive deportation of illegal aliens is both inhumane and impractical. The Report indicated that present law is not sufficient to deal with the actual problem and points to the complex of powerful social, economic, political and international forces that are part of the whole dynamic of migration from less economically developed countries such as Mexico to the United States. The Report calls for a comprehensive reassessment of immigration law and practice in the context of an adequate assessment of the factors involved in such migration.

Community organizations and concerned citizens in California and the Southwest were able to at least bring a regional concern to President Ford's attention prior to his signing the Eilberg Bill. The Bill was signed. Out of that effort, the Immigration Coalition was formed in an effort to bring an organized voice, not only to those "overworked organizations and people" that are concerned, but for the first time to give voice to the undocumented persons affected. With this two-fold organizational concern, the Coalition has begun in its efforts to give voice around the issue of migration from Mexico -- a group of persons profoundly affected by the Eilberg Bill and a nation whose complex relationships with its United States neighbors to the immediate north may be perceived with limited perspective from Washington.

The historical and contiguous relationship between the United States and Mexico as well as the current scope of migration provides a "counterpoint focus" for a problem assessment of the inadequate American perception of immigration:

1. Anacronistic Preconceptions of Immigration

Outdated historical assumptions underlie the public misunderstanding of the social/historical factors involved in Latin-American migration to the United States in the Twentieth Century. The Statue of Liberty and Ellis Island prevail as symbols of American migrant routes. Anacronisms such as "waves of immigrants" and "port of entry" are still used in examining immigration taking place along the contiguous borders of United States and Mexico.

2. Misconstrued or Inadequate Public Information

The Mexican immigrant is welcomed as a source of cheap labor in times of prosperity and becomes the scapegoat for social/economic/unemployment ills in less prosperous times. He becomes a ready vehicle as the "illegal alien" for media to generate reader response rather than understanding of his status in terms of the above-mentioned complexities. Further, extra-legal practices which attempt to "identify" or arrest him infringe upon the rights of American-born citizens of Mexican heritage who must be ready at any time to prove that they are citizens of the United States.

3. A Vulnerable "Unperson" Without Voice

Within the administrative hearing processes of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, immigrants are considered "nonpersons" theoretically residing in another country and, therefore, not protected by the Bill of Rights or other guarantees afforded to "persons" in the United States. He is the constant victim of confidence rackets, "rip offs," malicious landlords and unscrupulous employers. Aside from the immigration and naturalization process which, under the current laws and with the limited INS service capacity can take years to determine legal status, an undocumented person is defined as an "illegal alien" rather than an "undocumented person" in administrative practice in all levels of government -- defined without access to the immigration law of the land.

THE IMMIGRATION COALITION

The Immigration Coalition was founded in November 1976 as a coordinating council of persons representing public agencies, private service organizations and church organizations that are concerned for the human rights and welfare of undocumented persons, especially from Mexico. In its organizational activities, the Coalition defined goals of facilitating an expression from undocumented persons themselves of their plight and concerns.

Objectives:

The Coalition has defined the following objectives:

1. To insure the human rights of undocumented persons and access to due process in the American judicial/administrative adversary system.

2. To facilitate an understanding of and response to issues which affect their status and welfare by undocumented persons.
3. To coordinate an expression of concern in response to issues affecting undocumented persons by community organizations which are concerned for the human welfare of undocumented persons.
4. To facilitate a more comprehensive public understanding of complex historical, cultural, social, economic, humanitarian, and international issues that are involved in the matter of migration from less developed countries such as Mexico to the United States.

Activities:

1. A monthly "immigration clearinghouse" meeting for interested groups focusing on problem posing approaches and strategies related to issues affecting undocumented persons.
2. Provide advocacy assistance in relation to issues and specific cases that reflect inhuman and illegal abuse of undocumented persons.
3. Public information and media press releases which provide background information related to specific issues and clarification of complex historical, cultural, social, economic, humanitarian and international factors which relate to those issues.
4. "Survival information" provided through telephone information and written releases which will clarify for undocumented persons their rights and options in coping with specific problems.
5. Community-wide advocacy programs eliciting response to legal/judicial/administrative issues which have bearing on the human rights of undocumented persons.
6. Participate in collaborative efforts with organizations in other parts of the United States and national organizations that are concerned for the human rights and welfare of foreign born/undocumented persons in relation to issues of national consequence that have impact on the human condition and status of foreign-born and undocumented persons.

Methodologies:

A core staff of 4 community workers, including a director and one secretary will use advocacy, community organizational, community relations and public information methodologies to undertake above activities in accomplishing stated objectives.

Funding Request:

An annual grant of \$65,000 is requested for staff salaries and operational expenses.



CULTURAL ORGANIZATION, INC.

5053 CHURCHWARD ST., SAN DIEGO, CALIF. 92113 • (714) 263-2153

CENTRAL COMMITTEE

March 1, 1978

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VERNON SUKUMU

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GREG AKILI

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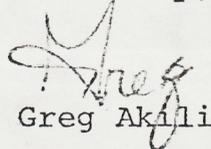
Dear Friend;

This Sunday, March 6, 1978 at 10:00 a.m. the "Inside Out Program" on Channel 39 will feature Ken Msemaji, Chairman of Nia and Chairman of the Ethnic Community Council, Channel 39's Advisory Board, as a guest on the show. Accompanying Msemaji will be Rosalia Salinas, Vice-Chair of the Council.

We think the show will be informative and very useful in providing you with important information about how Channel 39 operates and how we provide input into that process.

We invite you to watch the show and encourage your comments.

Sincerely,


Greg Akili

GA/fj

KEN NORTON
AND
LT. GOV.
BUFFY
ST. MARIE DYMALLY
BENEFIT FOR "THE LONGEST WALK"



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To begin our discussion, we would like to take this opportunity to thank Board member Mrs. Dorothea Edmiston for coming out and expressing her concerns in Wednesday's March 1 article in the San Diego Union titled "School Board Plans Dismissal Notices". To be specific, ^{her} ~~your~~ statements regarding the termination and we quote, "many of our fine young and minority teachers hired in the past few years".

We are here today to discuss that same concern that Mrs. Edmiston expressed in that statement focussing specifically on the Chicano Teachers, administrators and classified employees.

Over the last decade from 1968-1978 we've made minor progress in establishing Chicano representation throughout the School District at all levels, along with excellent support from the Chicano Community. Within these 10 years, the Chicano community has consistently fought ^{for} representation at all levels and will continue to do so. The main reason for energy expended in the past and present is because we have a great concern over Chicano Education at all levels.

Let us now address ourselves not to the possible chaotic state that proposition 13 may create for the California tax system, nor the threat of reduction in our social services, nor the condescending situation between affirmative action and seniority policies but rather, we will be addressing ourselves to the necessity of more Chicano representation, bilingual programs and most of all, those necessities which will determine the success of Chicano's in education which in turn will determine their future.

We will begin by reviewing the possible consequences that may result from the position taken by the San Diego City School District via the City Board of Education. The dismissal of approximately 3,000 school teachers would precipitate increases in class sizes, the probable closings of many schools and those schools remaining open would face a double session instructional system. In addition, the termination notices will once again remind our community that the traditional "last ones hired are the first one's fired" employment policy is alive and doing well in our society.

Let us now turn into the area of reduction of revenue funds raised by cities and counties in relationship to Federal Matching Funds.

We are not going to emphasize the loss of local control of those funds, the utilization of state surplus for relief, nor the difficulty of passing state bonds in subsequent election for educational purposes. What will all these aforementioned critical situation produced for the Chicano community? Cutting back on funds will obviously reduce staff based on seniority rights. For example if one were to use a 10 years period as a ~~level~~ base line by which to determine who will be fired, than ^{it} is obvious that our decade of struggle will have been ~~enialate~~ ^{annulate}. The majority of our Chicano teachers fall within this 10 year category and thus will receive dismissal notices within the next few days. We fear that these teachers may amount up to 99% of those currently employed by the district.

The reduction of Chicano teachers will automatically diminish the number of teachers who are presently ^{introducing} ~~introducing~~ bilingual classes which will consequently reduce bilingual education from its present size. At this point we are now ~~concern~~ ^{concern} with two crisis; ^{faces}

1. the need for bilingual education which would otherwise put us back a half of a century and,
2. the non-existence of sufficient numbers of teachers who can met the needs of the Chicano Community.

This will again add to the number of stragging statistics now available on Chicano's in education. Our drop out rate remains the highest in the Nation having many students who are non-fuctional in English as well as in Spanish. The rate of population growth among all Chicanos in the State of California is increasing in high populations, especially in light of State estimates for the next 15 years. An example of such a population trend in education is the Los Angeles School District. ~~Consequently~~, the demand is not only here now, but will continue to grow in the future. Its sufficient to say that the crisis is yet to be upon us.

In sum, these are a few of the far reaching implications of such action by the Board ~~of~~ the School District. As mentioned in the San Diego Union article, the reduction of Chicanos throughout the School Districts, closing down of City Schools, ^{and} bilingual education being reduced, the San Diego City School District will find its self in non-compliance in some of the following areas:

1. ^{vs.} Lau ~~vs.~~ Nickles (1974), O.C.R. title VI (1064), Chacon-mascon bill 1329, cuts in AB2284, in addition AB65 will fail to materialize as planned by its initiators.

Finally the Chicano Community request the following:

1. That the School District make available to the community an ethnic break down on the 3,000 teachers who will be given notices of termination by March 15, as stated by school superintendent Thomas L. Goodman.

2. that the School District identify the areas of instruction of those teachers who will be given notices.
3. we ask that you make a commitment to affirmative action.

These request are being made by the Chicano Community via the Freedoms of Information Act.

Centro de Inmigración
y Asistencia Pro-Comunidad
835 E. Canon Perdido
Santa Barbara, CA. 93103

September 18, 1978

Dear Comrade:

On September 7, 1978 a declaratory action was filed on behalf of five Mexican students against the Board of Governors of the California Community Colleges, Trustees of California State Universities and Colleges, and the Regents of the University of California.

This case, filed by the law firm of Kingston and Martinez, is centered around the question of whether or not undocumented people have the right to be admitted to institutions of higher learning. Moreover, the case brings to light, whether or not institutions of higher learning have constitutional jurisdiction for interpreting and determining federal immigration statutes.

Lastly, the case addresses the violation of these people's individual rights, as guaranteed under the 14th Amendment of the United States Constitution.

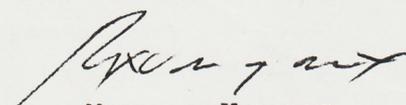
Inclosed you will find a copy of the complaint as filed. We here at C.IN.A.C. are requesting that your organization disseminate copies of this complaint to other interested parties. We further request your assistance on obtaining other potential plaintiffs that would meet the criteria, as outlined in said complaint.

We feel this case represents a very important step towards assuring equal education for all people, and Mexican people in particular.

If there are any questions you may have concerning the case, please feel free to contact our office.

We thank you for your time and wish you continued success and good luck in the future.

Sinceramente,


Marcos Vargas
Victor Becerra

INTRODUCTION

On May 24, 1977, the Board of Supervisors voted that a "Task Force be formed to study the question of medical care for illegal aliens" (Resolution 77-863). The Task Force members were to be drawn from a broad segment of the community. Those appointed by the Board to the Committee are as follows:

Ms. Ruth J. Alatorre (Supervisor Anthony)

Mr. Murry Cable (County Administration)

Mr. L. E. Cox (University of California, Irvine)

Mr. Amin David (Human Relations Commission - Orange County)

The Rev. Allan Deck, S.J., Secretary (Congressman Jerry Patterson's Committee on Immigration)

Mr. Ned Fox (Joint Chambers of Commerce)

Mr. Frank Guzman (Supervisor Schmit)

The Rev. H. Bruce Johnson, Chairperson (Supervisor Diedrich)

Ms. Pessa Klipstein (Grand Jury Association)

Ms. Maxine Maniss (County Administration)

Prof. Sheldon Maram (Congressman Jerry Patterson's Committee on Immigration)

The Rev. Bob Parry (Minister)

Mr. Al Peraza (Supervisor Clark)

Ms. Ruthelyn Plummer (Republican Central Committee)

Mr. Drew Renner (Supervisor Riley)

Ms. Dorothy Smith (League of Women Voters)

Ms. Roberta Thayer (American Association of University Women)

Mr. James Wisely (Democratic Central Committee)

Prof. Corinne Wood (Organized Labor)

COLLEGE EDUCATORS' LACK OF AWARENESS AND/OR INDIFFERENCE DEPRIVES THE LINGUISTICALLY AND CULTURALLY DIFFERENT OF AN ADEQUATE EDUCATION

Limited English-speakers, Bilingual Hispanic Americans, and the poor pay taxes for the support of colleges and universities which render better services to International students than to them. Members of many U.S. communities are excluded from obtaining an appropriate Higher Education due to inadequate personnel, curricula, and course scheduling.

Permanent residents and refugees who have completed high school or above in their home countries are deprived of the opportunity to continue their education or to exercise their professions because of their limited English skills. It is a fact that many of our tax supported colleges ^{offer} ~~offer~~ courses in English as a Second Language, Intensive English courses, and Summer English Institutes for Foreign students--however, these same institutions do not offer these same programs to members of their communities. English as a Second Language courses are not usually offered during the evening when members of the community can attend since they work during the day. These students end up attending evening high schools which do not have the personnel to instruct college students. Lack of awareness on the part of college and university personnel regarding this need in the community and on the part of our newcomers regarding the fact that they too pay for public Higher Education is responsible for this reality.

Bilingual Hispanic Americans are still being subjected to linguistic subordination at most traditional colleges. Most American educators are still ~~not~~ willing to admit to the fact that bilingual instruction is imperative if they are to have any success in educating a people which has repeatedly refused to become victims of cultural and linguistic genocide. The advent of the Hispanic colleges and universities in certain

parts of the U.S. has been the only reason why many traditional institutions are recruiting the kind of staff which is competent to deal with the linguistic and cultural reality of the bilingual Hispanic American. Since students mean money to publicly supported colleges whose operational budget is dependent on enrollment, more institutions will have to add to their traditional staff individuals who are capable and willing to serve this segment of the population which also pays taxes and is often recruited only to pass through the revolving doors of public colleges and universities.

The low-income student is also a victim of a system oriented toward the middle and the upper class. College instructors are still refusing to face the fact that the needs of the student from the culture of poverty vary from those they had when they were students. Traditional instructors are experiencing "instructional shock" though they may openly blame these students for their failure as instructors instead of admitting their incompetence in dealing with non-traditional students. There are those who feel that biased instructors can learn to work with ethnic students and the poor since their intolerance is based on lack of exposure to these students--to these educators we may ask, is a college education designed for instructors or for students?

What can be considered an appropriate personnel to meet the needs of these non-traditional students? Some college administrators may boast about the fact that over fifty percent of their janitors, cafeteria employees, and file clerks are ethnics and argue that ethnic staff is therefore adequate to meet the needs of minority students. The purpose of an education is to learn through the curricula which are congruent with the students' realities and personal growth which comes from instructors who share with the students more than just humanity since even people who

speaking completely different languages have this aspect in common. Whoever cleans the table and the floor, cooks in the cafeteria, or sends out the grades at the end of the quarter or semester does not affect the student academically as does what goes on in the classroom. Therefore, administrators need to look at their instructional staff before they may boast about having adequate role models and curricula for the entire student body which their institution should be serving.

Lack of awareness, indifference, and incompetence is still providing a Higher Education only to one segment of its student body. As Dr. Juan Aragón has pointed out, we still have examples of "the culturally deficient attempting to teach the culturally different." Of course, the neglected can not make any demands upon American Higher Education since he/she can't appreciate or miss what his/her taxes are paying for but he/she has never enjoyed. With the drop in enrollment it is possible that most educators will look to provide adequate education beyond the middle and upper class neighborhoods and also attempt to provide the kind of English instruction which will enable anyone in the community to benefit from American Higher Education. American educators must realize that "instructional shock" is a current reality on campus and that sympathy and empathy are genuine when they lead to action geared to the benefit of all.

CHULA VISTA CASE 50 Union 9-16-74

Suspect Hunted In Fatal Knifing

By SUSAN JETTON
Staff Writer, The San Diego Union

CHULA VISTA — Police yesterday were looking for a suspect in connection with the stabbing death of a 21-year-old National City man.

The victim, Brad O. Bailey, died shortly before 3 a.m. yesterday at Paradise Valley Hospital where he was taken after being stabbed three times during an altercation with another man, according to Chula Vista Police Sgt. Dean Girdner.

Girdner said police are looking for Adrian Robles, 19, in connection with the death.

The stabbing was first thought to have occurred in the 3000 block of National Boulevard in National City. Officers thought the death might have been connected with lowriders who cruise the National City area.

Later, investigators determined that the stabbing occurred at the northern edge of the Chula Vista city limits.

Girdner said investigation indicated the incident had nothing to do with lowriders, more than 100 of whom were arrested last weekend on a variety of charges by National City police in a sweep of the Highland Avenue area.

The Committee on Chicano Rights has threatened a lawsuit against the National City police, charging that the arrests last weekend were discriminatory against lowriders because of their ethnic background or lifestyle.

Girdner also said yesterday it was "too early to tell" whether territorial gang rights were in dispute in the incident.

"A party was going on, and a couple of them separated from the rest. They got into a hassle and the victim was found stabbed," Girdner said.

Bailey, who police said lived at 3010 Shelby Drive in National City, was stabbed in the upper chest, stomach and shoulder.

The incident took place at 3500 Edgemere Drive, a vacant lot just across from a KOA campground. Girdner said the stabbing apparently took place about 1:45 a.m.

Chula Vista police are investigating the slaying.

Slaying Suspect Surrenders In Chula Vista

San Diego Union Staff Dispatch

CHULA VISTA — A suspect was booked during the weekend on suspicion of murder in connection with the stabbing death of a 21-year-old National City man, police reported.

Adrian Robles, 19, surrendered at police headquarters last night and later was booked in the county jail, police said.

The victim, Brad O. Bailey, died shortly before 3 a.m. Saturday at the Paradise Valley Hospital after being stabbed in the chest, stomach and shoulder.

Police said Bailey apparently was stabbed during an altercation at a vacant lot on Edgemere Drive. The investigation is continuing, police said.

50 Union 9-17-74

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COYOTE No. 2 Immigration Official Reportedly Being Investigated in Illegal Alien Cases

BY RONALD J. OSTROW

Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON—Mario T. Noto, No. 2 man in the beleaguered Immigration and Naturalization Service, is under investigation in connection with alien fraud cases, it was learned Thursday.

Although Noto proclaims his innocence—and denies he is being investigated—government sources said he has turned up in two cases involving efforts to bring aliens into this country illegally.

In a telephone interview, Noto dismissed talk of the probes—which are widespread in the immigration service and its parent Justice Department—as “smear” attempts by subordinates to block him from succeeding Leonel J. Castillo as immigration commissioner.

Castillo, the first Hispanic to head the agency, is expected to announce later this month that he is resigning to run for the City Council in Houston.

“People are fighting me within this agency because Mario Noto makes them work,” Noto said. “These are scurrilous statements, without substantiation, without documentation. They’ve spent . . . time doing this that they ought to spend on getting illegal aliens.

“I’ve got documentation that says I’m not under investigation,” Noto said. He refused to describe the document to a reporter

Government officials familiar with the investigations that involve Noto said Thursday that they were very much alive.

One case is being conducted by the Justice Department’s public integrity section. The other is being conducted by the U.S. attorney’s office in Boston.

Noto, an Italian-American, came close to being named immigration commissioner when the Carter Administration took office.

A veteran of 23 years with the immigration service, during which he rose from naturalization examiner to associate commissioner for operations, Noto was in private law practice when Vice President Mondale and Rep. Peter W. Rodino Jr. (D-N.J.), Chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, pushed for his appointment as commissioner.

But President Carter had met and been impressed by Castillo during a campaign stop at the Alamo in San Antonio and he named Castillo commissioner, despite the powerful backing for Noto. Noto then took the deputy commissioner’s post and has been in charge of day-to-day operations at the agency.

The Boston-based investigation is an outgrowth of the conviction last spring of Edward Kavazanjian, a longtime friend of Noto, and two conspirators for helping Iraqis enter the United States illegally through airports in Boston and New York.

Kavazanjian, a former criminal investigator for the im-

migration service who left the agency in mid-1976 to become an immigration counselor, was sentenced to one year in prison and was fined \$10,000. He is appealing the conviction.

The federal grand jury investigation that led to Kavazanjian’s indictment turned up records of 30 long-distance calls from Kavazanjian to Noto’s home in 1977 when the conspiracy was under way.

In addition, the FBI is known to be checking on whether Noto met with Kavazanjian in Florida in November, 1977.

Noto acknowledges many phone conversations with Kavazanjian, saying, “I’ve talked to him at all times . . . You don’t deny the friendship of a man because he’s been found guilty.”

MINUTES

of

THE SECOND STATE-WIDE IMMIGRATION CONFERENCE

August 11-12, 1979

San José, California

INTRODUCTION:

The Conference began on Saturday with an introduction of everyone present. There was representation from San Diego, the San Fernando Valley area, Los Angeles, San José, the Bay Area, and Sacramento. (See attached mailing list).

PURPOSE:

The main objective of this conference was to establish and maintain a state coalition with centralized coordination and communication of pertinent immigration issues.

SUMMARY of the First State-Wide Conference in Fresno:

On April 1, 1979, Northern and Southern immigration groups met to discuss and act on various legislative and human rights issues dealing with undocumented immigrants. The main call was to combat the reinstatement of a Bracero Program (H-2) which perpetuates the importation and exploitation of temporary cheap labor.

In order to have a central system of communication throughout the State, the idea of a tabloid/newspaper was initiated. However, due to various reasons, it never got off the ground. The tabloid is to be one of the priorities during this weekend's conference.

LEGISLATION UPDATE:

The meeting proceeded with a brief explanation of the following legislative issues: (1) The California Work Permit Initiative, (2) SB 788, (3) The O'Brien Amendment and (4) the H-2 Bracero Program.

DISCUSSION:

Next on the Agenda was the Campaign For Human Rights, however, it was voiced that a large portion of the body present was here for the first time and perhaps it was better to move up the Agenda and discuss objectives of the Coalition, the structure and the responsibilities of the membership. There was a general agreement and the Agenda was changed as this topic was to be covered as item number 5.

FOUNDATION:

During the discussion it was moved and passed that this coalition fight immigration oppression on a state-wide level. It was also brought forth that in the statement of purpose the word "national" should be mentioned to reflect the work done on a national level.

Objectives discussed included: (1) to organize and unite ourselves; (2) to resolve immigration issues, (3) to bring in labor, (4) to resist repressive legislation, (5) to defend the undocumented and (6) to consider long and short term goals for the above objectives.

STRUCTURE:

Much discussion and debate was given to the name of the coalition as it would mirror the work undertaken by the participants. Therefore, there was a motion to re-consider the coalition name accepted at the Fresno Conference. The two title nominations were: "The National Immigration Coalition" and "La Coalición Para La Organización y Defensa de Los Trabajadores Inmigrantes." Discussion and voting followed reaffirming the name THE NATIONAL IMMIGRATION COALITION.

Throughout the meeting, various ideas were suggested as viable avenues. The following recommendations were given as part of a plan of action:

- 1) Organize ourselves to organize other organizations;
- 2) Develop a plan of action for each organization;
- 3) Go out to the fields and factories to establish a campaign;
- 4) Involve the working class;
- 5) Inform and educate the labor movement how to organize the undocumented;
- 6) Establish a campaign with progressive labor unions;
- 7) Encourage a registration drive to vote campaign;
- 8) Utilize the church influence to get voters to register;
- 9) Contact the Committee Against Repressive Legislation in Los Angeles;
- 10) Contact the Jewish community, and other nationalities to unite efforts;
- 11) Utilize the mass media; radio, tv, newspapers, etc.
- 12) Seek the participation of groups/ organizations;
- 13) Most importantly, establish and maintain COMMUNICATION between the different organizations dealing with immigration at a state and national level.

FOCUS:

We are faced with a national issue! If we are going to have a solution, we need a power base. It was put forth that we are merely dealing with the symptoms of a major national and international problem.

It is clear that the immigration issues affects not only undocumented persons but citizens and permanent residents alike.

DUE TO TIME LIMITATIONS, a sub-committee was established which would meet the next morning to draft up some points of unity pertaining to the above mentioned objectives. Volunteers were selected and the Saturday portion of the conference was adjourned.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 12, 1979
A G E N D A

- I. Points of Unity and Organizational Mechanics
- II. PLAN OF ACTION

- | | |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| A. Work Permit Initiative | E. Border Violence |
| B. H-2 Bracero Program | F. Vogue Coach 13 - UAW Local 509 |
| C. O'Brien Amendment | G. Chicano Moratorium - Sept. 1st |
| D. SB- 788 | |

SUBCOMMITTEE REPORT:

They met and developed general points of unity which were widely discussed and voted upon during the morning portion (see page 5). A local TV station, KNTV did a news story on the conference, talked to key people and filmed a small portion of the meeting.

BORDER VIOLENCE REPORT:

Agenda was changed again to accomodate Herman Baca's report on Border Violence. The Committee on Chicano Rights had documentation on the accounts of mercilessness killings on the part of the Border Patrol, involving the negligent deaths of two children, and issues of civil rights' violations included in the 425,000 apprehensions last year. Congressional Hearings on Border Violence were held in Washington D.C.

Gilberto Jasso, from the American G.I. Forum, suggested how this type of data could be widely exposed at the upcoming CIVIL RIGHTS CONFERENCE in Sacramento, being held on Saturday, September 8, 1979, State Capitol Room 4202, 9:00 - 5:00. Herman Baca was invited to speak at this event.

The issue of Border Violence was seen as very crucial in the question of immigration. Therefore it was suggested that a Civil Rights Network be created to file civil rights law suits.

STEERING COMMITTEE:

The group voted and agreed upon the following mechanics of the National Immigration Coalition Steering Committee which would include seven (7) members:

| | |
|---|-------------------------|
| two (2) from Los Angeles | two (2) from San Diego |
| two (2) from San Jose and the Bay Area | one (1) from Sacramento |

Each area is to call the San Jose Coalition (251-2850) within a week with the name of their representative to the Steering Committee. The main task of the Steering Committee will be to develop a plan of work and present it to the general body. They will also deal with logistic matters of this state-wide organization. This seven member committee will meet in Los Angeles on the agreed upon date of Saturday, August 25, 1979. They will keep in telephone communication.

TASKS:

For the following meeting, each organization will come prepared to discuss what type of committment they will be able to contribute.

The Tabloid : An informational newspaper, with articles from the participating groups would include:

- 1) The National Immigration Coalition Points of Unity
- 2) San Diego - The Border Violence
- 3) Sacramento - Editorial on the H-2 Bracero Program
- 4) San José - Legislative Immigration Issues
- 5) UAW Local Report on the Vogue Coach 13
- 6) "Constitutional Rights"

Connie Canham will do the typesetting and layout; San José participants will do the editing and translation, and look for possible printing. The complete product should be ready for distribution by September 16, 1979.

ANNOUNCEMENTS:

Vogue Coach 13 in the San Fernando Valley, California

Members of UAW Local 509 are defending their right to be unionized without the threat of deportation. There have been numerous immigration raids in this plant. Immigration officials have been interrogating Latino workers. Those who refused to be interrogated and sign "voluntary deportation" papers, were fired right away. From this incident, 13 would not allow themselves to be deported. Petitions are being signed in support of the Vogue Coach 13. Today's representatives wanted support from the workers at the local Ford Plant and want to talk to their Executive Board.

Chicano Moratorium March and Rally September 1st in Los Angeles

To commemorate the ninth anniversary of the 1970 Chicano Moratorium, there is a state-wide mobilization effort being planned for this memorial event. For more information contact local chapters.

It was discussed that in order for the National Immigration Coalition to endorse any activities, it should first be discussed by the Steering Committee who in turn will set up a policy procedure.

ADJOURNMENT:

The Conference adjourned approximately at 2:00 p.m. in a positive note and with a great spirit of struggle to tackle the work ahead of us. The San José Immigration Coalition will type up and mail out the minutes. The Steering Committee will set up the next meeting date.

number of unemployed in our country. A favorite argument of spokesmen against immigration is that a large number of immigrants are admitted only to add to the public relief rolls and to become a burden to the American taxpayer. Such arguments evidence not only a lack of understanding of the generally favorable economic adjustment of immigrants but also ignorance of immigration law. A basic qualification for admission to the United States is that the immigrant meet tests to prove that he is not liable to become a public charge. Prospective immigrants from all countries are carefully screened to meet this test, and only those whose chances for success are favorable are permitted to enter the country. In addition, any immigrant who becomes a public charge within five years of his admission to the United States is deportable unless he can prove that the causes for so becoming arose subsequent to his admission. This tends to prevent immigrants from becoming dependent on public funds during the critical years of their adjustment.

Employment figures make it clear that immigrants have been successfully absorbed into the American economic system. In 1940 the Bureau of the Census reported that only a slightly higher proportion of foreign-born white males (10.6 per cent) were unemployed and seeking work than of native-born white males (9.3 per cent). This would indicate an average rate of dependency among the foreign born. . . .

Relief statistics have not distinguished between natives and the foreign born, so that the comparative rates are not available. Our only information regarding the foreign born on relief during the depression concerns the alien group alone. In the early days of the depression aliens were not discriminated against by the

Federal government in its distribution of relief through the Works Progress Administration (WPA), and they received the same help as citizens. In May, 1936, Harry Hopkins stated that in only 4 per cent of the total number of families on WPA relief was the head of the family an alien who had not declared his intention of becoming a citizen. He also stated that this was a smaller proportion than the proportion of aliens to the total population. Later on, WPA regulations concerning aliens were tightened. At first, no aliens were admitted to the rolls who had not declared their intention of becoming citizens; next, all aliens were put at the bottom of the list of preferences; and finally, in 1939, aliens were completely excluded from Federal relief rolls. The burden of taking care of indigent aliens was thus placed entirely upon local communities. This fact was in large part responsible for the higher proportion of aliens on relief rolls in large cities in the later years of the depression. Another factor that explains the concentration of aliens on metropolitan relief rolls was their virtual exclusion from all defense industry. Although the WPA discriminated against aliens, government aid in the form of unemployment insurance and other social security payments set up no such bars, except for the rulings of individual states. As of 1946, citizenship (or a long period of residence in the state) was required for old-age assistance in 23 states, for aid to the blind in 7 states, and for aid to dependent children in only one state, Texas.

Between 1936 and 1941 the Social Security Board collected statistics concerning the percentage of foreign born who have received old-age assistance in states with State-Federal programs. The proportion of foreign born among cases accepted in all states was 16 per cent, as

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compared with 18 per cent foreign-born white in the entire population sixty-five years of age or older in April, 1940. Citizenship requirements reduced the percentage in many states.

The limited proportion of the foreign born who have been dependent upon public relief and in the care of the charitable institutions has been in part the result of the large number of mutual aid and benefit societies among the foreign born. National and local fraternal benefit associations, performing an extremely important function among the foreign born, have been established by nearly all sizable nationality groups in our country.

Organizations with private sources of support, set up along religious and nationality lines, have also aided in reducing the number of public dependents among the immigrants. The Jewish community is noted for its large number of welfare agencies. Organizations concerned with the welfare of particular nationalities, such as the Polish Social Service Bureau, have likewise done extensive work within their particular groups. Even foreign consular offices have shared in the care of newcomers.

The work done by private agencies in the care of the recent refugees affords an excellent illustration of the important function of such organizations. The refugees have never been a drain on the American taxpayer. Although many of them arrived here penniless, public funds could not be used for their support because aliens are subject to deportation if they become public charges during the first five years of their residence in this country, as has already been stated. Relief subsidies and aids of other kinds were extended through a number of private organizations, some of which were established especially for the purpose. The fact that no case is known in which a refugee

had to be deported as a public charge is an indication of what an effective job these organizations have done in aiding the adjustment of the refugee.

Wage Scale and Standard of Living

The complaint has sometimes been made that immigration tends to lower the American wage scale and hence the American standard of living. Whether or not there was any justification for such a complaint in earlier eras of our country's history, it is clear that at present such a claim would be altogether unfounded. In the first place, the stream of immigration is now too small to have any significant effect on wage levels. In the second place, with the progress of unionization the wage standard for the majority of occupational classes is controlled by the union through collective bargaining with employers. The right of labor in such collective bargaining was guaranteed by the Federal government through the Wagner Labor Relations Act passed in 1935. In the third place, government itself has assumed an active role in the insurance of proper wage and living standards. Minimum wage laws have set a floor below which wages cannot go even in the lowest paid occupations. Unemployment insurance and other forms of social security benefits have given the worker an increasingly high degree of protection. A wage standard protected by such controls will not be undermined by immigration in our day.

As to the long-range effect of immigration, the general history of the United States disproves the theory that immigration tends to lower the wage scale. No country has admitted so large a number of immigrants, yet no country has so high a wage scale or so high a standard of living. Wage rates actually rose steadily during the period of heaviest immigra-

tion, from 1890 to 1910, although it was at this time that the complaints that immigration tended to hold back the rise of the American wage scale were most numerous.

Opposition to immigration on the grounds that it tended to lower both American wages and the American standard of living was strongest during the early years of the twentieth century. This was a period when the unprecedented speed of our economic development and growth of our population led to temporary maladjustments of all kinds, as has already been mentioned earlier in this chapter. Unionization was in its early stages of development, and only the skilled trades had been satisfactorily unionized. Sweat shops, child labor, inadequate wage levels, and generally unsanitary or unsafe working conditions were widespread. Immigration played only a small part in this whole development, but it was nevertheless blamed for many conditions which were in reality the product of the rapid growth and industrialization of the country.

The United States Immigration Commission tended to throw some blame upon the immigrant population for substandard wages and other evils. It reported that a somewhat lower wage scale applied to foreign-born than to native workers, and it concluded from this that immigrants tended to undercut native-born workers. It has been shown, however, that they failed to consider several important elements in the situation in their analysis: the immigrants were concentrated largely in unskilled occupations, where the wage rate would necessarily be lower than in the skilled trades; the large numbers of unskilled workers entering the country were in specific response to the demands of expanding industry; the rising ratio of unskilled to skilled

workers during this period was the result not of the large supply of immigrant unskilled labor but of the mechanization of industry, which transferred delicate operations formerly performed by the skilled worker to the machine.

Unionization

At the time the Commission made its report it asserted that the immigrants were somewhat difficult to unionize and were therefore holding back labor's advance. It is true that the large majority of the immigrants were peasants from agricultural areas and had not been educated in the importance of labor organization. However, the fact that the bulk of the immigrants was employed in the unskilled and semi-skilled fields, which were late in becoming unionized, accounts largely for the lag in their unionization, as indicated by the Commission's report on union affiliation. Developments in unionization of the foreign born since the report was made have deprived the Commission's claim of any validity at the present time. . . .

During this period of our history, employers did find in unrestricted immigration a weapon against the union and tried to play off one immigrant group against another with some success. Unionization of the immigrant tended, however, rapidly to destroy this weapon in the hands of the employer. Individual nationality groups early showed remarkable solidarity in some of the most famous strikes in American history, such as the strike in the textile mills of Lowell, Massachusetts, in 1902, and in the meat-packing industry of Chicago in 1908. Foreign-born groups soon learned, moreover, to work with other nationality groups and with the native born in the promotion of their common interest as workers. The earliest large-scale unions, such as the National

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such as the National

Labor Union and the Knights of Labor, by 1880 consisted largely of the foreign born. The American Federation of Labor was founded by an immigrant, Samuel Gompers, in 1886. The active role of immigrants in unionization created as much antagonism among certain elements of the population as did their retardation in unionization among other elements. The immigrants were in a dilemma. If they did not join the unions they were called strike breakers and if they did they were called radicals.

Signal successes of the foreign born in unionization have long since withdrawn from them the disfavor of the worker class. The United Mine Workers, one of the most powerful and successful organizations, has a large foreign-born membership and had less trouble in organizing the mine fields in Pennsylvania, where the foreign born predominated, than in organizing the miners of southern Illinois, where the miners were of old American stock. The clothing industry, made up largely of foreign-born workers, is among the most highly organized industries in the United States. Jews, Italians, Poles, and other immigrants make up a large proportion of the membership of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union. These two unions have an outstanding record for leadership in the American trade-union movement. In addition to the high level of wages established throughout the industry, these unions have been pioneers in labor education, the establishment of health centers, and other forms of social service. The government has itself adopted some of the reforms they initiated. Sidney Hillman, himself an immigrant, made an outstanding record in labor history as head of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

Immigration, in its present form under

the quota system, is no longer opposed by American labor organizations. When in the spring of 1946 the Gossett bill (H. R. 3663) proposed in one section of the bill that immigration quotas be cut in half, both the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organization sent representatives to hearings of the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization to declare that their organizations opposed such further restriction. To quote from the statement of Mr. Leo Goodman, representative of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, at one of those hearings (Hearings before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization; House of Representatives, March 20, 1946):

Naturally, a labor organization representing 6,000,000 American workers would not be inclined to support measures which would threaten the job security of its own members. However, the CIO realizes, from past experience, that immigration is automatically checked in periods of unemployment while it rises in periods of prosperity; that in the past, immigrants have contributed in innumerable ways to the wealth and well-being of this country; that a large proportion of immigrants are not potential jobseekers but women and children; that new blood in industry, agriculture, business, and the professions enriches our national life; and that the best and most enlightened thought on this subject opposes arbitrary, prejudiced, and superficial legislation to curtail immigration into the United States.

The American Federation of Labor likewise took a stand in favor of preserving our quotas. Mr. Lewis Hines, representative of this organization at the hearings, declared that the United States by further reducing its quotas would be repudiating its share of responsibility for the displaced people of Europe:

We believe that because of the present unsettled situation in the world it would be inadvisable to adopt this portion of the bill. Most of our citizens desire that the United States set an example for other nations by continuing to offer succor and a haven to the oppressed and displaced persons uprooted as a result of the war. Our nation has a large share of the responsibility in the maintenance of a peaceful world. The American Federation of Labor therefore feels that we should maintain our present immigration quotas as an indication to the world that we intend to remain an active participant in world affairs, believing that to do otherwise, and especially to reduce our immigration quotas, would indicate that we are not willing to accept the responsibility of leadership. The United States as the leading world power must continue its tradition of humanitarianism toward the displaced people of the world.

In 1947 and 1948 both of these labor organizations went on record again in favor of the admission of larger numbers of displaced persons outside of the quota. The change in the attitude of the labor organizations is an indication of their growing concern with world problems.

Developments in the United States in the last forty years or so have rid the American worker of the fear that immigration might lower the wage scale and the American standard of living. The substandard conditions which made it possible for large numbers of immigrants to be brought into mine fields or steel mills

fifty years ago no longer exist. Legislation and collective bargaining have set up controls over wage rates and working conditions which immigration could not affect unless it were to be of immense size. Only in marginal fields such as migratory labor can the question of low standards seriously be raised, and this is a special problem which is gradually coming under control, affecting as it does the regulation of Mexican rather than European immigration. The careful screening of immigrants through strict interpretation of the "likely to become a public charge" clause in the immigration law is likewise a protection to the standards of American workers. Under present conditions the question of the unfavorable effect of immigration on wage and living standards in this country may be considered a closed issue. Indeed, analysis of our past experience with immigration shows that no important economic problems have ever been traceable to immigration. Nor at the present time are there outstanding problems in the country which are caused by immigration. Immigration at least on the scale permitted by our quota laws can still be used and has a stimulating rather than an adverse effect upon our general economy. Moreover, there is a good deal of evidence to show that our quotas could be substantially increased without prejudicing the economic interests of any groups in our country. . . .

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NON-CITIZEN AMERICANS the SOUTH WEST

By

Louisa Moreno

of the

SPANISH-SPEAKING PEOPLES CONGRESS

Caravans of Sorrow

One hears much today about Hemisphere unity. The press sends special correspondents to Latin America, South of the Border songs are wailed by the radio, educational institutions and literary circles speak the language of cultural cooperation, and what is more important, labor unions are seeking the road of closer ties with the Latin American working people.

The stage is set. A curtain rises. May we ask you to see behind the scenery and visualize a forgotten character in this great theatre of the Americas?

Long before the "Grapes of Wrath" had ripened in California's vineyards a people lived on highways, under trees or tents, in shacks or railroad sections picking crops-cotton, fruits, vegetables, cultivating sugar beets, building railroads and dams making a barren land fertile for new crops and greater riches.

The ancestors of some of these migrant and resident workers, whose home is the Southwest, were America's first settlers in New Mexico, Texas and California and the greater percentage was brought from Mexico by the fruit-exchanges, railroad companies and cotton interests in great need of underpaid labor during the early post-war period. They are the Spanish speaking workers of the Southwest, citizens and non-citizens working and living under identical conditions, facing hardships and miseries while producing and building for agriculture and industry.

Their story lies unpublicized in university libraries files of government, welfare and social agencies—a story grimly titled the "Caravans of Sorrow."

And when in 1930 unemployment brought a still greater flood of human distress, trainloads of Mexican families with children born and raised in this country departed voluntarily or were brutally deported. As a result of the repatriation drive of 1930, thousands of American born youth returned to their homeland, the United States, to live on streets and highways, drifting unattached fragments of humanity. Let the annals of juvenile delinquency in Los Angeles show you the consequences.

Today the Latin Americans to the United States are seriously alarmed by the "antialien" drive fostered by certain un-American elements; for them, the Palmer days have never ended. In recent years while deportations in general have decreased, the number of persons deported to Mexico has constantly increased. During the period of 1923 to 1937, of total of 55,087 deported 25,135 were deportations of Mexicans. This is 45½% of the total and does not include an almost equal number of so-called voluntary departures.

Commenting on these figures, the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born wrote to the Spanish Speaking Peoples Congress in 1939: "...one conclusion can be drawn, and that is, where there is such a highly organized set-up as to effect deportations of so many thousands, this set-up must be surrounded with a complete system of intimidation of that section of the population victimized by the deportation drive."

Confirming the fact of a system of extensive discrimination are university studies by Paul S. Taylor, Emory Bogardus and many other professors and social workers of the Southwest. Let me state the simple truth. The majority of the Spanish speaking peoples of the United States are the victims of a set-up for discrimination, be they descendants of the first white settlers in American or non-citizens.

I will not go into the reasons for this un-democratic practice but may we state categorically that it is the main reason for the reluctance of Mexicans and Latin Americans in general to become naturalized. For you must know, discrimination takes very definite forms in unequal wages, unequal opportunities, unequal schooling and even through a denial of the use of public places in certain towns in Texas, California, Colorado and other Southwestern states.

Only some five or six percent of the Latin American immigrants have become naturalized. A number of years ago it was stated that in a California community with 50,000 Mexicans only 200 had become citizens. An average of 100 Mexicans out of close to a million become citizens every year. These percentages have increased lately.

Another important factor concerning naturalization is the lack of documentary proof of entry, because entry was not recorded or because the immigrants were brought over in masse by large interests handling transportation from Mexico in their own peculiar way.

Arriving at logical conclusions, the Latin American non-citizens, rooted in this country, are increasingly seeing the importance and need for naturalization. But, how will the thousands of migrants establish residence? What possibility have these people had, segregated in "Little Mexicos," to learn English and meet educational requirements? How can they receiving hunger wages while enriching the stockholders of the Great Western Sugar Company, the Bank of America and other large interests, pay high naturalization fees? A Mexican family living on relief in Colorado would have to stop eating for two months and a half to pay for the citizenship papers on one member of the family. Is this humanly possible?

But why have "aliens" on relief while the taxpayers "bleed"? Let me ask those who would raise such a question: what would the Imperial Valley, the Rio Grande Valley and other rich irrigated valleys in the Southwest be without the arduous, self-sacrificing labor of these non-citizen Americans? Read "Factories in the Fields," by Carey McMillians, to obtain a picture of how important Mexican labor has been for the development of California's crops after the World War. Has anyone counted the miles of railroads built by these same non-citizens? One can hardly imagine how many bales of cotton have passed through the nimble fingers of Mexican men, women and children. And what conditions have they had to endure to pick that cotton? Once while holding a conference for a trade union paper in San Antonio a cotton picker told me how necessary a Spanish paper was to inform the Spanish speaking workers that FSA camps were to be established, for she remembered so many nights, under the trees in the rain, when she and her husband held gunny sacks over the shivering bodies of their sleeping children--young Americans! I've heard workers say that they left their shacks under heavy rains to find shelter under tree. You can well imagine in what condition those shacks were.

These people are not aliens. They have contributed their endurance, sacrifices, youth and labor to the Southwest. Indirectly, they have paid more taxes than all the stockholders of California's industrialized agriculture, the sugar beet companies and the large cotton interests that operate or have operated with the labor of Mexican workers.

Surely the sugar beet growers have not been asked if they want to dispense with the skilled labor cultivating and harvesting their crops season after season. It is only the large interests, their stooges, and some badly misinformed people who claim that Mexicans are no longer wanted.

And let us assume that 1,400,000 men, women and children were no longer wanted, what could be done that would be different from the anti-Semitic persecutions in Europe? A people who have lived twenty and thirty years in this country, tied up by family relations with the early settlers, with American-born children, cannot be uprooted without the complete destruction of the faintest semblance of democracy and human liberties for the whole population.

Some speak of repatriation. Naturally there is interest for repatriation among thousands of Mexican families in Texas and to a lesser degree in other states. Organized repatriation has been going on and the net results in one year has been the establishment of the Colonial "El de Harzo" Tamulipas, Mexico, for 2,000 families. There are 1,400,000 Mexicans in the United States according to general estimates, probably including a portion of the first generation. Is it possible to move those many people at the present rate, when many of them do not want to be repatriated?

What then may the answer to this specific non-citizen problem be? The Spanish Speaking Peoples Congress of the United States proposes legislation that would encourage naturalization of Latin American, West Indian and Canadian residents of the United States and that would nurture greater friendships among the peoples of the Western Hemisphere.

The question of Hemisphere unity will remain an empty phrase while this problem at home remains ignored and is aggravated by the fierce "anti-alien" drive.

Legislation to facilitate citizenship to all naturalborn citizens from the countries of the Western Hemisphere, waiving excessive fees, educational and other requirements of a technical nature is urgently needed.

A piece of legislation embodying this provision is timely and important. Undoubtedly it would rally the support of the many friends of true Hemisphere unity.

You have seen the forgotten character in the present American scene—a scene of the Americas. Let me say that, in the face of greater hardships, the "Caravans of Sorrow" are becoming the "Caravans of Hope." They are organizing in trade unions with other workers in agriculture and industry. The unity of Spanish speaking citizens and non-citizens is being furthered through the Spanish Speaking Peoples Congress of the United States, and organizations embracing trade unions, fraternal, civic and cultural organizations, mainly in California. The purpose of this movement is to seek an improvement of social, economic, and cultural conditions, and for the integration of Spanish speaking citizens and non-citizens into the American nation. The United Cannery, Agricultural Packing and Allied Workers of

America with thousands of Spanish-speaking workers in its membership, and Liga Obrera of New Mexico, were the initiators of the Congress (For information: Spanish Speaking Peoples Congress, 223 South Broadway, Los Angeles Calif.)

This Congress stands with all progressive forces against the badly-labelled "anti-alien" legislation and asks the support of this Conference for democratic legislation to facilitate and encourage naturalization. We hope that this Conference will serve to express the sentiment of the people of this country in condemnation of undemocratic discrimination practiced against any person of foreign birth and that it will rally the American people native and foreign born for the defeat of un-American proposals. The Spanish speaking people in the United States extend their fullest support and cooperation to your efforts.

LA RAZA NATIONAL LAW STUDENTS ASSOCIATION

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY LAW CENTER

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20001

As a result of the House Judiciary Committee Hearings on Illegal Aliens held in mid-1971, Congressman Peter Rodino introduced Bill number H.R. 8713, commonly known as the Rodino Bill. The Rodino Bill first passed the House (as H.R. 16188) in August, 1972, but was never heard in the Senate due to strong opposition from agricultural interest group supporters, such as Senate Judiciary Committee Chairman James Eastland. The Rodino Bill passed the House again in May, 1973, as H.R. 982, but the Senate again failed to act on it. Congressman Rodino re-introduced the Bill in January, 1975, and amended it in July, 1975, as H.R. 8713. Presently, the Rodino Bill is before the House Rules Committee awaiting House floor action.

Among other provisions, Section two of the Bill, providing for imposition of penalties against an employer who "knowingly" hires undocumented workers, has generated strong opposition from the Chicano community. This provision will allow intensified discrimination against Chicanos, both citizens and permanent residents as well as undocumented workers, by employers denying jobs to applicants on the basis of uncertainty as to the legality of their status and unwillingness to face possible liability for hiring the worker. The provision also gives the INS added authority to selectively harrass Chicano employers, particularly those active in community affairs (i.e., the case of restaurant owner Mario Cantu of San Antonio, who faces trial September 7 on charges of harboring illegal aliens). Since actual enforcement will be at the discretion of the employer, undocumented workers will be subjected to even further abuse through capricious enforcement. Employers will enforce or not enforce the provision according to what is most convenient to their own self-interest. Contrary to arguments by proponents of the Bill, the burden will not be placed on the employer as much as it will be on undocumented workers and the Chicano community.

Controversy and strong objections have also arisen concerning sections four and five of the Bill. Section four provides for amnesty to undocumented workers residing in this country for at least seven years. Realistically, this amnesty clause adds nothing new, since the hardship clause already in the Immigration and Naturalization Act provides for waiver of deportation for individuals who have been in the country for seven years and whose departure would create a burden on the state or a hardship for individuals legally here. The Kennedy Bill, with its three-year amnesty clause, is more acceptable, although total amnesty is the most desirable. Section five requires H.E.W. officials to submit to INS the names and addresses of any undocumented workers receiving funds from any program funded through H.E.W. This section arises from the misconception that undocumented workers do not belong here and drain social services while not contributing to their maintenance. A recent Department of Labor study by David North shows that while at least 74% of all undocumented workers contribute to revenue programs such as social security and income tax, less than five percent actually avail themselves of social service programs. In effect, undocumented workers contribute to the national revenue more than the benefit that they receive and are as much in need of the services as anyone else.

Three Cheers for Illegal Aliens

By Lou Cannon

LOS ANGELES — Along the dusty Mexican border in California and Texas, new chain link fences are being built to keep out unwanted immigrants. In Sacramento, the California legislature looks with suspicion at the bilingual education it once pioneered. In Los Angeles, there is renewed political pressure to deny non-emergency medical services to county patients unable to provide evidence of citizenship.

These reactions reflect a persistent and growing belief that Mexican immigrants, especially illegal *indocumentados*, are a drain on tax-supported services, with the high-fertility potential of turning Southern California into a Spanish-speaking version of Quebec. Often the Mexican immigrants are targets of contradictory complaints, as with one voiced by a newspaper letter writer who referred to them as "lazy undesirables who clog the welfare rolls and take jobs held by Americans."

The facts give no comfort to this view. Indeed, they suggest just the opposite — that such immigration is a large plus for this country, a development we should be cheering, not deploring.

At least half a dozen studies on the impact of illegal Mexican immigration provide convincing evidence that these migrants pay heavy taxes (for which they receive no benefits), make scant use of welfare and other social services, and contribute far more to the United States than they take from it. As social scientist Wayne Cornelius expressed it in a recent paper to a conference on Mexican immigration in San Diego:

"More generally, it could be argued

southwestern politicians and editorial writers for public hospital deficits, common here as elsewhere. Partly, this is because the taxes paid by the illegals are widely distributed while the property tax-related costs of the hospitals are concentrated in a few counties. It is also because many critics fail to recognize that illegals frequently are covered by hospitalization insurance despite their immigration status.

One study found that 44 per cent of illegal immigrants had hospital insurance paid by themselves or by their employers. Another, by Gilbert Cardenas, discovered that Mexican illegals in San Antonio receiving health care usually were persons who had married U.S. citizens and whose children had been born in San Antonio.

The Orange County Task Force estimated that illegal migrants in the county paid a minimum of \$83 million in taxes annually while receiving medical services costing \$2.7 million a year. A 1977 study by the Human Resources Agency of San Diego County discovered that the cost of all services for illegal migrants, including education, health care and welfare assistance, totalled \$2 million a year. These same migrants contributed \$48.8 million annually in taxes.

It is this sort of data which prompts Mexican sociologist Jorge A. Bustamante to suggest that the proper term for describing illegals would be "undocumented taxpayers."

Another complaint against illegals is that they supposedly take jobs away from American workers or at least depress the labor market because, as U.S. Secretary of Labor Ray Marshall



few years ago, when Chavez was beginning to organize, his opponents complained that paying higher wage scales and granting the "industrial" benefits of unemployment insurance and

tage to the migrant who considers himself only a sojourner in the United States."

Typically, the Mexican migrant

as indeed they did through m U.S. history. The Border Patr not even established until 192 entry without a visa did not bec crime until 1929.

From the beginning of the w frontier, Anglo-Americans tend regard Mexico as a vast labor res that could be tapped and turned the asking. Mexicans have occ the position of Charlie Chaplin's tramp, whom the millionaire we ed to his swank home when h drunk and then kicked out in th ning after he had sobered u prosperous, labor-short periods, as during the two world wars, Me workers were recruited, subsidize lavishly praised. But during periods of slack labor markets (21, 1930-35 and 1953-54), Me migrants were rounded up deported, sometimes in actions discriminate that legal U.S. citize Mexican origin were deported them.

Mexican sociologist Bustan maintains that the model of ind in the Southwest on both sides o border reflects the reality of the and growing Mexican labor pool. the U.S. side, there is a real con need for cheap labor," he says. the Mexican side, there is an creasing population, unfair disti tion of income and a traditi pattern of migration to the U States."

This pattern has long been reced as a phenomenon of borderlands, from San Diego Brownsville. Now the border real becoming both regional and natio

"More generally, it could be argued that Mexican migrants represent something of a windfall for the United States, in the sense that they are young, highly productive workers, whose health care, education and other costs of rearing have been borne by Mexico, and whose maintenance during periods of unemployment and retirement is also normally provided by their relatives in Mexico. The significance of this windfall becomes more apparent when one considers that as of 1977 the cost of preparing a U.S.-born man or woman for integration into the U.S. labor force was about \$44,000."

Cornelius, who recently moved from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology to establish a Center for Mexican-American Studies at the University of California at San Diego, has interviewed thousands of Mexican migrants both in their home country and in California and Illinois. His research has confirmed that a large majority of immigrants remain by choice permanent residents of Mexico while working seasonally in the United States.

Ironically, Cornelius says, the tightening of border controls by the Carter administration "may turn what is now a largely floating population of Mexican migrants into a population which is more permanently anchored in the United States."

These migrants pay into the Social Security trust fund millions of dollars which they will never collect, as well as state income, sales and even property taxes for which they receive relatively few benefits. In the words of Douglas S. Massey of Princeton's Office of Population Research: "Far from ripping off the system, illegal aliens are more likely to be subsidizing it."

Culturally, Mexican migrants are reluctant to accept welfare, an attitude reinforced in the United States by fear of deportation if they apply for any social benefit.

In San Diego County, by far the largest entry point for Mexican migrants, a 1977-78 screening of welfare, Medi-Cal and food stamp recipients found only 317 illegal immigrants in a caseload of 285,000. A study by the Orange County Task Force in 1978, though weighted toward long-term illegals presumably more likely to use such services, found only 9 per cent of them had received public medical care, only 2.8 per cent had collected welfare payments and only 1.6 per cent had received food stamps.

Despite this record, Mexican immigrants are routinely blamed by

U.S. Secretary of Labor Ray Marshall has put it, they work "hard and scared."

Undoubtedly there are instances, as in the current United Farm Workers strike in California's Salinas Valley, where illegal immigrants are placed in direct competition with American workers. But academic studies usually have concluded that fears of economic competition from illegals are greatly overstated.

Arguing against the view of the "docile and desperate" migrant, Cornelius contends:

"The available evidence does not support this characterization, which seems more apt to describe the poor, defenseless 'wetback' or *bracero* farm laborer of an earlier era than the more sophisticated, better-educated, urban-based illegal migrant of today. The latter breed of Mexican illegal will not accept any job in the United States. The demand for their labor is sufficiently high in most urban labor markets that they can and do change employers when they feel they are being exploited and abused."

This attitude is particularly evident in California, which is now enjoying the longest sustained economic boom in its history — a boom that coincides with heavy immigration, both legal and illegal. During this period, as Vilma Martinez, president of the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund, observes, the areas absorbing the greatest numbers of migrants also have had the lowest unemployment rates.

In his most recent research in California, Cornelius found that the pay scale of an illegal worker depended less on his citizenship than on his union status. Historically, labor unions in the Southwest were slow to organize Mexican migrants, and some imposed citizenship tests for membership. Now, following the example of Cesar Chavez and the United Farm Workers, such unions as the International Ladies Garment Workers and the Teamsters no longer ask prospective members whether they are legal immigrants.

While serious wage discrimination against illegals exists in such pockets as the Rio Grande Valley in Texas, nine different studies show that urban-based immigrants from Mexico, both legal and illegal, are paid more than the U.S. minimum wage.

The economic benefit to the United States of Mexican migration is best demonstrated by California agriculture, the most prosperous, diverse and specialized in the world. A

typical, the Mexican migrant makes no distinction between "legal" and "illegal" immigration — and with good reason. Unlike immigrants from Europe and Asia, Mexicans lived in the area they are now emigrating to before the Anglo-Americans came. Geography and climate in Mexico and the U.S. South-west are similar, access is relatively easy and the two countries are physically indistinguishable along much of the border.

Instead, these reforms have guaranteed California farmers a stable work force which is mostly Mexican or Mexican-American and which, because of the skills involved in such work as lettuce-harvesting, is largely irreplaceable by untrained Anglos.

proven unable to win converts or contracts, California growers rely on Mexican or Mexican-American workers and usually pay them union-scale wages and benefits to keep the union out. Privately, some of these same growers acknowledge that they use foreign labor, mostly from Mexico, in roughly the same numbers as they did when the *bracero* program was at its peak 20 years ago.

At that time, nearly every illegal immigrant from Mexico was a farm worker. While farm work is still the largest single occupational category, more than half of the new immigrants head directly for the big cities, especially Los Angeles, where their entry into the labor market is apt to be at the bottom of the scale as dishwashers or busboys. Because of the Southern California business boom, there is a high demand even in these jobs, which means higher wages and some freedom of choice for the urban migrants. Furthermore, some 15 per cent of the illegals may work in skilled or semi-skilled construction jobs, according to one study, though they are more likely to be concentrated in unskilled heavy labor and domestic service and in janitorial, laundry, food processing, garment or shoe factory jobs.

Some economists believe that many of the service and domestic jobs performed by illegals simply wouldn't exist if the illegals weren't in the market. And some of the other jobs might not be there, either.

"Illegal aliens typically work in menial, low-paying positions shunned by citizens, who often work in supervisory and administrative positions in the same firms," writes Princeton's Massey. "If illegal aliens were unavailable, it is argued, these firms would either leave the country or go out of business, taking the supervisory and administrative positions held by American citizens with them."

Cornelius contends that the migrant is willing to take the "menial, unstable, dead-end positions" because he is economically benefiting his family "and because the absence of a long-term career ladder is not a disadvan-

typically, the Mexican migrant makes no distinction between "legal" and "illegal" immigration — and with good reason. Unlike immigrants from Europe and Asia, Mexicans lived in the area they are now emigrating to before the Anglo-Americans came. Geography and climate in Mexico and the U.S. South-west are similar, access is relatively easy and the two countries are physically indistinguishable along much of the border.

The prevailing view among Mexicans seems to be that the illegals have every right to be in the United States,

being both regional and national. "The border is not a place where realities end," says Bustamante, "a place where realities permeate. We have to understand them in order to live together."
One precondition of that understanding is to recognize that migration from Mexico to the United States here to stay, no matter what kind of fence is built on the border. And it would be to acknowledge that this migration, in countless ways, is of a lasting benefit to the United States.

Young's Role in Africa

Continued from page 15

public invitation to the white Rhodesian Army to carry out a coup against then-Prime Minister Ian Smith and make peace directly with the nationalist guerrillas.

He told reporters that he thought it far more likely that Rhodesia's Army officers could reach an agreement with the guerrillas than Mr Smith, even though he had just won an overwhelming victory at the polls among Rhodesian whites. His remarks were to become a laughing stock in white Rhodesian circles.

Like a dozen British peacemakers before him, Mr Young seriously misread the complexity of the Zimbabwe Rhodesian political puzzle and the tenacity of the whites to hold on against seemingly impossible odds.

The same misreading of the prospects for a peaceful transition toward an integrated society prevailed in his attitude toward South Africa. There, Mr Young believed in all apparent sincerity that somehow the whites could be convinced by reason and cajoling alone to hand over share of power to the blacks and the blacks

to forgo violence.

Mr Young even helped with relatively moderate advice to black South Africans — on the tactics of struggle to alienate the whites — to a point where Pretoria gave up all hope for cooperation with Washington.

As a result, it turned its back on a U.S.-British peace plan for Zimbabwe Rhodesia, a key factor in its ultimate failure as Mr Young came to realize and regret.

In fact, Mr Young leaves his post as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations and de facto chief African policymaker with his peace plan for Zimbabwe Rhodesia in ruins and that for Namibia stalemated. Again, the British are taking the lead in the frustrating Western search for negotiated solution there.

In the end, historians may conclude that the American black leader's contribution to American policy toward Africa was more symbolic than substantive — creating a new, more responsive attitude in Washington toward the needs of black Africa rather than solving any of the continent's intractable political disputes.

CHAIRMANSHIP, DEPARTMENT OF FRENCH THE UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN ONTARIO

The Chairmanship of the Department of French at the University of Western Ontario falls vacant on 30 June, 1980. Applications for positions are invited. Budget permitting, the appointment will be made at the rank of Associate or full Professor with tenure. The terms of the Chairmanship will be three to five years (renewable). Salary is negotiable. Field open. All enquiries, nominations and applications should be sent, as soon as possible (no later than 1 December, 1979), to:



Professor J. G. Rowe,
Dean of Arts,
University of Western Ontario,
London, Ontario, N6A 3K7,
Canada.

Crossing the border

I FIRST MET THE MAN I'll call Rinaldo a little more than a year ago, just before he was deported for the second time. Rinaldo had been pulled over by the Los Angeles police for a run-of-the-mill traffic violation. He'd been hauled in when the arresting officers learned his car had several dozen unpaid parking tickets on it. And once he was at police headquarters, downtown, it didn't take long to establish that Rinaldo was an illegal "alien." From there it was 24 hours in the L.A. city slammer, followed by another 48 or 72 in a work camp in the nearby Santa Clarita Valley, then a bus ride back to Mexico.

And all because Rinaldo was so irresponsible about his driving and his parking tickets. It was ironic, because otherwise Rinaldo didn't have an irresponsible

bone in his body. He originally came north to the United States from his father's poor farm in northern Mexico, because he wanted to do better for himself in life than live in the desert and eat cactus. The farm was big enough to support Rinaldo's father and his younger brother Pancho. But it wasn't big enough to support him too. And unemployment in Mexican cities averages 50 percent of the work force.

So Rinaldo came north and worked where he could, doing whatever work was wanted, mostly working as a carpenter for small building contractors. He made enough to rent an apartment for himself and his wife Luisa, enough to bring his father and brother up from Mexico each winter for three years running, and enough to buy a car. The problems began when he began driving the car.

The first time he was deported, Rinaldo got back by paying \$250 to a guide who makes his living leading il-

legal aliens into the United States through the mountains of Southern California. They have to go without food for three days, and they get pretty dirty, but they don't have any trouble from the border patrol. The terrain's too rough.

The second time he was deported, Rinaldo got back the same way, by paying the guide another \$250. When you think about the improvement living in this country has meant in Rinaldo's life, it's not difficult to understand why he keeps coming back, even at so high a price.

The most reliable current estimates are that more than seven and a half million—probably around ten million—Latin Americans like Rinaldo are now living illegally in the United States. Contrary to popular myth, they pay more in taxes every year than they collect in services from government at all levels, and they work primarily at jobs American citizens refuse to consider: washing cars, cleaning schools and office buildings, washing dishes, keeping other people's houses. Every American taxpayer could save himself a goodly chunk of money and enjoy an improvement in his standard of living if the Immigration and Naturalization Service were abolished tomorrow, and the borders were opened to anyone who wanted to make his home in this country.

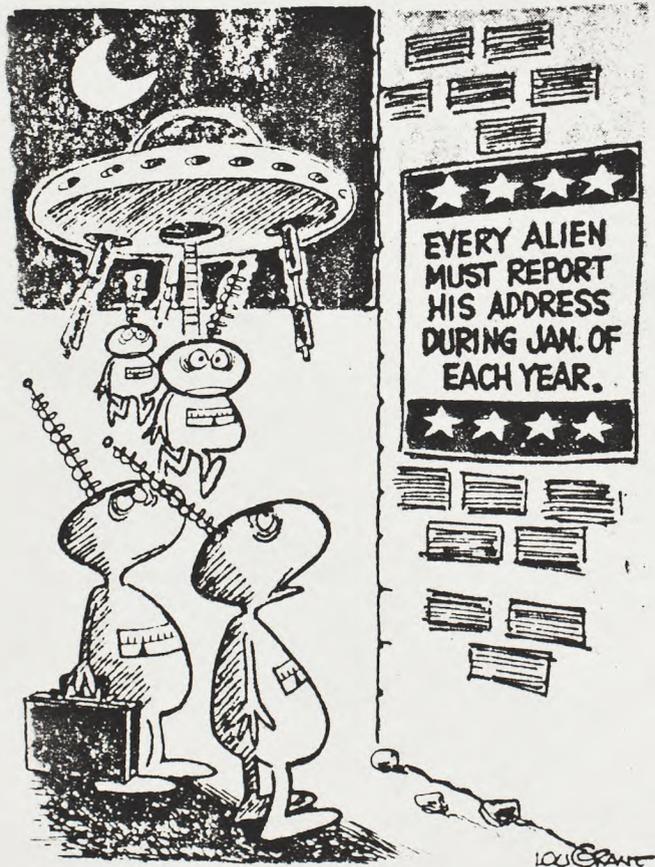
Yet the spending goes on. And the spenders have been meeting with scant argument in recent months when they've proposed that the flow of money be increased. Early in December, INS Commissioner Leonel Castillo asked Congress for new legislation imposing penalties on employers who knowingly hire illegals—and it's a rare thing indeed when new penalties don't create a need for new enforcers and new bureaucratic departments and new equipment and new salaries and new

payrolls and new budgets. More directly to the point was Castillo's proposal a few days later that the INS dispose of two or three million dollars by constructing a couple of six-mile fences along the border, each fence to be 12 feet high on a concrete foundation sunk two feet into the ground to discourage tunnelling. Climbers would be discouraged by a chain link section designed to sway, and by razor-sharp points along the fence's top.

And Castillo isn't the only politician asking for more money to close off immigration from the south. The report of the House Select Committee on Population, released just before Christmas, recommends that the U.S. launch a program of "major economic aid" to Mexico, "to reduce the economic disparity" between the two countries. The panel sees this "disparity" as "a major reason Mexicans come here,"—and so proposes, in effect, to keep them out by having the wealth they're coming after delivered to them before they leave to come after it.

Chances are now good, of course, that the Mexican economy will perk up without such aid, because of the newly discovered oil reserves which may make Mexico a bigger—and richer—oil producer than Saudi Arabia by the 1980s. A Mexican oil boom could make a dramatic dent in the Mexican unemployment problem and make it just as attractive for Mexicans to stay at home as to come to the U.S. Now, they can earn ten times what they can earn at home, by coming to the U.S. and accepting even "menial" jobs.

But even if the oil boom comes sooner than expected, before our "representatives" in Washington can vote to bribe the Mexicans to stay in their own country, it will remain significant that such a ludicrous idea was proposed with no apparent ironic or satirical intent. What the



proposal signifies is nothing less than the real motive behind the move to close down the border—and, for that matter, the reason behind the use of the absurd word “alien” to describe any Spanish speaking North American who has travelled north of the Rio Grande river or the city of Tijuana. That motive is not economic, despite the so-often-repeated arguments about how the evil illegals take jobs and welfare payments from hardworking U.S. citizens. If money *were* the motive for trying to keep the illegals out, there would surely be a groundswell of angry reaction to any proposal that would *pay* them to stay out! No: the illegals are unwanted, and are thought of and treated as “aliens” because, with their dark skins, their definite, well-established culture, and their “foreign” language, they greatly excite the ever-primed-and-ready American capacity for ethnic bigotry. They are hated and feared because they are different.

Yet, ironically enough, they are not aliens in any realistic sense of that word, and their language and culture are not foreign. They and their ancestors have been living and working and travelling in Northern Mexico and the Southwestern United States for centuries. Until the U.S. annexed from Mexico—by conquest—the area we now know as West Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California, it was all one country. As Carey McWilliams puts it in a recent essay in *Politics Today*,

There are no geographic barriers between the United States and Mexico; the land is all of a piece, the border a line on a map. In an arid environment, a river that is as easily forded at certain seasons and places as the Rio Grande is doesn't separate peoples; it draws them together. From Brownsville to El Paso, the twin cities and towns along the river are often linked by one or more bridges. Westward

from El Paso to San Diego, similar twin cities and towns have grown together . . . the Border Patrol did not even exist until 1924. Over the years, generations of the Spanish-speaking—the total would run into the millions—have moved back and forth across the border with little rigamarole or interference.

According to the last census, 24 percent of the people of Los Angeles—this country's third largest city—were Hispanic. It is projected that the next census will raise that proportion to 33 percent. Among the hundreds of thousands of people represented by these statistics are thousands who have lived in Los Angeles since birth, speaking Spanish daily, listening to Spanish radio stations, watching Spanish TV stations, reading Spanish-language newspapers, prac-

ticing the culture their ancestors have practiced in the same city, in the same country, for generations. Are these people speaking a “foreign” language, practicing a “foreign” culture? When they are visited by their cousins who live a hundred miles away, are they being visited by “aliens”?

A few months after my friend Rinaldo came back from his second deportation, he got pulled over for suspicion of drunken driving and got deported again. This time when he sneaked back in, the guide decided not to charge him for the trip through the mountains. Apparently he figured enough was enough. We here at Libertarian Review wonder when the American people are going to decide the same thing. —JR

rulers have decided—with a good deal of support from so-called environmentalist groups—that it is a duty of government not only to protect its citizens from each other and from themselves, but also to protect Mother Nature from its citizens.

And in the past few months, the federal government has been fulfilling this “duty” with a vengeance. In November, Interior Secretary Cecil Andrus “withdrew from development” (seized) 54-million acres of Alaska land. And three weeks later, in early December, President Carter designated (commandeered) another 56-million acres as a “national monument.” By the dawn of the new year, the federal government had confiscated 170,000 square miles of land in Alaska—an area larger than the entire state of California.

And the feds aren't through yet. Early in January, Agriculture Secretary Bob Bergland asked Congress to designate another 15-million acres (most, but not all, of it in Alaska) as federally protected wilderness areas.

All this federal landholding is not without consequences, of course: the designation of an area as a federally protected wilderness area, or as a national park or monument for that matter, means closing it off to timbering, hard-rock mining, oil and gas exploration, even cattle grazing. And when this happens in a state like Alaska, in which only one million acres of land are now in private hands (while another 335 million are in federal hands and the other 39 million acres belong to the state, the Eskimos and the Indians), it means natural resources remain undeveloped, and economic growth is stymied.

The *Wall Street Journal* editorialized recently that the Carter administration bureaucrats responsible for the massive land seizures of the



Free market conservation

The land mass we now call Alaska was once a part of Russia. And if one were whimsical, one might say that this fact explains an otherwise curious similarity between the political economy of the two places. In the Soviet Union, about 95% of the land is publicly owned. In Alaska, about 99.75% of the land is publicly owned. In the Soviet Union, about 95% of the food in the country is produced on the 5% of

the land which is privately owned. Government owned land is either unproductive or grossly inefficient. In Alaska, *all* the food produced in the state is produced on the .25% of the land which is privately owned. The government owned land is unproductive.

Now of course, in the Soviet Union, most of the land is publicly owned because the communist ideology of that nation's rulers demands that all land and all wealth be publicly owned; while in the state of Alaska, most of the land is publicly owned because *this* nation's

past few months are practicing a kind of domestic imperialism. "It is fashionable," the paper wrote,

to attribute the lack of economic development in the Third World to decisions made from afar about its natural resources. The colonial administrators departed, the story goes, only to be replaced by neocolonialists in London, Bonn, Paris and Washington, who locked up Third World resources in uses that kept the emerging nation-states poor. This explanation of Third World poverty still inspires a great deal of outrage against the U.S. among university people and provides excuses for socialist failures in the Third World.

We are puzzled why this doctrine is so narrowly applied. It seems to us that it is at least as good an explanation for the growing lack of development in Alaska and the western states.

And this colonialism has consequences far beyond the confines of the western states being colonially administered. "The result," says the *Wall Street Journal*, is the protection of "eastern labor unions, industrial plants and resources from competition. The environmental movement provides a convenient mask for any eastern legislators who want westerners for customers, not competitors."

Another result of the colonial administration of Alaskan lands from Washington is the exacerbation of the energy crisis. "The Independent Petroleum Association says that as a result of law or administrative procedures about 500 million federal acres, roughly one-fourth of the U.S., are off limits to oil and gas development," reports the *Journal*. "At a time when we are growing increasingly dependent on unstable foreign sources of energy, the most rapidly growing aspect of the American economy is the land and resources that are being removed from development."

But what about the thousands of people who sincerely desire to preserve the natural beauty of the environment? Who believe that human be-

ings benefit from access to such preserved lands? Let them take their case to the free market. They won't be disappointed. According to a recent issue of *Time* magazine, two California businessmen have been making financial killings by buying thousands of acres of wilderness and operating them as private wilderness parks. So far they've developed the 5100 acre R-Ranch in Northern California's Siskiyou County, the 7000 acre Pines Recreational Park, also in Northern California, and the Stallion Springs Horse Ranch in Southern California. No one is allowed to build anything, dig anything or drive anything on this land; only campers, hikers and nature lovers are welcome, and only if they pay. The use of the private wilderness parks is limited to those who buy shares in the ownership; that saves them from the despoilment most state parks suffer, and it gives those who use them an incentive to keep them clean and unspoiled: if they litter, they'll be littering their own property.

Perhaps the most important fact in the *Time* magazine report on these new privately owned wilderness parks is the news that the men who are developing them are making a lot of money doing it: that there's a demand, on the market, for the kind of wilderness conservation the government would like us to believe is only possible through public ownership of land. It isn't always or necessarily true that the drive to make money produces despoilers of nature.

Libertarians have been arguing for centuries that it is unnecessary for government to protect its citizens from themselves, because most people are much better judges of how they can best live their own lives than even the noblest and best of government bureaucracies. They've also argued that the main result of using govern-

ment to protect people from each other is that the people you most need to be protected from will tend over time to become part of the government. Government, in other words, is useless at protecting people from themselves, and dubious at protecting them from each other. It should come as no surprise, then, that it's not really necessary for government to protect Mother Nature either. —JR

Libertarianism and the victim's rights: capital punishment

IN A FREE AND VOLUNTARY society, someone who suffered death as the result of a premeditated act of killing or as the result of a premeditated act of aggression would have the right, enforceable by his assigned agent or heir, to equal punishment being enforced against the killer. The victim, agent or heir might, of course, be willing to forego that punishment and accept some other punishment instead. That is the right of any victim—to opt for a lesser punishment than the one he has a right to enforce against an aggressor. But, it is central to the concept of a libertarian society that the victim has the right, at the least, to a punishment of the aggressor equal to the crime inflicted on the victim. Historically, stateless and quasi-libertarian societies have based their successful criminal codes upon that right, including the right of the murderer's victim to the execution of the murderer.

Christianity, and other religions, have tended to seek to eliminate or reduce the extent of that right of the victim in an attempt to create conditions of reconciliation and peace. But, for the most part,

this has been in the context of military and non-commercial societies where the official culture encouraged blood-letting. In one sense, much of the problem of crime in general and murder in particular at the present time is the result of the growth of a violent sub-culture in the midst of a commercial, peaceful society. There has been a reversal of the transformation of society from the military to the commercial (as Herbert Spencer would describe it). This reversal is rooted in the increase of state power, i.e., in organized violence. It will lessen as the extent of state power lessens. But in the meantime, the victims of this violence resulting from the increase in state power should continue to have their right to equal justice unimpaird so that they may exercise it against life-taking aggressors.

Of course, there is validity in the arguments of those who propose that not taking the murderer's life may be more beneficial to the victim, his agent or heirs. These might prefer that the criminal's life be spared so that the net product of his work could pay whatever the adjudged monetary compensation would be for the victim, his agent or heirs. But if they prefer the justice of ending the criminal's life to the benefits of the monetary compensation, that is their choice to make. Of course, because there is the possibility of monetary compensation, many persons may decide to bind their agents or heirs by contracts with trustees to pursue the route of justice through execution in order to insure that heirs and murderers do not have an incentive to take their lives.

A point of discussion for libertarians would be the issue of the use of the existing state structure for the implementation of the victim's right to the execution of his murderer. Certainly, if libertarians were prepared to set up an alternative juridical

system to provide the death penalty as an alternative to the present state structure, once that alternative system became operative, opposition to use of the current state courts would become logical. However, currently one of the major arguments for an alternative juridical system in the eyes of the public is the failure of the existing state system to enforce the victim's right with reference to his murderer. It is the state's failure to provide recourse for this right which has created one of the bases for public support of the libertarian philosophy. At the

same time, the right of a victim to justice through the existing court system in lieu of an alternative juridical system is reasonable and just. Anyone is free to boycott that system and to eschew his rights, if he chooses to do so. But no libertarian can argue in favor of the denial of a victim's right to justice through the only means which does exist to provide that service.

Obviously, given the fact that the state court system is very likely to handle the judicial function incompetently, it is possible that some who are not guilty could be executed. Thus, libertarians

should demand the greatest observation of the rights of the accused until found guilty. However, criticism should not be directed against the legitimate service of capital punishment but against strict application of the rights of the accused until proven guilty. It is the duty of libertarians both to defend the public's right to equal justice with murderers, and to criticize any tendency by the public, in the context of the state court system's failure to provide that service, to seek redress in a lessening of the civil rights of the accused until proven guilty. —LPL

policy—a confusion that the Carter administration shares with its predecessors. Brzezinski is not a whit different in this respect from Kissinger. Watching these people, you get the sense, not of people at work, but of people at play—though it is a rather grim kind of play. It certainly isn't business as most of us understand it. Instead, there has to be a big theme. In the words of Brzezinski, you "choose" a "focus"—something like "planetary humanism" or "power realism," or the "managed interdependence" that is exemplified by Brzezinski's own Trilateral Commission. And then you make up the rules.

In all their fabulous intellectual games, to which most citizens are invited as idle spectators, the professor-strategists never bring foreign policy down to the bottom line—how other nations' behavior, and what we do to influence it, might affect the lives and interests of ordinary American citizens. I would almost rather entrust our foreign policy—insofar as I would entrust it at all—to a tactical commander who understands what a ditch is, a patch of cover; that a wound hurts or disables; that you, and others, can get killed in an attack or in a defense; that there are always unforeseen losses; and that some odds are too steep to accept no matter what the prospect of possible gain.

The habit of confrontation

YOU ALL REMEMBER the foreign policy of Nixon and Kissinger. Despite their professions of peace-making, detente, and international cooperation, they waged a belligerent foreign policy—intent on creating positions of strength; concerned with a reputation for decisive, violent actions; dependent on nuclear threats; anxious



UPI
"Carter administration foreign policy is not a whit less confused than that of Nixon and Kissinger."

Guest Editorials

Professors and policies

ONE OF THE MAIN troubles with American foreign policy these days is that it is the product of professors—theorists, conceptualizers—the gnomes of Harvard and Columbia and other notable American academies that furnish every administration's foreign policy establishment. What we see is not that myth of the liberals—the "militarization of foreign policy." It is rather the

intellectualization of foreign policy. The whole reference of policy-making has shifted away from the practical realities of our own political, social, and economic system, to the abstract state of the outside world. There is heightened sensitivity to the so-called global "correlation of forces" (to borrow a Marxist term). There is an inordinate emphasis on maintaining the "credibility" of American force and preserving external "equilibrium."

This is an outside-in way of looking at foreign policy. Domestic loyalties and resources are mobilized by our government to support the game of foreign affairs—

which is played by power-dazzled academics, in its own airy terms of national prestige and international influence. They play nations like "cards," and pursue their triangular geopolitical schemes; they tilt or unhinge regional balances, and invite exemplary tests of strength and resolve. The score is kept, not in terms of national well-being and the safety of the individual American citizen, but in a sort of "zero-sum" calculus, where other nations' gains are necessarily our losses, and vice versa.

For all their heavyweight verbiage, there is a real confusion on the part of our academic policy-makers about the purpose of foreign

RECOMMENDATION ON IMMIGRATION TO THE NCCB
"CALL TO ACTION" CONFERENCE
DETROIT, MICHIGAN
OCTOBER 21-23, 1976

Economic policies of this nation's government and of the multi-national corporations are the basis for the influx of undocumented immigration to the United States. These economic policies are manifested through foreign policy, both governmental and corporate, immigration laws, and the negativism and ethno-prejudism with which undocumented immigrants are viewed by the majority of society. It is precisely these policies that destabilize economies in the underdeveloped and developing nations around the world, causing individual workers to be pushed out of their own countries and into the United States as economic refugees seeking economic sanctuary. All work and studies of the Church regarding this issue must focus on both international and domestic economic issues in order to accurately advocate a moral and humanitarian solution to the problem.

The Church must continuously examine multi-national corporate interference in the economies of other countries and the role of United States governmental policy in protecting these corporate interests. Economic destabilization creates exorbitant unemployment and under employment rates. This motion, in turn, forces people in these countries to seek economic refuge in the United States. As advocate for the poor and defenseless, the Church stands as critic of such disruptive policies.

The adverse effect that multi-national corporations have on Third World countries can only be overcome through control and regulation of those activities that make economic destabilization possible. The Catholic Church in the United States must be an active advocate to assure that our government maintains its moral and legal obligation to regulate such activities. As demonstrated by past actions, the government may, under certain circumstances, regulate international activities of private corporations to eliminate or minimize economic interference in the affairs of their sovereign states. International regularization of corporate activity has occurred recently through (1) the Securities Exchange Commission's (SEC) punitive action against corporations for failure to disclose to the Commission material facts such as corrupt



*Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses
yearning to breathe free*

THE CASE AGAINST THE IMMIGRATION LAWS

by Richard Ebeling

*Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed to me,
I lift my lamp beside the golden door!*

—Emma Lazarus

Economic privilege is never so visible as it is during periods of crisis and depression. What are merely lone voices crying for protection from the rigors of the market-place during normal times, becomes a chorus of special interests begging for high tariffs and import quotas to camouflage their inefficiencies. Rarely has the state turned a deaf ear to their pleas. More often than not, reason and consumer interest have failed in their attempt to withstand the pressure of those who have striven for gain through government intervention.

"The Protectionist creed rises like a weed in every soil," lamented the Classical economist Walter Bagehot over a hundred years ago. "Every nation wishes prosperity for some conspicuous industry. At what cost to the consumer, by what hardship to less conspicuous industries, that prosperity is obtained, it does not care . . . the visible picture of the smoking chimney absorbs the whole mind."

The economic recession of the past few years has revived the ideology of protectionism once again. The steel industry won limitations on the importation of European and Japanese steel by ranting about "dumping." American farmers mass at the Mexican border chanting incantations to ward off the flow of cheap food from south of the Rio Grande. And the trade unions conjure up the image of millions of unemployed workers if protectionist policies are not enacted to "save" American jobs.

All of these myths have been answered and demolished hundreds of times over. In every case logic has refuted the conclusions of the protectionist rationale. And in every instance it has been demonstrated that the purpose of the restrictions were to preserve the economic status of some while victimizing others.

The most indidious form of protectionism, however, does not pertain to the barriers placed in the way of the free movement of goods. As harmful and as illogical as these interventions are, none cause the human hardship and misery that immigration restrictions impose.

The importance of the principle of *laissez-passer* was understood early in American history. It was clearly enunciated by Thomas Jefferson, when he insisted upon ". . . the natural right which all men have of relinquishing the country in which birth or other accident may have thrown them, and seeking subsistence and happiness wheresoever they may be able, or may hope to find them."

Leaving behind poverty, despotism, war and conscription, millions came to the American shores, to build "a nation of immigrants." Between 1800 and 1840, about 800,000 immigrants arrived in the United States, of whom 750,000 remained in America. And from the middle of the 19th century until the 1930s, gross immigration tended to exceed 200,000 per year (with the number exceeding 1,000,000 per year on six occasions).

Of course, this inflow of immigrants was not without opposition. There were those who feared the "alien" element and the "impurities" that were "polluting" the American soil. In 1903, John R. Commons, a leader of the American Institutionalists, begged for limitations on the immigration of particular ethnic groups. "Our democratic theories and forms of government were fashioned by but one of the many races and peoples," Commons insisted.

America was not the child of one racial or cultural strain, but rather the offspring of diversity and change. America developed precisely because of its multicultural fluidity, constantly fed by newcomers.

"That race, the so-called Anglo-Saxon, developed them out of its own insular experience unhampered by inroads of alien stock."

But arguments such as Commons had already been shown the contempt they deserved during the heyday of the Know-Nothing Party in the mid-19th century. In 1855, Abraham Lincoln expressed his disgust with this "Americanist" philosophy. "When the Know-Nothings get control," Lincoln said, "it [the Declaration of Independence] will read 'all men are created equal *except negroes and foreigners and catholics.*' When it comes to this, I should prefer emigrating to some country where they make no pretense of loving liberty—to Russia, for instance, where despotism can be taken pure, and without the basic alloy of hypocrisy . . ."

The nation of immigrants

Now, in fact, it is difficult to see what exactly that American "stock" was that Commons and others were so concerned about preserving and protecting. To the contrary, America's history has been one of ever-new faces and peoples. America *has* truly been a nation of immigrants.

In the 1830s, 500,000 new arrivals touched upon American soil. In the 1840s, that number increased to 1.5 million, with an additional 2.6 million added in the 1850s. By the turn of the century, ten million people of foreign birth were living in the United States. And out of a total U.S. population of slightly over 76 million, 26 million were the children of foreign-born parents.

During the period 1900-1920, approximately 13.5 million more immigrants arrived in America. It was only the post-World War I hysteria about foreign subversives

and the influence of vested interests that brought that movement to an end. As the historian Charles Beard aptly put it, "The gates of the once wide-open 'asylum for the oppressed 'of all lands' had been brought together with a bang . . ."

In the period 1931 to 1945, only 900,000 new people were allowed entrance. In the post-World War II era, the fear of foreigners dampened slightly and 4.4 million were allowed to enter the country between 1945 and 1965.

This multitude of humanity, however, had not been the product of one culture, but of many. In vast numbers they came from Britain, Ireland, Germany, Italy, the Balkans, Russia, Mexico and Asia. America was not the child of one racial or cultural strain, but rather the offspring of diversity and change. Not bound by one cultural heritage or one concept of social strata, America developed precisely because of its multicultural fluidity—constantly fed by newcomers supplying fresh spirit and potential.

America became a wide-open—yes, let's not be afraid to use that cliché—"land of opportunity." It was clearly seen by the Italian classical liberal Guglielmo Ferrero. Writing at the turn of the century, he gave

thanks to the almost complete lack of intellectual protectionism—that is, of academical degrees which ensure the monopoly of certain professions—thanks, in consequence to the lack of a government *curriculum* of unprofitable studies, America is exempt from an intellectual proletariat and from the *declasses*, the chronic disease of the middle classes in Europe. Let him who can do a thing well step forward and do it, no one will question *where* he learnt it: such is the degree required of an American engineer, barrister, clerk, or employee.

At the heart of the anti-immigration sentiment, however, has been the belief that the newcomers glut the labor market, lower the level of wages and rain economic misery upon the domestic population. The racist elements merely serve as the convenient method of separating "them" from "us." This is most obviously seen in the case of the Chinese. Within two years of the California gold discoveries in the late 1840s, at least 25,000 Chinese had come across the Pacific to serve as the manpower in the gold fields and mines. The number of Chinese brought over soon increased with the building of the western railroads. Comprising nine percent of California's population between 1860 and 1880, the Chinese were accused of lowering the wages of white workers. The Caucasian clamors reached hysteria levels after 1869, with the completion of the Union Pacific Railroad. With *European-born* workers often taking the lead, the anti-Chinese feeling resulted in riots, plundering and murder.

In 1882 (four years before the Statue of Liberty was given to the United States), the first immigration laws were imposed upon the Chinese. From 40,000 Chinese immigrants in 1882, the number tumbled to ten in 1887. Even to stay in the United States every Chinese required the sworn testimony of a white man. Writing in a recent issue of *Society*, Betty Lee Sung explained that "before 1943 Chinese immigrants were not permitted to become citizens no matter how long they had resided in this country. . . . They were forbidden by the Alien Land Acts to own land.

... They were also denied the right to intermarry in many western states."

More recently, the unfair labor competition arguments have been directed against the potential Mexican immigrant (though more generally to all immigrants). With a force of 9,600 men and a budget of \$250 million, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) every year sends its men scurrying along the U.S.-Mexican border rounding up "illegals" and sending them back to a Mexican economy that suffers from high inflation and an unemployment rate of 20 to 30 percent. In 1973, the INS deported 655,928 of these "aliens"; in 1974 788,145; in 1975, 766,600; and in 1977, the number exceeded one million.

However, for every one potential immigrant captured at the border, the INS admits three to five others escape detection and join the estimated seven to 12 million illegal aliens already residing in the United States.

Economic consequences

Thus the logical step is to ask what exactly are the economic consequences that follow from the free flow of people from one geographical area to another. Let us first abstract from the rest of the world and inquire into how a labor force is distributed within our own country.

Within America, freedom of trade and freedom of movement are established principles. At any given moment in time, consumers are spending their income in a manner that reflects their relative preferences for various goods and services sold on the market. In turn, producers are purchasing various factors of production—including labor—in the anticipation that the costs incurred in hiring them will be compensated when their products are sold on the market. Workers, in turn, look for the best job opportunities that they can find, based upon their view of which employers are offering the highest wages and best working conditions, given the particular skills that they possess.

Producers establish their businesses in various parts of America based upon, among other things, the location of raw materials necessary for their production activities and the transportation costs that must be paid to get the products to their markets. The laborers will, to the extent that they are willing and able to bear the cost of moving from one location to another, move from one job to another in such a way that the same wage rate tends to be paid in all parts of the country for each of the respective types of labor. (Unions, the cost of living, welfare benefits, unemployment insurance, and other such differences, of course, might lead people to act differently.)

Suppose there occurs an increase in the demand for the products produced in a particular part of America—in California, for instance—and a decrease in the demand for products made in, say, New York. The anticipation of a higher selling price for their products will induce these California producers to offer higher wages, to attract more workers into their industries. On the other hand, the fall in the demand for New York products will result in those producers offering wages lower than before. The fall in New

York wages rates will create an incentive for *some* of those workers to migrate to California where higher wages are now available. As more and more workers move to California, the increase in the labor supply will begin to lower California wages. And as more and more workers leave New York, the decrease in the labor supply will raise New York wages. The process will come to an end when the wages received in New York and California are roughly equivalent and the incentive for migration has disappeared.

Of course, there will be some individuals who, because of nonmonetary attachments to their hometown or home state, may choose not to move when a change in wage rates occurs between two locations. Thus, the people residing near Lake Tahoe may decide to remain there even though higher wages could be received somewhere else. In turn, some people may choose to move from somewhere else without monetary incentives; a desired change in climate or a disapproval of the ideas or morals of the people around them may stimulate immigration to another part of America.

Immigration to California due to these nonmonetary reasons will tend to cause lower wages there. But it will, on the other hand, set off market forces to correct the imbalance. Other areas of America will be offering wages

Workers look for the best job opportunity that they can find, based on their view of which employers are offering the highest wages and best working conditions, given the particular skills that they possess.

that now are higher than in California. For some residents of California, this will act as an incentive to move elsewhere, until wages are once again adjusted throughout America.

The same principles apply when the geographical area being considered incorporates more than one country. This is most clearly seen when we consider the case of Mexico and the United States. Prior to the U.S. Immigration Act of 1924, movement between the two countries was completely open. A major emigration from Mexico occurred during the decade 1910-1919. The initial cause was the extreme violence in Mexico during that country's revolutionary war. However, labor shortages (particularly in agriculture) began to develop once the United States entered the First World War. In 1910, 17,760 Mexicans moved into the United States. In 1919, the number increased to 28,844 new arrivals. It peaked in 1923, with the movement of 62,709 Mexicans to areas north of the Rio

Grande. But the 1924 immigration act soon brought this torrent to a halt, and by 1933 only 1,000 Mexicans were being allowed into the United States each year. Under the 1968 immigration act, only 120,000 people from the Western Hemisphere were allowed into the United States annually, with Mexico being allowed a maximum of 40,000 out of that total. (Of course, the restrictions on free movement have not been totally the fault of the United States. Under Article 123 of the 1917 Mexican constitution, the unregulated hiring of Mexican citizens by foreign nations had been prohibited.)

The barriers placed in the way of free immigration have prevented the adjustment of wage rates between the United States and Mexico. Under *laissez-passer*, the discrepancy between what was paid for one type of labor in the United States and what was received for same type of labor in Mexico would act as an incentive for workers to move, until economic adjustments were made. Instead, this rigidity imposed on the market by the governments concerned has caused the wage differentials to widen more and more.

In 1976, the average hourly wage for agricultural labor in the United States was \$2.66; in Mexico, the average hourly wage in the agricultural industry was equivalent to \$0.45. In 1977, U.S. manufacturing industries paid, on the

Some 32 "exclusion" categories expressly forbid individuals with particular talents from residing in the United States—lumping physicians with prostitutes.

average, \$5.65 an hour; in Mexico, the equivalent wage was \$1.58 per hour. The hourly average wage for American construction workers in 1974 was \$6.54; in Mexico, it was \$0.84 an hour. In 1973, in the United States, the average hourly salary on the principal railroads was \$5.40 (on local railroads and bus lines it averaged \$3.97 an hour); in Mexico, the equivalent wage rate in the transportation industry was \$0.94 an hour.

While Mexican immigrants in the United States may earn less than the national average in these areas, they will still earn much more than they would have in Mexico.

It is not surprising, then, that many Mexican workers desire to immigrate to the United States. And what would be the terrible consequences if the gates were opened to these Mexicans? In those industries in the American economy that would be affected by the larger labor supply, a lowering of wage rates would occur. Some of the workers in those industries might have to shift to work in other established firms. However, there exist alternative possibilities as well. Since labor, like any other commodity, is a scarce resource, the larger labor force in America

could enable a greater intensification of the division of labor—thus raising the productivity of workers in general. The larger supply of workers would also enable the application of labor towards the production of goods and services that previously could not be supplied at all because of the scarcity of hands. As Stephen Chapman points out in his excellent article "Let the Aliens In," in *The Washington Monthly* (July-August 1977):

Many of the jobs held by illegal aliens are the kind that few Americans would accept, regardless of their skills. A California businessman who hires illegals told *New West* magazine, "If you pulled out every illegal alien in Los Angeles at midnight tonight, you would wake up tomorrow morning in a town without busboys, maids, or parking-lot attendants."

Chapman cites a case in San Diego in which the State Human Resources Agency could not fill 2,154 jobs "made available by the deportation of illegal workers."

Privilege vs. freedom

The flexibility of wage rates—a necessary ingredient for a stable and progressive economy—has been something vehemently resisted by the trade unions. Their opposition to free immigration has always been a key element in their drive for union privileges. "The oft-referred to 'miracle' of the high wages in the United States and Australia," Ludwig von Mises has observed, "may be explained simply by the policy of trying to prevent a new immigration, . . . that the unions in all those countries which have more favorable conditions of production, relatively fewer workers and thus higher wages, seek to prevent an influx of workers from less favored lands. . . ."

At the turn of the century, for example, Samuel Gompers insisted that "as these immigrants flooded basic industries they threatened to destroy our standards." Gompers proudly added that "as a nation we began to consider policies of regulation. The labor movement was among the first organizations to urge such policies. . . ."

The restrictions pertain, however, not only to unskilled labor and farm workers, but to all types of skilled labor, as well. In fact, there are 32 "exclusion" categories expressly forbidding individuals with particular talents from residing and working in the United States. Pressure from the American medical profession has resulted in foreign medical graduates being placed on that restriction list. Laurier B. McDonald, a Texas lawyer long involved with illegal alien cases, has pointed out that existing law "places physicians in the same category as prostitutes, thieves, idiots and subversives."

The immigration laws have both seen and unseen consequences. The obvious effects are evident all around the world. They are seen in the state of starvation that is the human condition in dozens of countries; they are seen in the cardboard hovels that many Mexicans call "home," in the area surrounding Tijuana and Ensenada; they are seen on the faces of the desperate individuals who time and time again make the vain attempt to enter the United States—both legally and illegally; and they are seen in the mass attempts to escape from various despotisms and in th

bickerings among nations over who will have to take these refugees—most recently in the cases of the Ugandan Asians, and with the Vietnamese and Cambodians.

The unseen burden of immigration laws falls upon those who illegally reside in the United States. As Stephen Chapman wrote, in his *Washington Monthly* article:

The illegal alien's outlaw status undercuts his bargaining power and compels him to accept nearly anything his employer chooses to inflict on him, from low pay to long hours to poor working conditions. . . . If he is maltreated, defrauded, or injured on the job, he is not likely to seek legal redress. All the pressures on the illegal worker encourage him to do what he's told, take whatever pay he's given and keep his mouth shut. . . . If he complains, his employer can fire him or even have him arrested by the INS.

While it is the trade union and professional association members who benefit from the barriers that prevent the arrival of new competition, the immigration laws rebound to the advantage of those business firms that hire the illegal aliens once they have entered the country. In the grasp of these employers is a pool of labor ripe for economic exploitation. The life of the illegal aliens become a nightmare of fear—fear of the demands of the employers on one side and the fear of apprehension by the state on the other. The incentive for exploiting these workers is reinforced by the laws that make it a felony to be an illegal alien, but not to hire one.

Economic reality and basic human justice, therefore, call for the immediate removal of all immigration and emigration restrictions.

One might object that there still remains the problem of the welfare state. Just as the differential in welfare payments between various states has enticed a migration of people to the high-paying welfare areas in America, the same process might occur among nations. But surely this is more an argument against the continuance of the welfare state itself than against the free flow of people. The existence of one set of statist impositions should not be the rationale for imposing yet another set.

Moreover, as Chapman has pointed out, the picture of the illegal alien as a welfare-grasping bum is viciously unjust: "Aliens, like most immigrants, generally appear eager to accept work of any kind because of the social stigma they attach to not working, the improvement it represents over jobs in their native countries, and the hope of advancement." Moreover, a Department of Labor study by David North and Marion Houston reported the following in 1976:

This group of illegal alien workers were significantly more likely to have participated in tax-paying systems (many of which are automatic) than to have used tax-supported programs . . . while 77 percent of the study group reported that they had had social security taxes and 73 percent reported that they had federal income taxes withheld. Only 27 percent used hospitals or clinics, four per cent collected one or more weeks of unemployment insurance, four percent had children in U.S. schools, one percent secured food stamps, and .5 percent secured welfare payments.

In San Diego County, the best estimates are that the county's cost in "social services" to illegal aliens is about \$2

million, while the aliens' taxes amount to more than \$48 million. To this, Chapman appropriately responds: "Instead of aliens being a burden to the rest of us, it's the rest of us who are a burden to the aliens."

Even those who should know better fall into the collectivist snares. In a letter to the *London Times* on February 11, 1978, Professor Friedrich A. Hayek—himself an immigrant several times in his life—praised the British Conservative leader, Margaret Thatcher, for her call for stringent immigration controls. "While I look forward, as

In San Diego County, the best estimates are that social services to illegal aliens cost about \$2 million, while the aliens' taxes amount to more than \$48 million.

an ultimate ideal, to a state of affairs in which national boundaries have ceased to be obstacles to the free movement of men," Hayek declared, "I believe that within any period with which we can now be concerned, any attempt to realize it would lead to a revival of strong nationalist sentiments."

The problem facing the world is not the *possibility* of a revival of nationalism and other collectivist atavisms, but rather that they *already* dominate all social thought and policy. We cannot passively wait for the day when mankind will somehow "naturally" evolve out of collectivism. It must be resisted and abolished—and that includes the abolition of immigration barriers and the human suffering that they cause.

We must embrace the philosophy expressed by the French classical liberal, Emile Levasseur:

As a free and unfettered commercial intercourse between two countries is advantageous to both, for by the exchange of their commodities the producer and the consumer are both benefited, so also must the unrestricted circulation of the human race be advantageous to all countries concerned . . . it . . . must be viewed in the more comprehensive and enlightened scope of the enormous benefits it confers upon the human race at large.

If human liberty is to be complete, *laissez-faire*, the freedom to trade, must be at long last matched by *laissez-passer*, the freedom to move. The standard of the free society must once again be raised high, and America must once more become, as it was in the beginning, the "nation of immigrants," and the land of individual liberty. ●

Richard Ebeling, a frequent contributor to LR, is a graduate student in economics at New York University.

REFLECTIONS

MEXICO AND THE UNITED STATES

WHEN I was in India, witnessing the never-ending quarrels between Hindus and Muslims, I asked myself more than once this question: What accident or misfortune of history caused two religions so obviously irreconcilable as Hinduism and Muhammadanism to coexist in the same society? The presence of the purest and most intransigent form of monotheism in the bosom of a civilization that has elaborated the most complex polytheism seemed to me a verification of the indifference with which history perpetrates its paradoxes. And yet I could hardly be surprised at the contradictory presence in India of Hinduism and Muhammadanism. How could I forget that I myself, as a Mexican, was (and am) part of a no less singular paradox—that of Mexico and the United States?

Our countries are neighbors, condemned to live alongside each other; they are separated, however, more by profound social, economic, and psychic differences than by physical and political frontiers. These differences are self-

evident, and a superficial glance might reduce them to the well-known opposition between development and underdevelopment, wealth and poverty, power and weakness, domination and dependence. But the really fundamental difference is an invisible one, and in addition it is perhaps insuperable. To prove that it has nothing to do with economics or political power, we have only to imagine a Mexico suddenly turned into a prosperous, mighty country, a superpower like the United States. Far from disappearing, the difference would become more acute and more clear-cut. The reason is obvious: We are two distinct versions of Western civilization.

Ever since we Mexicans began to be aware of national identity—in about the middle of the eighteenth century—we have been interested in our northern neighbors. First with a mixture of curiosity and disdain; later on with an admiration and enthusiasm that were soon tinged with fear and envy. The idea the Mexican people have of the United States is contradictory, emotional, and

impervious to criticism; it is a mythic image. The same can be said of the vision of our intellectuals and writers.

Something similar happens with Americans, be they writers or politicians, businessmen or only travellers. I am not forgetting the existence of a small number of remarkable studies by various American specialists, especially in the fields of archeology and ancient and modern Mexican history. The perceptions of the American novelists and poets who have written on Mexican themes have often been brilliant, but they have also been fragmentary. Moreover, as a critic who has devoted a book to this theme (Drewey Wayne Gunn: "American and British Writers in Mexico") has said, they reveal less of the Mexican reality than of the authors' personalities. In general, Americans have not looked for Mexico in Mexico; they have looked for their obsessions, enthusiasms, phobias, hopes, interests—and these are what they have found. In short, the history of our relationship is the history of a mutual and stubborn deceit, usually involuntary though not always so.

Of course, the differences between Mexico and the United States are not imaginary projections but objective realities. Some are quantitative, and can be explained by the social, economic, and historical development of the two countries. The more permanent ones, though also the result of history, are not easily definable or measurable. I have pointed out that they belong to the realm of civilization, that fluid zone of imprecise contours in which are fused and confused ideas and beliefs, institutions and technologies, styles and morals, fashions and churches, the material culture and that evasive reality which we rather inaccurately call *le génie des peuples*. The reality to which we give the name of civilization does not allow of easy definition. It is each society's vision of the world and also its feeling about time; there are nations that are hurrying toward the future, and others whose eyes are fixed on the past. Civilization is a society's style, its way of living and dying. It embraces the erotic and the culinary arts; dancing and burial; courtesy and curses; work and leisure; rituals and festivals; punishments and rewards; dealings with the dead and with the ghosts who people our dreams; attitudes toward women and children, old people and strangers, en-



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emies and allies; eternity and the present; the here and now and the beyond. A civilization is not only a system of values but a world of forms and codes of behavior, rules and exceptions. It is society's visible side—institutions, monuments, works, things—but it is especially its submerged, invisible side: beliefs, desires, fears, repressions, dreams.

THE points of the compass have served to locate us in history as well as in space. The East-West duality soon acquired a more symbolic than geographical significance, and became an emblem of the opposition between civilizations. The East-West opposition has always been considered basic and primordial; it alludes to the movement of the sun, and is therefore an image of the direction and meaning of our living and dying. The East-West relationship symbolizes two directions, two attitudes, two civilizations. The North-South duality refers more to the opposition between different ways of life and different sensibilities. The contrasts between North and South can be oppositions within the same civilization.

Clearly, the opposition between Mexico and the United States belongs to the North-South duality as much from the geographical as the symbolic point of view. It is an ancient opposition which was already unfolding in pre-Columbian America, so that it antedates the very existence of the United States and Mexico. The northern part of the continent was settled by nomadic, warrior nations; Meso-america, on the other hand, was the home of an agricultural civilization, with complex social and political institutions, dominated by warlike theocracies that invented refined and cruel rituals, great art, and vast cosmogonies inspired by a very original vision of time. The great opposition of pre-Columbian America—all that now includes the United States and Mexico—was between different ways of life: nomads and settled peoples, hunters and farmers. This division greatly influenced the later development of the United States and Mexico. The policies of the English and the Spanish toward the Indians were in large part determined by this division; it was not insignificant that the former established themselves in the territory of the nomads and the latter in that of the settled peoples.

The differences between the English and the Spaniards who founded New England and New Spain were no less decisive than those that separated the nomadic from the settled Indians.

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Again, it was an opposition within the same civilization. Just as the American Indians' world view and beliefs sprang from a common source, irrespective of their ways of life, so Spanish and English shared the same intellectual and technical culture. And the opposition between them, though of a different sort, was as deep as that dividing an Aztec from an Iroquois. And so the new opposition between English and Spaniards was grafted onto the old opposition between nomadic and settled peoples. The distinct and divergent attitudes of Spaniards and English have often been described before. All of them can be summed up in one fundamental difference, in which perhaps the dissimilar evolution of Mexico and the United States originated: in England the Reformation triumphed, whereas Spain was the champion of the Counter-Reformation.

As we all know, the reformist movement in England had political consequences that were decisive in the development of Anglo-Saxon democracy. In Spain, evolution went in the opposite direction. Once the resistance of the last Muslim was crushed, Spain achieved a precarious political—but not national—unity by means of dynastic alliances. At the same time, the monarchy suppressed regional autonomies and municipal freedoms, closing off the possibility of eventual evolution into a modern democracy. Lastly, Spain was deeply marked by Arab domination, and kept alive the notion of crusade and holy war, which it had inherited from Christian and Muslim alike. In Spain, the traits of the modern era, which was just beginning, and of the old society coexisted but never blended completely. The contrast with England could not be sharper. The history of Spain and of her former colonies, from the sixteenth century onward, is the history of an ambiguous approach—attraction and repulsion—to the modern era.

The discovery and conquest of America are events that inaugurated modern world history, but Spain and Portugal carried them out with the sensibility and tenor of the Reconquest. Nothing more original occurred to Cortes's soldiers, amazed by the pyramids and temples of the Mayans and Aztecs, than to compare them with the mosques of Islam. Conquest and evangelization: these two words, deeply Spanish and Catholic, are also deeply Muslim. Conquest means not only the occupation of foreign territories and the subjugation of their inhabitants but also the conversion of the conquered. The



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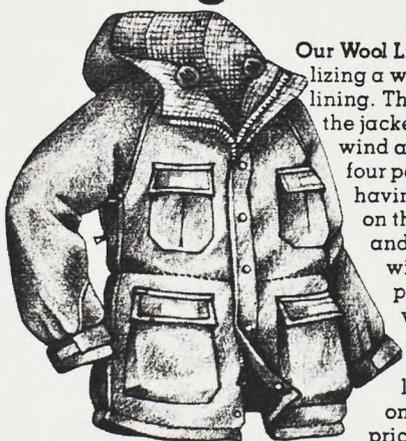
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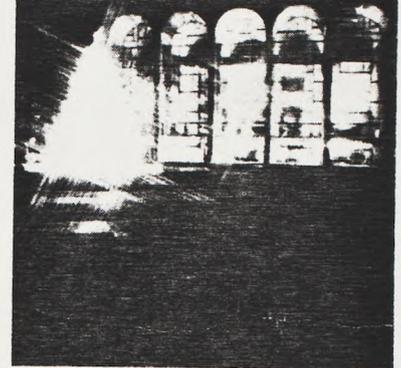
conversion legitimized the conquest. This politico-religious philosophy was diametrically opposed to that of English colonizing; the idea of evangelization occupied a secondary place in England's colonial expansion.

The Christianity brought to Mexico by the Spaniards was the syncretic Catholicism of Rome, which had assimilated the pagan gods, turning them into saints and devils. The phenomenon was repeated in Mexico: the idols were baptized, and in popular Mexican Catholicism the old beliefs and divinities are still present, barely hidden under a veneer of Christianity. Not only the popular religion of Mexico but the Mexicans' entire life is steeped in Indian culture—the family, love, friendship, attitudes toward one's father and mother, popular legends, the forms of civility and life in common, the vision of death and sex, work and festivity. Mexico is the most Spanish country in Latin America; at the same time it is the most Indian. Mesoamerican civilization died a violent death, but Mexico is Mexico thanks to the Indian presence. Though the language and the religion, the political institutions and the culture of the country are Western, there is one aspect of Mexico that faces in another direction—the Indian direction. Mexico is a nation between two civilizations and two pasts.

In the United States, the Indian element does not appear. This, in my opinion, is the major difference between our two countries. The Indians who were not exterminated were corralled in "reservations." The Christian horror of "fallen nature" extended to the natives of America: the United States was founded on a land without a past. The historical memory of Americans is European, not American. For this reason, one of the most powerful and persistent themes in American literature, from Whitman to William Carlos Williams and from Melville to Faulkner, has been the search for (or invention of) American roots. We owe some of the major works of the modern era to this desire for incarnation, this obsessive need to be rooted in American soil.

Exactly the opposite is true of Mexico, land of superimposed pasts. Mexico City was built on the ruins of Tenochtitlán, the Aztec city that was built in the likeness of Tula, the Toltec city that was built in the likeness of Teotihuacán, the first great city on the American continent. Every Mexican bears within him this continuity, which goes back two thousand years. It

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doesn't matter that this presence is almost always unconscious and assumes the naïve forms of legend and even superstition. It is not something known but something lived. The Indian presence means that one of the facets of Mexican culture is not Western. Is there anything like this in the United States? Each of the ethnic groups making up the multiracial democracy that is the United States has its own culture and tradition, and some of them—the Chinese and the Japanese, for example—are not Western. These traditions exist alongside the dominant American tradition without becoming one with it. They are foreign bodies within American culture. In some cases, the most notable being that of the Chicanos, the minorities defend their traditions against or in the face of the American tradition. The Chicanos' resistance is cultural as well as political and social.

IF the different attitudes of Hispanic Catholicism and English Protestantism could be summed up in two words, I would say that the Spanish attitude is inclusive and the English exclusive. In the former, the notions of conquest and domination are bound up with ideas of conversion and assimilation; in the latter, conquest and domination imply not the conversion of the conquered but their segregation. An inclusive society, founded on the double principle of domination and conversion, is bound to be hierarchical, centralist, and respectful of the individual characteristics of each group. It believes in the strict division of classes and groups, each one governed by special laws and statutes, but all embracing the same faith and obeying the same lord. An exclusive society is bound to cut itself off from the natives, either by physical exclusion or by extermination; at the same time, since each community of pure-minded men is isolated from other communities, it tends to treat its members as equals and to assure the autonomy and freedom of each group of believers. The origins of American democracy are religious, and in the early communities of New England that dual, contradictory tension between freedom and equality which has been the leitmotiv of the history of the United States was already present.

The opposition that I have just outlined is expressed with great clarity in two religious terms: "communion" and "purity." This opposition profoundly affects attitudes toward work, festivity, the body, and death. For the society of New Spain, work did not redeem, and had no value in itself. Manual work

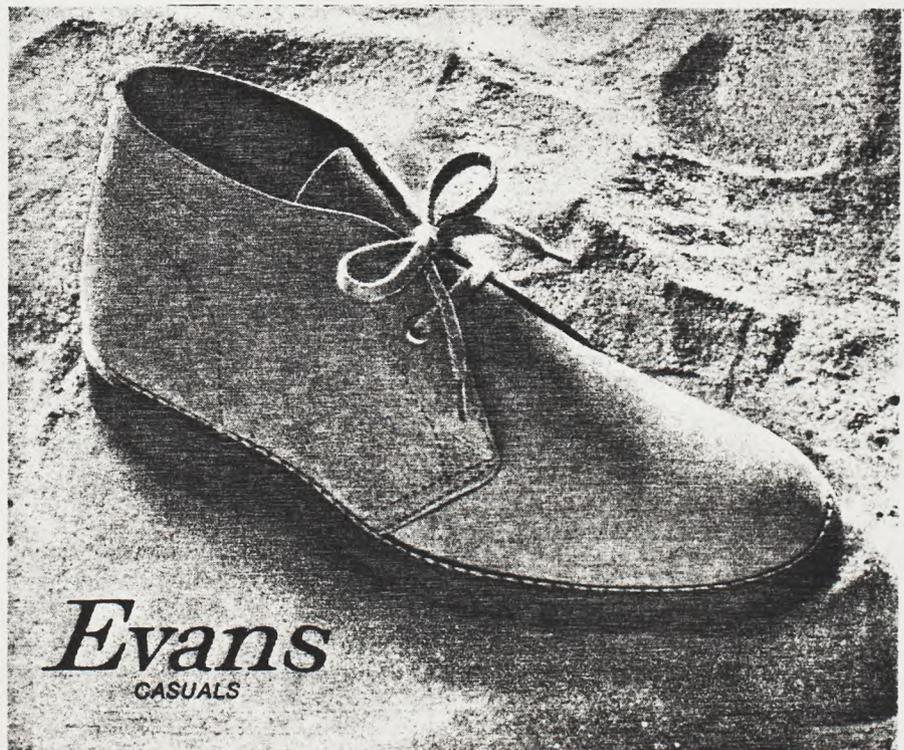


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was servile. The superior man neither worked nor traded. He made war, he commanded, he legislated. He also thought, contemplated, wooed, loved, and enjoyed himself. Leisure was noble. Work was good because it produced wealth, but wealth was good because it was intended to be spent—to be consumed in those holocausts called war, in the construction of temples and palaces, in pomp and festivity. The dissipation of wealth took different forms: gold shone on the altars or was poured out in celebrations. Even today in Mexico, at least in the small cities and towns, work is the precursor of the fiesta. The year revolves on the double axis of work and festival, saving and spending. The fiesta is sumptuous and intense, lively and funereal; it is a vital, multicolored frenzy that evaporates in smoke, ashes, nothingness. In the aesthetics of perdition, the fiesta is the lodging place of death.

The United States has not really known the art of the festival, except in the last few years, with the triumph of hedonism over the old Protestant ethic. This is natural. A society that so energetically affirmed the redemptive value of work could not help chastising as depraved the cult of the festival and the passion for spending. The Protestant rejection was inspired by religion rather than economics. The Puritan conscience could not see that the value of the festival was actually a religious value: communion. In the festival, the orgiastic element is central; it marks a return to the beginning, to the primordial state in which each one is united with the great all. Every true festival is religious because every true festival is communion. Here the opposition between communion and purity is clear. For the Puritans and their heirs, work is redemptive because it frees man, and this liberation is a sign of God's choice. Work is purification, which is also a separation: the chosen one ascends, breaks the bonds binding him to earth, which are the laws of his fallen nature. For the Mexicans, communion represents exactly the opposite: not separation but participation, not breaking away but joining together; the great universal commixture, the great bathing in the waters of the beginning, a state beyond purity and impurity.

In Christianity, the body's status is inferior. But the body is an always active force, and its explosions can destroy a civilization. Doubtless for this reason, the Church from the start made a pact with the body. If the Church did not restore the body to the place it oc-

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cupied in Greco-Roman society, it did try to give the body back its dignity: the body is fallen nature, but in itself it is innocent. After all, Christianity, unlike Buddhism, say, is the worship of an incarnate god. The dogma of the resurrection of the dead dates from the time of primitive Christianity; the cult of the Virgin appeared later, in the Middle Ages. Both beliefs are the highest expressions of this urge for incarnation, which typifies Christian spirituality. Both came to Mesoamerica with Spanish culture, and were immediately fused, the former with the funeral worship of the Indians, the latter with the worship of the goddesses of fertility and war.

The Mexicans' vision of death, which is also the hope of resurrection, is as profoundly steeped in Catholic eschatology as in Indian naturalism. The Mexican death is of the body, exactly the opposite of the American death, which is abstract and disembodied. For Mexicans, death sees and touches itself: it is the body emptied of the soul, the pile of bones that somehow, as in the Aztec poem, must bloom again. For Americans, death is what is not seen: absence, the disappearance of the person. In the Puritan consciousness, death was always present, but as a moral entity, an idea. Later on, scientism pushed death out of the American consciousness. Death melted away and became unmentionable. Finally, in vast segments of the American population of today, progressive rationalism and idealism have been replaced by neo-hedonism. But the cult of the body and of pleasure implies the recognition and acceptance of death. The body is mortal, and the kingdom of pleasure is that of the moment, as Epicurus saw better than anyone else. American hedonism closes its eyes to death, and has been incapable of exercising the destructive power of the moment with a wisdom like that of the Epicureans of antiquity. Present-day hedonism is the last recourse of the anguished and the desperate, an expression of the nihilism that is eroding the West.

Capitalism exalts the activities and behavior patterns traditionally called virile: aggressiveness, the spirit of competition and emulation, combativeness. American society made these values its own. This perhaps explains why nothing like the Mexicans' devotion to the Virgin of Guadalupe appears in the different versions of Christianity professed by Americans, including the Catholic minority. The Virgin unites the religious sensibilities of the Mediterranean



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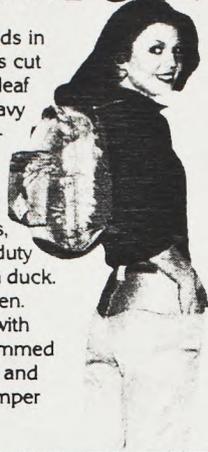
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and Mesoamerica, both of them regions that fostered ancient cults of feminine divinities. Guadalupe-Tonantzin is the mother of all Mexicans—Indians, mestizos, whites—but she is also a warrior virgin whose image has often appeared on the banners of peasant uprisings. In the Virgin of Guadalupe we encounter a very ancient vision of femininity which, as was true of the pagan goddesses, is not without a heroic tint.

When I talk about the masculinity of the American capitalist society, I am not unaware that American women have gained rights and posts still denied elsewhere. But they have obtained them as "subjects under the law;" that is to say, as neuter or abstract entities, as citizens, not as women. Now, I believe that, much as our civilization needs equal rights for men and women, it also needs a feminization, like the one that courtly love brought about in the outlook of medieval Europe. Or like the feminine irradiation that the Virgin of Guadalupe casts on the imagination and sensibility of us Mexicans. Because of the Mexican woman's Hispano-Arabic and Indian heritage, her social situation is deplorable, but what I want to emphasize here is not so much the nature of the relation between men and women as the intimate relationship of woman with those elusive symbols which we call femininity and masculinity. For the reasons I noted earlier, Mexican women have a very lively awareness of the body. For them, the body, woman's and man's, is a concrete, palpable reality. Not an abstraction or a function but an ambiguous magnetic force, in which pleasure and pain, fertility and death are inextricably intertwined.

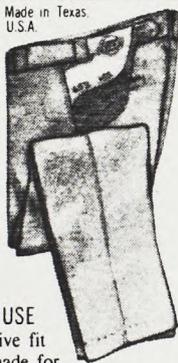
PRE-COLUMBIAN Mexico was a mosaic of nations, tribes, and languages. For its part, Spain was also a conglomeration of nations and races, even though it had realized political unity. The heterogeneity of Mexican society was the other face of Spanish centralism. The political centralism of the Spanish monarchy had religious orthodoxy as its complement, and even as its foundation. The true, effective unity of Mexican society has been brought about slowly over several centuries, but its political and religious unity was decreed from above as the joint expression of the Spanish monarchy and the Catholic Church. Mexico had a state and a church before it was a nation. In this respect also, Mexico's evolution has been very different from that of the United States, where the small colonial communities



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had from their inception a clear-cut and belligerent concept of their identity as regards the state. For North Americans, the nation antedated the state.

Another difference: In those small colonial communities, a fusion had taken place among religious convictions, the embryonic national consciousness, and political institutions. So harmony, not contradiction, existed between the North Americans' religious convictions and their democratic institutions; whereas in Mexico Catholicism was identified with the viceregal regime, and was its orthodoxy. Therefore, when, after independence, the Mexican liberals tried to implant democratic institutions, they had to confront the Catholic Church. The establishment of a republican democracy in Mexico meant a radical break with the past, and led to the civil wars of the nineteenth century. These wars produced the militarism that, in turn, produced the dictatorship of Porfirio Diaz. The liberals defeated the Church, but they could not implant true democracy—only an authoritarian regime wearing democracy's mask.

A no less profound difference was the opposition between Catholic orthodoxy and Protestant reformism. In Mexico, Catholic orthodoxy had the philosophical form of Neo-Thomism, a mode of thought more apologetic than critical, and defensive in the face of the emerging modernity. Orthodoxy prevented examination and criticism. In New England, the communities were often made up of religious dissidents or, at least, of people who believed that the Scriptures should be read freely. On one side, orthodoxy, dogmatic philosophy, and the cult of authority. On the other, reading and free interpretation of the doctrine. Both societies were religious, but their religious attitudes were irreconcilable. I am not thinking only of dogmas and principles but of the very ways in which the two societies practiced and understood religion. One society fostered the complex and majestic conceptual structure of orthodoxy, an equally complex ecclesiastical hierarchy, wealthy and militant religious orders, and a ritualistic view of religion, in which the sacraments occupied a central place. The other fostered free discussion of the Scriptures, a small and often poor clergy, a tendency to eliminate the hierarchical boundaries between the simple believer and the priest, and a religious practice based not on ritual but on ethics, and not on the sacrament but on the internalizing of faith.



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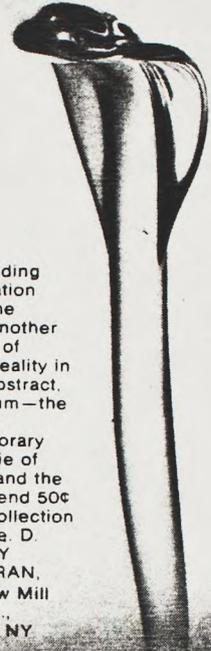
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tion of the two societies, the main difference seems to be the following: the modern world began with the Reformation, which was the religious criticism of religion and the necessary antecedent of the Enlightenment; with the Counter-Reformation and Neo-Thomism, Spain and her possessions closed themselves to the modern world. They had no Enlightenment, because they had neither a Reformation nor an intellectual religious movement like Jansenism. And so, though Spanish-American civilization is to be admired on many counts, it reminds one of a structure of great solidity—at once convent, fortress, and palace—built to last, not to change. In the long run, that construction became a confine, a prison. The United States was born of the Reformation and the Enlightenment. It came into being under the sign of criticism and self-criticism. Now, when one talks of criticism one is talking of change. The transformation of critical philosophy into progressive ideology came about and reached its peak in the nineteenth century. The broom of rationalist criticism swept the ideological sky clean of myths and beliefs; the ideology of progress, in its turn, displaced the timeless values of Christianity and transplanted them to the earthly and linear time of history. Christian eternity became the future of liberal evolutionism.

Here is the final contradiction, and all the divergencies and differences I have mentioned culminate in it. A society is essentially defined by its position as regards time. The United States, because of its origin and its intellectual and political history, is a society oriented toward the future. The extraordinary spatial mobility of America, a nation constantly on the move, has often been pointed out. In the realm of beliefs and mental attitudes, mobility in time corresponds to physical and geographical displacement. The American lives on the very edge of the now, always ready to leap toward the future. The country's foundations are in the future, not in the past. Or, rather, its past, the act of its founding, was a promise of the future, and each time the United States returns to its source, to its past, it rediscovers the future.

Mexico's orientation, as has been seen, was just the opposite. First came the rejection of criticism, and with it rejection of the notion of change; its ideal is to conserve the image of divine immutability. Second, it has a plurality of pasts, all present and at war within every Mexican's soul. Cortes and Montezuma are still alive in Mexico.



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At the time of that great crisis the Mexican Revolution, the most radical faction, that of Zapata and his peasants, proposed not new forms of social organization but a return to communal ownership of land. The rebelling peasants were asking for the devolution of the land; that is, they wanted to go back to a pre-Columbian form of ownership which had been respected by the Spaniards. The image the revolutionaries instinctively made for themselves of a Golden Age lay in the remotest past. Utopia for them was not the construction of a future but a return to the source, to the beginning. The traditional Mexican attitude toward time has been expressed in this way by a Mexican poet, Ramón López Velarde: "Motherland, be still the same, faithful to each day's mirror."

In the seventeenth century, Mexican society was richer and more prosperous than American society. This situation lasted until the first half of the eighteenth century. To prove that it was so, one need only glance at the cities of those days, with their monuments and buildings—Mexico City and Boston, Puebla and Philadelphia. Then everything changed. In 1847, the United States invaded Mexico, occupied it, and imposed on it terrible and heavy conditions of peace. A century later, the United States became the dominant world power. An unusual conjunction of circumstances of a material, technological, political, ideological, and human order explains the prodigious development of the United States. But in the small religious communities of seventeenth-century New England, the future was already in bud: political democracy, capitalism, and social and economic development. In Mexico, something very different has occurred. At the end of the eighteenth century, the Mexican ruling classes—especially the intellectuals—discovered that the principles that had founded their society condemned it to immobility and backwardness. They undertook a twofold revolution: separation from Spain and modernization of the country through the adoption of new republican and democratic principles. Their examples were the American Revolution and the French Revolution. They gained independence from Spain, but the adoption of new principles was not enough: Mexico changed its laws, not its social, economic, and cultural realities.

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sign powers—the United States, Spain,
and France. In the latter part of the
century, order was reestablished, but
at the expense of democracy. In the
name of liberal ideology and the posi-
tivism of Comte and Spencer, a mili-
tary dictatorship was imposed which
lasted more than thirty years. It was a
period of peace and appreciable material
development—also of increasing pene-
tration by foreign capital, especially
from England and the United States.
The Mexican Revolution of 1910 set
itself to change direction. It succeeded
only in part: Mexican democracy is not
yet a reality, and the great advances
achieved in certain quarters have been
nullified or are in danger because of
excessive political centralization, exces-
sive population growth, social inequality,
the collapse of higher education, and
the actions of the economic monopolies,
among them those from the United
States. Like all the other states of this
century, the Mexican state has had an
enormous, monstrous development. A
curious contradiction: The state has
been the agent of modernization, but it
has been unable to modernize itself
entirely. It is a hybrid of the Spanish
patrimonialist state of the seventeenth
century and the modern bureaucracies
of the West. As for its relationship
with the United States, that is still the
old relationship of strong and weak,
oscillating between indifference and
abuse, deceit and cynicism. Most Mexi-
cans hold the justifiable conviction that
the treatment received by their country
is unfair.

ABOVE and beyond success and fail-
ure, Mexico is still asking itself
the question that has occurred to most
clear-thinking Mexicans since the end
of the eighteenth century: the question
about modernization. In the nineteenth
century, it was believed that to adopt
the new democratic and liberal prin-
ciples was enough. Today, after almost
two centuries of setbacks, we have real-
ized that countries change very slowly,
and that if such changes are to be fruit-
ful they must be in harmony with the
past and the traditions of each nation.
And so Mexico has to find its own road
to modernity. Our past must not be an
obstacle but a starting point. This is ex-
tremely difficult, given the nature of
our traditions—difficult but not impos-
sible. To avoid new disasters, we Mexi-
cans must reconcile ourselves with our
past: only in this way shall we succeed
in finding a route to modernity. The
search for our own model of moderniza-
tion is a theme directly linked with
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nity, both the capitalist and the pseudo-socialist versions of the totalitarian bureaucracies, is mortally wounded in its very core—the idea of continuous, unlimited progress. The nations that inspired our nineteenth-century liberals—England, France, and especially the United States—are doubting, vacillating, and cannot find their way. They have ceased to be universal examples. The Mexicans of the nineteenth century turned their eyes toward the great Western democracies; we have nowhere to turn ours.

Between 1930 and 1960, most Mexicans were sure of the path they had chosen. This certainty has vanished, and some people ask themselves if it is not necessary to begin all over again. But the question is not relevant only for Mexico; it is universal. However unsatisfactory our country's situation may seem to us, it is not desperate—especially compared with what prevails elsewhere. Latin America, with only a few exceptions, lives under military dictatorships that are pampered and often supported by the United States. Cuba escaped American domination only to become a pawn of the Soviet Union's policy in Africa. A large number of the Asian and African nations that gained their independence after the Second World War are victims of native tyrannies often more cruel and despotic than those of the old colonial powers. In the so-called Third World, with different names and attributes, a ubiquitous Caligula reigns.

In 1917, the October Revolution in Russia kindled the hopes of millions; in 1979, the word "Gulag" has become synonymous with Soviet socialism. The founders of the socialist movement firmly believed that socialism would put an end not only to the exploitation of men but to war; in the second half of the twentieth century, totalitarian "socialisms" have enslaved the working class by stripping it of its basic rights and have also covered the whole planet with the threatening uproar of their disputes and quarrels. In the name of different versions of "socialism," Vietnamese and Cambodians butcher each other. The ideological wars of the twentieth century are no less ferocious than the wars of religion of the seventeenth century. When I was young, the idea that we were witnessing the final crisis of capitalism was fashionable among intellectuals. Now we understand that the crisis is not of a socioeconomic system but of our whole civilization. It is a general, worldwide crisis, and its most extreme,



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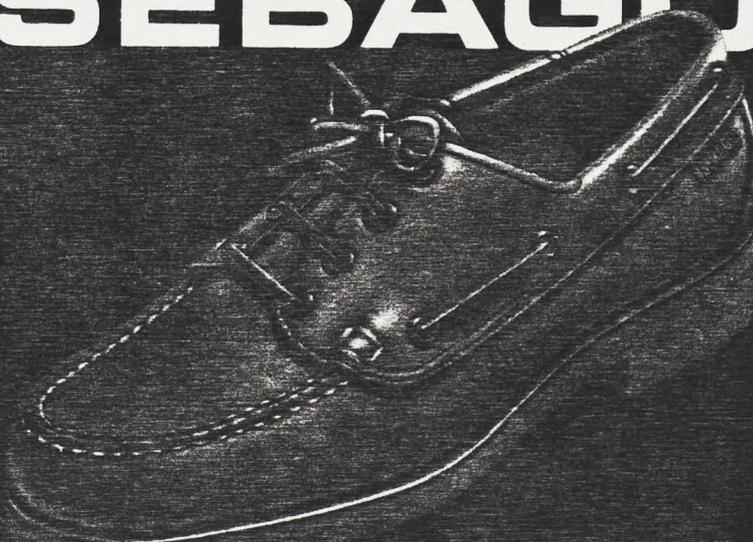
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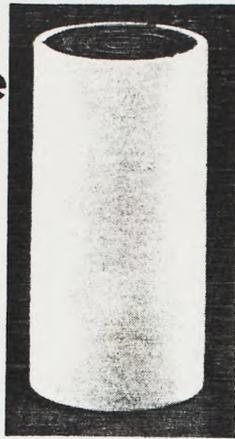


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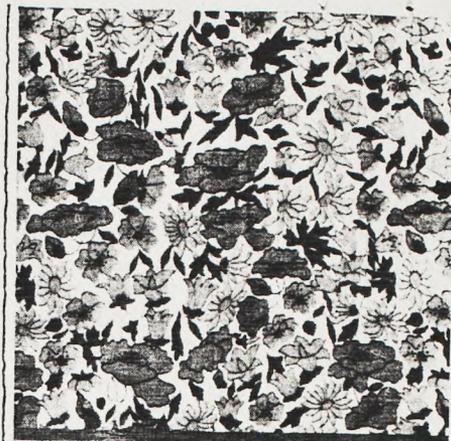
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acute, and dangerous expression is found in the situation of the Soviet Union and its satellites. The contradictions of totalitarian "socialism" are more profound and irreconcilable than those of the capitalist democracies.

The sickness of the West is moral rather than social and economic. It is true that the economic problems are serious and that they have not been solved. Inflation and unemployment are on the rise. Poverty has not disappeared, despite affluence. Several groups—women and racial, religious, and linguistic minorities—still are or feel excluded. But the real, most profound discord lies in the soul. The future has become the realm of horror, and the present has turned into a desert. The liberal societies spin tirelessly, not forward but round and round. If they change, they are not transfigured. The hedonism of the West is the other face of desperation; its skepticism is not wisdom but renunciation; its nihilism ends in suicide and in inferior forms of credulity, such as political fanaticisms and magical chimeras. The empty place left by Christianity in the modern soul is filled not by philosophy but by the crudest superstitions. Our eroticism is a technique, not an art or a passion.

I will not continue. The evils of the West have been described often enough, most recently by Solzhenitsyn, a man of admirable character. However, although his description seems to me accurate his judgment of the causes of the sickness does not, nor does the remedy he proposes. We cannot renounce the critical tradition of the West; nor can we return to the medieval theocratic state. Dungeons of the Inquisition are not an answer to the Gulag camps. It is not worthwhile substituting the church-state for the party-state, one orthodoxy for another. The only effective arm against orthodoxies is criticism, and in order to defend ourselves against the vices of intolerance and fanaticism our only recourse is the exercise of the opposing virtues: tolerance and freedom of spirit. I do not disown Montesquieu, Hume, Kant.

The crisis of the United States affects the very foundation of the nation, by which I mean the principles that founded it. I have already said that there is a leitmotiv running throughout American history, from the Puritan colonies of New England to the present day; namely, the tension between freedom and equality. The struggles of the blacks, the Chicanos, and other minorities are an expression of



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this dualism. An external contradiction corresponds to this internal contradiction: the United States is a republic and an empire. In Rome, the first of these contradictions (the internal one between freedom and equality) was resolved by the suppression of freedom; Caesar's regime began as an egalitarian solution, but, like all solutions by force, it ended in the suppression of equality also. The second, external contradiction brought about the ruin of Athens, the first imperial republic in history.

It would be presumptuous of me to propose solutions to this double contradiction. I think that every time a society finds itself in crisis it instinctively turns its eyes toward its origins and looks there for a sign. Colonial American society was a free, egalitarian, but exclusive society. Faithful to its origins, in its domestic and foreign policies alike the United States has always ignored the "others." Today, the United States faces very powerful enemies, but the mortal danger comes

from within: not from Moscow but from that mixture of arrogance and opportunism, blindness and short-term Machiavellianism, volubility and stubbornness which has characterized its foreign policies during recent years and which reminds us in an odd way of the Athenian state in its quarrel with Sparta. To conquer its enemies, the United States must first conquer itself—return to its origins. Not to repeat them but to rectify them: the "others"—the minorities inside as well as the marginal countries and nations outside—do exist. Not only do we "others" make up the majority of the human race but also each marginal society, poor though it may be, represents a unique and precious version of mankind. If the United States is to recover fortitude and lucidity, it must recover itself, and to recover itself it must recover the "others"—the outcasts of the Western world.

—OCTAVIO PAZ

(Translated, from the Spanish, by Rachel Phillips.)

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Later we will leave the party and walk the cool sidewalks toward the highway where junipers nod in the wind. When my skirt ripples out into darkness, you will move me, like a sail in its first gentle breaths toward the open sea. White is a mixture of many understandings.

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by Stephen Chapman

Oddly for a nation built almost entirely on immigration, the United States historically has had a schizophrenic attitude about letting in foreigners. For our first century-and-a-half of existence, we welcomed almost anyone who wanted to come, and the invitation was accepted by millions of people all over the world. Until 1882, in fact, the U. S. had no formal immigration policy, and for the next 39 years it didn't limit the number of immigrants. Only in 1921 did the government decide to close the open door to some foreigners, mainly those from southern and eastern Europe, who were arriving in sufficient numbers to cause grave alarm among the nation's governing WASPs. One congressional report expressed the worry that the immigration of such people tended "to upset our balance of numbers, to depress our standard of living, and to unduly charge our institutions for the care of the socially inadequate." Evidently the threat to the purity of the Anglo-Saxon race was too obvious to mention.

Nobly trying to avoid these disasters, Congress established immigration quotas based on the ethnic makeup of the American public, letting in a lot of northern Europeans, a few southern and eastern ones, and only a handful of Asians. As the above congressional report subtly explained it, if "the principles of individual liberty... [are] to endure, the basic strain of our population must be maintained

Stephen Chapman is a Washington writer.

and our economic standards preserved."

With only a few changes, the quotas lasted until 1965, when Congress passed a new Immigration and Nationality Act that was aimed principally at reuniting families, admitting needed workers, and granting sanctuary to political refugees from Communist countries and the Middle East. Aliens who didn't fit into these categories simply were not to be admitted. Disturbed by the arrival of 160,000 immigrants a year from the Western Hemisphere (almost all from Latin America), Congress placed a quota on them of 120,000 a year—the first time in our history it had placed a numerical limit on Latin immigrants. Congress presumably shared the sentiments of the cynic who scorned President McKinley's professions of affection for "our little brown-skinned brothers": "They may be related to President McKinley, but they're not related to me."

Heedless of the chilly welcome, a lot of our neighbors still want to come, with the main consequence of the 1965 ceiling being a "silent invasion" of illegal aliens that has unnerved many observers to the point of near-hysteria. Though the invasion has been silent, the reaction to it has been very noisy. A good deal of frightened talk is afoot about how to save ourselves from being drowned in this "brown tide" of illegal aliens, most of it boiling down to one simple idea: get them out and keep them out.

Such talk in Congress and the White House is nothing if not popular.

A Gallup poll last year discovered that 74 per cent of Americans regard illegal aliens as a "very serious" or "fairly serious" national problem, with 82 per cent blaming at least one of our social ills on their presence. Most revealing of all, 57 per cent of those polled agreed with the unequivocal declaration, "Illegal aliens should be rounded up and sent back to where they came from." Gallup likely could have found a majority in favor of melting down the Statue of Liberty and selling it for scrap, perhaps replacing it with a giant replica of a snarling Doberman Pinscher to underscore the point.

That the drawbridge to the golden door is now in danger of being pulled up is due mostly to the vigorous xenophobia of former Marine Corps commandant General Leonard Chapman, who retired in January after four years as commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. When in 1973 he assumed control of a small, little-noticed agency demoralized by scandals and the impossible job of keeping out illegal aliens, Chapman took the offensive, warning publicly of an impending "national catastrophe" and publishing inflammatory magazine articles with titles like "Illegal Aliens: Time to Call a Halt!" According to Charles Keeley, a sociology professor at Fordham University, "Chapman was a master at defining the issues for the purpose of increasing his budget. By very skillful manipulation of the press, he created a crisis mentality, which perfectly fit his agency's bureaucratic needs." In

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addition to valuable support from such interest groups as the AFL-CIO, the American Legion, and Zero Population Growth. Chapman's campaign was favored by circumstance, coming at a time of severe economic troubles; and the accident that most illegal aliens have brown skin didn't hurt his efforts either.

It's no surprise that the public concern about illegal aliens has been fostered by a government agency less interested in the public than in more power, greater prestige, and a bigger budget; that, after all, is how things usually work in Washington. What is more disquieting is that the perception of a crisis has grown out of confused thinking that rests on questionable premises, unsubstantiated statistics, and groundless myths. It's also disturbing that the issue so easily raised a public clamor in a nation of liberal traditions incompatible with xenophobic hyperbole.

Most of our fears about illegal aliens are without foundation and the conclusions drawn from them, however popular, are thus mistaken. Instead of talking about throwing out all our illegal aliens and doing our damndest to make sure they don't come back, we ought to be taking precisely the opposite tack and legalizing the status of illegal aliens already here, while eliminating the numerical quotas on immigration from the Western Hemisphere.

Training the Mule

Chapman's public relations techniques in his campaign were reminiscent of the farmer who began his mule's training by clubbing him over the head to get his attention; his weapon was the untiring repetition of huge numbers. In one congressional hearing he placed the number of illegal aliens at four to five million, but when asked about the basis of his estimate, Chapman replied, "It is just

million at the other. So I am selecting a midpoint . . . just a guess, that is all. Nobody knows." An Immigration and Naturalization Service-commissioned study by Lesko Associates, a Washington consulting firm, had little success in narrowing the wide range of estimates. It guessed there were about 8.2 million illegal aliens in the U.S., but such experts as Wayne Cornelius, an assistant professor of political science at MIT and a longtime student of the subject, have criticized Lesko's estimate as much too high and its methods as scientifically dubious.

The only hard numbers available are statistics on INS apprehensions. In 1975, for instance, the agency caught and deported 766,600 illegal aliens—but using that figure as a basis for estimating a total number, as INS does, is questionable at best. Since many aliens are apprehended more than once, the number of aliens who are caught is probably quite a bit lower than the total apprehensions. One Border Patrol officer tells of apprehending and deporting a single Mexican five times in one night. As General Chapman admitted, no one knows how many illegal aliens there are in the U.S., and there is probably no way of finding out.

That hasn't stopped Chapman and his allies from using their unreliable estimates as the basis of even more unreliable calculations of how much illegal aliens cost the government. According to their line of reasoning, aliens impose a burden on taxpaying Americans by using public services, welfare benefits, and food stamps—all for free, since they don't pay taxes. Factual support for this argument is conspicuously absent, no doubt because what concrete evidence there is discredits the theory. In fact, most employers deduct both income and FICA taxes from the paychecks of their illegal workers, partly because they don't always know which ones are illegal and partly because they fear

contact with government agencies, even those that might provide help, out of fear of being caught. A Department of Labor study by David North and Marion Houstoun last year reported:

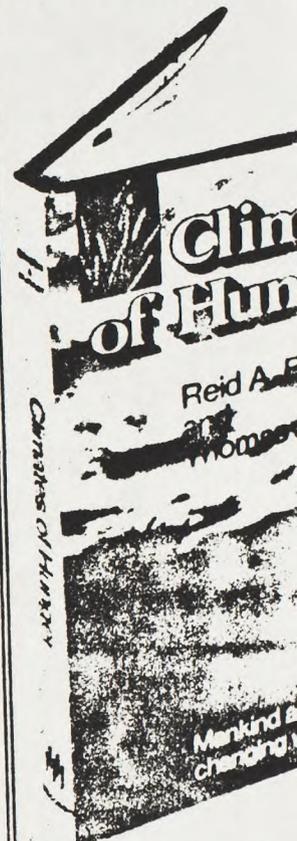
N.B. "This group of illegal alien workers were significantly more likely to have participated in tax-paying systems (many of which are automatic) than to have used tax-supported programs . . . while 77 per cent of the study group reported that they had had social security taxes and 73 per cent reported that they had federal income taxes withheld. Only 27 per cent used hospitals or clinics, four per cent collected one or more weeks of unemployment insurance, four per cent had children in U. S. schools, one per cent participated in U. S.-funded job-training programs, one per cent secured food stamps, and 0.5 per cent secured welfare payments."

△ A recent study by the San Diego County Human Resources Agency arrived at similar conclusions, estimating the county's annual cost in social services to illegal aliens at \$2 million and the aliens' yearly contribution in taxes at more than \$48 million. The reality, then, is just the opposite of the myth spread by Chapman and his ilk: illegal aliens contribute more than their fair share to government revenues and receive far less than their share of state and federal benefits. The General no doubt would be chagrined to learn that instead of aliens being a burden to the rest of us, it's the rest of us who are a burden to the aliens.

Unfair Competition

At the heart of organized labor's demands for measures to stop the influx of foreigners is the notion that they compete unfairly with American workers, displacing Americans from their jobs and depressing the general level of wages. Labor thinks a lot of

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deporting all our illegal aliens would cut the unemployment rate in half.

Wayne Cornelius dismisses this belief as a "cruel illusion," and there is in fact little to support it. Many of the jobs held by illegal aliens are the kind that few Americans would accept, regardless of their skills. A California businessman who hires illegals told *New West* magazine, "If you pulled out every illegal alien in Los Angeles at midnight tonight, you would wake up tomorrow morning in a town without busboys, maids, or parking-lot attendants." North and Houstoun reported that most of their respondents worked as laborers (including farmworkers), service workers, and other semi-skilled or unskilled workers. Most of the aliens they surveyed were paid little more than the minimum wage, with some receiving even less than that. Like the North-Houstoun study, the San Diego report expressed doubt that aliens displace American workers, noting one instance in which the State Human Resources Agency could not fill 2,154 jobs made available by the deportation of illegal workers, a failure it blamed on the jobs' low wages, poor prestige, and long hours. San Diego, despite its 11.8-percent unemployment rate, had a similar experience: when some 340 jobs were vacated by illegal aliens, INS was unable to fill them with Americans and finally let the employers hire commuter workers from Mexico. North and Houstoun also concluded that illegal aliens neither compete with skilled American workers nor depress wages. Eliot Abrams, an aide to Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, says flatly, "There's no evidence that the average alien depresses wages. Aliens either get good wages or they get low pay for jobs no one else will take."

The aliens don't make much difference to unemployment because unskilled Americans understandably prefer subsisting on welfare or unemployment payments to working long hours at low-paying drudgery. The low unemployment rate in Texas is

largely a consequence of the state's stingy assistance to the poor. Conversely, the high unemployment rates in cities like New York and Chicago, where aliens are believed to flock, is probably due far less to the aliens than to the generally stagnant economic conditions in the industrial Northeast and the attractiveness of the relatively high welfare and unemployment benefits in such cities, which are enough to make any unskilled worker think twice about working for a living.

It will be argued that if illegal aliens are given legal status, they will likewise choose relief benefits over low-paying jobs, but the evidence suggests otherwise. Aliens, like most immigrants, generally appear eager to accept work of any kind because of the social stigma they attach to not working, the improvement it represents over jobs in their native countries, and the hope of advancement. "Apart from any consideration of their illegal status," said North and Houstoun, "they appear to be like immigrant workers: highly motivated and hard-working employees, whom U. S. employers regard as very productive workers, despite the fact that many do not speak English."

The Welfare of the Cubans

The American experience with immigrants from Cuba during the 1960s implies that aliens do not come to the U. S. to sit back and collect welfare checks. When hundreds of thousands of Cuban refugees poured into Miami in the decade following Castro's revolution, many Miamians feared they would swell the relief rolls. Contrary to popular belief, few of the Cubans were wealthy, and even those who were arrived almost penniless. According to Susan Jacoby, who has written extensively about aliens in the U. S., "By 1962, small businessmen, technicians, clerical workers, and urban factory workers were arriving by the thousands." Now, Jacoby says, "Miami is filled with

small businessmen who were blue-collar workers in Cuba." Despite a special federal welfare program for them, the Cubans wasted no time in finding jobs, however menial; by 1974 only 10 per cent were on the welfare rolls, most of them elderly people. And the hard work has paid off: Jacoby notes that the "median income of Cuban families rose from \$5,244 in 1967 to \$8,091 in 1970." Not only that, but local officials say the Cubans have created at least 100,000 jobs since they arrived.

The case of the Vietnamese refugees is less encouraging, but the presence of many of them on welfare rolls appears due partly to the unique circumstances of their immigration and our efforts at settling them in American society. The Vietnamese emigrated to the United States with little preparation and no real purpose besides escaping what they expected would be a very unpleasant fate. Coming from an Eastern society, they faced greater cultural and linguistic barriers than did the Cubans or other immigrants from Latin America.

But the blame for nearly a third ending up receiving welfare payments lies mostly on the federal government. "The government leaned overboard in making assistance available to the Vietnamese, without making them understand that collecting welfare is not the normal way of life here," says Leon Marion, Executive Director of the American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service. "These people didn't learn how to operate in our culture, and didn't realize that everyone is supposed to work for a living. Putting them on welfare was a simple solution to a very complex problem." But the majority of the Vietnamese here have barely been in this country two years, and Marion sees their swelling of the welfare rolls as a short-run problem that will correct itself in time. "More Vietnamese are going to resettlement agencies for help in finding gainful employment, and they turn out to be hard, earnest workers," he says.

"They give an employer his money's worth." The problem of a temporary swelling of the welfare rolls is one we have to face, but experience shows that it is only temporary. Other refugees from Communism than the Vietnamese, like the Hungarians and the aforementioned Cubans, are no longer dependent on welfare.

It's foolish to pretend that open immigration will be completely free of problems, but most of them seem easily surmountable. For instance, we can count on the greed of the American Bar and Medical Associations to safeguard against the brain drain from underdeveloped countries that open immigration might cause.

The Fixed Pie

The vaguest but one of the most persistent myths about illegal aliens is that their mere numbers strain our economic capacity, thus lowering our standard of living. This opinion rests on a false conception of a fixed pie—the more people there are, the smaller each slice. As noted above, the Cuban experience in Miami suggests that the influx of immigrants actually stimulated the local economy. Historically, there appears to be no correlation between the rate of immigration and economic health. One of the healthiest periods in American economic history, 1881 to 1921, coincided with the arrival of 25 million foreigners. The Great Depression, on the other hand, came only a few years after we established the first immigration quotas. Nor is there any obvious relationship today between the number of illegal aliens in a given region and that region's prosperity; some states, like those of the Southwest, have healthy economies despite a lot of aliens, while the industrial cities have both aliens and poor economic health.

One reason the debate about aliens so often goes astray is that it concentrates on their effects on the rest of us, ignoring humanitarian questions of whether or not coming here is good.

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for them. Our immigration laws slam the door on thousands of people who would like to move to the U. S., and that in itself is a bad thing. Moreover, many would-be immigrants—who come mostly from poor, authoritarian countries in Latin America—see the U. S. as the only way out of a life of poverty, ignorance, and oppression, and in most cases they are probably right. To keep them out is not only to circumscribe their freedom, but also to sentence them to a bleak, painful existence they desperately want to escape. The people who founded the United States pictured it not as an entrenched and isolated outpost but as a beacon for the rest of the world and a refuge for the oppressed. We may have grown cynical about such notions, but is it right to turn away all the foreigners who still take them seriously?

Under the worst of circumstances, namely living here illegally, what the aliens find in the U. S. is plainly better than what they left behind, which of course is why they came. Even the lowest wages paid in the U. S. are much higher than most could dream of making at home. New West mentions one Mexican who got \$1.35 an hour stripping paint in his first job here—ten times what he earned driving a delivery truck in Mexico.

But legalizing their status and loosening restrictions on immigration to make illegal entry unnecessary would substantially improve the aliens' lot, which is what many Americans apparently regard as scandalous.

Obviously, the aliens would benefit from the ordinary rights and privileges accorded other American workers. The illegal alien's outlaw status undercuts his bargaining power and compels him to accept nearly anything his employer chooses to inflict on him, from low pay to long hours to poor working conditions. If he complains, his employer can fire him or even have him arrested by the INS. The alien can hardly demand that he receive the minimum wage or be allowed to join a

union (although some unions have illegal aliens as members). If he is mistreated, defrauded, or injured on the job, he is not likely to seek legal redress. All the pressures on the illegal worker encourage him to do what he's told, take whatever pay he's given, and keep his mouth shut.

Many employers take full advantage of the opportunity to exploit the aliens. They often pay illegals substandard wages—a practice made possible not by the normal dictates of the market, but by a "black market" in labor that puts the employer in an abnormally strong position and the employee in an abnormally weak one. North and Houstoun discovered, for example, that the aliens in their survey generally "earned less per week than comparably employed U. S. workers, though they generally worked considerably longer hours." The aliens in industrial jobs worked an average of 44.5 hours a week, while comparable Americans worked only 35.9 hours. Illegal aliens no doubt also suffer relatively poor working conditions.

They are also vulnerable to even more flagrant abuses. It is a common practice for farmers in the Southwest to hire illegal Mexicans for a couple of weeks and then call the Border Patrol when payday rolls around. The Border Patrol hauls the aliens away and the farmer gets a couple of weeks' labor for only the cost of room and board. A former official of California's North County Chicano Federation told the San Diego Human Resources Agency that such incidents are standard practice among many citrus and flower growers, who they estimate owe illegal aliens \$20,000 in back pay. Another Chicano organization said that kickbacks to field bosses and excessive deductions for room and board likewise are common practices.

The San Diego report mentioned an incident in which an illegal alien who suffered three heart attacks was refused permission to see a doctor; when he finally visited one on his own, he was fired.

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Body Smugglers

Of course, many aliens have to go through a lot of hardship just to get into the U. S. Some pay hundreds of dollars to professional body-smugglers for help in getting across the border, and hundreds more for forged papers, "green cards" (Alien Registration Receipt Cards), and entry documents—some of which are so poorly forged as to be worthless, although the aliens have no way of knowing that. Aliens who walk across the border (as most illegals do) are often attacked by gangs of hoodlums on either side. One Border Patrol officer told the *Washington Star*, "On the American side, we broke up gangs of local high school kids who had been lying in wait for the wets. They were robbing them, beating them up, raping the women. We even had two 12-year-old kids who were stationing themselves at the end of a long culvert drainpipe that the aliens used to sneak through. They were shaking them down for 15 or 20 bucks apiece, threatening to call us if they didn't pay up."

Without erecting a Berlin Wall along the Mexican border and subjecting employers and illegal aliens to all sorts of draconian measures—which would require much higher expenditures and expanded enforcement—there is no way to stop the influx of people from Latin America. Too many people want too badly to get in, and we would gain little from redoubling our efforts to keep them out.

And it is not likely that more liberal immigration laws would attract unmanageable numbers of foreigners. The current length of time that Western Hemisphere people have to wait for visas is about three years, which at the current quota means a total of only 360,000 people are waiting, hardly an alarming number. Charles Keeley is skeptical of scare talk about the flood of aliens who would arrive if restrictions were relaxed. "You would probably get a big initial flow, but not

necessarily an unreasonably high number, and after that the number would probably drop off sharply," he says. "I'm not so sure everybody's dying to get in here." Wayne Cornelius says few illegal aliens from Mexico want to live here permanently anyway, and that most of them come for less than six months. Keeley agrees, noting that one million legal aliens left the U. S. during the 1960s.

In keeping in mind the humanitarian reasons for letting in more foreigners, it is not necessary to lose sight of our own interests; letting them in need not be a purely selfless gesture. After all, the rest of us have much to gain from the continual infusion of new people, whose mere presence testifies to their determination and willingness to take risks. One nice thing about the difficulty of immigrating is that it weeds out those who are timid or lazy, leaving only the adventurous and the ambitious. The old American ideal of the melting pot is based, in part, on the knowledge that most of the foreigners who come to America are those with the qualities most beneficial to a dynamic society.

Indeed, the strangest thing about the controversy over illegal aliens is that it so seldom touches on our hallowed tradition of welcoming the weary immigrant, a tradition that goes to the heart of the nation's character and purpose. There are few American traditions nobler than that of providing a sanctuary to the weak, freedom for the persecuted, and opportunities for achievement to the ambitious; and for that matter, few that have had such far-reaching benefits.

Like our own parents and grandparents, foreigners come to this country today to lift themselves out of poverty, to escape political oppression, to give their children a better life. The choice is between continuing this legacy and standing at the walls to beat back the hordes—a choice that tests not only our trust in our heritage and our free institutions, but our humanity as well.

De acuerdo al reporte del comite para lo Judicial del Congreso en Abril 3 de 1973, Reporte 93-108, el numero de personas aprehendidas cada año en Los Estados Unidos sin documentos, por el Servicio de Inmigracion y Naturalizacion, brinco de 110,371 en 1965 a 505,940 en 1972. De acuerdo a este mismo reporte entregado al congreso en Abril 5, de 1973, en ocasion de la presentacion del Proyecto de Ley H.R. 982, los numeros de las personas aprehendidas por el Departamento de Inmigracion es solo un reflejo de los esfuerzos hechos por esa agencia y no una indicacion total del numero de gente en los Estados Unidos sin estancia migratoria. La impresion del comite era que habia entre un millon y millon y medio de gente en esta situacion, pero la unica realidad del caso es que el numero esta creciendo constantemente.

En lugar de analizar las razones por las que hay tanta gente en tan indeseables condiciones, el reporte habla de la necesidad de mas dinero y equipo requerido por el Departamento de Inmigracion con el fin de acrecentar sus aprehenciones y acerca de la necesidad de hacer la situacion de los trabajadores sin documentos aun mas difícil cortandoles todas las oportunidades de trabajar.

LA CAUSA REAL

Si el comite de Asuntos Judiciales estuviera realmente interesado en encontrar las razones para el constante crecimiento en el numero de personas sin documentos y en proponer al Congreso una genuina solucion, podria ver en parte la respuesta en sus propias cifras. Fue en 1965 el año citado como principio de la presente situacion que el Congreso fue persuadido de cambiar la Ley de Inmigracion y Naturalizacion de 1952, para imponer por la primera vez en la historia de los Estados Unidos una limitacion anual en el numero de inmigrantes del Hemisferio Occidental de 120,000.

Dos años antes de las desastrosas enmiendas de 1965, el Departamento de Trabajo y el Departamento de Estado por decreto Conjunto, impusieron a Mexico el requerimiento de que todos los inmigrantes excepto los esposos, hijos y padres de Ciudadanos Estadounidenses, y residentes, deberian presentar un certificado del Departamento de Trabajo de los Estados Unidos, de que el empleo que ellos venian a realizar estaba corto de mano de obra y que no habia nadie que lo pudiera hacer en el area en que ellos intentaban obtener el empleo. Este requerimiento fue congelado en las enmiendas de 1965. Cuando se hizo efectiva la limitacion la lista de espera crecio mas y mas, con los refugiados cubanos tomando cuando menos la mitad de los numeros de visa disponibles. Esto quiere decir que un patron que ha obtenido la requerida certificacion del Departamento de Empleos, tendria que esperar por ese inmigrante hasta que le llegara su numero en la cada vez mas larga lista de espera. Ahora la lista de espera esta 25 meses atrasada y se esta haciendo mas y mas larga.

LA LEGISLACION ANTE EL CONGRESO.

En vez de presentar una liberalizacion de todas estas injustas restricciones todos los proyectos de ley ahora ante el Congreso son designados para hacer la inmigracion legal cada vez mas dura.

H.R. 982 El Proyecto de Ley Rodino-Nixon daria a los Patrones gran parte de la responsabilidad de poner en vigor las leyes de inmigracion requiriendoles a ellos que determinaran quien y quien no tiene derecho a trabajar, bajo pena de ser multados si hacen un error. En verdad las multas y penas a los patrones estan rodeadas con toda clase de limitaciones y nunca serian impuestas. La mira real es de dar a los patrones una palanca aun mas fuerte con la cual obligar a los trabajadores a que se conformen con menos sueldo, condiciones de trabajo sin uniones o de ser despedidos.

La segunda ley, ahora ante el congreso es H.R. 981 y representa las enmiendas de la administracion de Nixon a la Ley de Inmigracion. Esta ley, mientras que pretende igualar la inmigracion entre los Hemisferios Oriental y Occidental, estableciendo el mismo sistema de preferencias, solo restringira la inmigracion de este Hemisferio. Las limitaciones vienen eliminando el privilegio que ahora tienen los padres de niños ciudadanos y los padres de inmigrados quienes pueden obtener visa sin la aprobacion del Departamento de Trabajo. Bajo este proyecto de Ley solo los padres de ciudadanos Americanos mayores de 21, niños y hermanos y hermanas de ciudadanos pueden inmigrar.

La tercera Ley S.2643 esta escrita por el Senador Kennedy. Esta ley crea una limitacion mundial de 300,000 inmigrantes comenzando en Julio 1, 1976. La limitacion de 120,000 inmigrantes del Hemisferio Occidental por año subiria a 130,000 . Cada pais tendra una limitacion de 20,000 pero Canada y Mexico tendrian 30,000 emigrantes cada año. La Ley asi como va, es buena pero tambien elimina los derechos de padres de niño ciudadano y de inmigrantes sin oferta de empleo certificada.

LEGISLACION NECESARIA

La necesidad de que la gente mexicana y latina en los Estados Unidos tiene es la de hacer una campaña nacional para informar a toda la nacion americana de la desesperada situacion de la gente sin documentos y de la situacion legal represiva que ha traído esta condicion. Debemos tener iniciativa y proponer un programa legislativo que resuelva el problema permanentemente y ayude a los millones de "sin Estancia migratoria" a obtener residencia permanente, a proveer un proceso ordenado de admision legal en el futuro asi para prevenir la repetición del problema.

Entre las recomendaciones para los cambios en nuestras leyes, para resolver el problema permanentemente hay las siguientes:

- 1.- Legalizar la residencia de todas las personas presentemente en los Estados Unidos
- 2.- En el futuro, permitir la inmigracion de todo el que pueda certificar que tiene un trabajo para venir, o familia que cuidaria de sus necesidades.
- 3.- Establecer un estatuto de limitaciones previniendo la deportacion de cualquier inmigrante por cualquier razon si ha residido en Estados Unidos por un año.
- 4.- Permitir que cualquiera se haga ciudadano de los Estados Unidos despues de residir un año en este pais y si pasa una prueba sobre Historia y la Constitucion de este pais en su propio lenguaje. Un año es suficiente tiempo para que una persona decida si el quiere hacerse ciudadano y un entendimiento de la historia y la constitucion en cualquier lenguaje, permitira a cualquier persona participar en la vida civil del pais.

2

Comisión Pontificia para la Pastoral
de la Migración y del Turismo

CONVENIO PAN-EUROPEO SOBRE LA PASTORAL DE LA MIGRACION
VATICANO, 15 - 18 DE OCTUBRE DE 1973

DOCUMENTO FINAL

Los Señores Obispos Presidentes de las Comisiones episcopales nacionales, los Promotores episcopales y los Directores nacionales, reunidos en Roma para el I Convenio Europeo sobre la Pastoral de los Emigrantes, organizado por la Comisión Pontificia para la Pastoral de las Migraciones y del Turismo, después de un amplio y profundo debate sobre las Relaciones, teniendo presente los resultados de los Grupos de estudio, se ha llegado a un acuerdo en los siguientes puntos:

I

Las dimensiones del movimiento migratorio en Europa, a parte de la migración interna, son muy elevadas: los emigrantes superan los 13 millones, y al parecer no existen perspectivas para que el fenómeno pueda indicar algo en contrario digno de señalarse.

En los últimos tiempos se ha acentuado bajo el impulso de la necesidad, la multiplicidad de los componentes. El mayor número de emigrantes está constituido por trabajadores en busca de empleo o de un mejoramiento de las condiciones de vida, pero hay también un número considerable - más de un millón - de emigrantes por motivos ideológicos, en busca de libertad, y crece el número de los jóvenes estudiantes que vienen a las Universidades europeas.

Las diferencias étnicas y culturales se han multiplicado notablemente. Va siempre en aumento la concurrencia de los Países en vía de desarrollo, especialmente de Asia y de Africa: estos emigrantes se encuentran con frecuencia en condiciones de graves dificultades, casi infra-humanas. Su partida, pues, no favorece habitualmente la promoción humana y social de su País. A este fenómeno corresponde un elemento nuevo, el del pluralismo religioso que ya contraseña el movimiento migratorio, y el del aumento de la presencia, especialmente de ortodoxos, budistas y, sobre todo, musulmanes.

Junto a la característica de siempre, o sea, al choque de ideas de la cultura rural con la cultura urbana-industrial, hay otras que señalan marcadamente las migraciones actuales: la temporaneidad, la movilidad en el ámbito del mismo país y de uno a otro de los países de migración, el aumento del elemento joven.

El encuentro entre gente de diversa raza y cultura, es fuente de enriquecimiento recíproco para los pueblos: por encima de los confines nacionales se construye una sociedad más universal, y se promueve la unidad de la familia humana. Los emigrantes, por tanto, no son solo valiosos e insustituibles cooperadores de las economías de los países en que prestan su trabajo, y más generalmente, del bienestar europeo; son, sobre todo, copartícipes del mundo nuevo.

Mas su aportación al nacimiento de este mundo nuevo está acompañada de penas y dolores. Su condición humana y social, a menudo, no

corresponde a las exigencias de la justicia. Se lamenta la falta de respeto a los derechos fundamentales del hombre, la separación forzada de las familias, debida a las leyes restrictivas o a la escasez de alojamientos de fácil acceso, las dificultades impuestas a la educación y escolarización de los hijos, la tendencia a utilizar al hombre como puro medio de producción, los prejuicios nacionalistas y racistas que crean graves barreras psicológicas y alguna vez llegan a convertirse en manifestaciones de rechazo.

II

La migración, tal como se presenta hoy ¿llega a ser una urgente llamada a las iglesias locales para conseguir ser lo que teológicamente son?

Las iglesias particulares participan del ministerio de la Iglesia única y universal; cada una está llamada al trabajo común, y a compartir las obligaciones de los otros.

Además "el único pueblo de Dios está presente en todas las razas de la tierra, pues de todas ellas, reúne sus ciudadanos...y en efecto, todos los fieles dispersos por el orbe se comunican con los demás en el Espíritu Santo, y así quien está en Roma, como decía San Crisóstomo, sabe que los habitantes de la India son sus miembros" (Lumen Gentium n. 13)

La misión salvífica de la Iglesia, como lo recuerda, otra vez el Vaticano II (Lumen Gentium, n.30), no puede ser asumida solo por los miembros de la jerarquía, Obispos y Sacerdotes. Los laicos participan, mas bien "a los laicos corresponde el lugar más destacado", cuando se trata de edificar y de organizar la ciudad terrestre en la justicia y en la caridad, en conformidad con el designio de Dios (Lumen Gentium, n. 36).

III

Frente a la situación y a los principios ya citados, teniendo en cuenta que la emigración es una invitación constante a las Iglesias locales a abrirse y a volver a descubrir el sentido de la peregrinación terrena, Obispo, Sacerdotes, Religiosos y laicos, en comunión con el Papa y a la luz de sus enseñanzas,

- se interrogan sobre su testimonio de vida y se preguntan si sus actos están en armonía con lo que proclaman, especialmente en el encuentro de los unos con los otros, en las situaciones de indiferencia, de segregación, de racismo, de una impuesta superioridad cultural;
- se comprometen con profundidad a crear un clima favorable a los emigrantes, promoviendo una educación permanente con espíritu verdaderamente católico, capaz de influir en la mentalidad colectiva y en las disposiciones normativas de las autoridades competentes;
- buscan el medio con que anunciar, en el momento presente, a Jesucristo único Salvador en lo íntimo de los sucesos vividos por los emigrantes y por aquellos que los acogen;
- comparten todas las investigaciones y todos los esfuerzos inherentes a la aportación de una mayor justicia a las condiciones de los emigrantes, según la línea del Evangelio, descubriendo el Espíritu de Dios que obra en el corazón de los hombres en lucha para hacer un mundo más habitable y más fraterno, en la esperanza de la vida eterna;

- de manera particular, tienen intención de actualizar en la celebración de la Eucaristía, sacramento de unidad y de vida, la realidad de la única familia sin discriminaciones, y de estimularse mutuamente a una comunión sincera y concreta en la vida de cada día.

IV

Los participantes, teniendo en cuenta el deseo surgido, sobre todo, de los países más probados por el éxodo, de tener cerca a la Iglesia en los sucesos migratorios, expresa el vivo deseo de que los principios y normas contenidos en la Instrucción "De Pastoralis Migratorum Cura" sean en cualquier parte respetados y puestos en práctica con uniformidad de criterios, al menos en el ámbito de la misma nación.

En particular, subrayan la importancia de los contactos internacionales, de acuerdo con la Comisión Pontificia, de las Conferencias Episcopales y de sus respectivos organismos, es decir, de las Comisiones Episcopales y de los Directores Nacionales, así como de los contactos regulares del Director Nacional con los Delegados. Proponen que venga mejor precisado el rol de los Delegados.

Iglesias locales de partida: los participantes atraen su atención sobre la necesidad de preparar los fieles para la emigración buscando los métodos adecuados para promover una instrucción y una formación religiosa que los haga capaces de vivir profundamente los valores de la fe en el ambiente de inmigración, nuevo y no ajeno de peligros. Es también necesario formar los emigrantes en la auténtica y completa concepción de la Iglesia.

A las Diócesis de partida se impone una renovada toma de conciencia, del deber de seguir a los fieles emigrantes, sea poniendo a disposición misioneros, sea facilitando a los emigrantes las informaciones necesarias para tener los primeros contactos con los misioneros, sea manteniéndose en contacto con sus fieles que se encuentran en el extranjero.

Iglesias locales de llegada: los participantes ponen a la luz, la importancia decisiva de la primera acogida, con la que se inicia la colaboración entre la Misión y la Parroquia local.

Con relación a la Parroquia local, se destaca el deber de la "Misión" como base de la primera acogida o como punto de preparación de los emigrantes al encuentro con la comunidad de la Iglesia que los recibe.

Esta concepción excluye, por una parte, el aislamiento de los grupos étnicos en sí mismos; por otra parte, la asimilación forzada, directa o indirecta.

Un importante elemento de la colaboración entre "Misiones" y Iglesia de acogida, consiste en facilitar, dando las oportunas informaciones, la participación de los emigrantes, como miembros auténticos de la Iglesia local, a la vida de comunidad eclesial. Particularmente es deseable que los emigrantes tengan una adecuada representación en los organismos de los cuales depende la elaboración de tales decisiones.

Especial atención se ha prestado a la emigración ideológica, para la que el servicio pastoral asume siempre mayor significado misionero hacia aquellos emigrantes que por diversas razones no han podido gozar de la asistencia religiosa de su patria.

Religiosos: los participantes, con satisfacción, han tomado nota

de la aportación dada por las Ordenes y Congregaciones religiosas masculinas y femeninas; e invitan a la Comisión Pontificia a interesarse ante la Unión de los Superiores Generales, para intensificar tal empeño, especialmente de las Religiosas.

También se subraya vivamente el deber de los Institutos Seculares y la específica aportación que ellos pueden prestar en algunos sectores de la pastoral de los emigrantes.

Misioneros: los participantes han manifestado sincera estima por la obra de los Misioneros, y han valorado la figura en la perspectiva futura.

Es conveniente que, tanto el clero local como los Misioneros, sean adecuadamente formados en las exigencias de este apostolado. La formación debería comenzar ya en los Seminarios, tanto en los países de partida como en aquellos de llegada: parece necesario que la enseñanza teológica, especialmente de la teología pastoral, tenga en cuenta tales exigencias. Estas mismas exigencias deberían tenerse en cuenta en la revisión del Derecho Canónico.

El trabajo pastoral entre los emigrantes requiere en los Misioneros, junto a las dotes espirituales y morales, especiales aptitudes, como son: la apertura al diálogo, el conocimiento del idioma, de las disposiciones y de la mentalidad del lugar. Por esto es recomendable que, una vez hecha la selección de los candidatos, las Conferencias Episcopales a qua et ad quam colaboren en iniciativas comunes, posiblemente en los países de llegada, para una mayor preparación de los Misioneros.

Según el espíritu de los Decretos "Christus Dominus" e "Presbiterorum Ordinis", como también el del Motu Proprio "Ecclesiae Sanctae" y según la Instrucción "De Pastoralis Migratorum Cura", los participantes se esforzarán en cuanto sea posible por asegurar a los Misioneros los medios necesarios sea para el desarrollo de la actividad pastoral, sea para su seguridad social, y en primer lugar a aquellos que no pueden contar con el apoyo de la Iglesia de partida.

Laicos: es necesario que las Iglesias locales ayuden a los mismos emigrantes a tomar mayor conciencia de su vocación apostólica con la convicción que es menos necesario trabajar por ellos o en su lugar que, hacerlo "con" ellos y "hacer que lo hagan" ellos mismos.

También las Organizaciones católicas de los laicos, sean nacionales o internacionales, deben favorecer el pleno deber apostólico de cada uno, en cuanto a sus responsabilidades en la Iglesia y en el mundo.

La realidad de la diáspora y la imposibilidad de participar - por falta de un sacerdote católico - a la Liturgia de la Eucaristía en ciertos países, sugieren la preparación de personas idóneas para presidir, con la aprobación del Ordinario del lugar y bajo la guía espiritual del Misionero - la Liturgia de la Palabra para aquellos fieles que laudablemente pueden reunirse en los domingos y días festivos.

El Convenio ha tomado nota con satisfacción del empleo, por parte de la Iglesia, de asistentes y cooperadores sociales que consienten a los Misioneros dedicarse a su ministerio pastoral, y ofrecen a los

inmigrantes un servicio específico y cualificado.

También, con respeto a la autonomía de los asistentes sociales, se retiene indispensable que ellos estén animados de un espíritu de colaboración con los Misioneros en el intento de contribuir eficazmente a la promoción humana y cristiana de los emigrantes.

Emigrantes de diversa confesión religiosa: según el espíritu del Decreto "Unitatis redintegratio" e del "Direttorio Ecumenico" sean fraternalmente acogidos los cristianos que no tienen la plena comunión con la Iglesia católica y que con frecuencia les falta la asistencia de los ministros de la propia Iglesia o comunidad.

Frente a la inmigración masiva de no cristianos, parece necesario subrayar, entre las principales condiciones del encuentro y del testimonio comunitario de la Iglesia en confrontación con ellos, la importancia de contribuir a su desarrollo humano, de ayudarles practicamente, poniendo a su disposición ambientes propicios para sus reuniones culturales y religiosas, y cultivar un profundo respeto a sus personas y a sus culturas.

Promoción humana: para la promoción efectiva de los derechos humanos, los participantes desean, según las indicaciones del Santo Padre Pablo VI, "un verdadero y propio estatuto de los trabajadores emigrantes".

A tal fin, la Asamblea cree muy útil la colaboración entre la Comisión Pontificia y la Comisión Católica Internacional de la Migración de Ginebra.

Coordinación de los estudios: Los participantes sugieren la oportunidad de que la Pontificia Comisión promueva una coordinación entre los Centros de Estudio y de Investigación a disposición, en varias partes del Europa, de las Comisiones Episcopales, para una articulación más ordenada y una mayor ayuda de tales Centros a la investigación de los aspectos pastorales y sociales de la migración.

COMO PUEDE OBTENER SEGURIDAD EN EL EMPLEO EL TRABAJADOR INMIGRANTE SIN PAPELES, COMO SE PUEDE SINDICALIZAR Y HACER RESPETAR SUS DERECHOS E IGUALDAD DE SALARIOS, TRATO Y CONDICIONES DE TRABAJO,.....

PARA EL TRABAJADOR LO MAS IMPORTANTE ES PODER DISFRUTAR DE UN BUEN SUELDO QUE LE CUBRA SUS NECESIDADES DE VIDA Y LOS DE SU FAMILIA Y QUE A LA VEZ QUIZAS TAMBIEN LE DEJE ALGO PARA O MEJORAR UN POCO SU VIDA O PARA EL FUTURO. CUANDO UN TRABAJADOR NO PUEDE CONTAR CON LA SEGURIDAD DE TAL EMPLEO ENTONCES ESTA EN LA ORILLA DEL PRECIPICIO ECONOMICO. SI LO PUEDE DESPEDIR EL PATRON FACILMENTE, SI NO PUEDE EXIGIRLE UN SUELDO JUSTO Y EL TRATO DECENTE Y HUMANO ENTONCES EL TRABAJADOR ES EXPLOTADO LO MAS VILMENTE Y NO TIENE NI LA MENOR SEGURIDAD COMO SER HUMANO, JEFE DE FAMILIA Y RESPONSABLE DE SU PROPIO DESTINO.

AL NO TENER PAPELES EL TRABAJADOR QUEDA DESNUDO Y VULNERABLE A LA INTEMPERIE DEL DESEMPLEO, EL DESPIDO Y NATURALMENTE LA DEPORTACION. SI TIENE PAPELES PERO NO TIENE UN FUERTE Y HONESTO SINDICATO QUE LO DEFienda EN CADA INSTANTE DE LAS POSIBILIDADES DE SER DESPEDIDO, MAL PAGADO O VEDADO TAMBIEN SUPRE LA INESTABILIDAD Y RIESGO DEL DESEMPLEO, DESPIDO Y MAL PAGO Y MAL TRATO. AUN CUANDO ES NACIDO AQUI Y LE FALTA UNA FUERTE UNION O SINDICATO EN EL TRABAJO PADECE DE TODO LO MISMO QUE EL QUE NO TIENE PAPELES PERO CON EXCEPCION DE LA DEPORTACION Y EL CHANTAJE.

AHORA, CUANDO EXISTE UN SINDICATO O UNION QUE NO SE PROCUPA DE DEFENDER A LOS TRABAJADORES VERDADERAMENTE CON RECTITUD, HONESTIDAD Y CORAJE ENTONCES TODOS SUPREN. LOS NACIDOS AQUI, LOS QUE TIENEN Y NO TIENEN LA VISA. ENTONCES LO OBVIO PARA TODOS LOS TRABAJADORES ES LA NECESIDAD DE TENER UNA FUERTE, HONESTA Y RECTA ORGANIZACION SINDICAL EN SU SITIO DE EMPLEO QUE LOS DEFienda POR PAREJO, SIN DISTINCION RACIAL, DE CIUDADANIA, DE SEXO O DE TENER O NO TENER PAPELES. TODOS SABEMOS QUE "LA UNION HACE LA FUERZA"! Y LA MAS FUERTE UNION ES LA UNION DE TODOS LOS TRABAJADORES.

PERO MUCHOS TRABAJADORES SIN PAPELES NOS DICEN Y CON BUENAS EVIDENCIAS QUE AUN EXISTIENDO SINDICATO O UNION EN SU EMPLEO QUE ELLOS NO TIENEN EL RESPALDO DE SU SINDICATO, DE SUS REPRESENTANTES Y ASI PUES DE LO QUE PUDIERA SER LA UNION DE LOS COMPANEROS EN EL EMPLEO CONTRA EL PATRON Y SUS ARBITRARIEDADES. SI, EXISTEN TALES SINDICATOS. TODOS LO SABEMOS, PERO EL QUE EXISTAN TALES LIDERES FALSOS, DESHONESTOS Y MALOS DIRIGENTES DE SINDICATOS NO CAMBIA LO NECESARIO Y CORRECTO COMO OBJETO DE LA LUCHA Y LA SOLUCION QUE NECESITA EL TRABAJADOR EXPLOTADO CON O SIN PAPELES, DE FORJAR UNA UNION O SINDICATO EN SU EMPLEO CON TODOS SUS COMPANEROS O COMPANERAS DE TRABAJO PARA DEFENDERSE DE LAS ARBITRARIEDADES DE LOS MAYORDOMOS Y LOS PATRONES. ORGANIZANDOSE EN FORMA FUERTE, CAPAZ Y HONESTA LOS TRABAJADORES SON LA MAS FUERTE UNION Y SINDICATO...MUCHO MAS FUERTE QUE LO QUE PUEDAN SER LOS LIDERES EN SI SOLOS. LOS OBREROS UNIENDOSE PUEDEN CAMBIAR A LOS LIDERES QUE NO REPRESENTAN NI DAN APOYO A LOS TRABAJADORES. LOS TRABAJADORES UNIDOS EN LA PLANTA PUEDEN HACER QUE EL PATRON Y SUS MAYORDOMOS CAMBIEN EL MAL TRATO Y AUN HASTA QUE TENGAN QUE PAGAR MEJORES SUELDOS.

EN C.A.S.A. COMENZAMOS CON EL PROPOSITO DE QUE LOS TRABAJADORES CON O SIN VISAS CON O SIN UNION O SINDICATO EN EL TRABAJO SE UNAN, SE ORGANICEN Y ASI UNIDOS EN EL TRABAJO SE DEFiENDAN. SI ESTABLECE ESTA UNIDAD EN EL TRABAJO DE LOS TRABAJADORES MISMOS ENTONCES NO IMPORTA TANTO QUE EL LIDER SEA TAN CAPAZ O NO QUE SEA TAN HONESTO O NO. Y SI SE PASA DE INCAPAZ O DE FLOJO O DE CONVENENCIERO Y VENDIDO ENTONCES ESA MISMA UNIDAD DE LOS TRABAJADORES EN EL TRABAJO LO PUEDE DESTITUIR Y PONER UNO BUENO EN SU LUGAR.

LA UNIDAD DE LOS TRABAJADORES EN EL EMPLEO ES IMPRESCINDIBLE, ES DE PRIMERA IMPORTANCIA. SIN ELLA NO PUEDE HACERSE BUENA DEFENSA AUN TENIENDO LA JUSTICIA Y LA LEY DE SU PARTE EL OBRERO. LOS MEJORES ABOGADOS Y LOS MEJORES LIDERES SOLOS SIN LA UNIDAD EN LA BASE DE TRABAJO DE LOS OBREROS NO PUEDEN CORREGIR LOS MALOS SUELDOS, MALOS TRATOS Y ARBITRARIEDADES.

LAS EXPERIENCIAS DE LOS OBREROS MISMOS DE TODAS LAS RAZAS AQUI EN ESTE PAIS PERO ESPECIALMENTE LAS EXPERIENCIAS DE LOS OBREROS DE NUESTRA EXTIRPE EN ESTE PAIS DESDE 1870, NOS HACEN VER QUE SOLO DONDE NOSOTROS MISMOS ESTAMOS BIEN ORGANIZADOS Y NOS MANTENEMOS BIEN ORGANIZADOS PODEMOS LOGRAR AVANCES Y MANTENER LAS NUEVAS CONDICIONES QUE HEMOS LOGRADO. NO SE HA VISTO EN ESTE PAIS QUE DESPUES DE HABER LUCHADO NUESTROS COMPATRIOTAS PARA OBTENER MEJORIAS EN EL TRABAJO, ESTABLECIENDO UN SINDICATO POR MEDIO DE LARGAS HUELGAS Y MILES DE SUFRIMIENTOS QUE AL DESHACERSE LA ORGANIZACION YA SEA POR DESCUIDO, ERROR U OLVIDO DE LOS TRABAJADORES O DE LOS DIRIGENTES, LOS PATRONES MANTENGAN EN PIE TODAS LAS GANANCIAS Y VENTAJAS QUE LOGRARON ORIGINALMENTE LOS TRABAJADORES POR MEDIO DE SU UNIDAD!

NOSOTROS EN CASA SI HEMOS LOGRADO CORREGIR ALGUNAS CONDICIONES DE PAGO Y DE TRATO EN LOS EMPLEOS POR MEDIO DE QUEJAS Y ORGANIZACION DE LOS TRABAJADORES MISMOS. TAMBIEN HEMOS LOGRADO QUE SE LES PAGUE SU DINERO A MUCHOS TRABAJADORES SIN PAPELES POR PATRONES INESCRUPULOSOS Y LADRONES POR MEDIO DE PRESION PUESTA CONTRA ESTOS Y POR MEDIO DE DEMANDAS LEGALES HECHAS A LAS DEPENDENCIAS GUBERNAMENTALES QUE VIGILAN LAS RELACIONES INDUSTRIALES. TAMBIEN HEMOS LOGRADO CORREGIR ESTAS ARBITRIARIEDADES Y EXPLOTACION DE LOS TRABAJADORES SIN PAPELES POR PATRONES QUE ROBAN Y AMENAZAN A LOS TRABAJADORES CON DEPORTACION O CON ENTRAGARLOS A LA "MIGRA". PERO, NO LO HEMOS LOGRADO HACER CUANDO NO TENEMOS APOYO, UNIDAD O COOPERACION POR PARTE DE LOS OTROS TRABAJADORES. LAS LEYES CASI NO TIENEN DIENTES PARA CON EL PATRON SINVERGUENZA Y CHANTAJISTA, PERO LA UNIDAD DE LOS TRABAJADORES SI TIENE DIENTES Y DIENTES FILOZISIMOS PARA EL PATRON LADRON!

EN C.A.S.A. HEMOS USADO EL METODO DE TENER JUNTAS REGULARES CON TRABAJADORES DE ESTA PLANTA U OTRA Y HASTA DE UNA INDUSTRIA PARA ORIENTAR Y UNIFICAR A LOS TRABAJADORES. ESTO HA RESULTADO EN MAS QUEJAS QUE SE HAN VENTILADO Y LLEVADO ANTE LAS LOCALES SINDICALES Y ANTE LOS PATRONES ANTE LA UNIDAD DE LOS TRABAJADORES TANTO EL PATRON ARBITRARIO Y CHAPUCERO COMO LOS LIDERES SINDICALES VENDIDOS O DEBILES HAN TENIDO QUE CEDER Y ESTO NOS COMPRUEBA TODO LO QUE HEMOS DICHO SOBRE COMO RESOLVER LAS QUEJAS.

HEMOS APRENDIDO SOBRE LA MARCHA Y POR EXPERIENCIAS MUY DURAS Y PENOSAS QUE LA MEJOR Y UNICA GARANTIA PARA LOS TRABAJADORES SIN PAPELES ANTE TODO LO ANTEDICHO ES EL TENER UNA ORGANIZACION COMO LA HERMANDAD GENERAL DE TRABAJADORES INMIGRANTES, C.A.S.A., QUE LOS APOYE, LOS ORIENTE Y SIRVA DE FUERZA ESPECIAL A FAVOR DEL OBRERO SIN PAPELES PARA SOLUCIONAR SU PROBLEMA TAN ESPECIAL TAMBIEN. SIN SU PROPIA ORGANIZACION EL OBRERO SIN PAPELES ES OLVIDADO, DESPRECIADO Y PASADO POR ENCIMA. USANDO SU ORGANIZACION COMO SU BASE DE FUERZA EL OBRERO SIN PAPELES ES ESCUCHADO POR TODO MUNDO. ESTO ES LO QUE HEMOS APRENDIDO. ESTO ES LO QUE NO VAMOS YA A OLVIDAR NI MENOSPRECIAR. LA HERMANDAD GENERAL DE TRABAJADORES INMIGRANTES ES LA BASE PARA CAMBIAR EL TRATO HACIA EL OBRERO SIN PAPELES.

POR MEDIO DE C.A.S.A. Y LA HERMANDAD DE TRABAJADORES INMIGRANTES HEMOS LLEVADO A ARBITRAJE QUEJAS CONTRA LOS PATRONES Y CONTRA LOS SINDICATOS COLABORACIONISTAS CON LOS PATRONES. POR MEDIO DE SU PROPIA ORGANIZACION HAN OBTENIDO CONSEJO, AYUDA TECNICA Y LEGAL PARA HACER SUS PETICIONES Y PARA ENTENDER SUS CONTRATOS COLECTIVOS Y LAS REGLAS INTERNAS DE SU SINDICATO. TAMBIEN POR ESTE MEDIO HAN PODIDO RECLAMAR SUELDOS NO PAGADOS Y OTROS ROBOS POR LOS PATRONES INESCRUPULOSOS Y HAN CONSEGUIDO QUE SE LES PAGUE Y SE CORRIJAN ESTAS PRACTICAS. SIN ESTA ORGANIZACION EL OBRERO SIN PAPELES POR SI SOLO NO SE LE ESCUCHA Y EN LUGAR SE LE HOSTIGA MAS Y MAS. SABEMOS PUES QUE AUNQUE NO TENGA SINDICATO O SI SU SINDICATO ES DEBIL O MAL DIRIGIDO TENIENDO SU PROPIA ORGANIZACION QUE LO DEFIENDA EN TODAS LAS ESPERAS DE SU VIDA, EL TRABAJADOR SIN PAPELES PUEDE LOGRAR QUE CAMBIEN EN FORMA DIRECTA MUCHAS DE LAS ARBITRIARIEDADES Y ATROPELLOS EN SUS TRABAJOS!

SOLO ORGANIZANDOSE EN SU PROPIA ORGANISACION DE ACUERDO CON SUS PROPIAS COSTUMBRES Y MANEJADA EN SU PROPIO IDIOMA PUEDE LIBERARSE!!

MEXICO

Crisis of poverty/Crisis of wealth



WHEN it finally ended, 10 long years after it had begun, one out of every eight Mexicans had died. The Mexican Revolution of 1910—proportionally far bloodier and longer than the Russian Revolution—grew out of the miseries of poverty, political corruption and the disfranchisement and hopelessness of a huge peasant class.

Today these problems still exist, but an astronomical birthrate has elevated them to a far greater scale. In that sense, the Mexican Revolution, revered almost to the point of deification by most of Mexico's 67 million citizens, has failed.

Yet out of that bloody revolt grew a remarkable political system that has given Mexico something unique in Latin America—50 years without a revolution.

It has been said that the Mexican political system was designed largely to ward off another revolution and there is a general consensus among Latin American scholars that another revolution in Mexico is extremely unlikely. But there is profound concern over the years immediately ahead. If Mexico fails to make great progress, and thus to restore hope to a largely disenchanted populace, many scholars fear, that failure will precipitate violent outbursts against governmental authority. That could spark harsh repression, much bloodshed and possibly a mass exodus out of Mexico and into the United States.

The inequities that led to the revolution still exist, but they are in many ways far more difficult to resolve today than they would have been at the beginning of the century.

THE ISSUES

Oil. Mexico's new oil discoveries literally pulled the country out of its rapid economic slide. But oil development does not directly produce many jobs, the one thing Mexico needs most. Knowledge of the oil raises expectations, and if these expectations are not at least partially fulfilled, the discoveries could lead to further disenchantment among Mexico's increasingly restless, rapidly growing population.

According to a Times poll conducted in Mexico City, most Mexicans fear that the money from the oil will wind up in the hands of the rich rather than helping the poor. If their fears are well founded, the enormous gap between the rich and the poor will widen even more.

Unemployment. Although Mexico is the 19th largest economy in the world, nearly half the workers are underemployed or out of work. The top 10% of the population takes 45% of Mexico's income, and the lower 40% gets only 10%.

Growth is brisk in the economic sector today, but unless the nation can implement ambitious plans, according to economic analysts, the inequities will worsen considerably before they improve.

That depressing outlook is compounded by the fact that the population is growing so rapidly that at least 100 million Mexicans will be competing for already scarce food, jobs and services by the year 2000.

Even the most optimistic projections show that far more workers than jobs will be added to the labor force each year.

The neighbor. Mexico is the only Third World nation that shares a common border with a highly advanced, consumer-oriented, major industrial power.

And the record shows clearly that the two nations rarely understand each other. Their contrasting political systems frequently fail to mesh.

Mexican leaders deeply resent what they perceive as U.S. arrogance and a failure by U.S. leaders to take Mexico seriously. They believe the oil has given them the leverage to force the United States to mend its ways, but if the oil leads to expanded economic agreements between the two nations, this could lead to further domination of Mexico by the giant to the north.

By Lee Dye

What Mexicans think— The Times Poll: their trust is in themselves

THE residents of Mexico City are acutely aware of the growing respect their country commands in the international arena, but their street-wise cynicism about Mexican politics and corruption leaves them uncertain over whether that will lead to a better life, according to the Times Poll.

There are no illusions among Mexicans about why their country's international stature is on the rise. The poll indicates that if there is one thing that nearly all Mexicans understand today it is that their country has oil—probably huge quantities of it.

But the people are convinced the oil will bring more money to the rich and little to the poor. And, perhaps reflecting the profound national problems and the extreme emotionalism that cloud almost any discussion of petroleum in Mexico today, they are deeply divided over whether they want to sell their oil to foreign countries.

The Times Poll interviewed 1,002 adults face to face during the month of May. The sample represents a balanced spectrum of life, based on age, sex, socioeconomic level and education. Theoretically, it can be said with 95% certainty that the results differ by no more than plus or minus three percentage points in either direction from what would have been obtained by interviewing every adult in the area.

Among the poll's chief findings:

—About 88% said they believe "other countries think that Mexico is more important as a country these days than it was three or four years ago."

—When shown a list of natural resources—oil, coal, copper, uranium, gold and tin—99% picked oil as the resource of which Mexico has "ample reserves."

—Reflecting widespread recognition of Mexico's notoriety as a land of corrupt public officials, 90% said, "If you really want something from the government you can almost always get it with a bribe."

—About 67% said they believe Mexico will achieve "the prosperity it deserves" if the country continues with "the systems and programs of the present government."

—Questions about the United States brought out some of the most ambivalent feelings. While 75% of the people gave the United States a "very" or "somewhat" favorable rating, an equal percentage said the United States wants to "dominate and exploit" Mexico rather than "be a good neighbor." A whopping 81% said they believe the United States has more influence over Mexico than it should, but the United States led the list of most trusted countries, outranking second-placed Cuba by more than 3 to 1.

—When asked to list those who will have the greatest influence over the future of Mexico, the people picked themselves—the Mexican people—more often than they did any other group, institution, organization or individual.

It is probably no accident that among the unemployed people interviewed for the poll, every one of them knew about the oil.

Oil is more than a natural resource in Mexico. When the country's oil fields were nationalized in 1938 and a bold president booted out the foreign oil companies, *petroleo* became the focal point of intense nationalistic pride.

A government-owned oil monopoly—Pemex—replaced the foreign oil companies, and today Mexicans see the company looming very large on their horizon. Pemex ranked second on the poll's list of institutions that will influence Mexico's future the most. It lost top billing by a

one percentage point—23% to 22%—to "the Mexican people."

But that venerated institution has a dent in its armor. About 55% said they believe Pemex "is more interested in politics than in efficient operations," contrasted with 41% who believe Pemex "is an honest and efficient oil company."

Regardless of the people's concern over Pemex's integrity, oil has given them the worldwide attention that few Mexicans ever thought would come their way.

But for Mexico's workers, a full-time job would mean more than international prestige. Oil sales could finance new projects that would provide new jobs, but that would mean selling a national resource to foreign countries, and that runs counter to nationalistic concerns over depletion of the reserves. That dilemma has led to a significant difference of opinion among Mexicans over what to do with their oil.

When asked, "Do you think Mexico should sell its oil to foreign countries?" 56% of those interviewed said yes and 43% said no. The percentage of yes votes rose with income and education to a high of 78% among those with a high school education or better.

Later in the interviews, when asked to pick between two statements, only 12% agreed that Mexico "should export now all the oil we can, to take advantage of the present prices and to have maximum income for the country." About 88% agreed instead with the statement: "We should be careful not to sell too much oil at this moment so that we won't use up the reserves."

While the two paragraphs above seem contradictory, the first is concerned only with the export of oil, the second with the pace of development of the oil fields. Officials in Mexico have emphasized that development must be held down to minimize inflation, and they seem to be getting their message through to the people.

The extent of Mexico's oil reserves is still debatable because there has been little exploration in some of the areas that look geologically promising. The poll leaves little doubt, however, that the people of Mexico believe that their reserves are quite extensive. About 74% of those interviewed believe that Mexico has more oil than Venezuela, and 83% believe that Mexico has more than the United States—possibly reflecting more of an awareness of U.S. interest in Mexican oil than actual knowledge of U.S. resources.

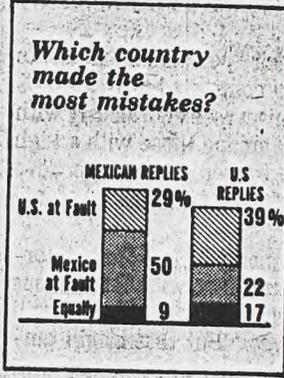
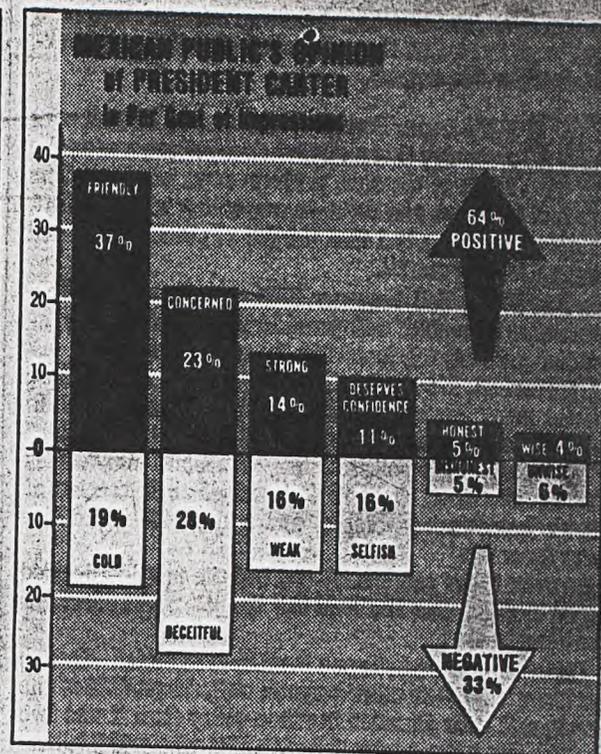
MEXICAN officials have said their hydrocarbon reserves could total 200 billion barrels, and that could rival those of Saudi Arabia, but most Mexicans don't believe that. Only 29% said Mexico has more oil than Saudi Arabia—the current world leader—while 44% said Mexico has less oil than Saudi Arabia.

All of this would seem to indicate some justification for soaring expectations on the part of the Mexican people, but the poll shows that most are skeptical at best.

About 82% said the money from the oil will "stay in the hands of the rich" contrasted with only 13% who believe that the "money will be used to help the poor people of Mexico."

The cynicism dropped only slightly with with education. Among those with a high school education or better, 74% believe the money will go to the rich. That figure rose to 86%—the highest for any group—among all women.

One reason for the skepticism is revealed in attitudes to-



Charts by Bob Allen

ward corruption. *Mordida*—bribery—is so common in the country that almost anyone who has done business in Mexico can spin off a few yarns about whom he had to bribe to get the permits to do whatever he wanted to do.

The poll shows that few Mexicans would argue with that. About 90% agreed with the statement: "If you really want something from the government you can almost always get it with a bribe." Only 9% said, "It's hard to get someone in the government to accept money from you."

Mexicans also perceive a general pattern of lawbreaking among their government officials that goes beyond bribery. Participants were asked to pick between two statements: "Government officials generally try to obey the laws," and, "Government officials do whatever they want to do without having to worry about the laws."

Only 21% said they believe that officials "generally try to obey the laws." An overwhelming majority of 77% believed that they do not.

Most of those interviewed see a personal impact from that level of corruption, although only 7% identified corruption as their nation's most important problem.

About 60% agreed with the statement: "It doesn't mat-

ter how much effort you make, the people of Mexico who don't have pull can never get ahead very far." That attitude dropped only five percentage points among the better educated.

Only 38% said, "The success of a man in life is limited only by his ability and his enthusiasm for work."

This kind of consensus would seem to undercut confidence in government to the point of paralysis, but the poll reveals some interesting divisions.

Most of those interviewed (71%) said, "Our elections here don't matter, because the politicians decide who wins." That rose to 79% among the better educated.

Only 27% said, "Our elections are free and any candidate can win."

If the people believe that "the politicians decide who wins," it would not be unreasonable to expect enormous resentment against elected officials, including the president.

Yet if President Jose Lopez Portillo were to stand for a "free" election today, the poll indicated that he could expect considerable support.

WHEN Lopez Portillo was sworn in, he took over a country that many scholars believe was on the brink of disaster, perhaps even rebellion. The peso had devalued, and inflation was eating what was left. Conditions were so bad that the job of president seemed too great for any mortal.

In The Times Poll, however, 58% gave Lopez Portillo a "somewhat favorable" rating and 22% found him "very favorable" and only 6% found him "very unfavorable."

By contrast, his predecessor, Luis Echeverria, whose policies many Mexicans believe nearly brought Mexico to its knees, received a resounding 45% "very unfavorable" rating in the poll. Another 23% found him "somewhat unfavorable." Only 25% described their opinion of him as "somewhat favorable" and a mere 4% found him "very favorable."

So even if the politicians—and not the people—decided Lopez Portillo was the man for the job, most Mexicans seem to agree.

Their confidence in Lopez Portillo is reflected—though not too strongly—in other ways as well. About 42% of the people said their situation is worse today than it was two or three years ago, contrasted with 32% who said it is better, but those figures were reversed when the people were asked to look into the future.

About 43% said they expect their "personal situation" to be better in two or three years contrasted with 38% who think it will be worse. Optimism rose enormously with education, reaching a peak, 61% among those with a high school education or better. More women, however, believe their personal situation will worsen (44%) instead of improve (35%).

Optimism was also reflected among 67% of those interviewed who believe that "if we continue with the systems and programs of the present government, Mexico will achieve the prosperity it deserves." But that bright outlook declined with education, almost balancing out with 51% yes and 47% no among the better educated.

Later in the interview, participants were asked whether Mexico would achieve progress "only with a total change and perhaps with violence." A majority of 77% chose an alternative statement and said Mexico could "achieve progress the way we're going now, maybe just pushing a little harder," but 22% said progress would come only with "total change and perhaps with violence."

The percentage of those opting for total change rose significantly in the lowest age group, 18-29. About 30%—roughly a third—in that age group said progress would come only "with total change and perhaps with violence."

This is significant in view of Mexico's high growth rate which is constantly raising the percentage of people in the lower age group.

Analysts contend that the attitudes the young reveal future trends, so the poll offers some evidence that Mexico will move more toward "total change and perhaps with violence" in the years ahead.

Furthermore, the people are evenly split over whether the present government will be able to do any better than its predecessors. About 49% said, "This government will be better than others in helping the people," 50% said,

"This government will be the same as all others. It will talk a lot and achieve little."

There is no confusion among most Mexicans over which of their problems are the most important. Unemployment and inflation topped the list of "most important" problems. About 34% of the people named unemployment as their first choice; half as many picked inflation and a third as many picked "population explosion."

(Although the population explosion ranked no higher than third on the list, in another part of the poll, 87% said they believed that "Mexico should have fewer children so that there will be enough for all.")

About five out of every hundred picked "hunger," "too much dependence on the United States" or "public health" as the nation's most important problem. And 1%—undoubtedly those who have tried to drive in Mexico City—picked "traffic congestion."



Who do the people think is "most to blame" for Mexico's failure to achieve "the progress it deserves?"

Even though they gave high marks to Lopez Portillo, the people's choice for the most blame is "bad government."

About 35% put "bad government" at the top of their list, nearly doubling second-ranked "foreign exploitation" at 19%. "Corruption in the bureaucracy" was a close third at 17%.

Although they blame officialdom for most of their problems, Mexicans are surprisingly paternalistic in what they want out of their government.

Participants were asked to choose between two statements: "What I want most of all is to be left alone so that I can handle my life my own way," or, "I want those who

are in responsible positions to watch out for me, and to tell me what I must do so that there will be no upsets in life."

A majority of 55% said they want authorities to "watch out for me." Only 43% said they want to be left alone.

Perhaps one reason nearly half of the people want to be left alone is that the Mexican people see themselves as their country's greatest hope.

More participants (23%) put "the Mexican people" at the top of their list than anything else, but that was closely followed by Pemex (22%), Lopez Portillo (15%), PRI, the overwhelmingly dominant political party (11%) and government officials (9%). The United States, business leaders, political dissidents and the church all tied at 4% to 5%. Only 1% picked union leaders and only three out of 1,002 persons picked judges and the courts.

The people also trust themselves more than anyone else, with 29% of the participants picking "the Mexican people" to head their list of "institutions inspiring greatest trust." Runners-up were Lopez Portillo (19%), the church (14%) and Pemex (11%). The United States was near the bottom with 2%.

Nowhere, perhaps, is Mexican ambivalence more common than in opinions of the United States.

When asked to pick the foreign government they trusted the most, 39% picked the United States, eclipsing second-ranked Cuba with 12%. U.S. businessmen led a list of most trusted businessmen at 38%. Japan was second at 24% and West Germany third at 8%. And again, when asked which country's "people" they trusted the most, more participants (26%) picked the United States than any other country. Spain was second at 17%.

That trust is a little hard to reconcile with the fact that 75% of the participants said they believe that "the United States wants to dominate and exploit Mexico." Only 23% picked another option: "The United States wants to be a good neighbor."

THERE was a lopsided response to this question: "From what you know or have heard, do you think that Mexicans who work in the United States without official permission are treated fairly?"

A whopping 92% said they believe that the Mexicans are "not treated fairly."

Even more significant, 90% of the 270 poll participants who had traveled to the United States, and 92% of the 379 participants who have relatives in the United States said Mexicans are "not treated fairly."

A Times poll conducted in the United States at about the same time as the Mexico City poll reveals that many Americans also feel illegal aliens are treated unfairly in the States. Half of the 1,304 persons interviewed nationally said they think "Mexicans who work in the United States without official permission" are not treated fairly. About 33% said they thought the treatment was fair.

The illegal migration out of Mexico and into the United States is a considerable embarrassment to many Mexicans. A majority of 64% said they disapprove of "Mexicans working abroad in this fashion." About 35% said they approve.

Even among the unemployed—while the percentages were much closer—a majority of 53% said they disapprove.

Residents of Mexico City see the influx of Mexicans into the U.S. labor market as having little impact on unemployment north of the border. Three-fourths said it "does not cause unemployment" in the United States. About 22% said it causes unemployment, but of that percentage, only 6% believe it throws "many" Americans out of work; 7% said "some," 6% said a "few" and 2% said "almost none."

One question was asked in both the United States and the Mexico City polls—"In their dealings with each other, which country has made the most mistakes, Mexico or the United States?"

No matter which side of the border they lived on, far more participants blamed their own government than that of the other country.

In the U.S. poll, 39% blamed the U.S. government and only 22% blamed the Mexican government; 17% charged each country with equal blame, and 22% were either unsure or did not answer.

In the Mexico City poll, an even half—50%—blamed the government of Mexico, 29% blamed the United States, 9% blamed both equally, 12% either did not know or had no answer.



CAMPAIGN FOR HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
ALLOCATIONS COMPONENT

1312 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20005
Telephone (202) 659-6650



1979

CHD GENERAL FUNDING INFORMATION

The Campaign for Human Development is an action-education program sponsored by the Catholic Bishops of the United States. Since its inception CHD has funded projects throughout the country aimed at attacking the basic causes of poverty and empowering the disadvantaged.

The Campaign for Human Development encourages the submission of proposals describing projects that will aid poverty organizations in self-help efforts.

Funds are allocated on a non-denominational basis. Submit twelve (12) copies of your proposal and twelve (12) copies of the application form to:

Campaign for Human Development
1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20005

Application forms and proposals must be submitted (postmarked) by the January 31, 1979, deadline. Early submissions would be greatly appreciated.

- A. The application form and a proposal which describes what your organization wants to do are two separate items. A proposal is a written explanation or description of a program which your organization intends to carry out. A proposal to the Campaign for Human Development should explain in detail the information requested on the Application for Funding. The application form is not a proposal.
- B. It is the policy of the Campaign for Human Development to allocate funds only to organizations which are incorporated and which have an Internal Revenue Service tax-exempt number. If the applicant organization is not incorporated and tax-exempt, then CHD may allow funds to be channeled through some organization which has such a status. This organization is called the channeling agency. The channeling agency does not direct the project; it transmits and monitors use of CHD funds.

- C. The following are definitions of terms:

Seed Money is an initial amount of money from CHD used to start a project and generate money from other sources.

Matching Funds would be a CHD grant for a project which will obtain a sum of money from another source on a dollar for dollar(s) basis (\$1 to get \$1, \$1 to get \$2, \$1 to get \$3, etc.).

A Grant Allocation is an award of funds.

A Condition is a qualification placed on the grant contract which must be met prior to receipt of funds.

Self-Sufficiency means that the project will generate needed financial and technical support during and by the time of completion of CHD funding.

Technical Assistance means supplementary services provided to programs to improve their effectiveness.

- D. If you want assistance in filling out your application, please contact your local diocesan office or the CHD National Office.

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CRITERIA AND GUIDELINES

A. CRITERIA

To be eligible for CHD funds, a project must satisfy all of the following criteria:

1. The project must benefit a poverty group. At least fifty percent (50%) of those benefitting from the project must be from such a poverty group.
2. Members of the poverty group must have the dominant voice in any self-help project. At least 50% of those involved in the planning, implementing and policy making (e.g. Board of Directors, etc.) of a project, should be persons who are involuntarily in the poverty group.

For projects which do not presently meet these criteria, applicants must document the following in the proposal (failure to do so may affect the evaluation of the proposal):

- a. Why members of the poverty group do not have the dominant role in planning, implementing and policy making.
 - b. How members of the poverty group were involved in determining their need for the project.
 - c. What time schedule is planned for the poverty group to assume leadership and control of this project.
3. Funding will not be considered for projects which can be adequately funded by monies known to be available from the private or public sector unless applicants document that they are unable to obtain funds from these sources. However, proposals which call for "seed money" or "matching money" will be considered. In considering "seed money" or "matching money" from CHD, applicants must present positive documentation that other public and/or private sources will commit their shares of monies for this project.
 4. No CHD monies will be made available to organizations that would utilize the money to fund other organizations.
 5. The project or activity for which funding is requested must conform to the moral teachings of the Church.

B. GUIDELINES

Due to limited financial resources, CHD is not able to fund all applicants that generally meet the CHD Criteria and Guidelines. Priority will be given to:

1. Promising, innovative projects which demonstrate a change from traditional approaches to poverty by attacking the basic causes of poverty and by effecting institutional change. CHD defines institutional change as (a) modification of existing laws and/or policies; (b) establishment of alternative structures and/or redistribution of decision-making powers; (c) provision of services which result in the achievement of (a) and (b); or leads the recipient community to focus on (a) and (b).
2. Projects which directly benefit a larger number of people than a few individuals.
3. Projects which generate cooperation among and within diverse groups in the interest of a more integrated and mutually understanding society.
4. Projects which indicate and document, that as a result of CHD funding, there are short-range possibilities of generating funds from other sources or becoming self-supporting within the timelines established in the proposal.

C. PROJECTS NOT MEETING CHD CRITERIA AND/OR GUIDELINES

The following general classifications do not meet CHD criteria and/or guidelines:

1. Projects which have been operating for several years on funds from other funding agencies.
2. Projects sponsored by organizations which at present receive substantial sums of money from other funding agencies.
3. Direct service projects (e.g. day care centers, Headstart, recreation programs, community centers, scholarships, subsidies, counseling programs, referral services, ex-offender counseling, summer camps, direct clinical services, etc.).
4. Projects controlled by government (federal, state, local), educational and/or ecclesiastical bodies.
5. Research projects, surveys, planning and feasibility studies, etc.

D. ALLOCATIONS

1. Grant Funds will be allocated annually. At the discretion of CHD, a project may be considered for subsequent funding. (We do not anticipate that grants will be made before mid-summer 1979.)
2. CHD will make a limited number of two-year grants (in 1978 six two-year grants were made). If you decide to apply for a two-year grant, you must provide a two-year program plan and a two-year program budget. CHD will only provide 66% of the first year grant for the second year (i.e. if a program should receive a \$100,000 grant for the first year from CHD, the maximum that they could receive for the second year would be \$66,666). Therefore, please make your second year CHD budget request equal to no more than 66% of your first year budget request.
3. Payments to funded projects will be released on a quarterly basis upon receipt of a satisfactory progress and financial report from the grantee.
4. A project must be a non-profit, incorporated body to receive and administer funds. The alternative is to use an existing tax-exempt body (channeling agency). If a channeling agency is used, notarized copies of the Articles of Incorporation, statement of IRS tax-exempt status, and Constitution and By-Laws will be required from the channeling agency before the grant is awarded.
5. The Campaign for Human Development normally will consider proposals requesting grants of no less than \$10,000 and no more than \$100,000; however, at CHD's discretion, amounts granted may differ from amounts requested.
6. Twelve (12) application forms, along with twelve (12) proposals, must be submitted (postmarked) to the Campaign for Human Development National Office in care of the Allocations Component on or before January 31, 1979.
7. CHD, at its discretion, may require a grantee to submit, at its own cost, an audit of its books and records by a certified public accountant prior to allocation of funding.

APPLICATION INSTRUCTIONS

The Campaign for Human Development has an economic development *loan* component in addition to its grant component. If you wish information about this component, please contact the CHD National Office.

In the past, some applicants for CHD funds have overlooked some of the requests and instructions contained on the application form. In order to help the applicant avoid costly errors or omissions, CHD has included this instruction sheet which should be read thoroughly before any entries are made on the form. PLEASE ANSWER ALL QUESTIONS; AN INCOMPLETE FORM WILL AFFECT THE EVALUATION OF YOUR PROPOSAL.

General Application Instructions

Please answer all questions within the space provided. The application form is designed to present the key elements of your proposal in summary form and consequently is distinct from the narrative of the proposal itself; therefore, do not use phrases such as "refer to page . . . of proposal." We ask that the answers be as concise and as clear as possible on the form itself. In the narrative proposal you will be expected to elaborate in detail the answers to the questions on the form. The following specific instructions are keyed to the form on a page basis.

Specific Application Instructions

All asterisks [*] throughout the Application for Funding form refer to this section

Page 1

If requesting a "one-year grant," you must submit a one-year program plan and a one-year budget. If requesting a "two-year grant," a two-year program plan and a budget for the two-year period is required.

Page 1

In order to receive CHD funds, an applicant organization must be tax-exempt under Section 501 (C) (3) of the Internal Revenue Code. If the applicant does not have a 501 (C) (3) exemption then another organization with such an exemption may be used (with CHD's approval) to receive and channel the CHD grant monies to the funded project. If such an organization is used, then the information asked for in the lower right hand section of page one must be entered on the blanks.

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Page 2 – Section B, Part 1b

You are asked to define poverty in your community and may use social and political indicators, in addition to economic ones. (Some of this information can be found in the U. S. Bureau of Census Reports; we encourage the use of some statistical information to strengthen your proposal.) Whichever definition is used, you will be expected to provide information and documentation clearly supporting your definition. If additional space is needed, please attach a separate sheet to the back of the application form.

Page 2 – Section B, Part 2

The lower left hand box of the chart requests figures for the individuals to be served by this project. You are advised to be realistic about the figures used. Before making any entries in the boxes corresponding to this item, please consider your definition of poverty and the number of people to be involved in the activities of the project as beneficiaries as well as members of the applicant organization.

Page 3 – Section B, Part 6

You are expected to provide the requested information. You are asked to clarify in the narrative proposal what the relationship is between the project and the sponsoring organization and/or the channeling agency. If you are granted CHD funds, you will be required to submit notarized copies of the Articles of Incorporation, Constitution or Bylaws, and IRS tax exemption determination.

Page 3 – Section C

You are asked to enter total dollar amounts under each category where applicable. In the narrative proposal you are also expected to elaborate on each of the totals under the categories corresponding to Funds Received for Current Year and Funds Applied for the Coming Year. The narrative proposal should identify the source and amount of each grant and should include a brief explanation of the purpose of each grant. Program income refers to any revenue produced by project activities other than grants, loans or contributions.

Page 5 – Section G

All of the information on this sheet must be supplied. If an organization has both a Board of Directors and a Policy-Making Board, use a duplicate of this form to provide the information. The applicant is also expected to thoroughly explain the method of board selection in the proposal narrative (How is a member elected/appointed to the board?) and in the case of two boards (e.g., Governing Board and Policy-Making Board) describe the relationship and levels of authority.

BUDGET REVIEW INSTRUCTIONS

A. PERSONNEL

- 1-9 *Salaries*: The figures entered in the boxes corresponding to this line should reflect the amount projected for salaries and wages earned by the project's permanent employees (full or part time) and by temporary employees (full or part time) other than consultants or others engaged on an individual contract basis. Payments to consultants or others (doctors, lawyers, auditors, architects, etc.) must be entered in OUTSIDE SERVICES, Category F.
- 10 *Fringe Benefits and Taxes*: The figure entered in the boxes corresponding to this line should reflect the total amount projected for health and/or life insurance plans — and any benefit for which the EMPLOYER (the project) absorbs the cost. Also to be included are taxes or deductions for employees which are paid for by the EMPLOYER (the project) under federal, state or local laws (e.g. Social Security, unemployment compensation, disability compensation, etc.). Contributions or payments deducted from the employee's salary ARE NOT to be included in the total.

B. OFFICE EXPENSES

- 11 *Consumable Supplies*: Include stationery, copier, or mimeograph supplies, and any other materials used for the operation of an office.
- 12- *Furniture and Equipment*: The first line should reflect the projected cost of all equipment and/or furni-
13 ture which will be purchased for the use of the project (e.g. desks, chairs, ditto machines, vehicles, etc.).
The second line should reflect the projected costs of all equipment and/or furniture leased or rented for the use of the project (e.g. Xerox copier, desks, chairs, mimeograph machine, etc.).
- 14 *Equipment Maintenance/Repairs*: Include costs incurred for the repair and maintenance upkeep of equip-
ment.

- 15 *Reproduction/Printing*: Include projected costs for printing pamphlets, leaflets, booklets, etc. and any costs incurred for the reproduction of materials.
- 16 *Postage and Freight*: Include costs incurred for postage, parcel post, trucking and other delivery costs.
- 17 *Telephone, Telegraph and Cables*: All telephone, telegraph and similar costs.

C. TRAVEL EXPENSES

- 18- *Travel*: Include the following: reimbursements based on mileage for staff, volunteers, consultants,
- 20 board members, etc., rent or lease of motor vehicles; costs of overnight trips (hotel, meals, bus, taxi fare, etc.).

D. OCCUPANCY EXPENSES

- 21 *Utilities*: The total should include the following: water, gas, electricity, or heating fuel.
- 22 *Occupancy*: Building rent and occupancy — to include rent paid by the project for office space or any other space used or occupied by the project.
- 23 *Repairs and Maintenance*: Include projected costs for renovations, repairs, and maintenance of offices used by the project. Cost of materials and contracted maintenance services (e.g. janitorial, trash removal, etc.) are also to be included in this total.

E. PROGRAM EXPENSES

- 24 *Materials*: Any materials not covered by the previous categories which will be used to realize the objectives of the project.
- 25 *Stipends*: A fixed sum of money paid periodically to interns, students or trainees while in training. Persons receiving stipends do not normally qualify for fringe benefits.
- 26 *Insurance*: Include costs incurred in securing proper insurance coverage (e.g. liability, property, fire, etc.).

F. OUTSIDE SERVICES

- 27- *Consultants and Contractors*: To include fees paid for services rendered on a contract basis by individuals or other agencies.

- G. 29- *Other Operating Expenses*: Any operating costs not included in the above.

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PROPOSAL INSTRUCTIONS

To assist organizations applying to the Campaign for Human Development for funding the following guidelines for writing the proposal narrative have been developed. The instructions have been designed to provide organizations with a clear understanding of the type of information CHD looks for in evaluating proposals. This includes questions that should be answered in *all* proposals. The Specific Proposal Instructions on page 6 include category definitions and questions to be answered only in proposals dealing with the specific category.

Suggested Format for Proposal Narrative

A. INTRODUCTION

1. What are the history and goals of your organization? What have been your organization's most significant accomplishments to date?
2. How is the community involved in the planning, implementation and decision-making of your organization? This project?
3. What is the organizational structure of your organization? How are board members selected? What are the specific responsibilities of the board in relation to the implementation of your program? What are the staff responsibilities?

B. PROBLEM/NEED

1. What are the major problems and/or needs that will be addressed by this project? How was the community involved in determining project priorities? Please document and be precise.
2. How will resolving this priority problem or meeting this need have significant impact on a large number of people and effect institutional change? Which institutions will be changed?

C. PROJECT OBJECTIVES

1. State specific objectives for the grant year. What are the changes, benefits or results that the organization hopes to achieve by implementing this proposal?
2. What objectives can be accomplished within the grant year? What are more long-range objectives?
3. How do those objectives relate to CHD goals of institutional change, empowerment of poor people and fostering cooperation between people of different economic and racial/ethnic groups?

D. IMPLEMENTATION PLANS

1. State clearly your implementation plans, the strategies, specific activities and/or tasks you intend to carry out during the grant year to achieve each stated objective.
2. *Provide a quarterly time schedule for accomplishment of these activities during the CHD funding year.*
3. How will the qualifications of your board and staff help in implementing your program? Provide resumes of key staff.
4. What provisions have you made for training board and staff?
5. What are the areas in which you will need technical assistance? What technical assistance support do you presently have committed to your project?

E. EVALUATION

1. What is your plan for on-going evaluation? What are your criteria for success?
2. How are your board, staff, membership and the community involved in periodic evaluation?

F. BUDGET

1. Further describe and explain the budget line items that you have developed for the CHD application form.
2. What outside sources of funding have you applied for? What have you obtained? Which do you expect to obtain? Include the amount sought/obtained, the source, the purpose of the grant and the funding dates.
3. Describe your financial management and record keeping systems.

G. FUTURE FUNDING

1. What are your plans for attaining self-sufficiency?
2. What are your plans for raising funds and in-kind support from within the community?

SPECIFIC PROPOSAL INSTRUCTIONS

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT:

A project designed to advocate for change and organize members of the poverty community around issues that affect their lives. Such a project might focus on organizing community people for self-advocacy actions.

HEALTH:

A project which advocates for reform in the health care delivery systems that do not presently provide adequate health care services. Such a project may also focus on increasing involvement of poverty groups in the planning and implementation of comprehensive health programs for an area.

1. Were local health resource assessments made? If so, what were the results? Has your area been designated "medically depressed" by the National Health Service Corporation?
2. Has your organization established working relationships with private/public health organizations or agencies that address similar issues (i.e. local hospitals, university medical and research facilities, AMA, volunteer health service agencies, etc.)? Please describe those relationships. How do you plan to draw upon other pertinent resource people in your community (i.e. doctors, medical technicians, management specialists, legal experts, accountants, trainers, evaluation specialists, etc.)?

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT:

A project which attempts to enable members of poverty groups to significantly improve their economic situation by developing resources through group or community effort. Such a proposal should seek to mobilize and develop the financial and human resources of the area. (Please indicate if you would be interested in being considered for our economic development loan program as well as our grant program.)

1. What is your current financial status (i.e. your current level of capitalization, current assets and liabilities, recent monthly income/expense statements, and your most recent end of the year balance sheet)?
2. Have any feasibility studies been conducted to show the need for and projected viability of your economic development venture (i.e. cost vs. income projections, market analysis, competition, availability of capital and equity)? Please document.
3. What is the ownership of your venture (e.g. closed corporation, cooperative, etc.)? Does or will your venture issue shares?
4. Are your board members shareholders in the venture? What are your income and expense projections over the next three years? When do you project to reach the break-even point of your business enterprise? How do you intend to use the profits generated by your project?

TRANSPORTATION:

A project in which members of the poverty community organize to obtain transportation where it is not otherwise available. Such a project may seek a role of advocacy in obtaining public transportation services and/or greater community participation in planning transportation systems.

1. Have any feasibility studies been conducted to show the projected viability of your transportation project (i.e. cost vs. income projections, rider/usage estimates, etc.)? Please document.

COMMUNICATIONS:

A project that will enable poverty groups to control or have substantive input into the decision-making process of the mass media. Such projects might focus on advocating for media reform in broadcasting, production, programming, hiring practices or in other areas where poverty groups have been neglected or inadequately represented.

1. Have any feasibility studies been conducted to show the need for and projected viability of your communications project (i.e. cost vs. income projections, market analysis, competition, availability of capital and equity)? Please document.

EDUCATION:

A project which assists individuals and/or groups in identifying talents and developing skills to participate more fully in society, and hopefully to influence it in some way. Such a project might be directed to help members of poverty groups who are not benefitting or have not benefitted from education opportunities. The project should work toward reform of educational systems.

HOUSING:

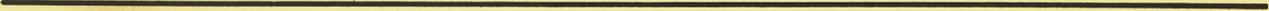
A project which will enable members of poverty groups to obtain/provide adequate, reasonably priced living facilities and have greater input into housing policy development and planning.

1. Has your organization established working relationships with private/public organizations or agencies that address similar issues (i.e. local housing authorities and community planning agencies, HUD, local lending institutions, etc.)? Please describe those relationships. How do you plan to draw upon pertinent resource people in your community (planners, architects, management specialists, legal experts, accountants, trainers, program evaluation specialists, etc.)?
2. What additional services (i.e. social service counseling and referral, financial counseling, home maintenance instruction, etc.) does your organization provide to facilitate the implementation of your project?

LEGAL AID:

A project which is intended to promote just laws and/or their application for those presently excluded from equality; a project designed to facilitate the redress of injustice through the mechanism of the existing legal system. Examples: administrative action or litigation on issues and conditions affecting the poor, or in-court challenges to unfair or inadequate legislation.

1. How do you plan to handle client intake and caseload management? (Who are the participants in your program and what are the methods by which they are selected?) Show how the participants reflect those community persons in greatest need of the activity.
2. The Legal Services Corporation is responsible for a large amount of community legal aid program funding. Are you already receiving LSC money? If so, why cannot money be used for the proposed project? If not, why have you been refused?



— UN LLAMADO —

A LA VIGESIMA SEGUNDA CONFERENCIA ANUAL DE EL COMITE DE LOS ANGELES PARA LA DEFENSA DE LAS LEYES SOBRE DERECHOS



1972

LA SUCIA GUERRA CONTINUA.

El horror de nuestras prisiones sigue siendo una viva realidad, en las prisiones que son nuestros mismos barrios y ghettos y las prisiones que nos privan de la libertad.

La inflación empobrece a la gente, mientras toda clase de servicios sociales son recortados hasta el hueso. Medicare, Medi-Cal, la ayuda o welfare, Seguro Social se convierten más y más en una cosa inalcanzable. Nuestro sistema escolar da menos, hace menos y le importa todavía menos.

Dondequiera que el pueblo lucha en contra de este proceso de decadencia, la represión se desata con más fuerza. A Angela Davis se le hace una conspiración porque saca a la luz pública el caso de los Hermanos Soledad. Conspiraron contra los Hermanos Berrigán porque atacaron la guerra. Los Tres del Barrio entrampados por un traficante (policía) de drogas. Los Nueve del Biltmore y el Activista Chicano Jerónimo Ortega. Todos son víctimas de la determinación del establecimiento "de tener al Chicano en su lugar".

Nuevas legislaciones, como la ley de California AB-528 que discrimina en contra del trabajador Chicano y Latino. Esta ley se une a la pasada ley Smith y McCarran Acts para construir más altas las paredes que encierran el progreso.

Ahora todo el movimiento de las uniones de los trabajadores se enfrentan con la pérdida de sus derechos para ir a huelga y negociar. Si estos trabajadores rehusan a aceptar a ser explotados se encontrarán con una represión igual.

Nuestro sistema legal, que nunca ha sido partidario del pobre se ha convertido más que nunca en sirviente de la reacción.

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Los grandes jurados se ríen de la Quinta Enmienda, los jurados en las cortes son compuestos exclusivamente de las filas de gente acomodada y blanca. Los jueces son nombrados para mantener la "ley y el orden" en vez de dispensar una justicia pareja. Ordenes legales ganadas para refrenar a la policía y el FBI, están siendo cambiadas. Por lo tanto el Comité de Defensa por los Derechos Civiles sigue siendo de primera importancia especialmente este año de elecciones.

Hacemos un llamado a todas las organizaciones y personas que manden delegados u observadores.

COMBATAN LA REPRESION — LIBERTAD A TODOS LOS PRESOS POLITICOS — ABOLIR LEYES REPRESIVAS — Y FIANZAS OPRESIVAS — QUE NUESTRA GENTE SEA NUESTROS JURADOS — ORGANICENSE PARA DEFENSA MUTUA

La conferencia será el:

SABADO 25 DE MARZO, 1972
A LAS 9:00 A.M.

EN EL LARCHMONT HALL

118 No. Larchmont Blvd.

Los Angeles, California

- TALLER UNO: "Cárceles y Prisioneros"
- TALLER DOS: "Inmigración"
- TALLER TRES: "El gran jurado, el jurado en el tribunal y la ley"

ELECCIONES DE OFICIALES.

Cuota de Registración \$1.00

Lunch 75c

Cena: a las 7:00 P.M.

Precio: \$3.75

Orador oficial — FANIA DAVIS JORDAN,
hermana de Angela Davis

Patrocinado por Los Angeles Committee para la Defensa
de Derechos Civiles.

326 W. 3rd St. — Room 318 — Los Angeles, California
Teléfonos: (213) 625-2169 o 625-2160

Auspiciadores:

REV. PETER CHRISTIANSEN
DR. STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN
REV. EDGAR EDWARDS
DR. RICHARD WASSERSTROM
ELISEO CARRILLO
ROSE CHERNIN
CLARA JAMES
DELFINO VARELA

JAIME ORTEGA
FRED RINALDO
ANGELA DAVIS
GEORGE K. LEE
ROBERT KORT
ANTONIO RODRIGUEZ
MAURICIO TERRAZAS

And so the work of all Defense committees remains of primary importance even in (and especially in!) this election year.

For the twenty-second time we issue a call to all organizations and individuals to send delegates or observers.

FIGHT REPRESSION — FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS — END
REPRESSIVE LEGISLATION AND OPPRESSIVE BAIL — LET OUR
JURIES BE OUR PEERS ORGANIZE FOR MUTUAL DEFENSE

Attend the 22nd Annual Conference of the Los Angeles Committee
for the Defense of the Bill of Rights.

SATURDAY, MARCH 25th, 1972 at

LARCHMONT HALL

118 No. Larchmont Blvd.

Los Angeles, California

BEGINNING AT 9 A.M.

- WORKSHOP ONE: "Prisons and Prisoners"
- WORKSHOP TWO: "Immigration"
- WORKSHOP THREE: "The Grand Jury, The Petit Jury, The Law"

ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

Registration Fee \$1.00

Lunch served on premises 75c

Dinner at 7 P.M.

Price: \$3.75

Principal speaker — FANIA DAVIS JORDAN,
Sister of Angela Davis

Sponsored by the Los Angeles Committee
for the Defense of the Bill of Rights

326 West 3rd. Street — Room 318 — Los Angeles, Calif. 90013

Phones: (213) 625-2169 or 625-2160

S p o n s o r s :

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DR. STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN
REV. EDGAR EDWARDS
DR. RICHARD WASSERSTROM
ELISEO CARRILLO
ROSE CHERNIN
CLARA JAMES
DELFINO VARELA

JAIME ORTEGA
FRED RINALDO
ANGELA DAVIS
GEORGE K. LEE
ROBERT KORT
ANTONIO RODRIGUEZ
MAURICIO TERRAZAS

— A CALL —

**TO THE 22nd ANNUAL CONFERENCE
OF THE LOS ANGELES COMMITTEE
FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE
BILL OF RIGHTS**



1972

THE DIRTY WAR GOES ON.

The horror of our prisons remains a living reality, both the outer prisons called ghettos or barrios, and the inner prisons called prisons.

Inflation impoverishes the people, while social services of all kinds are cut to the bone. Medicare, Medi-Cal, relief, Social Security become more and more circumscribed. Our school systems give less, do less, care less.

Wherever people fight back against this process of deterioration, repression rears its ugly head. Angela Davis is framed on a murder charge because she brings the case of the Soledad Brothers to public notice. The Berrigans are framed because they attack the war. "Los Tres," the "Biltmore Nine," Geronimo Ortega, are all victims of the Establishment's determination to "keep the Chicano in his place."

New legislation, like California's AB 528 that discriminates against the Chicano job seeker, joins old legislation like the Smith and McCarran Acts to build ever higher the prison walls that confine progress.

Now the whole trade union movement is faced with a loss of its freedom to strike and bargain. Those workers who refuse to accept their new serfdom will surely meet a like repression.

Our legal system, never a partisan of the poor, is becoming more than ever a handmaiden to the reaction. Grand juries chip away at the 5th Amendment, petit juries are drawn almost exclusively from the ranks of the white, elderly rich. Judges are chosen to maintain law and order, rather than dispense even handed justice. Hard won legal restraints against the police and the FBI are being reversed.

Illegal Aliens

Find Aid In County

Lifelong Benefits Easily Obtained, Report Shows

By JOHN BURRUS

From the cradle to the grave, it's possible for illegal aliens to receive a free ride in San Diego County.

If a pregnant woman slips across the border and starts to give birth, she can be rushed to University Hospital where her newborn child is established as an American citizen and the county pays the bill.

When the illegal alien reaches senility, he may live out his remaining years in the county—supported Edgemoor Geriatric Hospital in Santee. And when he dies the county will pay \$225 for his burial — \$120 for the casket and \$105 for the grave site.

OTHER SERVICES

Between birth and death almost every service of government that is available to the citizen also is available to the illegal alien. Proof of citizenship is seldom required.

The ease with which illegal aliens obtain government services helps spur a massive "new underground railroad" which resulted in 2,261 illegal aliens being arrested in five Southern California counties last week, immigration officials said. The San Diego office of the Immigration and Naturalization Service's Border Patrol headquarters in San Ysidro reported the 2,261 aliens were arrested in San Diego, Orange, Ventura, Santa Barbara and San Luis Obispo Counties.

Most governmental agencies aid illegal aliens from Mexico by providing Spanish-speaking interpreters.

One of the first things an illegal alien needs when he arrives in the United States is a Social Security card. How does he get it?

SIMPLE TO GET CARD

"It's simple," a clerk in the San Diego office explained. "He just fills out an application. Because so many Mexicans forget if they've had a card before, there is a delay while his name is screened against master records in Baltimore to determine if one has been issued in his name. If he hasn't had a previous card, he receives one."

His Social Security card is the illegal alien's passport to a host of government benefits — everything that the resident receives — retirement, survivors benefits, disability insurance and Medicare.

If the illegal alien loses his job, he receives the same unemployment benefits as a citizen. Dick Jones, manager of the San Diego office of Unemployment Insurance of the California Department of Human Resources Development, said a check is made to see that applicants are eligible, are available for work and have an address in the United States.

PROVIDED FREE COUNSEL

"If the question of alien status arises, a person may be asked to show a work card to prove he's eligible to work, but in most cases citizenship does not come up," Jones said.

If the illegal alien is arrested, he's provided free legal counsel and a free interpreter if he is broke.

There are a host of free medical services available to him if he is broke.

mental health counselor, said an insane illegal alien could be committed "just the same as a millionaire."

Community Mental Health Services operates a 24-hour clinic with a trained psychiatrist on duty at all times. According to policy, said Dr. William Green, an illegal alien would be billed in full for treatment but, according to practice, the illegal alien can't pay and receives treatment free.

If he's hurt in an accident, the county is billed for his emergency treatment at a hospital. He may get free typhoid, tetanus, small pox, cholera and polio shots at the San Diego County primary health center. He may also obtain a free chest X-Ray, tuberculosis skin test. If he has venereal disease, he may obtain free treatment. The county also provides birth control information, prenatal care and a well-baby clinic. None require proof of citizenship; only proof of residency in San Diego County.

Illegal aliens may get marriage licenses from the San Diego County Clerk.

"If they are under 25 they need proof they are old enough to get married," said Mrs. Dolores Harding, senior clerk. "It costs them \$6 like everyone else. Interpreters are available since from three to six couples a week can't speak English."

One county office where the illegal alien must lie to get by is the Registrar of Voters office. He must swear he is a citizen to register but he can do it in Spanish.

GOVERNMENT JOBS

To get a job with San Diego city or county government the illegal alien must file Form N-315, a declaration of intent to become a citizen. The form may be obtained by mail from the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

The illegal alien may be on unsafe ground if his children are also illegal aliens and he attempts to enroll them in San Diego schools.

"A birth certificate is required and an attempt is made to determine that the children are citizens," explained Alexander Handgis, in charge of enrollment for the San Diego Unified School District. "However, state law provides that the district can furnish an education to children who are in the country illegally — the idea being that the best place for them is in school."

He said that 10 per cent of students in the San Diego school system have Spanish surnames but none of them, to his knowledge, were illegal aliens.

If the illegal alien prospers and wants to buy a house or a business, there are a number of governmental agencies that will help without asking questions about his citizenship.

The Small Business Administration will help him buy a business as long as he lives in the United States and as long as the business is in the United States, John Quimby, head of the SBA in San Diego, said. Nothing in the regulations require citizenship.

The Federal Housing Administration will insure his loan — if he can convince officials he is going to be around for 30 years. There is nothing in the application that requires citizenship — just stability, officials said.

If he owns a home in a slum, there is a special agency that will loan him money to bring his house up to code by improving the plumbing, electric wiring, foundation or water line. It's called CHIRP, Community Housing Improvement and Revitalization Program, which also is authorized to provide grants up to \$3,500 for the elderly and the poor without asking about citizenship.

MANY ON WELFARE

Courts and law enforcement agencies find an amazing number of illegal aliens who are on welfare or poverty programs. Don Geising, San Diego County Welfare Department informa-

tion officer, said birth certificates or proof of birth are specifically required for aid to the elderly and aid to dependent children. But there are a wide range of programs that an illegal alien can obtain. Aid to the disabled, aid to the blind and medical aid require no proof of citizenship — only residency.

If the illegal alien does not qualify in a specific category, he may qualify under the county's general relief program. Careful checks are made of persons who run foster homes for the county but it does not necessarily include citizenship. Conceivably, illegal aliens might adopt children in San Diego County, Geising said.

The greatest flood of illegal aliens in memory of border officials is now coming into the United States from Mexico.

To stop it, according to Alfred E. Edgar, head of the Immigration Service office in San Diego, federal legislation is needed to dry up the job market — to make it a felony to provide jobs for illegal aliens.

Illegal Aliens Get Lifelong Aid Here

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

5. Chief, Employee Development Branch Office of Assistant Commissioner, Personnel (Location: A supra) for extension training program enrollee file.
6. Naturalization and Citizenship indexes. (a) Naturalization and citizenship docket cards: District Directors and Officers in Charge (Locations: C and E supra, except E-6, 7, 8 and 13). (b) Docket lists of Petitioners for Naturalization Form N-476: District Directors and Officers in Charge (Locations: C and E supra, except E 6 and 8) for docket lists of petitioners pending at least one year (Form N-476). The Associate Commissioner Mgt. (Location: A supra), Regional Commissioners (Location: B supra), District Directors and OIC's (Locations: C and E supra, except E-6, 7, 8 and 13).

Notification procedure:

A. Address inquiries to the respective systems managers listed in System Manager supra, except Finance unit inquiries shall be addressed to the office of the Service at which the individual did business (for locations see Location supra) and Freedom of Information Act inquiries shall be addressed to the office of the Service nearest the requestor's place of residence, or if known, the office of the Service where the requestor knows his record is located.

B. Systems totally exempt from disclosure pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 552a (j) and (k).

1. Agency information control index system.
2. Anti-smuggling index (general).
3. Anti-smuggling information centers system for Canadian and Mexican Borders.
4. Contact index.
5. Criminal, immoral, narcotic, racketeer and subversive indexes.
6. Document vendors and alterers index.
7. Informant index.
8. Intelligence indexes.
9. Service look out system.
10. Suspect third party index.

Record access procedures: In all cases, requests for access to a record from any record system shall be in writing, with the envelope and letter clearly marked 'Privacy Access Request'. The requester must include a description of the general subject matter and, if known, the relating numerical identifier. The request must also include sufficient data to identify a relating record, such as the individual's full name, date and place of birth, and if appropriate, the date and place of entry into the United States, or departure from the United States. The requester shall also provide a return address for transmitting the information. Most of the systems contain records which the Attorney General has exempted from disclosure pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 552a (j) and (k) and records which are classified pursuant to Executive order. The requester will be accorded access to the records relating to himself only to the extent that such records are not within the scope of exemptions and are not classified.

Contesting record procedures: Any individual desiring to contest or amend information maintained in the system should direct his request to the office of this Service nearest his residence, or in which he believes a record concerning him may exist, (see Notification, supra), stating clearly and concisely what information is being contested, the reasons for contesting it, and the proposed amendment to the information sought.

Record source categories: The basic information contained in these records is supplied by the individual on Department of State and Service applications and reports; inquiries and/or complaints from members of the general public, members of the Congress, referrals of inquiries and/or complaints directed to the White House or to the Attorney General by members of the general public; Service reports of investigation, sworn statements, correspondence and memoranda; official reports, memoranda and written referrals from other government agencies, including Federal, state and local; from the various courts and regulatory agencies; and information from foreign government agencies and international organizations.

The source of the data in the Freedom of Information Act correspondence control index is those individuals who seek information under that Act.

Not only all the systems contain information received from sources which are exempted from disclosure pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 552a (j) and (k).

Systems exempted from certain provisions of the act: The Attorney General has exempted this system from subsections (c)(3) and (4), (d), (e)(1), (2) and (3), (e)(4)(G), (H) and (I), (e)(5) and (8), (f), (g),

(h) of the Privacy Act pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 552a (j) and (k). Rules have been promulgated in accordance with the requirements of 5 U.S.C. 553(b), (c) and (e) and have been published in the Federal Register.

JUSTICE/WSPF - 001

System name: Watergate Special Prosecution Force Investigative and Prosecutory Files - WSPF 1.

System location: Watergate Special Prosecution Force, U.S. Department of Justice; 1425 K Street, N.W.; Washington, D.C. 20005. No plans have been formalized for the location of these records after the dissolution of the Watergate Special Prosecution Force.

Categories of individuals covered by the system: Persons referred to in potential or actual cases and matters of concern to the Watergate Special Prosecution Force and correspondents on subjects directed or referred to the Watergate Special Prosecution Force.

Categories of records in the system: The system consists of alphabetical indices bearing individual names and the associated records to which they relate arranged by subject matter or containing the general and particular records of all WSPF correspondence, cases, matters and memoranda, including, but not limited to, testimony, investigative reports, correspondence to and from the Watergate Special Prosecutor's Office, memoranda, legal paper, evidence and exhibits. The system also includes all items classified in the interest of national security as confidential, secret and top secret received and maintained by the Watergate Special Prosecutor's Office.

Authority for maintenance of the system: This system is established and maintained to implement the provisions codified in 28 C.F.R. 0.38 and Appendix.

Routine uses of records maintained in the system, including categories of users and the purposes of such uses: A record maintained in this system of records may be disseminated as a routine use of such record as follows: (1) in any case in which there is an indication of a violation or potential violation of law, whether civil, criminal, or regulatory in nature, the record in question may be disseminated to the appropriate federal, state, local, or foreign agency charged with the responsibility for investigating or prosecuting such violation or charged with enforcing or implementing such law; (2) in the course of investigating the potential or actual violation of any law, whether civil, criminal, or regulatory in nature, or during the course of a trial or hearing or the preparation for a trial or hearing for such violation, a record may be disseminated to a federal, state, local, or foreign agency, or to an individual or organization, if there is reason to believe that such agency, individual, or organization possesses information relating to the investigation, trial, or hearing and the dissemination is reasonably necessary to elicit such information or to obtain the cooperation of a witness or an informant; (3) a record relating to a case or matter may be disseminated to the appropriate federal, state, local, or foreign court or grand jury in accordance with established constitutional, substantive, or procedural law or practice; (4) a record relating to a case or matter may be disseminated to a federal, state, or local administrative or regulatory proceeding or hearing in accordance with the procedures governing such proceeding or hearing; (5) a record relating to a case or matter may be disseminated to an actual or potential party or his attorney for the purpose of negotiation or discussion on such matters as settlement of the case or matter, plea bargaining, or informal discovery proceedings; (6) a record relating to a case or matter that has been referred by an agency for investigation, prosecution, or enforcement, or that involves a case or matter within the jurisdiction of an agency, may be disseminated to such agency to notify the agency of the status of the case or matter or of any decision or determination that has been made, or to make such other inquiries and reports as are necessary during the processing of the case or matter; (7) a record relating to a person held in custody pending or during arraignment, trial, sentence, or extradition proceedings, or after conviction or after extradition proceedings, may be disseminated to a federal, state, local, or foreign prison, probation, parole, or pardon authority, or to any other agency or individual concerned with the maintenance, transportation or release of such a person; (8) a record relating to a case or matter may be disseminated to a foreign country pursuant to an international treaty or convention entered into and ratified by the United States or to an executive agreement; (9) a record may be disseminated to a federal, state, local, foreign, or international law enforcement agency to assist in the general crime prevention and detection efforts of the recipient agency or to provide investigative leads to such agency; (10) a record may be disseminated to a federal agency, in



NEWS FROM
POPULATION INSTITUTE

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

GUEST SPEAKERS
IN A DISCUSSION WITH THE MEDIA
ON
"UNITED STATES IMMIGRATION: OUR SILENT GROWTH"

TUESDAY, JULY 27, 1976

8 A.M.

BALLROOM, NATIONAL PRESS CLUB
14TH AND F STREETS, WASHINGTON, D.C.

DR. JORGE A. BUSTAMANTE

Associate Professor, Center of Sociological Studies,
El Colegio de Mexico

Dr. Bustamante is a specialist on immigration and U.S.-Mexican border relations. He serves as consultant to the Mexican Secretary of Exterior Relations on immigration of Mexican workers to the United States. He has also been consultant to the National Institute of Labor Studies of the Mexican Department of Labor, the Mexican National Population Council, and the International Labor Organization in Geneva, Switzerland, on international migration of workers.

A native of Chihuahua, Mexico, Dr. Bustamante received his graduate degrees in sociology at Notre Dame University. He previously received a law degree from the Colegio del Valle at the Centro Universitario in Mexico and served as legal advisor to the Secretary General of the Latin American Universities Association. He also served as consultant to the Carnegie and Ford foundations on selection of internships and fellowships for minority students.

Dr. Bustamante has taught courses in international law, Mexican foreign policy and the social and political sciences at Notre Dame, the University of Texas, Ciudad University and the College of Mexico. He has lectured extensively throughout the United States and Mexico on the subject of Mexican immigration to the U.S. and its effect on the labor market.

LEONARD F. CHAPMAN JR.

Commissioner, U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service

Commissioner Chapman is concerned with the influx of illegal aliens into the U.S., its effect on the future of the U.S. and the difficulties his agency has in enforcing present immigration restrictions. He advocates improved controls against illegal immigration.

A military man for 37 years, Chapman was, until 1972, Commandant of the U.S. Marine Corps and a four-star general. He is now retired. He served in the Pacific in World War II aboard the U.S.S. Astoria in the battles of Coral Sea and Midway. His Marine Corps career includes duty as Regimental Commander of the 12th Marines and Commanding General of the Force Troops, Fleet Marine Force in the Atlantic.

Commissioner Chapman holds the Legion of Merit, Bronze Star; Distinguished Service Medal; Armed Forces Management Association Merit Award; and two Gold Stars.

ALBERTO R. GARCIA

Founder and President,
United California Mexican American Association

Alberto Garcia works to assist immediate family members of Mexicans already living in the United States to emigrate and legalize their status here. As West Coast Chairman of the National Alliance on Immigration Law, he is concerned with protection of the civil rights and treatment of immigrants by various U.S. agencies and is active in trying to eliminate bureaucratic red tape with which he feels immigrants must deal.

Garcia is interested in promoting "respectable and pride-giving employment to those who are now offered only non-opportunity work" in the United States. He is critical of the operations of the departments of Justice; State and Labor and the Immigration Service in regard to their dealings with immigrants.

In his home area of Southern California, Garcia works on a one-to-one basis with Mexicans waiting to come to the United States legally and with new citizens and aliens who are caught up in a web of technicalities. He is regarded an expert in doing research for attorneys on immigration law. He is chairman of the San Diego County Immigration Council and a member of the Human Resources Advisory Board for the County of San Diego.

WILLIAM H. LUERS

Deputy Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs,
U.S. Department of State

William Luers' major responsibilities in the State Department are currently United States relations with Mexico, the Caribbean, Venezuela and Colombia. He has been with the Department of State since 1957.

Since entering the Foreign Service, Luers has served in Italy, Germany, the Soviet Union and Venezuela. In Washington, he has been assigned to the Soviet Desk, done research on Soviet affairs and served as Desk Officer for Guyana, Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles. He has also been Deputy Executive Secretary of the department.

Luers taught a graduate course on the Soviet Political System at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Affairs in 1967-9 and 1973-4 and a graduate seminar on Soviet Affairs at George Washington University in 1974 and 1975. He has also published articles on the politics of Soviet culture and Marxism in Latin America.

DAVID S. NORTH

Director, Center for Labor and Migration Studies,
New TransCentury Foundation

David North is a specialist in the field of immigration and its effect on the labor market. He has done studies for three federal agencies, written numerous articles and testified on Capitol Hill on this subject.

North is currently directing a research project, funded by the Department of Labor, on the role of legal nonimmigrants in the labor market. These are persons who have entered the U.S. legally by means other than immigration quotas.

Recently completed have been two other research projects on immigration. One, which North conducted with Marion F. Houstoun, was also for the Department of Labor and is the first U.S. government-supported study on the role of illegal aliens in the labor market. It was based on interviews with 793 apprehended and 51 unapprehended illegal aliens, all of whom had spent at least two weeks in the U.S. labor market.

The other study was for the Immigration and Naturalization Service and is an examination of a subgroup of visa abusers -- those people who, when they seek admission at ports of entry, are potentially identifiable as mala fide applicants for admission.

In 1975, North did a research design for the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration of the Justice Department which the Immigration Service is now implementing in its first major effort to study the numbers, distribution, characteristics and impact of illegal aliens in the United States.

North formerly worked for the U.S. government as Executive Director of the Inter-Agency Committee on Mexican Affairs. This agency represented the U.S. Spanish communities within the federal structure.



1980

CINCO DE MAYO

at

SADDLEBACK COMMUNITY COLLEGE

Presented By

MECHA

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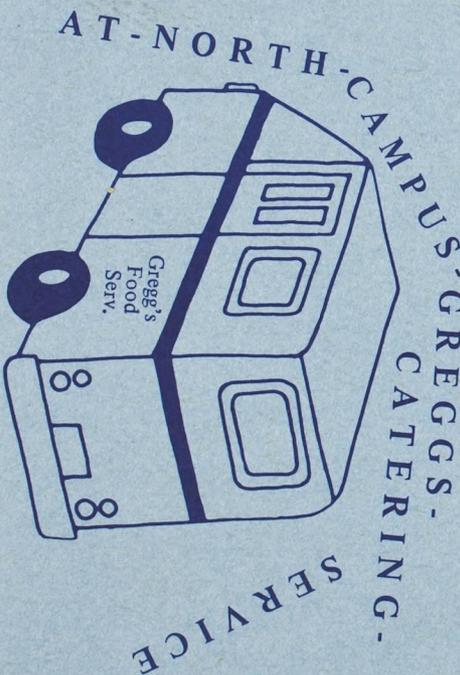
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CINCO DE MAYO

Day Performance Program

- 10 – 10:10 a.m. Introductions: MECHA Representative
- Hosts: Dr. Robert A. Lombardi, Superintendent/President
Pete Espinosa – EOPS Director
ASB Representative
Community Services Representative
- 10:15 – 10:45 a.m. Mariachis
- 10:45 – 11 a.m. Narrative of Cinco De Mayo
- 11 a.m. – 1:30 p.m. Dancers
- 1:30 – 2:30 p.m. Herman Baca, Keynote Speaker
- 2:30 – 3 p.m. Music
- 3 p.m. Conclusion

EMPLOYMENT & TRAINING OPPORTUNITIES

AVAILABLE SERVICES

- | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------|
| VOCATIONAL TRAINING | JOB COUNSELING |
| BUSINESS/SECRETARIAL | CAREER TESTING |
| ELECTRONIC TECHNICIAN | ON-THE-JOB TRAINING |
| SOLAR ENERGY | WELDING |
| PRINT TECHNICIAN | |

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The County of Orange

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CINCO DE MAYO

Evening Performance Program

- 6 – 6:15 p.m. Introduction
Emma Malagon – MECHA President
Hosts: Dr. Robert A. Lombardi, Superintendent/President
Pete Espinosa – EOPS Director
ASB Representative
Community Services Representative
- 6:15 – 7:15 p.m. Mexicapan, Ballet Folklorico
- 7:15 – 7:30 p.m. Intermission
- 7:30 – 8:30 p.m. Mexicapan, Ballet Folklorico
- 8:30 – 8:45 p.m. Intermission
- 8:45 – 9:45 p.m. Teatro Ensamble

Two One Act Plays
1) Dos cares de patroncito
2) Los Vendidos
- 9:45 – 10 p.m. Intermission
- 10 – 11 p.m. Pachuco Dancers

SADDLEBACK COMMUNITY COLLEGE DISTRICT BOARD OF TRUSTEES

Robert L. Price, President; William L. Watts, Vice-President;
Eugene C. McKnight, Clerk; John C. Connolly; Robert L. Moore;
Larry W. Taylor; Harriett S. Walther
Robert A. Lombardi, Superintendent/President

What can be done to stop deportations?

The people responsible for the deportation raids have tremendous resources at their disposal; the press and the state machine (courts, police, state legislatures, Congress, the INS, etc.) are eager to carry out their will. But those threatened by deportations, your undocumented friends, neighbors, and co-workers, can defend themselves only by their own efforts and the aid of you, their documented and citizen brothers and sisters. Your active support is urgently necessary. We urge everyone to carry out the following suggestions as a contribution to the overall effort to end deportations forever.

-Refuse to co-operate with la Migra in its attempts to round up and deport noncitizens.

-Defend the rights of undocumented workers to organize and participate in labor unions.

-Speak out against lies and slanders on the subject of the foreign-born and their presence in the U.S.

-Organize in your union or community organizations to win support for the following demands:

1. Legalize the residence status of all noncitizens in the United States.
2. Disarm and disband la Migra.
3. Guarantee the democratic rights of all resident noncitizens.



August, 1974: Thousands of people, citizens and noncitizens, documented and undocumented, workers, students, the unemployed, members of every national group, gather in Los Angeles from all over the southwest to express their opposition to the INS deportation raids.

NO MORE DEPORTATIONS!

Deportations are on the rise.

Over the past several years tens of thousands of persons have been arrested and deported from the United States. Throughout the country, in city after city, the deportation raids carried out by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (or "la Migra" as it is known in Spanish-speaking communities in the southwest) have increasingly taken on the character of military operations, systematic campaigns of mass terror against oppressed national minority communities. While the most extensive and outrageous incidents have taken place in the southwest (especially in Los Angeles and San Francisco), no region of the country has been overlooked; the INS has carried out its attacks nationwide. Mexicans and other Latin Americans in the southwest, Greeks, Yugoslavs and Poles in the east, and Chinese, Koreans, Filipinos and others throughout the country have all at one time or another been the object of the INS raids. The raids themselves have varied greatly. Some, for example the mass raids in Los Angeles in late 1974-early 1975, were almost totally indiscriminate. Thousands of people, citizens and noncitizens alike, were stopped on the streets and rounded up solely on the basis that they looked like they might be "illegal aliens." Along with many thousands of Mexicans and other Latin Americans, a number of Puerto Ricans and Chicanos unfortunate enough to be caught without proof of their status were sent "back to Mexico." On the other hand, more recent raids have been meticulously planned, carefully timed, and flawlessly carried out. Several months ago, dozens of heavily-armed Migra agents, equipped with paddy wagons and helicopters, raided a Los Angeles clothing factory and arrested hundreds of undocumented workers. The raid was carried out on the afternoon of a payday in order to save the company thousands of dollars in wages. Moreover, the raid wiped out a vigorous and growing movement toward union organization in the factory. Clearly the entire operation was planned by the INS and the factory owners working hand-in-hand.

Foreign-born workers do not cause unemployment!

The U.S. economy, as everyone is well aware, is falling apart, and this is the excuse for the current attack on the foreign-born. Last year, U.S. Attorney General William Saxbe proposed the deportation of one million undocumented workers as the solution to the unemployment problem. Foreigners are stealing jobs from U.S. citizens, the argument went, so if we can only deport enough aliens, the problems of the U.S. economy will be solved. The pretense goes on. In November, 1975, the INS repeated the same tired lie that foreign workers create unemployment and pledged to step up their raids and deportations.

But even a little examination shows this argument to be a fraud. In fiscal 1974-5, 700,000 were deported. Unemployment was worse at the end of the period than at the beginning. To find the real reason for the collapse of the U.S. economy, we must look elsewhere: anarchy of production, profit rather than social usefulness as the criterion for what is to be produced, increasing capitalist investment in and exploitation of foreign countries, the normal capitalist business cycle of boom and collapse. These reasons and others like them are the true factors causing the breakdown of the U.S. economy. The idea that unemployment, poverty, and social misery are caused by having too many productive members of society is a strange one. The real problem is not that there are too many working people, but that the capitalist system is incapable of organizing production on a rational basis. Clearly the notion

that foreign workers have brought about the economic crisis is a device of the bourgeoisie, the capitalist ruling class, to shift the blame from themselves and to weaken the working class by creating an artificial division in it. The economic problems of the United States will not be solved by the deportation of foreign-born workers, but by the deportation of capitalism to the scrap heap of history.

Deportations, needless to say, don't just happen by themselves. And they don't just happen by accident. They are a conscious, planned policy on the part of the state. But why? To answer this question, we must determine who it is the state represents, serves, and defends.

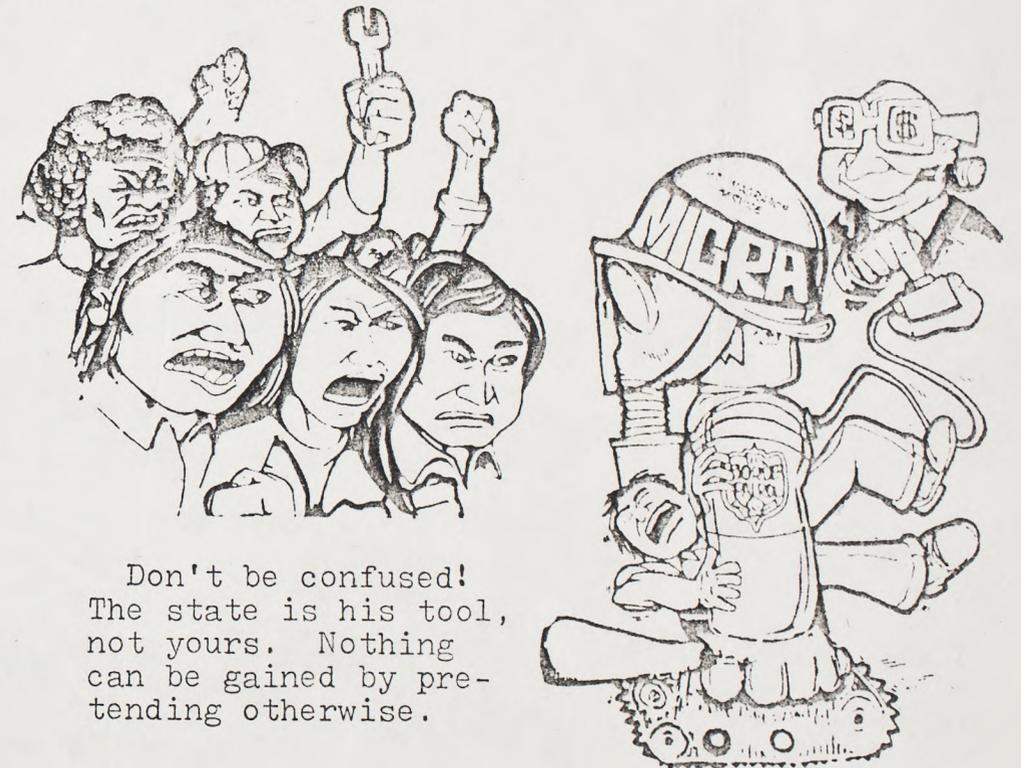


A lesson in bourgeois economics. Capitalist to the worker who is a U.S. citizen: "Your problem is that Mexican over there."

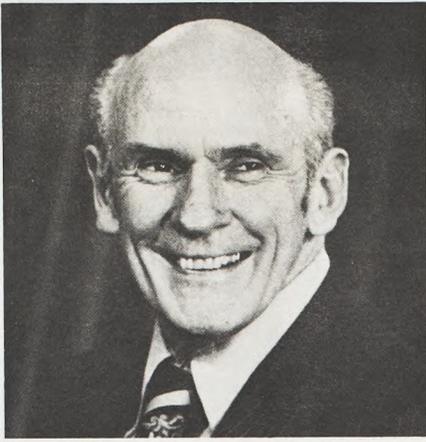
Why deportations? Who benefits from them?

The state doesn't represent everyone. The opinions of the vast majority of the people in the United States are never considered in the formulation of public policy. The government represents and defends the interests of a few of the wealthiest and most powerful members of society. That is its purpose: to impose the will of the rich and powerful on the rest of us. We can't appeal to the state to defend us against the rich and powerful because it's their tool, not ours.

Right now it's in the interests of the ruling capitalist class to push deportations. There are two reasons for this. First, due to the economic crisis, the capitalists don't need all the foreign workers whose immigration they themselves encouraged in better times. (Five years ago you never saw anything about "illegal aliens" in the press.) Second, by pushing for deportations now, the capitalists hope to divert the blame for the economic crisis from themselves onto the foreign-born.



Don't be confused! The state is his tool, not yours. Nothing can be gained by pretending otherwise.



U.S. SENATOR
ALAN CRANSTON

Reports To Californians

DEAR FRIEND . . .

By the time she was three years old, Jenny had lived in eight different foster homes. She was functionally blind. She had deformed hands. She wouldn't talk. She was diagnosed as mentally retarded and emotionally unstable.

Still, Jenny was lucky. She finally was adopted by a loving couple who made a permanent home for her. The couple took on an enormous emotional burden, staggering medical costs, and many needless bureaucratic tangles with conflicting state adoption laws.

Jenny was adopted from a state other than where her adoptive parents live. When she needed surgery before the adoption was final, both states refused assistance, each claiming that the child was the other state's responsibility. Her parents went deeply into debt to pay for her medical expenses.

But they were not deterred. They went on to adopt a two-year-old, brain-damaged boy, and they would have taken two more "special needs" children into their family if they could have counted on some outside financial support.

I met Jenny's parents and other couples in similar circumstances during recent Senate hearings on my bill entitled the Opportunities for Adoption Act of 1977 (S.961). This bill would break down many barriers to interstate adoption and would attempt to match willing parents and permanent homes with children that for one reason or another are considered "hard-to-place." It would also provide post-adoption family services and subsidies for the new parents of a child with special medical or educational needs.

In California alone there are nearly 10,000 children who are shifted about from one temporary foster home or institution to another, whose only chance for breaking out of the system is through adoption. But because of age or race, physical disabilities, birth defects or emotional problems, many of these children are considered "unadoptable." Meanwhile, there are many couples whose hearts are so big that they are eager to reach out and help the children no one else wants. Would-be adoptive parents must be helped, not hindered, in their efforts to make homes for children who have special needs.

Adoption reform is just one of several children's issues coming out of the newly-reorganized Senate Human Resources Subcommittee on Child and Human Development. As the new chairman of that subcommittee, I'm taking on an expanded new area of legislative responsibility. The previous chairman was former Senator -- now Vice President -- Walter F. Mondale.

The subcommittee has also produced a plan to expand and improve federal efforts to deal with the tragedy of child abuse and child neglect. In the months ahead, we will be working to improve day care, child health and education, and several measures to promote the stability of the American family.

The destruction of a family -- a child's traditional defense against the outside world -- leaves the child especially vulnerable in our society. Children are the first to suffer from broken homes, from unemployment, poverty and all the pressures and frustrations that tear at the fabric of the traditional home.

Most everything government does -- or does not do -- has a magnified impact on the lives and well-being of children. Yet they are the largest group in our society with no direct voting representation in government. Someone must speak for them. And someone must speak for the family. Government must take seriously its responsibilities for the preservation and support of the American family. Government actions must never contribute to the break-up or weakening of that social unit which gives humans their best chance for growth and personal achievement.

Without a stable family, children too often become the victims of exploitation and violence. But within the structure of a loving home, the restorative powers of human caring are nearly boundless.

Consider again the story of Jenny. After four years in her adoptive home, the little girl who was considered mentally retarded is in the top of her second grade class. She has written the following about herself in a class essay:

"When Mom and Dad got me, my hands, my eyes, and talking didn't work. But now my hands, my eyes, and talking work very well. My hands work well thanks to Dr. Butler. My eyes work thanks to Dr. Lederman. And I talk well because Mom and Dad love me and we are a family."

IN THIS ISSUE

A Special Report on
Illegal Immigration 2 & 3
Drilling Into the Earth for Water 4

Alan Cranston

Illegal Immigration:

an interview with Senator Cranston

Q. Why hasn't something been done before now about the flood of illegal aliens in our country?

A. The problem has been swept under the rug far too long. Before 1965, there was no limitation at all on people coming into the United States from Canada and Mexico. Our expanding economy accommodated a steady flow of inexpensive labor. The government and private employers actively recruited workers from Mexico to fill jobs that were generally shunned by American citizens. Then in the 1970's, rising American unemployment and a slower growth rate coincided with a Mexican population boom and increased immigration. No one knows the exact figures, but today it's generally believed that millions of people from many different lands are living and working within our borders illegally, in virtually all our states. Not only Mexico, but Carribean nations, Latin America, Asia, Southern Europe and Iran send their share of illegal immigrants. The number grows daily. With so many Americans still out of work, and our public resources severely strained, the time is at hand for a candid appraisal and for concerted government action.

Q. A lot of people say illegal aliens take jobs from Americans and overload schools, welfare and health care systems. What are the facts?

A. By the best available evidence, the typical illegal entrant comes from Mexico, finds a job within 10 days and stays here no more than six months. Of those from Mexico, only about one

"...the typical illegal entrant comes from Mexico, finds a job within 10 days and stays here no more than six months. Of those from Mexico, only about one in 15 attempts to stay here permanently."

in 15 attempts to stay here permanently. He probably works as a farm laborer, a dishwasher or restaurant waiter, in that order.

Considering not only the present wage scale for those jobs, but the fact that many aliens are exploited under sub-standard wages and working conditions, they probably are not taking jobs away from American citizens. The fact is that illegals are frequently paid considerably less than the minimum wage, and often work under unsafe and unhealthy conditions. It is true, however, that some illegal aliens hold high-paying jobs in industry which citizens and legal residents would otherwise occupy.

As for public services, a San Diego County survey this year shows illegals paying \$48 million in taxes



and utilizing only about \$2 million worth of social services in the county. I'm not sure that this is an accurate picture of the over-all situation, however. It is clear that illegal aliens generally are afraid to sign up for social services for fear they will be detected and deported.

Q. You make it sound as if there's no problem.

A. There is a problem, of course. The border with Mexico has become a human sieve. It's unnatural to find as much as 10 percent of Mexico's total population living within our own national borders. California obviously feels this imbalance particularly heavily. Because illegal aliens are an easily exploitable class outside the protection of U.S. labor laws, the unscrupulous employer who takes advantage of illegal aliens holds an unfair advantage over a competitor who pays standard wages, who withholds social security and other payroll taxes, and who provides a

decent workplace for his employees. That is an unfair situation.

Q. Then what can be done?

A. First, Congress must give the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service the means and directives to do its job. It is inexcusable that it takes up to two years in Los Angeles to process an application for a person who has every legal right to be here. Undocumented aliens who except for the slowness of the bureaucracy would be legal residents must be set apart administratively from those who have no such right. Second, we must have better control over the border. There must be more officers assigned to the border and better checks of aliens entering through U.S. airports. Though there's no way to close the

border totally -- certainly we can't build a Berlin-type wall for 2,200 miles. Third, we need a realistic and enforceable immigration policy geared to the nation's need for labor skills. If more foreign labor genuinely is needed, it ought to be allowed in legally, not under the fence where it can too easily be exploited.

Q. What about those who knowingly hire illegal aliens?

A. We have to remove the unfair advantage that accrues from hiring undocumented workers. I have proposed a special task force using existing federal and state tax agents and labor standards inspectors to ferret out violations of current laws governing the minimum wage, tax withholdings, and employee working conditions. The task force would not engage in "fishing expeditions," but would go into action when illegal aliens are discovered to be on a payroll. Employers will soon lose the incentive for hiring illegals if it turns out to be a lightning rod that attracts federal agents to their plants.

Q. There is a bill before Congress, the Rodino bill, that prescribes criminal penalties for hiring an illegal alien. How about that?

A. I'm not sure that it's wise to make employers responsible for determining who has entered the country legally and who hasn't. The Rodino bill would put employers in the position of being policemen -- doing the work of immigration agents who have the legal responsibility for that job. Many legitimate employers might find it easier and safer not to hire any Latinos rather than risk prosecution. That approach could touch off a new wave of discrimination against Spanish-speaking and other foreign-born persons who have become American citizens. The Carter Administration is considering a new approach which would involve bringing court actions against employers who engage in a "pattern or practice" of hiring illegal aliens.

What Must Be Done

Q. What about an unforgeable citizen ID card?

A. First, is it really possible to make an ID card that nobody can forge? Second, even if we could, is it really a good idea? An ID card can quickly become an internal passport, putting the burden of proof on every citizen to show police or government agents that he or she has a right to be here. It can lead to a national registry of the population -- of every single man, woman and child -- with fingerprints and photographs. That was one of the first tools of the Hitler and Mussolini dictatorships. As a universal citizen identifier, the mandatory ID card can be the first step toward a police state.

Q. Isn't that an exaggeration?

A. No. Maybe appropriate restrictions of the legal purposes of an ID card could be worked out, but without them, think of how it could work. If everyone had to have an ID card, immigration officers and other law enforcement officials could challenge people on the streets. They would not be so likely to ask light-skinned people to produce proof of citizenship, but anyone who doesn't "look like an American," or "sound like an American," could be stopped and ordered to prove his or her right to be here. If the "suspect" could not show proof he would be taken into custody, and subjected to immediate "voluntary" deportation, without benefit of trial, hearing, or further due process of law. Again, the Carter Administration is seeking a compromise solution that would avoid this sort of discrimination and dangerous consequence.

Q. What about those who come into our country illegally and then commit crimes?

A. First, we must limit as much as

we can the ability of people to cross the border at will. Then, if they are in the U.S. and break the law, they should be made to stand trial here and face the consequences. Too often now an illegal alien who commits a crime is simply shipped back across the border. There should be no such safe haven for lawbreakers. In addition we should crack down on professional smugglers of illegal aliens -- those who add to the problem by smuggling

lawful resident. The fact is that those who have been here for five years or so -- and that doesn't mean a huge number -- have become pretty well established. Some have married American citizens, or have children born here who consequently are American citizens. To expel those people would tear up communities, destroy families and put their dependents who are American citizens on welfare, all to no appropriate social

"We need a realistic and enforceable immigration policy geared to the nation's need for labor skills. If more foreign labor genuinely is needed, it ought to be allowed in legally, not under the fence where it can too easily be exploited."

Mexico's poor into the U.S. for a price. Presently these offenders are charged with a misdemeanor and given light penalties. There is a law on the books that says smuggling aliens is a felony carrying a 2-3 year sentence. It should be enforced. Aliens who testify against the smugglers should be offered immunity from prosecution. I recently discussed with Attorney General Griffin Bell ways of cracking down on the smuggling of illegals and he was very interested in this approach.

Q. What about amnesty for illegal aliens?

A. I agree with California Attorney General Evelle Younger, President Carter and many others, that aliens who have been here for a period of years, and have violated no American law other than the law relating to entry, should be permitted to apply for documented status as a permanent

end. A blanket amnesty, however, is not justifiable.

Q. Will this problem always be with us?

A. It will as long as we share a relatively open 2,200-mile common border with Mexico, which when compared to the U.S. is a vastly under-developed country. The ultimate solutions are to work toward full employment in our country and to promote economic development in their country. It's been estimated that there are untapped oil reserves in Mexico as large as Saudi Arabia's. If we can work out ways for American capital to help Mexico develop its own natural resources, Mexican workers will find incentives to work at home.

Meanwhile, the United States will be tested to protect itself from a growing tide of illegal entrants, while maintaining our own open society and traditions of hospitality and justice.

Q & A

"I favor decriminalization of marihuana. Why not a federal law like California's and those of other states where they have eliminated penalties for private possession and not-for-profit transfer of small quantities of the drug?"

Barry C. Bass, M.D.
Pasadena

I have joined with Senator Jacob Javits, a New York Republican, on a bill making possession of small amounts of marihuana a civil infraction in federal law, subject to a fine not to exceed \$100 rather than arrest. This would not legalize the use or possession of marihuana. Nor would it change federal penalties for possession of large amounts or sale of the drug for profit. It does parallel the new California law. In the first 20 months it was in effect, there was only a three percent increase among people who said they smoke marihuana. And only a small fraction of that number say the change in the law influenced their decision. Meanwhile, it is estimated that local criminal justice agencies in California this year will save over \$25 million by

stopping the largely futile efforts to enforce the old harsh penalties.

* * *

"I'm no engineer, but I'm hearing more and more that the technology exists now to build a clean-burning car. Volvo did it with equipment designed by a U.S. firm in New Jersey. Yet the big auto manufacturers say they still can't meet the standards set by the Clean Air Act of 1970. That's absurd!"

William J. Krumbein
Santa Rosa

Right now the Senate is working on a new round of proposed amendments to the Clean Air Act. The House has already passed some amendments that weaken the enforcement timetable on clean air standards for automobiles. Senators from Michigan are expected to push for a major change in the act to stall enforcement of all automobile pollution standards until the early 1980's. Others of us will continue to oppose any weakening of the Clean Air Act, and will press for its early enforcement of standards as stringent as California's state requirements.

79
drought forces new methods

Going Underground For Water

California farmers this year have headed off wholesale crop loss from the drought by drilling deeper into the earth to tap ground water. But the water table is dropping at an alarming rate. Many fear possible ground subsidence, depleted soils -- even another Dust Bowl -- if the drought continues into another year.

Meanwhile scientists in Fresno are experimenting with ways to replenish artificially the underground water supply. At a small field station operated by the U.S. Department of Agriculture, they have shown that the water table can be recharged to store water in wet months to be used as needed in dry months.

A Promising Effort

I visited the ground water project while traveling in the Central Valley recently with President Carter. It is a promising effort that deserves more consideration when Congress takes up the federal budget for water research.

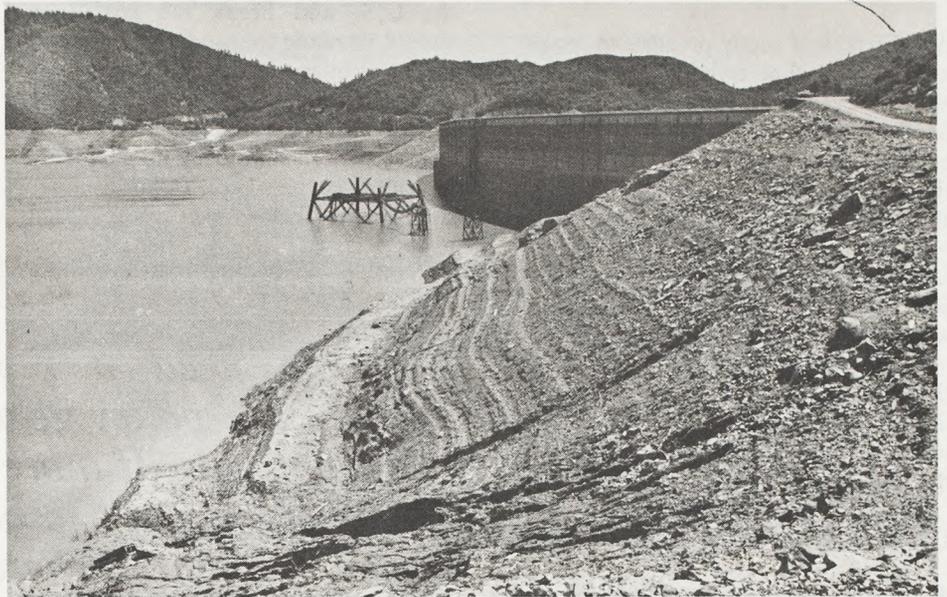
Project engineers have shown considerable success with recharging underground water reservoirs around Fresno by spreading water on the ground so it can percolate into the water table. Another method is to irrigate certain crops off-season, when there is plenty of water, drawing back the excess as needed in the summer.

In the future storing water underground may prove to be an economical approach that can reduce the need for costly new surface water storage facilities and distribution systems. The California drought has shown that the most elaborate surface water facilities can't be depended upon if the rains don't come for a long period of time.

Already In Use

The Fresno project shows that water can be stored underground for as little as \$1.42 per acre foot.

This technique is not new. The Metropolitan Water District of Southern California has used it for years. They spread excess water onto abandoned gravel pits and along dry river beds, such as portions of the Santa Ana River. Fresh water is mixed with reclaimed waste water, then allowed to percolate into the ground for further purification and stored in



The water stored behind Shasta Dam in Northern California had already dropped dangerously low in February of this year. Underground water storage may prove a more reliable -- and cheaper -- means of storing water.

underground reservoirs. It is later pumped out for use in Los Angeles and Orange County.

Ground water recharge accounts for nearly 200,000 acre feet of water -- or about 10 percent of the total supply sold by MWD each year. There is the potential for much wider use of the technique in California and elsewhere.

Coming World Shortage

Our drought in California may be just the most dramatic example of a coming worldwide water shortage. Some of those who study global weather patterns believe that the planet may be moving into an era of unstable weather that could deprive many well-established agricultural regions of rainfall that used to be reliable.

Artificial ground water recharge -- and other innovative techniques for using and storing water -- deserve serious consideration.

MAIL COUNT

In the period between May 1 and June 2, my office in Washington, D.C., received 42,091 letters and telegrams and sent out 17,880 replies. So far this year the office has received 150,514 pieces of mail, mostly from Californians.

OK for Quake Bill--Again

The Senate once again has passed my bill to step up scientific research on how to predict earthquakes and reduce their destructiveness. The Earthquake Hazards Reduction Act, S.126, is much the same as the bill which passed the Senate last year but wasn't approved by the House.

Chances for success are much improved this year. The Carter Administration appreciates the potential savings in lives and property from a coordinated and realistic approach to earthquake prediction.

Hopefully S.126 and its companion bill in the House will be ready for President Carter's signature by mid-summer.

Senator S.I. Hayakawa is one of the bill's cosponsors.

Room 229
Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510
(202) 224-3553

UNITED STATES SENATE

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

Alan Cranston
U. S. S.

YOLANDA M. LOPEZ
5058 CAPE MAY AVE.
SAN DIEGO, CA 92107

**REGISTRATION FORM
P.A.D.R.E.S. NATIONAL CONGRESS
April 20-23, 1981**

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
Tel No. (Area Code) _____

TO REGISTER CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX

La Plaza Hotel will take care of Room & Board arrangements, in order to reserve a room please indicate below.

/ / Single a night \$72.00 (3 nights)
/ / Double a night \$51.00 (3 nights)
/ / I will make other arrangements

Please make checks payable to: La Plaza Hotel
Return to P.A.D.R.E.S. National Office
3112 W. Ashby St.
San Antonio, TX. 78228

- Registration Fee \$35.00
- Registration Fee after April 15, 1981 \$40.00

- Banquet Meal is only meal included in Registration Fee. There is an excellent restaurant in Hotel lobby and several others near by.
- Congress Participants will be responsible for arranging their own meal.
- the Planning Committee requests that you plan your departure for **afternoon** of April 23.
- Rev. Raphael Miranda is in charge of pick-ups at Airport. If you are arriving by train or bus and need a ride to Hotel please send arrival plans to Raphael at:

Rev. Raphael Miranda
8011 Williamette
El Paso, TX. 79907
(915) 591-0688
- Mexican American Cultural Center Bookstore will have an exhibit at the Congress.
- Persons wishing to take Field Trips, please plan to be in Plaza lobby at 10:30 a.m.



**"SOLIDARITY
WITH
CHURCH
IN
LATIN
AMERICA"**

**P.A.D.R.E.S.
NATIONAL CONGRESS**

April 20-23, 1981

at

**Plaza Motor Hotel
P.O. Box 1770
El Paso, Texas 79949
(915) 532-5661**

MONDAY, APRIL 20

- 9:00 a.m. REGISTRATION
- 10:00 a.m. MEETING P.A.D.R.E.S.
Board of Directors
- 10:30 a.m. FIELD TRIPS
Migration & Refugee Center
Food Bank - Juarez
International Bridge
Meet in lobby of Plaza Hotel
- 12:00 p.m. LUNCH (on your own)
- 1:30 p.m. OPENING SESSION
CALL TO ORDER
Rev. Luis Olivares
INVOCATION
Rev. Francisco Herrera
WELCOME
Most Rev. Raymundo Peña
PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT
Rev. Luis Olivares, C.M.F.
- 2:15 p.m. INTRODUCTION TO KEYNOTE
SPEAKER
Most Rev. Jose A. Llaguno
- 3:15 p.m. BREAK
- 3:30 p.m. INTRODUCTION TO KEYNOTE
SPEAKER
Rev. Si Smith, S.J.
- 5:00 p.m. BREAK
- 5:30 p.m. LITURGY - Immaculate
Conception Church
Most Rev. Jose A. Llaguno
- 7:30 p.m. RECONVENE/WORKING
SESSION
Rev. Patrick Guillen
Sr. Rosa Marta Zarate

TUESDAY, APRIL 21

- 6:30 a.m. BREAKFAST (on your own)
- 8:30 a.m. CALL TO ORDER
ANNOUNCEMENTS/LOGISTICS
Chairman
- INTRODUCTION TO WORKSHOP
SPEAKER
Sr. Amata Miller, I.H.M.
- 10:30 a.m. BREAK
- 11:00 a.m. INTRODUCTION OF SECOND
SPEAKER
Mr. Thomas Quigley
- 12:30 p.m. LUNCH (on your own)
- 2:00 p.m. RECONVENE
Mr. Alfonso Alberlardo
- 4:00 p.m. Workshop on Pastoral/
Challenges to Hispanic
Church
- 6:00 p.m. LITURGY/CELEBRANT -
HOMILIST
Most Rev. Raymundo Peña
- 7:00 p.m. HAPPY HOUR
- 7:30 p.m. BANQUET-Remainder of
Evening Free

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 22

- 7:00 a.m. CALL TO ORDER/PRAYER
- 9:15 a.m. EXECUTIVE DIRECTORS REPORT
- 9:30 a.m. DIRECTORS for "81"

- 10:30 a.m. COFFEE BREAK
- 11:00 a.m. CONTINUE DISCUSSIONS
- 12:00 p.m. LUNCH (on your own)
- 2:00 p.m. CONTINUE DISCUSSIONS
- 3:00 p.m. COFFEE BREAK
- 3:30 p.m. Meeting by apostolate
Interest Groups to consider
resolutions, statements to be
presented to plenary session.
- 5:00 p.m. BREAK
- 5:30 p.m. Para-Liturgical Service
(To be announced)
- 8:00 p.m. Meeting Apostolic
Interest Groups
- 9:30 p.m. HAPPY HOUR

THURSDAY, APRIL 23(IF POSSIBLE, PLEASE TAKE CARE OF
ROOM PAYMENT IN MORNING)

- 8:30 a.m. CALL TO ORDER
Preliminaries
- 9:30 a.m. VOTING ON CONFERENCE
RESOLUTIONS
- 10:00 a.m. ROOM SIGN-OUT
- 10:30 a.m. VOTE ON RESOLUTIONS
- 11:15 a.m. ELECTION OF OFFICERS
- 12:00 p.m. CLOSING STATEMENT
New Officers

Note; if there is no one at the M.E.Ch.A. Office leave a message, name and telephone number and we will contact you as soon as possible. Also, San Diego area code number is 714.



MOVIMIENTO ESTUDIANTIL CHICANO DE AZTLÁN



M.E.Ch.A.

AT UCSD



M.E.Ch.A., Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano De Aztlán, is an organization whose interests lie in the advancement of Chicanos in higher education. Its members consist of undergraduate and graduate students, faculty, staff and alumni.

One of the major problems M.E.Ch.A. is trying to overcome is the low percentage of Third World People enrolled at universities, in particular U.C.S.D. Therefore, within M.E.Ch.A. there exists a Recruitment Committee designed to inform High School and Junior College Chicano Students about U.C.S.D. (With particular emphasis on Third College whose philosophy and goals are dedicated to the education and advancement of Third World Students.)

EDUCATION

Why is it imperative that Chicanos continue their education? The reason is clear; to obtain the education which will enable them to advance themselves and therefore better serve their community.

What are some of the services M.E.Ch.A. can provide for you at U.C.S.D.?

1) Explain academic expectations and

help ease the academic pressures that may arise.

2). Aid in arranging study groups and discussion sections for classes.

3) Provide a forum for cultural education and awareness.

4) It will aid you in getting socially acquainted with in the new atmosphere.

An aim of M.E.Ch.A. is that all students establish goals and channel them toward higher education.

If there are any questions regarding the University or M.E.Ch.A., do not hesitate to contact the student Recruitment and retention Committee representatives or the specific Administrative Offices.

M.E.Ch.A. Office 452-4667
Sarah T. Arroyo
Cindi Rivera
Diane Tostado
Juan Torres

Administrative Offices;
Admissions Office 452-3160
Financial Aid Information 452-4480
Housing Office 452-4011

Unidad



Declaration of Chicano Self-Determination
San Diego County, Ca.

When it becomes self-evident over a long period of time that certain specific individuals, groups, or organizations become detrimental to the progress and principles of our people and to our movement, then it becomes not only our responsibility but our duty to publicly confront and denounce the perpetrators who have committed these acts against the best interest and welfare of our community.

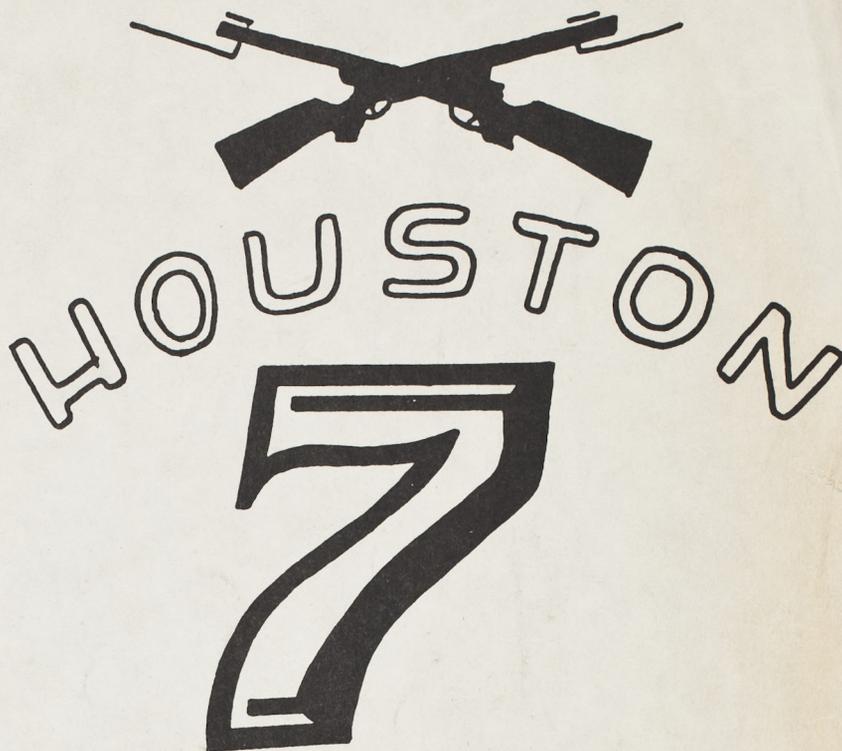
We the undersigned of this declaration which comprise the major Chicano organizations of San Diego County hereby declare to our communities and our people that:

- (1) We accuse the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) of violating the Chicano Community's sacred principle of "self determination" by:
 - (a) Disrespecting the political positions of Chicano Community Organizations.
 - (b) Calling Chicano individuals and organizations to a community meeting under false pretense.
 - (c) Using Chicano individuals and organizational names under false pretense and without their permission.
- (2) We accuse the SWP of attempting to undermine the confidence of the Chicano Community to further their own aims at the expense of our people by the above acts.
- (3) We accuse the SWP of using devious actions designed to attempt to discredit and subvert the local Chicano leadership of San Diego County by labeling them violent, reactionary, and revisionist.
- (4) We accuse the SWP of continually ignoring the request of the Chicano Community through the organizations to cease in their attempts at manipulation and co-optation of issues which effect our communities.
- (5) We accuse the SWP of acting in a patronizing, opportunistic manner, and with a colonialist mentality which presumes that the Chicano Community is incompetent and incapable of determining its' own destiny.

Therefore, let it be known here and now and by all, that we the undersigned condemn the Socialist Workers Party and their affiliate the Young Socialist Alliance, not for their philosophy or ideology, which they have a right to, but for the unprincipled political acts which have been carried out against the San Diego County Chicano Community. We hereby, also declare that because of these acts we will not work with, support or will we allow the SWP or the YSA to participate officially with our organizations or with any of our activities here in San Diego County.

Support
the

BROWN
BERET



- November 18, 1978-4:18 PM; Moody Park, Houston
- Brown Berets from Texas commemorate eighteen Chicanos killed by "law" officers with an 18 gun salute
- Ten people were arrested one hour later during a teatro performance; seven of whom are Brown Berets
- Seven Brown Berets were given maximum sentences for misdemeanors; five recieved 182 days in jail, two recieved 365 days in jail
- Brown Berets insisted to an all white jury that they were innocent, all through the trail
- Adan Hernandez, a case the Brown Berets are presently investigating, became the eighteenth victim of police murder
- Police officers who killed Jose Campos Terrez recieved minimum sentences of one year
- Your contributions are needed now for an appeal for the seven defendents
- For further information write or call:

CHICANO LEGAL DEFENSE FUND
P.O. BOX 1198
SAN JUAN, TEJAZTLAN 78589
(512) 787-8747

APRIL COALITION Preliminary Forums

More extensive forums on border and women's issues are scheduled for late April.



The **BORDER**:

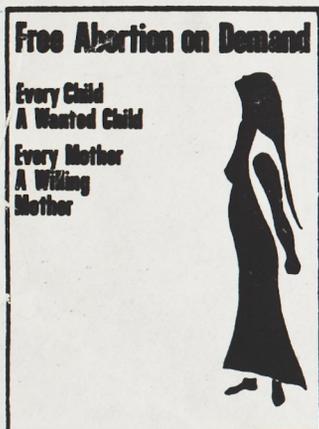
Tuesday, April 7 at 7:00 pm

Borderlands Education Committee slide presentation.

Various speakers.

UCSD

Humanities and Social Sciences Building, Room 1128.



The "HUMAN LIFE AMENDMENT":

Thursday, April 9 at 7:00 pm

Featured speaker:

Sandra Atkinson

Chair, NOW Reproductive Rights Task Force.

SDSU

Aztec Center, Conference Rooms D & E.

CHILDCARE PROVIDED

April Coalition Message Phones

San Diego Students for Peace 452-4450

National Lawyers Guild Military Task Force 233-1701

Committee Against Registration and the Draft 283-6878, 753-7518

224-6540

*Ronald
500-7069*

*may
483-0190*