

LULAC

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 29, 1983

TO: MIKE BAROODY
FROM: JIM CICCONI
SUBJECT: Letter and report from LULAC

Per our conversation.

Talked w/ Obledo, issued
blanket objection to report.
He'll chk on its status and
call me back.

Joe 10/4



League of United Latin American Citizens

MARIO OBLEDO
office of National President

P.O. Box 1026
Sacramento, CA 95805
916/441-5000

September 23, 1983

Mr. Jim Ciccohi
Assistant to the Chief of Staff
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C.

Dear Jim:

Thank you for your hospitality during our visit to your office on Thursday, September 15th. As per our conversation, enclosed please find the report prepared by LULAC on the Administration's record on Hispanics. If you feel any of this information is incorrect, please notify me at your earliest in order that the record may be corrected.

My office is available at any time you wish to communicate with us; we desire open channels so together we can build a greater America.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Mario Obledo". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, sweeping flourish under the name.

MARIO OBLEDO
National President

MO:mp
Enclosures



"All for One, One for All"



League of United Latin American Citizens

MARIO OBLEDO
office of National President

LULAC'S PRELIMINARY REPORT ON PRESIDENT REAGAN'S
RECORD WITH HISPANICS

AUGUST 24, 1983



"All for One, One for All"

- In the area of unemployment, we find President Reagan's claims that "things are getting as callous and totally out of touch with the human suffering which employment causes." LULAC intends to measure progress on this front by the Reagan Administration if and when the unemployment rate for Hispanics at least is at the level President Reagan inherited from President Carter. Until then, Mr. Reagan's economic package is only putting to work those who his policies put out of work. Under President Carter we saw a continued decrease in Hispanic unemployment while under President Reagan a major increase as the following indicates:

1975 -- 12.2% Hispanic unemployment
1976 -- 11.5% Hispanic unemployment
1977 -- 10.1% Hispanic unemployment
1978 -- 9.1% Hispanic unemployment
1979 -- 8.3% Hispanic unemployment
1980 -- 10.1% Hispanic unemployment
1981 -- 10.4% Hispanic unemployment
1982 -- 13.2% Hispanic unemployment
1983 -- 15.0% Hispanic unemployment (six-month average)

*15.3% in late '82
12.3% July '83*

Economic Tax Cut and Deficits

- The Administration's tax cut is a major inequity for it gives the largest benefits to wealthy individuals and big business. It reduced the top tax rate from 70% to 50%. Under this program, the President gave added meaning to the saying "the rich get richer while the poor gets poorer."
- Eighty-five percent of the real reductions in taxes went to 5% of the population earning over \$50,000 per year. Moreover, due to inflation caused bracket creep and the increases in social security, most individuals earning under \$20,000 per year can actually pay higher tax rates. For Hispanics who have a 15.0% unemployment rate and a median income in 1982 of \$16,228 it appears the Reagan tax cut is and will be an unknown benefit, if any at all.



HISPANICS AND REAGANOMICS

In April 1981 LULAC wrote to U.S. Senator Pete V. Domenici, Chairman, Senate Budget Committee to raise our concerns with President Ronald Reagan's economic recovery package. The package was and is based on three major points:

- Reduction in inflation rates,
- Reduction of tax burden on American taxpayer,
- Increasing real incomes by stimulating capital investment and enhancing

Hispanics and Reaganomics
August 24, 1983
Page 4.

- Despite major dismantling of domestic spending and new terminology to justify a callous policy ("safety net") the President continues to blame the deficit on domestic spending.
- The unprecedented increase in the military budget has clearly proven itself to be deficit causing factor. This has been a conscious and often stated policy position by President Reagan that he would not step back from his multi-trillion dollar military build-up. Despite his clear decision which has resulted in unprecedented deficits, the President continues to blame domestic spending as the major culprit for these deficits. By destroying social programs this President has cut-off the sole lifeline of many poor Americans and clearly Hispanics. In essence, the President has chosen to totally destroy domestic programs, self-help programs which coupled with the Hispanic economic profiles makes life even more difficult for Hispanics.

The President cannot be allowed to continue to blame domestic spending for his deficits for this is a blatant misrepresentation of the facts. It appears that the President has chosen by his unprecedented military expenditures that a well financed military is a higher priority than a well-fed, educated, housed and employed America.

- Most disconcerting about the President's policy decision is that his standard of rooting out wasteful domestic expenditures has yet to be applied to the defense budget despite the Mr. David Stockman's contention of their being "10-20-30 billion dollars in waste in the defense budget." The President's decision is difficult to consider anything but mean and totally insensitive to the poor in this country.



REAGAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS: FY '84

When the President delivered his budget message to Congress, he claimed that the Administration's FY '84 budget "represents a substantial increase in priority accorded civil rights." Contrary to the President's claim, the budget represents yet another step in a retraction from the long-standing bi-partisan commitment to investigate claims of discriminatory treatment or effect and from earnest enforcement of civil rights laws.

The Reagan Administration's lack of fiscal support for effective implementation of federal civil rights laws is consistent with the overall attitudinal change in nominations and appointments and shifting the emphasis away from enforcement to administrative activities.

A. HUD Office of Fair Housing

Under Title VII of the Fair Housing Act of 1968, the Department of Housing and Urban development (HUD):

- Investigates alleged instances of housing discrimination and attempts to resolve them through informal conciliation
- Refers complaints to those state and local agencies which offer rights and remedies "substantially equivalent" to those available at the federal level
- Provides technical assistance to public and private agencies, organizations, and institutions to develop and carry out programs to prevent or eliminate discriminatory housing practices
- Awards grants and technical assistance to increase the number of state and local agencies engaged in processing fair housing complaints.

REAGAN POLICY: reduce the funds for assistance grants to the agencies from \$6.7 million (estimated '83 outlays) to \$3.7 million cut \$2.5 million from the Community Housing Resource Boards which are designed to promote voluntary fair housing efforts.

The Reagan Administration and Housing

As consistent with his agenda, President Reagan has targeted housing as one of the areas where he would like the role of the Federal government



minimalized, ignoring the realities of the housing situation faced by Hispanic Americans. In fiscal year 1982, President Reagan proposed new cuts in appropriations of 18.7 billion dollars, a one-third reduction from the requests of President Carter. The 1983 preliminary budget shows estimated outlays and operating subsidies for subsidized housing to total 10 billion, down from 27.8 billion in 1980. In 1983 Congress approved the President's request to increase rent for tenants of subsidized housing, to 30% of their adjusted incomes from 25%, over five years. Congress rejected, however, his proposal to count foodstamps as income when computing the rent.

The reduction in appropriations to housing assistance from fiscal year 1981 to the levels proposed by the Administration for fiscal year 1984 is cut by 98%.

THE STATE OF HISPANIC HOUSING

Background

- Fact 1: Fully 29% of the Hispanic community lives in substandard housing.
- Fact 2: Hispanics have a homeownership rate of one half that of the nation as a whole.
- Fact 3: One out of every three Hispanics households has inadequate heating equipment.
- Fact 4: Although Hispanics and other minorities are targeted (in theory) by federal housing programs, Hispanics receive little of those funds and, ironically, are disproportionately displaced by federal programs.
- Fact 5: Although the federal fair housing law provides that it is unlawful to discriminate on the basis of race, color, religion, sex or national origin in the sale, rental, financing, etc., of homes, the mechanisms for enforcement of that law do not exist. In 1980 the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) estimated that more than two million instances of discrimination occur each year.

B. Equal Educational Opportunity Programs

The Administration proposes to eliminate completely a number of major programs designed to promote equal educational opportunity - programs which can properly be viewed as elements of the federal civil rights statutory framework. These programs are:

- The Emergency School Aid Act and Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 authorizes funds to school districts' school desegregation efforts;
- The Women's Educational Equity Act authorizes funds for such activities as supplemental educational programs in basic skills, modeland experim-ental programs, adult education and vocational counseling.

Reagan Policy: In FY '82 over \$16 millions were spent on these programs. The Administration expects to spend \$17 million in FY '83 and \$6.7 million in FY '84. Moreover, the Administration has opposed targeted funding for these programs, in the past and has already asked congress for the recession authority to avoid spending any of the funds it appropriated for this fiscal year on the Women's Equity and Title IV programs.

The Reagan Administration policies display a lack of sensitivity to the discriminatory obstacles confronting Hispanics and other minorities. A report to the Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights Committee on the Judiciary of the U.S. House of Representatives prepared by Gary Orfield found that there has been a serious increase in the segregation of Hispanic students in all regions of the United States. Additionally, the National Center for Education Statistics has found that less than one in three Hispanic students enrolled in graduate schools actually obtain degrees.

Devastating cuts in higher education programs include a reduction from \$154.7 million to \$35 million for a program authorized under the Higher Education Act to provide counseling and other support services to minority and disadvantaged students who otherwise might have difficulty entering or completing higher education programs.

C. Legal Services Corporation

The proposed elimination of the Legal Services Corporation is additional evidence that the Administration is not committed to protecting the rights of those who need the government's assistance most.

In 1982 Legal Services Corporation provided legal services to 1,090,555 persons, of those 149,642 or 13.5% were Hispanics. In 1981 L.S.C. indicates that 16.6% of clients were Hispanics.

The President's lack of support for and disbelief in affirmative action programs, consistent civil rights enforcement and equal opportunity for all, both in the workplace and at school, has increased and will continue to increase the numbers of Hispanic-Americans unemployed. Prior to this administration, unemployment among Hispanics was dropping. We are convinced that the President's policies on the economy and by those favoring disturbance of long standing legal precedents through needless redefinition are to blame.

Affirmative action programs are effective in encouraging voluntary efforts and in creating the opportunity where reluctance or none existed previously.

Despite their success, albeit negligible in some areas, President Reagan has proposed dangerous changes to executive order 11246 as it is implemented by the Department of Labor and administered through its Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs (OFCCP). The President seeks to:

- Minimize the "burden" of paperwork on private industry
- Raise the threshold determining applicability of filing requirements from the present 50 employees and \$50,000 to 100 employees and contracts of \$100,000
- Change the contract value requirement for employers/contractors with 250 employees and \$250,000 contracts to \$500,000 contracts.
- Implement a short form affirmative action plan for such employer/contractor to file and to include a statement of the contractor's equal employment opportunity policy in all personnel action, a utilization analysis, goals development if utilization exists and an internal monitoring system of an affirmative action program.

The President chooses these measures and suggests that the proposed rule changes through which "the employee and dollar thresholds have been raised so that smaller contractors will not have to develop written affirmative action programs, although such contractors will remain covered by the executive orders non-discrimination in employment provisions and its affirmative action requirements." Further, the Administration reasons that change will satisfy the need for and promotes uniformity with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) who has the 100 employee threshold.

Thus, at the expense of the many Hispanics, women, other minorities and youth who have been and continue to be unemployed, the President seeks to reward past non-compliance by employer/contractors with an effective exemption and to promote uniformity of standard where convenient but unnecessary.

Utilization Standards

Under the proposed rule change OFCCP has decided that contractors are complying with the law if they employ minorities and women at least 80 percent of their availability. In essence, OFCCP has decided that the goal need not exceed availability and that contractors can shoot for a much lower standard. It is ridiculous to decrease the utilization standard when contractors have generally done a poor job of seriously attempting to reaching the previous standard of 95 percent. The 80 percent standard allows contractors to lessen their already

questionable commitment to employing minorities and women. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights recently reported that minorities and women continue to suffer major discrimination, with this proposed utilization standard we can expect this to continue.

Availability Factors

Availability is the most vital element in developing an effective AAP. Unfortunately, OFCCP in proposing its changes has reduced the AAP to being totally dependent on the good faith and benevolence of private industry. OFCCP has proposed to allow contractors a free hand in determining that standard availability they choose to utilize. We strongly urge that the current practice of negotiating availability remain in place and that OFCCP be directed to insure reasonable and accurate estimates of availability.

Goals and National Origin

A major concern of ours deals with how goals are developed for the hiring of minorities and women and the need for greater specificity. Currently, Hispanics are seldom target population affirmative action programs. It is our experience that contractors seldom establish any goals for the hiring of Hispanics but rather use general category which often times excludes us. We would recommend that goals be broken out so as to establish objectives for the hiring of Hispanics. In addition, it is imperative that national origin provisions be required inclusion in affirmative action plans.

We are very displeased with the Administration's proposed changes and are committed to working to insure that they not be allowed to regress affirmative action programs but rather are altered to allow Hispanics the opportunity to progress in our quest for equal treatment in American society.

The Voting Rights Act

In no other area of domestic policy have the President's anti-Hispanic attitudes been more clear than in his opposition to the Voting Rights Act. At the time of his inauguration in January of 1981, no civil rights issue pending was more critical. Key provisions of the Act were due to expire in August of 1982. Throughout the comprehensive House hearings, during House floor consideration and after passage of the Voting Rights Act extension, the Reagan Administration's lack of support and commitment was conspicuous. Rather than supporting the House bill, the President and his Attorney General supported alternatives and weakening amendments.

Despite this opposition, the strong bipartisan support for the bill with strengthening amendments resulted in an overwhelming vote of 389 to 24. The country had spoken through the legislative process. The President through inaction had spoken as well.



REAGAN RECORD ON HISPANIC EDUCATION

The President recently stated his support for "effective bilingual programs." The President's statement contradicts the legislative policies of his Administration. It is important to review the President's record in bilingual education, and other educational issues of importance to Hispanics, to assess his "support" to Hispanic educational concerns.

The President has:

- Reduced funding for Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (Bilingual Education) from \$161 million in 1981 to \$138 in 1982 and was defeated in his attempt to reduce funding from its present level of \$138 million to \$94.5 million;
- Supported the Bilingual Education Improvements Act (H.R. 2682) which would:
 - authorize a broad range of instructional approaches that do not require instruction in the child's native language. School districts must provide evidence in their application that the selected method is the most desirable for the children to be served;
 - place a five-year limit on federal aid to school districts so that the districts could build capacity to continue to serve limited English proficient children after funds are not available;
 - target Federal funds on projects that serve limited English proficient children whose "usual language" is not English;
 - strengthen the role of state educational agencies by providing financial support for activities to improve bilingual education and to review and coordinate bilingual education programs;
 - authorize vocational projects for providing out-of-school youth and adults of limited English proficiency with vocational education under the Bilingual Education Act.
- Proposed a cut in funding for Bilingual Vocational Training programs for fiscal year 1983 from \$3,686,000 to \$2,524,000. These programs currently serve 1,062 students, 60% of which are Hispanic.



- Threatens to rescind the 1983 \$3.16 billion figure by \$126.4 million of the Chapter I (formerly Title I) of the Education consolidation and Improvement Act (ECIA). If the President gets his wish:
 - funds for the delinquent and neglected would be reduced from \$32.6 million to \$21.9 million;
 - funds for handicapped would be cut from \$146.5 million to \$104.8 million; and
 - migrant education services would be cut from \$256 million to \$129 million.
- Proposed to rescind the congressional approved budget for 1983 of \$7.5 million for the High School Equivalency Program (HEP) and the College Assistant Migrant Program (CAMP) and is proposing not to refund them in 1984;
- Proposed regulations to redefine the eligible population of "currently migratory children" which would reduce the number of migrant students served from 468,000, 70% of which are Hispanic, in Federal year 1983 to 243,000 in Federal year 1984.
 - these would require that children considered "currently migratory" must have transferred from one school to another during the school year.
 - another change would also decrease the number of years of eligibility for formerly migrant students from five years to two.
- Proposed elimination of all desegregation assistance grants from Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (Bilingual Education). This comes in spite of a study by Gary Orfield, a professor of political science at the University of Chicago that showed that by 1980 68% of Hispanic students being in predominately minority schools. A second study by Mr. Orfield showed that during the 1980-81 school year:
 - fifty six percent of Hispanic children in New York State were enrolled in 90 to 100% minority schools;
 - forty percent were in similar schools in Texas;
 - thirty-five percent were in similar schools in New Jersey;
 - twenty-five percent were in similar schools in Florida;
 - twenty-two percent were in similar schools in California.

- Proposed a 77% reduction in TRIO funds for Federal year 1983 and on altering of the programs authorizing legislation. The \$35 million for TRIO would be available as Special Services and would be limited to institutions whose enrollment is more than 50% minority.

The President's budget would:

- affect Hispanic students who comprise close to 17% of the total TRIO participants;
- affect the two TRIO programs most utilized by Hispanic youth: Talent Search is 23% Hispanic and Educational Opportunity Centers is 21% Hispanics;
- eliminate 1,137 TRIO projects serving 471,930 students 79,000 of which are Hispanic at 695 institutions and 69 community agencies.

- Proposed funding student aid at \$3.65 billion in Federal year 1984, excluding the Guaranteed Student Loan (GSL) program. The changes would require a financial needs test from all GSL applicants. The Administration's GSL request for 1984 is slightly over \$2 billion, down from the current \$3.1 billion.
- Proposed no new funding for the National Direct Student Loans (NDSL) program. Current funding is at \$178.6 million.
- Proposed that Pell Grants would be transformed into a "self-help" program requiring students to provide a minimum of 40% or a minimum of \$800 of their annual educational expenses before a grant would be awarded. Over 60% of Hispanic students received a pell grant in 1980.
- Zero-funded the Supplemental Educational Opportunity Grants (SEOG), which currently receives \$355 million and funds grants to 545,000 low-income students.
- Zero-funded State Student Incentive Grants for 1984. Current funding is at \$60 million and supports on a matching basis with states some 295,000 grants.

The following statistics illustrate the due need for financial aid Hispanic students have:

- Forty five percent of Hispanic students are in community or two-year colleges, compared to 27% for non-Hispanics;
- Eighty-three percent of the Hispanic students attending a public community college receive financial aid;

REAGAN RECORD on Hispanic Education
August 24, 1983
Page 4.

--ninety-two point four percent of Hispanic students on public four-year postsecondary schools receive financial aid;

--ninety-five point six percent of the Hispanic students in private four-year postsecondary schools receive financial aid.

Enclosed please find a copy of a letter from then Representative George Bush to then local President William J. Flores.

END



HISPANIC-AMERICAN APPOINTMENTS UNDER THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION

*35 total full time appointments

- 27 full time active appointments
- 7 full time appointments which have since left
- 1 full time appointment pending

*34 total part time appointments (primarily boards and commissions)

- 31 part time active appointments
- 3 part time appointments which have since left

"In fact, the President has appointed more than 130 Hispanic-Americans to high-level government positions." (Letters to the Editor, WASHINGTON POST, JULY 1983 by Velma Montoya, Assistant Director for Strategy White House -- former employee).

We have attempted to secure a listing of the supposed 130 Hispanic appointments but have been unable to receive any concrete data despite several efforts. The above statistics reflect no Hispanic appointments in the Departments of Labor, Justice, Education, and in the White House or in major cabinet or sub-cabinet positions.

The Reagan Administration has been in office for 2 years and 7 months and has made approximately less than 50 appointments of Hispanics to major positions requiring Senate confirmation. We have allotted for less than 50 for the 27 full time appointments one are as of April 1983. We have given the Administration an additional 13 positions as a margin of error for these appointments could have been made between April 1983 and August 1983. Giving this margin of error it nonetheless reflects a poor commitment when coupled with the lack of appointments in the positions stated above. Under President Jimmi Carter we have identified over 110 full time Hispanic appointments including various assistant secretaries, one under secretary, and White House special assistant.

* Of the above total for full-time and part-time appointments, seven (7) appointments have been filled by 4 appointees.



Hispanic-American Appointments under the Reagan Administration
August 24, 1983
Page 2.

The 34 part-time appointments are primarily to Presidential Boards and Commissions. Under the Carter Administration there were over 100 such appointments of Hispanics.

Despite this prior record of appointments we must give the Administration the opportunity to fulfill its term in office and perhaps additional appointments will be made.

Lastly, we must add our major opposition and concern for the Administration's continued efforts to undermine the independence of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights by nominating three new individuals and removing three seating Commissioners due to their criticism of the Administration's record on civil rights. In the process of taking this action, the President will be removing the only Hispanic serving on the Commission which has had a Hispanic member since 1968.

END

16



REAGAN LATIN AMERICAN POLICY AND HISPANICS

Hispanic Americans are more concerned than ever about Central America. Many believe that the cultural insensitivity and ignorance of U.S. policy is related to a misunderstanding of and insensitivity toward Hispanic-Americans.

Continued references to Central America as "our back-yard" are an example of a paternalistic, crisis-oriented mentality. The United States has historically neglected and disregarded Central America; that cannot be rectified simply by throwing money into wars.

The reason for our growing interest in this matter stems from our assessment with countries of Latin America. We believe that we as a country have not seriously concerned ourselves with the fate of these countries and their relationship with our present and future status. We have neglected strengthening hemispheric solidarity except when there have been threats of communist expansion in the region. It is this simplistic, narrow understanding which has served as the foundation for U.S. foreign policy in Latin America, and has led to the destructive chaos in the Southern Western Hemisphere.

That mentality is reflected in Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick's suggestion that a "Marshall Plan" is needed to thwart Soviet-backed "subversion" in Central America. That puts the problems of Latin America solely in a U.S.-Soviet context.

It's indeed unfortunate that such a Latin American "expert" should think of cultural exchange and development aid only in terms of response to Cuban literacy programs and Soviet-supported fellowships.

It would appear that the Reagan Administration has decided since its beginning to offer unqualified support to any Latin regime, however repressive, so long as it is on "our" side. The New Republic of December 27, 1980 stated that, "To back repressive regimes on the far right would merely polarize situations always in danger of splitting between two extremes. It would make Marxist the only effective alternative to the extreme right and ensure that change, when it came, would be virulently anti-American. To this the Reaganites have an answer: In Central America the United States has the power to maintain its "friends" in power. Throughout this century every regime in the area has governed with Washington's blessing. They may have been brutal, repressive, and rapacious, but at least they were ours. We have the power to make sure there are compliant regimes in the area it is said. Why should we settle for anything less?"

The Reagan Administration is fully committed to this policy of "making friends through selling arms" As evidenced by its policy decision to expand its military



Reagan Latin American Policy and Hispanics
August 24, 1983
Page 2.

aid and arms sales abroad for FY 1983 and 1984. The Administration has indicated that they would not be indiscriminate but would "continue to assist friendly nations."

The result of present policy seems inevitable: The administration is seeking a military solution in Central America that would have Hispanic Americans in U.S. armed forces fighting in disproportionate numbers against our Latin brothers.

Hispanic Americans would be the first on the front lines to carry out this unrealistic and mistaken policy. And in view of the paranoia about undocumented workers, it is possible that under war conditions we could hear in the United States calls from the far right for internment camps for "Latin communists."

It is the obligation of United States decision makers to see that international law and our own laws are obeyed, that peaceful coexistence with our Southern neighbors is maintained, and that the lives of American citizens are protected. Continued failure to meet this obligation could mean war.

Despite the loss of 45,000 lives in the region and growing human tragedy, no policy changes are in sight. It is un-American to question or criticize this insane policy? I certainly hope not.



THE DEFENSE BUDGET, THE MILITARY AND HISPANICS

In proposing the largest peacetime military buildup in our history, the Administration would spend 1.2 trillion dollars over the next six years on the military. This means we will spend some \$36 million every hour for the next six years, costing a total of more than \$20,000 for every taxpayer in the United States. The Administration's defense budget appropriates \$263 billion for military expenses for fiscal year 1983, growing in increments up to \$408.4 billion for 1987. (PARADE MAGAZINE, September 19, 1982). These figures almost double and triple the \$142.211 billion authorized for 1980. (N.Y. TIMES, November 14, 1982). These dramatic increases in the defense budget sought, and up-until-now won, by the Reagan Administration during a period of increasing deficits, high unemployment, withdrawal of commitment from social programs, and recession have resulted in increasing controversy over defense spending.

President Reagan has stated that "the one prime responsibility of government is to protect the lives and freedom of its citizens. The budget we submitted and the budget figure we believed was the absolute minimum that was necessary to continue redressing our defensive capability, which had been allowed to deteriorate so badly in the previous decade." (WASHINGTON POST, March 30, 1983). Many argue, however, that the dramatic build up for high-cost, high-technology, highly destructive weapons is inefficient in terms of national security, employment and spending. For Hispanics President Reagan's defense program has meant increasing unemployment, high interest rates, a void in for federal programs addressing Hispanic needs, and an even worse outlook on the situation on Hispanics in the military.

National Security

The Pentagon is buying weapons at an accelerated rate: indeed, budget authority for weapons procurement is scheduled to go up from \$35.3 billion in 1980 to more than \$85 billion in 1983 -- more than doubling in three years. The cost of maintenance for these weapons will be very high and any reductions in spending will come from such areas as spare parts, operating expenses, ammunition, and military pay. An internal Pentagon report, prepared by Franklin Spinney, a civilian analyst for the Pentagon and a former air force pilot, found that high-technology arms create a form of "organizational cancer" and suggest that buying complex weapons may actually erode the combat readiness of U.S. forces. (THE COSTS AND CONSEQUENCES OF REAGAN'S MILITARY BUILDUP). Many also argue that strong



national security cannot be dependent upon massive nuclear weapons which are intended to serve as a threat and deterrent while never being used, but is as or perhaps more dependent on a strong economy, an educated population, equitable systems of social policy and defense, and a realistic and sensible foreign policy.

Hispanics and the Military

While President's defense program focuses on a nuclear buildup, in a more conventional national security sense, the picture for Hispanics in the military is not very promising. Hispanics have disproportionately shouldered their responsibility in the defense of the U.S., still they are not treated equally in advancement opportunity within the military. At a briefing for Hispanic leaders given by the Department of Defense, Dr. Lawrence J. Korb, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower, Reserve Affairs and Logistics, stated that the military branches satisfy vacancies in the offices corps primarily with college graduates. Hispanics unfortunately, have a high rate of educational drop outs and have been further limited in the educational opportunities by the Administration's policy towards higher education. While the Hispanic community boasts some 34 medal of Honor recipients, few Hispanics have input into the foreign policy which dictates life and death decisions to those who will carry out our foreign policy. Few Hispanics are employed in the State Department, the International Communication Agency and other foreign service agencies. Of those that are, a very small number are in influential positions or are appointed ambassadors.

Department of Defense statistics support our contention that Hispanics, despite their celebrated and historic contribution to the military effort, are neglected and overlooked in the promotion process.

Of a total of 224,965 commissioned and warrant officers in the Department of Defense 4,066 or 1.4% are Hispanics. Further, Hispanics comprise 4.0% or 72,970 of the overall total of 1,832,156 enlisted personnel. Hispanic women have fared no better, comprising 1.7% or 432 of the overall total of 25,833 commissioned and warrant female officers. Also Hispanic women make up 3.1% or 5,351 of the overall 170,124 enlisted personnel.

Employment

Military industry is capital intensive, meaning that military contractors tend to buy a lot of elaborate machinery instead of hiring people. Tax dollars which are spent on a high military budget and military technology are dollars which could have been spent on food, clothing and services, and, therefore, been fed into the economy. Also, a recent study by the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities of the Defense Budget Project shows that while over the past several years defense contractors have received dramatically larger amounts of money, the number of people they employ has decreased. Numerous sources, including the Congressional Research Service, show that more jobs are created throughout the economy when the Federal government engages in non-defense spending as opposed to



REAGONOMICS AND HISPANIC HEALTH

After much research, it is safe to say that the absence of any studies that address the impact of this Administration's cutbacks on Hispanics, in particular, is due to this Administration's preoccupied attitude on other issues which they feel are of more significance than health. It is important to note that this disinterest on health care services is for all low-income American families, and englobes Hispanics. So when health statistics become vague for the American public in general, you can be sure they are totally lost on Hispanics in particular. In an effort to counterrest this the Hispanic Health And Nutrition Examination Survey (HHNES) is the main source of future information, yet as significant as it is it was not fully endorsed by this Administration. The Administration reduced the scope of the survey by eliminating the city of Chicago from the original plans for the Survey, and the study on tuberculosis was eliminated.

The Administration's preoccupied attitude on other issues include:

- . Defense expenditures in fiscal 1983 have been increased by \$258 billion of 14.2% in an unprecedented peacetime military build-up. (The U.S. has already spent over \$2 trillion on the military since the end of WWII).

At the expense of:

- . Tragically, human resource programs were cut \$17.4 billion from: Education, Employment, and Training, Social Services and General Revenue Sharing, Health and Income Security.
- . The Women, Infants and Children Feeding Program (WIC) has already turned away 75,000 people since the Reagan policies began. (This are malnourished undernourished certified people of which an estimated 75% are Hispanics. (Certified by medical officials).
- . There are 556 soldiers but only 85 doctors per 100,000 people
- . While business in the military sector is booming, there are 500 million malnourished people.
- . For the needy, poor, unemployed and elderly, the cuts are terminating assistance that provided life's basic necessities for survival.

This Administration has had a devastating impact on farmworkers health care.

- . According to the DHHS estimates in 1981, the proposed block grants would lead to a reduction of 274,895 in the number of patients being served in in Migrant Health Clinics (MHC) An estimated 85%-90% of the Migrant Labor Force is Hispanic
 - . this includes a reduction of 1.3 million or 25% in the number of migrant and seasonal farmworker patients served in California, Texas, and Florida.

22
Reagonomics insensitivity to its low-income individuals and families moves them further away from the Administration policy of self-sufficiency,

defense spending. Hispanics, facing an unemployment rate of 13.8%, are especially hard hit by the fact that jobs created by defense spending tend to be high paid and highly skilled due to the ever advancing technology of weaponry. Hispanics generally do not have the advantage of having the necessary background or training for such high skilled jobs. Hispanics have one of the highest rates of educational drop outs and this Administration's policy towards educational programs has severely limited the means and opportunities for Hispanics to gain entry into institutions of higher education.

The Economy

The deficit created by high military spending increases interests rates and promises to prolong the recession and hamper the economy for years to come. Also, one buildup of new, high technology weapons will mean irreversible expenditures in procurement and maintenance for years to come. The Bipartisan Budget Appeal, founded by Former Secretaries of the Treasury Michael Blumenthal (1977-79), John B. Connally (1971-72), C. Douglas Dillon (1961-65), Henry H. Fowler (1965-68), William E. Simon (1974-76), and Secretary of Commerce Peter G. Peterson (1972-72) published a two-full-page advertisement in the in the NEW YORK TIMES of April 6, 1983 in which they say, "We feel that in a time of severe fiscal strain, the Administration has a duty to justify (defense) programs in . . . terms (of clear and realistic defense goals and missions) and that, if adequate justifications are not forthcoming, appropriate reductions in the rate of growth of defense investment and spending must be given serious considerations." Another area of fiscal concern is that of waste in the defense budget. Budget Director David Stockman himself said that the Pentagon is "a swamp of 10-20-30 billion dollars waste."

The Nuclear Freeze

LULAC has taken the position that a budget agenda based on the accumulations of nuclear and high-technology weapons contributes to the fear of nuclear war, is fiscally unsound, detracts from much needed social programs, and exacerbates the unemployment problem in general, but especially with regard to Hispanics. LULAC National has taken the position that such an accumulation does not build a national security, but rather international security. Nuclear weapons are not military forces. Former Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird said that nuclear weapons "may be important for political purposes, but they are useless for military purposes," (WASHINGTON POST, Monday, April 11, 1982). They can only offer the ultimate and incomprehensible option of nuclear war. In view of this, the LULAC National Executive Board passed a resolution in support of a mutual and verifiable freeze on the testing, production, and employment of nuclear weapons and their carriers, and LULAC joined the Citizens Against Nuclear War (CAN), which is composed of fifty two national trade union, professional, civil rights, and civil liberties, religious, and environmental membership organizations.

END

8/23/83

PAGE 2

- . The lack of adequate health care increases the chances that individuals will depend upon public assistance and other public support programs.
- . Poor health increases the chances that individuals will suffer from chronic, debilitating illnesses
- . Many of the nation's 1.5 million farmworkers work for less than the minimum wage rarely earn enough to pull themselves out of their poverty-stricken living conditions, where toilets, drinking water and a place where they can wash their hands

It has been through the Congress that Community Health Centers (CHC) and Migrant Health Clinics (MHC) have been rescued to reach the health needed individuals.

- . HR1718 (Continuing Resolution) - \$70 million was appropriated for CHC and Maternal Health Care
- . Emergency appropriations PL 98-8, referred to as the Jobs Bill of March 24, 1983 - \$65 million allotted to CHC, MHC, Health Insurance, WIK Programs, and Home Health Care
 - . PL 98-8 Con. Res. - \$14 million have been made available for new CHC and for expanding CHC already available

In FY 81, DHHS regional offices awarded grants for the operation of 128 migrant health center in 30 States and Puerto Rico. These 128 centers provided health services to 557,000 of the approximately 800,000 migrant and 1,9 million seasonal farmworkers and family members in the United States.

Most older Hispanics feel themselves cut off from the cultural norms and language of those who make most of the decisions affecting their welfare. The 1980 national needs assessment of Hispanic elderly, conducted by the National Association of Spanish-Speaking Elderly, showed that 76 percent reported a need for social services.

- . Despite this high need, 40 percent of older Hispanics use no social services.
- . More than 1,200 Spanish-speaking participated in the above mentioned assessment and testified that the Medicare/Medicaid program is inadequate.

The fear of mistrust of hospitals deters them from seeking needed care.

- . Transportation to clinics or the doctor is often not available.
- . Lack of nutrition centers is a health problem.
- . Lack of bilingual/bicultural personnel further impedes older Hispanics' access to health care.

GEORGE BUSH
7TH DISTRICT, TEXAS

MEMBER:
WAYS AND MEANS
COMMITTEE

WASHINGTON OFFICE:
LONGWORTH HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING

DISTRICT OFFICE:
FEDERAL OFFICE BUILDING
HOUSTON, TEXAS 77002

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

February 3, 1968

Mr. William J. Flores
308 Buena Vista
El Paso, Texas 79905

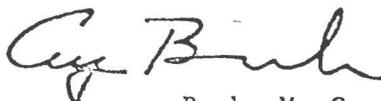
Dear Mr. Flores:

I have been giving considerable thought to the matter of helping Mexican Americans in Texas and I am enclosing a four point program that I feel is at least a step in the right direction.

Individually and as a community, this large segment of the population of our state is essentially law-abiding and family-oriented and, yet seems to have been forgotten. It is apparent to me that these Texans are becoming increasingly more interested in evolving their own futures. I want to be part of helping them make a better life for themselves.

I feel strongly about this program and I feel sure that my party will help in the implementation of it. I would welcome your comments or criticism, particularly if they would lend themselves to needed legislation at this level.

Very truly yours,


George Bush, M. C.

Enclosure

"FOR THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN TEXAN - A FUTURE OF FAIR PLAY AND PROGRESS"

George Bush, M. C.

I. PREJUDICE

Vast strides have been made toward the elimination of prejudice in Texas, but where pockets of this ugliness continue to thrive, we must battle to wipe them out. Much can be done in the schools - not just in those which have Mexican-American students, but in all Texas schools. Much can be done in political campaigns and in the conduct of local and state governments.

Recommendation 1:

The elimination of prejudice is principally a by-product of education and with it a development of our innate sense of fair play; however, we must:

Encourage all schools to stress the importance of Latin America to our own global welfare and to emphasize the contribution that has been made by Mexican-Americans in our state. Emphasize their stability of family, their respect for law, their service to country. There is an important and dramatic story here of timely importance as all citizens worry about civil disorder and the war.

Wipe out any vestiges of discriminatory statutes at the local and state level.

II. EDUCATION

We must take a fresh look at the educational problems that face our Spanish-speaking citizens. Though school systems in the United States must be oriented towards our history, our culture, and our language, we should push for a flexibility that recognizes the very special problems of our Mexican-Americans. Only a small part of this problem can be solved in Washington - most of it relates to state and local answers.

Recommendation 2: Federal Level

We should push for adoption of bi-lingual education bill introduced by me and others in the House of Representatives. This will supply federal funds to the states earmarked to help more at the earlier stages through:

- 1) Bi-lingual education programs
- 2) Teaching in Spanish as well as English
- 3) Programs to teach students a pride in their ancestral culture and language
- 4) Efforts to attract teachers of Mexican descent

Strengthen Head-Start and other "early bird" programs which through early education help the child keep up when he gets to regular classes.

Recommendation 2: State Level

We should implement the recommendations found above as much as possible at the state level. Curriculum changes and teacher employment should be a goal of state and local leaders.

It is essential that we recognize the long-range benefits that can accrue to Texas through increased productivity and reduced welfare by affording better education to our Mexican-American citizens.

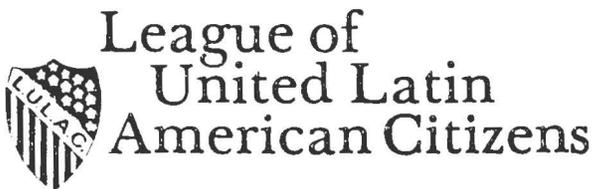
LULAC

LULAC ISSUES BRIEF BOOK

LULAC NATIONAL CONVENTION
DETROIT, MICHIGAN



PREPARED BY
LULAC NATIONAL STAFF
JUNE 29, 1983



Office of National President
TONY BONILLA

Dear LULAC Members:

Enclosed you will find information on national issues of major concern to the Hispanic community. It is provided to you in keeping with the continued efforts of my administration to politically educate LULAC members and the Hispanic community. We continue to believe that the more politically educated and aware our community is, the more prepared and effective we will be in influencing the decisions which shape the situation of Hispanics in this country and the futures of our children.

I would like to emphasize that this information is to be used by us and is to be shared with other interested groups who are as concerned as we are in insuring that Hispanics and others are not ignored. We provide this material consistent with our non-partisan ideals and urge all concerned to utilize it to further educate Hispanics throughout the country. Again, it is not intended, nor has it been developed with any partisanship in mind. It's purpose is to educate and to stimulate community action with your Congressional representatives.

In closing, it is important to recognize the major attention given to the 1980's being coined the "Decade of the Hispanic". Despite our phenomenal population growth we lack political participation. Whether we truly can make this decade ours remains in our hands and in our ability to provide direction. LULAC and it's national membership must respond with more vigor and commitment than in our previous history. The challenge has been made, we must now act.

Sincerely,

Tony Bonilla



An Independent Political
Education Arm of the
League of United Latin
American Citizens

IMMIGRATION LEGISLATION

Perhaps the major legislative battle facing Hispanics and other ethnic minority groups in the next 30 years is immigration reform legislation Simpson/Mazzoli, S. 529/H.R. 1510. The reason for this concern is based on the outright discriminatory consequences of this legislation and its faulty design aimed at stopping the flow of undocumented workers to the U.S. This bill and its major proponents have chosen to simplify the issue by contending that passage of this Bill would effectively stymie the flow of the undocumented. In order to secure the support of the general public these proponents have chosen to make the undocumented the scapegoats for high unemployment, contend that their presence is a threat to American values and lifestyle and that their numbers in the U.S. could divide American society.

This attitude and effort has major far reaching implications for all Hispanics and American society for the next 30 years when reform could take place again. These implications have and will affect our civil rights, economic livelihood, education, housing and other aspects of our daily life, which will result in greater problems in our effort to become part of mainstream American society.

What follows is an analysis of the bill passed by the Senate and the various versions of the bill now in the House. Also, we have included:

1. Los Angeles Times editorial written by LULAC,
2. Press release on Senate,
3. News articles opposing bill.

YEAS-29

Armstrong	Glenn	Melcher
Bentsen	Hart	Metzenbaum
Biden	Hatch	Moynihan
Bingaman	Inouye	Packwood
Boren	Johnston	Riegle
Boschwitz	Kennedy	Sarbanes
Bradley	Lautenberg	Specter
Cranston	Leahy	Tower
Durenberger	Levin	Weicker
Exon	Matsunaga	

NAYS-59

Abdnor	Hecht	Pressler
Andrews	Heflin	Proxmire
Baucus	Heinz	Pryor
Burdick	Helms	Quayle
Byrd	Huddleston	Randolph
Chiles	Humphrey	Roth
Cochran	Jackson	Rudman
Cohen	Jepsen	Sasser
D'Amato	Kasten	Simpson
Denton	Laxalt	Stafford
Dixon	Long	Stennis
Dodd	Lugar	Stevens
Dole	Mathias	Symms
Eagleton	Mattlingly	Thurmond
East	McClure	Trible
Garn	Mitchell	Tsongas
Gorton	Murkowski	Wallop
Grassley	Nickles	Warner
Hatfield	Nunn	Zorinsky
Hawkins	Percy	

NOT VOTING-12

Baker	DeConcini	Hollings
Bumpers	Domenici	Kassebaum
Chafee	Ford	Pell
Danforth	Goldwater	Wilson

Cranston Amendment

This amendment would have provided for some judicial review of an applicant denied legalization. Specifically, this amendment would have reflected the House version which combines appeals of final deportation order with denials of legalization application. Due to defeat, the Senate version allows for no administrative review or judicial review of such denial. Senator Simpson argued that no one has the right now, to appeal visa application denials made aboard so why make this available to those seeking legalization, he stated, "We are not dealing with U.S. citizens,... "To provide judicial review from an extraordinary act of grace... I feel would simply overwhelm the court system." This would not have been the consequence of this amendment.

YEAS-20

Biden	Lautenberg	Packwood
Bingaman	Leahy	Pell
Boschwitz	Levin	Riegle
Cranston	Matsunaga	Sarbanes
Glenn	Melcher	Specter
Inouye	Metzenbaum	Weicker
Kennedy	Moynihan	

NAYS-75

Abdnor	Exon	Mitchell
Andrews	Ford	Murkowski
Armstrong	Garn	Nickles
Baker	Goldwater	Nunn
Baucus	Gorton	Percy
Bentsen	Grassley	Pressler
Boren	Hatch	Proxmire
Bradley	Hatfield	Pryor
Bumpers	Hawkins	Quayle
Burdick	Hecht	Randolph
Byrd	Heinz	Roth
Chafee	Helms	Rudman
Chiles	Huddleston	Sasser
Cochran	Humphrey	Simpson
Cohen	Jackson	Stennis
D'Amato	Jepsen	Stevens
Danforth	Johnston	Symms
Denton	Kassebaum	Thurmond
Dixon	Kasten	Tower
Dodd	Laxalt	Trible
Dole	Long	Tsongas
Domenici	Lugar	Wallop
Durenberger	Mathias	Warner
Eagleton	Mattlingly	Wilson
East	McClure	Zorinsky

NOT VOTING-5

DeConcini	Heflin	Stafford
Hart	Hollings	

House

The following is a brief analysis of the major amendments and provisions of H.R. 1510 - Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1983. The bill was marked-up and unanimously approved by the House Subcommittee on Immigration, Refugees, and International Law on April 6, and full Judiciary Committee May 5, 1983. It has not been formally scheduled for final floor action but it is expected that action will take place sometime before August recess.

Analysis: H.R. 1510

Employer Sanctions and Enforcement

- Kindness Amendment

Requires employers to keep information on persons hired only after they have been cited for hiring undocumented. Prior to being cited all paperwork is voluntary.

LULAC Comments

This amendment was accepted by Representative Mazzoli and full Committee Chairman Rodino in order to secure the endorsement of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce for the bill. Again, we see efforts being made to address the paperwork concerns of employers while willing to ignore the discriminatory concerns of Hispanics and other groups. In fact, Representative Mazzoli went as far to state that the bill was not an anti-discriminatory bill but unfortunately concessions have been made on behalf of employers. This amendment should be stricken from the bill during House floor action.

- Lungren Amendment

Amendment would emphasize that unions who refer individuals for employment would be held responsible if person is undocumented. This was done to absolve growers who are referred union members by agricultural unions.

- Mazzoli Amendment

Amendment requires state and employment agencies to maintain documents verifying legal status for new hires.

LULAC Comments

The Lungren amendment is clearly in the interest of protecting the employer. Unfortunately, no one has been as forthcoming with amendments aimed at protecting the worker from discrimination due to employer sanctions.

- McCollum Amendment

Amendment would exempt growers from having to have documentation of worker(s) for 36 hours. In other words, growers need not to be concerned with keeping documentation of those persons they hire for 36 hours and have no fear of being held liable.

LULAC Comments

This amendment creates a major loophole for agricultural growers for they can continue to hire undocumented workers every 36 hour cycle. In other words, because there is no documentation being kept, a grower can simply continue to hire the same person over and over. This loophole is in keeping with the interest of Congress which usually does what it has to do to accommodate grower interests. This amendment is insulting and a major contradiction to the claims of wanting to stop undocumented from entering the U.S. and taking U.S. citizen jobs. It appears that Congress is willing to be aggressive in trying to stop the population movements to the U.S. but is willing to make exceptions if these people will work and not remain.

- Mazzoli Amendment

Amendment increases budget for Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) for enforcement and service approximately \$500 million over the next three years.

1983	increase of \$35 million
1984	increase of \$400 million
1985	increase of \$718,553,000
1986	increase of \$763,568,000

LULAC Comments

This increase would allow for some 1,187 new Border Patrol agents in addition to the existing 2866. While some have advocated for increased enforcement in an effort to avoid having employer sanctions and interior enforcement, no increase in INS enforcement should be allowed unless

the President is instructed to develop a permanent system of employment verification. We regard this as a national I.D. system for eventually local law enforcement and others will use this card to ascertain legitimate status in the U.S. It will result in abuse and harassment of American citizens.

With this amendment the opportunity is given to discuss the pros and cons of developing and implementing a permanent employment verification system which we believe will become a national I.D.

An additional issue which has received little attention has been the substantial cost which will result from the establishment of employment verification system. Various proponents have advocated a phone bank system which would require employers to phone in employee I.D. numbers for employment verification. These and other proposed concepts all pose serious privacy problems as well as high costs and logistical difficulties which make it safe to say that any system will probably create more problems than solve any.

Congressman Sam Hall (D. TX) has repeatedly introduced an amendment which would state the sense of Congress to have local and state law enforcement participate and cooperate with the INS in the enforcement of immigration law. We have been able to defeat these efforts every time but unfortunately, we expect him to introduce the amendment again on the House floor.

The Hispanic community has had an extremely poor experience and relationship with local law enforcement without their being involved in enforcing immigration law. Unfortunately, many rural law enforcement units are not provided adequate training and professionalism. These problems also appear to be a reality for certain large urban centers due to revenue reductions in local law enforcement. This situation, coupled with poor relations with Hispanics and no knowledge nor responsibility for dealing with immigration matters would indicate that the role of local law enforcement in this area should be minimized as much as possible. Their involvement has often times resulted in major violations of Hispanic civil and constitutional rights. The Community Relations Service (CRS) of the Department of Justice which deals with police-community relations has indicated that major problems have and do arise between ethnic communities and police, when immigration matters are handled by local law enforcement.

H-2 Program

The House Subcommittee by a Mazzoli-Lungren amendment has created a transitional temporary guestworker program which will allow all undocumented workers to participate whether or not they qualify for legalization. It is a three year program in which a grower can use 100% of all workers he selects, the first year, 65% the second year, and 33% the third year. A grower only has to inform the U.S.

LULAC Comments

While we regard the Frank amendment as positive and improving the bill, the 5-year restriction will create significant problems for if a person has been here 10 years and has never drawn any federal benefits and has paid taxes, owns property, been employed, and becomes unemployed during the 5 years, he or she cannot draw any assistance despite having contributed to assistance funds. The 5-year restriction was increased from 4 years which was the standard after subcommittee mark-up. This is not equitable and will result in many undocumented being discouraged from coming forward and identifying themselves. Furthermore, there is a major problem which will arise from those who do come forward and are denied assistance, their alternatives then become few, if any.

LULAC National will try and introduce an amendment which takes into consideration the need factor and the contributions made by the undocumented in order to minimize this harsh and inequitable restrictions.

Technical amendment indicates that an applicant for legalization is required to be PHYSICALLY PRESENT in the United States. The importance of this amendment is as follows: an alien OUTSIDE the United States, who may technically have "continuous residence" prior to the cut-off date(s), whatever be (or it is), without this amendment, might have a legal "right" to apply for legalization.

LULAC Comments

This is an extremely ridiculous amendment which is very restrictive and unnecessary. It is clearly designed to minimize levels of participation in the legalization program; LULAC will move to strike this amendment.

A.S.T.

amt

There is very little opposition to this bill for many groups have begun to prepare themselves for participating in the legalization program. Therefore, it is absolutely incumbent on LULAC and other organizations opposing this bill to aggressively pursue our efforts to stop this bill. We must inform our Congresspersons of our views and our concern that they oppose this legislation.

Amendments and Conference Committee

Should we be unable to stop this legislation we will be advocating for amendments to be approved on the House floor dealing with employer sanctions, H-2 labor protections, and legalization. These amendments will do the following:

Hawkins Amendments - despite this amendment carrying provisions which will strengthen employer sanctions, it also carries anti-discrimination provisions which we have long fought for in Congress. The amendment is not ideal nor is it what we prefer, nonetheless, it does provide a system of redress against discrimination.

Miller Amendments - attempts to insure that U.S. citizens, residents will receive first opportunity for jobs in the agriculture industry, while also insuring proper labor standards and protections for foreign and domestic agriculture workers. Also provides for increased enforcement.

Legalization amendments - amendments will be developed to insure that the legalization program is improved and provides for equitable treatment of persons wishing to legalize.

What makes this whole effort somewhat futile is the concern that there are no guarantees that amendments we support will, in fact, remain in the bill when the House and Senate (conference committee) get together to settle the differences in the bills they have passed. Therefore, it is better to defeat this bill and avoid such sensitive, complex, and risky negotiations. We must aggressively oppose this bill.

These provisions raise a number of issues. Included are what will be the fate of undocumented aliens who fall outside the cut-off dates or cannot prove that they satisfy other eligibility requirements? What kinds of proof will be required of applicants? What is the likely effect on rates of participation of a two-tiered (Senate) or one-tiered (House) approach? Will a \$100 minimum application fee prevent participation of persons who are otherwise eligible?

B. Duration of Program and Anticipated Rates of Participation

Both the House and Senate bills provide for a three month education period, followed by a twelve month period for the filing of applications. INS assumes that under a 1980 cut-off date, 2.3 million may come forward. Many are concerned, however, that if even a small number of applicants are rejected and deported during the early stages of the program, then others may be substantially deterred from participation. Many local organizations argue that the 15 month implementation period will not prove adequate, while others argue that the longer the period the greater the danger of fraud.

The experience of other Western democracies which recently have undertaken legalization programs underscores concerns about limited participation. In France, Canada and Australia, less than 25% of those expected actually participated. Such low turnouts have been explained by fear of deportation, confusion regarding eligibility requirements, limited participation by community organizations trusted by the undocumented, and inadequate resources for outreach and counseling.

C. Outreach, Processing of Applications and Safeguards

Current INS implementation plans provide for educational campaigns undertaken by both INS and private organizations. A range of issues are undecided, including the content of advertising and outreach materials, what private organizations will receive contracts, and the extent to which local groups trusted by the undocumented will be willing and/or able to participate in outreach activities.

Current plans also provide for the establishment of "intake" centers in approximately 90 cities around the country. INS will contract with "qualified organizations" to run such intake centers. Contracts may be limited to non-profit groups with demonstrated experience in INS processing type activities. Current expectations are that such organizations shall receive \$15 per application accepted. INS generally has agreed that its personnel will not be stationed at intake centers, but this remains an area of some controversy. INS is now considering giving intake organizations options regarding INS presence, and increasing the per capita grant to groups which allow INS on site.

Although subject to changes, it is now expected that applications received will be adjudicated in one central INS office, which will notify

There is also uncertainty about the extent to which legal representation and other advocacy services will be available to undocumented aliens who may wish to apply for legalization. Under current law the Legal Services Corporation is prohibited from providing representation to the undocumented. Voluntary agencies and some other organizations have some experience or capacity, but are troubled by conflict of interest issues if they also participate in the intake functions outlined above. Immigration attorneys can provide assistance, but most will charge fees which many undocumented may be unable to afford. The private bar has some capacity to provide pro bono assistance or free legal services, but as yet there has been no concerted effort to organize such a project.

Should Congress enact a legalization program, it will represent a one-time opportunity to bring within the protection of the law unknown millions of undocumented aliens residing in the United States. It is of critical importance that the program be conceived and carried out in as effective a manner as possible. The issues and uncertainties outlined above, however, raise questions about the ability of the system to achieve this objective, and maximize the participation of those persons who are eligible.

F. Possible Activities to Improve Implementation

(1) Collection and Dissemination of Information. A project could be designed to collect and disseminate to a wide range of organizations information regarding legislative proposals, implementation planning, the development of INS regulations and operating instructions which will govern their personnel, contract provisions and negotiations, the identification of processing sites, the delineation of roles of national, regional and local organizations, and other matters relevant to the structure and implementation of a legalization program. The project would also gather information regarding the concerns and ideas of locally-based organizations, federal agencies and Congressional offices.

(2) Briefings, Mediation and Planning Meetings. With the involvement of INS and others, a project could be designed to convene regular briefings and meetings in Washington and regional centers to facilitate the direct exchange of ideas and enhance participation by a wider range of communities in the policy and planning process. Target cities for regional meetings include Los Angeles, San Francisco, Phoenix, Denver, El Paso, Houston, Chicago, Boston, New York, Miami and Washington. The purpose of these meetings would include the identification of locally-based groups which may have the capacity and interest to participate directly in implementing legalization, to challenge such organizations to effectively coordinate their activities, and to build better communication networks among various regions.

(3) Establishment of Local, Regional and National Legalization Task Forces. Another project could establish a series of task forces around the country to facilitate communication and coordination efforts. These task forces might be challenged to monitor and evaluate the legali-

LULAC



PRESS RELEASE

League of United Latin American Citizens
FOUNDED 1927 INCORPORATED 1953

OFFICE OF: Arnold Torres
202/628-8516

DATE: May 18, 1983

Anticipating passage of S. 529--Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1983 by the Senate today, May 18, 1983, Arnold Torres, National Executive Director of the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), this country's oldest and largest Hispanic organization, stated, "The Senate has chosen to support poor and clearly discriminatory legislation, and has failed to comprehend the complex reasons for population movements. It has made a conscious decision to apply quick-fix approaches to problems which have developed over decades, and to which this country has contributed." Torres was referring to the long-established practice of the United States to encourage and stimulate flows of undocumented workers to provide cheap labor to U.S. economy since the 1900's, and to the consequences of a foreign policy in the Western hemisphere which has been instrumental in creating many of the push factors which now result in major flows of people to the United States.

Torres believes that the legislation in its final form will do very little to seriously decrease the flow of undocumented persons to the U.S. while presenting major government-sanctioned discrimination and exploitation. He stated, "The Senate failed once again to provide any protections or redress for employment discrimination. We recognize that this bill is to discriminate against undocumented workers but the Senate has chosen to discriminate against all persons with certain physical and linguistic characteristics." Torres was extremely concerned with the inclusion of a transitional temporary worker's program which contradicts the interest of stymieing the flow of undocumented workers. Torres said that, "This country continues to want cheap labor at any cost, and if they are Hispanic, there is no need to protect their rights as human beings and workers. The Senate has contradicted itself by satisfying the insatiable appetite of the agricultural industry for cheap Mexican labor. They have shown that exceptions can be made."

In closing, Torres emphasized that LULAC and the Hispanic community has not, and will not, advocate that nothing be done to address the immigration issue. However, it cannot be part of a legislative effort which is short-sighted and discriminatory. "S. 529 is not immigration reform, is not a compromise, nor is it honest. It is a desperate attempt to address a major issue which requires more patience, honesty, intelligence and pragmatism. It is difficult to anticipate that this bill can in any way quell the uneasiness that pushes people to the shores of this country. We had hoped that Congress would not settle for 'something better than nothing,' for there are more realistic approaches which would have had a more long-range effect and would have provided fair treatment to all."

SENATE APPROVES IMMIGRATION BILL WITH HIRING CURB

FOCUS ON ILLEGAL ALIENS

Measure, Passed by 76-18, Is
Backed by Administration
and Goes to the House

By ROBERT PEAR

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 18 — The Senate today passed a comprehensive immigration bill that would, among other things, outlaw the hiring of illegal aliens and offer amnesty to more than a million people now in the country illegally.

The final vote on the bill was 76 to 18. The Senate passed a similar bill last August by a vote of 80 to 19, but the bill died in the House.

The Reagan Administration generally supports the legislation, having made similar proposals itself. The bill, sponsored by Senator Alan K. Simpson, Republican of Wyoming, is designed to curtail unlawful immigration by denying jobs to illegal aliens, which is presumed to be their main reason for coming to the United States. The bill now goes to the House, where similar legislation is awaiting a floor vote.

Need Seen to 'Control Borders'

Senator Simpson said the legislation was needed because "the first duty of a sovereign nation is to control its borders, and we don't."

The bill sets a scale of fines and prison terms for employers who knowingly hire illegal aliens. Employers would be required to ask job applicants for documents verifying they are either citizens or aliens with work permits.

In its report on the bill, the Senate Judiciary Committee stressed it was "most emphatically not requiring or permitting the development of an 'internal passport' or 'national I.D. card.'"

Move to End Quirk in Law

At present, Mr. Simpson said, "It's legal for an employer to hire an illegal alien, but it's illegal for the illegal alien to work." He said his bill was aimed at ending this anomaly, which he described as "an extraordinary departure from sanity."

Federal immigration and census officials estimate that one million to two million illegal aliens might qualify for amnesty under the bill. Illegal aliens who entered the United States before Jan. 1, 1977, could immediately become legal permanent residents and after five years, could apply for citizenship.

Illegal aliens who arrived from Jan. 1, 1977, to Dec. 31, 1979, could obtain legal status as "temporary residents" and, after three years they could become permanent residents.

However, illegal aliens who arrived after 1979 would not be eligible for the amnesty and could still be subject to deportation under the existing law. The House bill is more liberal in this regard and sets Jan. 1, 1982, as the cutoff date for aliens seeking legal status.

Attorney General William French

IMMIGRATION BILL PASSED BY SENATE

Continued From Page A1

Smith said, "The Administration applauds this historic Senate action and notes that House action is not far behind." However, he added, "We do have significant concern regarding the House version's overgenerous legalization program."

The Senate report on the Simpson bill says it would make the biggest change in the immigration law since 1952, when the McCarran-Walter Act established the basic rules for admitting and excluding aliens. Congress amended the law in 1965 to abolish "national origin" quotas that favored European immigrants.

Under the Simpson bill, an employer would be subject to a civil penalty of \$1,000 for each illegal alien hired. After the first offense, the penalty would be increased to \$2,000 for each illegal alien. In addition, the bill says that a "pattern or practice" of such violations would be a crime, for which the employer could be imprisoned for six months and fined \$1,000.

Business groups such as the Chamber of Commerce of the United States have opposed penalizing employers, saying this would shift the burden of enforcing the immigration law from the Government to private industry, making businessmen into policemen.

G. John Tysse, director of labor law for the Chamber, said tonight that the Senate bill would create a "paperwork nightmare for small business." The Chamber prefers the House Judiciary Committee's bill, under which record keeping is optional until an employer is found to have illegal aliens in his work force.

Search Warrant Amendment

By a vote of 62 to 33, the Senate today approved an amendment to require immigration agents to obtain search warrants before entering open fields to seize people whom they believe to be illegal aliens. Senator James A. McClure, Republican of Idaho, who offered the amendment, said the search warrants should be required for open fields just as they were for other places of employment.

The Senate also approved an amendment offered by Senator Alfonse M. D'Amato, Republican of New York, that would require the Government to reimburse the states for the cost of holding illegal aliens in prison. Mr. D'Amato said that there were more than 4,000 illegal aliens in prisons across the country.

Arnold Torres, executive director of the League of United Latin American Citizens, said that Hispanic groups opposed the bill because they feared it would lead to an increase in employment discrimination against Hispanic Americans.

The final obstacle to Senate passage was removed this afternoon when Mr. Simpson and Senator Edward M. Kennedy, Democrat of Massachusetts, reached a compromise to preserve legal protections for aliens. The compromise permits full judicial review of deportation, exclusion and asylum cases in the Federal Court of Appeals.

Morton H. Halperin of the American Civil Liberties Union said his organization "supports the compromise and believes that it is an improvement over the House bill" in most respects.

The Senate also agreed on an amendment to allow some foreign students with advanced degrees to stay in the United States while they applied for visas.

In other floor action, the Senate approved a \$35 million contingency fund to deal with immigration emergencies such as the migration of more than 120,000 Cubans to Florida in 1980.



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MEDIA

A major issue which LULAC has undertaken in 1983 has been the effort to correct the manner in which America's media industry cover Hispanics. The continued defamation and neglect of Hispanics by the media has perhaps become the greatest impediment to our community participating in Americas mainstream. While some progress has been made in sensitizing the media industry, a great deal of work must be done before real progress can be made. Affirmative action behind and in front camera, increased news coverage of Hispanics, and improved editorial coverage are issues which the media must respond to favorably.

LULAC Media Watch

In order to bring about the desired changes our community must begin to work with the media industry, as well as to apply appropriate pressure should there be a reluctance to undertake necessary improvements. It is with this in mind that National President Tony Bonilla instructed LULAC State Directors to urge local councils to form local media watch committees which are designed to work with local media, electronic and printed, to improve relations with the Hispanic community. We encourage a positive and constructive approach; however, should this prove ineffective, local committees must consider applying appropriate pressure to bring about improvements.

Electronic Media

The League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) filed a class action commissioner's charge with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) against the major television networks, movie studios and advertising agencies in October of 1982. Since that time, Mr. Tony Bonilla, LULAC National President and other LULAC officials have met with numerous network and other media officials, including a meeting with the vice-presidents of ABC, NBC, and CBS in San Diego last December.

A recent survey by the Screen Actors Guild (SAG) titled, "Minority Casting Summary Report," revealed statistics which support LULAC's contention that Hispanics face discrimination when attempting to break into the entertainment industry.

Although Hispanics are few in the technical positions within the networks studios and advertising agencies, the SAG study focuses on the number of minorities casted for acting roles. For a 15-month period from July 1, 1981 through September 1982, Hispanics received less than 3% of all acting roles in motion pictures and dramatic primetime television.

Although Hispanics comprise an estimated 6.4% of the U.S. population, as of 1980 only 3% of SAG's membership is Hispanic. Only seven SAG Hispanic actors and/or actresses earned more than \$50,000 in 1980, and only 19 earned more than \$25,000, compared to the 931 white actors/actresses who topped \$25,000 that year.

Hispanic women are the hardest hit, achieving only 1.6% of all leading roles available to women; however, nearly 6.3% of the U.S. female population is Hispanic.

The issue of Hispanics and the media is crucial to the way Hispanics are viewed nationally because of the stereotyping which takes place on television. LULAC is urging the EEOC to process the complaining as soon as possible so that the attention of the networks, studios and advertising agencies will be given to hiring Hispanics for key administrative, technical, and acting positions so that the misconception some Americans have of the Hispanic community will be rectified because of the talent and diversity this community possesses.

Public Television

The Public Broadcasting Services (PBS) prides itself as providing equality television programming. It is funded by the federal government and private contributions and produces programs which provide a more in-depth and wider perspective of issues. It does not however, have any better record of creating opportunities or employing Hispanics. According to its April 21, 1982 projected employment statistics, the overall number of 233 employees represents 123 females, 52 blacks, and only 4 persons of the "other minority" status.

Printed Media

A majority of America's newspapers continue their "benign neglect" of Hispanics and minorities. Figures collected in a 1982 survey commissioned by the American Society of Newspaper Editors Fund that only 1.3% of the reporters and editors working on the nation's general circulation dailies are Hispanic. Other findings by this survey include:

- Minority employment continues to progress in daily newspapers, but the rate of progress is slowing.

<u>Wall Street Journal</u> (continued)	<u>Total</u>	<u>Total About Hispanics</u>	<u>Total by Hispanics</u>
Signed Editorial Page articles	188	0	0
Letters to the Editor	<u>374</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>6</u>
TOTAL	662	4	6
 <u>Los Angeles Times</u>			
Editorials (unsigned)	270	4	N/A
Signed Editorial Page articles	415	5	6
Letters to the Editor	<u>941</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>11</u>
TOTAL	1004	9	7

The Annenberg School indicates that "underrepresentation means restricted scope of action, stereotyped roles, diminished life changes, and undervaluation ranging from relative neglect to symbolic annihilation." The impact of this condition results in the development of generations which are made to see a world through T.V. which is comprised of primarily non-Hispanics/Minorities: truly a major deception.

In view of these statistics we can easily see the need to undertake an aggressive campaign to insure that the media in the U.S. ceases its defamation and neglect of Hispanics.

It made the judgments and laid down the rules on who qualified as American, and I never challenged it

— Tony Bonilla

Reader's Digest taught a lot, but was it fair?

• Tony Bonilla, of Corpus Christi, Tex., is national president of the League of United Latin American Citizens, the nation's largest Hispanic organization. Hispanic Link assembles and distributes commentary by the top Hispanic writers and experts from across the nation.

TONY BONILLA
Hispanic Link

Back in the central Texas town of Calvert, every month there used to be a Bonilla family scramble when the mailman brought us the Reader's Digest. It was our guidebook. It provided us with role models. With distinct, clear lines, it separated the world's good people from the corrupt, barbaric and slowly.

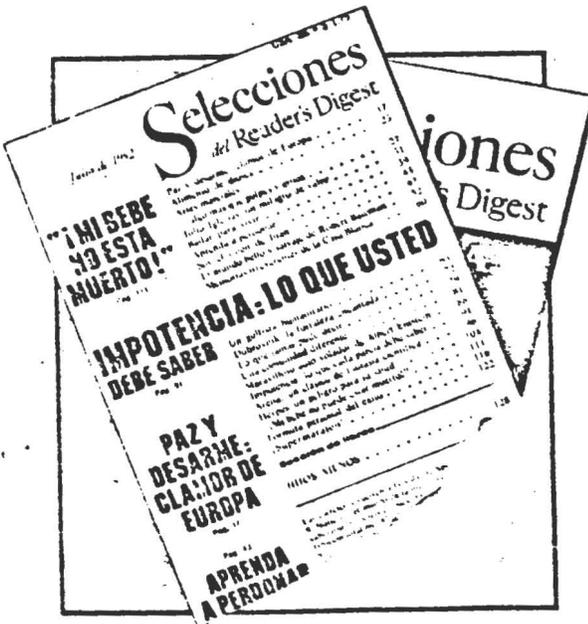
To me, the little magazine was especially important as I advanced into my teen years. As soon as I got hold of it, I would retreat to my bedroom, close the door, prop a pillow behind me on the bed, and start reading.

It introduced me to America's leaders, its rich and compassionate families. It increased my word power. It taught me to spot the world's political and criminal menaces and to relate to the joys and humor of Life in These United States, things which weren't always easy to identify in a town where the barber wouldn't cut our hair because we were "Mexican."

I was one of Ruben and Maria Bonilla's eight children. My father owned a service station. He and my mother pushed us constantly to improve our minds, to respect knowledge. And there it was, conveniently packaged in the Reader's Digest.

We chicanos lived with the blacks on the west side of town, but we crossed the tracks to go to the white school. That gave me an additional motive to read the Digest. The anglo kids read it and quoted it with great authority. I wanted to be accepted as an equal by them. "I'm one of you," I wanted them to know.

I never dared to correct them when they, or my teachers, called me Bonilla, as in vanilla, instead of my real name,



New citizens learned the American way from Reader's Digest — but was the magazine damaging cultural identities?

Bow-KNEE-yah. As you grow up, sometimes you permit the community to define you, rather than to define yourself. You allow yourself to be transformed from who you really are into what the community thinks you ought to be.

Such was my relationship with the Reader's Digest. It made the judgments and laid down the rules on who qual-

ified as American, and I never challenged it. It wasn't until later, much later, that I realized the insidious impact it was having on me and thousands of other Americans who happen to have an Hispanic heritage.

With an advertised circulation of 31 million, the Reader's Digest is the nation's largest general circulation maga-

zine. Probably more than any other. It influences our attitudes and views as a people. If it ignores Hispanic Americans, millions may assume that we don't exist. If it says we're bad for America, a lot of other Americans will accept that.

Working with Robert Gnauda, who heads the San Francisco-based public interest law firm, Public Advocates, we had a researcher comb hundreds of Reader's Digest copies to ascertain whether there are patterns to support our suspicions about the magazine's coverage of the nation's 20 million Hispanic Americans.

There are. Among them: From January 1970 to July 1982, the magazine printed 3,300 non-fiction articles, but only one related any affirmative accomplishments of the U.S. Hispanic community. ("New Dawn for America: Latins," February 1979).

Of those 3,300 articles, only one focused on affirmative accomplishments of an Hispanic individual or leader. ("Chi Chi Rodriguez: Golf's Ace With a Heart," June 1982).

In the same time period, six articles (ranging from "America's Newest Crime Syndicate — The Mexican Mafia," November 1977, to "Illegal Aliens: Time to Call a Halt!" October 1978) either showed U.S. Hispanics as deeply involved in crime or criticized us through attacks on undocumented workers.

Never, in its entire 61-year history, has the Reader's Digest reprinted an article from a U.S. Hispanic magazine such as *Luc, Latino* or *Nuestro*, or any of our many academic journals. At least since 1970, not one of its articles has been written by a U.S. Hispanic. Nor has the "world's most-read magazine" been able (based on a review of a July '82 listing of staff) to find one Hispanic American "qualified" for a job as one of its 148 editors, researchers and other editorial staff.

America is entitled to a more objective, balanced view of its Hispanic citizens, who by 1990 could constitute the nation's largest minority. For your children's sake, and my children's sake, the League of United Latin American Citizens has asked for a meeting with the magazine's Board of Directors. We want it to improve its performance.



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THE STATE OF HISPANIC HOUSING

Background

- Fact 1: Fully 29% of the Hispanic community lives in substandard housing.
- Fact 2: Hispanics have a homeownership rate of one half that of the nation as a whole.
- Fact 3: One out of every three Hispanics households has inadequate heating equipment.
- Fact 4: Although Hispanics and other minorities are targeted (in theory) by federal housing programs, Hispanics receive little of those funds and, ironically, are disproportionately displaced by federal programs.
- Fact 5: Although the federal fair housing law provides that it is unlawful to discriminate on the basis of race, color, religion, sex or national origin in the sale, rental, financing, etc., of homes, the mechanisms for enforcement of that law do not exist. In 1980 the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) estimated that more than two million instances of discrimination occur each year.

The Reagan Administration and Housing

As consistent with his agenda, President Reagan has targeted housing as one of the areas where he would like the role of the Federal government minimalized, ignoring the realities of the housing situation faced by Hispanic Americans. In fiscal year 1982, President Reagan proposed new cuts in appropriations of 18.7 billion dollars, a one-third reduction from the requests of President Carter. The 1983 preliminary budget shows estimated outlays and operating subsidies for subsidized housing to total 10 billion, down from 27.8 billion in 1980. In 1983 Congress approved the President's request to increase rent for tenants of subsidized housing, to 30% of their adjusted incomes from 25%, over five years. Congress rejected, however, his proposal to count foodstamps as income when computing the rent.

The reduction in appropriations to housing assistance from fiscal year 1981 to the levels proposed by the Administration for fiscal year 1984 is cut by 98%.



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CIVIL RIGHTS

The phenomenal growth of the Hispanic population in this country from 1970 to 1980. The U.S. Bureau of the Census reported that the Hispanic community increased 61% during these ten years. This significant population growth in ten years also brought with it growing civil rights concerns of Hispanics. During the 1970's the American public and its institutions have begun to recognize that Hispanic-Americans are indeed a major minority group in this country with major civil rights problems requiring specific attention.

It is, however, imperative that we recognize the need to focus more attention on the civil rights problems confronting the fastest growing minority group in American society. The phenomenal population growth cited, also brings with it growing opposition to Hispanics from American society. As has historically been the reaction to immigrants and non-Anglo groups, Hispanics are encountering major civil rights problems. Due to the ignorance most Americans have of Hispanics, and due to the general neglect of Hispanic concerns, we are presently confronted with a major population group which feels that is being denied coverage of equal protection laws and regards government institutions responsible for enforcement of such laws as unaware and uninterested in understanding the Hispanic experience.

Areas of major concern to Hispanics are school segregation which studies indicate Hispanic children are the most segregated group in American public education, discrimination in higher education, violence perpetrated by hate groups, the constant civil rights violations of migrant farmworkers, excessive use of force by local law enforcement, affirmative action, and equal employment opportunity.

Re-Authorization of U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights was created in 1957 to:

"Appraise federal laws and policies with respect to discrimination or denial of equal protection of the laws because of race, color, religion, sex, age, handicap, or national origin, or in the administration of justice."

While the Commission has been effective in raising the consciousness of American Society to the civil rights affairs confronting Americans in general.

Civil Rights Nominations

As you well know, President Reagan has nominated three individuals to serve on the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Mr. John Bunzel, Mr. Morris Abrahams, and Mr. Robert Destro, In addition, he has nominated Ms. Linda Chavez to serve as the Commission's staff Director. This action, should it be supported by the Senate, would result in the President making virtually a wholesale change in the Commission and thus compromising its independence; it is for these reasons we should vehemently oppose the nominations. The President had attempted to do the same thing last year; however, the Senate let the nominations die on the Senate floor.

The legislative history governing the Commission unequivocally declares that Congress intended it to be an independent, bipartisan, factfinding agency.

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights is the only independent, bipartisan federal agency responsible for monitoring civil rights in this country. In its 26 year history, almost without exception, both Republican and Democratic Presidents have respected this independence. Indeed, from its inception, the Congressional intent regarding the independent nature of the Commission has been clear. During the 1958 Senate Judiciary confirmation hearings of the first nominees to serve on the Commission, for example, the following exchange occurred:

Senator McClellan. . . This Commission, when established becomes its own boss. I do not think anybody has any authority to call you in to give you instructions.

Father Hesburgh. I did not know that, sir.

Senator McClellan. I think you ought to know that, I thought this was to be an independent commission.

Chairman Eastland. That was the congressional intent, but you know those things are forgotten at times.

Senator McClellan. I did not know there was any question about that. I did not know anyone had any idea someone could give them instructions what to do.

However, the President's decision to replace three of the six commissioners spoils the Commission's objectivity and weakens the nation's commitment to equal protection under the law. In addition, confirmation of the President's nominees will seriously dilute the Commission's voice, making it merely another agency controlled by the prevailing political philosophy.

The Commission's effectiveness has been the result of its ability, historically, to perform its duties objectively and honestly, without fear of retribution. Efforts to mold the Commission into a rubber stamp of this -- or any -- Administration's civil rights policies would be a grave mistake and would seriously impair its role as the nation's only independent voice against discrimination and denial of equal protection.

✓ POST

'Illegality' Is Not the Issue

The Post's editorial "A Reagan Civil Rights Commission" [May 24] says the president's decision to replace three current commissioners with nominees more in tune with his own philosophy is not illegal. But legality is not the key issue; the independence of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights is. The administration in effect is attempting to circumvent the congressional intent of the Civil Rights Act of 1957, which established the commission as an independent fact-finding agency. A fixed term for commissioners, as the editorial suggests, would not solve the problem, for if this administration gets away with undermining the congressional mandate, then fixed terms or no, succeeding administrations angered by the commission's findings will be tempted to seek ways to "pack" it with friendly voices.

—Maudine R. Cooper

The writer is vice president for Washington operations of the National Urban League, Inc.

The Post's editorial ignores the role of impartial monitor that the commission must play in order to hold not only the president, but the entire nation accountable for our actions with regard to the deserved rights of every U.S. citizen. Instead, the editorial paints a picture of a Reagan-appointed commission that will perhaps provide Clarence Pendleton with his "colorblind society." What is needed is not a "colorblind society," viewed through the rosy-tinted glasses of commissioners all of the same mind and experience, but a society that appreciates all the colors of skin that our nation boasts, guarded by the conscience of a Civil Rights Commission representative of each facet of that society.

The administration has removed the only Hispanic serving on the commission without replacing her with another Hispanic, thus effectively muting our community's voice in the most important federal civil rights institution. President Reagan's concern for Hispanics, as reflected in his speeches to Hispanic audiences in San Antonio and Miami, should thus be viewed as sheer hypocrisy. Hispanics demand more than eating our tacos and black beans as a show of commitment.

—Arnoldo S. Torres

The writer is national executive director of the League of United Latin American Citizens.

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The WASHINGTON POST JUNE 4-1983

A Strong Rights Unit

By Allan J. Lichtman

WASHINGTON — In the wake of President Reagan's attempt to fire three of its commissioners, the United States Commission on Civil Rights released reports critical of Federal civil rights enforcement in education and minority appointments. The reports provide clear and encouraging evidence that members of the commission intend to maintain an independent voice despite the President's efforts to undermine their autonomy.

President Reagan's recent attempt to replace the commissioners is just the latest in a series of attacks by an administration that is intolerant of dissent and that seeks to restrict the scope of Federal civil rights responsibilities. If the Senate confirms the three new appointments, the commission's tradition of political independence — which has added crucial credibility to its reports and monitoring of Federal enforcement activities — may well be destroyed.

As part of an anticivil rights offensive that has included obstructing the extension of the Voting Rights Act, curtailing civil rights enforcement, cutting back on minority appointments and aggressively opposing affirmative action, the Administration has sought — at various times in the last two years — to replace every member of the commission.

By contrast, no previous President had ever fired even a single commissioner. In 1973, Richard M. Nixon asked for and obtained the resignation of chairman Theodore M. Hesburgh, replacing him with Arthur S. Fleming, who proved to be an outspoken civil rights proponent.

By early 1982, Mr. Reagan had sacked chairman Flemming as well as vice chairman Stephen Horn, substituting a political ally, Clarence M. Pendleton Jr., and Mary Louise Smith, a former head of the Republican National Committee. But nominations to replace the remaining commissioners faltered because of the nominees' poor qualifications. One nominee withdrew under pressure and three more were among the few appointees that the Senate failed to confirm at the expiration of the last session.

Now the Administration has shrewdly selected a set of nominees who combine solid credentials with a commitment to the President's own view of civil rights. At issue, however, is neither their qualifications nor their skepticism about racial quotas and mandatory busing. Rather, it is the institutional integrity of the commission itself.

Allan J. Lichtman is professor of history at the American University.

Ordinarily, Presidents have authority to dismiss appointed officials and to select qualified replacements who share their political views. But court decisions have restricted the power to remove members of bodies that Congress intended to be free of executive direction.

In 1958, the United States Supreme Court revoked Harry S. Truman's firing of a member of the War Claims Commission. Even though the enabling statute — like its counterpart for the Civil Rights Commission — did not expressly forbid Presidential removal of Claims Commission members, the Court found for the member. Justice Felix Frankfurter declared for a unanimous Court that it must "be inferred that Congress did not wish to have over the commission the Damocles' sword of removal by the President for no reason other than that he preferred to have on that commission men of his own choosing."

Each of the pending nominees to the Civil Rights Commission has insisted that he will follow his own conscience as a commissioner. But if their appointments are confirmed and survive a possible court challenge by one or more of the fired commissioners, then, for the first time, all civil rights commissioners will find themselves sitting under Mr. Frankfurter's "Damocles' sword" of Presidential power.

Beyond his penchant for replacing commissioners, President Reagan has become the first executive to reject the members' recommendation for a staff director. He chose instead a political appointee deemed unqualified by a majority of commissioners. Earlier, the Office of Management and Budget had also broken precedent and formally requested that commission reports and testimony "be cleared by the Office of Management and Budget in advance of their transmittal to Congress." Although the Administration strategically retreated in the face of resistance by the commission staff, a new regime may begin an era of cooperation between the White House and the commission.

Congress should return President Reagan's nominees to the White House on the grounds that, whatever the legal technicalities, their confirmation would destroy the political independence necessary for the commission to continue functioning as Congress intended. Rejection — which would leave the incumbents in place — could usefully be combined with explicit protection of commissioners from removal without cause and a long-term extension of the commission's life, as already recommended by the House Judiciary Committee.

Good morning, Mr. Chairman and members of the House Subcommittee on Employment Opportunities. My name is Arnolando S. Torres, I am the National Executive Director of the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), this country's oldest and largest Hispanic organization with over 100,000 members organized in 44 states. WE very much appreciate the opportunity to come before you today and present our perspectives on the Reagan Administration's proposed changes of the affirmative action program, Executive Order 11246. This program over recent years has created a great deal of controversy, often times as a result of misunderstanding, improper enforcement, and most recently due to a deliberate non-commitment to its effective enforcement.

Affirmative Action

In having carefully observed the implementation and operation of the affirmative action (AA) program administered by the Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs (OFCCP) of the U.S. Department of Labor (DOL), it is our opinion that this program has been poorly implemented since its inception due to the constant resistance America's employers have had, and has been so poorly designed that we have come to believe that it has become too burdensome for employers and must be altered for their benefit. In essence, we regard this program as having been sabotaged from its very beginning.

We have seen how AA has been able to create employment opportunities for minorities and women, opportunities that before AA and without it most probably would not have been available. However, these opportunities came about with great difficulty at times, due to the historical reluctance employers have had with AA and the pervasive employment discrimination that continues with regards to minorities and women. A significant amount of criticism originates in the private sector which maintains that compliance with AA regulations is excessively burdensome and expensive, and that the extreme costs of such compliance outweigh the benefits of existing programs.

Under this Administration we have experienced a significant withdrawal of effective enforcement and support of AA, as well as agreement with the view that changes must be made to benefit private industry. The Administration's proposed changes in the AA program clearly reflect and promote this interest and will go far in undercutting the intent of AA and lessening even further the possible employment opportunities for minorities and women. It is our firm belief that this Administration has no serious concern for eradicating employment discrimination and setting into motion remedial policies.

Under the current AA program Hispanics have only recently begun to be serious candidates for employment opportunities created by this program. Unfortunately, the Reagan Administration's proposed changes would negate the progress made and would seriously jeopardize the potential benefits AA has begun to provide Hispanics in the employment arena. These changes would make AA an even more unknown concept to Hispanics and would further frustrate our desire for participation in mainstream American society.

\$250,000 in federal contractors to \$500,000. We oppose changing thresholds for there has been little positive response from currently covered contractors increasing thresholds would allow these contractors to avoid compliance. In addition, Hispanics tend to be employed in smaller businesses than the proposed threshold levels, which if increased would deny Hispanics of being covered by AA through contractors. Any upward changes in thresholds would have a very adverse effect on Hispanics.

Utilization Standards

Under the proposed rule change OFCCP has decided that contractors are complying with the law if they employ minorities and women at least 80 percent of their availability. In essence, OFCCP has decided that the goal need not exceed availability and that contractors can shoot for a much lower standard. It is ridiculous to decrease the utilization standard when contractors have generally done a poor job of seriously attempting to reaching the previous standard of 95 percent. The 80 percent standard allows contractors to lessen their already questionable commitment to employing minorities and women. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights recently reported that minorities and women continue to suffer major discrimination, with this proposed utilization standard we can expect this to continue.

Availability Factors

Availability is the most vital element in developing an effective AAP. Unfortunately, OFCCP in proposing its changes has reduced the AAP to being totally dependent on the good faith and benevolence of private industry. OFCCP has proposed to allow contractors a free hand in determining that standard of availability they choose to utilize. We strongly urge that the current practice of negotiating availability remain in place and that OFCCP be directed to insure reasonable and accurate estimates of availability.

Goals and National Origin

A major concern of ours deals with how goals are developed for the hiring of minorities and women and the need for greater specificity. Currently, Hispanics are seldom a target population affirmative action programs. It is our experience that contractors seldom establish any goals for the hiring of Hispanics but rather use general category which often times excludes us. We would recommend that goals be broken out so as to establish objectives for the hiring of Hispanics. In addition, it is imperative that national origin provisions be required inclusion in affirmative action plans.

We are very displeased with the Administration's proposed changes and are committed to working to insure that they not be allowed to regress affirmative action programs but rather are altered to allow Hispanics the opportunity to progress in our quest for equal treatment in American society.

Thank you.

percent of the Hispanics in Justice are in the Immigration and Naturalization Service:

4. In seven agencies black employees are well in excess of their national labor force;

5. Hispanics are not even close to being represented in the upper GS levels commensurate with their percentage in the labor force.

The MALDEF findings restate the fact that even though equality in promotions should be stressed this cannot be in lieu of a valid hiring program. To benefit from a promotions program a class or group must be adequately represented in the workforce. This is why EEOC's federal sector guidance, reinforcing affirmative hiring practices, is so important.

Turning now to an agency we have some control over, EEOC, one finds that Hispanics have not fared much better here. My concern as Deputy General Counsel is to insure that all protected groups were receiving equal protection and EEOC resources. After a cursory review I found that no Hispanic has ever had any policy authority in the General Counsel's Office. This means there has been little Hispanic involvement in setting forth priorities or strategies. Without a mixture of individuals in decision making positions there is bound to be a failure to adequately assist all groups protected by Title VII. The result, in the General Counsel's Office, is a lack of any enforcement effort on behalf of Hispanics.

In 1982, 34,145 charges of discrimination were received by EEOC and 38,255 charges were received by state and local anti-discrimination agencies. EEOC benefitted 51,886 persons with approximately \$101,194,000 in administrative settlements. Approximately 32 percent of all charges received by EEOC in 1982 were settled administratively.

In 1982 4.9 percent of all EEOC charges were from Hispanics alleging national origin discrimination. This represents 4,330 Hispanic charges. Using the EEOC administrative case settlement average of 32 percent we find that of the 4,330 discrimination charges received 1,443 would be settled administratively. The average settlement rate per case was \$4,800. Therefore the Hispanic administrative settlements totaled, approximately, \$1,212,120.80. This means EEOC administrative recoveries on behalf of Hispanics totaled 1.19 percent in 1982.

Of the total Hispanic charge number approximately 4 percent, 173 cases, will be reviewed by the legal units for litigation recommendation. The remaining 2714 charges will either be dismissed or disposed of through other administrative methods.

Reviewing litigation during fiscal years 80, 81 and 82 one finds that of 935 cases placed in litigation 27 were national origin, Hispanic. This is 2.9 percent of the litigation over the three year period. As of April 6, 1983, the General Counsels Office had 536 cases in litigation. Of this total approximately 44 percent were sex discrimination complaints, 20 percent were age discrimination complaints, 24 percent were race discrimination complaints and 2.4 percent were national origin, Hispanic, complaints.

The General Counsels Office monetarily recovered \$31,120,953 in 1982. If we assume that Hispanics recovered in proportion to their litigation representation, 2.4 percent, Hispanics recovered \$746,903 or 2 percent of the General Counsels total monetary recoveries. Compare this with \$20,149,840 that was recovered on behalf of victims of age discrimination.

To summarize the administrative and litigation efforts on behalf of Hispanics by EEOC the word "dismal" makes matters sound better than they actually are. If we total the monetary recoveries of both administrative and litigation, \$132,314,953.00, Hispanics received \$1,959,023 or 1.48 percent of EEOC's total monetary recoveries in 1982. One purpose of Title VII, 1964 Civil Rights Act, is to alleviate Hispanics are benefitting little in this area as you can see.

I believe that the above information validates the Commissions collective opinion that there is a problem. The task force has collected internal data which shows a historical neglect of this area. The fact that this Commission is willing to clean its own house speaks highly of this Commission's desire to serve all segments of society. It is clear that this problem is one that has existed, practically, from the EEOC's inception and we inherited the problem.

The task force, of which I am a member, has gathered enough statistics and facts to determine that a service problem does exist. The next step is to determine if the problem is internal, external or both. If the problem is that Hispanics won't file charge with EEOC based on past performance and/or treatment then we need a solution different than if the problem is strictly internal. The only way to determine the root of the problem is to ask Hispanics why they either don't file charges in proportion to other protected groups and/or if EEOC can do anything to be of service to the Community. The fact finding hearings are just one part of this process.

The cost of the hearings will be minimal when compared to the amount of money we spend on just one consultant contract. The Commission, by forming the task force, has committed to expenditures. I'm sure no one believed there was going to be a quick and cost free solution, especially for a commitment that Chairman Thomas has characterized as "... a study which we hope will get to the root of the [low number of national origin charges]. It is a top priority at the Commission."

I know you believe that by holding fact finding hearings we will receive some criticism from other groups. This is not necessarily true. Other groups have been and are well served by EEOC, including white males. The composite of an age discriminatee represented by EEOC is a white male, 55 years old, in middle management, earning over \$32,000.00 per year. If you recall I have already pointed out that this group recovered over \$20 million through EEOC litigation efforts in 1982 alone; compared to approximately, \$746,903 for Hispanics.

Even though we did not create the situation that presently exists we can do something about it. To merely stand idle in the face of the facts as we know them is not why we were appointed to our respective positions. If we do as prior Commissions have and disregard the problem we will be violating our oaths of office not to mention our mission.

"Insuring equality of opportunity by vigorously enforcing federal legislation prohibiting discrimination in employment through investigation, conciliation, litigation, coordination, regulation in the federal sector, and through education, policy research and provision of technical assistance."

There is no better example of how we will implement our mission than to do so in conjunction with the Hispanic Task Force because each component of our mission will be utilized to solve our problem.

What I have imparted to you through this letter is but the surface view. If you wish to discuss more statistical data, socio-economic conditions, or fact finding methods I would welcome the opportunity. What the Commission does in this area will send a message not only to Hispanics but to all groups that the Commission is ready, willing and able to enforce the laws it is charged with regardless of the opposition or difficulty of the task.

Thank you for your concern in this area.
Respectfully,

MICHAEL N. MARTINEZ
Deputy General Counsel



An independent Political
Education Arm of the
League of United Latin
American Citizens

THE DEFENSE BUDGET, THE MILITARY AND HISPANICS

"This world in arms is not spending money alone - it is spending the sweat of its laborers, the genius of its scientists, the houses of its children." President Dwight D. Eisenhower, 1953.

In proposing the largest peacetime military buildup in our history, the administration would spend 1.9 trillion dollars over the next six years on the military. This means we will spend some \$36 million ever hour for the next six years, costing a total of more than \$20,000 for every taxpayer in the United States. The Administration's defense budget appropriates \$263 billion for military expenses for fiscal year 1983, growing in increments up to \$408.4 billion for 1987. (PARADE MAGAZINE, September 19, 1982). These figures almost double and triple the \$142.211 billion authorized for 1980. (N.Y. TIMES, November 14, 1982). These dramatic increases in the defense budget sought, and up-until-now won, by the Reagan Administration during a period of increasing deficits, high unemployment, withdrawal of commitment from social programs, and recession have resulted in increasing controversy over defense spending.

President Reagan has stated that "the one prime responsibility of government is to protect the lives and freedom of its citizens. The budget we submitted and the budget figure we believed was the absolute minimum that was necessary to continue redressing our defensive capability, which had been allowed to deteriorate so badly in the previous decade." (WASHINGTON POST, March 30, 1983). Many argue, however, that the dramatic build up for high-cost, high-technology, highly destructive weapons is inefficient in terms of national security, employment and spending. For Hispanics President Reagan's defense program has meant increasing unemployment, high interest rates, a void in for federal programs addressing Hispanic needs, and an even worse outlook on the situation of Hispanics in the military.

National Security

The Pentagon is buying weapons at an accelerated rate: indeed, budget authority for weapons procurement is scheduled to go up from \$35.3 billion in 1980 to more than \$85 billion in 1983 -- more than doubling in three years. The cost of maintenance for these weapons will be very high and any reductions in spending will come from such areas as spare parts, operating expenses,

The Economy

The deficit created by high military spending increases interest rates and promises to prolong the recession and hamper the economy for years to come. Also, the build up of new, high technology weapons will mean irreversible expenditures in procurement and maintenance for years to come. The Bipartisan Budget Appeal, founded by Former Secretaries of the Treasury Michael Blumenthal (1977-79), John B. Connally (1971-72), C. Douglas Dillon (1961-65), Henry H. Fowler (1965-68), William E. Simon (1974-76), and Secretary of Commerce Peter G. Peterson (1972-72) published a two-full-page advertisement in the NEW YORK TIMES of April 6, 1983 in which they say, "We feel that in a time of severe fiscal strain, the Administration has a duty to justify (defense) programs in . . . terms (of clear and realistic defense goals and missions) and that, if adequate justifications are not forthcoming, appropriate reductions in the rate of growth of defense investment and spending must be given serious considerations." Another area of fiscal concern is that of waste in the defense budget. Budget Director David Stockman himself said that the Pentagon is "a swamp of 10-20-30 billion dollars waste."

The Nuclear Freeze

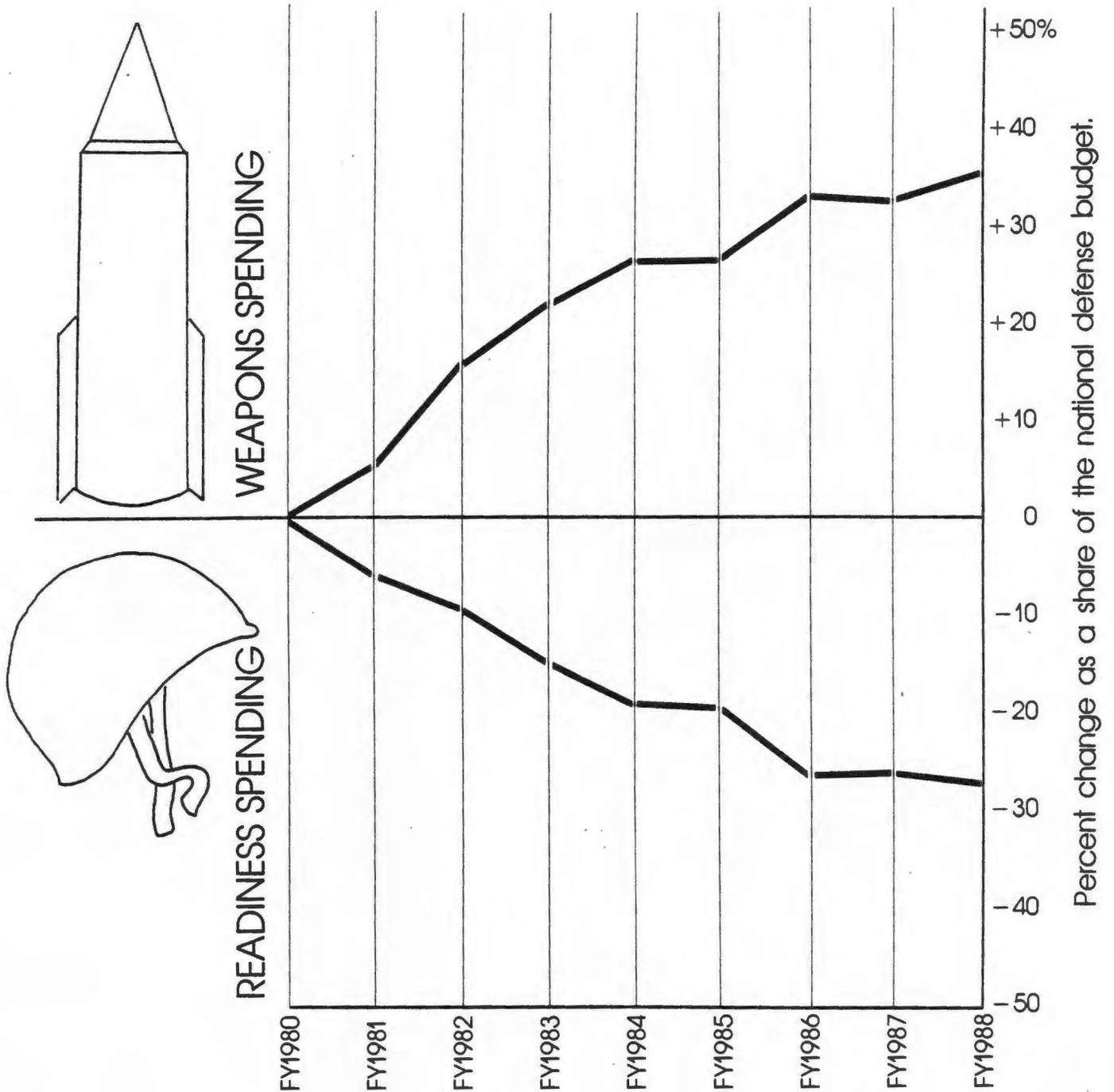
LULAC has taken the position that a budget agenda based on the accumulation of nuclear and high-technology weapons contributes to the fear of nuclear war, is fiscally unsound, detracts from much needed social programs, and exacerbates the unemployment problem in general, but especially with regard to Hispanics. LULAC National has taken the position that such an accumulation does not build a national security, but rather international insecurity. Nuclear weapons are not military forces. Former Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird said that nuclear weapons "may be important for political purposes, but they are useless for military purposes," (WASHINGTON POST, Monday, April 11, 1982). They can only offer the ultimate and incomprehensible option of nuclear war. In view of this, the LULAC National Executive Board passed a resolution in support of a mutual and verifiable freeze on the testing production and employment of nuclear weapons and their carriers, and LULAC joined the Citizens Against Nuclear War (CAN), which is composed of fifty two national trade union, professional, civil rights, and civil liberties, religious, and environmental membership organizations.

"Because you (the United States) are the most powerful nation on earth, you more than any other are responsible for peace. Never has any nation borne so heavy a responsibility. but there is no nobler a mission for a people."
Geroge Pompidou, President of France (1969-1974), 1970.

"Controlled, universal disarmament is the imperative of our time. The demands for it by the hundreds of millions whose chief concern is the long future of themselves and their children will, I hope, become so universal and so insistent that no man, no government anywhere can withstand it." President Dwight D. Eisenhower, 1959.

WEAPONS V. READINESS

Where is the Defense Dollar Really Going?



The graph above illustrates how rapidly the balance between weapons and readiness spending in the national defense budget is shifting. While the share of spending to research, develop and produce weapons is growing at a rapid pace each year, the share of readiness spending (personnel, operations and maintenance) is quickly declining. The percent change was calculated from February 1983 CBO budget authority estimates.



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CENTRAL AMERICA AND U.S. POLICY UPDATE

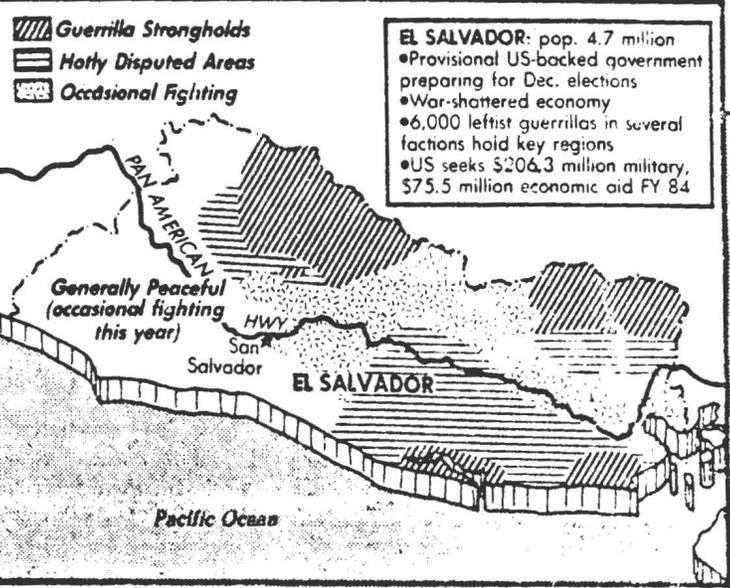
"Our traditional struggles to achieve economic and social parity give us a special view and a keener understanding of changes taking place in the crowded, less developed nations of the world. In a certain sense, we come from a Domestic Third World." Dr. Ralph Guzman, former high level official in the State Department.

"Latinos traditionally have been more concerned with domestic bread-and-butter issues. But as we have become more involved in the immigration issue, we have become more aware that we cannot deal with it in a vacuum, that we need to function in the larger context of United States policy toward Latin America." Raul Yzaguirre, Executive Director of the National Council of La Raza.

"We find the cultural insensitivity and ignorance which is prevalent in U.S./Latin American policy and the insensitivity towards and misunderstandings of the Hispanic community in this country very much interrelated." Arnoldo S. Torres, LULAC National Executive Director.

In May of this year, President Reagan went before a special joint session of Congress to elicit support for his policy towards Central America and, more specifically, as a reaction to a rejection by the The House Foreign Affairs Committee of his request for an additional \$50 million in aid to El Salvador. "In summation" President Reagan said, "Tonight there can be no question: the national security of all Americans is at stake in Central America."

On March 10, 1983, President Reagan had requested a new FY '83 package of \$110 million in military assistance for El Salvador. While the President will receive some of that request, he will not receive the full \$110 million and certain conditions to that aid have been set forth. One such condition was that the administration appoint a special envoy to facilitate negotiations in the Central American region. That special envoy, Ambassador Richard Stone, will address LULAC's 54th National Convention on July 2, 1983.



GUATEMALA: pop. 7.2 million
 • Strongman military government planning assembly elections in December with cautious US support
 • Leftist guerrillas active since 1962, recently beaten back in rural areas
 • Agricultural, light industrial economy
 • US seeks \$50.2 million military, \$26.6 million economic aid in FY 84

HONDURAS: pop. 3.7 million
 • Civilian government but pro-US military wields predominant power
 • 7,000 rightist guerrillas attack Nicaragua from border areas
 • Original banana republic economy
 • US seeks \$81 million military, \$46.2 million economic aid in FY 84, plus six new airstrips and regional anti-guerrilla training center

Miskito Indian insurgents; led by Stedman Fagoth

Principle US-backed force; led by former Somoza National Guard

Former Sandinista soldiers and officials; led by Eden Pastora

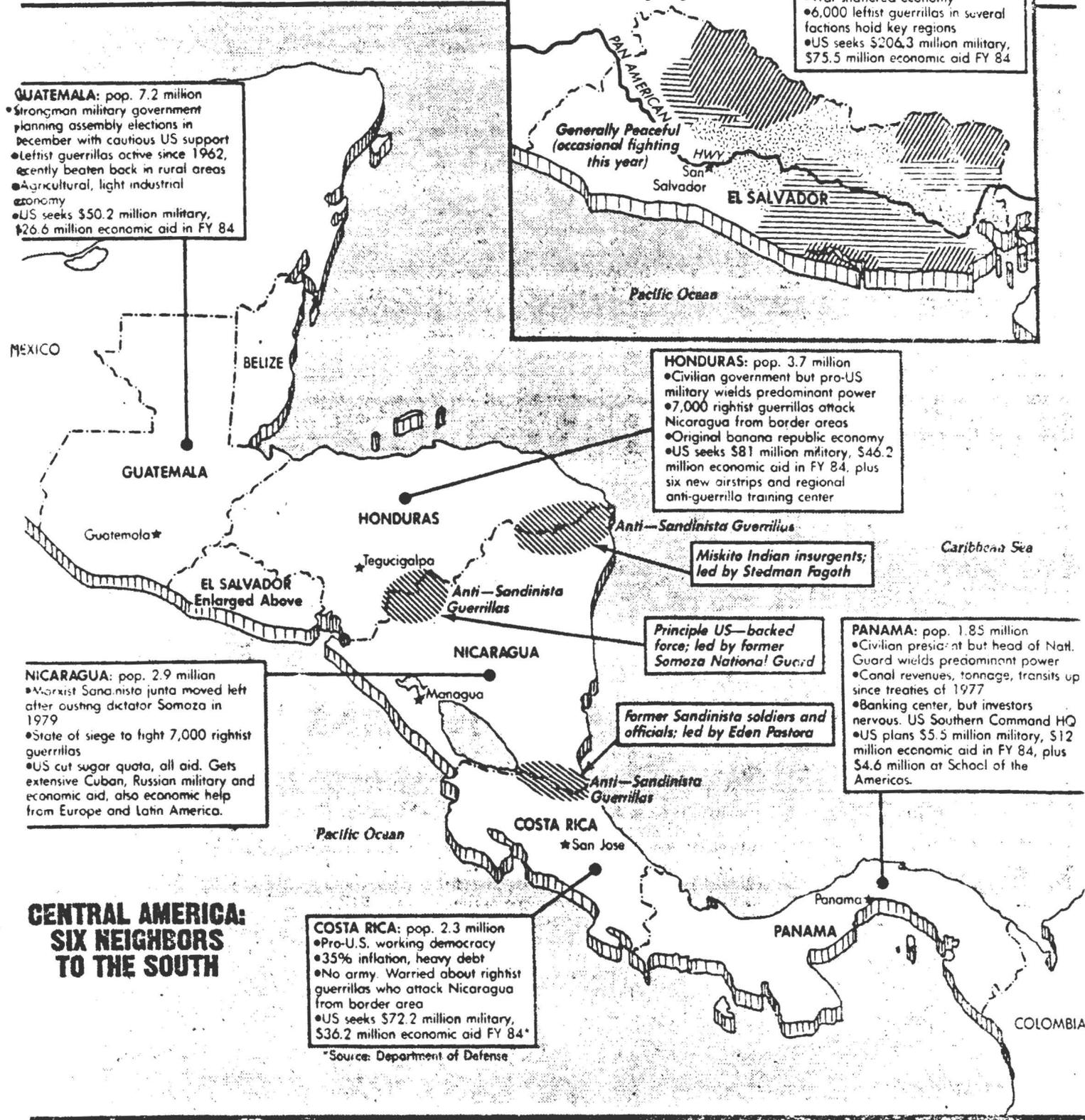
PANAMA: pop. 1.85 million
 • Civilian president but head of Nat. Guard wields predominant power
 • Canal revenues, tonnage, transits up since treaties of 1977
 • Banking center, but investors nervous. US Southern Command HQ
 • US plans \$5.5 million military, \$12 million economic aid in FY 84, plus \$4.6 million at School of the Americas.

NICARAGUA: pop. 2.9 million
 • Marxist Sandinista junta moved left after ousting dictator Somoza in 1979
 • State of siege to fight 7,000 rightist guerrillas
 • US cut sugar quota, all aid. Gets extensive Cuban, Russian military and economic aid, also economic help from Europe and Latin America.

COSTA RICA: pop. 2.3 million
 • Pro-U.S. working democracy
 • 35% inflation, heavy debt
 • No army. Worried about rightist guerrillas who attack Nicaragua from border area
 • US seeks \$72.2 million military, \$36.2 million economic aid FY 84*

*Source: Department of Defense

**CENTRAL AMERICA:
 SIX NEIGHBORS
 TO THE SOUTH**



U.S. Aid to Latin America (1978-1983)

(in thousands of U.S. dollars)

<i>Fiscal Year</i>	<i>Economic Support Fund</i>	<i>Development Assistance (AID)</i>	<i>Military Assistance</i>	<i>PL 480 Title I</i>	<i>Fiscal Year</i>	<i>Economic Support Fund</i>	<i>Development Assistance (AID)</i>	<i>Military Assistance</i>	<i>PL 480 Title I</i>
BOLIVIA					DOMINICAN REPUBLIC				
1978	—	34,300	800	10,800	1978	—	1,300	700	—
1979	—	28,900	6,700	12,000	1979	—	26,400	1,000	13,900
1980	—	4,507	300	17,300	1980	—	34,640	3,500	15,000
1981	—	2,286	—	—	1981	—	17,393	3,430	15,000
1982 est.	—	2,693	—	—	1982 est.	—	24,700	5,450	17,000
1982 CBI	—	—	—	—	1982 CBI	40,000	—	—	—
1983	—	3,000	100	18,600	1983	—	26,000	10,250	19,000
COSTA RICA					ECUADOR				
1978	—	6,900	—	—	1978	—	800	10,700	—
1979	—	16,400	—	—	1979	—	500	400	—
1980	—	13,561	—	—	1980	—	8,303	3,300	—
1981	—	11,475	35	—	1981	—	12,512	4,345	—
1982 est.	20,000	12,955	50	18,000	1982 est.	—	11,779	4,975	—
1982 CBI	70,000	—	—	—	1982 CBI	—	—	—	—
1983	60,000	15,000	150	10,000	1983	—	10,000	6,700	—
EL SALVADOR					HAITI				
1978	—	8,000	—	—	1978	—	8,900	700	10,500
1979	—	6,900	—	—	1979	—	9,100	400	8,600
1980	9,100	43,155	6,205	3,000	1980	1,000	10,100	100	8,600
1981	44,900	33,300	35,495	17,200	1981	—	9,160	423	9,000
1982 est.	40,000	34,970	81,000	22,400	1982 est.	—	12,015	550	9,000
1982 CBI	128,000	—	35,000	—	1982 CBI	5,000	—	—	—
1983	105,000	25,000	61,300	30,000	1983	—	15,000	715	11,000
GUATEMALA					HONDURAS				
1978	—	4,500	—	—	1978	—	13,000	3,200	—
1979	—	17,400	—	—	1979	—	22,000	2,300	2,000
1980	—	7,764	—	—	1980	—	45,824	3,900	2,000
1981	—	9,135	—	—	1981	—	25,660	8,935	5,800
1982 est.	—	5,764	1	—	1982 est.	—	28,770	10,651	5,000
1982 CBI	—	—	—	—	1982 CBI	35,000	—	17,000	—
1983	—	8,000	251	—	1983	25,000	29,000	15,301	5,000
COLOMBIA					NICARAGUA				
1978	—	—	52,200	—	1978	—	12,500	400	—
1979	—	300	13,000	—	1979	8,000	1,700	—	2,600
1980	—	340	300	—	1980	1,125	18,300	—	15,000
1981	—	—	284	—	1981	56,574	1,825	—	—
1982 est.	—	—	12,500	—	1982 est.	*	2,426	—	—
1982 CBI	—	—	—	—	1982 CBI	—	—	—	—
1983	—	—	12,860	—	1983	—	—	—	—

*\$20 million in ESF is earmarked for Nicaragua by the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1981. Nicaragua is not mentioned in the Foreign Assistance and Related Programs Act of 1982. The distribution of these funds to Nicaragua is unlikely, given the sense of the Appropriations Conference Report that no funds should be spent to these ends.

LETTER FROM THE LEAGUE OF
UNITED LATIN AMERICAN CITI-
ZENS REGARDING CENTRAL
AMERICA

HON. NORMAN Y. MINETA

OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 28, 1983

● Mr. MINETA. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting into the RECORD a letter I received from Arnaldo S. Torres, the national executive director for the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) expressing his views on U.S. policy in Central America. LULAC is the Nation's oldest and largest Hispanic Organization and I believe that the administration as well as Congress should consider their views as we develop our policies relating to Central America. Thank you.

LEAGUE OF UNITED LATIN
AMERICAN CITIZENS,
June 3, 1983.

HON. NORMAN MINETA,
Rayburn House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MINETA: As the days pass, the inevitable trajectory of our present Central American policy becomes ever more evident and ever more foreboding. The Administration has chosen to become militarily involved in no win situations in El Salvador and Nicaragua: Congress has accepted that choice: we are involved. It has been apparent throughout that the objectives of this policy are to forcibly suppress the opposition to the government/military ruling body in El Salvador

and to subvert the revolutionary government of Nicaragua in the most expeditious manner possible. The question in Congress has been at what speed to continue along a path which invariably will lead us to direct intervention or failure. Unfortunately, the question has not been one of redefining objectives or methods, or of looking for intelligent alternatives. As time goes on, the feasibility of such alternatives diminishes.

In February of this year U.S. Army Sergeant Jay T. Stanley was injured by rebel fire in El Salvador and, tragically, on May 25 the deputy Commander of U.S. military advisors in El Salvador, Navy Lt. Commander Albert A. Schaufelberger, was killed. The fires of the supporters and opponents of the Administration's policy are being fueled by this tragedy. As time goes on emotions, commitments, and complications will be deepened and our alternatives will become increasingly fewer, narrower, and more dramatic. Now is the time for thoughtful and deliberate decision-making, not for the withdrawal from controversy which we have witnessed on the part of all but a handful of members of Congress such as yourself, for fear of the President's finger being pointed at them. The decision regarding U.S. direct intervention, U.S. flexibility and support for positive change and development in Central America, or U.S. withdrawal from the region is being made in favor of the Administration's inflexible policy by a non-active Democratic alternative and by Congress' lack of resolve.

Although Hispanics will be the first on the front-line carrying out this unrealistic and mistaken policy, and although we will be the targets of the frustration of an American people involved in an unwinnable war against Latinos, all Americans will pay the price. Our involvement has already been denounced by the United Nations and individual countries such as Brazil, Spain, Panama, and others. We are presently breaking international law, our own charters and treaties, and, as is increasingly apparent, the Boland Amendment in our activities against Nicaragua. Further involvement will mean further isolation from our allies and participation in an unpopular and unwinnable war.

It is the shared obligation of the decision-makers in Congress and the Administration to see that international and our own laws are obeyed, that peaceful coexistence with our neighbors is sought and maintained, and that the lives of American citizens are protected. As those obligations are increasingly violated and as the number of deaths of Americans in Central America increases, we must ask, who in Congress or the Administration wishes to bear responsibility for failing to meet their shared obligations? That failure means further military involvement: the finger being pointed will be that of war.

Our continued military approach is exacerbating the problems and death tolls in Central America, and we are approaching the ultimate decision of present policy: will we see it through (when we are forced to acknowledge that the military of El Salvador and the "contras" cannot do it alone), or will we realize that our attempts to intervene in El Salvador and Nicaragua are unrealistic, and accept failure? When the day of that decision comes, Congress and the administration will have failed to have met their shared responsibility. When that day comes and when decisionmakers say that we are already too involved to back away, let it not be said that they did not know what we were getting into. What the President and Congress are getting us into is very clear.

Respectfully,

ARNOLDO S. TORES,
LULAC National Executive Director.●