

REMARKS OF BERT N. CORONA, national organizer of LA HERMANDAD MEXICANA NACIONAL, at the LOS ANGELES WORKSHOP ON "IMPACT OF MEXICAN MIGRATION ON CALIFORNIA COMMUNITIES" SESSION NO. 3, "HUMAN CONSEQUENCES OF MIGRATION"

On May 26, 1976, as a bicentennial landmark, Ellis Island was reopened. One of the principal speakers was Congresswoman Elizabeth Holtzman, now chairperson of the Sub-Committee on Immigration of the House Judiciary Committee. She paid the following tribute to immigrant workers; "Those who entered here repaid this nation a thousandfold, for along with ragged clothing and the few kopecks, or lira, or drachmas they brought, they carried America's greatness with them. The immigrants worked at the dirtiest, most dangerous, most exhausting jobs society offered. They built the canals and railroads, mined coal, worked the steel mills, and filled manufacturing lofts ....but through it all, they studied and saved, built lives for their families, and held fast to the dream that drew them here."

This brief description of the role and plight of immigrants as human beings in our land is accurate, dramatic and yet it is romantic. At least for the Mexican people in California much more than a dream is what draws us here and has drawn us here throughout history. What continues to draw the hundreds of thousands and, yes, millions of Mexicans to California is an economic reality and force as great and powerful as War, Religious and/or Political persecution.

This dominating and pervasive reality was initiated for Mexico and Mexicans with the stealing of Texas in 1835 and the ripping off of the rest of the Great Southwest from Mexico in 1848. Carey McWilliams wrote in NORTH FROM MEXICO, "This war (the U.S. war against Mexico of 1835 to 1848) left behind it several major negative consequences which are still being acutely felt a century later. First, Mexico continues to experience the destructive economic effects of this predatory war - its loss to the U.S. of vast areas of its rich farming, cattle-grazing, and fruit-raising lands. It also lost immense oil fields, huge copper deposits, and incalculable amounts of other natural resources. The general result of these losses has been to cripple Mexico's economic development, not only during the past century, but also in the present. For example, one of the most serious handicaps of present day Mexico is a great shortage of crop and pasture lands, its total being some 200 million acres; whereas the states of Texas

California, New Mexico and Arizona, which were torn away from Mexico, contain about 265 million acres of pasture and plow land, generally superior in quality."

Once the pattern of domination was initiated over Mexico and the Mexican people of the Southwest the next phase of the 'reality' is begun. This phase is the exploitation under capitalistic economic and social forms of the vast newly acquired lands of the southwest and of the economy of the contiguous motherland of Mexico. This is carried out by the most powerful economic and political forces in the U.S. Their predatory exploitation of the West and Southwestern USA and their penetration of Mexico's economic life for the same purposes gave them the name of "The Robber Barons". Then and now they are the Rockefellers, the Morgans, the Vanderbilts, the Carnegies, the Mellons, the Huntingtons and their present descendants and associates. Their present-day holdings through the vehicle of the multi-national corporation sprawl over the entire Southwest, northern, central and southern Mexico. They reach as an imperial group into the very heart and core of Mexico's financial and political structures. They dominate more totally than ever the great agribusiness enterprises of our state... grapes, lettuce, tomatoes and other crops. But they also dominate much more such as the oil and energy, mining, banking, housing, transportation, food processing and food services industries.

The human consequences of migration upon the Mexican people here have been motivated by these powerful economic, political and social forces' needs for profits and domination. The consequences are the oppression of the Chicano people on both sides of the border utilizing the virulence of racial discrimination and chauvinist ideology in the same manner that it has been historically practiced against all dark people in this most racist of all nations. For it has been and still is this exploitation and domination of Mexico and the Southwest USA

that has forced the migration of millions of Mexicans northward to join in as victims with their brothers and sisters already living on this side of the line.

The wholesale robbing of the Mexican people of the Southwest USA has been intertwined with the wholesale exploitation of the millions of immigrants forced by hunger created and maintained in great part by the dominance of Mexico's economy since the 1870's by the powerful economic giants of North America, to come north to their former home lands in search of work and subsistence for themselves and their families. To this add the level of police brutality reserved in this country for those who bear the brunt of vicious race discrimination. Against our people this has been coupled with a denial of citizenship, human rights and constitutional rights (granted to the Black people by the 14th Amendment, even though in a form distorted by racism). For many of our people the consequences are the hounding by Immigration officials not bound by any legal restraint, swift action resulting in banishment along with unrestrained brutality--a non-citizen in our own land.....deportation and police courts oppression, coupled with job discrimination and the lowest pay rates. The human consequences of our people's migration here has been the splitting of families, the most grievous of inhuman treatment by the authorities when humane considerations are raised, the violations of protective labor laws, OSHA, and other safety regulations, sanitation codes, rights to services and of course the denial of due process and the right of redress of grievances. Our great misery and suffering has given others great wealth.

In county after county growers and agribusiness enterprises are fattened daily by the abundant cheap labor of our migrant farmworkers whose human needs can be easily denied on the pretext that after all they are "illegals". The families of all those who live and profit from the bounty of agribusiness in California can afford to close the

local County hospitals and reduce or restrict all forms of human services because their incomes can well handle the private rendering of vital or necessary services but to the poor immigrant and migrant farmworkers and his family this produces intolerable and tragic consequences. Our beautiful and abundant clothing produced at great profit for the owners and managers of the garment enterprizes is obtained at the price of deep exploitation of tens of thousands of immigrant women who are not organized to defend themselves from the myriad violation of rights by their "patrones." Their bosses drive away in Mercedes' and Cadillacs to Beverly Hills, Marina Del Mar and Encino while our women garment workers come back into our barrios to live crowded, pushed around and exploited by authorities and unscrupulous merchants and professionals.

The human consequences of migration are a dichotomy, a total contradiction of those who handsomely profit from it, and many of these would be the first to deny that they are exploiters....but nevertheless the upper third tier of our society does get its services and labor done for them at very favorable prices because of the existence of the other dimension of the contradiction and that is the suffering and misery of the millions of undocumented mexican workers amongst us.

Like all other facets of life under capitalism the human consequences are a contradiction of classes. Our people being primarily the workers and other elites and owners being those who profit from the labor and suffering of these workers. This contradiction forbodes not a bright future for this state for it will be resolved only through the struggles and demands of our workers upon the owners and bosses. The possibility that this contradiction can be resolved through other means other than those of struggle by those most affected...that is the masses of undocumented workers, is very slim.

History and especially the history of our people in this nation

reminds us very pointedly that we have accomplished but little other than through our people's great struggles. Especially so when our struggles have been as organized campaigns or groups <sup>of</sup> waging them.

I  
If we are to seek a resolution of the contradiction existing in the human consequences of the migration of hundreds of thousands and millions of our people from Mexico into California, a resolution that can and must be resolved favorably to the daily life interests of our people we must dedicate ourselves to the task of the fullest and most effective mass organization of the undocumented and other disenfranchized people amongst us. This organization of our people must be also in coalition with all other disenfranchized people of all other races and creeds...especially with our black brothers and sisters, white workers, white poor, senior citizens, women and all who are struggling for liberation from oppression.

The type of organization must be a people organization. Right here in this building of the Community Service Organization we have an excellent example of the types of people organizing that can be effected. The neighborhood type organization such as UNO, SANO, MACSA, COPS, the UFWA and others is the answer. In these organizations of the people, the people must determine the issues and who their leaders are to be. They must not be tied to any political party nor to any political campaign for any given candidate. These organizations must be independent and must serve the peoples' needs 365 days a year. They cannot be folded up after the election is over or after the immediate issue appears to be resolved. We must guard and safekeep our neighborhood organizations like the apple of our eye. For many here today this is an old song. But it is still a very valid one, especially in the light of the presence of several million immigrants from Mexico in our state at this time.

These neighborhood defense and advocacy organizations of our people must also be very closely tied to the efforts of our workers to organize

themselves at their job. Those unions that are fully advancing and defending the rights of undocumented workers, women, the disabled and other denied minorities deserve our fullest support and cooperation.

II → WE must assist in the training, informing, orienting and development of our spanish speaking workers so that they can fend for themselves on the job, in building their union organization and in strengthening the unions as democratic, independent and workers organizations that they must be if they are to fully defend and represent the interest of all of their members at all times.

Si SE Puede! LA UNION HACE LA FUERZA! UN DAÑO CONTRA UNO ES UN DAÑO CONTRA TODOS!

# **CARTER OFFERS MEXICO A BRACERO (H-2) PROGRAM FOR IT'S OIL AND GAS! WHAT A BARGAIN???**

The U.S. Government, is preparing the conditions for the implementation of a new bracero program, a new program of massive importation of Mexican workers into the U.S. To serve as cheap labor and to be used against the organized labor movement in the fields and the cities.

In the past several months, the voices of the Administration, here and in Mexico, have been advocating for a "new, humane, bracero program", as the solution to the so-called problems of "illegal immigration" of mexican workers into the U.S., Wayne Cornelius, the administrations liberal immigration expert researcher, and head of the Rockefeller Foundation Study Group, and liberal Mexican spokespersons like Jose Angel Gutierrez, Crystal City Judge and one of La Raza Unida Party's leaders in Texas, some elements within Catholic charities and Social Services of the U.S. Catholic Conference and LULAC, have been advocating that position as the "solution" to the immigration problem. Along with a "Bracero" program they also propose an employer "sanctions" bill--a new Rodino-type bill.

In Mexico, Hugo Margain, Mexico's Ambassador to the U.S., has long called for a new Bracero Program as a way to alleviate Mexico's critical 40 plus percent unemployment rate, while President Lopez-Portillo discretely asked Carter to implement it.

Jimmy Carter's trip to Mexico left clear the U.S. Government's intent to use the threat of deportations and the promise of a new bracero program as leverage to pressure the sale of Mexico's gas and oil to U.S. monopoly interests at cheap prices.

In the exchange only the large users of cheap labor win and the workers of the U.S. and Mexico lose. The monopolists will get cheap labor, cheap oil and gas and can use Mexico against the OPEC.

But the new bracero program may come in a different package this time. The U.S. government will not be so foolish as to attempt a bilateral agreement, and expose its plans to import massive numbers of contracted workers, as it did in 1942 with Public Law 78.

On the other hand, the Mexican government would most likely not agree to enter into the compromising position of agreeing to the contracting of great numbers of Mexican citizens to work in a foreign land where 1) Their human rights are being constantly violated, 2) They suffer economic and social discrimination and 3) They will be openly used to break the back of the labor movement, to break strikes and organizing drives.

The solution to the dilemma, in the eyes of both Governments, is in the development of a program that closes the door to possible protest in the U.S., prevents criticism against the Mexican government and insures cheap labor in massive numbers to U.S. economic interests. And it is presented like Carter's former "Amnesty" program as a "honey-on-the-claw" solution that supposedly will satisfy any and all involved.

Their aim can only be accomplished by the implementation of a solution that needs no congressional or judicial approval. A move that appears to require no legal steps, no qualitative, legal or political

changes, while it permits quantitative increases in the legally controlled importation of cheap labor. Additionally, it must be a program that does not require a formal treaty or agreement between the two countries.

The solution being promoted by the Carter Administration is a massive administrative increase of the importation of temporary or guest workers with H-2 permits.

Until now, an H-2 permit can be obtained when an employer certifies to the U.S. Department of Labor that he is in need of a certain type of worker, that there is no ready, willing and available workers to fill that need within the U.S. labor market. Once that is done, the labor department verifies a permit for the worker, or workers that employers claim are needed, and the employer can then bring the workers under contract to work with the company, for a specific period of time, for a specific job and for specific wages.

When the contract expires it can be renewed. If it is not renewed, the worker has no permission to remain in the U.S. In any case, the contract can be terminated by the employer under any excuse that can be justified as actions of the worker that break his/her agreement to perform certain work, i.e. insubordination, tardiness, absenteeism, disloyalty, etc. Some sops such as the payment of dues to workers associations, some limited social services and window-dressing controls and government supervision are being thrown in to deceive the American and Mexican public.

- f. Undocumented workers, because of their condition inevitably become the most vulnerable sector of the work force. They are constantly under threat of deportation, a fact used by the companies to intimidate them and attempt to defeat their efforts to organize together with other workers for higher salaries, better and safer working conditions and other benefits;
- g. The bosses are constantly attempting to take advantage of the extreme need of immigrant workers by seeking to use them as tools against trade-union organizing movements and to break strikes,
- h. In addition to extracting high profits from their labor, U.S. companies deduct taxes and other contributions from the wages of immigrant workers for Social Security, unemployment and disability insurance; although the state and federal governments deny them such benefits, which fattens these government funds. They create even more harsh, needy and precarious conditions for undocumented workers and their families directed at forcing them to work under the worst, unsafe and lowest paid conditions;

Some have been deceived into thinking that the conditions of the H-2 workers is not worse but better than that of the undocumented workers. There are some essential similarities:

- a. All migrant workers are driven by need, but in response to the imbalances existing between the capitalist economies between the sending and receiving countries.
- b. Regardless of whether the immigration is undocumented or under contract, the benefit is an economic windfall to the economy of the entire society and to big business, its guiding hand, with its ever growing hunger for cheap labor, and for conditions that enable them to hold down wages;
- c. Big business seeks to create and use competition between the local and immigrant labor force in order to gain higher profits and to weaken workers unity;
- d. Migrant workers are used for the worst, poorly paid, unskilled jobs, they are paid less for equal work, discriminated in promotion and appointments, and have problems getting compensated for industrial accidents;
- e. Because of their low wages immigrant workers are forced to live in crowded uninhabitable housing, while most of those who are married are unable for long periods of time to be reunited with their families.

- i. Working in colusion with large users of cheap labor the government, through the mass media creates racist hysteria against immigrant workers, falsely accuses them of collecting the very benefits it denies them, accuses them of depleting the coffers of government social services and programs, and of increasing the costs of others such as social welfare. At the same time they call for a denial of such basic human rights as health and medical services and education for their children;
- j. To further make undocumented immigrants a human sub-class, the government institutes and attempts to implement special, virtually summary deportation proceedings and arrest procedures, while arguing that the constitution and civil rights must be frozen so that immigration authorities can carry out want on persecution of undocumented people;

Yet, in spite of the use of INS to attack the labor movement and the organization of the unorganized, the government, has been unable to prevent the recognition of the right of undocumented workers to organize themselves into trade unions with other workers, and their present militant efforts, strikes and victories in many plants throughout the country. As in our past history undocumented immigrant workers

are now increasingly active in unionizing movements. It is within the above context that the government smiles with its liberal face and calls for massive deportations to "alleviate" the plight of undocumented workers and prevent their harsh "exploitation" by policy of killing the patient to cure the disease. In doing so they reject the correct policy of enforcing the present laws to guarantee workers rights such as a decent minimum wage; effective enforcement of OSHA, against discrimination and for the enactment of new laws to further those same rights. In reality, mass deportations are directed at carrying the message to workers that "they better not organize". The same reasoning underlies the U.S. government's and employers call for a new bracero program to alleviate the "problems and inhumanities suffered by undocumented workers" and a solution to massive immigration.

The big bosses and government are not content with the present conditions. Faced with the undocumented workers growing militancy, organizing drives, and their growing reluctance to be used as anti-union tools, they are seeking better methods, <sup>the answer,</sup> they have concluded, lies in a new program of mass importation of labor, in a new bracero program. It may guarantee them their most sought after commodity, a cheap, temporary labor force, which may not have raises, promotions, will do the same job as long as necessary, which cannot be organized into trade unions and most important can be returned and disposed

of easily when not needed.

That unorganizable commodity, in the eyes of big business and the government, <sup>is a work force</sup> composed of massive numbers of temporary, guest workers, in reality, a new bracero program, composed of H-2 contract workers, to work in the fields, the light manufacturing industries and the hotel, restaurant and other service fields.

To sell this anti-organized labor measure, the Carter administration is presenting it as a new, humane way to protect immigrant workers against violation of their human rights and against the super-exploitation and inhuman conditions they are forced by necessity and greedy capitalists to work under. Therein lies the foundation of the line for a "new, humane, bracero program" being advocated by some mistaken persons and groups of our community some Catholic church forces and some of our elected officials of Mexican origin.

The organized trade union movement, the churches that are not tied to government grants and trade-off programs, the truly independent community groups, the great senior citizens movement, the renters and other poor and working people groups must be alerted, informed and mobilized in opposition to these strategies and tactics of Carter, the large users of cheap labor and their friends in the Mexican government.

It is false that a bracero program benefits Mexico at the expense of the U.S. economy. It is the Mexican society that has financed the cost of giving birth, training and rearing to work age of these workers. The

cost for the reproduction of this work force is staggering to a country such as Mexico.

By exporting its best and useful workers, its economy and therefore entire society, does not receive the benefits of this huge productive force.

By exporting this productive force to the U.S., it denies to its economy, even the reimbursement that so dramatically is needed for the further development of its economy and for the providing of badly needed social services for millions of its poor and dispossessed workers and peasants.

In essence it is Mexico, a poor underdeveloped and dependent country, that is subsidizing the U.S., which is a rich, highly developed and dominating country. On a grand scale, the poor <sup>are</sup> subsidizing the rich.

What must be done in order to stop this new attack upon the interest of the working people of both Mexico and the United States? An attack that is clothed as usual in the disguise of a "solution" and as "beneficial to those most affected?

Immediately we must mobilize all of our coalitions against these efforts reaching out in all of the areas where they exist to the most broad groups especially of the labor unions, the churches and other community groups. Our coalitions must reach out to the black, native American and Asian communities, to women's groups and all of the disenfranchised that are seeking a way out of their oppression and exploitation. We must un-

mask Carter's new Temporary Worker importation for what it really is and alert the broad masses of the American workers to its real dangers. We must mount the same type of campaign as we mounted against the Rodino bills in 1973 and 1974...in the streets, at the factory gates, in the meeting halls, in the schools, through whatever press and media may be willing and able to carry our message.

We must also establish coalitions and effective fraternal communications and solidarity actions with our brothers and sisters in Mexico and especially amongst the workers and campesinos who are struggling to build their organizations and movements in defense of their life conditions and for their right to build and function through democratic trade unions. There are a growing number of trade union and campesino organizations in Mexico that are daring to confront the terrible violence of the Mexican armed forces that deny workers and peasants the right to organize and be active by massive repression, beatings, killings and kidnappings. Such a situation as exists in Northern Mexico at La Caridad Copper Mine of the world wide monopoly of American Smelting and Refining Company (ASARCO) located at Nacozari, Sonora. Here just 85 miles south of the U.S. Border from Douglas, Arizona some 5,700 miners have been waging a heroic fight through strikes, stop-work actions and effective mass organization of themselves and their families for a decent and living wage, (they now receive one sixth the wages of U.S. workers), human housing and sanitary conditions for the more than 18,000 humans that live in the tar-paper shacks of Nacozari, without sewage, running water, lights, gas, schools, doctors, clinics and other minimal human and civilized conditions.

The workers of the AS & R Co. at La Caridad in Nacorzari are here in the U.S. talking to the thousands of U.S. workers that work for A.S. & R. Co. They also want to talk to thousands of other U.S. miners, smeltermen and allied industr s workers. But they are also here asking and seeking to build an international alliance and coalition with those of us who are also in struggle against the same multi-national monopolists such as ARCO, Clayton-Anderson, W.R. Grace, Tenneco, Castle & Cooke, Kennecott, ITT, GM, Nestle, Campbell Soups, Coors, J.P. Stevens, Ralston Purina, the Coal Operators and Steel giants. We can implement our concepts of international solidarity of workers by assisting these brothers in their efforts to get their story a cross to U.S. workers, to obtain support for their struggles in Nacozari and other work sites in Mexico. They need our help and support. Their struggle can make it possible to put an end to the U.S. multi-nationals using of Mexico and other Latin-American countries as sources of cheap raw-materials and cheap labor that can be used to depress and cheapen our labor here by fattening the huge profits that these multi-nationals reap on both sides of the border.

Two brothers are here, Rolando and Ignacio, both miners from Nacozari, and it gives me great pleasure to present them so that they can address this gathering of La Raza Legal Alliance....

Submitted by:

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CHARTER OF RIGHTS FOR UNDOCUMENTED WORKERS IN THE U.S.A.

1. AMNESTY FOR UNDOCUMENTED WORKERS AND FREEDOM FROM DEPORTATION.
2. RIGHT TO RE-UNIFY THEIR FAMILIES.
3. EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK.
4. RIGHT TO JOB SECURITY AND EQUAL PROTECTION UNDER ALL EXISTING LABOR AND SOCIAL LEGISLATION SUCH AS: SOCIAL SECURITY, UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE, DISABILITY INSURANCE, WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION.
5. EQUAL ACCESS TO BENEFITS OF THE HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE INSTITUTIONS.
6. EQUAL ACCESS TO ALL TRADE UNION RIGHTS AND BENEFITS INCLUDING THE RIGHT TO HOLD ELECTIVE AND APPOINTIVE OFFICE.
7. RIGHT TO ALL HOUSING OPPORTUNITIES FOR THEMSELVES AND THEIR FAMILIES.
8. RIGHT TO USE OF THEIR LANGUAGE IN ALL OFFICIAL BUSINESS AND TO THEIR CULTURE, TRADITIONS AND CUSTOMS.

Que podemos hacer dentro de la Hermandad Mexicana? Podemos luchar para aprovechar los veinte y cinco años de experiencia, de existir, de luchar y de obtener triunfos dentro y fuera de nuestro sindicato para el beneficio de los miles de nuestros hermanos trabajadores y nuestras familias. Si donde trabajamos hay Unión, Que podemos hacer con la Hermandad Mexicana? Podemos con nuestra fuerza unida hacer mas fuerte nuestra Unión y hacer de ella una verdadera palanca que nos sirva cada día, honestamente y democráticamente para avanzar nuestros intereses económicos, políticos, sociales, culturales y familiares. Si nuestra Unión no nos esta sirviendo de esta manera, teniendo nuestra Hermandad fuerte en el trabajo y dentro de la Unión esta podra y tendra que convertirse en una arma fuerte y democratica, tarde que temprano. Y nosotros, juntos, dentro de la Hermandad Mexicana la convertimos en esa arma necesaria.

Si donde trabajamos no hay Unión, si nos discriminan, si nos explotan vilmente, si nos organizamos primero en nuestra Hermandad podremos así mejor organizar la mejor fuerza posible y lograr establecer una Union que sea una verdadera defensa en el trabajo contra todas las arbitriariedades y contra la explotacion. Podremos, usando nuestra Hermandad Mexicana como base, organizar una Union fuerte, eficaz y democratica!

Así, pues, hermana y hermano trabajadores, unase con los miles de trabajadores dentro de la Hermandad Mexicana para, juntos, todos, lograr por nuestra lucha una vida con todos los derechos, igualdades y posibilidades para nosotros y nuestros hijos, que todos merecemos. Unase, para así juntos, poder luchar mejor! Recordemos que "SIN LUCHA NO HAY PROGRESO PARA LOS PUEBLOS!"

PROPOSED

CONSTITUTION, PREAMBLE AND BY LAWS OF THE  
HERMANDAD MEXICANA--A NATIONAL NON-PROFIT CORPORATION

PREAMBLE

WHEREAS, THE POLITICAL CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF NORTH AMERICA CONSECRATES THE PRINCIPLE THAT " ALL HUMAN BEINGS ARE CREATED EQUAL WITHOUT REGARD TO SEX, RACE, COLOR, CREED, POLITICAL, ECONOMIC OR SOCIAL POSITION", AND

WHEREAS, THIS PRINCIPLE WHICH IS THE VERY FOUNDATION OF DEMOCRACY AND VITAL TO THE ACHIEVING OF INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIAL WELL-BEING AND HAPPINESS HAS ONLY BEEN OBTAINED AND REALIZED WHEN PEOPLE HAVE EXERCIZED THEIR RIGHT TO STRUGGLE FOR ITS ACHIEVEMENT,

WE THEREFORE RESOLVE:

THAT CONSIDERING THE FOREGOING, THERE EXISTS THE NEED TO ORGANIZE ALL MEXICAN UNIONISTS AND ALL THOSE WHO SUBSCRIBE TO THIS PRINCIPLE INTO AN ORGANIZATION TO FURTHER AND INSURE THEIR TRADE UNION , ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RIGHTS, AND

WE FURTHER RESOLVE:

THAT WHEREVER WE WORK IF THERE IS NOT A DEMOCRATICALLY RUN, ACTIVE AND POWERFUL UNION, WE SHALL WORK AND STRUGGLE UNCEASINGLY AND UNSELFISHLY TO CREATE AND MAINTAIN SUCH A UNION THROUGH OUR DAILY INVOLVEMENT AND PARTICIPATION.

FOR THIS PRINCIPLE AND FOR THE FULFILLMENT OF THESE NEEDS, WAS BORN THE HERMANDAD MEXICANA--A NATIONAL NON-PROFIT CORPORATION.

BORRADOR PARA LA CONSTITUCION, PREAMBULO Y REGLAS INTERNAS DE LA  
HERMANDAD MEXICANA, CORPORACION NACIONAL SIN LUCRO O  
HERMANDAD NACIONAL MEXICANA, CORPORACION SIN LUCRO.

PREAMBULO

SIENDO QUE LA CONSTITUCION POLITICA DE LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS DE NORTE  
AMERICA CONSAGRA EL PRINCIPIO QUE "TODO SER HUMANO ES CREADO  
IGUAL, SIN DISTINCION DE SEXO, RAZA, COLOR, CREDO O POSICION  
ECONOMICA, POLITICA O SOCIAL," Y

SIENDO QUE ESTE PRINCIPIO QUE ES EL CIMIENTO CLAVE DE LA DEMOCRACIA  
E INDISPENSABLE PARA LOGRAR EL BIENESTAR Y FELICIDAD SOCIAL  
E INDIVIDUAL, SOLO SE HA OBTENIDO Y REALIZADO CUANDO EL  
PUEBLO HA EJERCIDO SU DERECHO DE Luchar POR LOGRARLO,

NOSOTROS RESOLVEMOS:

QUE TOMANDO EN CUENTA LO ANTEDICHO, EXISTE LA NECESIDAD DE  
ORGANIZAR A TODOS LOS SINDICALISTAS MEXICANOS Y TODOS LOS  
QUE SE SUBSCRIBEN A ESTE PRINCIPIO DENTRO DE UNA ORGANIZACION  
PARA ADELANTAR Y ASEGURAR SUS DERECHOS SINDICALES, ECONOMICOS,  
POLITICOS, SOCIALES Y CULTURALES, Y ADEMAS

NOSOTROS RESOLVEMOS:

QUE DONDEQUIERA QUE TRABAJEMOS SI NO EXISTE UNA UNION DEMO-  
CRATICAMENTE ACTIVA Y PODEROSO, QUE NOSOTROS TRABAJAREMOS  
Y LUCHAREMOS SIN CESAR Y ABNEGADAMENTE PARA CREAR Y MANTENER  
TAL UNION POR MEDIO DE NUESTRO ENVOLVIMIENTO Y PARTICIPACION.  
POR ESTE PRINCIPIO Y POR EL LLENAR DE ESTAS NECESIDADES NACIO  
LA HERMANDAD MEXICANA.

## "QUE PUEDE OBTENER UN NUEVO MIEMBRO DE LA HERMANDAD MEXICANA?"

Al unirse Ud. a nuestra Hermandad toma un paso muy importante en su vida como trabajador, como ser humano y como miembro de la raza de bronce.

Lo mas importante para cada nuevo miembro que ingresa en la Hermandad Mexicana es entender bien claro que al unirse con nosotros multiplica por miles sus fuerzas y su capacidad para luchar y bregar con mas éxito en su vida diaria; por el pan, la habitacion, su seguridad social y economica, sus derechos civiles, su dignidad y mas importante que todo, para lograr todas las oportunidades, sin discriminacion o desprecio en su trabajo y todo lo relacionado con ello.

Al unirse con nosotros, junta sus esfuerzos, su voz, sus recursos y sus anhelos con miles de otros trabajadores y trabajadoras como Ud. que estan decididos y comprometidos con Ud. a obrar juntos, a defenderse uno con el otro, respaldandose bajo el lema de "UN DAÑO CONTRA UNO ES UN DAÑO CONTRA TODOS!"

A veces nuevos miembros, miembros que estan por ingresar o simplemente trabajadores curiosos nos preguntan: "Bueno, y que me va a dar la Hermandad Mexicana?" por mis cuotas y por el hecho de hacerme miembro?" Con toda franquesa y honestidad de compañero de trabajo le contestamos así: "Usted, hermano o hermana obtendrá, logrará y recibirá de la Hermandad Mexicana mas que todo la oportunidad de poder luchar y defenderse en unión con miles de sus compatriotas y compañeros de trabajo. Esto es algo muy especial! Ud. obtendrá solo lo que Ud. este dispuesto a invertir en esta lucha---de tiempo, de firmeza, de empeño y de fe en los principios de la Hermandad Mexicana, para hacerse fuerte en conjunto con los demas miembros."

Al unirnos dentro de la Hermandad Mexicana nos comprometemos a luchar juntos, unidos, comprensivos, hermanables y fieles unos a los otros...tal como se une una pareja en el matrimonio.

## Corona hits Rodino-Kennedy bill

# Why all workers should oppose 'illegal alien' laws

LOS ANGELES—Farm bosses and sweatshop operators in California look to Mexico as a source of super-cheap labor. One of the ways they carry on their murderous exploitation of workers from Mexico is to regulate the flow of so-called illegal aliens—that is, workers without visas or work permits. When help is needed, these undocumented workers are permitted to slip across the border. When there is a labor surplus, there is a stepped-up drive to deport them.

Presently on the books in California—but still not being used because its constitutionality is being tested in the courts—is the Dixon Arnett Law. This statute is supposed to make it an offense for employers to knowingly hire undocumented workers. It is actually intended as a club against the highly exploited workers.

Now there is an effort under way in Washington to have Congress adopt a similar law for the entire country. A bill that would make it a federal offense for employers to knowingly hire "illegal aliens" has already passed the House of Representatives. Known as the Rodino-Kennedy Bill, HR 16188 originated in the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Immigration and passed the House Sept. 12, 1972.

The main authors of the bill are Subcommittee Chairman Peter Rodino (D-Md.) and Senator Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.).

The Rodino-Kennedy Bill proposes to revise the Immigration and Nationality Act. It states, "It shall be unlawful for any employer . . . knowingly to employ . . . any alien in the United States who has not been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence." Fines and imprisonment are provided for employers who violate it.

Drawn up by liberals, the law appears to be directed against employers and employment agencies. However, loopholes have been thoughtfully provided to make sure no boss will ever be convicted for violating this law.

First of all, employers are no longer liable once they have asked the prospective workers to submit a signed statement saying they are citizens or have legal documents.

Furthermore, even if the boss does not do this and is found to be in violation of the law, only a citation will be issued. The boss has *two years* to correct the situation before being liable to being fined.

Bert Corona, one of the leading opponents of these racist laws. Corona is a founder of CASA—Hermandad General de Trabajadores (General Brotherhood of Workers), an organization of undocumented Raza workers.

CASA has sponsored demonstrations and other activities to fight against deportations. It is currently spearheading a national campaign against the Rodino-Kennedy Bill.

The following are some of the things Corona had to say about the bill. The Rodino Bill is a dire threat to the well-being of the Mexican and other Latin American workers, and to all American workers.

We saw how the Dixon Arnett Law, which was directed at Mexican workers, also affected all workers in California. It put in a precarious position the ability, first, of Mexican and Latin American workers to defend their wages, working conditions, and employability.

But also it created a situation whereby employers could tell other non-Latin workers that they better produce more, that they better maintain the speedup, that they'd better not demand too-high a wage level because

the employers could always get ready-and-willing Mexican workers to work for peanuts.

The Rodino Bill ostensibly seeks to fine employers who employ workers without visas. But the real intent, the hidden motive and the ominous consequences that all of us know will result are not in the fining of employers.

That is merely the smokescreen to attract support from many quarters that would otherwise be opposed to this kind of law. I'm referring specifically to the liberal groups, the liberal establishment, the Democratic Party people who can find some political mileage in such a law.

Even employers set up laws that will supposedly seek to fine them. After all, the agencies of enforcement are in the hands of employers, so they're not afraid of regulatory legislation.

Actually, by supposedly placing this heavy fine on the use of workers without visas, all it creates is vulnerability.

It keeps these workers in a situation where they are alienated, marginal, and permanently vulnerable to exploitation. It keeps them in the worst, most dangerous jobs—receiving not only the lowest wages, but even wages below the minimum standards set in various states.

It works in this manner. Employers tell these workers, "We would love to give you some work, but you know we will be fined. Therefore, we are very sorry, we can't help you." The worker, being in dire need of earning money to support and feed his family, is then willing to offer himself *sub rosa*—clandestinely—at the lowest possible wages and the worst kind of working conditions.

Furthermore, it gives employers who are insecure or racist an added

reason for not hiring any Mexican or Latin-looking or -sounding workers.

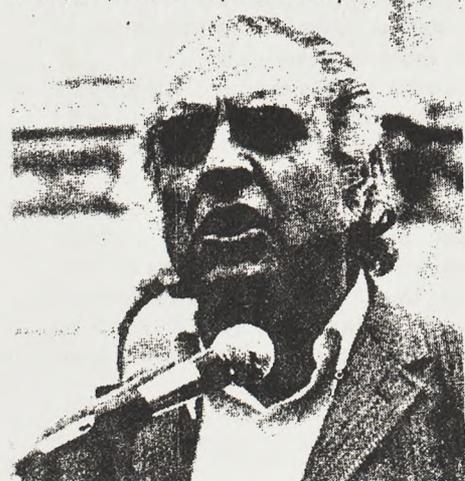
They can say, "Well, I do not know whether your green card [visa] is a legitimate one, and you appear to me to be a Mexican; therefore I'd rather not take the chance."

To combat the bill, all the people who are most affected must be organized. They are not criminals. They have constitutional rights, and they have very close blood ties with U. S. citizens. They're making a great contribution to the development and maintenance of this country, and they have every right to organize and to protest what is about to happen to them.

Beyond that the organization of this campaign requires that all other Mexican and Latin American organizations, those who were born here, those who already have their visas—their community organizations, churches, cultural organizations, political parties—all join with the workers without visas in a drive to stop the enactment of the Rodino Bill.

But even if you would organize the entire Mexican and Latin American community in this country, it would only involve some 15 to 18 million people. That is not enough to prevent the enactment of the Rodino Bill. We need the support of workers of all races, specifically and primarily of white workers in the unions, of Black workers in and out of the unions.

These workers must speak out not only individually with their Congressmen and their neighbors, but also in their trade unions. They must bring to the floor of the trade unions a new understanding that laws that are going to be enforced by employer-controlled governments and agencies cannot deal with this problem. This is a problem of the system.



Los Angeles demonstration demanding end to deportation of undocumented workers, March 1972.

Persons who are sympathetic are going to have to face head-on some very specious and tendentious arguments that have been developed by proponents of this kind of legislation for many years and have taken hold in the minds of workers.

One is that workers without visas—the so-called illegal workers—steal the jobs of native-born and permanent-resident workers. A proper answer is that it is the corporations that steal the jobs by layoffs, speedup, automation, and by the flight of their companies to more profitable places of operation.

The other argument is that these workers serve as a deterrent to the increase of wages and working conditions for native-born and permanent residents. On the surface this appears to be true.

But it works out to be true only because of the repressive immigration laws on the books. These laws are the ones responsible for keeping these workers in a situation where they can be used to break down wages and working conditions. If these workers were simply given their visas, point-blank, they would be removed as a source of cheap labor. That's the answer to that argument.

Finally, there is the argument that these workers are continually being brought over and used as scabs to break strikes of unions, particularly the Farm Workers Union. The only answer that can be given to this argument is that what we need is not more repressive legislation to maintain this large ready pool of exploitable workers on the border. What we need is a law that will ban the re-

cruitment, hiring, and transportation of workers, no matter where they come from, to break strikes.

To defeat the Rodino Bill, people in the Chicano movement must unite with their brothers in their *vecindades* [neighborhoods], community organizations, and campus organizations such as MECHA to launch a political fight at the national level. This fight is truly a resistance against racism since most of the workers involved are Mexican and Latin American workers, not white workers.

It should also be pointed out that the Rodino Bill and the Walter-McCarran Act are clear violations of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo through which half of Mexico was taken over by the United States in the Mexican War. This treaty specifically guaranteed free and unfettered passage for Mexicans to visit their families and their places of origin.

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CASA is initiating a nationally coordinated movement to fight the repressive immigration laws, and they welcome inquiries and support. Those interested should contact: CASA, 2673 W. Pico Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif. 90006; Telephone: (213) 487-4171 or 487-4336.

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Burt Corona

Thank you citizens and brothers. I want to first compliment all those of you who are ~~here~~ here, because you are ~~committed~~ committed and you are showing your commitment by coming here and putting aside any notion or any idea that the real leadership in the community was going to fall for any of these cheap tricks of those who have always felt that they can manipulate us very easily, pit one group against another, and induce, seduce and betray one another. And I think that very, very quickly the powers will recognize that there is a growing unity developing around the fundamental issues that effect Chicanos. Not only I think is ~~it~~ it significant that ~~you're~~ you're here to resist and to defend your interests as a community of chicanos from the attempt that the politicians and the power structure have always been able to carry off in these kinds of cheap manovers, things that they have gotten away with, but also that you are doing it around a very great, significant, fundamental issue, which is the defense of the most vulnerable, most exploited and a very, very integral part of our community, and those are the workers and people who are here without documents. It's important to note and to document and to underscore the issue that has brought us together. The issue that has given us the opportunity to reject the age- old manulative, divisive tactics of the oppressor. For that second reason, and fundamentally because that issue is of such key importance to us in this country and <sup>To</sup> the ~~the~~ CANNALS on the other side, I think what we are doing here today is very historical. It is not by sheer coincidence that we have arrived at this point in our history. It is not just an incident of fate, of destiny or anything else of that sort. But it was now very, very much programmed that eventually the system would run out of excuses, and would run out of the kind of misleading efforts and misguiding efforts to keep our community divided into segments, sectors, based on anything that could divide. And of late, of course, and for some time now, it has been along the basis of those who are

born here against those who are born on the other side, those who have visas and those who do not. And they have done a pretty good job. They have been able to dilude and to sell the whole idea that part of our people, ~~the~~ a very important part, are the people who are guilty, the culprits, for the ~~the~~ exploitation, for the mismanagement, the purposeful premeditated discretion against all Chicanos, and of course many other workers too. By singling out those that they could oppress easily and make them vulnerable and say these are the people who are responsible for whatever those of you who were born here, those of you who have permanent residency, and they and only they are responsible. And for too long many of us , and of course unfortunately there are still a significant number of people throughout this land who still are buying that argument. It is important to note that your growing unity and your determination to resist Wilson and Hoobler is around a new understanding and an understanding on a very,very basic fundamental basis of what the true interests of our community are that you have decided to make this stand. In defense of the community as a whole. In defense of the most vulnerable workers who are yet, and regardless of all the terminology, regardless of how they phrase it, paint it, underscore it and try to divide it, the people who come here every day, every month, or every year, now or last year, or 10 or 20 or 100 years<sup>ago</sup> are an integral part and a total part of our total community, they are, and have been, and very important integral part of the working class in this country that has produced the major~~x~~ wealth in the west and southwest. And I ~~the~~ think that we have to understand this so we can explain it to people. We must put aside and reject forever in our community first of all, and then later on in others, that workers do not create unemployment, that workers do not steal jobs. That is a bald faced lie. When Wilson and the chiefs of police and all of the total legislators and commentators and wherever we get this lie from on a national level and here on the local level, when they say that the people from Mexico come over here to create unemployment, to steal jobs, let's lay that lie aside first by saying that first of all the jobs do not belong to workers under the capitalist system the job does not, unfortunately, belong to the workers. They belong to the

man who owns the factory. This is a system of private ownership under this economic order. The jobs belong either to the so-called government, whether it is a government industry, a government operation or public program, or they belong to the private ownership. So how can workers take jobs, take something that they can't control. That is the first fundamental understanding that we have to get across and spread. And second, that the people who really steal the jobs are those who control and own them. When private industry decides to go from here to Hong King, to Taiwan, when they decide to go to Japan or to any other foreign country, and they close down a plant with 800 workers, that's 800 jobs that have been stolen out of this economy and those people who have been occupying them. And whose decision was that? That decision was the owners, the corporate board, the monopoly interest that control that plant and that industry, or the government through Watergate operations that have been going on in this country since 1775, and even before, because that's the ~~major~~ <sup>nature of</sup> U.S. Government. This generation is just finding out about it, but every 15 or 20 years we have a scandal in this country where it's explained to the public how our government runs, and we're shocked for a year or a year and a half. There was a scandal even before they got to the Constitutional Convention, when they had the Continental Congress and all of that gang of thieves were ~~so~~ corrupt that they couldn't put together the constitution, so they got a new gang of thieves. Franklin, Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Hancock---and that gang of thieves put together the constitution of the United States--not for us, because we weren't even a part of this operation. They had their eye on us, you know---but--and they weren't thinking about the Black people. They were ruled out of the constitution. They were slaves. They had their chains on Black people. Their eye on us, ~~their chains on the~~ their chains on the Black people, and their muskets on the native Americans whose land they had stolen. That's how the United States was created, and that's how it has grown, and that's what the operation is today. And any Mexican or any other minority who thinks otherwise had better wake up, and see this whole country ~~is~~ blaming the people that they exploited, that they chained



came from that has been the nature of the system. Unemployment is caused because the private enterprise system doesn't work smoothly, evenly, it doesn't care or plan for people. There is no such thing as the care and feeding of workers in the manual of how to operate a plant properly. It just doesn't exist. So these are the reasons that we have unemployment. And because government which is controlled by the corporations as you have now seen in the new revelations of Watergate, that the same attorneys who represent the president and who represent you and I are on the same payroll of United Airlines, ITT, Atlantic Richfield, and all the other major corporations. Those are the ones that cause unemployment. Those are the ones who steal the jobs. Workers who are here with or without documents create jobs. Every worker who is here---he has to buy shelter. He or she has to buy food. They have to buy clothing. They are a vibrant, creative, market expanding element in this economy. Any 7th grade student of civics understands that. And we have to repeat it over and over again because we have bought for too long all these lies--that these people are on welfare when we know that they cannot get on welfare. That these people don't pay taxes when we know that they have to pay higher taxes because they are denied the right to withdraw or to take as dependents, children or ~~spouses~~ <sup>spouses</sup> even though they may be US born spouse and US born children. And you are blamed, of course, for the deficit in the dollar payments because They currently sent a few million dollars back to Mexico. When the corporations take out billions. What about the 60 billion dollar defense budget that goes down the tubes every year. Our people don't even send back half a billion. they don't even send back a tenth of a billion, that goes down the tube in 2 days of bombing in Cambodia, Laos, and before in Viet Nam. That's what causes the balance in the payments. And all these lies are blamed on people that they victimize and exploit. And that is the American way of selling exploitation to the workers. We have bought some of these myths for too long and we have to learn how to defend ourselves and how to tell the American worker---"wake up. This is being sold to you and it's a lie and you are being ~~is~~ divided from us Chicanos and we Chicanos are being divided from Mexicanos and those who are born here are

being divided from those who are not born here, those who have documents or a cheap piece of paper, we are all fighting each other like cats and dogs, and the man gets away with his exploitation of all of us, easily and profitably. And that's the whole message of this struggle around which you have now had to face an attempt to divide you and pit you, to remove you as supporters from the spokesman you have selected, Herman Baca. It's an old, but very well tried and planned operation. And I'm very, very glad to see that you are <sup>REJECTING</sup> ~~rejudging~~ it. Another thing I think I should tell you is that this isn't a new problem. In 1938 we built an organization in this country called CONGRESO NACIONAL de los pueblos de habla ESPAÑOLA. The National <sup>Speaking</sup> Conference of the Spanish ~~People~~. It was built as the most powerful and the most broadly representative national organization of that time. Up to that time not only Mexican but Cuban, and they weren't the kinds of Cubans that reflect Castro, But the kinds of Cubans that were coming out of the jails of MACHADO and Baptista because they were revolutionaries, and Spaniards and Puerto Ricans, and South Americans, pulling themselves together on a national basis. And what do you think was the main driving force that brought us together? It was now again, racist immigration laws. The HOUSE BILL was an effort to shackle our people with even the more racist kinds of immigration laws and practices than we have in the WALTER McCLELLAN ACT. And that organization was built and developed and operated clear through up until World War II because of the effort to repress our people, and to put into legal form the illegal practices that they had been carrying out on us for 120 years. Because they had been deporting Mexicans, born here, with or without papers, through all those years. You and I know it. The history books of course won't tell it, but the folklore of our people brings it out evidently. Mexicans have always been subjected to deportation. That was planned back in the Watergate of 1775. <sup>THAT GAVE BIRTH TO OUR CONSTITUTION.</sup> In the Watergate then, there was all kinds of money made by all those fine gentlemen that you and I have been taught to revere as founding fathers. So it's very important that we know that what we are seeing today took place 2 or 3 years back, took place 10 years back, 15 years back, in 1952 to 1954 we had over 3 1/2 million Spanish surname people deported. And along with that went the

finest leadership that we had--Luisa Moreno, Armando DAVILA, REFUGIO MARTINEZ  
FRANK COLONA

and many many others. The finest leaders of the Chicano movement of liberation then. Primarily workers leaders. In the packing houses, in the fields, in the canneries, in ~~xxxx~~ furniture, in all the major industries where we were working, where <sup>our</sup> people have been working traditionally, were deported to Mexico or to Central America. It is important for us to know that deportation is a weapon of repression. That deportation is a weapon of separation of people. that deportation is a special weapon of oppression, used against us in a very special way because of Mexico being CONTIGUOUS and as a logical result of the stealing of half of the territory of Mexico by the monopoly power of this country. It had to come. How can you steal half of the territory of a nation and keep it in poverty, take its best lands, and maintain it in permanent poverty, and not have for them, in order to maintain your control and your domination over both sides of the territory, as these major corporations do, and not have a policy where you can move the population that you are exploiting back and forth like yo-yos. Whenever you need them on one side, you bring them over. When you don't need them you send them back and you juggle them. You control both sides. Anybody who has any idea that they don't control the other side maybe we should have another class later on. But please believe me. I'm being very serious when I say that we should not expect anything from the Mexican government other than total subservience to the big power in the Watergate millhouse. This is where it's at. So I think that what we have to understand is that we have a long line of historical sequences of deportation, of fights of our people against deportation, and we also have a record of how we were able to offset the attempts to shackle us in the past, and which we lost in 1951 and 1952 when the shackles of the

WALTER McCLAREN act and that is that we were able to mount national coalitions.

The National Congress of the Spanish Speaking Peoples in the 30's was able to defeat the efforts to put the House bill and other racist immigration acts because we formed national coalitions and went from New York with Puerto Ricans

and Central Americans, to Tampa and Miami with Cubans, into Texas and all the way up to the Bay area, wherever Spanish Speaking people were living, formed an organization, used it effectively, joined the other people who were moving, with the American workers who were organizing in the mass production industries, with other races, with ~~xxx~~ Asians, with native Americans, with Blacks, and so forth, and we were able to mount a broad coalition to put an end to the House bill, and it was kept bottled up for four years and only after world war II got going did they forget about it. We have tried to do the same thing now. We have been forming and <sup>year</sup> effectively been shaping a national coalition for fair immigration laws and practices involving not only our own people in all of the states where we live, in the midwest and the southwest and New York, Puerto Ricans, as I mentioned, now Dominicans, Haitians and others and, ~~xxxxxxx~~ this week end, we are holding two very important meetings, one in New York and one in Louisville, Kentucky, the one in New York, in which some of us have been invited to participate, and it has been programmed for some time, to build a strong union between Puerto Ricans, Dominicans and Haitians, of which there are several thousand in New York, there are something like 300,000 Dominicans ~~living~~ living in New York without documents, working without documents. There are something like 175,000 Haitians working and living in New York without Documents. 20,000 Equadorians. 50,000 VENEZOLANOS 40,000 Columbians. and so on and so forth. And they are calling a conference and have invited us to go over there Thursday night to put together that important element of this national coalition to resist and to protest and to defend and to advocate our liberation. From coast to coast and from border to border this has got to take place, and it is being developed. We have organizations going in Carado in San Antonio, in Denver, with a crusade for justice in Kansas and St Louis, up in the Great Lakes area and on up to the northwest. And this is very, very important. You understand that what you are seeing here has been going on in Oklahoma, has been going on in Kansas. Police chiefs have been arresting and doing the job of immigration in violation of the constitution, in violation of

in violation of due process. This is the pattern from coast to coast, and from border to border. It is the policy of exploitation of those that they can more easily work over, and they have selected us traditionally for a long time. So I think that the final thing that I would like to say to you is that once we decide that this is a fundamental issue, it has to be joined by the Chicano and other Spanish speaking communities, that then we must build as broad as possible a coalition, not only amongst our own selves, with our own people, but with Black, Asian, native American and with the white working class in this country, who also are affected by the policy of victimizing, and making culprits, those victims that we call the Mexican worker, and Latin American workers, without documents. The white working class is exploited especially. If it can exploit out people who have no documents then they can effectively hold down the wages and the working conditions of white workers. The answer is not the white workers who say, "get rid of the people who do not have documents", the answer, and the only answer is defend them and make them invulnerable--remove the vulnerability by grabbing the Pieces of meat in it. Once you make it impossible for the dominant power, for the oppressors, to oppress anybody, then everybody is safe. But nobody is really safe, no segment of the working class is safe, as long as one segment can be made vulnerable because they don't have a piece of paper, A MICA. This has to take place, and this is the heart and soul and the foundation of workers unions, of workers solidarity. This is working class solidarity the world over, not only inside the system, but outside. I think that, finally, if we design them to build a very broad coalition with other races, with other people who are fighting, then we have to follow the natural CONCOMITANT of that decision. We have to organize and organize and organize. You have to organize in your own community, you have to organize within the shops where you work and in the schools you are attending, around this issue--conferences and meeting like you are having here today, rallies--I understand there is one going to take place in San Ysidro this coming Saturday, we're having one in Los Angeles, and we're having the ones in New York and we're having one ~~in~~ in Louisville, Kentucky, where we are going

to meet with several hundred of the organizations of the Black brothers and sisters in the south. Defense organizations against repression and for the freedom of political prisoners. This is very important. Because, they have also told Black people who are in poverty and suffering, ~~the~~ the reason you people don't have jobs is because the Mexicans are coming over and stealing your jobs. So we've got to tell our black brothers and sisters, It's the white man who steals the jobs, ~~and~~ and makes both of us poor. The poor Mexican who hasn't got a document is not your enemy, because you, as a black worker, you still don't have your document. I mean that document that says you are as good as a white man. So the Black man needs a document, the Brown needs a document, but what the hell does the white exploiting power need. All they have is the army and the Watergate and the mechanism to ~~to~~ exploit all of us. So this is the message that we have to ~~a~~ take back home with us. We have to organize and we have to bridge the so-called barrier of having been born here, <sup>add so you have to learn</sup> and the youth have to learn Spanish, and the people who don't understand English have to try and understand, and we have to build for unity. Because we all are going to swim together or we're going to sink separately. Either we are going to ~~save~~ save ourselves or they are going to hand us one ~~and~~ at a time. This has been the story of the development of the United States of America.

## EL PLAN CARTER: UN JUEGO PELIGROSO DE PROPUESTAS LEGISLATIVAS

Por BERT CORONA

LA ADMINISTRACION CARTER HA PREPARADO UN PELIGROSO JUEGO DE PROPUESTAS LEGISLATIVAS SOBRE EL PROBLEMA DE LOS INDOCUMENTADOS. ESTAS PROPUESTAS, QUE SERAN PRESENTADAS A LA REUNION DEL 92avo. CONGRESO, NO SOLAMENTE RESTRINGIRA LOS DERECHOS Y LAS ASPIRACIONES DE MILLONES DE MEXICANOS Y LATINOAMERICANOS QUE VIVEN ACTUALMENTE EN LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS, SINO QUE AMENAZA LOS DERECHOS DE TODOS AQUELLOS NORTEAMERICANOS AMANTES DE LA LIBERTAD.

### QUIENES SON LOS TRABAJADORES INDOCUMENTADOS?

Los indocumentados son trabajadores contribuyentes que viven en los Estados Unidos y al trabajar y pagar sus impuestos son, de hecho, parte integrante de la economia de nuestro pais. Su numero exacto se desconoce, sin embargo se calcula que oscila alrededor de los 4 y 5 millones de personas.

Los indocumentados vienen de todas las regiones del mundo, siendo las principales Mexico y America Latina. Segun el Servicio de Inmigracion y Naturalizacion, la mayor parte de ellos proviene de Mexico ya que el numero mas alto de deportados anualmente lo constituyen los mexicanos (800,000 en 1975).

### AMNISTIA INCONDICIONAL PARA LOS TRABAJADORES INDOCUMENTADOS

Los trabajadores indocumentados y sus familias son el pueblo mas explotado de nuestra sociedad. Su falta de residencia legal les impide disfrutar de los derechos y los privilegios de que gozan los ciudadanos y los residentes permanentes en el pais. Viven con el temor constante de ser deportados, reciben por su trabajo un sueldo miserable al tiempo que ese mismo trabajo no es seguro. Se les niega el acceso a los seguros: de compensacion si pierden el trabajo, seguro social, seguro medico, seguro por incapacidad, seguro laboral. Y todo ello mientras estos trabajadores pagan los impuestos federales y estatales que estan cubriendo estos privilegios.

Los trabajadores indocumentados estan expuestos tambien a toda una serie de fraudes, como de productos de consumo y estan a la merced de patrones inescrupulosos. Se les niega el acceso a programas de vivienda publica y no se les da ningun entrenamiento laboral.

LA AMNISTIA INCONDICIONAL es realmente la unica solucion a esta tragedia que estan sufriendo millones de trabajadores indocumentados y sus familias, a quienes les son negados los derechos humanos mas elementales. La amnistia incondicional es el primer paso hacia la incorporacion de estos trabajadores y sus familias a la corriente de vida norteamericana.

## UNA CARTA DE DERECHOS PARA LOS TRABAJADORES INDOCUMENTADOS

Ademas de una amnistia incondicional, nosotros como norteamericanos debemos promover la elaboracion de una Carta de Derechos para todos los trabajadores inmigrantes en los Estados Unidos. Esta Carta incluiria:

1. El derecho de todo trabajador a tener cubiertas sus necesidades como individuos y como familias garantizandoseles trabajo en sus paises de origen. (En el caso de Mexico, existen 6 millones de trabajadores mexicanos que solamente estan empleados tres meses al ano.)
2. La libertad de no ser deportados ni separados de sus familias.
3. El derecho a unificar las familias.
4. El derecho a normalizar su estado sin necesidad de tener que regresar a su pais de origen.
5. Igualdad de derechos en todas las areas de empleo:
  - a. Seguridad de empleo, antiguedad, igualdad de sueldos, igualdad de acceso a aumentos, derecho de organizarse y tener gremios obreros.
  - b. Acceso al seguro por desempleo, seguro social, Medicare, e implementacion de leyes laborales.
6. Oportunidades de vivienda para los trabajadores inmigrantes y sus familias.
7. Oportunidades de educacion para los hijos de los trabajadores inmigrantes y sus familias.
8. El derecho a usar la lengua nativa al adquirir la nacionalidad, al entablar juicios legales, y en todos los acuerdos contractuales publicos y privados.
9. El derecho de ejercer el voto a todos aquellos que adquieran residencia legal.
10. El derecho de la inviolabilidad de la persona, es decir, el derecho a no ser detenido, requisado o interrogado por las autoridades simplemente por tener ciertas características raciales y/o etnicas.

## HACIA UNA REDEFINICION DEL PROBLEMA

Hasta ahora, un pequeno grupo de legisladores, oficiales gubernamentales, negociantes, unionistas y la prensa ha venido describiendo el problema de inmigracion en terminos muy estrechos. Segun ellos, el trabajador indocumentado representa una grave amenaza para la economia de los Estados Unidos, ya que le quita empleo a los trabajadores norteamericanos y utiliza servicios sociales a expensas del contribuyente.

Esta filosofia se basa en la creencia erronea de que nuestra sociedad tiene un numero limitado de trabajos que ofrecer. Cualquier economista puede refutar esta falacia laboral como una estupidez, ya que en realidad nuestra economia lejos de ser estatica es elastica. Los inmigrantes no representan en absoluto una carga para la economia. Al contrario, como productores y consumidores, contribuyen al crecimiento de esta economia.

El Dr. Oscar Handlin escribio, en 1952, que el gasto que se incurria en criar un joven inmigrante hasta los 18 anos era de \$10.000. El Dr. Thomas J. Espenshare de la Universidad del Estado de la Florida ha declarado que una familia de bajos ingresos tendria que gastar aproximadamente \$44.000 en criar un hijo hasta que cumpliera edad de trabajar. (Los Angeles Times, Mayo 3, 1977).

Los contados estudios que se han hecho sobre el impacto economico de los trabajadores indocumentados refutan la historica propaganda hecha en contra de los extranjeros por la prensa diaria:

\*\*\*El Oficial Administrativo del Condado de Los Angeles preparo un estudio que demostraba que, en el ano fiscal de 1975, los extranjeros indocumentados aportaron \$171 millones en impuestos federales y estatales.

\*\*\*Un estudio intensivo conducido por un grupo de investigadores cientificos bajo la direccion del Dr. Wayne Cornelius del Instituto Tecnologico de Massachussetts (MIT) demostro que a los trabajadores mexicanos se les daba los trabajos mas bajos e indeseables del mercado laboral norteamericano.

\*\*\*El Informe Linton, encargado por el Departamento de Trabajo de los E.U. en 1975, demostro que el sueldo promedio de los trabajadores indocumentados en los condados fronterizos era de \$1.74, y que solamente el 31.5% de los trabajadores entrevistados habia llenado el formulario de impuestos para la renta, a pesar de que la mayoria de ellos habia pagado sus impuestos durante anos.

No obstante, al 73% de estos inmigrantes se les habia descontado el impuesto federal y al 77% los pagos para el seguro social.

\*\*\*Un detallado estudio realizado en 1975 por la Comision de Relaciones Humanas del Condado de San Diego encontro que los inmigrantes indocumentados ganaban un sueldo aproximado de \$260 millones anuales en el Condado y gastaban un aproximado de \$150 millones anuales. Estos inmigrantes pagaban \$48 millones al ano en impuestos federales y estatales, asi como en impuestos de venta y

\*\*\*El Informe del Consejo Nacional sobre Extranjeros Ilegales, grupo formado por el ex-Presidente Gerald Ford, demostro que poco era lo que se conocia sobre el numero de ilegales en los Estados Unidos y de su impacto especifico.

A pesar de esto, la Administracion de Carter ha escogido un paquete legislativo extremadamente represivo para enfrentar lo que ellos llaman "la invasion silenciosa de extranjeros ilegales".

#### DE QUE SE TRATA EL PLAN DE CARTER SOBRE INMIGRACION?

El Comite de Trabajo sobre Inmigracion, del Presidente Jimmy Carter, ha preparado una serie de propuestas para ser presentadas a la 95ava. Sesion del Congreso norteamericano. Este Comite, que esta a nivel de gabinete, esta compuesto por el Fiscal General Griffin Bell, el Secretario del Departamento de Trabajo Ray Marshall y representantes de varias agencias gubernamentales. Las propuestas son las siguientes:

1. Conceder una forma limitada de amnistia para los inmigrantes indocumentados, la cual cubriria solamente alrededor de 500.000 personas.
2. Una enmienda de la Ley Rodino en la cual se amenaza a los patrones con sanciones, si dan empleo a personas a sabiendas de que no es residente de este pais.
3. Una tarjeta de identidad que cada trabajador debera poseer y sin la cual no podra ser empleado.
4. Aumentar las medidas de seguridad a lo largo de la frontera con Mexico.
5. Conceder un permiso especial mediante el cual no se deportaria a aquellas personas que hayan entrado al pais despues de la fecha limite de la amnistia. Se considera que esto afectaria seriamente los derechos de aquellas personas que no pueden ser deportadas.

6. Un programa de trabajo temporal mediante el cual se le permita a los mexicanos trabajar por periodos especificos de tiempo en los Estados Unidos, y similar al programa de los "braceros" comenzado durante la II Guerra Mundial y continuado hasta mediados de los años 60. Este programa no esta incluido en el presente plan legislativo, pero podria ser introducido en el futuro.

El planteamiento de la Administracion de Carter es no solamente un planteamiento sin ninguna variacion ni nueva alternativa a un problema tan serio y por tanto tiempo descuidado, sino que es un planteamiento historico y peligroso. Las estipulaciones del plan de Carter no estan dirigidas a la clase trabajadora sino que por el contrario lo estan a la conveniencia politica y economica de los intereses norteamericanos, quienes utilizan y continuaran utilizando mano de obra barata y desorganizada cada vez que puedan.

A pesar de los portavoces de Carter continuan asegurandonos que ellos realmente desean evitar que los trabajadores indocumentados sean explotados, la propuesta tendria precisamente el efecto opuesto. Analicemos detenidamente cada propuesta:

1. AMNISTIA; Aquellas personas que apliquen para amnistia no pueden haber sido nunca carga publica. Aun mas, el poseer propiedades puede ser un factor determinante de quien es elegible para la amnistia, y ademas la amnistia sera ofrecida solo a aquellos que han vivido ininterrumpidamente en los Estados Unidos durante 7 años. Este requisito es imposible de cumplir para la mayoria de los mexicanos quienes regresan a Mexico regularmente.

El programa de amnistia es hasta cierto punto ilusorio ya que muchos de los residentes indocumentados han cambiado ya su estado bajo procedimientos similares instituidos por la ley. El Comisionado Lionel Castillo del Servicio de Inmigracion y Naturalizacion ha declarado (Los Angeles Times, Julio 13, 1977) que cualquier estipulacion para una amnistia seria muy limitada. Por lo tanto millones de extranjeros continuaran viviendo aqui bajo las condiciones mas inhumanas, malpagados, con exceso de trabajo y practicamente sin ningun derecho.

Es muy posible que el programa de amnistia de Carter sea un preludio de redadas y taticas de deportaciones masivas, que nunca han resuelto ningun problema sino que por el contrario convierten en criminales a millones de trabajadores y contribuyentes.

Historicamente, las deportaciones destrozan familias; en anos recientes miles de ninios nacidos en los Estados Unidos han sido deportados mientras que cientos de miles de matrimonios, separados. Durante la ola de deportaciones de los anos 30 y tiempo despues, cuando se puso en efecto la llamada "Operacion Espaldas-Mojadas" en 1954, miles de personas fueron obligadas a salir del pais, ya fuera por confusiones de identidad o simplemente porque tenian la piel oscura y hablaban espanol.

La amnistia que propone Carter puede llegar a fracasar rotundamente, a no ser que sea cuidadosamente planificada y administrada por otro grupo que no sea el Servicio de Inmigracion de los Estados Unidos. A modo de ilustracion ponemos al gobierno de Australia quien, en 1976 ofrecio tres meses de amnistia a sus indocumentados. Sin embargo, la desconfianza natural que la gente sentia hacia el Ministerio de Inmigracion, aunadas a la barrera del idioma y el hecho de que el gobierno siempre habia utilizado a este Ministerio como organo represivo, ademas de la falta de planificacion de todo el programa, hicieron que este fracasara totalmente.

Al terminar el programa de amnistia, el Ministerio de Inmigracion y de Asuntos Etnicos autorizo una campana que "terminara de raiz con los ilegales que aun quedaban", e informo a la prensa que "no habrian en Australia mas ofertas de amnistia".

La Administracion de Carter probablemente seguira la misma politica, a pesar del hecho de proclamarse por todo el mundo a favor de los derechos humanos.

2. LA ENMIENDA DE LA LEY RODINO - El congresista Joshua Eilberg (D-Pa) se encuentra promoviendo una ley en la que se sanciona a los patrones, a semejanza de la ley Rodino, la cual fue aprobada dos veces en la Camara de Representantes pero no fue ratificada por el Senado. Ostensivamente, la ley Eilberg pretende castigar a los patrones que contraten a inmigrantes indocumentados. En California se paso una ley similar hace varios anos (la ley Dixon-Arnett) en la que no se castigaba a los patrones. Con esta ley, por el contrario, los trabajadores mexicanos e hispanos enfrentan una tremenda discriminacion en base al color de su piel o a su acento espanol. La Union de Trabajadores Campesinos (UFW) ha denunciado repetidamente a la ley Rodino por estos motivos.

En cuanto a lo que se refiere a las llamadas "sanciones al patron" las leyes estan escritas de tal forma que en realidad ellas colaboran con el patron, a expensas del trabajador. Al mismo tiempo fuerzan al a hacerle su trabajo a Inmigracion, ya que los pone a chequear las tarjetas de identidad y otros documentos que posean los trabajadores.

3. TARJETAS DE IDENTIDAD - La Administracion de Carter propone tambien la emision de tarjetas de identidad que se le darian a los trabajadores y por medio de las cuales se les autorizaria a trabajar en los Estados Unidos. Carter ha suspendido temporalmente esta propuesta debido a la resistencia puesta por el Fiscal General de la Nacion, Griffin Bell, quien sabe muy bien el tipo de oposicion que traeria consigo el emitir esta tarjeta de identidad de parte de los grupos que abogan por la libertad civil a la largo de la nacion. Una propuesta modificada de esta ley esta aun bajo estudio, y consistiria en emitir tarjetas codificadas de seguro social, que hagan una distincion entre las personas que estan autorizadas para trabajar y las que no lo estan. Este tipo de tarjetas de identidad las utiliza el gobierno de Sur Africa en su campana pro-racismo, y ofrece incontables oportunidades para ser utilizadas como instrumentos de represion, ya que cualquier persona que no las posea esta expuesta a una persecucion constante por parte de las autoridades.
4. CERRAR LA FRONTERA - Lionel Castillo, el Comisionado de Inmigracion de Estados Unidos aboga por un mayor control y vigilancia a lo largo de la frontera con Mexico, y ha identificado esto como una de las metas principales de su administracion. En varias declaraciones, Castillo ha dicho que una amnistia no seria efectiva jamas a no ser que exista mucho mas control en la frontera y para esto ha solicitado un presupuesto mayor y ha enviado ya a 100 agentes adicionales a la frontera.

Por otro lado, y para no quedar detras de un covero democrata, el Senador Republicado por Long Beach, George Deukmejian ha sugerido que se establezca una reservacion militar de 14 millas a lo largo de la frontera, desde la costa hasta las montanas de Otay, con el proposito de impedir que los inmigrantes entren ilegalmente a los Estados Unidos. Deukmejian cree que al militarizar la frontera se eliminarian los procedimientos legales contra los "extranjeros ilegales" a la vez que daria trabajo al personal militar.

En meses y en semanas recientes, los periodicos mexicanos de la frontera en ciudades tales como Tijuana, Mexicali y Juarez han estado publicando noticias sobre el aumento de la persecucion y la crueldad de los policias norteamericanos de la frontera en contra de ciudadanos mexicanos que tratan de cruzar a los Estados Unidos. Un articulo publicado en el periodico de Tijuana "El Mexicano" el 8 de junio

de 1977 informa que un policia uniformado de Inmigracion de los Estados Unidos ataco a Rodolfo Rodriguez Chaves, un nino de 12 anos que estaba nadando en compania de 2 amiguitos a 20 pies del lado norteamericano de la frontera.

E El nino declaro a las autoridades mexicanas que el policia le habia gritado algo en ingles e inmediatamente se le echo encima y comenzo a pegarle, fracturandole el brazo izquierdo.

El mismo articulo anade que, tambien en Tijuana, otros policias de Inmigracion dispararon contra un hombre de 22 anos que estaba ayudando a pasar la frontera a un grupo de gente, hiriendole gravemente. El hombre, cuyo nombre es Braulio Arellano Gamero, comenzo a correr hacia la Colonia Libertad en Tijuana al oir los disparos, pero 5 de ellos se le incrustaron en la pierna izquierda. Arellano fue llevado inmediatamente a un hospital de Tijuana e interrogado alli por las autoridades mexicanas.

Actos de violencia tales como estos han hecho que Cesar Chavez, el Director de la Union de Trabajadores Campesinos (UFW) denuncie a la policia de la frontera por "abusar de cientos de mexicanos que tratan de cruzar la frontera" Migration Today, Junio de 1977.

Es indispensable, por lo tanto, que el Congreso haga una investigacion a fondo sobre la policia norteamericana de la frontera, antes de aprobar un solo centavo mas o aumentar el personal de la frontera.

5. STATUS DE NO-DEPORTACION - La Administracion de Carter esta ofreciendo a las personas que han entrado a los Estados Unidos despues del periodo de gracia establecido de 7 anos, pero antes del 1 de enero de 1977 un status "de no deportacion". Esto quiere decir que a los extranjeros que no se les pueda deportar se les permitira quedarse, aunque bajo las mismas condiciones de explotacion en las que han estado viviendo, al tiempo de que se les seguira negando todos los servicios sociales y otros beneficios a los que tienen derecho, y tampoco podran cambiar su status.

La distincion entre "ilegales" y "no-deportables" es muy poca, pero la ultima es mucho peor para los inmigrantes ya que niega de plano derechos y privilegios que podrian ser obtenidos con la primera.

6. PROGRAMA PARA TRABAJO TEMPORAL - Fuertes presiones provenientes de uniones laborales y de grupos de presion han evitado aparentemente que la Administracion de Carter proponga que se renueve el antiguo programa de braceros, por medio del cual se contrataba a trabajadores mexicanos para que trabajaran por periodos especificos de tiempo, programa que beneficiaba principalmente a los agricultores norteamericanos.

Sin embargo, no seria extraño que la actual Administracion intente llegar a algun tipo de compromiso con los intereses agricolas y con el gobierno mexicano para renovar este programa. Los braceros son realmente esclavos a quienes se les paga sueldos increíblemente bajos y quienes son usados como arma para evitar que los campesinos se unan en uniones. No es de extrañarse que los legisladores republicanos esten abogando por un programa de braceros a gran escala, en tiempos en que la Union de Trabajadores Campesinos (UFW) esta realizando una de las mayores contiendas en California y en otros estados del suroeste.

Aun mas, cuando los cultivadores de Presidio, Texas se quejaban de que estaban faltos de mano de obra este ano y que no tenian quien recogiera la cosecha, el Comisionado Lionel Castillo, de Inmigracion, autorizaba a mas de 800 trabajadores mexicanos para que cruzaran la frontera. Si la Administracion de Carter continua usando la tactica de tomar caso por caso en su estrategia del trabajo agricola, lo que estara haciendo es abriendo el mismo programa de los braceros, bajo otro nombre.