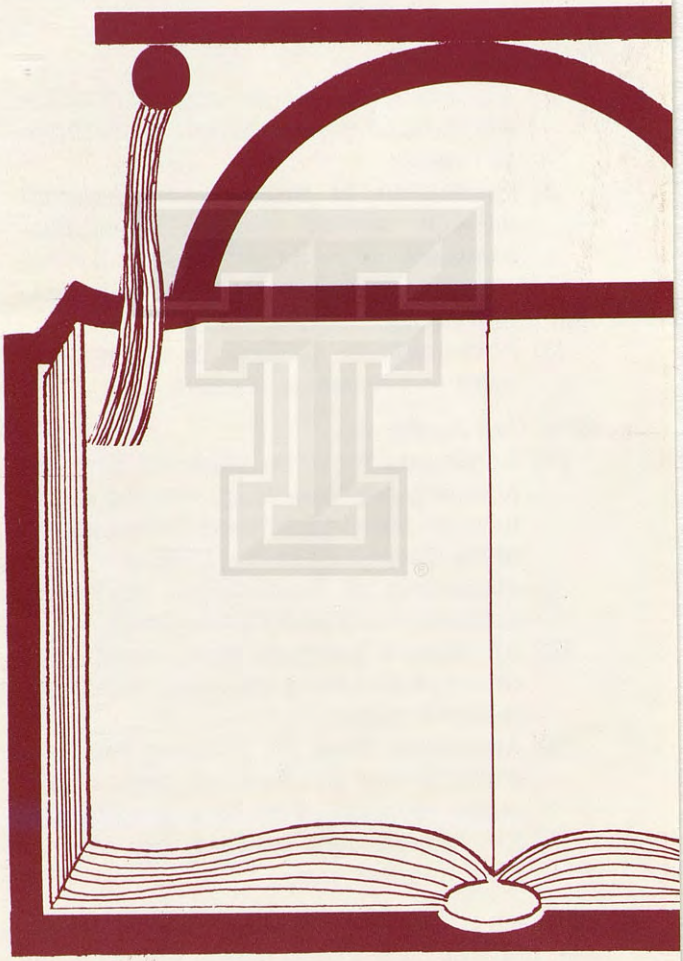
GRADUATE FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM



in the EARLY CHILDHOOD DEVELOPMENT of the SPANISH SPEAKING CHILD

GRADUATE FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM
in the Early Childhood Development of the Spanish Speaking Child

Purpose:

(1) To seek out and support graduate students interested in specializing in the early childhood development of the Spanish Speaking child.

(2) To encourage research and publications of work in this area.

Fellowship Support:

(1) A quarterly stipend, the amount of which will be determined individually by financial need.

(2) Facilitation of research development through annual national meetings/ seminars with other Fellows, other scholars, and government and Foundation representatives.

(3) Post-graduate assistance in employment and research support.

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(1) Applicants must be students who are pursuing graduate study relating to the field of Early Childhood Development of the Spanish Speaking Child within the disciplines of Psychology, Sociology, Education or closely allied fields.

(2) Applicant's graduate study must have research emphasis and must indicate a research career.

(3) Applicants must be pursuing full-time study toward an academic degree generally recognized as final preparation for independent performance of research in this area.

Fellowship awards will be for one year only, but may be renewable upon reapplication provided that: 1) the fellow maintains research career objectives within the field of early childhood development, and 2) the fellow exhibits satisfactory progress during the award tenure.

To Apply:

Applications must be requested by individual applicants.

For application form and additional information write to:

NCLR Graduate Fellowship Program
1725 I Street, N.W., Suite 210
Washington, D.C. 20006
(202) 659-1251

Selection Process:

Completed applications will be reviewed by an advisory panel of experienced Hispanic professionals from a variety of disciplines. Applicants will be rated according to (1) their demonstrated interest in the field of early childhood development of the Spanish speaking child, (2) their intention to pursue careers which include conduct of research which might benefit the Hispanic child, and (3) recommendations and other evidence of suitable academic ability.

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A JOURNAL OF HISPANIC ISSUES

"I have an idea that there is much . . . of importance about the Latin race's contribution to American nationality . . . that will never be put with sympathetic understanding and tact on the record."—Walt Whitman

AGENDA, A JOURNAL OF HISPANIC ISSUES,

is setting the record straight.

And the record shows that Latinos in the United States now number at least 16 million and will be the largest minority group before the end of the next decade. As Latino numbers grow, so does their involvement and influence in all spheres of national life. Essential to this involvement is reliable, factual information *for* Latinos and *about* Latinos. **AGENDA** supplies this information bi-monthly with articles in regularly-featured sections on Law and Justice, Education, Community Development, Economics, Religion, Latin American Currents, The Arts, Culture and History, and The Media. Readers are also kept aware of activities in Congress through Capitol Report and of activities in the Latino community through the National Calendar. Little-known but rising Latinos are featured in Nuestra Gente. And occasional photo essays say visually what words cannot always describe.

AGENDA is objective, analytical and concise. The information in **AGENDA** is vital to the accomplishment of positive change and progress in the Latino community. Each issue features a theme subject of special importance to Latinos in this country. Recent themes have included The Welfare System, The Undocumented Immigrant, La Hispana, Media's Distorted Images, Education—Key to Opportunities, The Farmworker, and Hispanics in the Arts.

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- alcoholism in the Latino community,
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- President Carter's proposed immigration policy.

As Walt Whitman testifies above, Latinos have contributed and continue to contribute immeasurably to this nation. Latinos and non-Latinos alike will profit by keeping a finger on the pulse of the Latino community. Factual information is an important key to gaining equality in this society. Whether you are a concerned Latino, a Federal policy maker, a social and political scholar, or a person interested in all groups of people within the society, **AGENDA's** thought-provoking articles can provide catalysts for action on both a local and a national level.

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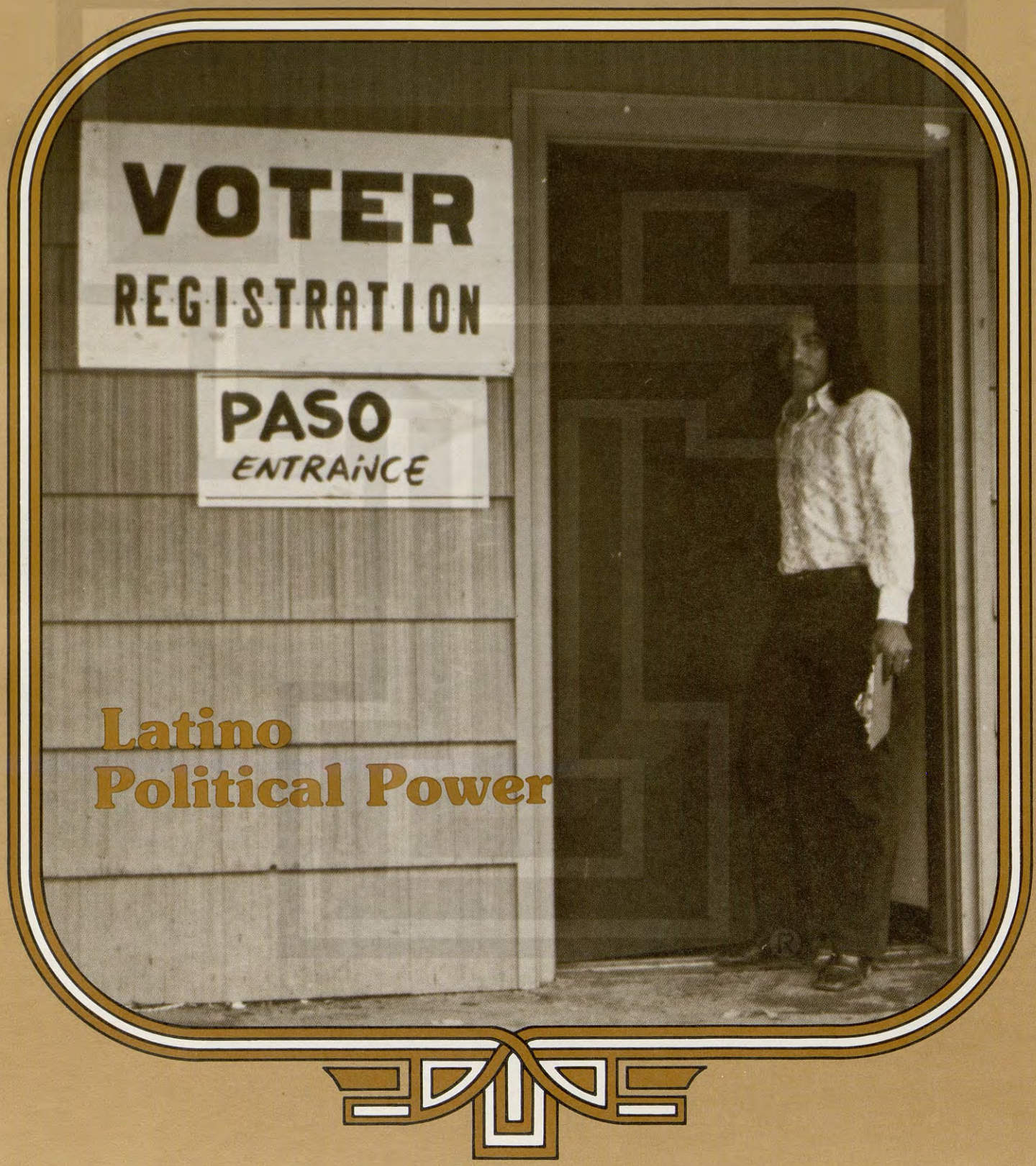

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GUEST EDITORIAL

Hispanic Political Power-An Emerging Reality

by Edward R. Roybal, U.S. Congressman

After many false starts, inflated rhetoric, and false promises Hispanic political power is an emerging reality. At all levels of government our power is an undeniable fact. There is a Congressional Hispanic Caucus. A National Association of Latino Elected Officials (NALEO) has been established at the national level. An ever growing number of forceful and dynamic national Hispanic organizations exist and are flourishing. In just one decade, our state representatives and senators have increased from 19 to 87 in the Southwestern states and in New York. In more and more local communities, Hispanics are a political force to be recognized.

This reality has been perceived by the popular media. National weekly magazines have run major cover stories on our community and have pondered the impact of our numbers. Thus, they contend, a dramatic change has occured. The majority society now knows that we and our problems exist in a real sense—in contrast to the past when Hispanics were considered to be simply part of the country's "Spanish heritage." Furthermore, today we are viewed as a future threat to establishment political powers. Subtle efforts are already in play to slow down our gains.

It is true that our potential is enormous, and our progress is significant. Still the two are far apart, for not enough has been accomplished.

Let us not become complacent with the advances that we have made so far. Let us not be satisfied with political rhetoric that promises much but delivers only symbolic appointments and token policies. Let us be especially cautious during election years when this becomes even more apparent.

Instead, let us ask the hard questions:

- Why has there been no significant improvement in government employment of Hispanics?
- Why is Hispanic unemployment nearly double that of the national average?
- Why, if one out of five Hispanic workers is monolingual in *Spanish,* have there not been national efforts to address this problem?
- Why is the educational system such a dismal failure in dealing with our most precious resource—our children?

These are hard questions and there are no easy answers. A tough realistic assessment of our conditions and a commitment to the difficult task of working together as Hispanics are our most pressing and immediate concerns.

The activities of the Congressional Hispanic Caucus over the past year are an encouraging sign that our goals can be reached. Although the Caucus is small (three Congressmen of Mexican descent and two of Puerto Rican descent), its impact has already been felt. Since its founding, the Caucus has united on the House floor to fight funding cuts in bilingual education and other Hispanic causes.

For example, the Hispanic Caucus, in discussions with Cabinet officials, has outlined considerations for the 1980 Census, has received a commitment from the Attorney General on police brutality cases involving Hispanics, and has pointed out the pressing need for employing Hispanics in the Federal Government.

As the only Hispanic elected officials at the national level, the Caucus needs to join forces with community and national groups. These groups, in turn, need to work with and utilize the Caucus.

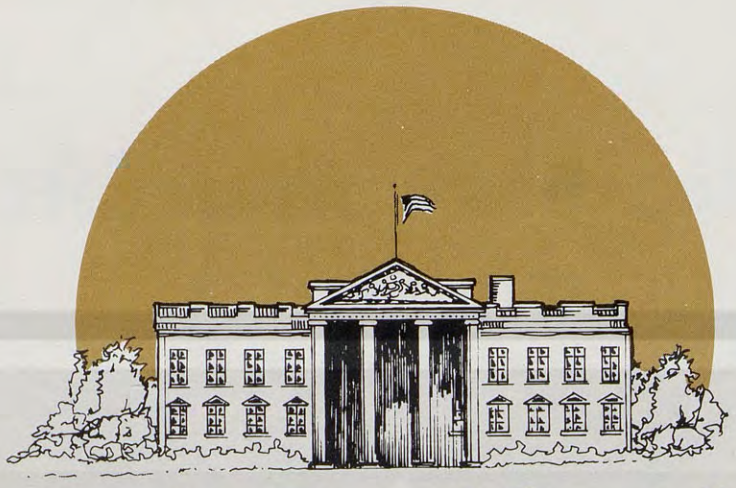
Eventual solutions demand that all of us work together. And work together we must. Failure to achieve unity precludes success, as does self-satisfaction with our modest achievements.

We stand at the verge of the 1980s. We are confronted by many challenges and we will fight many battles. Some of these challenges and battles we will win, and some we will lose. The ultimate challenge, however, is the certainty that a decade from now we will be either a proud and unified national presence, or we will be this country's largest and weakest minority serving as its underclass.

The choices are clear. We must commit ourselves. Let us not be among the cold and timid who will never know either victory or defeat in behalf of a worthy cause—simply because we chose not to exert ourselves.

Will Numbers Equal Power?

In recent months, much has been said about the potential growth in the United States of the Hispanic population, which is predicted to become the country's largest minority before the turn of the century. As one news magazine put it, Hispanics are about to enter their "decade in the sun." Much of the attention being focused on Hispanics, however, has emphasized numerical growth without relating that growth to potential power. Unfortunately, numbers mean nothing without the strength and unity to back them up. Only through unity can demographics be translated into power, and the ultimate power source in this country is political. In this issue of *Agenda*, the potential for translating Hispanic numbers into political strength is examined so that readers can determine if pure numbers will indeed equal power and progress in the 1980s.



An Hispanic President in 1980?

by Douglas R. Martinez

The next United States President will be elected in November of 1980, and the fact that Ben Fernandez, a Chicano migrant-turned-millionaire is running in the race as hard and fast as anyone else is only one of several significant events which may coincide to intensify the Hispanic drive for more political power.

Another such event is the emergence of Mexico as a potential major supplier of oil to the United States. Mexican oil could boost the lot of Chicanos and other Latinos in this country by making Mexico a priority in American foreign policy. The increased importance of a Latin American nation could easily result in the increased recognition of Latinos in the United States.

In addition, it is possible that residents of Puerto Rico may opt for statehood as early as 1981. If passed by Congress, statehood would double the number of Hispanics in Congress and dramatically increase Puerto Rican power in the United States.

But the boost for Latino political clout may have been blunted recently by attacks on and ousters of Hispanic officials across the country. These events, added to the expirations of terms for some officeholders and the retirement of others, has prompted some observers to suggest a conspiracy against the growing power of Hispanics in government. For some observers, these scenarios were alternately too bright or too bleak, but many felt any change from the stagnant state of Hispanic politics would be good.

By far the most unexpected event in the course of Hispanic politics came with the serious start of Benjamin Fernandez' race for the Presidency. Although few were willing to give Fernandez any chance at all, some said he would kindle an increased interest in Hispanics among the Republican as well as the Democratic parties.

Certainly, the burgeoning growth of the Hispanic population, fueled by high legal and illegal immigration, has helped to spark an interest in Hispanics among politicans.

But Fernandez will not take a chance on anyone missing the obvious. "Ben Fernandez is the first person of Hispanic descent to seek America's highest office. He is doing so at a time when the Latino minority, totalling 20 million people and growing fast, could be decisive in certain states a Presidential candidate must win to be elected, such as California, Florida, New York and Texas," stated a press release issued at a news conference to announce his candidacy.

Reporters were openly skeptical at the news conference and challenged Fernandez' seriousness in seeking the post, but he remained steadfast. "I've never approached anything in my life with the thought of losing," he declared and under the glare of television lights answered probing questions with the air of a professional politician.

Fernandez makes it all seem like the next natural step in a life which has seen him climb from one success to another in his rather remarkable rise from poverty. Among his highly individualistic accomplishments: founding an economic consulting firm that earned him a fortune; forming the National Economic Development Association, which provides Hispanic businessmen throughout the nation with business assistance and loan packaging advice; and serving as a consultant in work that resulted in the formation of a score of Hispanic banks and financial institutions.

"The American dream is for real and I'm the living proof of it," Fernandez said. "It is time to reassure our citizens that the system works, that it is there to be used by all."

Other Chicanos are equally certain that, however the system is working, it is not working to increase the amount of political power wielded by Latinos. Attorney Percy Duran, who works with the Federal Home Loan Bank in Washington, D.C., says, "Hispanics have nothing. The bottom line is delivery [of votes]. If we haven't got the votes, it [Latino political power] is a grand illusion."

Duran, who helped organize the Chicano Moratorium to protest the Vietnam War and discrimination against Chicanos (the biggest Chicano demonstration in history), does not think Chicanos are blameless, however. As an example, he mentions Los Angeles, where Hispanics have not been able to elect a single City Councilman or County Supervisor in a decade and a half.

"This is the second largest Mexican city in the world after Mexico City," says Duran, "and we haven't got anybody. I helped draw up the reapportionment for the city and we created a Chicano district where the vast majority of people were Chicanos."

But a red-headed Irishman named Arthur Snyder retained his Council seat by handily defeating a field of Chicano candiates in the last election held more than two years ago. "We created a district that was a 'Chicano district' and yet a Chicano couldn't get elected. We still have people who prefer voting for some Anglo instead of a Chicano," he said.

Research done by the Southwest Voter Registration Education Project (SVREP) supports Duran's opinions of Hispanic voter apathy and lack of awareness. Organized in 1975 and financed by Ford Foundation funds, SVREP has registered hundreds of thousands of voters in the Southwest, mainly Chicanos but also Indians, in door-to-door drives held in cooperation with coalitions of community groups. The Project also conducts research into Hispanic voting patterns. Studies done in the 1976 Presidential election indicate that the Hispanic voter does not vote in the same proportions as the rest of the population, although in some areas the Hispanic vote has been crucial.

Ben Fernandez

According to the Project report, "Latino voters in the pivotal election states of Texas and New York provided Carter with crucial vote margins. In Texas, which Carter carried by only 129,019 votes, Latinos gave him 205,800 more votes than they did Ford. In New York, Carter received 277,680 Latino votes and won the state by 288,767." In summary, says the report, "our study indicates that Latinos cast 1,887,600 votes in the 1976 presidential election. Jimmy Carter received about 1,529,000 of these, or 81 percent."

Significantly, however, the report documents that Hispanic voters generally appear to be less likely to vote than persons in the rest of society. For the United States as a whole, Latino voter turnout was 69 percent compared to 75 percent for overall turnout. In the five southwestern states, the comparative figures were as follows: Arizona, 63 percent Latino turnout *versus* 78 percent overall turnout; California, 73 percent *versus* 83 percent; Colorado, 74 percent *versus* 80 percent; New Mexico, 72 percent *versus* 81 percent; and Texas, 57 percent *versus* 65 percent.

Moreover, less than half (1,887,600) of the total number of Hispanics who were of eligible voting age (4,974,000) voted in the 1976 Presidential election, and only 2,735,000 of the eligible Hispanics were even registered to vote.

Even in the Southwest where Chicanos are concentrated, Hispanics were less likely to vote than Hispanics in other parts of the country. "Latino voter turnout in the Southwest was slightly lower than the Latino turnout nationally. Sixty-seven percent of Latino voters in the Southwest actually went to the polls compared to a general Latino turnout of 69 percent. Latino turnout in the Southwest was significantly lower than the general turnout. Seventy-five percent of the registered voters in the Southwest actually voted compared to a 67 percent turnout for Latinos," the report said.

What all this indicates is that President Carter held on to traditional Democratic support among Hispanics but the Party's neglect of Chicanos eroded Democratic support from Hispanics.

As evidenced by the figures, Carter enjoyed an early feeling of faith from Hispanics, who say his use of Spanish and emphasis on human rights seemed to promise a greater sensitivity to Chicanos and Latinos and more attention to their problems, such as police brutality.

More than two years later, however, Hispanics wonder whether the sensitivity goes beyond a superficial, surface attention and question White House reports that Carter reads the Bible in Spanish "for an hour before retiring every night."

Hispanics Criticize Carter

Criticism of Carter has centered on his alleged inattention to Hispanics on such issues as police brutality and cuts in the Federal Government's social welfare budget. Justice Department figures showed that of 10,000 complaints of possible police abuse throughout the country (mainly involving minorities) which have been submitted for possible prosecution, charges have been filed against only six law enforcement officers accused of mistreating Hispanics.

The cases that were not acted upon include that of Santos Rodriguez, a 12-year-old youth who was shot to death at point-blank range by an on-duty Dallas policeman who allegedly was playing Russian Roulette. Rodriguez was handcuffed and sitting in the back of a police patrol car. The officer was not prosecuted on Federal civil rights violations, even though Carter told a group of Hispanics last year that he would personally speak to Attorney General Griffin Bell about the importance of examining the case closely.

Another example of Hispanic concern is the failure of either Carter or his staff to meet with Hispanic leaders about cuts for social programs in the proposed 1980 Federal budget. That budget, which slashes appropriations for housing assistance in urban areas, is cutting hundreds of millions of dollars that would go to improve urban centers in which many Hispanics live. Conversely, if the money would help Hispanics in places such as the Bronx and Los Angeles, the lack of money would hurt Hispanics in those areas.

Hispanics also find much to dislike in the President's economic policies. Richard Santos, a University of Texas at Austin economist, says that the wage and price controls suggested by the administration as possible anti-inflation devices will only worsen the economic status of Hispanics who are already at the bottom of the ladder.

Hispanic Democrats, however, are not willing to concede so easily. The Congressional Hispanic Caucus continues its work of lobbying for legislation helpful to Hispanics, researching public policy issues related to Latinos, and serving as an information clearinghouse on Hispanic needs for Federal agencies. The Caucus, chaired by Congressman Edward Roybal of California, is composed of five of the six Hispanic members of Congress. Roybal has spent more than 16 years in Congress and has been a major force in getting Congress to pass legislation on bilingual education, critical statistics-gathering on Hispanics, and the extension of the Voting Rights Act to cover Hispanics.

But Roybal's stellar record of service was tainted in the Tongsun Park matter. One of several Congressman cited in the so-called Koreagate affair, Roybal was reprimanded by his Congressional colleagues for allegedly lying about receipt of a $1,000 campaign contribution from Park. Initially, Roybal was recommended for censure—a far more serious charge than reprimand—by a Congressional ethics committee, but the fact that he had voted in Congress *against* Tongsun Park's interests apparently convinced Congressmen of Roybal's innocence of in-

fluence-pedding complicity. Roybal's support from Hispanics, many of whom felt the Congressman had been singled out unfairly (see editorial in *Agenda*, September/October 1978), may also have affected the outcome of the investigation.

Other Hispanic politicians have recently been put on the defensive. Jess Haro, a former San Diego City Councilman, found himself facing a five-year-old customs charge brought by the United States Attorney in San Diego. Although Haro had pleaded guilty to the charge and was cooperating with officials, he was sentenced to a 90-day term. Haro's plea that he be allowed to serve his time on days when the City Council was not in session, and thus retain his seat, was refused by the court and Haro's commitment to jail meant his expulsion from the Council after a month. Haro, however, was succeeded in office by a Chicana, Lucy Killea.

Mario Obledo, the former head of the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund and now Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare for the State of California, may have felt that his troubles would be never-ending. Obledo was accused in a *Reader's Digest* article nearly two years ago of being a willing pawn in providing help and state money to members of the so-called "Mexican Mafia," an organization of criminals in California and Arizona. Although Obledo was cleared in a California State Justice Department investigation, only popular support from the state's Hispanics prevented him from being forced out of office.

Hispanic Democrats also have lost two of their most visible standard bearers: Raúl Castro, former Governor of Arizona who was appointed Ambassador to Argentina; and Jerry Apodaca, whose term as Governor of New Mexico expired last year. Both men were replaced by Anglos.

Within the framework of these occurrences, the candidacy of Ben Fernandez takes on a fascinating dimension when viewed as a Republican challenge to the long-standing hold of the Democrats on the Hispanic population. As Carter readies himself for the 1980 campaign, Fernandez will be the reaper of a Republican effort to win away the Hispanics. A recent analysis of Republican thinking appeared in the *Ripon Forum* published by the conservative Ripon Society.

"Political allegiances which may last for the next generation are being formed," said the magazine. "Perhaps more than any other group, Hispanic Americans could be the crucial swing vote in future Presidential elections. The very politically active Cuban American community has already shown strong Republican leanings. Mexican-Americans, while registered heavily as Democrats, have shown strong swing voting tendencies; in 1972 half the Hispanic American electorate in Texas voted for the Republican Presidential ticket."

Zeroing in on Carter, the *Ripon Forum* said: "Aside from cutting a few tapes in broken Spanish, however, Jimmy Carter has done little for Hispanic Americans since the election. They have been dislodged from influence in the minority business program and in the State Department Latin American Affairs Section. Several high level Carter Administration appointees have made it clear privately that they consider Hispanics a kind of counterfeit minority, not entitled to the full rights afforded other minority Americans.

"Moreover, the anti-entrepreneurial, anti-investment philosophy espoused by Carterities is hardly attuned to the concerns of an upwardly mobile Hispanic community that believes in individual entrepreneurships and self-reliance. The welfarist nature of Democratic appeals is particularly demeaning to Hispanic Americans."

Republican Ideals

Fernandez deliberately personifies what the *Ripon Forum* calls "the close affinity between Hispanic American values and Republican ideals." His manner and message stress success. Dressed in a dark-colored, conservatively-cut suit, Fernandez expounds on the capitalist concepts he embraces: "The United States needs a president who can inspire and motivate its citizens to exciting patriotic heights. The President must demonstrate that the system rewards those who take advantage of it and who apply themselves."

Standing in front of his palatial house during a recent interview with the Los Angeles *Herald-Examiner*, Fernandez gestured to the home and said "Every poor Mexican would like to have something like this and I can be an example to them, a reminder that they can do it."

Fernandez is given no chance of success by most observers familiar with his campaign and with national politics. But many feel he will attract a lot of attention from Hispanics and that he may attract them away from the Democrats. Fernandez has already attracted attention of the sort that he would not like to have, however. As a fund raiser for the Finance Committee of the Committee to Re-Elect the President in 1972, Fernandez was accused by a Florida contractor of offering to trade a Federal building contract in exchange for a campaign contribution to the Nixon campaign. Fernandez denied the charge, spent five hours testifying before the Senate Watergate Committee, and was never charged with any crime. He says he was completely exonerated. But the matter came up in his press conference and will likely come up again.

Other Hispanic political initiatives have offered some interesting insights into group cooperative political efforts. In Los Angeles and San Antonio, the United Neighborhood Organization (UNO) and the Comminutes Organized for Public Service (COPS), respectively, brought *barrio* residents together to petition for such things as improved services from municipal government to *barrio* communities and reduced insurance rates in Chicano neighborhoods.

The organizations, which are church-based, spring from the organizing theories of the late Saul Alinsky, who created successful community-based groups in Chicago and elsewhere to encourage residents of poverty areas to demand change. By putting thousands of demonstrators into the streets or into the chambers of city hall, these two groups were able to exhibit far more political clout than any single charismatic leader.

Another cooperative effort, this one on the national level, was that of major Black and Hispanic groups which met in late 1978 to plan a continuous joint working relationship. The coalition, which includes such persons as Vernon Jordan of the National Urban League, Benjamin Hooks of the NAACP, Ed Peña of the League of United Latin American Citizens, and Carmen Votaw, President of the National Conference of Puerto Rican Women, agreed on a series of working principles, including the following:

- to promote a better understanding of one another's problems, common concerns and culture;
- to identify and promote mutual national policy objectives of vital interest to Black and Hispanic communities;
- to promote cooperation and collaboration in support of jointly held goals;
- to promote and coordinate civic awareness by encouraging voter education and registration, and by strengthening participation by Hispanics and Blacks in the political process at all levels of government;
- to seek to ensure that Black and Hispanic constituencies do not bear the brunt of a restrictive economic, social and political climate.

Called the Working Committee on Concerns of Hispanics and Blacks, the formation of the coalition is the latest attempt by Hispanics to plunge forcefully into national politics.

The prevalent feeling among many Hispanics that all of these issues—increased Republican visibility, possible Puerto Rican statehood, growing Chicano influence based on Mexico's new oil power, effective grassroots organizations such as UNO and COPS, and a new working relationship between Hispanics and Blacks—combine to suggest the current uncertain nature of United States politics. In the present atmosphere, it is all up for grabs.

And if Hispanics continue to reach for a voice in the politics of this nation, they may well come out in the 1980s—the decade of Hispanics—with a bigger share of the political pie than has been predicted.

NALEO and the Caucus

No Paper Tigers

by Patricia C. Ramirez

The process is slow—at times agonizingly so—but little by little Hispanics are filtering through the political system and being elected to public office. Hispanic officials are still very small in number on the national level (only six Congressmen and no Senators), but on the local and state levels, the outlook is more encouraging.

As the number of elected Hispanic officials grows, it is natural that methods be sought to consolidate the power that accrues to individual offices throughout the country. During the last five years, such attempts have resulted in the formation of two political groups which promise to unite the Hispanic political voice: the National Association of Latino Elected Officials (NALEO) and the Hispanic Congressional Caucus.

NALEO was founded in 1975 at a mini-convention of the Democratic Party in Kansas City, where several Hispanic elected and appointed officials decided to organize a group that would have national scope and include all Hispanics in public office and civic-minded people who support them. The association has three objectives:

- to develop a comprehensive, articulate, and forceful lobbying complex in Washington which will, for the first time, work on an apolitical basis to lobby for legislation that will benefit the Spanish-speaking population and communicate with all Hispanic organizations to inform them of the issues;
- to coordinate voter registration drives in Hispanic communities throughout the country; and
- to stimulate the Hispanic population to vote on Election Day.

By accomplishing these objectives, NALEO will be ready for the next decade when the Hispanic community is expected to become the largest ethnic minority in the nation.

Congressman Edward R. Roybal (D.-Cal.), National Chairman of NALEO, believes that, if not after the 1980 Census, after the 1990 Census, Hispanics will constitute the largest minority. But he asks, "Why be the largest if we are the least powerful? What we want is to not only be the largest, but to also have some impact on the political process of this nation—to be included more in education, employment, housing; to have equal rights with the rest of the American people." The Congressman does not think that this has been true over the years, and that, to remedy the situation, NALEO is needed to organize the Hispanic voters and to be in Washington to coordinate all of these activities.

As National Chairman of NALEO, Roybal is charged with the organization of the association as well as with the raising of funds, "the selling of a concept." It is difficult to persuade people to join an organization they know nothing about and even more difficult to solicit contributions from them, Roybal feels. "It is a job in which one has to spend a great deal of time pointing out to the Hispanic community of this nation that the only salvation we have is to have a presence in Washington, D.C.," the Congressman says. He points out that there are only six members of Congress who are of Hispanic origin, and that they are too few to adequately represent the Spanish-speaking population of the nation.

Currently, NALEO has a potential membership of 5,000, including those individuals who have already joined and those who have expressed an interest in becoming members. NALEO will also ask the supporters of elected and appointed Hispanic officials to join NALEO when the full registration drive gets under way. This will make for a large and powerful group of Spanish-speaking Americans who want their voices heard in national politics.

Roybal says that NALEO will not be a "so-called issue-oriented organization. It is going to be an organization that is going to lobby as necessary on whatever legislation has been introduced that affects the Hispanic community." The primary emphasis will be on discrimination in education, employment and housing, and the lack of grants and loans to small businesses owned by Hispanics.

This year will be an organizing year. NALEO will be soliciting membership and opening its Washington, D.C., office. In 1980, NALEO hopes to sponsor its first national convention at which major plans and directions will be developed. As an organization, NALEO will not make any endorsements, but, as individuals, members will voice their support of presidential and senatorial candidates.

NALEO has published one newsletter to date, and hopes to distribute a regular newsletter in the near future. Brochures have been distributed to describe the goals and objectives of the organization to potential members. Roybal will be traveling to the states to seek support from local officials throughout the year.

Congressman Roybal believes that NALEO will have a great impact on Congress in the coming years. Members will be able to meet with Congressional committees representing a self-supporting organization which is not seeking Federal funds for its operation, but asking the government to implement the laws of the land regarding affirmative action and various other laws which have heretofore not been enforced to the benefit of Hispanics. Once the lobbying effort has been established at the national level, NALEO will work at the state and local level to make the Hispanic voice heard. There are several organizations lobbying in state capitals which will join with NALEO in obtaining equal rights for Hispanics.

The other Hispanic political group which is attempting to provide a unified voice for Hispanics in government is the Hispanic Congressional Caucus, formed in late 1976

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Alfredo Gutiérrez: A Grassroots Politician in Arizona

by Toni Breiter

Although Hispanic elected officials on a national level remain the chosen few, increasing numbers of Hispanics are being elected to political office on local and state levels throughout the country. In most areas, true representation of Hispanics in relation to their numbers in local populations is yet to be attained. In these grassroots political efforts, some skirmishes are lost and some battles are won, but the push continues. The political struggle grows and intensifies as Hispanics become determined to have a voice in the government that bears so strong an influence on their lives.

There are some indications of gain in grassroots politics, and there are several Hispanic politicians who deserve and are getting national attention. One of these politicians is Arizona State Senator Alfredo Gutiérrez, who, according to some of his supporters, may well become the first United States Senator of Hispanic descent (currently there are six Hispanic voting members of the House of Representatives but no Hispanics in the Senate).

Gutiérrez was elected to the Arizona State Senate at the age of 25 and sworn in at 26. He has begun serving his fourth two-year term. During his second term, at the age of 28, he became the youngest state majority leader. He maintained majority leadership for four years, until recent elections realigned the political balance in the state legislature, a situation which he feels demonstrates the very tenuous nature of political power. He is now serving as minority leader.

Agenda recently spoke with Senator Gutiérrez about his political plans, his assessment of the political future of Latinos, and his opinions of grassroots politics.

Agenda—Senator Gutiérrez, do you have plans for running for national office?

Gutiérrez—I think opportunities in this State at this time are relatively limited. My only interest, my growing concern, has to do with essentially the balance of power as opposed to one individual, a Spanish speaking elected official. The crisis in this state has to do with the balance of power. The Western states, excluding California—a range of states known as the Rocky Mountain States—are clearly moving to the right. The leadership of the right in Congress is, in fact, coming from the Western states. That [does not mean] that the right is wrong in all things or that the left is naturally correct, but rather that some of the issues that affect us as a community are not going to be dealt with politically as the balance of powers change. Those are very simple kinds of things, the most basic and unifying kinds of issues. The fact is that we live in certain geographic areas, in some cities, in some rural areas, etc. If the balance of power stays as it is, then the geographic attention to the resources—the parks are built, the drainage is taken care of, etc.—is going to be elsewhere as opposed to where *we* are, because we are not part of this puzzle that creates power. Such things as bilingual education . . . are nontraditional liberal in terms of social services.

Agenda—What do you mean by that, "nontraditional liberal?"

Gutiérrez—I really don't believe in such things as the Community Mental Health Act, which I think has been supported by minorities for years. I think it is devastating, it's an immoral act. "Well, we're going to go out and look for crazy people. . . " Many Chicanos involved with it are, I'm sure, doing it sincerely, I don't want to accuse their motives as such. I just think they're wrong. So my concern is more with a balance of power, how we're going to change the kinds of issues that politicians in general are going to deal with. The bottom line is that you have to create, one, an electoral block; two, an informed block. That is, simple votes equal politicians equals nothing unless that block is extremely well-informed; unless you have the ability, internally, to do major research on policy, etc.; unless you can build that kind of policy institute for problems affecting the community. That hasn't been done.

[A national organization] is national is scope, which means that it diffuses. It may have some national effect here and there, but it really has no effect on the place down the street, none whatsoever. We have to begin to affect it. That means being con-

cerned with the kinds of policies that directly affect this community and how we can provide the tools, in other words. We must do more than demand. We have to create the reasonable response as well. We can't expect those who have ignored us in the first place to create the response to our needs in the second place, because we demanded it either by demonstration or by electoral politics. So that's more than running for office in the Senate building. [It's] building a new structure in the state.

Agenda—What is the balance of power in Arizona now?

Gutiérrez—In Arizona, it's not substantially different than it is in any other state in the southwest. The Spanish-speaking are the largest minority. The fact is, that except for limited geographic areas, the Spanish speaking are not part of the electoral politics. That is to say, in the state of Arizona, for example, there are probably 200,000 to 250,000 eligible Spanish-speaking voters, that is people who are citizens and who are over 18 years of age. And that's based on the most conservative estimate, more conservative than [that of] the Southwest Voter Registration Project. And the fact is that we don't know how many vote. We haven't built the tools, the resources, the policy centers. I'm more concerned with building those things.

Now we're like any other state except we're unique in some ways. We have grown in per capita base, [we have] more elected Spanish-speaking officials than anywhere in the country, including Texas and Colorado and California. We have folks in greater positions of influence, and have had... But it's nowhere near what we can do—that's first. And second, no answer is found in simply electing us. That is not an answer. We have to have consciousness and policy that affect the community. We can only be a change in last names and color if we don't have a direct connection with that base we are trying to build.

Agenda—In the six years that you've been in the Arizona State Sentate, what specific areas have you taken on as your own concerns in the legislature?

Gutiérrez—I take on everything. That sort of position [majority leader] has to explore everything—the budget every year, all major pieces of legislation. Some of them are my dictation, that is, as a leader I was able to dictate what the major issues would be in some cases. I guess I'm best known in this state for being in some the the childrens' issues. We've created a major division of mental retardation. The funding there has gone from next to nothing—$6 million or $7 million—to $30 some million during the time that I began that effort in the Appropriations Committee. Special education went from $10 million to $27 million in four years. It went from $10 million to $23 million in one year. I've [also] dealt with foster care review boards... The secondary level has been health care in general—health planning, rural health, major rural health administration... And finally, inner-city development, which we've been the least successful with.

[These have] been our legislative concerns. In the children's area, it's been an extremely successful and busy time. In four years we've taken the state out of the 1800s and just moved it tremendously. It's an area that people don't normally get involved in. Children's issues just come and go... but because of the nature of the leadership in the majority, those issues could be made into major issues, major appropriations issues.

Agenda—What happened in this last election to change you from a majority to a minority leader? Do you have any idea, any assessment as to why this occurred?

Gutiérrez—Yes, there's a number of them. And one of them is, I think, the most dangerous thing on a national level, especially in the Southwest—that range of Western states. [It] is that the Deomocratic Party itself is changing. What we have is [a situation in which] the politics of this country are continuously operated on a pendulum between butter issues and savings issues, and between [government] growing and government not growing. There's an historical trend—it's a pendulum moving from one side to the other.

What's happening is that we have too many folks who are moving quickly to the right. And I'm not criticizing the right as such. [What] I'm criticizing is that the movement to the right that's happening in the West—I keep mentioning what's happening in the West because that's were it's going to be. New York and Connecticut and those kinds of places are where it *used* to be. And we're [the West] setting the direction and tone of government in the future. The 1980 census is going to show that clearly when New Mexico gains a Congressional seat and we gain one or two and Utah gains a seat and Wyoming gains a seat. The new politics is out here. So what's happening out here is important not only because it's here, but also because it's going to be out *there* fairly quickly.

That movement to the right, the movement that's talking about cost effectiveness, cutting budgets, and getting welfare cheaters and all that—that rhetoric that everybody's doing... Democratic and Republican alike—it's pretty damaging for two reasons. On the one hand, it may be politically effective, but it's totally unrealistic. You do not cut budgets by 20 percent. It's totally unrealistic. But what it does do, is it pays attention to certain constituencies. Those constituencies are excited about those possibilities, feel that's the way government should be going... [But] it pays no attention to other constituencies... to Black communities, to Mexican American communities, Indian communities—none whatsoever.

And then you can't simply assume that after having told folks how you're going to do them in, that they're going to come out in great massive numbers and vote for you. That was, I think, the most serious of mistakes made.... Arizona, further than that, had a unique problem... we had a governor who, as he put it, was dealt cards by fate. He was popular, endorsed by both papers, etc., and there wasn't much of a campaign. And whatever [campaign] effort [occurred] was talking about our version of Proposition 13—it's called 101... which may have excited... a few rich folks, but it didn't sell like hot cakes in traditional Democratic strongholds. So Democrats didn't vote. The wrong people came in to vote, in effect, and we lost houses of the legislature. The governor won but not by anywhere near [what was predicted]. The poll was saying that he was going to win by 60 percent, 70 percent. He won by 52 percent. It was quite a squeaker. And hopefully, a good lesson for all of us...

Agenda—Are you now regrouping forces and planning to hit hard in 1980?

Gutiérrez—No. I think politicans respond politically and if the pendulum is moving against us, they're not going to be for us. So we can't expect them to be coming back to us at this point. I think our concern has to be building that base because we can change balance of power as opposed to trying to regroup. The *times* are going to do that.

Agenda—So far it's Democrats who are Chicanos *versus* non-Chicanos who are Republicans. But there are a lot of Latinos in this country who are Republican—Ben Fernandez, for example, who recently announced as a presidential candidate, and Congressman Manuel Lujan of New Mexico. Some politicians feel that the Hispanic culture is basically a conservative one. If this is so, and if, as more Latinos become voting people, it is broken down between the Republican and Democratic Parties, will this be a disunifying factor? Or it is just important to get Hispanics into the political stream?

Gutiérrez—It is going to be a disunifying factor to some degree, but not to any serious degree. The reason I say that is... in my judgement, in this state, and I suspect in Mexicano communities it's very similar across the country, it's my judgement that it [the Hispanic culture] *is* a conservative one, that is, a tradition-based community. It is not given to outrageous behavior and outrageous answers. It isn't given to whatever fad that comes down the road. It's basically traditional and conservative.

On the other hand, it's [a] rather insane [idea]. It takes logic of the sort of Alice in Wonderland to assume that because [the Hispanic community is] conservative, it's going to operate against its own interest. Precisely what I want to say is that, yes, the Republican Party could attract substantial numbers of Mexicanos, outside of the

middle class types. . . . Like everybody else, when [Hispanics] get to the upper middle class they tend to consider the Republican Party as an alternative. And that's fine because we won't be there for some time. But when we get there, we won't need to talk about changing the balances of power anymore. We will have made it so there's no point to talking about it. . .

To assume that the Republican Party is going to answer their interests is to assume that the Republican Party is going. . . to become concerned with inner-city development, and it's going to become concerned with bilingual education; that it's going to become concerned with affirmative action, and it's going to become concerned with the reconstruction of schools (the fact is, as we take over cities, we take over what's left, what's broken and faulty and dilapidated); that it's going to become concerned with forming new and broader programs of housing in the country, etc.; that it's going to become concerned with answering inflation with something other than higher unemployment. Now if [it is] assumed that the Republican Party under the leadership of Ronald Reagan, Gerald Ford . . . is going to do that, than [it] would be right. It would have major impact. But assuming that is logic out of Alice in Wonderland. . . . I just know that it's all too predictable. They're not going to become concerned about it. And it's insane to believe that we, in large numbers, are going to all of a sudden say, "Ah, let's become Republicans". . . . That isn't happening. Logic is just totally opposed to it.

That is not to say, however—I insist upon this—that is not to say that the Democratic Party is always going to answer our interests. . . . For the moment, for the predictable future, for the next 10 to 12 years, this is our best possible forum, because the others are actively opposed to our interests. . . .

Agenda—There is a great deal of attention being focused on the Latinos in this country as a potential political force. What might this mean for Latinos in national politics?

Gutiérrez—First of all, we are not part of the electoral balance of the states. Except perhaps for very narrow races in Arizona, New Mexico, Texas and Colorado, we're simply not part of the electoral balance. The California elections, the Arizona elections, the Texas elections (where a Republican was elected governor for the first time in 100 and some years who was actively opposed to the interests of Mexicanos) *show* that, and it should verify to all of us that what can easily happen to us is we can be lulled into believing that we're going to be some kind of power force automatically. That's nonsense. There is no tradition for it. It's not that we used to vote in the 1940s and forgot in the 1950s; it's that we never had it. It's not that we used to be part of the power balance in the 1950s but we lost it in the 1960s, it's that we never have. And to assume that we're simply going to be part of this is, again, crazy.

And it irritates me to read a *Time* magazine article or a *Newsweek* magazine article, something with these kinds of static comments by planners and elected officials who say, "Wow, we're going to be part of it." We are not unless we start doing something about it ourselves. One doesn't equal the other. We may be part of it in terms of the economy, that we can now buy Thom McAn shoes. Thom McAn is going to open one up in the *barrio*. That's terrific, but that's not necessarily what's going to change our community. It's having an informed citizenry, one that can become part of this balancing of power.

Agenda—You're saying numbers don't automatically lead to power.

Gutiérrez—If they did, then the Carter Administration would be responsive. Let me give an explanation. I have no hostility, as such, to the Carter Administration's current policies. I was State Director of Carter's campaign in Arizona and was involved in his campaign for quite some time. The Carter Administration has gone no further than the Ford Administration did and the Nixon Administration did, in appointing Mexicanos. We had assistant secretaries under Nixon and Ford; we had special assistants in the White House under Nixon and Ford; we had commissioners under Nixon and Ford; we got to be secretaries of the treasury under Nixon and Ford. So what is this phenomenenal new concern we're getting? I don't see any concern about us. Everybody may be talking about us, but I think it's crazy. I think who's talking about us is *us*!

Agenda—Isn't that important though?

Gutiérrez—That we talk about us? No. It's important if it leads to some action. It's important if we start finding our roots again about what we're going to do. In the 1960s we had a great flurry of activity. . . . We had a number of community agencies, lots of demonstrations, voter registrations. . . then all of a sudden, across the country, it all got quiet. I wonder what happened? Remember those terms we used to use? We used to use terms like "seizing control of our communities," [and] "neighborhood control." Remember those terms? What happened to them? There was another term we used to use. It was called "co-optive." And co-optive was different from "*vendido*." *Vendido* had traitorous kinds of implications, co-optive didn't. . . When someone co-opted, it wasn't angry or traitorous, but you were sorry. It was like the fellow had been duped or misled.

Basically, what's happened is the people who are talking about it are the co-opted ones. We have been co-opted, and it's time, if we want to have any effect upon the 1980s, to begin a strategy for the 1980s, learning the lesson of the 1970s, and that is that you cannot, out of single purpose. . . agencies. . . built a power base. You have to go back to where you started. We're talking again about neighborhood control, because we're talking about electoral balance. We'll find that in neighborhoods, not in foundations with a $100,000 grant for this project or for that one. We're going to find it in neighborhoods.

What I'm suggesting is that too much of this talk tends to [say] that just because the numbers are there that they are somehow going to equal greater influence, and I don't [believe it]. I tend to believe that unless we do something about it, we are just going to create a great new class of plebeians and it's going to be us. . . . So I think we have to redirect ourselves. I think it's time to shape things up a little, take a look at what's happened, what we've done in the 1970s. The generation of the 1970s has failed us, and I'm a part of that.

Agenda—Was the failure because of complacency, the wrong emphasis, or what?

Gutiérrez—Misdirection. And I'm not talking about people's motives. I know that my motives weren't evil and I don't tend to believe that other people's motives were evil. I'm talking about direction. The direction was wrong. We were co-opted. Remember that sorrowful kind of sense one used to feel when one said that?

Agenda—Was it trying to be part of the bureaucracy?

Gutiérrez—No, no. It's not a matter of bureaucracy. It is a matter of building an electoral balance. That's what we used to talk about. The language was a bit agitated in those days. [As I said] we used to use phrases like "seizing control of our neighborhoods" and "neighborhood control." Basically, . . . we recognized that democracy ultimately is a balance of influences. It's a balance of special interests. And if we were to have a part of the pie, we had to be there when it was cut. We had to be one of those factors that balanced the power.

Agenda—And you weren't then?

Gutiérrez—And we weren't then and we aren't now is what I'm saying. And I'm further saying that it's crazy to assume that we will be, just because our numbers keep growing. There's no evidence to that. Numbers keep growing, and we keep growing, and we're doing nothing about it. What I'm suggesting is that it's time we refocus in the community again.

Agenda—If one thing was done in the 1960s, and another in the 1970s, what do you think was done wrong and what can be done now?

Gutiérrez—What we did do [that] was wrong [was create] an incredible structure of nonprofit, tax exempt corporations, operating within that community. But we created no electoral balance—no balance out there. With a few exceptions, COPS [Communities Organized for Public Service] in San Antonio is an exception. Certainly a part of the [reasons why an] electoral political balance [exists in] the City of San Antonio is the fact that COPS has created

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Bridging the Border with Oil Rigs

by Douglas R. Martinez

Manuel Villegas is a husky but diminuitive taxi union troubleshooter who becomes broadly expansive when talking about Mexico's prospects of becoming a major power because of its huge oil deposits.

"Everybody is coming now—the Pope, the President of the United States," declared Villegas, outstretching his arms to signify a waiting world. "Everyone wants to be our friend."

Villegas' bemused attitude belies the intense interest in oil, which has become the hottest topic of conversation and concern in Mexico since the devaluation of the peso and related economic problems wracked Mexico several years ago. Cafe conversation, newspaper editorials and the nightly news beamed throughout Mexico on the program all speak in varying degrees of anxious anticipation of the chance that Mexico now has to become a critical world power.

Moreover, the awareness, extending from President José López Portillo on down through the middle class and masses, climaxes a time of increasing periodic contacts between the Mexican government and United States Chicanos who are searching for a political power boost from their brothers and sisters to the south.

Chicanos have ventured contacts with the Mexicans since Luis Echeverria was elected President of Mexico in 1970. José Angel Gutiérrez, head of the Raza Unida Party and a county judge in Zavala County, Texas, was one of the first Chicanos to make a contact with Mexico. But other individuals and groups have been involved as well. These meetings produced what Chicanos consider concrete concessions and commitments from a government that traditionally has overlooked its brothers and sisters to the north.

Echeverria donated a large Spanish-language library to Crystal City (Gutiérrez' home base) and smaller satellite libraries to other Hispanic communities. Exchanges of cultural events and art exhibits were begun and seminars were started to promote academic interchange between Mexican and Chicano scholars.

Most importantly, however, Echeverria agreed to give presidential funds to a scholarship program for Chicano students to study in Mexico. In 1973, CONACYT, the Mexican National Council on Science and Technology, made available 50 five-year scholarships to be given under the auspices of the Texas Institute for Educational Development (TIED). During the next several years 45 students were placed in Mexican universities, 40 of them in medical schools, according to Francisco (Pancho) Velázquez, Director of TIED.

Under the current President of Mexico, José López Portillo, who succeeded Echeverria in 1976, the program was expanded to include funding at $10 million and a five-year commitment to award scholarships to 250 Chicanos, half of them slated to be medical students. Known as Becas para Aztlán, the program is administered by a joint Raza Unida/LULAC-sponsored organization known as the Committee for Rural Democracy based in Austin, Texas.

Velásquez says that students are under no contractual obligation but that part of the screening process is to select out students who will return to the *barrios* to practice what they have learned, specifically in the migrant and health centers of South Texas.

According to Joe Bernal, a former Texas State Senator and now head of the regional ACTION office in Dallas, Texas, the scholarship program is really only the beginning of a specific trade-off relationship that can be summed up as "a system whereby Chicanos could represent Mexico's interests in the United States. Both the interests of the Chicanos and the interests of Mexico could be served, according to this view. Mexico doesn't have votes in Congress, but we do. Chicanos don't have oil and gas, but Mexico does. So the thinking was that it would be in the interests of Chicanos to go international in business and maybe in politics."

The formal idea of a Mexican lobby, however, did not become apparent to Mexico until the American Jewish boycott of Mexico in the wake of Mexico's vote to support what has been called the "Zionism in Racism" resolution of the United Nations in September 1976. Chicano leaders say this brought home to Mexican officials the need for a Mexican lobby in the United States by vote-carrying Chicanos. According to San Antonio business consultant Rick Bela, the lobby would have specific spin-offs in "tourism, support for their foreign policy and support for trade."

Chicanos Visit Mexico

On January 24, 1978, nine Chicano leaders, including José Angel Gutiérrez and Eduardo Morga, who was then the President of LULAC, travelled to Mexico to meet with López Portillo, offering their assistance in defeating President Carter's immigration proposals. Morga told a news conference in Mexico City that "we are all ready to help Mexico in the United States. We feel that in the future Mexico can use us as Israel uses American Jews, as Italy uses Italian-Americans and so on."

Morga expanded on this concept in a recent interview which appeared in *Dallas* magazine. "Obviously, this is in its embryonic state. I hate to liken us to anything else, but you have to resort to analogies and the one that comes to mind is that one [American Jews and Israel]. Right now we're still trying to establish rapport. The Mexicans are like anybody else, left wing, right wing, etcetera. There's a question of what exactly are our goals in the short range and the long range."

On just one issue—immigration—Chicanos have a lot to gain. But they can be far stronger in their lobbying efforts if they present a unified front with Mexico in opposition to Carter's proposals, which would, among other things, penalize employers who hire undocumented workers. The large number of Mexican immigrants, when combined with Hispanic heritage citizens, offers a political image of Chicano leaders with large constituencies, even if these immigrants cannot vote.

This issue has provoked fear of a "Chicano Quebec," lifting the specter of Chicano colonies in the United States separating from the United States after swelling with new-found numbers. But many Chicanos scoff at this impression, saying that a political advantage based on numbers is what the Anglos have been promoting for 200 years under the guise of democracy, and that Chicanos simply need to improve their public relations efforts to show the speciousness of the "Chicano Quebec" argument.

Moreover, the familial bonds and cultural-linguistic ties make it seem natural to many Chicanos that Mexicans would enter the United States daily as if there were no border. According to Carey McWilliams, former Editor of *The Nation* magazine and a long-time advocate for the interests of Mexican-Americans, there is no border in the sense of an ocean, or even changed land forms, or a different language or culture.

"Are the Spanish-speaking in the process of reacquiring the vast territories Mexico was forced to cede to the United States under the terms of the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo?" McWilliams asked rhetorically in a Los Angeles *Times* newspaper article. "Questions like these have begun to echo in the regional and national press as the public has slowly become aware of the present and future importance of the Spanish-speaking minority.

"But the questions, while suggestive, are based on false analogies. The Spanish-speaking constitute a special case in the history of American immigration—one for which there is no exact parallel. For one thing, only several generations ago, this was their country. And understanding the role of language in a culture is key to comprehending the complexities of the Latino situation.

"Language, of course, is an element of nationalism. But bilingualism in and of itself is not a cause for division; on the contrary, it can foster better understanding and encourage a greater degree of mutual acceptance. On the other hand, attempts to suppress a language stimulates nationalism. Ethnic studies at all levels now teach about Latino culture and history. And that information is being passed on to the Anglo community through the arts. Chicano muralists in California, for instance, paint their people's past on *barrio* walls."

But the idea persists that Mexicans here and Mexicans there should not get together. Former CIA Director William Colby has been the biggest popularizer of this view, calling Mexican immigration and the subsequent making of a "Chicano Quebec" a bigger threat to United States Security than Russian communism.

"An intelligence report which clearly indicated an invading force of many millions immediately off our shores, threatening turmoil and disruption of the lives of our citizens and physical destruction of our urban areas, would alert the nation, unify it to meet the danger and cause immediate emergency action by our national leadership," said Colby, writing in *San Diego* magazine. "In fact all of these threats stand starkly before us, but most Americans have scarcely noticed the threat. Certainly no clarion call has been issued for priority attention to the best tactic to meet these dangers. The reason for our lack of interest is that the forces off our shores are economic and social rather than military."

Colby cautions, "No argument can be made against the dangers of inaction—and invasion. The alternative—to ignore the clear intelligence warning—is to suffer social and economic costs that would be greater than an armed invader could hope to inflict upon this nation."

Comparing Mexican and Hispanic immigration to the United States with earlier movements by other ethnic groups, Colby says there are major differences: "When those earlier invasions took place, America still had a frontier, and the opportunities were even greater than the number of immigrants." Furthermore, he says, "The Mexican and Central American invasion will also be characterized by differences, in part racial but also cultural and linguistic. The resulting barriers to integration and the social costs can already be seen in many of the areas where these illegal immigrants are now concentrating.

"A more recent example [than earlier immigrations] shows the danagers of this new invasion. In the 1920s and 1930s the rural poor of the South fled to the urban areas of the North. Handicapped by differences of race and lack of education, they herded into the ghettoes of our center cities. It has taken these last 40 years even to make a start at repairing the enormous social and economic damage that resulted," he said.

Economic Development Necessary

Colby said economic development of Mexico, the Caribbean and Latin America must be promoted by the United States—including such measures as providing food stamps to Mexico's poor and increasing food production necessary to match those stamps—in order to keep the Hispanics here and the Hispanics there apart.

Still, it may not be possible. The United States may have to make concessions on easier immigration in return for favorable access to Mexican oil and gas.

A State Department policy analysis, prepared late last year, purportedly recommends that the United States do just that. A Washington *Post* political cartoon puts it in plainer terms: government officials pondering the complex state of Mexico-United States relations against a backdrop of a map of the two countries and the portrait of President Carter ask, "What if we ask each illegal immigrant to roll a barrel of oil in with him?"

The United States is hurting for oil and observers say Mexico is capable of supplying up to 30 percent of United States energy needs within the next several years, if the United States can offer Mexico something equally valuable in return.

Everyone, it appears, is gradually recognizing the irony of the United States having

to court Mexico. In recent months, a spate of newspaper editorials and magazine stories have told of Mexico's vast oil reserves, said to be second only to Saudi Arabia and of the United States' need to put Mexico on a foreign-policy priority.

A cover story early this year in one of the nation's leading business magazines, *Business Week*, started a comprehensive report on the Mexican oil situation with the following lead: "Mexico, traditionally an orphan of U.S. foreign policy, has suddenly moved close to the top of Washington's agenda. The reasons are basically economic. Mexico's oil bonanza is beginning to fuel a strong business upsurge south of the border. The expanding Mexican economy promises to provide a big and growing market for U.S. goods and services, and it is attracting new investments by U.S. companies."

And, says the story, "The high priority now given by the Carter Administration to relations with Mexico is underlined by the National Security Council study, called Presidential Review Memorandum 41, which sets out U.S. policy options in dealing with Mexico. Some Administration advisers reportedly are suggesting that Carter should urge López Portillo to raise Mexico's oil production goals. In return, according to this scenario, he could offer trade concessions on products that Mexico exports to the U.S. ranging from tomatoes to textiles and prospectively, petrochemicals. More controversial is a suggestion that Carter could offer to ease restrictions on entry of Mexican job seekers who have been pouring into the U.S., driven by high unemployment in Mexico."

But the talk in Mazatlán and in the rest of Mexico is, as Manuel Villegas almost defiantly puts it, "Mexican oil for Mexican development." A wall slogan scrawled in spray paint on a side street shop makes no pretense at politeness: "Use Mexican oil for Mexico."

According to Villegas, Mexico seeks a balanced growth of its country fueled by petroleum-produced dollars. And newspaper editorials in organs from the world-renowned *Excelsior* of Mexico City to those in regional capitals across the country in places like Hermosillo and Culiacan, caution against an overproduction that would produce an inflated economy in Mexico and soften United States energy problems.

Villegas, like many other Mexicans, is aware of Chicano contacts with Mexico. He has seen people such as Frank Shaffer-Corona, an outspoken Washington, D.C., School Board official and Raza Unida Party member, on television when Chicanos have come to meet with Mexican government officials. And he advocates continuing dialogue and development of Chicano-Mexican mutual constituencies to promote political power for the Chicanos here and the Mexicans there.

It may become all the more commonplace then to see Mexicans and Chicanos uniting to voice their concerns, as they recently did in loudly rejecting the idea of additional border fences between Mexico and the United States. Criticized as a "tortilla curtain" by Hispanics on both sides of the border, the fence was shelved by Federal immigration officials.

That was a minor victory, however, for Chicanos, who see themselves as the economic as well as political heirs of Mexico's oil fortune. On the one hand, they can serve Mexico's interests by lobbying for such things as increased exports to the United States, Chicano tourism in Mexico, legal sanction for Mexican nationals to obtain United States jobs, and United States purchases of Mexican oil and gas at rates advantageous to Mexico.

On the other hand, Chicanos say they stand to benefit from the Mexican oil boom in the following ways: the defense of Chicano civil rights by the Mexican government in return for Chicano lobbying; the use of Chicano businessmen as agents and importers for Mexico; continued and expanded access for Chicanos to Mexican Universities; and possible payment of multi-million dollar claims held by Chicanos against Mexico in connection with land transfers after the Mexican War (see article on page 14).

The United States, or at least those administration officials who are convinced that a Chicano Quebec is possible, may already have lost the moment and momentum of ensuring that Chicanos and Mexicans do not cooperate. They may have even unwittingly forced the Mexican government to work with Chicanos in the United States.

A coup of capturing large supplies of Mexican gas, which would have likely been a prelude to gaining the oil production as well, was lost, experts say, by the questionable handling of a delicate situation by Energy Secretary James Schlesinger. In early 1978, Schlesinger stopped a natural gas sale by Mexico to a consortium of Texas transmission companies. The companies had planned to buy two billion cubic feet per day of Mexican gas at $2.60/Mcf (1,000 cubic feet). Schlesinger, however, believed that Canada, which is selling natural gas to the United States for $2.16 Mcf would be offended and that domestic producers who receive considerably less for their gas than foreign producers would be upset.

Mexico was certainly upset by Schlesinger's action, and ordered a pipeline scheduled to go from Chiapas to Reynosa, which is across the border from McAllen, Texas, to be diverted to Monterrey in order to supply Mexican industries which have been directed by the government to convert from oil to gas. Although the line can still be built if the United States offers favorable terms, much of the gas will be used along the route to Reynosa by Mexico and Mexico is not expected to forgive easily the United States for blocking the natural gas deal.

"If the United States doesn't want the gas, we can use it ourselves and we will use it ourselves. And López Portillo knows that Mexicans won't allow him to sell our oil cheap. We are going to use our oil to build Mexico," Villegas says sharply, as he speaks of the incredible future that oil has framed for Mexico—and perhaps for the Chicanos of Aztlán.

Texas Land Grant Heirs Seek Compensation

by Robert J. Salazar

Robert J. Salazar is a partner in the law firm of Baron, Faulkner & Salazar, P.C., in Denver, Colorado. He has been working with the Asociación de Reclamantes in pursuing their land claims since August of 1976.

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and international law guaranteed that Spanish and Mexican land grants in Texas would be protected and respected at the conclusion of the Mexican American War. Article VIII of the Treaty stipulated that "... property of every kind, now belonging to Mexicans... shall be invioably respected." Yet, in spite of these guarantees, the original Texas land grantees and their descendants were systematically and forcibly driven from their property.

Frances L. Swadesh, in *Los Primeros Pobladores,* writes that: "The provisions of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo... have been cynically violated from the first. In Texas... the personal and property rights of all... fell under violent assault. Within a few years, the status of some ten thousand Spanish-speaking people... had taken on characteristics of semicolonial oppression. The Anglo-American population, which outnumbered the Spanish-speakers by about ten to one, took over family and community landholdings, leaving the former Mexican citizens and grant heirs no choice but to work as low-paid hands on their former ranches." The violations of the Texas land grant heirs' property rights resulted in their losing nearly 26 million acres of land and becoming one of the United States' most economically, politically and educationally disadvantaged groups.

Over the years, the heirs have mounted a number of efforts to regain their land and exact the payment of damages for the long period of oppression they and their ancestors suffered. In some instances those efforts have focused on the liability of the United States Government to the heirs as a result of its failure to protect them and their property rights against the violent and illegal incursions of Anglo-Americans. In other instances, the focus has been on the Anglo-Americans claiming title to the land forcibly expropriated from the heirs. Yet, because of their inability to marshall the legal, financial and political resources necessary to obtain justice in the United States, the heirs' efforts have largely been unsuccessful.

Renewed Efforts

In spite of their past failures, the heirs have not abandoned efforts aimed at regaining their land and exacting the payment of damages for the oppression they and their ancestors endured. Today the heirs are mounting renewed efforts. Recently, they established their own organization, the Asociación de Reclamantes, which now has a membership of more than 1,600 family heads representing perhaps as many as 10,000 individuals. The goal of the Asociacion de Reclamantes is to facilitate securing of the legal, financial and political resources needed by the heirs to maintain efforts which will fully develop and present their cause.

The current efforts by the heirs constitute a landmark point in the land grant movement. For the first time, the Mexican American community is generating within itself the full complement of resources needed to carry on the efforts to regain land and exact payment for damages.

Three parties may bear legal liability to the heirs: the United States Government, the Mexican Government, and individual Anglo Americans. As a result of the willingness expressed in mid-1976 by the then President of Mexico, Luis Echeverria, to have his Government discuss its liability to the heirs, the focus of efforts have been on the legal aspects of the Mexican Government's liability.

Legal and historical research regarding the Mexican Government's liability to the heirs revealed a fascinating and complex story, one which vividly demonstrates how the claims of the Texas heirs were used by the Mexican Government on at least two occasions nearly 20 years apart to further its national interests in the United States.

The Mexican Government, as a party to the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, has international standing to interpose against the United States Government on behalf of the Texas heirs whenever their land rights are violated. In the early 1920s, the then-President of Mexico, General Alvaro Obregon,

sought recognition of his regime by the United States as the *de jure* or legitimate government of Mexico. The forces of General Obregon had prevailed in the Mexican Revolution but had been slow in receiving recognition by the nations of the world as the legitimate government of Mexico. General Obregon believed that the key to world recognition of his regime was recognition by the United States.

Antonio Gómez Robledo, an eminent Mexican jurist, notes in *The Bucareli Agreements and International Law* that the United States Government maintained that it "would withhold recognition from the Mexican Government under General Obregon until there had been signed between the two governments a Treaty" providing for either recognition by the Mexican Government of Anglo American property interests in Mexico or the payments of indemnification to Americans whose property had allegedly been expropriated by the Mexican Government. The United States was, in essence, seeking to have its nationals exempted from the provisions of Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution which provided that the nation was the sole owner of all minerals, e.g. oil, in the soil.

In response to the United States' position, the Mexican Government proposed that the two governments enter into a treaty creating a commission which would hear and decide claims to be filed by each government on behalf of its nationals or individuals entitled to its protection against the other government. The basis for Mexico's proposal was that while there was a large multi-million dollar array of claims Americans were asserting against Mexico, there was also a similar array of claims which Mexico would assert against the United States Government on behalf of the Texas land grant heirs.

United States Recognizes Claims

As a result of having raised the question of the Texas heirs' claims, the regime of General Obregon succeeded in obtaining official recognition from the United States as the legitimate government of Mexico without first having to resolve the property-related claims which Americans were asserting against it. The value of such recognition to Mexico is inestimable.

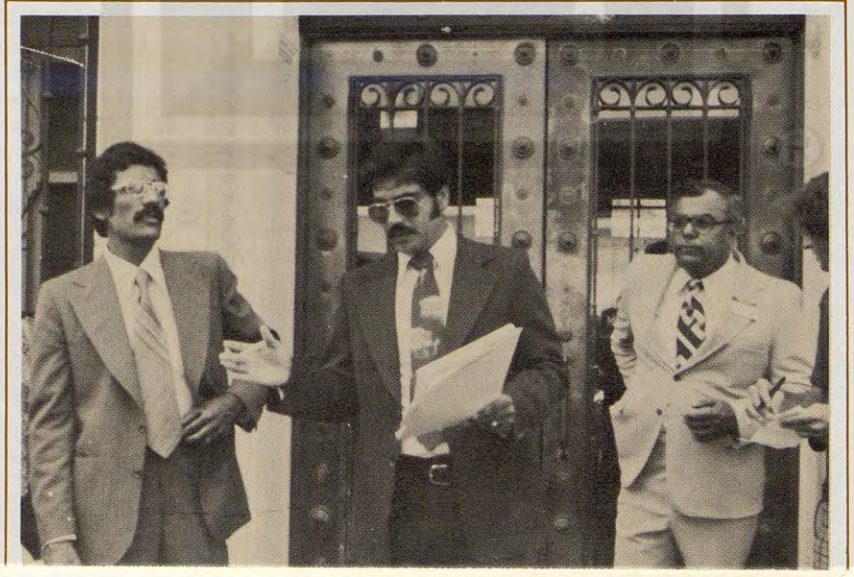
On September 8, 1923, the governments of Mexico and the United States signed a treaty which formally provided for the establishment of a commission as originally proposed by Mexico. The Mexican Government proceeded to file 433 claims with the commission on behalf of the Texas land grant heirs against the United States Government. Disappointingly, the commission, partially as a result of the large number of other kinds of claims filed by both Mexico and the United States and partially as a result of Mexico's failure to prepare the Texas heirs' claims for hearing, never heard and decided any of the heirs' claims before its term finally expired in 1937. Between 1937 and 1940 the two governments made no attempt to resolve those claims which the commission had not heard and decided.

In the early part of 1940 negotiations resumed between Mexico and the United States regarding the unresolved claims. The unresolved American claims had an alleged value of $222 million dollars while the alleged value of the unresolved Mexican claims was $123 million dollars. The Texas heirs' claims comprised $121 million dollars of the Mexican total.

At the time that the negotiations were resuming Mexico found itself, because of economic difficulties, unable to undertake a number of nationally important projects, including highway construction. These economic difficulties were prominent in Mexico's thinking at the negotiating table.

As a result of the renewed negotiations, Mexico and the United States entered into a treaty on November 19, 1941, which fully resolved on the international level all claims

A. Texas land grant heirs demonstrate at the Mexican Consulate in San Antonio at the culmination of a march in August 1978.



B. Land grant attorneys (left to right) Robert Salazar, Jess Araujo and Julius Arocha.

which had been filed with the commission established pursuant to the 1923 treaty. However, before Mexico signed the 1941 treaty it exacted a number of economic concessions from the United States. Among these concessions were a $30 million dollar loan for highway construction and the agreement of the United States to purchase millions of dollars of Mexican silver at artificially inflated prices.

There can be little doubt that Mexico reaped substantial economic benefits as a result of the 1941 treaty and its associated agreements. And, as the Texas heirs' claims constituted over 98 percent of the value of the claims Mexico utilized in the 1940 negotiations to offset the value of the American claims, it is quite evident that the heirs' claims again served to significantly further the national interests of Mexico in the United States.

Under the terms of the 1941 treaty the United States Government was released by Mexico from all international liability to the Texas heirs. In turn, however, the Mexican Government assumed the legal obligation to pay the heirs' claims. In essence, Mexico was to pay the heirs what the United States should have for the near century of oppression and repeated violations of property rights they suffered.

On December 9, 1941, the then-President of Mexico, Manuel Avila Camacho, issued a presidential decree which stated that it was the legal obligation of Mexico to satisfy the claims of the Texas heirs. The decree directed the Mexican Secretariat of Finance and Public Credit to prepare a law, for submission to the Mexican Congress, which would establish the procedures under which Mexico would make payment to the Texas heirs.

After the signing of the 1941 treaty and the issuance of President Camacho's decree the Texas heirs believed that their many years of effort to obtain indemnification for the oppression and property rights violations they suffered in the United States had finally been successful. They ardently believed that Mexico, which had sought them out in the early 1920s and significantly advanced its national interests through adroit use of their claims, would promptly fulfill its obligation to them. The Texas heirs, however, met with yet another disappointment as no payments were forthcoming.

The heirs soon began writing letters to the Mexican Government inquiring as to when it would pay their claims. Mexico's response was that it "would resolve this grave matter when the economic conditions of its treasury permitted it to." In other words, Mexico would pay the heirs' claims when it had money to do so. As each year passed, the Texas heirs continued writing to the Mexican Government. Still, no payment was forthcoming.

In 1955 the Texas heirs organized a massive effort aimed at pressuring Mexico into paying their claims. In June of that year upwards of 10,000 of the heirs traveled to Mexico City where they held a rally in front of *Los Piños,* the residence of the Mexican President. In spite of these and other efforts by the heirs, the Mexican Government still failed to pay their claims. Between 1955 and the middle of 1976 there were no organized group efforts by the Texas heirs to secure payment of their claims from Mexico although individual efforts did continue albeit unsuccessfully.

In the latter part of 1976 the heirs again began organizing. Today their organization, the Asociación de Reclamantes, is spearheading the renewed effort to obtain payment of their claims from Mexico.

Preliminary Meeting Held

As a result of the willingness first expressed by President Luis Echeverria in 1976 to have his Government discuss its obligation to the heirs, a preliminary meeting took place between the heirs' attorneys and legal advisers of the Mexican Secretariat of Foreign Affairs. In that meeting the attorneys were advised that they had the burden of proving that the Mexican Government still had a legal obligation to pay the heirs' claims. They then engaged in intensive research into the legal and historical bases of the heirs' claims. Their work was complicated by the fact that much of the legal and historical materials needed to conduct their research were not readily available in law libraries.

After months of effort the attorneys assembled the necessary materials from the national archives in the United States and Mexico, various university libraries and the heirs' personal document collections. The attorneys' research and analysis showed that the Mexican Government did indeed have a present legal obligation to satisfy the heirs' claims.

In a series of meetings between September of 1977 and January of 1978 the attorneys set forth for the Mexican Government's legal advisers the legal and historical bases of the Texas heirs' claims. The heirs' case appeared to have been successfully argued.

Although José López Portillo had succeeded Luis Echeverria as President of Mexico, the attorneys and the heirs anticipated that the summer of 1978 would witness the long-awainted announcement by the Mexican Government that payment of the heirs' claims would be forthcoming. Instead, in June the attorneys were orally advised by the Mexican legal representatives that their Government would not pay the heirs' claims. The Mexican representatives failed to articulate any sound legal reasons to justify the position their Government had taken. Although pressed by the attorneys for a written explanation, the representatives simply refused to give one. Thus, the Mexican Government once again has failed to honor its obligation to the Texas heirs.

The Mexican Government's failure has been particularly disappointing for two reasons: first , Mexico, with its recent discovery of vast oil deposits, now actually has the financial capability of paying the heirs' claims; and, second, the Mexican Government is now, for the first time, trying to assert that its long acknowledged obligation to the heirs no longer exists. There is a widespread feeling among the heirs that either the Mexican Government was playing a cruel hoax on them on all those occasions since 1941 when it stated it would pay their claims when its economic conditions improved, or its representatives are now playing political games with them.

The heirs are not willing to accept a resolution of the claims against Mexico which is not a just one founded in sound legal principles. They recently decided to undertake broad based political and media efforts designed to secure the personal intervention of the Mexican President, José López Portillo, and Foreign Minister, Santiago Roel, in this matter. It is hoped that such intervention will result in a fair, just and expeditious resolution of the heirs' claims.

The attorneys recently begain discussion of the heirs' claims with a variety of groups and individuals. The La Raza National Lawyers Association—California Chapter passed a resolution as its August 1978 session expressing its view that the matter of the heirs' claims is one of extreme importance to the Hispanic community and must be resolved in a just and expeditious fashion. It also directed its officers to send letters to President López Portillo, President Jimmy Carter and the American Secretary of State, Cyrus Vance, setting forth its view on this matter.

The attorneys have also sought the assistance of high ranking Hispanics in the Carter Administration. To date, however, these individuals have not indicated whether they will assist the heirs' cause.

In an effort to attract national attention to their situation, several hundred of the Texas heirs staged a march and rally in San Antonio, Texas, on August 12, 1978. The rally was held at the Mexican Consulate. The Mexican Consul, however, refused to meet with a delegation of the heirs.

Whether the present efforts to secure payment of the heirs' claims from Mexico will be successful remains to be seen. Yet, one thing is certain—the heirs will not give the matter up without exhausting all avenues of recourse. Also, important segments of the Mexican American community believe that any meaningful development of its relations with Mexico, which the administrations of Echeverria and López Portillo have been attempting to cultivate, is largely dependent on the good faith Mexico shows in resolving the Texas heirs' claims.

Special Report: Legislation Affecting Hispanics—An Assessment of the 95th Congress

Legislative Analysis

by Debra Luciano

This report is designed to review briefly the most salient information relevant to Hispanics in the United State during the years of the 95th Congress (1977 and 1978), and to provide information on the Congressional activity that occurred relating to those issues. The term 'Hispanics' in this report refers to residents and citizens of the United States who are of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban or Central and South American background, as well as persons of refugee and immigrant status, both documented and undocumented. The legislation recorded here includes bills introduced and lists those that were enacted and not enacted. There is also some general information on Congressional committee activity when it is pertinent to the situation, from both the House of Representatives and the Senate.

Civil Service Reform

A law making significant changes in the civil service system was signed by the President on October 13, 1978. Originally introduced as S 2640 by Senator Jacob Javits (R-N.Y.) and Senator Abraham Ribicoff (D-Conn.) on March 3, 1978, PL 95-454 replaces the Civil Service Commission with the Office of Personnel Management and a Merit Systems Protection Board. The companion bill in the House was HR 11280, which was introduced by Representative Robert N.C. Nix (D-Pa.).

One of the major concerns of minority groups regarding this legislation is that it causes the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to lose its authority over cases of discrimination against civil service employees and places that authority instead with the Merit Systems Protection Board. This provision in the bill may cause obstacles and unnecessary red tape for employees wishing to file complaints of discrimination.

A provision that would have weakened the veterans' preference in hiring was not included in the final version of the bill. That provision would have made it easier for minorities and women to obtain civil service employment.

Another piece of legislation regarding civil service reform was introduced in the Senate, but it did not pass. The bill, S 3135 introduced by Senator Adlai Stevenson, (D-Ill.) called for preventive measures against excessively rapid promotions in the competitive civil service.

Given the close proximity of Mexico to the United States and the number of Mexican-born workers in the United States, Hispanic groups have been actively involved in efforts to influence border policy. Immigration legislation considered during the 95th Congress pertinent to the Hispanic community covers the areas of immigration quotas, educational assistance to the children of immigrant families, and employment of noncitizens.

The Carter Administration also became active in the immigration issue. Soon after taking office, President Jimmy Carter appointed a special task force to study the problem of undocumented workers and immigrants in the United States. The task force consisted of United States Attorney General Griffin Bell; Secretary of State Cyrus Vance; Health, Education and Welfare Secretary Joseph Califano, Jr.; and Labor Secretary Ray Marshall. Creation of the task force was part of the Administration's attempt to address unemployment in the United States.

In August of 1977, Carter unveiled specific proposals for an "amnesty" plan for some undocumented immigrants already settled in this country, and other measures to discourage additional immigration:

- Undocumented immigrants who had resided in the United States prior to January 1, 1977, would be granted legal immigrant status.
- Those who had resided in the United States during the period from 1970 to January 1, 1977, would be granted temporary alien status for five years.
- Those entering the country after January 1, 1977, would be subject to the usual penalties and deportation under the current law.
- The number of Border Patrol employees along the Mexican-American border would be increased by 2000.
- Sanctions against employers who knowingly hired undocumented workers would be instituted. Civil fines could range up to $1,000 for each worker.

All of the proposals were opposed by Hispanics who feared that most undocumented immigrants already in the United States would remain unprotected from abuse and exploitation while proposed sanctions against employers of undocumented workers would exacerbate employment discrimination against Hispanics who are already citizens or legal residents of the United States.

On October 12, 1977, Representative Peter Rodino (D-N.J.) introduced HR 9531, the Alien Employment and Adjustment Act. A companion bill existed in the Senate, S 2252, sponsored by Senator James Eastland (D.Miss.). Neither of these bills, which would have set criminal sanctions against employers who knowingly hired "illegal aliens," passed.

In the area of educational assistance for immigrant children, several bills were introduced in the 95th Congress, but once again, none of them reached final approval. In the House, Representative Bob Krueger (D-Tex.) introduced HR 11883 which was referred to the House Committee on Education and Labor. If the bill had passed, it would have allowed the United States Commerce Department to make grants for the construction of educational facilities for immigrant children in impacted school districts.

In the Senate, Senators John Tower (R-Tex.) and Lloyd Bentsen (D-Tex.) introduced similar bills. The Tower bill would have authorized the Commissioner of Education to make educational grants specifically to aid in the education of immigrant children (S 2038). In S 2997 introduced by Bentsen, the authority would be granted to the Southwest Border Regional Commission. Bentsen intends to reintroduce this bill in the 96th Congress.

One immigration law was enacted in the 95th Congress that will affect Mexican Americans and immigrants from South America, however. That is PL 95-412, attributed to Representative Joshua Eilberg (D-Pa.). This bill amends the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 to establish a worldwide ceiling for the admission of immigrants into the United States, combining current separate ceilings for the Eastern and Western Hemispheres. First introduced on May 1, 1978, the Bill was signed by the President on October 5, 1978.

Education

In 1977, Congress considered several versions of a bill that would amend and extend the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), which was first enacted in 1965. Titles of the Act which most affect the education of Hispanic children are:

Title I—Provides programs for educationally disadvantaged children and migrant education.

Title IV—Includes programs for summer, secondary and adult education programs, as well as provisions for migrant daycare centers.

Title VII (The Bilingual Education Act)—Provides funds for bilingual education programs in elementary and secondary schools.

One of the more controversial bills introduced in the House to amend ESEA was that of Representative Albert Quie (R-Minn.) (HR 7571). Opposition to this bill, voiced by Hispanics and other interest groups, was focused on Quie's recommendation that Title I monies be dispersed according to the *educational need,* as estimated by yet-to-be-developed standardized tests, instead of current *economic need* criteria based on the income level of the students' families. It was feared that Quie's proposal would have disrupted the education of many low-income minority children already participating in the programs. Quie's bill also would have converted current bilingual education programs into programs designed only to teach English to children having no proficiency in the language. Quie's bill was defeated in committee, although elements of his proposals were incorporated into HR 15, which both amended and extended ESEA, and which was passed by the House.

The final version of HR 15 passed by both the House and the Senate and signed into law includes the following provisions:

Title I—Grants for educational programs will still be based on the income level of the students' families and not solely on measured educational need. The categorical nature of Title I is also preserved. The role of the Parent Advisory Councils (PACs) is now more specified, and the creation of such Councils are now mandated, although some choice is given as to the format of the individual Councils. The Federal Government is now required to consult more with State and local educational agencies when developing new programs. An increase in allocations for migrant summer education programs may now be authorized by the Commissioner of Education and funds are now set aside for migrant education coordination activities, including the Migrant Student Record Transfer System (MSRTS).

Title IV—Summer, secondary and adult education programs are now specifically authorized with funding of their own. Few statutory improvements are made for migrant daycare centers.

Title VII—Perhaps the biggest letdown for the Hispanic community occurs under the Amendments for the Bilingual Education Act. The provision by Representative James Jeffords (R-Vt.) which eliminates the eligibility of children after they have achieved "proficiency in English language skills" was accepted. This is contrary to the belief held by most Hispanics that the child's native language should be retained and improved, thus allowing ancestral cultural ties to coexist within a predominantly English-speaking environment. One minor victory was an

amendment introduced by Representative Paul Simon (D-Ill.) that will allow English language students to participate in bilingual education programs when such participation will assist and promote other students' English language skills. This provision will help to promote cultural understanding among students of various backgrounds.

Comprehensive National Health Insurance

Proposals for national health insurance have come and gone in Congress for the past 40 years, and the 95th Congress proved to be no exception. Within the past few yeqars, Senator Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) has been the outstanding figure in the struggle for a comprehensive plan to insure adequate health care coverage for all Americans. His bill, the Health Security Act, has been introduced in every Congress since the 91st. A leading figure in the House for national health insurance has been Representative James Corman (D-Ga.).

In the 95th Congress, the Health Security Act was labeled S 3 in the Senate and HR 22 in the House. Extensive hearings took place in 1977 and 1978, as well as Committee action in the Senate Committee on Human Resources and its Subcommittee on Health. On October 2, 1978, Kennedy introduced a revised version of the Health Security Act which would place more financial responsibility with the private sector rather than with the Federal Government. The bill, which will also be brought up in the 96th Congress, is considered a compromising effort to appease the opponents in national health insurance. Many people feel that this revised version will have a better chance at passage than bills introduced in the past.

As written prior to October 1978, the National Health Insurance Act stipulated that 50 percent of the funds for national health insurance would be provided by employer payroll tax, a one percent tax on incomes over $24,750, and taxation of the self-employed. The other 50 percent would be supplied by the Federal Government. It also provided for the gradual elimination of the Medicare Program by incorporating it into the national health insurance plan.

In the new bill, which was preliminarily introduced in October of 1978, the majority of health care costs will be covered by the private sector employers. The poor and unemployed, however, will still receive benefits entirely funded by the Federal government and the Medicare Program will be upgraded instead of abolished.

Fair Treatment of Hispanics by the Media

In August and September of 1978, the House Communications Subcommittee conducted hearings on the proposed Communications Act of 1978, a bill that would revise the Communications Act of 1934. HR 13015, sponsored by Representative Lionel Van Deerlin (D-Ga.) and introduced on May 6, 1978, would establish a Communications Regulatory Commission to take the place of the Federal Communications Commission. But the most significant features of this bill that would benefit the Hispanic community are provisions to establish a Minority Telecommunications Fund to promote minority ownership of telecommunications networks. The bill also challenges the United States citizenship requirement for ownership of stations. Because of extensive hearings, no voting took place on this bill in the 95th Congress, but the bill will definitely be brought up in early 1979 during the 96th Congress.

The Public Telecommunications Financing Act of 1978 (HR 12605), introduced on May 5, 1978 by Van Deerlin, was passed and signed into law on November 2, 1978, and will prove to be beneficial to Hispanics in the field of telecommunications. One of the most promising declarations of this Act is that which increases "... public telecommunication services and facilities available to, operated by and owned by minorities and women." Under this law, the Secretary of Commerce is authorized to make grants for the extension of public telecommunications services to areas which presently do not receive such services. Together, these two provisions mean that Hispanics may own more telecommunications facilities and thus make possible the presentation of more bilingual programs and programming in Spanish. This may ultimately help displace programs that portray minority groups in stereotypical or derogatory acting roles. This Act also includes a clause insuring equal opportunity in employment (PL 95-567).

White House Office of Hispanic Affairs

The creation of an Executive Office designed to address the special needs of Hispanics and guarantee that Hispanics are represented at all levels of government had been discussed before the 95th Congress. In June of 1976, in the 94th Congress, House Joint Resolution 997 was offered by Congressmen Herman Badillo (D-N.Y.), Jonathan Bingham (D-N.Y.), Charles Carney (D-Ohio), Charles Diggs (D-Mich.), Helen Meyner (D-N.J.), John Murphy (D-N.Y.) and Peter Rodino (D-N.J.) calling for the President to establish an Office of Hispanic Affairs. Nothing came of the Joint Resolution however. Prior to this Congressional action, there had existed Cabinet-level Executive Committees for Hispanics, but these committees expired at the end of 1974.

In the 95th Congress, three bills were introduced which made identical provisions for the establishment of a White House Office of Hispanic Affairs. The only difference between the House and Senate versions is that the House language is more specific in its mandates. The bills are:

S 1066—Introduced by Senator Pete Domenici (R-N.M.) on March 21, 1977, and cosponsored by Senator John Tower (D-Tex.). The bill was referred to the Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs. Later, Tower introduced two amendments to the bill in the second session of the 95th Congress to create employment programs for hiring Hispanics in the Federal Government under the Office of Hispanic Affairs. A staff member from the office of Senator Tower believes that passage of this bill could occur in the 96th Congress provided that there is proper support from Hispanic advocates.

HR 6638—Introduced by Representative Edward Roybal (D-Cal.) on April 26, 1977, and sent to the House Committee on Government Operations. The bill would establish offices in each Cabinet-level agency, which would coordinate their advocacy efforts with the assistance of the new office established in the White House.

None of the bills was passed in the 95th Congress, but they will be brought up again in the 96th.

Employment

On October 28, 1978, the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act Extension (CETA) was signed into law, becoming PL 95-524. The major changes from previous CETA legislation are described below:

Title I—Instead of outlining the Comprehensive Manpower Services as it did in the past, Title I now simply describes the general provisions of the Act, and also expands the Office of Investigation and Review in response to reports of abuses of CETA funds by local programs.

Title II—This is the former Title I, which is made up of programs for the structurally unemployed. It provides for training, outreach, educational support services, On-the-Job Training (OJT), placement services, etc., through community-based organizations. Eligibility criterion are modified from the original Act.

Title VI—This emergency jobs program is designed as a defense against the frequent fluctuations of the national unemployment rate. Temporary Public Service Employment programs are initiated to employ a specified percentage of the unemployed when the national unemployment rate is between four and seven percent. If the rate rises above seven percent, additional funds will be supplied to hire more temporary workers. To be eligible, participants must have been unemployed ten of the twelve weeks prior to job placement.

Title VII—The Private Sector Initiative Program (PSIP) specifies funds for private industries to train and employ and calls for the creation of Private Industry Councils that will collaborate with prime sponsors* in the development and implementation of programs. This Program also specifies that opportunities be given to the economically disadvantaged, such as handicapped persons, or persons of limited English-speaking ability.

The Ad Hoc CETA Coalition, which included Hispanic advocates, pressed successfully for provisions that reinforce nondiscriminatory and affirmative action practices, as well as guarantee the involvement of persons of limited English-speaking ability.

Additional employment legislation was enacted in the Humphrey Hawkins Full Employment and Balanced Growth Act of 1978. This bill was passed only after several weakening concessions had been made to opponents. Opponents held that the bill, which had been championed by the late Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.) and Representative Gus Hawkins (D-Cal.), would have an enormous inflationary effect on the domestic economy. The version finally passed by Congress and signed into law requires coordination of economic policy to achieve yearly anti-inflation and employment goals. It sets unemployment targets for 1983 (specific numbers are provided in the legislation), and requires the President to establish yearly economic goals and related policies.

One of the major obstacles that prevented passage of a stronger version of the bill was the effort of Senator William Proxmire (D-Wis.) to require that reductions in unemployment sought by the bill's sponsors be conditioned on elimination (or at least drastic reduction) of inflation by 1983. The bill's original sponsors initially opposed any numerical provisions concerning reduction of inflation, but had to give ground in order to secure passage of the bill.

Welfare Reform

Due to past criticism from many sectors of society which have rated the nation's public assistance programs as inefficient and unjust, legislators attempted some reform of welfare policy during the 95th Congress. There were many proposals brought forth in both the House and the Senate which could have been instrumental in improving the welfare of the poor. However, the majority of these proposals would have provided, at best, only incremental change, and at worst, change detrimental to the poor. Welfare reform advocacy groups are committed to the belief that major reform, such as a comprehensive national welfare policy combined with integration of diverse public assistance programs, is the only way inefficiencies inherent in the present welfare system can be eliminated. Nonetheless, no welfare reform legislation was passed in the 95th Congress.

During the 95th Congress, Representative Baltasar Corrada del Río (D-P.R.) introduced a total of 13 different bills that dealt with reform of welfare benefits for citizens of Puerto Rico. The island, as well as all other United States territories and possessions, is currently subjected to a ceiling on welfare funds that it receives from the Federal Government. Corrada attempted to eliminate the ceilings on Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), Supplemental Security Income, and Medicaid funds. He did succeed in raising the AFDC ceiling from $24 million to $72 million for the island itself. This measure was included in the Tax Reform Bill of 1978.

Bilingual Courts

The Court Interpreters Act was signed into law on October 28, 1978, as PL 95-539. The version that passed (S 1315) was that of the Senate, sponsored by Senator Dennis De Concini (D-Ariz). The Act requires that court interpreters be provided for participants in United States District Courts when the participant does not understand English. This law applies to both criminal and civil cases. There is also provision in the Act for the proper selection of qualified interpreters, whose services will be provided free of charge to the recipients.

Improved Programs and Services for Migrant and Seasonal Farm Workers

Two laws were passed in the 95th Congress that will affect the well being of migrant and seasonal farmworkers. The Kennedy Act (PL 95-626), introduced in February and enacted in November of 1978, basically authorizes appropriations under the Public Health Services Act. Included in the Act are specifics for Migrant Health Programs.

The other law passed will affect the nutrition of the children of migrant workers. Senator George McGovern (D-S.D.) sponsored the National School Lunch Act and the Child Nutrition Act Amendments of 1978 (PL 95-627). This law extends child food care programs and supplemental food programs for women, infants and children (WIC). It was signed on the same day as the Kennedy Act, November 10, 1978.

Department of Education

Responding to the Presidential Reorganization Project's recommendations, Senator Abraham Ribicoff (D-Conn.) sponsored S 991, a bill that would create a new Department of Education separate from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) where the Office currently exists. The Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs held hearings on this subject in 1978. One of the concerns was whether or not the Headstart Program should be included in the new Department. Hispanic organizations involved with education supported the position that Headstart should not be included. It was finally decided that this program will remain within the HEW structure.

Other concerns for Hispanics are the institution of a Department or Division of Migrant Education that would consolidate programs now located within HEW and the Department of Labor; the upgrading of the Office of Bilingual/Bicultural Education within the new Department, with its head possibly serving as an Assistant

*Prime sponsors are local governments or organizations that receive the CETA grants. The prime sponsors are responsible for dispersal of grants, and input into the creation and functions of the programs. They also are responsible for evaluation of CETA programs. Prime sponsors typically delegate much of their grants to other local agencies and organizations conducting employment programs, including organizations of community residents.

Secretary; the continuation of impact aid to areas of need; and the inclusion of an Office for Adult Education within the new Department. The National Education Association (NEA), one of the bill's most powerful supporters, agreed to support some of the provisions sought by Hispanics in structuring and staffing the new Department.

The Senate bill, along with the House version, HR 13778, was not enacted during the 95th Congress. But the bill that is up in the 96th Congress, S 210, appears likely to pass.

Equitable and Humane Foreign Policy Toward Latin American Countries

The Hispanic community of the United States has the potential to be the prime moving force behind the push for better international understanding between the North and the South in spite of the diverse background of its members. Likewise, concern over foreign policy would serve as a common bond, linking those persons of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, and Central and South American descent who are all United States citizens, and who are responsible for making the United States the fourth largest Spanish-speaking country in the world. United States involvement in foreign policy toward Latin America can be viewed from various perspectives. During the 95th Congress, activity centered on the areas of human rights, the Panama Canal Treaty, economic development assistance to Latin America, and concern over the employment of Hispanics in the State Department.

Human Rights—The Administration's human rights policy was legislated in Title VII of PL 95-118, an act to increase United States participation in international financial institutions of less developed countries. This act was originally introduced as HR 5262 by Congressman Henry S. Reuss (D-Wis.) and was assigned to the House Committee on Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs. It was signed into law on October 3, 1977.

Title VII sets standards for human rights and also defines those acts by other governments that are considered violations of basic human rights, such as torture, unjustified incarceration, the withdrawal of the rights such as freedom of choice and personal possession. Also under Section 109 of the Foreign Relations Authorization Act (PL 95-105), the position of Coordinator of Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs within the State Department is now promoted to the level of Assistant Secretary.

Human rights policy now enables the United States government to cut off economic assistance to those countries whose treatment of their citizens is not in accord with our own. This includes countries such as Nicaragua and Chile. Hispanic groups are concerned about this, because the poor people of these nations are left to fend for themselves, unless an Executive Order is enacted that enables economic assistance to be reinstated in these nations. Although most Hispanic groups do not condone the actions of certain governments, they do not agree with United States attempts to compel other countries to conform to our own standards.

Panama Canal Treaty—After the signing of the Panama Canal Treaty on September 7, 1977, by Jimmy Carter and Panamanian President Omar Torrijos, the difficult job of having the Treaty ratified by the United States Senate lay ahead. Realizing the potential opposition from Republican protectionists in the 95th Congress, several Hispanic groups organized campaigns to get the Treaty ratified. President Carter requested the support of the Hispanic groups, and several letter-writing campaigns to various Senators ensued, as well as a White House meeting on the subject in December of 1977. The efforts proved fruitful when the Treaty was ratified by the Senate on April 18, 1978.

Economic Development Assistance to Latin America/ Undocumented Aliens—Latin American countries face the dilemma of being classified as "middle income" countries. What this term means is that economic development assistance to these countries is limited because the mean annual income per capita is approximately $580. Funds for the Agency for International Development (AID) have gradually been decreased over the years, resulting in stunted economic growth for each country. The consequences of this are governments that are unable to cope with increasing population and unemployment within the domestic sphere, and increased undocumented immigration of workers to the United States.

There was no legislation passed in the 95th Congress that deals with this problem, which is not unique to Latin America. Congressional concern in this area was not aroused until recently, and the only ones to show any concern were the members of the House Committee on Foreign Relations and, more specifically, its Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs. In February of 1978, the Subcommittee requested that the State Department submit a report on its Development Assistance to Latin America. The report was submitted in February of 1979, but was not as comprehensive as the Subcommittee hoped it would be. The State Department is in the process of compiling another report which, hopefully, will deal with the issue of middle-income countries more effectively.

As was mentioned earlier, the foreign policy legislation passed in the 95th Congress makes few specific provisions for middle income countries. This includes the Foreign Relations Act of 1977 (PL 95-105), the International Development and Food Assistance Act of 1977 (PL 95-88), and PL 95-118. The Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs, as well as the AID, has taken notice of the fact that most Latin American countries are presently paying almost as much money for repayment of loans as they are receiving in direct bilateral assistance.

As a solution to this problem, it has been suggested that loan repayments be recycled into increased bilateral assistance for these countries. Also suggested is the cofinancing of assistance programs by the United States government and private investors and corporations such as the International Development Bank (IDB). IDB presently provides much more capital to Latin American economies than AID could every supply, and there are fewer political obligations required. Mexico, for example, refuses support from AID, but is one of the biggest clients of IDB. Conflict of interest between Mexico and the United States over the sale of oil and the undocumented alien problem might explain the lack of cooperation between the two governments.

Employment of Hispanics in the State Department—In spite of the obvious fact that the State Department's AID services most of the countries of Latin America, it only employs about 60 persons of Hispanic background out of a total staff of over 4,000 employees. Certain individuals have called for an Equal Employment Opportunity policy within the State Department. In the past, reasons have been given for not hiring more Hispanics, such as the excuse that few of them have an extensive background in foreign service. Very little has been done to ensure equal opportunities within the State Department but certain groups such as the National Association of Latin American Democratic Officials (NALADO) and the Hispanic Officers' Group of the State Department, will have some influence on future policy.

Debra Luciano is a student concentrating on Spanish and political science at the State University of New York at Fredonia. Research for this article was conducted as a part of her internship at the Office of Research, Advocacy and Legislation, National Council of la Raza.

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Public Television Notices the Hispanics

by Kim Bordelon

Kim Bordelon is Editorial Assistant for the *Public Telecommunications Review* and the *Public Telecommunications Letter*, both of which are published by the National Association of Educational Broadcasters in Washington, D.C.

As the nation comes to recognize the undeniable growth of the Hispanic population in the United States, interest is being focused upon Hispanics as a potentially powerful and vocal segment of society. Most recognition has to be earned or fought for, however, and Hispanics are turning their attention increasingly to the most powerful image-building structure in the country—the mass media. And the media, in some areas at least, are beginning to take note.

A recently held conference on Public Service Programming and the Hispanic Community illustrates the growing importance of Hispanics in the considerations of both the media and the corporations which use the media marketplace. Jointly sponsored by the University of Maryland's College of Journalism and the Johnson & Johnson Family of Companies (represented by McNeil Consumer Products Co.), the conference, held on February 8 , 1979, brought together Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Cubans and other Hispanics to view a new Johnson & Johnson public service programming campaign oriented toward the Hispanic community. Most felt very strongly—both positively and negatively—about the subject. All participants, both Anglo and Hispanic, worked professionally in government, in private agencies, in media or health care.

Though their regional dialects and cultures differed, all participants shared a common interest as members of the Hispanic community. The Conference topics varied: the broadcasting of PSAs in Spanish to the Hispanic community by a profit-making company such as Johnson & Johnson (a cause of major debate throughout the day), Hispanic ownership of radio and TV stations (or the lack of it), and the need for Hispanics to be in policy-making positions within the media as well as to participate in community action groups and public forums.

These were just some of the many issues discussed. Government representatives also agreed with the participants that more effort was needed in reaching the Hispanic community through better public access programs, especially in the Spanish language.

Two featured speakers opened for one-day event: Congressman Edward R. Roybal (D-Cal.), Chairman of the Congressional Hispanic Caucus; and William Medina, Assistant Secretary for Administration, Department of Housing and Urban Development. Medina spoke of the problem from the Hispanic perspective. Roybal defined the Hispanic issues and clarified some myths surrounding the Hispanic population. For instance, instead of being the nation's "newest immigrants," as some media have claimed, many Hispanic families have lived in the United States for a dozen generations; 80 percent reside in urban, rather than rural, areas; 60 percent live above, not below, the poverty line; and they are the most variegated, rather than homogeneous group in America, with different dialects, income levels and cultures.

Roybal urged bilingualism in public service programming and stressed the importance of determining when to use Spanish as opposed to English and *vice versa*. While 20 percent of all working Hispanics are not fluent in English, it is true that of those surveyed in the Los Angeles area 73 percent watch *both* Spanish and English TV stations. Roybal also pointed out the necessity of bilcultural sensitivity for all public service programming, suggesting that the most immediate way to achieve this would be by hiring more Hispanics in the broadcasting industry.

The Congressman also cited that only 2.6 percent of the total number employed in public TV and only 1.7 percent of those in public radio were Hispanics. At the policy-making level, only one out of 15 top decision-makers in the three national public broadcast organizations is a minority.

According to Roybal, "These stations are supported in large part by public funds and they should be taking leadership in this area." He further emphasized that Hispanics currently own only one commercial station and one public TV station, 14 out of 7,600 commercial radio stations and no public radio stations (even though 95 percent of Hispanic households may be reached by radio).

Roybal emphasized that there is little information available on Hispanic viewing and listening habits and more should be done in this area. "As a public official I have always considered that people—not programs—are the most important thing. If we keep this in mind we will be assured of reaching our common goal—of providing genuine public service to a community that for too long has been excluded from the benefits that most Americans take for granted."

Rene Anselmo, President of the Spanish International Network (SIN), gave a video demonstration of the types of programs aired by SIN, ranging from children's programs and adult *novellas* (soap operas) to

news and variety programs. All or most of the programs are Spanish and are filmed on location in a variety of Spanish-speaking countries. Anselmo boasts of more news programming on the Federal, regional and local levels than the commercial Anglo networks, and he aims to achieve 75 percent local news coverage.

In an effort to increase "the corporate social responsibility and consumer involvement" of Johnson & Johnson by addressing the health care needs of the Hispanic community through a continuous public service programming campaign, McNeil Consumer Products Co. (using the services of Noble & Asociados/U.S.A., a West Coast advertising agency originating out of Mexico) produced sixty 90-second Spanish segments covering a wide range of health care topics. The segments, spoken in nondialect "broadcast Spanish" by Gloria Montes, a Puerto Rican healthcare professional with no previous media experience, are to be aired nationwide over a period of 12 months.

Hispanic Response to PSAs

Samples of these PSAs were previewed for the first time during this Conference, eliciting much response from the participants as to their length, format, purpose and possible effectiveness. Many Spanish broadcasters responded negatively, mostly due to the Johnson & Johnson commercial tag at the last 10 seconds of each PSA and the fact that J & J would choose to reach the Hispanic community through a PSA—which is aired for free—rather than pay for a commercial or information program. On the other hand, the cable industry appeared eager to accept them as a chance to reach the Hispanic community with useful information through its public access channels.

Though the PSAs caused much controversy, all participants agreed that they covered subject matter of vital importance to the Hispanic community. Rudolfo Sánchez, National Executive Director of COSSMHO (a national Hispanic health organization) stated, "we need a massive consumer education program" and for that reason work must be done with Johnson & Johnson on equal terms to accomplish this. He personally felt, however, that the program, the Conference and even more of the panelists should have been sponsored by Hispanic organizations serving the Hispanic Community.

Featured speakers addressed the Hispanic issues both eloquently and passionately. Congressman Robert García, (D-N.Y.) recently appointed Chairman of the Subcommittee of the Census, proclaimed as did others, that the "80s will be the decade of the Hispanics." García sees the census as the most important function to be faced in the next 18 months to "make sure that the message is loud and clear, that we count." Hispanic American residents are expected to be more accurately counted during this census than during the 1970 census. As a result, revenue sharing for states with a large Hispanic population should increase. Since revenue sharing depends on the census, greater funds and benefits should become available to the Hispanic community in the 1980s.

García sees not only the census but also the media as the means to increase the status of the Hispanics: [The] media [system] is the most important source of communications across this country and the world . . . . Use it and use it well."

However, another guest speaker, Father Frank Ponce, Associate Director, Secretariat for Hispanic Affairs, United States Catholic Conference, views the media in a different light: "All is not well in the communications industry, especially as it relates to Hispanics and minorities. . . . Communication can inform, deform and misinform." He feels that Hispanics are manipulated by the communications industry, that the media "should look at Hispanics not as objects, but as subjects. . . . Don't see us as a problem to be solved. If a problem, then we are depersonalized, we become objects . . . easily manipulated for the power of the buck. . . . If you wish to program for Hispanics, know *who* we are."

During the working luncheon of the Conference, featured speaker Dr. Hector Acuña of the Pan American Health Organization urged "technical cooperation" on behalf of the American culture in working jointly with the Hispanic community. He advocated adopting an acceptable form of Spanish in the media that represented all the various Hispanic regions rather than merely translating English material. "If we wish to make a greater improvement of health in the Hispanic community, we must think, act and speak as they do," and switching to the first person, he stated, "In the familiarity of our own language there is better creativity through expression which can later be integrated into the American culture . . . communication should develop as an integral process." Acuña further emphasized his point by pronouncing that the information processes within his own organization are changing and concluding that "our organization has a great deal to offer as we have a great deal to do."

After the PSA presentation and interspersed among the featured speakers, several panels discussed various topics of major concern to the Hispanic professionals: The Role of Regulation, The Role of the Corporation, The Technical Aspects of Hispanic Public Service Programming and The Problems of Cross-Cultural Communication. Anglo and Spanish American professionals representing radio and TV stations and media organizations as well as several government agencies (Federal Communications Commission; Federal Trade Commission; Departments of Labor, Agriculture, and Housing and Urban Development, among others) debated issues, many of which concerned not only Hispanics but applied to other minorities and women as well: the need for recognition as professionals in their respective fields, the need for greater representation at the policy-making level, and the need for political and economic clout in legislative areas. Problems discussed that are unique to the Hispanic community were: the need for better dissemination of information in the Spanish language about the benefits, legal rights and funds available to Hispanics in this country and the increased need for bilingualism among those American professionals working daily with Hispanic Americans in health care and education as well as in other fields.

Hispanic Characters Popular

Joseph Aguayo, Assistant to the President of Children's Television Workshop (CTW), New York, mentioned that CTW's two Hispanic characters on *Sesame Street* have been the most prominent and long-lasting members of the show. Their unanticipated popularity was possibly due to their bilingual roles.

CTW now feels that "the uniqueness of the Hispanic community can apply to all children," and for the first time is filming in Puerto Rico. CTW has undergone a "cultural adaptation" that has built into its structure the regional differences of the Hispanic community. A bilingual advisory commission comprised of 12 Latino professionals who meet periodically at the Workshop to advise on all aspects of programming, research, development and production as they apply to the Hispanic community, has been appointed.

While Aguayo represented a particular media viewpoint, Dr. Lionel Barrow, Dean of the School of Communications, Howard University, Washington, D.C., was one of the more articulate representatives of the educational field. Barrow said that we should recognize that there is economic power among Blacks and Hispanics: "They are individually poor, but collectively rich. . . . The only way for them to increase programming is for them to own it." He immediately offered the facilities at Howard University for the next meeting that the Hispanic professionals arranged as a result of this Conference, an offer which was accepted promptly by a representative spokesperson for the group.

Numerous individuals representing various government agencies expressed their interest in furthering public access programs to reach the Hispanic community. Belle O'Brien, Chief of the Consumer Assistance Office, Federal Communications Commission (FCC), gave the most useful information about the activities of her Department that applied to the Hispanic com-

munity. On January 31 of this year, three information departments within FCC were combined into the Public Affairs Office to 1) inform people of the Commission's actions, 2) encourage their participation in these actions, and 3) reach minority elements that have gone unnoticed before. New positions created are a Minority Affairs and Enterprise Officer with two assistants, and 18 Public Contact Representatives, 10 of whom will be bilingual. The department will be holding workshops and learning to translate more publications into Spanish. It presently publishes *FCC Feedback,* which covers issues concerning the average consumer, as well as brochures on minority and consumer issues.

The FCC's new minority ownership policy provides incentives for radio and TV licensees to sell to Hispanics and other minorities. For instance, licensees can now defer capital gains tax if they seek out minorities when planning to sell their stations, and instead of a revocation hearing when a license is denied, a licensee can sell to a minority at the distress sale price. In addition, a minority buyers listing and the results of a Minority Task Force looking into available financial resources and ratings services for minorities will also soon be available from the FCC.

More detailed information on this policy can be obtained by contacting Belle O'Brien or Barbara Moran at the Consumer Assistance Office, FCC, at (202) 632-7000.

Other government agency representatives offered their services and elicited suggestions from the Hispanic participants. Among some of the more accomplished and articulate Hispanic Americans, representing their Hispanic group as well as a government agency, were Sandra López Bird, Assistant Regional Director for Consumer Protection at the Federal Trade Commission, New York Regional Office; and María Torano, Associate Director for Public Affairs, Community Services Administration. Bird expressed the need for Hispanics to increase their participation in the rule-making process, stating that the problems unique to the Hispanic consumer need a unified approach in order to be resolved.

Torano became the primary person responsible for further action following this Conference and has begun arrangements for the next meeting at Howard University. The next Conference is expected to focus on a specific topic that will result in some resolutions or productive activity on behalf of the Hispanic community.

If the intensity of this media conference is any indication of the next meeting—as well as the next couple of years—then the 1980s may very well be "the decade of the Hispanics." In voice, as in number, Hispanics are making themselves known in all aspects of United States society—from politics to media.

THE NATIONAL AGENDA

March 1979

10 International Women's Week Workshop, "Overcoming Affirmative *Inaction* in Post-Secondary Education," University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado. Contact: Cordelia Candelaria (303) 492-8852.

12-16 Symposium on Hispanic Women: Literature, History, Anthropology; Indiana University, Bloomington. Contact: Chicano-Riqueño Studies, Ballantine Hall #849, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana 47405.

28-30 Ser Regional United States Hispanic Chambers of Commerce Meeting, Dallas, Texas. Contact: George Gómez (202) 638-5373.

28-31 Southwestern Sociology Association, 56th Annual Meeting, Sheraton Hotel, Fort Worth, Texas. Contact: Rosario Torres-Raines (512) 595-2701.

April 1979

19-21 Bilingual Education and Public Policy in the United States, interactive forum, Eastern Michigan University, Ypsilanti, Michigan. Contact: Raymond V. Padilla (313) 487-1035.

26-27 Chicano Mental Health Symposium, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Nebraska. Contact: Marty Ramirez (402) 472-2027.

26-28 Western Social Science Association, Sessions on Mexican American Studies, Lake Tahoe, Neveda. Contact: Maxine Baca Zinn (313) 762-3340.

May 1979

2-4 SER Regional United States Hispanic Chambers of Commerce Meeting, Chicago, Illinois. Contact: George Gómez (202) 638-5373.

2-5 Seventh Annual Conference on Ethnic and Minority Studies, University of Wisconsin, La Crosse. Contact: George Carter (608) 785-8225.

13-16 First Annual California Raza Health Conference, "Salud Es Poder: Strategies for the Future," Kellogg West Conference Center, Pomona, California. Contact: Gilbert M. Ojeda (415) 548-9300.

17-20 Texas State Convention of LULAC, Downtown Convention Center, El Paso, Texas. Contact: Rubén Bonilla, Jr. (512) 882-8284.

20-25 Institute on Library Materials for the Spanish Speaking, Texas Woman's University, Denton, Texas. Contact: Ruth Anne Thomas (202) 265-3275 or Ana Diviño Cleveland (817) 387-2418.

Mexican Immigration and the United States Labor Market

by Gilbert Cárdenas

Dr. Gilbert Cárdenas is an Associate Professor of Economics at Pan American University in Edinburg, Texas. He has done extensive research on the impact of undocumented Mexican immigrants on the United States labor market.

For many years there has been extensive undocumented migration to the United States from Mexico. Most of the undocumented immigrants who enter the United States come to seek better employment opportunities. In the contemporary setting, the problem of undocumented immigration has become of utmost importance in United States labor markets.

Traditionally, undocumented migration of Mexican aliens into the United States has centered on rural labor markets. For many years, Mexican undocumented workers have sought employment in agriculture throughout the southwest and in other rural areas. Since 1970, however, the problem has taken another dimension. With the increase of mechanization and the decrease of cheap labor in the agriculture sector, as well as increased unionization among farm workers, the undocumented alien problem has moved from rural to urban setting. In recent years, many Mexicans have migrated to urban labor markets such as San Antonio, Chicago, and Dallas.

Until recently, research on the issue has been rather limited. Much of the research that *has* been conducted has stemmed from the concern at the Federal level on the impact that this increased migration has had on the labor market throughout the United States. This concern has been attributed to the high unemployment and inflation current in the United States. In many instances, the Mexican undocumented workers have been used as scapegoats for recent economic woes in the United States, despite the fact that this population has been coming to this country for decades.

Recent studies of the problem have sought to explain or probe into the reasons for Mexican undocumented migration and the impact it has. Most of these studies have been concerned with the effect undocumented workers have had on employment in United States labor markets, particularly in the areas of wage depression and the displacement effect on employment. These studies, both national and local in scope, have not provided general agreement and consensus on the impact of the undocumented alien because real data on that do not exist, thus it is difficult to do empirical measurements. Moreover, the nature of the economic impact may vary from labor market to labor market, from state to state, and from region to region. The issue represents a complex phenomenon that is difficult to quantify with traditional methods of research.

The undocumented alien problem also has social, ethical and political dimensions as well as an economical dimension. One of the major social issues addressed by previous research has been the effect that undocumented aliens may have on manpower and welfare as well as on taxes. With few exceptions, the data from research have shown that undocumented aliens generally are not on welfare or in manpower programs. Although in most instances they pay taxes to the United States on their income, they are denied any form of social protection afforded to legal United States residents.

The ethical issues evolve from the concern of both Mexicans and Americans as to whether it is morally right or wrong for undocumented aliens to be in this country. Of particular interest to the United States government is the question of whether it is morally right to implement a restrictive border policy toward undocumented aliens that would result in the deportation of millions of people to Mexico. The Catholic Church and community-based organizations have argued that massive deportations would split many of the families in the United States. These organizations have asked that amnesty be given to the undocumented aliens in this country for humanitarian reasons. Many Mexican experts find it hypocritical for the United States to encourage Mexican legal and undocumented migration during periods of labor shortages and then to deport them back to Mexico when they are no longer needed. Others feel that the American public has been deceived by the use of Mexican undocumented immigrants as scapegoats in the outcry against high rates of unemployment.

The political dimension of the undocumented alien issue is associated with what is politically feasible for the government to do to curb the flow of undocumented entries. Some studies claim that the Carter Administration plan was announced for political reasons, to show the American public that the Federal Government is concerned about the problem. The Administration is attempting to develop legislation for this problem in the absence of adequate data to measure its true impact on the labor market. Most of the studies that have been conducted show that the effect of undocumented workers on the employment situation in the United States has been minimal.

Another political consideration is whether the United States alternatives on the issue will affect in any way the relations between Mexico and the United States. With recent discoveries of

vast oil reserves in Mexico, the United States may be very cautious about implementing a restrictive border enforcement program because of its growing need for oil.

Another political aspect involves the reaction of Hispanic Americans toward efforts by the Carter Administration to solve the undocumented alien problem. Some of Carter's suggested remedies, such as employer sanctions, may increase discrimination against United States citizens of Hispanic origin. Moreover, a strong Carter Administration proposal may divide the Hispanic community itself and reduce the political power of that community.

At the local level the issue has been perceived as a national problem rather than a local problem. Often, elected officials in border labor markets have ignored the severity of the issue because any effort to alleviate the situation would affect the stability of the border economies, particularly when many United States border labor markets are dependent on Mexican trade for their economic survivial.

Historical Factors Involved

In order to understand the nature of Mexican undocumented migration to the United States, it is necessary to understand the historical relationship between the countries. Among the factors that have affected migration across the border is the fact that many of the southwestern states were at one time a part of Mexico. Many people of Mexican descent lived in the southwestern United States long before the first American settlers. Until 1925, there was an open border, and Mexican residents could come to the United States whenever they desired.

Historically, the blend of two cultures has afforded the opportunity for many to migrate legally or illegally. The interrelationship and similarities between and among labor markets have contributed to this phenomenon. The economic advantages in the United States, and the cultural affinity between the Mexican people and the Mexican American population which is predominant throughout the Southwest, has made migration seem natural for many years.

Immigration policies in the United States have also played a role in explaining undocumented migration to the United States. At times, those policies actually encouraged migration to meet the demand for agricultural labor in the United States. The Bracero Program is a good example. At the end of the Bracero Program, many Mexican residents returned to the United States in the quest for employment opportunities. More recently, immigration policies in this country have been rather restrictive with respect to Mexico. The small numbers allotted to legal migration from Mexico have not met the demand of those wanting to come.

The comparative economic advantages available in the United States relative to those available in Mexico also have created an impetus for migration. In 1978, the Federal minimum wage per hour in the United States was set at $2.65 per hour. Minimum wages in 1978 for Mexico City and Monterrey were approximately $.71 and $.75, respectively. Wages in Mexican border labor markets like Reynosa and Juárez were slightly higher than urban areas. Minimum wages for Juárez and Reynosa were $.78 and $.76 respectively. The higher wages along the United States border attract many Mexican aliens, despite the fact that in these areas, wages are the lowest in the state of Texas and in the nation.

Many of the American border labor markets have been shaped by economic developments in Mexico. Trade along the border has been generally favorable for both nations and because of the interdependence and interrelationship between the two countries, Mexican economic fluctuations often have their final repercussions in the United States. In recent years, the Mexican economy has been unfavorably affected by overpopulation, rural poverty, high unemployment and inflation. These developments, associated with the push of rural poverty to border labor markets and the pull

Mexicans enter the United States through a hole in the border fence at El Paso, Texas.

The narrow and shallow Rio Grande can be crossed easily in many spots along the border.

of employment opportunities in the United States, have enhanced the flow of undocumented aliens.

But despite its apparent problems, Mexico, as the second most populous nation in Latin America, has experienced rather remarkable progress in economic and social development relative to other less developed countries. With a population of over 63.3 million in 1976, Mexico continues to expand from an agricultural nation to a semi-industrialized nation. In the world economy, Mexico is the tenth largest in population and the fourteenth in GNP. Since 1978, Mexico has undertaken policies to diversify Mexican markets through the establishment of bilateral trade agreements. Formerly a predominantly agrarian nation, Mexico has made great strides in the development of the manufacturing sector by increasing its output and by diversifying and integrating its processes. But despite its economic progress, Mexico continues to import more products than it exports. Major imports to Mexico come from the United States in the form of production goods rather than consumer goods.

With an annual growth of 3.4 percent, the population problem in Mexico has become so serious that experts claim that by 1985 the population will be as high as 85 million. In many instances, the Mexican economy has been unable to absorb such population gains. About 41.6 percent of the population resides in rural areas, where high rates of unemployment (often 50 to 70 percent) and illiteracy prevail. In urban labor markets like Mexico City, unemployment may be as high as 25 percent. Rural poverty is prevalent throughout the country, but is most severe in the states of Guanajuato, Michoacán, and Sinaloa.

Since 1973, double digit inflation also has altered the vast economic progress that the country had made in the previous two decades. The rate of inflation reached its highest level in the last 20 years in 1976 (27.2 percent). In addition the balance of payments between 1970 and 1976 in Mexico increased from $866 million to $3044 million, respectively. These events led to the devaluation of the peso in 1976. For over 20 years, the exchange rate of the peso relative to the dollar had remained stable at 12.50:1. Since the devaluation Mexican currency has been allowed to float and the exchange rate varied in 1978 from 22:1 peso-to-dollar ratio to 23:1.

The devaluation, in effect, increased the price of goods normally purchased in the United States by Mexican residents. And as retail sales dropped, businesses along the border laid off workers, thus expanding the unemployment queues. The devaluation aggragated the push and pull factors associated with the flow of undocumented aliens. With the devaluation, American wages and employment opportunities made it much more attractive for Mexican residents to come to the United States illegally.

Economic conditions in Mexico have not been the same since the devaluation. Nevertheless, the state of the economy began improving in 1978 with the Mexican population maintaining confidence in their government and currency. Among the major factors that have contributed to this recovery is an improved trade balance and control of inflation. The rate of inflation in Mexico dropped from 27.2 percent in 1976 to 20.7 percent in 1977. Development of the oil industry is likely to continue to alleviate the economic situation of the country and may make Mexico a major petroleum power comparable to that of the Persian Gulf area.

These economic developments have employment implications for Mexican workers as well as for undocumented aliens in the United States. It is still uncertain exactly how these economic improvements will enable Mexico to absorb potential migrants to the United States, but the oil reserves will more than likely stimulate employment patterns in Mexico. However, the problem with this type of industry is that it is not very labor intensive. Interestingly, Mexico may find itself in the curious turnabout position of importing *its* labor as well as its technology from the United States.

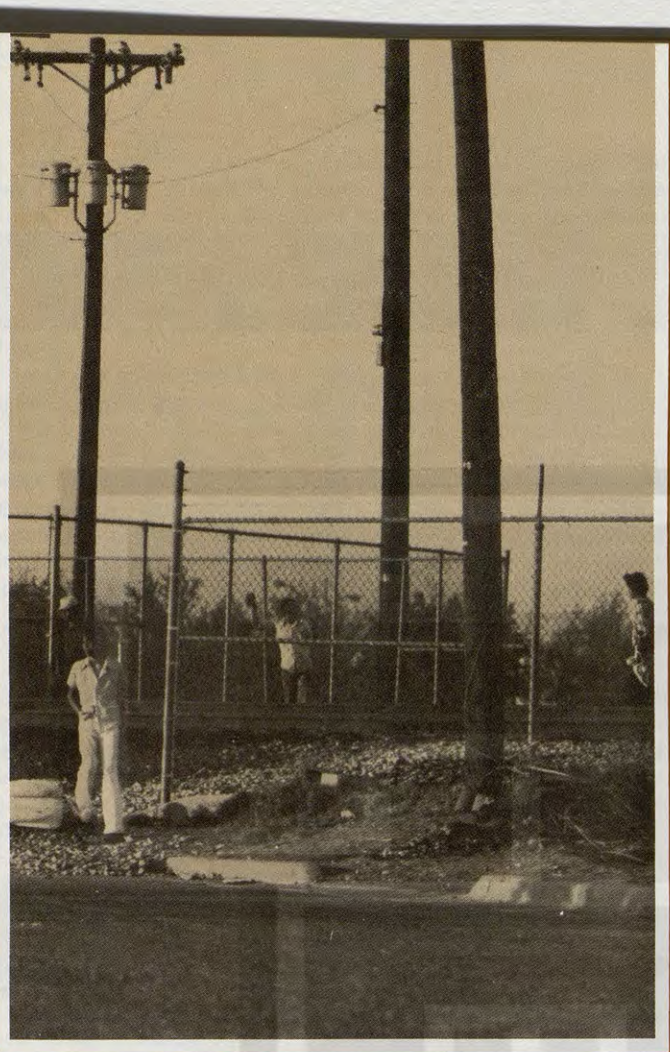
Among the major United States labor markets that are hardest hit by the influx of undocumented workers are those located along the border, which are among the poorest in the state and in the nation. The economic base of the region is usually agriculture, and wholesale and retail trade. Manufacturing is found to a lesser extent in larger labor markets like El Paso. High rates of unemployment and a high incidence of poverty are commonplace.

In most cases the labor markets along the border are very much dependent on Mexican trade, particularly in the wholesale and retail industries. Any Mexican economic developments may have ramifications on the state of the border economy, as the 1976 peso devaluation did.

The labor force is usually comprised of Mexican Americans, green carders, and undocumented immigrants. Border commuters or green carders are workers who live in Mexico but cross the border on a daily basis to work in the United States. Many of these workers are employed in wholesale and retail trade, as well as in agriculture.

Undocumented aliens are likely to be those who enter the United States with faulty documentation or who are visa abusers. Many enter the United States with a border crossing permit for shopping purposes but overstay and work as domestics or farm workers. Some may stay temporarily in the United States border area on their way to major cities like Dallas, Chicago, or Detroit.

Undocumented aliens from Mexico often come to major southwestern markets along the United States-Mexico border, such as the El Paso Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA) and



Photos pages 28 to 31 by Toni Breiter

Mexicans cross border through opening in the fence.

the McAllen-Pharr-Edinburg SMSA. El Paso is the westernmost city in Texas, the largest Texas city on the border, and is currently the fifth largest city in the state with a population of over 400,000 in 1975. This area, which abuts Ciudad Juárez, is a major gateway to Mexico. El Paso is also known as a major trade and industrial center in Texas.

McAllen is located in the McAllen-Pharr-Edinburg SMSA which had a population of 230,000 in 1976. It is in the Lower Rio Grande Valley area that borders the Mexican city of Reynosa and the Gulf of Mexico. It is a popular tourist center and a port of entry into Mexico. Agribusiness and tourism are the dominant economic factors in this area and McAllen is a major producer of fruits and vegetables.

Both El Paso and McAllen are characterized by a large Mexican American population. Poverty, particularly among Mexican Americans, is common. In 1970, about 15.7 percent of the Mexican American population in El Paso and over 25 percent in the McAllen-Pharr-Edinburg area were receiving incomes below the poverty level.

Unemployment along these border labor markets is usually much higher than elsewhere in Texas. In 1977, the average unemployment rate in El Paso was 11.7 percent as compared to 12.5 percent in the McAllen area. Unemployment in the last few years also increased because of the peso devaluation. In 1978, unemployment continued to be very high in these labor markets. In February of that year the unemployment rate in the McAllen area was 15.2 percent as compared to 9.7 percent in El Paso. For this period unemployment rates in Houston (4.4 percent) and Dallas (4.8 percent) were much lower than that of border labor markets.

Data collected on apprehended aliens in El Paso and McAllen from March through April of 1978 provide useful information on the nature of undocumented migration in these two areas. According to immigration authorities, the numbers of apprehended aliens for the given months represent many who had been apprehended as many as five times each month. Therefore, the numbers should be reviewed with caution. The data indicates that over 2,300 undocumented aliens were apprehended in the McAllen area and over 17,700 in El Paso during this period. But because of the multiple countings of individuals, the realistic numbers would be much smaller than shown here.

Mexican Immigration Statistics

Undocumented aliens entering the United States along the border usually come from Mexico, but some come from Central America. Very few are from Europe or other countries (see Table 1). The Mexican aliens are usually adult males who have been in the United States for a short period of time prior to apprehension. (see Table 2). In March 1978, over one-third of the apprehended aliens in McAllen and about one-half in El Paso were stopped at entry. The pattern that emerges among border labor markets is that Mexican undocumented aliens here are usually caught at entry or within 72 hours and many may return the same day. The data seem to show that aliens who have been in these labor markets over a year are more the exception than the rule.

Most of the aliens apprehended in El Paso and McAllen entered the country without inspection by immigration authorities. Many cross the Mexican border and wade across the river. In El Paso, they catch rides on freight trains and are apprehended upon reaching the United States side of the border. A small percentage, including a few students, were visa abusers with visitors' permits who overstayed their expiration date (see Table 3).

In both the McAllen and the El Paso areas, aliens are usually caught in line watch. In McAllen, checks of farms and ranches by immigration authorities result in the location of undocumented aliens who may be working as farm hands. Some are also apprehended at the airports in McAllen and El Paso (see Table 4).

The majority of aliens apprehended in the McAllen and El Paso areas were still unemployed. This is associated with the fact that so many were apprehended within 72 hours of entry into the United States. In March 1978, over 60 percent of the undocumented aliens in McAllen and 90 percent in El Paso were classified as unemployed. Even in San Antonio the rate was 30 percent.

Research efforts at the national, state, and local levels all seem to indicate that the undocumented immigrants in the United States have a negligible effect on labor. There seems to be a general agreement that their presence in the United States has not had severe consequences. The unemployment experience of Mexican undocumented aliens in border labor markets again seems to support the notion that their impact is often exaggerated. Still, some see the undocumented alien issue as a "silent invasion." Others see the United States-Mexico border as an "escape valve" for Mexico's unemployed.

Data collected in the McAllen and El Paso areas provide useful information about the characteristics of undocumented aliens. Although variables make it difficult to assess the interaction of the aliens in the community, particularly with Mexican Americans, there is no conclusive evidence that undocumented aliens have an impact on border labor markets. In the border labor markets, the impact of the green carders who commute on a daily basis may have more severe consequences, particularly service workers who come for employment in United States markets. The green carder problem may be more severe on the displacement of minorities and other groups than the undocumented alien problem.

Despite the fact that there is much evidence to suggest that the undocumented alien problem is not as serious as officials make it out to be, the Carter Administration in 1977 proposed a plan to curb the flow of undocumented aliens to this country. Much of the plan is based on data which are inadequate to substantiate the impact of undocumented immigrants in the labor markets.

TABLE 1
NATIONALITY OF APPREHENDED ALIENS IN MCALLEN AND EL PASO, TEXAS, 1978

Nationality	McAllen Station, 1978 March	April	May	El Paso Station, 1978 March	April	May
Canada						
Mexico	1498	1887	1718	10899	11360	11531
Central America	5	5	4	14	35	9
Domincan Republic	—	—	—	5	—	—
El Salvador	2	5	1	9	30	8
Guatemala	2	—	—	—	5	1
Other	1	—	3	—	—	—
South America	5	2	—	—	6	5
Columbia	5	1	—	—	—	3
Ecuador	—	—	—	—	3	—
Other	—	1	—	—	3	2
Other Nations	1	—	—	—	6	2
TOTAL	1509	1894	1722	10913	11407	11547

Source: U.S. Border Patrol, Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1978

TABLE 2
LENGTH OF TIME ILLEGALLY IN U.S. OF APPREHENDED ALIENS IN MCALLEN AND EL PASO, TEXAS, 1978

Length of Time Illegally in U.S.	McAllen Station March	April	May	El Paso Station March	April	May
At Entry	599	979	748	5371	5903	6461
Within 72 Hours	647	690	700	5492	5444	5023
4-30 Days	222	182	224	17	35	31
1-6 Months	26	24	28	8	8	19
7-12 Months	4	8	6	6	8	1
Over One Year	11	11	16	19	9	12
TOTAL	1509	1894	1722	10913	11407	11547

Source: Immigration and Naturalization Service, U.S. Border Patrol, 1978

TABLE 3
STATUS AT ENTRY OF APPREHENDED ALIENS IN MCALLEN AND EL PASO, TEXAS, 1978

Status of Entry	McAllen Station March	April	May	El Paso Station March	April	May
Visitor	40	28	37	15	16	11
Student	—	—	—	—	4	2
Immigrant	—	3	—	1	2	—
Entry Without Inspection	1444	1845	1672	10896	11385	11532
Other	25	18	13	1	—	2
TOTAL	1509	1894	1722	10913	11407	11547

Source: Immigration and Naturalization Service, U.S. Border Patrol, 1978

TABLE 4
METHOD OF APPREHENSION OF ALIENS IN MCALLEN AND EL PASO, TEXAS, 1978

Method of Apprehension	McAllen Station March	April	May	El Paso Station March	April	May
Line Watch	647	1049	866	5603	6169	6616
Farm Ranch Check	448	429	428	5	45	144
Traffic Check	—	—	—	343	309	250
Transportation Check	36	36	28	1493	1393	1569
Air	36	31	23	265	249	262
Bus	—	5	5	2	6	8
Freight Train	—	—	—	1226	1138	1299
City Patrol	188	144	224	2169	1780	1564
Turned Over By Other Agencies	190	236	176	1300	1711	1404
TOTAL	1509	1894	1722	10913	11407	11547

Source: U.S. Border Patrol, Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1978

TABLE 5
EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF APPREHENDED ALIENS IN MCALLEN AND EL PASO, TEXAS, 1978

Employment Status When Found	McAllen Station March	April	May	El Paso Station March	April	May
Employed	377	372	427	1744	1305	937
Agriculture	322	345	338	4	33	79
Industry and Other	55	27	89	1740	1272	858
Unemployed (Seeking Employment)	922	1156	1120	9169	10102	10610
Other	210	366	175	—	—	—
TOTAL	1509	1894	1722	10913	11407	11547

Source: U.S. Border Patrol, Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1978

Among the major concerns of the Carter Administration is the employment issue, since the administration assumes that Mexican undocumented aliens indeed have an impact on the labor market and that they displace American workers. With few exceptions, the studies seem to indicate that Mexican undocumented aliens who are employed work in jobs that nobody wants, and in occupations that are characterized by low pay, low status, and bad working conditions.

In the case of the El Paso, McAllen and San Antonio labor markets, there are many aliens who are unemployed. Undocumented aliens in highly skilled jobs in manufacturing were more the exception than the rule. The Carter Administration plan would make it a civil offense and provide for criminal penalities for employers who knowingly hire undocumented workers. General opposition on this has arisen from the business sector, labor unions, and community-based organizations.

Opposition to Carter's Plan

United States businessmen strongly oppose the sanctions against employers, who could face penalities of up to $1000 per undocumented alien. Labor union leaders claim that the proposed penalties are much too weak. Hispanic organizations fear that the enforcement of the law will contribute to more employment discrimination against Mexican Americans and other Hispanics who are legal residents. In the past and present, Mexican Americans have been subjected to pervasive employment discrimination in both the private and public sector. It is possible that enforcement of the law may contribute to double discrimination against Mexican Americans, first, because of their Hispanic origin; and second, because of their physical resemblance to undocumented aliens.

Employer sanction provisions may have very severe implications in the border labor markets. This may become a major problem for growers who have depended for years on temporary Mexican labor in the citrus fruit and vegetable industry. Moreover, this type of action may have ramifications on the supply of domestic workers along the border. For many years, United States households in cities like El Paso and McAllen have used Mexican maids illegally for care of their children and for household chores.

Also, the nature of industries along the border owe their existence to the availability of low-cost Mexican labor. In the absence of the supply of Mexican labor, these industries would not fill the jobs with American workers but would close and do business elsewhere. The employer sanction provision would also be very difficult to enforce. Employers who have traditionally used this type of labor will continue to do so and may very well create an underground labor market for undocumented workers, thus intensifying the exploitation of undocumented immigrants.

The Carter Administration also called for an amnesty for aliens who entered the United States illegally before 1970 and have resided continuously since then. The plan would create a new immigration category of temporary resident aliens who are allowed to live and work in the country for a five-year period, after which a new determination on their status would be made. The rationale for the adjustment of status provision was the concern for experiences of and the discrimination against undocumented immigrants working in the United States. Another purpose for this provision was to design a method for the enumeration of the alien population of this country. Temporary resident aliens would be second-class citizens who would not be eligible to vote, hold office, or receive certain types of Federal assistance, but would have to pay taxes on their income.

Under current immigration statutes, aliens who have been here over six years can apply for permanent residency in the United States provided they are of good moral character and have stable employment. Nevertheless, the more controversial section of the proposal is the plan to register workers who migrated illegally to the United States between 1970 and 1977 to qualify for temporary resident alien status. This type of provision is subject to many problems because the typical undocumented immigrant does not usually fall into any of these categories. Mexican undocumented immigrants could rarely prove their status and entry dates.

This provision also presupposes that aliens would register under the program. Community organizations fear that they would not register under the program because the temporary status would not guarantee them permanent legal status. Many would hesitate to register for fear of deportation by immigration authorities during or after the five-year period.

On the other hand, there is a concern over the enactment of a law to allow Mexican laborers to come to work in the United States on a temporary basis because such a law may enhance the flow of undocumented migration to the United States. The number of aliens apprehended in 1978 does not seem to show any substantial growth trend.

The Carter Administration proposal also provides for stricter border enforcement by increasing the United States Border Patrol by 2000 officers, most to be located along the United States-Mexican border. Many have been very critical of this particular issue because of the racist implications of aiming an all-out effort directly towards the exclusion of Mexican immigrants. Moreover, criticism is based on the fact that 90 percent of the United States Border Patrol is already concentrated along the Mexican border. There is also a fear that implementation of such provisions will contribute to massive deporation of Mexican aliens. Mexican American organizations have been very critical that such border enforcement may heighten discrimination against and resentment within the Hispanic community.

Politically, restrictive border enforcement policies may also have severe implications in border labor markets and may sever the political and economic relationship between Mexico and the United States at a time when Mexican oil is becoming increasingly important. Additionally, some feel, the Carter Administration plan may be in direct violation of the Administration's policy on human rights.

In the assessment of the undocumented alien issue in the United States, it is uncertain whether the nature and consequences of the undocumented alien problem warrant such stringent provisions as those in the Carter Administration plan. Although the various studies seem to indicate there is no conclusive evidence that undocumented aliens have a pronounced effect in the labor market, in the future the impact may be more pronounced in rural and urban labor markets. Much of this is dependent on the state of the economy in both the United States and Mexico. If the rate of inflation and the rate of unemployment decline, there will be little alarm about the presence of undocumented aliens in this country. Similarly, if the economic outlook for Mexico appears to be generally favorable, this may reduce the presence of the "push and pull" factors contributing to undocumented migration.

More research and data are needed to analyze the implications of the problem for public policy. If there is need for such policies to curb the flow of undocumented aliens, great improvements can be made to alter the Carter Administration proposals. The Congress, in consideration of these provisions, should not be concerned only with the passage of the law but also with enforcement and implementation of the law. Congress should also consider in their proposed legislation the various economic, social, and ethical dimensions of the problem. Any public policy formation by the Congress should also include a study on the international scope of the problem.

In the case of Mexico, joint economic proposals should be developed to assist Mexico's economic dilemma in terms of monetary and fiscal policies. Special assistance should be provided for Mexico to implement rural manpower policies, and foreign aid should be provided for border development programs and manpower training programs in rural Mexico.

by Mike Cortés

A NEW COALITION OF HISPANICS AND BLACKS is generating increasing interest in Washington. The Working Committee on Hispanic and Black Concerns, which met for the first time to explore creating such a coalition last Fall, met for the second time last month. Membership of the Working Committee consists of the nation's largest Hispanic and Black national organizations, including the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the National Council of la Raza, the Urban League, the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), the National Urban Coalition, the American G.I. Forum, ASPIRA, and several others, including women's organizations and organizations representing Puertorriqueños and Cubanos as well as Chicanos.

A number of agreements were reached at the second meeting of the Working Committee. Blacks agreed to stop supporting, at least for the time being, legislation to impose penalties on employers of undocumented workers. Hispanics and Blacks further agreed to explore the possibility of developing a joint position on the problem of undocumented workers and related immigration issues. Blacks also joined with Hispanics in endorsing bilingual, bicultural education, public financing of Congressional campaigns, and increased ceilings on food stamp benefits to keep pace with inflation. There was unanimous agreement to oppose the proposed constitutional amendment to require a balanced Federal budget, and to oppose cuts in CETA Title III National Programs. Those cuts were initially sought by the Carter Administration, which later reversed itself under pressure from minorities and others.

The Working Committee has begun receiving quiet overtures from the White House, which is presumably worried about how a coalition between Hispanics and Blacks in key states might affect President Carter's chances for reelection. The Committee's response has been less subtle: it issued a public appeal for a direct meeting with President Carter. The Working Committee has also set about promoting similar coalitions between Hispanics and Blacks involving local organizations in selected cities throughout the nation.

A similar coalition effort is being attempted within the ranks of the Democratic Party. At the party's recent national "mini-convention" in Memphis, Tennessee, Black members of Congress sought out selected Hispanic delegates and proposed establishing a "Black-Brown Coalition." Staff of some of the Congressmen involved are working to keep the new coalition alive, and are trying to dovetail the efforts of the Working Committee on Hispanic and Black Concerns. The Working Committee, while welcoming those efforts, has insisted that its membership be limited to nonpartisan national organizations.

* * *

THE NEWLY ELECTED NINETY-SIXTH CONGRESS has settled most of its internal struggles over committee assignments and procedural issues, and is getting down to work on a rapidly multiplying mass of legislative proposals. The following issues of special concern to Hispanics are, or will soon be, the subject of legislation introduced in the Ninety-sixth Congress.

Abolition of the Electoral College: Senator Birch Bayh (D-Ind.) is pushing hard for a constitutional amendment to provide for the direct election of the President of the United States. Hispanics fear that their growing influence in California, Texas and New York, where there are sufficient numbers of Hispanics to influence the election of large slates of Presidential Electors, will be seriously reduced if the Electoral College system is replaced by direct voting for President. Opponents of Bayh's measure succeeded in blocking his attempt to force a floor vote in the Senate without first holding hearings in committee. However, final Senate action on the measure is expected soon.

Office of Hispanic Affairs: Legislation has again been introduced, as it was in the Ninety-fourth and Ninety-fifth Congresses, to force creation of an Office of Hispanic Affairs in the White House, which would in turn work with newly upgraded Hispanic offices within each of the cabinet-level Federal agencies. Once again, the prospects for persuading the appropriate Congressional committees to hold hearings to consider the measure are not bright. Supporters of the measure are considering pressing instead this year for legislation authorizing a White House Conference on Hispanics. The conference would lead to stronger advocacy for other legislative priorities, such as the proposed White House Office of Hispanic Affairs.

Communications Act: The Communications Act of 1934, which authorized the Federal Government's entry into regulation of broadcasting, is about to be rewritten for the first time. Efforts will be made to make challenges of commercial broadcasting license

renewal more difficult and less frequent. This will impede Hispanics' and other minorities' efforts to resort to license challenges in an effort to pressure broadcasters to include more programming for their communities. Also at issue will be the future of affirmative action programs imposed on broadcasters by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), and ease of broadcast station ownership by minorities.

Economic Development Administration (EDA): The current law authorizing the existence and operation of EDA expires this year. Proposed legislation to renew that authorization will be accompanied by proposed changes in the agency's basic mission. The merits of targeting development assistance on depressed areas will be debated extensively. Hearings and subsequent committee actions should be of particular interest to Hispanic community development corporations and other Hispanic community-based organizations interested in funding under current EDA programs.

Consumer Affairs: Alternatives to the ill-fated Consumer Protection Agency proposals defeated during the Ninety-fifth Congress will be considered during the Ninety-sixth. It remains to be seen whether bilingual publications, programs and staffing will be considered when strategies for consumer protection are proposed.

Minority Business Enterprise Program Consolidation: One popular proposal is to consolidate the Office of Minority Business Enterprise (OMBE), presently in the Department of Commerce, with the minority business assistance programs of the Small Business Administration (SBA), to create a new agency: the Minority Business Development and Assistance Administration, located in the Department of Commerce. Another popular and competing proposal is to merge the two programs into a special bureau within SBA, where it will be more responsive to the American business community. The record of each of the proposed host agencies in the field of Hispanic-owned business development, and the need for more effective economic development strategies within Hispanic communities, will make hearings on these and similar competing proposals of special significance to Hispanics.

Balanced Federal Budget: Balancing the federal budget has become the successor to California's Proposition 13 as the leading cause in the "Tax Revolt" movement. Legislation authorizing a Constitutional Convention in order to mandate a balanced budget by constitutional, rather than statutory, law raises the spector of throwing the entire Federal Constitution, including the balance of powers and the Bill of Rights, up for reconsideration. Proposed balanced budget policies also have major implications for the Federal Government's ability to respond to inflation, recession, depression and unemployment trends.

Minimum Wage and Youth Employment: Proponents of a special "subminimum wage" for youth see the proposed law as a means for combatting youth unemployment, which is well above the national unemployment rates, and is more than triple the national rates in the case of Hispanic and Black youth. Opponents are concerned that the earning power of marginal wage-earners who are heads of households, and among whom Hispanics are disproportionately well represented, will be further limited by low-wage competition from youth working at subminimum wages. The issue was debated but not fully resolved during the Ninety-fifth Congress, and is likely to be considered at length during the Ninety-sixth.

Department of Education: Separation of the "E" in "HEW" into a new, cabinet-level department is again being deliberated in Congress, and is moving rapidly toward the floors of both chambers. The likelihood of providing for an Assistant Secretary for Bilingual Bicultural Education remains uncertain. The fate of other programs of particular interest to Hispanics, including migrant education, desegregation and civil rights enforcement in education, and fair access to the vast resources of the Title I Compensatory Education Program by children fluent in languages other than English, remains unresolved.

Higher Education: Reauthorization of the Higher Education Act (described in the previous edition of this column) remains the subject of continued testimony and advocacy by the Hispanic Coalition on Higher Education.

Immigration and Undocumented Workers: The Administration will press a reluctant Congress to again address the exceedingly controversial issues of proposed sanctions against employers of undocumented workers, proposed "guest worker" programs for foreign nationals, increased border security, "amnesty" for undocumented immigrants already settled in the United States, and the role of long-term foreign assistance for development of labor-intensive industry in regions of Central and South America and Mexico which supply undocumented workers to the United States.

* * *

OTHER ISSUES of particular consequence to Hispanics and which are likely to be decided during the Ninety-sixth Congress include welfare reform, national health insurance, social security plan revision, child welfare services, land reclamation and irrigation, protection of prime agricultural lands, Panama Canal Treaty implementation, development of "appropriate technologies" for use in Hispanic communities at home and abroad, lobbying disclosure, public campaign financing, criminal code reform, reauthorization of the Housing and Community Development Act, and appointments to key administration positions and judgeships. (For a full legislative assessment of the Ninety-fifth Congress see the Special Report on page 17.)

Mike Cortés is Vice-President for Research, Advocacy and Legislation at the National Council of La Raza in Washington, D.C.

Announcing

The Second Annual NCLR Affiliates Convention

September 6 to 8, 1979
Shoreham Americana Hotel
Washington, D.C.

Reserve these dates. See the next issue of *Agenda* for detailed information. Questions regarding reservations, exhibit space and program advertising can be addressed to Convention Coordinator, National Council of La Raza, 1725 Eye St., N.W., Suite 210, Washington, D.C. 20006; telephone (202) 659-1251.

GUTIERREZ *(continued from page 10)*

one... So with few exceptions across the country we haven't done that. And that's what we have to do now.

Agenda—Then what is happening now is that there are national groups at the top of the scale that are funneling aid and assistance down through the structure, rather than the communities getting the assistance themselves?

Gutiérrez—That's right, first of all. And secondly, the fact is that to form an agency, a special interest agency... one that deals in economic development... or whatever else... you assume somehow that that's affecting the community in an electoral sense, and it isn't. It's affecting the clientele in each. We have got to rebuild. We have got to go back to those terms we used to use, and figure out how one accomplishes those.

Agenda—You're talking grassroots politics.

Gutiérrez—Absolutely. What I'm saying is that it's crazy to assume that that's going to come about because the National Council gets funded, or because the Valle del Sol is funded, or because the Mexican American Unity Council of San Antonio gets funded. One does not necessarily have a relation with the other. And [I'm saying] that we should perhaps refocus ourselves. That's what I'm saying should be the strategy for the 1980s. The resources are undoubtedly there. The numbers are undoubtedly there. In this state, in Texas, in New Mexico, in Colorado, in Utah, in California certainly, and in such strange places as Wisconsin and Illinois... That's what we should focus our attention on.

Agenda—Do you think the refocusing is beginning?

Gutiérrez—It's, I think, beginning here. I simply don't have sufficient contact in other states, to tell you the truth. But I think it has to begin. If it doesn't we can assume oursleves cut out of the 1980s as well.

Agenda—Do you have any great expectations for Latinos in national politics anytime soon?

Gutiérrez—The last governor of New Mexico was a Mexicano; the last elected governor of Arizona was a Mexican, so I see that as a very real possibility. But I think we have to do some very serious groundwork in the community first. Things like registration. Not only registration, "getting people out to vote," but rather... voter education is the wise course. It's getting more and more people involved in policy matters and how they affect them. But yes, I think that within four years we'll see a great resurgence again... [There will be new] Congressional districts coming from New Mexico, California, Arizona, Colorado [through reapportionment based on the 1980 census]. Yes, by 1982 we will also play a major part in all of this.

NO PAPER TIGERS *(continued from page 7)*

by the five of the six Hispanics who were then members of Congress: Representatives Herman Badillo of New York; E. Kika de la Garza and Henry B. Gonzalez, both of Texas; Baltasar Corrada del Río, Resident Commissioner of Puerto Rico; and Roybal, who is Chairman of the Caucus. (Republican Manuel Lujan, Jr., of New Mexico is not a member of the Caucus. Badillo has since resigned from his Congressional post to assume responsibilities as Deputy Mayor of New York City. He was replaced by Robert García.)

In addition to the five Hispanic Congressmen there are 146 others whose constituencies are at least five percent Hispanic and who have joined the Hispanic Congressional Caucus as honorary members. These honorary members recognize that the Hispanic "swing vote" can decide an election, and they are working through the Caucus to assure equal rights for their constituents.

Roybal believes that the Caucus is having an impact on Congress already. He hopes that the Caucus will be the information center, the research center, the group that educates and supplies information to all individuals and organizations throughout the United States. The Caucus has been in existence since mid-1977, and in March will begin a series of forums which will high-light the accomplishments of Hispanic experts in various fields and publish a volume at the end of each year which presents the contributions of these individuals and informs the nation of Hispanic issues. The overall purpose of these efforts is to have an informed constituency which can work along with NALEO to have an impact on both national and local politics in the future.

The Congressman believes that, with the Caucus and NALEO working in unison, the future of Hispanic elected officials is promising. These two groups will stimulate an interest that will build a foundation for the political future of Hispanics. NALEO's goal is to increase the participation of Hispanics so that "we won't be a paper tiger; so that we will be in a position to fight for those things that we believe are rightfully ours as Americans, and to become part of the lifestream of America as a whole."

The hardest job to accomplish, according to Roybal, will not be the raising of funds, but getting the people out to the polls. Americans in general do not vote on Election Day, but NALEO hopes to impress upon Hispanics that voting is the most important thing that they can do to further their cause. NALEO will not attempt to tell Hispanics how to vote, but to convince them that their votes will count, and that politicans hear the language of the polls more than anything else. If the Hispanic population can establish voting trends, they will be heard both nationally and locally.

One serious problem is that there has been no statistical analysis of Hispanics, so no accurate count of Hispanic Americans exists. Roybal introduced a Joint Resolution which was passed by Congress on June 16, 1978, requiring the Department of Commerce, the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to collect and publish economic and social statistics on Hispanics. Roybal considers it imperative that this bill (PL 94-311) be implemented before the 1980 Census, as it will make it mandatory for Census forms to be printed in Spanish and for Spanish-speaking census-takers to poll the Hispanic population.

Roybal feels that it is not possible for a non-Spanish-speaking person to collect accurate information from non-English-speaking individuals, or, in many instances, to even gain access to their homes. With accurate statistics of birth, death, employment, income, college completion, and health, officials will become aware of the growing Hispanic influence and the impact this influence will have in coming elections.

Congressman Roybal sums up the importance of NALEO and the Caucus as follows:

> It can be looked upon by some as a dream; it is not a dream. It is something that can be accomplished and something that is going to take a long time to do. If one looks at it as a dream, one would say it is like a bubble that is going to burst and disappear. If it does, then the problems that NALEO and the Caucus are designed to solve are going to increase instead of decrease. If we look at it from the standpoint of a program, a realistic program, than we look at the future as one in which we can adequately confront the problems of the times. By that I mean more preparation, more involvement by our young men and women, the continued advocacy of a better higher education, but, above all, the advocacy of NALEO and the Hispanic Caucus of almost complete involvement of the Hispanic community in civic and political affairs... They must register and they must vote... I do envision this not as a dream, but as something that can happen and is happening in preparation for the time when the youngster of today can take over where we left off.

For additional information about NALEO, contact Representative Edward R. Roybal, National Chairman, NALEO, P.O. Box 24266, Washington, D.C. 20024.

IN A NUTSHELL

HOUSTON, TEXAS—The National Economic Development Association (NEDA) has opened new offices in Houston. During the opening ceremonies, Mayor Pro Tem Frank Mancuso honored NEDA by presenting keys to the city to Margarette Dupont, NEDA Chairperson (New Orleans); José Carlos Gómez, NEDA President (Washington, D.C.); Lou Moret, Deputy Director, Office of Minority Business Enterprise (Washington, D.C.); and Henry Zúñiga, Regional Director, Small Business Administration (Dallas).

Speaking to the more than 300 persons attending, including public officials, members of the consular corps, Federal agencies, corporations, and the minority business community, Mayor Pro Tem Mancuso stated that although Houston was a "wealthy city and a land of opportunity," minority businessmen had not been able to participate in the "mainstream of business activity." He added, however, that he was hopeful that NEDA would be really successful in "reaching a resource (the minority businessmen) that had not been tapped heretofore."

José Carlos Gómez, NEDA National President, called Houston a "haven of opportunities for minority businessmen in the growth industries of communications, international trade, construction, and petrochemicals."

NEDA special guest, Rick Hernandez, a native Houstonian now serving as Deputy Assistant for Political Liaison in the White House, called the Grand Opening a "culmination of many years of work," recalling a meeting he attended with other prominent Houstonians, at which he suggested the creation of a business development organization like NEDA. "The opening of the NEDA offices nine years later" he said, was like a "special occasion."

NEDA, the National Economic Development Association, is a business development organization, with offices in 22 cities in the United States and Puerto Rico, that serves the minority business community.

The Executive Director of NEDA's Houston office is Robert G. Rodriguez, former Executive Director of the Houston Economic Development Corporation (HEDCO) an organization he helped to establish to provide small businesses with management expertise.

* * *

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The Office of Education of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) has announced the award of 567 grants totaling $94.7 million for programs that enable public schools to help students who have difficulty speaking and understanding the English language.

Children will be instructed in English and their own language to help them develop basic skills and keep up their regular school work while learning English. At least 16 percent of the award money will be spent to train teachers, aides, administrators, and counselors in the techniques and skills needed to work with these children.

Projects are located in 42 states, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, and five United States territories. Altogether, they cover 64 languages, including some 24 Native American, five Alaskan Indian, 10 Micronesian, 10 Asian, and 15 Indo-European. Two new American Indian languages are represented this year: Algonquin, in East Bloomfield, New York; and Menominee, in Keshena, Wisconsin.

Several school districts are employing particularly innovative methods to meet the language and special educational needs of their students. For example, the Ysleta Independent School District in Texas is providing individual help for each of the 800 early elementary school pupils enrolled in its bilingual project. Community School District #7 in New York is providing an individual course of study by computer in both Spanish and English for each of the 290 middle grade students in the program.

To improve communication skills in both Spanish and English for junior and senior high students, the San Antonio Independent School District will incorporate its bilingual education project into the speech and drama courses. Students will design, write, and produce programs in both languages to be broadcast over closed circuit television for the school and community.

* * *

COMMERCE, CALIFORNIA—The Southern California Chairman of the Democratic Party has said that a State Senate resolution to eliminate bilingual election materials would be "a major setback" to encouraging greater voter participation in the state.

"At a time when we should be doing everything we can to encourage people to vote, this resolution would undo all that we have worked so hard to achieve since 1975," said Southern Chairman David C. Lizarraga of Los Angeles.

Lizarraga referred to a resolution passed in the California Senate Elections and Reapportionment Committee that would urge Congress to repeal a 1975 amendment to the Voting Rights Act of 1965. That amendment requires counties to provide special elections materials if five percent or more of the population is of a single language minority group and the group as a whole has an illiteracy rate higher than the national average.

"The arguments for repealing this law simply make no sense, politically or economically," Lizarraga said. "What this bill would have the effect of doing is putting a price tag on the ballot. They're telling the 60,000 or so people who requested these ballots that their vote simply isn't worth the expense involved."

Sponsors of the resolution said the total cost of preparing the ballots is about $2 million, but Lizarraga said that instead of eliminating the program altogether, a more cost-effective method should be devised.

"Rather than disenfranchising these people all together, let's try to figure out how we can continue the service more economically," he said. "Although this bill would hit Hispanics hardest, it would also seriously impact the growing Korean, Vietnamese, and Asian Pacific communities in the state."

Lizarraga accused the sponsors of the bill of overreacting to the "Proposition 13 mentality." And he was especially critical of Democratic State Senators Bob Wilson, who authored the bill; and David Roberti and Omer Rains, who left the committee room before the vote, giving it their tacit support.

"The actions of Senators Wilson, Rains, and Roberti were a slap in the face to all Hispanics in this State," Lizarraga said, "Hispanics have always supported Democrats, and at this time when we need their support, they've refused to stand by us. We are very disappointed and cannot ignore their actions. We hope that Senators Roberti and Rains will have a change of mind before this vote reaches the floor."

* * *

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), William H. Webster, has appointed Julian W. De La Rosa to serve as the Assistant Special Agent in Charge of the San Antonio, Texas, Office. Currently assigned as a Supervisory Special Agent at FBI Headquarters in Washington, D.C., he is the first Hispanic to be selected as the Assistant Special Agent in Charge of an FBI Field Office.

De La Rosa is a 15-year veteran of the FBI who began his career as a Special Agent in Minneapolis, Minnesota. His later assignments included tours of duty in Cincinnati, Ohio; Washington, D.C.; and San Diego, California. In 1972 he assumed supervisory duties at FBI Headquarters, where he remained until his recent appointment. In his new position he will be assisting Michael A.

Morrow, the Special Agent in Charge of the San Antonio Office which has jurisdiction over the south central portion of Texas.

A native of San Antonio, Texas, De La Rosa first joined the FBI in 1959 as a clerk in the San Antonio Office and, while so employed, attended St. Mary's University in San Antonio, receiving a Bachelor of Arts Degree in 1963. De La Rosa is married and has three children.

* * *

COLORADO SPRINGS, COLORADO— Thomas H. Martinez, Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) Specialist and Program Manager for the Fort Bliss, Texas, Hispanic Employment Program since January 1978, is retiring from the Federal government after 36 years of combined military-civilian service.

Martinez, a native of Colorado, entered the Federal service in August of 1963, after retiring from 20 years of service with the United States Army Transportation Corps. He was employed at Fort Carson, Colorado, as a transportation administration, staffing personnel clerk and EEO Specialist prior to being transferred to Fort Bliss. Since January 1978 he has been the Manager of the Hispanic Employment Program at Fort Bliss, in addition to his various EEO Specialist duties in the overall EEO program.

In December of 1978, Martinez was commended officially for his outstanding job performance by Colonel Hillard H. Lewis, Jr., Deputy Commander of Fort Bliss, who Deputy Commander of Fort Bliss, who stated, "Mr. Martinez has provided energetic and progressive leadership to the installation's affirmative action program. He has worked diligently to serve the needs and employability of Hispanic Americans in the work force. Through his persuasive efforts and expertise, changes have been effected which give employees, including minorities and women, beneficial guidance to compete for job advancement. He is a dedicated and devoted employee who is a credit to the U.S. Army, the Civil Service, and this installation."

During his 20-year military career, Martinez was with the 86th Infantry Division serving in the Central European Campaign during World War II and with occupation forces in the Philippines at the end of the War. He has also been stationed in Austria; Italy; and Pusan and Inchon, Korea.

Martinez is a member of the Reserve Officers Association, the American G.I. Forum, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Disabled American Veterans, the Retired Officers Assocation, and the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC).

Martinez and his wife, Eralia, plan to return to El Paso, Texas, for their retirement years. When questioned about his plans to continue a high level of involvement during his retirement, Martinez comments, "I would rather wear out than rust out . . ."

* * *

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The Senate Judiciary Committee, chaired by Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) has approved Louis Nuñez as Director of the United States Commission on Civil Rights and moved his nomination to the Senate floor. Nuñez, 47, was nominated for the post by President Carter in January. Senate approval would make Nuñez, of Puerto Rican descent, one of the highest level Hispanics in the Carter Administration.

* * *

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The United States Department of Agriculture's Farmers Home Administration (FmHA) has targeted at least $50 million of its rural business industrial loan guarantees to eligible minority businessmen and women in the current year.

In a joint announcement, Alex Mercure, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture for Rural Development, and Randolph T. Blackwell, Director of the Commerce Department's Office of Minority Business Enterprise (OMBE), disclosed actions to stimulate minority businesses in rural areas and small cities.

Mercure said the new initiatives followed a commitment by Agriculture Secretary Bob Bergland to make Agriculture Department resources available to the full spectrum of rural Americans, including minority groups and women "who have not always enjoyed adequate access to all of the department's programs."

He also announced with Blackwell that the Commerce Department will strengthen its nationwide facilities to help minority people develop sound businesses that qualify for private lender financing under FmHA guarantees.

The officials said the two agencies are drafting an agreement whereby personnel of the Commerce Department and the local business development organizations it supports will be trained in specifics of the FmHA loan guarantee program. As a result business development organizations will be able to help more minority people take advantage of business-industrial financing resources available through FmHA.

The FmHA guarantees commercial lenders' loans to businesses in rural areas including cities of not more than 50,000 population. It gives priority to enterprises located in open country and towns of not more than 25,000. Guarantees cover up to 90 percent of the loss of principal and interest that a lender might incur.

The Commerce Department provides management and technical assistance to minority entrepreneurs through approximately 225 nonprofit business development organizations and construction assistance centers. They are based throughout the 50 states, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands.

Mercure said OMBE will "fill a major need in the rural development program by providing expert assistance to rural minority people in planning, organizing and operating sound and enduring business firms." FmHA-guaranteed loans are developed through commercial business lenders. Applicants must pay at least 10 percent down and put up collateral for the loans.

Blackwell and Mercure estimate that most enterprises resulting from FmHA-OMBE cooperation will involve Black and Spanish-speaking applicants in small communities of the southeastern and southwestern states. However, the OMBE Director said advisory assistance from business development organizations will be available anywhere in the country to applicants who meet the requirements of the loan guarantee program.

Mercure said FmHA is emphasizing greater availability of its assistance to minority people, who controlled business enterprises accounting for less than two percent of FmHA-guaranteed rural business loans during the first four years of the program, through 1977. The $50 million target for FY 1979 would represent an increase this year to about five percent of the $1.1 billion-a-year program.

Mercure said that FmHA also set minimum goals for this year in other areas of special need: $50 million of loan guarantees to businesses operated by women, $100 million for job-producing enterprises in deeply depressed areas, and $100 million for modernizing and upgrading run-down business centers in rural towns.

Information about FmHA business loan guarantees is available through banks and other commercial lending institutions or FmHA offices. Farmers Home Administration offices are listed in local telephone directories under United States Government.

* * *

TRENTON, NEW JERSEY—New Jersey Public Television has announced the introduction of a weekly bilingual program aimed at the Hispanic communities in the Camden/Trenton area. *Imagenes Latinas*, is aired twice a week (Saturdays at 7:00 p.m. and Sundays at 4:00 p.m.) on channels 23 (Camden), 50 (Montclair), 52 (Trenton) and 58 (New Brunswick). Programming for April and May includes a four-part series on Hispanic Senior Citizens, a program on Cuban Political Prisoners, and a two-part series on Conjunto Libre, a local musical group.

BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA—Dr. Octavio I. Romano, Senior Editor of Tonatiuh International and Quinto Sol Publications, publishers of Chicano literature, has announced that Tonatiuh-Quinto Sol has now paid over $100,000 in royalties and direct payments to Chicano authors and artists.

"We are proud of this achievement," added Romano, "because we have always been totally self-supporting. We have never received any outside financial assistance whatsoever, no donations, no state, and no Federal monies."

According to the editors of Tonatiuh-Quinto Sol, those Chicano publishers who receive grants and other financial assistance strongly tend to reflect the ideology of the granting institutions. Readers, therefore, receive ideology reflecting the granting institutions. "We, on the other hand," explained Romano, "have our books purchased mainly by Chicanos because they want them. In this sense, what we publish reflects the Chicano community, and not the ideology of an institution or foundation which happens to have a lot of money. Nor do we eat up the public's tax money. Chicanos, like everyone else, are way overtaxed as it is.

"We, as Chicanos," emphasized Romano, "have written so much about the negative effects of exploitation. We seem to be against it. For that reason, Chicano publishers must *never* exploit Chicano authors and artists, while at the same time publish polemics against such exploitation by others.

"My only regret," concluded the veteran editor of Tonatiuh-Quinto Sol, "is that we announce our payment of over $100,000 to Chicano writers, and not $1,000,000. Maybe someday. After all, the exploitation of writers and artists is every bit as bad as the exploitation of lettuce pickers."

* * *

PUEBLO, COLORADO—Canto al Pueblo III, a week-long celebration of Chicano literature and fine arts, will take place in Pueblo, Colorado, June 8—18. Artists, writers, and philosophers from across the world will join local participants in the creation and encouragement of Chicano literature and arts.

Canto will provide an opportunity to further the discovery of Chicano art and literature, and a forum for the exchange of ideas between local artists and visiting artists and critics. Canto will produce a collection which will be of timeless benefit. It will include the production of *Canto al Puelbo III Anthology*, a music album, sculpture, murals, film, dance, photography, theatre and critique.

Everyone can benefit from the discovery of the world of Chicano aesthetics, not just Chicanos. Canto will bring these art forms into a setting where they may be recognized and shared with all the community, in the schools, and in art circles, thus asuring that Chicano art will continue as a vital part of the culture in the Americas.

* * *

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Migrant and seasonal farm workers in 48 states will get training and support services enabling them to "settle out" of the migrant stream under programs supported by nearly $50 million in Federal grants.

Assistant Secretary of Labor Earnest G. Green, in making the announcement, said the 60 grants cover a nine-month period ending September 30, 1979, due to a change in the programs' funding cycle last year from calendar to fiscal year. The program provides basic vocational education, work experience, job training assistance in settling out of the migrant stream, and a variety of other supportive services.

The funds are allocated under Section 303, Title III of the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA). For aditional information contact Harry Kranz, Acting Director, Office of Farmworker Programs, Employment and Training Administration, 601 D Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20213, telephone (202) 376-6128.

* * *

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA—Bilingual Cine-Television has produced a film entitled, "A Measure of Time," which is designed to motivate Hispanics to consider higher education in engineering and the applied sciences. Hispanics are seriously underrepresented in the fields of engineering and applied sciences, and "A Measure of Time" attempts to encourage young Hispanics to stay in school and consider these fields for career preparation.

The film relates the many accomplishments of the Aztecs and Mayans in engineering and science and ties those accomplishments to modern-day successes. It also presents practicing Hispanic engineers and applied scientists in work situations in industry, government and university laboratories.

The 27-minute 16 mm color film was produced and directed by Julio Rossetti and Rafael Mararíaga. It is available for $365 from Bilingual Cine-Television, 2940 16th Street, Room 104, San Francisco, California 94103.

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Under its new authority to make loans for the acquisition of broadcast properties, the Small Business Administration (SBA) recently approved 32 loans for broadcasters (including one cable system). The total amount approved is estimated at $6,130,000. However, only $1,670,000 went to seven minority buyers.

Last year, when the SBA announced that it would ease established regulations prohibiting government loans for private business ventures, it was anticipated that the relaxed regulations would enable minorities to acquire loans for the aforementioned purpose. However, the SBA contends that although its program was designed to help potential minority businessmen, it cannot exclude any potential applicants, since Federal regulations prohibit preferential treatment on the basis of race.

The National Association of Broadcasters (NAB), in a letter to the SBA recently, complained that the agency "is not trying hard enough to promote services to minorities or to implement existing ones." NAB suggested that business loans be made available to radio stations with receipts of $15 million and television stations with $30 million (as opposed to the current $2 million and $5 million limits, respectively). This, according to the association, would enable minorities to have a better chance of acquiring radio and television stations in major markets.

Among those receiving SBA loans were the minority firms of October Mountain Broadcasting Co., for the purchase of WOKO (AM), Albany, New York (SBA loans of $400,000) and American International Development Inc., an Hispanic-owned company which applied for an FM license in Phoenix, Arizona (SBA loans of $300,000.) Among the White-controlled firms receiving loans was Tom-Tom Communications, owned by NBC's *Today Show* host Tom Brokaw. His loan totalled $345,000.

* * *

WASHINGTON, D.C.—According to two recently-released reports on foundation giving in Colorado and the San Francisco Bay Area, foundation money is not going to women, minorities, or public interest advocacy groups. The vast majority of foundation funding goes to long-established organizations engaged in traditional activities.

The reports, which were prepared by coalitions of "nontraditional" and social change-oriented organizations based in the two areas, also found that there is a "severe underrepresentation" of minorities and women on the boards of the foundations that were studied (only one of the 76 Colorado trustees and 20 of the 350 Bay Area trustees are members of minority groups.)

Robert Bothwell, Executive Director of the National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy (NCRP), said that the two studies "document the contention that most foundations in all parts of the country have not responded to changing social needs." Bothwell cited three other recent studies of foundation giving (in Washington, D.C., Chicago, and the Southeast) which essentially reached the same conclusion. He also pointed out that studies done several years ago showed that most national foundations—those that do not restrict their giving to one geographical area—are similarly very traditional in what they support.

The problem with such giving, Bothwell explained, is that it prevents foundations from realizing the potential of the $2 billion they give away each year. "Because foundations are not subject to the constraints of the marketplace or the ballot box, they could fulfill roles that our other institutions simply cannot fulfill. They can try innovative approaches to social problems, they can support critical examinations of government and business, they can encourage efforts by minority groups to obtain their rights. But most foundations just keep funding the same institutions and the same types of projects year after year."

According to the report of the Colorado Committee for Responsive Philanthropy, only 2.7 percent of the $39 million given by that state's 25 largest foundations went to "nontraditional" recipients. Included in the definition of "nontraditional" were groups working with racial and ethnic minorities, women, and the poor as well as groups advocating the rights of older Americans, youth, consumers, children and the environment.

The study done by the Bay Area Committee for Responsive Philanthropy, which covered 45 of 80 foundations in that area which annually make grants in excess of $80,000 (the other 35 would not allow anyone to be interviewed), also found that "most Bay Area foundations are not funding social-change oriented groups, are not funding innovation, and are not taking risks."

The California study, however, focused primarily on why such groups are excluded. The primary reason, according to the report, is that the people who run foundations are "overwhelmingly White, dominantly male, heavily populated with family members, business associates and friends of the original donor." Such people, the report explains, have far more social and business contacts with those involved with a hospital or museum rather than a free clinic or community arts group. Again, this is a national problem with fewer than one percent of foundation trustees being Black, 19 percent women, and almost none from Hispanic, Asian, Native American, or other minority groups.

Both reports found that another reason foundations have little contact with nontraditional groups is that most of them provide little information about their funding priorities and about the processes they use to award grants. The majority of the larger foundations studied do not publish annual reports on their activities, which the San Francisco report said is the "absolute minimum needed for a foundation to understand and communicate its activities both to itself and the community at large." (Nationally, only 465 of the country's 26,000 foundations issue annual reports.)

Also, the San Francisco study found that many of the annual reports that are available do not provide basic information such as lists of the foundations' specific funding priorities and explanations of how the foundations make their decisions about grants.

Foundations have an obligation to be more accessible and accountable to the public, Bothwell argues, because of the "very considerable" tax benefit they receive from the public: their income is exempt from taxes and contributions to them are tax deductible.

on the horizon

The May/June issue of *Agenda* will discuss the problem of substance abuse in the *barrio* and will feature articles on:

- aerosol can sniffing by young people,
- alcoholism among *barrio* residents,
- substance abuse in the Rio Grande Valley.

The departments will include articles on:

- a community radio station in New York City,
- the Pope's visit to Mexico,
- the Bilingual Courts Act.

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NATIONAL COUNCIL OF LA RAZA

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THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF LA RAZA

The National Council of La Raza (NCLR) is a private, non-profit, tax-exempt corporation dedicated to promoting the social and economic well-being of Americans of Hispanic descent. In 1968, research on the economic, political, cultural, and educational status of Chicanos and other Hispanics in the United States, funded by private philanthropy, led to the establishment of a regional coordinating agency to give local Hispanic movements more visibility and easier access to funding and other developmental resources. Called the Southwest Council of La Raza, the agency devoted its early efforts to organizing new Chicano community-based organizations and strengthening existing groups, primarily in the Southwestern states of Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas.

The Council rapidly became known as a resource and information clearinghouse, coordinating body, and funding source for local Chicano organizations. Grants were made to community-based federations which in turn funded neighborhood groups and projects. Urban and small-town Chicano groups were funded by the Council and became its first "affiliates."

Recognizing the need for visibility and personnel in Washington, D.C., where Congress and the Administration were making the legislative and funding decisions affecting resources for community-based groups, the Council established a Washington office in 1970. In 1973, its name was changed to the National Council of La Raza to reflect its increasingly national focus.

Today, NCLR serves as a major national organization providing (1) research and advocacy in support of all Hispanic minorities in the United States, (2) technical assistance and programmatic support to Chicano and other Hispanic community-based organizations, (3) catalytic special projects, and (4) information designed to inform both Hispanic communities and the broader American public. Current direct technical assistance services cover housing, rural and urban economic and community development, manpower, telecommunications training, and criminal justice. While research, advocacy, special projects and communications efforts are centered in NCLR's Washington headquarters, most technical assistance is provided through program offices in Albuquerque, Chicago, and Phoenix, and a small field office in Alamo, Texas.

A major strength of the Council is its affiliates. NCLR now has more than 100 local affiliated organizations, located in 21 states, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico; 70 percent are located in the five Southwestern states where the Council began. The affiliates include many different types of groups, from small single-purpose organizations focusing on economic development, education, or social services, to large multi-purpose non-profit corporations. Some of NCLR's earliest affiliates have become multi-million dollar community development and service organizations. Most affiliates operate in a single city, county, or state, although some run multi-state

programs. Each has its own staff and board of directors; each shares a commitment to improve the life opportunities of Hispanics.

In addition to working directly with its affiliates, the Council successfully forms coalitions of Hispanic and other civil rights organizations around general needs and specific issues. For example, the Council was instrumental in organizing more than 50 national Hispanic organizations into a working group known as the Forum of National Hispanic Organizations, and since its inception has served as the Secretariat, the group's only permanent officer. Antoher example of coalition-building is the National Coalition of Migrant Education, formalized as part of a recent foundation-funded advocacy research project. Other coalitions have been developed around issues such as immigration and bilingual education.

Guiding and supporting NCLR programs and initiatives is the Board of Directors, a nationally representative body with an equal number of affiliate and "at large" members. Board members reflect Chicano leadership in business, academia, law, organized labor, community development, human services, and government. The Board, which is half male, half female, serves as the Council's policy arm; Board members provide individual and "task force" guidance to both program and advocacy activities.

NCLR increasingly places priority upon developing capabilities and resources for providing direct, on-site technical assistance to Hispanic community-based organizations. Such assistance usually emphasizes program development and funding, program operations and management. Existing technical support projects include housing, economic development, and community development projects funded by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), the Department of Commerce's Office of Minority Business Enterprise (OMBE) and Economic Development Administration (EDA), and the Community Services Administration (CSA); community anti-crime program assistance supported by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA); manpower program assistance funded by the U.S. Department of Labor (DOL); and telecommunications training funded by OMBE through a subcontract from the Booker T. Washington Foundation. In addition to these direct service programs, NCLR and two other non-profit corporations operate a MESBIC (Minority Enterprise Small Business Investment Corporation), and NCLR this year began a VISTA program, funded by ACTION, through which the Council recruits and trains volunteers for assignment to Chicano organizations in the Southwest. NCLR also plays a catalytic role, developing programs which will be "spun off" to other groups or become independent. For example, the Council developed the Southwest Voter Registration Education Project, which was initiated in 1974 and is now operating independently. NCLR currently runs a Graduate Fellowship Program for future researchers in the early childhood development of the Spanish-speaking child, with funding from the Administration on Children, Youth, and Families (ACYF) of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

Since local technical assistance efforts -- while they have measurable impacts upon their communities -- are not sufficient to bring about significant improvements in the life opportunities for Hispanics on a national scale, NCLR carries out research, public policy analysis, and advocacy at the national level. Such efforts are designed primarily to improve the information base upon which Congressional and other governmental policy decisions are made. For example, NCLR responds to queries from lawmakers and government officials

concerning (1) how Hispanics feel about particular public policy issues, and (2) how various alternative governmental actions would affect Hispanics. Only through sound and timely analyses of public policy issues with special implications for Chicanos and other Hispanics can individuals and groups serving as Hispanic advocates take positions reflecting systematic analysis, and present information to decision-makers in a succinct, well-organized format conducive to serious consideration. The ability to carry out rapid and expert policy analysis becomes increasingly important as the Council serves as a recognized "voice" and an active force supporting and studying Hispanic interests.

Recent public policy analyses and action-oriented research efforts have focused on migrant education, bilingual/bicultural education, welfare reform, the administration of justice, the Census, other statistics on Hispanics, undocumented workers and immigration policy, and manpower programs and unemployment problems of Hispanics, especially Hispanic youth. Funded projects include research on Hispanic youth employment, a series of seminars to strengthen NCLR educational research capabilities, and research and advocacy concerning parent involvement in migrant education programs.

Supporting all programmatic and advocacy efforts for the Council is its communications component, which publishes the bimonthly magazine Agenda, a journal of Hispanic issues which has been published for eight years. Through Agenda and its other public information activities, NCLR's communications component helps to publicize Hispanic issues within the Hispanic community, as well as to make the concerns of Hispanic Americans better known and understood by the larger American population. The significance of this effort increases as Hispanic movements grow and mature, and as NCLR continues to expand its activities to meet the needs of its growing constituency.

REVISED 6/79

national council of la RAZA

INTRODUCTION

"Hispanic Americans today constitute the nation's second largest minority with an estimated population of more than 16 million. About 60 percent of them are Chicanos, or Mexican Americans. In about a decade Hispanics will be the largest minority group. Most Americans — especially those living outside the Southwest — know little about Chicanos and the other Hispanic groups, including Puertorriqueños, Cubanos, and other Central and South Americans. Yet the Spanish were among the country's first settlers, colonizing North America before the English. One-third of today's Chicanos are descended from settlers of mixed Spanish and Indian blood who lived in the Southwest before the Mexican War.

"The National Council of La Raza is the nation's largest Hispanic organization with a formal constituency. It is our goal and responsibility to make the needs of Hispanics known and understood, and to plan and implement programs of direct benefit to Hispanic community-based organizations and the communities they serve."

Raul Yzaguirre
President

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF LA RAZA

The National Council of La Raza (NCLR) was established in 1968 with initial funding from private philanthropy. It is a private, nonprofit, tax-exempt corporation dedicated to promoting the social and economic well-being of Americans of Hispanic descent. NCLR provides (1) research and advocacy in support of all Hispanic minorities in the United States, and (2) technical assistance and programmatic support to Chicano and other Hispanic organizations, including more than one hundred local affiliates. These affiliated community-based organizations are located in 20 states, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico. Most of NCLR's affiliates are located in the five Southwestern States of Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas.

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

One of NCLR's top priorities is to develop capabilities and resources for providing direct, on-site technical assistance to Chicano and other Hispanic community-based organizations. Such assistance usually emphasizes program development, funding, program operations and management. Examples of current, federally-funded projects operated by local organizations with technical assistance from NCLR are:

- Housing projects supported by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.
- Rural and urban economic development projects funded by the Office of Minority Business Enterprise, the Economic Development Administration, and the Community Services Administration.
- Community anticrime program assistance supported by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration.
- Manpower assistance funded by the Department of Labor.

In addition to these direct service programs, NCLR and two other nonprofit corporations operate a federally-assisted MESBIC (Minority Enterprise Small Business Investment Corporation). NCLR also operates a VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America) program funded by ACTION through which the Council recruits, trains, and assigns volunteers to Hispanic organizations in the Southwest.

RESEARCH, PUBLIC POLICY ANALYSIS AND ADVOCACY

Local technical assistance efforts — while they have measurable impacts upon their communities — are not sufficient to bring about significant improvements in the life opportunities for Hispanics on a national scale. NCLR therefore carries out research, public policy analysis, and advocacy at the national level. Such efforts are designed primarily to improve the information based upon which Congressional and other governmental policy decisions are made. For example, NCLR responds to queries from lawmakers and government officials concerning (1) how Hispanics feel about particular public policy issues, and (2) how various alternative governmental actions would affect Hispanics. The ability to carry out rapid and expert policy analysis becomes increasingly important as the Council becomes more widely recognized as a voice for Chicanos. NCLR is an active force in Washington, D.C., studying and supporting Hispanic interests.

COMMUNICATIONS

Supporting all programmatic and advocacy efforts of the Council is its Communications component, which publishes the award-winning magazine *Agenda. Agenda,* a community organ, is used by NCLR to facilitate written dialogue on contemporary and historical issues within the Hispanic community, and between Hispanics and the broader society. NCLR also publishes *iAction Alerts!,* an occasional bulletin for Hispanic leadership throughout the country, addressing current developments in Washington and other policy arenas.

Through *Agenda* and *iAction Alerts!* the Communications component helps make the concerns of Hispanic Americans known and understood by the larger American population. The significance of that effort increases as the Hispanic population grows and matures, and as NCLR continues to expand its technical assistance and advocacy activities to meet the needs of its growing constituency.

A major NCLR concern is to assist Hispanic organizations to improve their visibility and to increase mass media coverage of the events and problems of the Hispanic community. For this reason, the Council carries out a variety of communications activities, including the publication of the bimonthly journal *Agenda* and specific public information efforts in the form of pamphlets and brochures.

SPECIAL PROJECTS

NCLR also plays a catalytic role, developing programs designed to be "spun off" to other groups or to become independent. For example, NCLR founded the Southwest Voter Registration and Education Project, which has since become independent. NCLR recently established a fellowship program for graduate students preparing for research careers in the field of child development with an emphasis on the Spanish-speaking child. The fellowship program is funded by the Administration on Children, Youth and Families, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

PROGRAM OFFICES

In addition to its Washington headquarters, NCLR has program offices in the following three locations:

114 West Adams
Suite 719
Phoenix, Arizona 85003

202 South State Street
Suite 1204
Chicago, Illinois 60604

2403 San Mateo Boulevard, N.E.
Suite S14
Albuquerque, New Mexico 87110

MISSION

The four principal missions of NCLR are:

- Research, analysis, and advocacy in public policy and legislation affecting the Chicano/Hispanic community.
- Constituency support to Hispanic community-based organizations.
- Communications/media activities directed at Hispanics and at the broader U.S. population.
- Acting as a catalyst for programs and activities which promote the empowerment and advancement of the nation's Chicano/Hispanic community.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF LA RAZA

1725 I Street, N.W., Suite 210
Washington, D.C. 20006

By The 1980's There Will Be 20 Million . . .

. . . HISPANICS!

In plain English (or Spanish) that's the size of America's Spanish-speaking population today. And it's growing rapidly. By 1980, Hispanics will be the country's largest minority. The distinctive Hispanic culture and the increasing size of the Hispanic population call for a specific strategy: **Strategy for the 80's.**

NCLR CONVENTION

The 1979 NCLR Affiliate Convention, **Strategy for the 80's,** will focus on those strategies so necessary in bringing about the full participation of Hispanics in our society with special emphasis on the public and private sectors, and local, state, regional, and federal government bodies. It is at this time that NCLR will be looking ahead to the next ten years and planning our future strategies.

The National Council of La Raza is the nation's largest Hispanic constituency-based organization with over 100 affiliated community-based organizations serving more than a million persons. It is the responsibility of NCLR to make the needs of Hispanics known and understood and to plan and implement programs of direct benefit to community-based organizations and the communities they serve. The Council firmly believes that the 1980's will see the ever-increasing awareness of our national Hispanic community manifest itself at all levels of decision-making in our society.

Workshops will examine resources and strategies for Hispanic community-based organizations for the coming year and the decade of the 1980's. Three general subjects will be addressed:

- Advocacy on public policy issues, at the local, state and national levels of government, that will have a major effect on Hispanics. Issues, strategies and tactics will be explored.
- Utilization of federal programs for comprehensive community development strategies, including neighborhood revitalization and economic development. Co-ordinated use of simultaneous grants from multiple agencies, such as HUD, EDA, OMBE, CSA, DOL, DOE and LEAA, will be explored.
- Developing relations between community-based organizations and the private sector, including private philanthropy, involvement of the business sector, and use of the mass media.

WHO WILL ATTEND?

The 1979 Affiliates convention of the National Council of La Raza (NCLR) will bring together approximately 700 participants from NCLR's 120 affiliate organizations in 21 states, Washington, D.C. and Puerto Rico. The primary participants represent a sizeable group of professionals and community leaders involved in the promotion and delivery of services to the Hispanic population. The range of services includes employment, economic development, housing, education, social services, rural development, and the humanities. As such, this massive network maintains a constituency in excess of one million Hispanics.

By The 1980's There Will Be 20 Million . . .

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF LA RAZA
1979 AFFILIATE CONVENTION

Strategy for the 80's

Shoreham Americana Hotel
Washington, D.C.
September 6,7,8,9, 1979

EXHIBITS

Exhibit Fees — $500.00 Non-Profit and $700.00 Profit covers the cost of rental for the following items:

- An exhibit booth (size 8'x10') draped with F.P. Background Chevron Cloth, Backdrop and Dividers
- One (1) sign (size 7"x44" with name and location for each exhibitor)
- One (1) 6' table with F.P. Drape
- One (1) Side Chair
- One (1) 500 wt-110 Outlet

Due to the limited number of spaces available submission of a request form does not guarantee acceptance as an exhibitor. Booth rental will be made on a first-come, first served basis.

PRESS ROOM

A special press packet has been prepared and a media representative will be available to answer questions from 9 am to 5 pm in the Conference registration area.

This material has been printed by a minority owned and operated firm.

PRELIMINARY AGENDA

Thursday, September 6	
9:00 A.M.-2:00 P.M.	**Registration and Exhibits Open**
2:00 P.M.-5:00 P.M.	**Open Planning Session**
6:30 P.M.-10:00 P.M.	**Reception**
Friday, September 7	
9:00 A.M.-12:00 P.M.	**Workshops**
12:00 P.M.- 2:00 P.M.	**Luncheon and Guest Speaker**
2:00 P.M.-5:00 P.M.	**Workshops**
6:00 P.M.-10:00 P.M.	**Reception**
Saturday, September 8	
9:00 A.M.-12:00 P.M.	**Workshops**
12:00 P.M.—2:00 P.M.	**Luncheon and Guest Speaker**
2:00 P.M.-5:00 P.M.	**Resolutions Sessions**
7:00 P.M.-9:30 P.M.	**Annual NCLR Awards Banquet**
10:00 P.M.-2:00 A.M.	**Baile and Entertainment**
Sunday, September 9	
9:30 A.M.-10:00 A.M.	**Coffee, donuts**
10:00 A.M.	**Mariachi — Hispanic Mass**
	Despedida

LOCATION AND TRANSPORTATION:

The Shoreham Americana is located in Northwest Washington, off Rock Creek Parkway at Connecticut Avenue and Calvert Street. The hotel is situated near the Dupont Circle Metrorail Station. Other transportation features include Greyhound Limousine Service from/to National and Dulles Airports, car rental and a Metrobus stop in front of the hotel.

INFORMATION

For additional information on speakers, agenda, format and topics of discussion, contact:

CONVENTION COORDINATOR
National Council of La Raza
1725 Eye St., NW, Suite 210
Washington, D.C. 20006
(202) 659-1251

Convention Registration Fee - $95.00
(Pays for all scheduled activities on the agenda)

Exhibits

Please check appropriate exhibit space(s) for which you are applying:

_____Non-Profit Organization - Exhibit Fee $500.00
_____Profit Organization - Exhibit Fee $700.00
_____Distribution of Pamphlets, Brochures, etc. - Fee $25.00

Program Advertising Space

Please check the appropriate space(s) I would like to take the following size ad:

_____Full Page (8½ x 11) - $400.00
_____Half Page - $250.00
_____Quarter Page - $150.00
_____Eighth Page - $100.00
_____CAMERA READY COPY OF AD ENCLOSED*
_____Patron - $25.00
_____No. of Photos @ $15.00 Each
_____Total Ad Cost = $ _____
_____Check enclosed in the amount of $_____
_____Please bill me at the address listed on reverse side in the amount of total ad cost.

*An additional charge may be made for advertisements requiring trademarks, logos, pictures or special art work.

Ads should be camera ready and are subject to editing by NCLR. Ad copy must be submitted not later than Friday, August 3, 1979, and mail along with your ad copy and space request to:

Convention Coordinator
National Council of la Raza
1725 Eye St., NW, Suite 210
Washington, DC 20006

CONDUCTING EXHIBITS

No exhibit will span an aisle by roofing or floor covering. Exposed unfinished sides of exhibit backgrounds must be draped and attractive. Inspection of the exhibits will be made during set-up time and an effort made to advise the exhibitor of any deviation from the exhibit rules. In the event that the exhibitor is not available, the exhibition's service with the approval of the Exhibit Co-Chairperson, will make changes and/or provide draping deemed necessary at the exhibitor's expense.

Electrical and mechanical apparatus must be muffled so that its noise does not interfere with other exhibits.

Volatile or inflammable oils, gases, unprotected picture film, other explosive or inflammable matter, or any substance prohibited by Washington, D.C. city laws or insurance carriers are not permitted on the premises. Canvassing or distributing advertising matter outside of the exhibitor's own space is not permitted. Solicitations of business, or conferences in the interest of business except by exhibiting organizations/agencies is prohibited, as is publicizing and/or maintaining any extra-curricular activities, inducements, or demonstrations away from the convention area during the exhibit hours.

Contests, lotteries, raffles or games of chance, the distribution of shopping bags, containers or other items not regularly manufactured by the exhibitor are strictly prohibited, as such activities reflect unfavorably upon conference activities.

Exhibit displays are subject to the approval of NCLR, who reserves the right to refuse applications not meeting standards required or expected, as well as to curtail exhibits or parts of exhibits that unfavorably reflect upon conference activities. This applies to discount offers, unapproved displays, obscene and repulsive literature, unauthorized advertising novelties, souvenirs and unpleasant conduct of conference participants.

No money may change hands in the exhibit hall for purchase of goods. Orders may be taken and processed.

LIABILITY

Exhibitors shall assume full responsibility for any damages incurred to their respective displays and shall exempt the National Council of La Raza and the Shoreham Americana Hotel from all liability which may ensue from any cause whatsoever. Exhibitors will monitor their own exhibits and the National Council of La Raza and the Shoreham Americana Hotel do not guarantee or protect exhibitors against any loss or damage of any kind. It is agreed that:

- No refund of deposits will be made following the assignment of space.
- Any space not claimed and occupied — including those spaces for which special arrangements have been made — by September 6, 1979 (the official day of opening of the conference) will be reassigned with no refund to the exhibitor.

Application Form For Exhibit Space and Program Advertising

Please check one or both of the following:

☐ We/I agree to abide by all requirements, restrictions and obligations mentioned in the "Rules and Regulations Section" of the Information Packet for Potential Exhibitors.

☐ You are hereby authorized to place my/our advertisement in you Program for The National Council of la Raza's 1979 AFFILIATE CONVENTION to be held at the Shoreham Americana Hotel in Washington, D.C. on September 5-8, 1979.

Name of Organization /Individual _____

Address _____
Street/P.O. Box

_____
City/State Zip Code

Contact Person _____

Telephone (_____) _____

_____
Signature

Please submit 50% of exhibit cost as deposit with your official application form and the remainder by August 1, 1979.

_____
Date

Rules and Regulations For Exhibitors

SPACE ASSIGNMENTS
All applications for space must be made on the NCLR Affiliate Convention Official Application Form and should include a word discription of 65 words or less of the materials to be featured in the exhibit. Space assignments will be made on a first-come, first-served basis, and applications must be received by Friday, August 3, 1979.

INSTALLATION OF EXHIBITS — Thursday, September 6, Beginning at 8:00 A.M.
A display service will be responsible for erecting and assembling exhibit booths. Handling and setting up display merchandise does not require union labor and is the responsibility of the exhibitor, but is prohibited during exhibit hours, during which time booths must be staffed. The National Council of La Raza is not responsible for loss or damage of materials.

DISMANTLING — Sunday, September 9, Beginning at 1:00 P.M.
No packing or dismantling of any kind is permitted until the official closing of the conference. Disassembly of display materials is each exhibitor's responsibility.

FREIGHT HANDLING
A kit from the 'exhibitor's service' handling the convention will contain information regarding drayage service.

ADDITIONAL FURNITURE OR MATERIALS
The 'exhibitor's service' handling the convention will send to each exhibitor information on rental of additional display equipment at extra cost.

National
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of la
Raza

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of La Raza

ACCIÓN LOCAL ANTI-CRIMEN

A project funded by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, U.S. Department of Justice.

ALA AND THE COMMUNITY

". . . an organized community is in itself a deterrant to crime . . ."

The Office of Community Anti-Crime Programs (OCAP), a division of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (U.S. Department of Justice) was created by authority of the Crime Control Act of 1976 to support community organizations, neighborhood groups, and individual citizens in becoming involved in community anti-crime efforts. With funding assistance from OCAP, the National Council of La Raza is now implementing el PROYECTO ACCION LOCAL ANTI-CRIMEN, ALA, a nation-wide effort to promote crime prevention and community interest and involvement in anti-crime efforts in the Hispanic community.

ALA believes that Hispanic communities have maintained a level of cohesiveness that can now be mobilized to meet the problems of increased crime rates and fear of crime. Because the Hispanic culture lends itself to a strong sense of community, fostering strong community ties and relationships, a firm anti-crime foundation exists, supportive even further of the philosophy that "an organized community is in itself a deterrant to crime."

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF LA RAZA

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NCLR was established in 1968 with initial funding from private philanthropy. It is a private, non-profit, tax-exempt corporation dedicated to promoting the social and economic well-being of Americans of Hispanic descent. NCLR provides (1) research and advocacy in support of all Hispanic minorities in the United States, and (2) technical assistance and programmatic support to Chicano and other Hispanic organizations, including more than one hundred local affiliates. These affiliated community-based organizations are located in 20 states, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico. Most of NCLR's affiliates are located in the five Southwestern states of Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas.

WHAT IS ALA?

Proyecto Accion Local Anti-Crimen (ALA) is an NCLR technical assistance program designed to increase the participation of Hispanic community organizations in community anti-crime efforts.

ALA is designed to promote the active involvement of Chicano/Hispanic Community Based Organizations in direct and indirect community anti-crime and crime prevention efforts. ALA provides information to community groups on community alternatives in fighting crime in their community, and provides training and technical assistance to Hispanic CBOs helping them plan and implement anti-crime/crime prevention programs.

ALA provides specific assistance to Hispanic community based organizations funded by LEAA/OCAP in initiating and maintaining their community anti-crime programs. Assistance ranges from training for boards of directors to providing technical assistance in involving criminal justice agencies as resources for the CBO's community anti-crime efforts.

ALA services are provided primarily in 13 states; project staff are located in Chicago and Phoenix as well as in the Washington offices. The project is run from NCLR's headquarters in Washington, D.C.

WHY ALA?

". . . Hispanics constitute a much neglected minority . . ."

Hispanic Americans today constitute the nation's second largest minority, with an estimated population of at least 16 million, about 60 percent of them Chicanos, or Mexican Americans. Originally a predominantly rural population, Hispanics are now largely urbanized; 77 percent of Chicanos live in metropolitan areas, as do 97 percent of Puerto Ricans.

Unlike other racial and ethnic minorities, Hispanics have been able to substantially maintain their language and culture. Like other minorities, they suffer disproportionately from poverty, discrimination, and isolation from the nation's social, political, and economic mainstream. Because they are particularly likely to be poor, they also suffer disproportionately from crime.

Poor and minority citizens are most likely to be robbed, assaulted, and murdered; they are also most likely to be arrested, convicted, and imprisoned. In addition they are least likely to be represented in the establishment of policy and the implementation of strategies for improving the criminal justice system and combating crime.

RESOLUTION

ON THE ROLE OF CHICANO AND HISPANIC COMMUNITY–BASED ORGANIZATIONS IN COMMUNITY CRIME PREVENTION

WHEREAS it is the belief of the National Council of la Raza that the first step towards reduction of crime in our Hispanic communities is an organized community,

AND WHEREAS community involvement through community-based organizations (CBO's) is increasingly becoming an effective vehicle in the resolution of criminal justice issues in our community,

AND WHEREAS the involvement of CBO's has become an increasingly effective element in the crime prevention efforts of our communities,

AND WHEREAS it is our belief that the strong sense of community among Hispanics is a model that should be capitalized upon for crime prevention,

AND WHEREAS the Hispanic community has no solid base of information about the current status of crime and law enforcement,

AND WHEREAS in the area of criminal justice, Hispanics constitute a much neglected minority,

BE IT RESOLVED THAT the National Council of la Raza supports and encourages the continual and increased involvement of Hispanic CBO's in local and national crime prevention efforts,

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED THAT the National Council of la Raza supports and promotes the extension of the strength of Hispanic communities to include a good working relationship with criminal justice agencies which represent and serve Hispanic communities,

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED THAT the National Council of la Raza advocates increased implementation and funding of research programs to insure a solid base of information about the current status of crime and law enforcement in Hispanic communities,

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED THAT the National Council of la Raza supports and advocates the granting of federal criminal justice funds to agencies whose staffing policies guarantee the Hispanic community will not be policed and judged by outsiders.

FORMALLY ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF LA RAZA BOARD OF DIRECTORS AT ITS 1979 ANNUAL MEETING HELD IN SAN DIEGO ON FEBRUARY 9, 1979.

National Council of La Raza

1725 Eye Street, N.W., Suite 210
Washington, D.C. 20006