

# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

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# MEMORANDUM

FECHA/DATE: July 18, 1983

A : The Honorable  
TO : Cathi Villalpando  
Hispanic Liaison, White House - Room 128

DE : Jose M. Casanova  
FROM : U.S. Executive Director 

ASUNTO : Deportation Hearing - Francisco Díaz  
SUBJECT

Enclosed is a subject of most urgent concern to the Cuban-American community which needs immediate attention.

About a year ago the return to Cuba of a Cuban fleeing communism led to serious public disorders in Miami. With the support of Elizabeth Dole, a meeting was arranged by Henry Zúñiga with Jim Baker, myself and Cuban-American community leaders related to this most unfortunate circumstance. It was the first such historical occurrence and led to a young man's being imprisoned in a communist jail by an act of our Immigration Service.'

In view of the imminent deportation hearing members of the Cuban-American community have asked me to request reassurances from Mr. Baker. We would gladly meet with him if it were necessary. This is certainly one of the most sensitive political issues for Cuban-Americans.

Enclosures

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Jim -  
F41

from  
Margaret

ADC

Pl check Time & Newsweek  
from this wk. and last.

Seems to me there was  
an article about a scandal  
in Puerto Rico (might be same  
as that mentioned here).

If so, pl make  
copy for me.

**MARGARET D. TUTWILER**  
Office of James A. Baker III  
456-6797

Thanks  
J.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 12, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR MARGARET TUTWILER

FROM:

RICK NEAL *RN*

SUBJECT:

PUERTO RICAN POLITICS

---

Please find attached a letter to me from Mr. Jim Meszaros. Jim is an aide to Hernan Padilla, Mayor of San Juan, Puerto Rico, and candidate for Governor of Puerto Rico. Since Jim's letter makes reference to a potentially embarrassing situation for the Reagan-Bush Reelect Committee, I thought that it should be brought to your attention.

If you would like me to provide you with additional information on this situation, please let me know.

Attachment

cc: Jennifer Fitzgerald

# JIM MESZAROS

December 6, 1983

Mr. Rick Neal  
Deputy Assistant to the President  
for Intergovernmental Affairs  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Rick,

I write to bring to your attention certain aspects of the Cerro Maravilla case here in Puerto Rico which might be of particular interest to you or your colleagues in the Administration or the President's campaign effort. I would like to preface my remarks by stating they are my own, and presented only in my capacity as a Republican and supporter of the President.

You are aware that in addition to the Puerto Rico Senate's probe of events pertaining to Cerro Maravilla case, the U.S. Justice Department is conducting its own investigation into this matter. There are indications that indictments may be handed down in early 1984.

You should be aware the Puerto Rico press is watching current events here with a particular eye towards efforts by Romero, either directly or through surrogates, to influence or undermine the Federal probe into Cerro Maravilla. In recent days I have been asked on more than one occasion my opinion as to whether the Governor was attempting to influence the outcome of this case in any manner, and advised of the interest in this particular facet of the case by the local media.

It should be remembered that earlier this year the San Juan Star published articles indicating Governor Romero had been successful in moderating earlier investigations of Cerro Maravilla, undertaken during the Carter Administration, by stating the case was solely a political matter that could embarrass the Governor, lead to his defeat in 1980, and trigger an increase in alleged "leftist" influences on the island. The Star had quoted former Carter officials as indicating this was essentially the case.

Thus, it should come as no surprise that representatives from the local media would now be looking for any action that could be

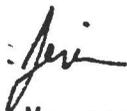
interpreted as an effort to influence the outcome of the current Federal probe. Current efforts by Romero to exert greater control over the Republican Party of Puerto Rico, or the appointment of close known political allies of Romero to a Reagan Re-Elect Committee here on the island, could be perceived -- correctly or incorrectly -- as subtle attempts to apply political pressure designed to produce a more favorable outcome of the Justice Department's current investigation into Cerro Maravilla.

To be sure, the Governor has much reason to be concerned over the outcome of the Federal investigation. The Federal probe may be concluded prior to any undertaken by a Special Prosecutor soon to be named, and may have an impact on the local investigation. The Federal probe will certainly have an impact on local public opinion with regard to this issue, as well on possible impeachment proceedings that may be initiated next year.

My reason for bringing this matter to your attention is not for the purpose of promoting any individual's political interests, but rather, from a concern that such allegations could eventually reflect negatively on the President or his re-election campaign. With press and public scrutiny of current events relating to Cerro Maravilla so high, I believe it would be prudent of the President's advisors to be especially sensitive to the possibility that certain actions could be perceived here as political pressure designed to influence the Federal probe of this case, and to seek to prevent situations where such might be interpreted.

The Cerro Maravilla case will continue to be the center of political attention in Puerto Rico for the foreseeable future. In addition, this case has been receiving increased attention by the mainland media in the past few weeks. It would be unfortunate if allegations came forth that inadvertently brought representatives of the Administration or the President's re-election campaign into the current debate of this issue.

Sincerely,



Jim Meszaros

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

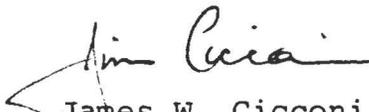
October 20, 1983

Dear Elizabeth:

Thanks very much for the information you forwarded. I applaud your efforts in helping to organize issue briefings for the Administration's Hispanic appointees. I am sure they will be a success and will provide valuable information for those appointees who are serving as spokesmen for their respective agencies.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Jim Cicconi". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the typed name.

James W. Cicconi  
Special Assistant  
to the President

Ms. Elizabeth F. Burkhart  
815 C Street, S.E.  
Washington, D.C. 20003

# Memo

rec'd 10-19

FROM THE DESK OF:

THE BOARD MEMBER

Dear Jim:

It took some doing but we finally have a plan!

The enclosed material explains our efforts to become better versed in

'Hispanic' issues

Cathi Villalpando and Craig Fuller we have also been informed of our efforts.

I have also talked with Joe Morris of OPM and

# Memo

FROM THE DESK OF:

THE BOARD MEMBER

he sees no "Hatch"  
problem with what we  
plan to do.

Please let me know  
if you wish to stay  
informed of what we are  
doing.

Elizabeth F. Duckham

815 C Street, S.E.  
Washington, DC 20003  
October 17, 1983

Dear Fellow Hispanic Reagan Appointees:

We are pleased to announce that we're finally on our way to establishing a program of briefings on topics of special interest to Hispanics in the Administration. We have determined that a brown bag lunch meeting would fit better into everyone's schedule. The kick-off will be Wednesday, October 26, 1983 at the Department of Education with a briefing on bilingual education.

The meeting dates for the remainder of the year and the persons responsible for setting up the briefings are listed on the accompanying schedule. As soon as a place is determined for each meeting we will let everyone know.

If you have suggestions for additional topics or are willing to take on the responsibility of setting up a briefing, please contact any one on the steering committee.

Sincerely,



for the Steering Committee

Enclosures

BRIEFING SCHEDULE

<u>DATE</u>	<u>TIME</u>	<u>TOPIC</u>	<u>BRIEFING ORGANIZERS</u>
October 26, 1983	12:00 Noon	Bilingual Education	George Rios 245-2600 Jesse Soriano 245-2600
November 9, 1983	12:00 Noon	Central America	Anna Colomar O'Brien 343-6816
November 23, 1983	12:00 Noon	Minority Business	Alba Moesser 245-2555
December 14, 1983	3:00 p.m. "?"	Labor -- Christmas Party	Quita Dracos 523-8271

STEERING COMMITTEE

George Astengo	566-2033
Elizabeth F. Burkhart	357-1100
Quita Dracos	523-8271
Alma Riojas Esparza	447-5681
Maria Lopez-Otin	634-1459
Reynaldo Maduro	254-3192
Alba Moesser	245-2555
Ana Colomar O'Brien	343-6816
George Rios	245-2600
Gloria Rojas	426-4070
Victoria Tripp	695-5254

The Steering Committee membership was determined by consistent attendance at several organizational meetings. The aim of the current committee is that service on the committee will rotate so that as many people as possible can have the experience of identifying issues and setting up briefings.

THE HISPANIC OPPORTUNITY

A Proposal to the Republican National Committee

by

Tirso del Junco, M. D.  
Chairman

California Republican Party

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## I. THE HISPANIC OPPORTUNITY

The nation's Hispanic electorate offers a dramatic opportunity for the Republican Party.

As the accompanying study (Appendix "C" under separate cover) makes abundantly clear, the nation's Hispanic community is the largest, fastest growing and most upwardly mobile of all minority groups.

Importantly for Republicans in 1984, the Hispanic electorate represents a significant and potentially decisive voter bloc in some of the nation's major electoral states. For example:

-- Five states have 12 percent or more Hispanic populations and together they account for 117 Electoral College votes.

-- A further 10 states have between 4 percent and 9 percent Hispanic population and together they account for another 125 Electoral College votes.

Therefore, an upgrading of the Republican National Committee Hispanic effort will have a dramatic impact upon the Electoral College vote for the President.

Secondly, such an upgrading should have a dramatic effect upon races for governor, U.S. Senator and Congress in key states with large Hispanic populations.

Nationally, there are 40 congressional districts with 20 percent or more Hispanic population. These are located in eight states and can be targeted. An upgrading of the RNC's Hispanic effort should have a significant impact in at least a half dozen states where key governorships and U.S. Senate seats are up for election.

The development of an effective organizational infrastructure for winning Hispanic votes could be critical to the President's re-election and to Republican victories in Congress.

The apparent withdrawal of Senator Edward Kennedy from the Democratic Presidential race also presents Republicans with a significant opportunity in the 1984 Presidential race.

Of all the candidates, Kennedy was the one Democratic politician who had the opportunity to hold the Hispanic vote for Democrats nationally. His absence is bound to create a vacuum for many Hispanic voters. This vacuum presents the Republican Party with an opportunity which should not be missed.

Care must be taken in developing an upgraded program for the Hispanic electorate. In the past three significant mistakes have been made when dealing with the nation's Hispanic electorate.

First, Republicans have tended to "write-off" the Hispanic electorate as captive of the Democrat Party. It is true the Republican Party has made "outreach" efforts in the past, but these have never had the sufficient resources or stamina to effectively politically penetrate the Hispanic electorate. Yet, when efforts have been made to penetrate the Hispanic electorate, in regional or state efforts, some success has been made. For example, preliminary indications show that California Governor-Elect George Deukmejian captured approximately 27 percent of the state's Hispanic voters in the November election basically through low-level, but well organized efforts.

Secondly, the Hispanic electorate has been treated as a single entity with slight regard for the wide diversity of many cultures which comprise the "Hispanic" electorate within the United States. This has significant import in the political context. For example, the Puerto Rican community of New York City is much different in socio-economic environment than the Cuban community of Miami. The Cubans of Florida, the middle-income Mexican-American family in Texas offer the Republican Party a dramatic opportunity to expand its party base if the correct organizational and media programs are undertaken.

Thirdly, the Hispanic community is sensitive to its growing political power. Traditionally, Hispanics (of all Heritages) have been politically quiet. For the most part they have not been activists and actively involved in the political mainstream. This is dramatically changing. The Hispanic community wants its growing economic, social and political base recognized. This can be accomplished by recognizing this need and creating an entity for the Hispanic electorate within with the regular framework of the Party. Organizations such as the Republican Hispanic Assembly, etc. are no longer adequate to the sophisticated Hispanic. In large measure they represent "separate but equal" organizations which convey the message that the Hispanic voter remains outside the mainstream of the Republican Party body politic. The way to bring the Hispanic electorate within the Republican Party is to make him truly part of the Party.

No single program is going to turn around the entire Hispanic electorate in a single campaign. However, the creation of a viable, effective Republican infrastructure will help build Republican ties to the Hispanic community steadily bringing more and more Hispanic voters to identify with the GOP and its candidates from the White House to the State House.

## II. THE PROGRAM

It is essential that the development of a program to penetrate the Hispanic electorate be a part and operate within the framework of the National Republican Party.

It is also essential that the program be headed by a nationally recognized Republican Hispanic leader with background and experience in dealing in top-level Republican circles.

And it is finally essential that such a program have sufficient resources and staff so that it has the opportunity to be of significant value to Republican candidates from the President on down.

To accomplish this, it is proposed that a new office of the National Republican Party be created: "Deputy Chairman for Special Projects."

The Deputy Chairman for Special Projects will serve without pay as an uncompensated volunteer. He would report directly to the National Chairman and the National Committee. The Deputy Chairman will be reimbursed for travel and expenses. The Deputy Chairman will be a "working" executive of the National Committee and will take a "hands on" approach to the development of this project. He will be supplied with an officer, clerical staff and consultants as outlined in the budget.

The first project being the penetration of the Hispanic electorate in states with:

1. Large blocs of electoral states where there is a significant Hispanic population.
2. States with gubernatorial or U.S. Senatorial elections where the Hispanic electorate can make a significant election outcome impact.
3. Selected Congressional Districts where penetration of the Hispanic electorate will benefit materially the Republican candidate.

All too often in the past the Republican Party has attempted to penetrate the Hispanic electorate by locating Hispanic candidates, contributing funds to their campaign in the hopes that the Hispanic surname will prove beneficial. Some efforts were also made to employ low-level advertising.

However, it is the contention here that these efforts fail to recognize that successful campaigns are only the capstone of hard political organizational work begun long in advance i.e., voter registration efforts; GOTV programs, timely and effective advertising sustained with regard to issue and working in conjunction with effective press penetration.

To accomplish this "hard political organizational work" it is proposed that the Deputy Chairman be supplied with a staff of three regional coordinators. These three coordinators would be headquartered and divided into the following geographical locations.

East -- New York, Florida, etc.

Middle -- Illinois, Kansas, Missouri, Ohio, etc.

West -- California, Nevada, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, etc.

It is the primary function of these regional coordinators to develop grassroots political programs involving the Hispanic electorate in the Republican Party. This may be done through existing Hispanic organizations (See Appendix "B" attached); by creating new Hispanic organizations or by linking blocs of Hispanic voters into the existing party apparatus. The important thing is to get a strong toehold, then foothold into the Hispanic electorate in these key states.

These coordinators, though reporting to the Deputy Chairman for Special Projects, would be part of the RNC regular staff and would also be prepared to assist other Party and affiliated Party political operatives where and when needed.

These regional coordinators would be responsible for developing, on a priority basis, Hispanic voter penetration programs; Hispanic voter registration drives, absentee ballot programs, assist in the coordination of press relations efforts, assist in fund raising events in their region and conduct GOTV efforts among the Hispanic electorate.

As a cost saving measure and to insure a blending with regular Republican Party organizations, efforts could be made to headquarter these regional coordinators in state Republican Party headquarters.

It is vital that the entire program have a strong communications component comprised of both the earned media (press) and paid media (advertising).

Sufficient and sustained effort must be made to communicate the Republican Party's concern with the Hispanic electorate and that we, as a party, are sensitive to the needs and concerns of the Hispanic community.

In dealing with the press, it is recommended that a knowledgeable and experienced consultant be retained. While emphasis must be on the Hispanic media, it is critical that the English press not be ignored. The type of voter we are after reads primarily the English media. The Spanish-language press is secondary. The person who reads the Spanish-language press only is not our target. The same is true of all forms of the communications medium.

In addition to an effective and on-going press program, a carefully tailored advertising program is also recommended.

The National Republican Party has enjoyed outstanding success with its topical and hard-hitting advertising programs. i.e., Social Security, Tip O'Neill, etc.

This same technique should be applied, on a carefully prioritized basis, to the Hispanic electorate. However, again a balance must be maintained between the Hispanic and the English media, recognizing that our primary market is not totally Spanish-language speaking.

Since advertising is enormously expensive, great care must be exercised when and where the advertising messages are to be shown.

To assist in this determination and in the content and context of the messages, it is proposed to reserve a portion of the budget for research. The Republican Party is fortunate to have many firms who are well acquainted with the Hispanic electorate and should be able to provide significant election/communications assistance in this regard.

A significant fund raising component is included within this program. There are, across this nation, many dedicated Hispanics who have succeeded in our free enterprise system. They are willing to join the effort and to financially assist in its development.

The program envisions four fund raising events; one in each of the regions and an annual fund raising event in Washington, D.C.

These fund raising events should net \$250,000 based on the following assumption: that a major Administration figure be the guest speaker at the regional events and that the President or, in his absence, the Vice President, address the Washington, D.C. event.

Not only is this imperative to raising funds, but it is the clearest signal possible of the Administration's and the Party's dedication to encompassing the Hispanic electorate.

To insure accountability, the Deputy Chairman for Special Projects will make six month reports of progress to the National Chairman.

III. Prospective Preliminary Budget  
 January 1, 1983 - December 31, 1983

1. Personnel

Regional Coordinator (East)	\$ 30,000
Regional Coordinator (Middle States)	30,000
Regional Coordinator (West)	30,000
Consultant (Media/Advertising)	30,000
Consultant (Fund-Raising)	10,000
Executive Secretary	24,000
Clerk Typist	<u>12,000</u>

\$166,000

2. Office Administration

Telephone, rent, equipment, postage, office printing, etc.	72,000
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3. Fund-Raising

Coordination and development of three major regional fund-raising events; a national (Washington, D. C.) fund-raising event and various direct donor solicitation programs	20,000
--	--------

4. Voter Contact Programs

Hispanic voter registration programs	\$ 75,000
Voter outreach/GOTV programs	50,000
Media relations (Spanish and English media)	25,000
Advertising (key Hispanic population/electoral/target states)	<u>250,000</u>

420,000

5. Travel and Field Operations

Deputy Chairman - Special Projects	\$ 40,000
Staff personnel	<u>36,000</u>

76,000

6. Research

40,000

Total \$794,000

\*Includes \$250,000 in budgeted advertising costs which will be committed in calendar 1983, but not expended until calendar 1984.

IV. Income/Expense Projections

Expense (January 1, 1983-December 31, 1983)\* \$794,000

Income

1. Three regional fund-raising events	\$150,000	
2. National (Washington, D. C.) fund-raising event	100,000	
3. Direct contribution program	<u>200,000</u>	
		\$450,000

Expense:	\$794,000
Income:	<u>450,000</u>
Expense over income:	\$344,000

\*Includes \$250,000 in budgeted advertising costs which will be committed in calendar 1983 but not expended until calendar 1984.

V.

## Personnel Functions

### Deputy Chairman - Special Project

A recognized national Hispanic and Republican Party leader to serve under the National Chairman as over-all director of the Hispanic electorate effort in a volunteer capacity. Over-all responsibility for development of fund-raising, Hispanic voter contact, communication and research programs.

### Regional Coordinators (3)

By geographical location, three regional coordinators with background and experience in Hispanic and Republican Party organization to implement voter contact, registration, GOTV, fund-raising and other programs under the direction of the Deputy Chairman.

### Consultants (Communications, Fund-Raising)

To assist the Deputy Chairman in the development and implementation of media relations, advertising and fund-raising programs.

### Executive Secretary

To maintain a central office, scheduling and supervising clerical functions for the Deputy Chairman - Special Projects.

### Clerk Typist

To assist in office clerical functions under the direction of the Executive Secretary to the Deputy Chairman.

VI. 1983 Work Flow Time-Line

- January, 1983: Initial seed funding from RNC of \$100,000; meeting of Hispanic leaders in Washington, D. C. to receive inputs; outline program of work, etc.
- February: Development of regional coordinators and regional programs of work. Initial media swing.
- March: Development of first regional fund-raiser; begin penetration of Hispanic community infrastructure.
- April: Reports by regional coordinators on programs of work; direct fund solicitation program underway.
- May: Second regional fund-raiser.
- June: National (Washington, D. C.) fund-raiser. First six-month report to National Chairman.
- July: Development of Hispanic research project (public opinion, voter attitude, additional data)
- August: Regional Hispanic infrastructures formed; penetration of Hispanic organizations, etc.
- September: Third regional fund-raiser.
- October: Hispanic voter penetration; community meetings, etc. Media penetration (Spanish and English).
- November: Development of advertising materials for after January, 1984 use; intensive organizational work in selected states.
- December: Year-end meeting of National Hispanic leaders; year-end report to National Chairman; completion of advertising programs; development of primary states' election campaign plans; preparation of new individual donor solicitation drive.

## El Paso-Juarez Facts

### I. El Paso-Juarez Partnership

- Cities have established an economic partnership
- Unique climate in past has been virtually oblivious to economic changes in the rest of U.S. and Mexico.
- Juárez is a bedroom community to El Paso (citizens do business in El Paso, live in Juárez).
- There is more interaction at the El Paso-Juarez bridge than anywhere else along the border.

### II. El Paso-Juarez Statistics

- Relatively little outside trade occurs for both Juárez & El Paso because of distance (nearest major city is 300 miles away).
- Twin city is actually one community separated by stretch of water and bridges.

### III. Commerce & Retail Trade

- Survey by Thomas F. Lee & Associates (El Paso) indicated that in 1978:
  - Juárez residents spent \$90 million in El Paso.
  - Average Juárez family made less than \$270 monthly, yet spent \$30 in El Paso every 8 days. Retail industry benefits most from Juárez shoppers.
- 70% of commerce in central business district is from Juárez.
- 70% of El Paso businesses in El Paso accept pesos; most sales clerks are bilingual.
- While most downtown areas nationwide are decaying, El Paso bustles daily.
- Wholesale salesmen have stressed that border area sales remain high during downturns around the country.
- 30% of vehicles at El Paso shopping centers display Juárez tags. Prices, availability and variety are the attractions.
- Dollars flow to Juárez also, but to a lesser degree:
  - 35% of El Paso residents visit Juárez regularly;
  - they spend \$17 per visit (food and liquor are the major items purchased)

### IV. Bridge Crossing

- Its importance spurs retailers to constantly monitor government bridge policies to insure flow of trade.
- Recently, temporary bridge permits were threatened to be discontinued; the Downtown Development Association convinced officials to keep issuing permits.

### V. Industry

- Tourism was #1 for years; largely due to quickie divorces. To change the border image, Mexican government banned them.

El Paso-Juarez - Cont'd.

- Manufacturing plants are on the increase.
- Labor intensive work can be done as cheaply in Mexico as in Hong Kong/Taiwan.
- In past few years, 112 American companies located plants in Juarez.
- Bermudez Industrial Park Group operates 3 Juarez industrial parks which hold 55% of factories (twin-plant fashioned).
- \$2.7 million is paid weekly in Juarez payroll. 40-50% of that goes to El Paso side for purchase of goods and services --- \$1 million a week.
- Unions criticize twin plant operations for "exporting" jobs. Actually, 100,000 U.S. jobs contribute raw material/complementary services to twin plant operations.
- Mexico's minimum wage is \$8 a day.

Source: Brownsville Herald, May 28, 1981

RELATIONS WITH MEXICO COMMITTEE

Texas 2000 Commission

September 2, 1981

10:40 a.m.

Present:

Commissioners:

Lance Tarrance  
Rita Clements  
Ashley Smith  
Frank M. Tejada  
T. R. Fehrenbach  
Andres Ramos

Others in Attendance:

Jim Kruse, Tarrance Associates  
Leslie Geballe, Texas 2000

Meeting Notes:

Introduction

The chairman began the meeting by announcing that the Border Governor's (Mexico - U.S.) will take place on October 5 and 6, 1981. The committee members will receive invitations to the conference; the chairman encouraged them to attend.

The announcement was followed by a review of the notes from the previous meeting and a discussion of the goals for the present meeting. The chairman asked that we open discussions in the areas of energy, immigration, trade and crime, with the goal of choosing four to six recommendations to amplify, document and present as the final report.

TOPIC: Immigration

Discussion: Part I

Mr. Fehrenbach led this portion of the discussion. He offered three guidelines for approaching the subject of immigration:

1. Disregard (temporarily) the influence of federal immigration policies.
2. Avoid traditional biases in considering the subject.
3. Emphasize economic issues (economic development being the Commission focus).

Mr. Fehrenbach suggested first that we determine the impact of immigration on agriculture, other businesses and on border areas to answer the following question about immigration: Should it be controlled, cut off or encouraged?

Second, Mr. Fehrenbach suggested that we determine attitudes toward immigration, since common perception of public attitudes toward immigration may not represent actual or current attitudes. His list of groups that we survey includes: Texas employers and businessmen; ranchers and farmers; general public; Mexican-Americans (both individuals and organizations); Mexican authorities and politicians; and labor unions (added by Mrs. Clements).

Third, the committee study the demographics and sociopolitical implications of immigration: how Texas is changing and how it can be expected to change over 20 years due to immigration.

The findings from these three studies -- impact of immigration, attitudes toward immigration and demographics -- could form the basis of the committee's recommendations.

The success of this approach depends upon the committee's ability to accumulate information in these three areas.

Discussion: Part II

Andres Ramos proposed a plan for "coping with immigration" which involves these basic elements:

1. Cooperation by federal governments of both countries, though operations would be local.
2. Registration system in Mexico of people who wish to immigrate, what skills they have to offer.
3. Centralized request system in the U. S. listing jobs open and types of laborers needed.
4. Strict policing of border to insure that only registered workers with jobs cross the border.

This plan allows for matching of jobs needed and labor skills to avoid displacement of workers in the U. S. It would permit the U. S. to establish official policies on income tax, social security, medical insurance, etc. for immigrants.

Comments: The plan would require a "sales job" to persuade Mexicans that it is superior rather than status quo.

The plan is actually "functional" rather than strategic planning.

Another approach to relieving immigration problems is to help Mexico develop its own industry which would create jobs internally, thereby encouraging Mexican workers to remain in Mexico.

The twin plant system already works to create jobs in Mexico (75% of all jobs by twin plants created are in Mexico):

Mexican trade policies, through pricing and duties, may actually inhibit job creation in Mexico.

Official U.S. immigration policy includes a "needed skills" component. Reagan's plan does not adequately address (according to Texas' needs) two basic issues: the "illegals" that are already here and the magnitude of annual immigration.

Other countries employ much stricter immigration policies and do not accord citizenship based on residence or longevity of residence. Relatively lax U.S. policies may provoke unforeseen problems over the next 20 years, particularly as the U.S. economy grows more slowly.

TOPIC: Energy

Discussion: Ashley Smith led the discussion with a sketch of Mexico's recent economic history:

In the 1960's, influence and spending flowed from a strong centralized government leading to financial problems and devaluation of the peso.

When Portillo was elected, he produced a 2-volume plan, the first volume detailed five problems with the Mexican economy:

1. Inability to compete on world markets due to fall of exports.
2. Industries too centralized.
3. Lack of production internally -- raw materials sent out of the country.
4. Market structure -- too few companies.
5. Too dependent on other countries for financing.

The plan called for oil dollars and market expansion to overcome unemployment and social inequity.

Mexico exhibits a split between a leftist policy to accommodate the population and conservative fiscal and management tendencies.

U.S. need for Mexican energy creates opportunity to reciprocate with a plan to help Mexico develop its energy industry.

The Governor has already initiated communication and cooperation with the Southwest Border Commission (in danger of being phased out by the Reagan Administration).

Texas 2000 should attempt to use existing "vehicles" (Commission, agencies) to further its goals.

Various means of improving the U.S. energy outlook have been proposed including switching to nuclear, conservation and commercial development of renewable resources. Whatever methods are chosen, Mexico should play an integral part in easing the U.S. transition from oil and gas, since Mexico offers a nearby and stable energy supply.

Developing a good working relationship with Mexico is an important part of U.S. energy policy.

Comments:

Mexico will purchase \$16 million of energy-related equipment through 1983.

Mexico is seeking and receiving assistance for industrial development from Japan and France in exchange for oil.

Although it is popular to decry U.S. relations publicly, Mexico is heavily dependent on the U.S.

Oil is not a commodity to the Mexicans, it is a birth-right.

The committee should consider a "jobs for energy" strategy.

Corporations identify two problems in international trade with underdeveloped countries:

1. Ethics -- a totally different system.
2. Lack of qualified managers.

Mexico must improve its own industrial climate: 23% of eligible (by age) work force holds jobs compared to 63% in the U.S. (This statistic does not account for cultural differences). Fifty percent of Mexico's population is under 16 years of age.

TOPIC:

Drugs (Led by Mrs. Clements)

Discussion:

U.S. and Mexico are cooperating on eradication of some drugs although to the U.S. the drug problem is far more serious

than to Mexico. The federal government handles drug enforcement and is hesitant to disclose information.

The Department of Public Safety has some involvement in drug and crime control and is preparing a paper for presentation at the Border Governor's Conference in October.

Governor Clements' wire tap bill may allow progress on the war against drugs.

Comments: Further exploration is warranted. Mrs. Clements will contact the federal agent to determine whether he can provide useful information.

The immense sums of money that stem from drug traffic reduce incentives (on both sides of the border) for eliminating traffic.

TOPIC: Trade

Discussion: (Led by Andrés Ramos)

Free or foreign trade zones are areas into which items may be imported duty free. Duty is imposed when the item leaves the zone. Benefits of the free trade zones are:

1. Increased trade.
2. New capital investment.
3. U.S. parts are used in factories.
4. Employment is created on both sides of the border.
5. Indirect jobs are created.

Most free trade zones involve manufacturing so companies can take advantage of the non-existent or reduced duties on goods.

Disadvantages of free trade zones are:

1. Added work loan for Customs.
2. High initial cost of establishing free trade zones.

Two hundred mile free trade zone: Theoretically, it would run from Texas to California for 200 miles along the border. Both nations could produce and import along the border. It is viewed as a precursor to a common market.

Comments: Texas has passed enabling legislation for six more free trade zones. Time and funds are required to procure the necessary permits and licenses from the federal government so the zones may begin operations.

TOPIC: Future Plans for Committee

Discussion: Lance Tarrance asked that each topic -- Trade, Immigration, Drugs and Energy -- be discussed by a different committee member at the September 30 Commission Meeting. He suggested that we begin thinking about the recommendation phase of the report and that we apportion our report 10% to issues, 40% to facts and 50% to solutions.

The next meeting of the committee will take place in the middle of October and will concentrate of formulating the recommendations.

Comments: Staff suggested two possible "strategic" ideas:

1. An advisory council for Relations with Mexico that would help establish a Texas policy to clarify Texas' position vis a vis federal policy and Mexican policies, as well as to focus the numerous fragmented Mexico-related activities in the state.
2. A proposal to obtain permission from the federal government to operate a "pilot" program in an area where the committee feels a state agency could run a superior program (i.e. an experimental trade or crime control program).

Meeting adjourned at 3:00 p.m.

## RELATIONS WITH MEXICO

Most Texas-Mexico issues must be resolved by the federal policies of the two countries, but regional authorities do and should influence the outcome. Texas and the other border states absorb most of the impact of these policies, reaping the benefits from success and bearing the costs of failure.

Along our border, U.S.-Mexico relations become primarily Texas-Mexico relations. The fact that the shared border is an international border does not relieve the local populations of responsibility for conditions in the area.

Border issues arise that may be readily settled at the local level with the assistance or support of both federal governments. For example, water quality and availability, health and environment are regional problems for which regional solutions will be most effective.

Activities of international significance have local implications as well. Mexico is the third largest trading partner of the U.S., while the U.S. consumes 70% of all Mexican exports. Yet along the border, intensive trade takes place *when* ~~in which~~ shoppers cross the border to satisfy their daily wants and needs. This trade, though not included in international trade statistics, is important to the economic health of the border region and is supported by increasingly large populations on both sides. The economic well-being of the border contributes to good relations between the two countries.

Population growth along the border has been encouraged by the establishment of the twin plants programs. In this program, factories produce articles in Mexico, primarily from U.S. components, and are given tax, duty and regulatory exemptions. Assembled goods are exported to the United States, subject only to duty on the value added abroad. Value added in these plants reached \$778 million in 1980. Frequently, companies operate plants on both sides of the border, providing significant <sup>ed</sup> need/employment.

Energy is another area of international significance which encourages a special relationship between Texas and Mexico. Texas companies provide equipment and technical services to Mexico. The developing Mexican petrochemical industry is expected to both mirror and complement existing Texas industries. The growing Mexican oil industry is much more than a new source of energy for the U.S. or a way for Mexico to purchase goods on the international market. It provides the opportunity for <sup>the</sup> U.S. and Texas to invest in Mexico and stimulates the kind of economic development that will provide jobs and incomes for a growing Mexican population.

The importance of the illegal immigration problem is already well known in the State of Texas. The relatively lax U.S. policies currently in force may provoke severe political and social problems over the next 20 years, particularly if the U.S. economy continues to grow at a slower pace than in previous years. The doubling of the Mexican population, projected to occur by the year 2000, will only intensify immigration pressures. Texas, because of its long, common border with Mexico, will always bear the brunt of these pressures and must be able to identify the immigration policies that will accommodate its long-range interests.

The recommendations that follow fall into three distinct but general areas of Texas' involvement in relations with Mexico. The areas are:

1. Texas influence on U.S.-Mexico relations.
2. Texas-Mexico relations.
3. Economic development in the border region.

#### RELATIONS WITH MEXICO RECOMMENDATIONS

The Commission Recommends That:

1. Texas encourage the United States government to engage in innovative joint ventures with Mexico for the exchange of technology, labor and resources for the mutual benefit of both countries.

## Rationale

- The United States and Mexico have much to gain from an active joint venture and trading relationship. The strong possibility that growth in commerce can be coupled with the alleviation of mutual problems should spur both countries to negotiations in the broad and specific aspects of trade.
- 2. The State of Texas pursue studies of undocumented Mexican immigration into Texas that include the magnitude of this immigration as well as the following three areas: economic impact of immigration on Texas; Texans' attitudes toward immigration; and the demographic and sociopolitical implications of immigration <sup>to</sup> of Texas.

## Rationale

- Without understanding the nature and magnitude of undocumented Mexican immigration into this country, it is virtually impossible to devise a long-range plan to deal with it.
- Texas and the other border states bear the immediate and long-range impact of Mexican immigration to the U.S. Any program to alter the status quo will have its greatest effect on these states. Texas should be in a position to respond knowledgeably to any federal proposal or to put forth one of its own.
- 3. Texas support and promote either the continuation of the current Southwest Border Governor's Conference or create a border states forum to develop economic, cultural and social programs that would be of mutual benefit to the border states of the United States and Mexico.

### Rationale

-- An organization which acts as a forum to air positive and negative aspects of international border issues provides an important and official means of communication between the two countries at the state level.

-- Solutions to problems <sup>such as</sup> ~~including those~~ of water quality, environment and health as mentioned above, may be developed through this forum.

The organization can sanction solutions that result.

4. The State of Texas <sup>assign to</sup> designate an existing or new state agency <sup>the</sup> with responsibility, authority and funding to promote the economic development of the South Texas border region.

### Rationale

-- The ability of Texas to plan and promote economic development of the border region would be better coordinated if all such activities were concentrated as much as possible.

-- The agency could provide specialized information relating to the establishment of twin plant industries and free trade zones as well as assistance in obtaining the necessary federal licenses and permits.

-- The agency could work for the establishment of a border area federal coordinator for federal agencies with any jurisdiction over industrial trade and development.

-- The agency could explore and encourage, in cooperation with private interests, the chartering of a binational bank which would facilitate efficient transfer of funds between the countries and simplify financing procedures for joint ventures.

5. The State designate an office of Mexican Affairs that would serve the State and Governor in the following capacities:
- a. Advocate of Texas-Mexico policy.
  - b. Liaison with both federal governments.
  - c. Coordinator of exchange <sup>grams</sup> problems.
  - d. General referral or source of information.

Rationale

- Currently, these functions are performed by a number of different agencies whose responsibilities are unclear or overlapping.
- To have a strong role in influencing federal policies toward Mexico, the State must be organized and definite in its own approach.

## CONCLUSION

During the 1960's and 1970's, Texas experienced a period of economic growth that greatly expanded the range and capacity of its industries, lifted its per capita personal income dramatically and brought the State to a position of national economic prominence. The business, industrial and agricultural sectors flourished, supported by a plentiful supply of water, energy, land and technology relatively unrestricted by government regulation. The very existence of a Texas 2000 Commission is evidence of a widespread consensus that a new phase in Texas economic history is beginning. This new era can be as productive as the one just past, but it will require development of new resources and an adequate infrastructure. Growth in the next two decades and beyond will be achieved through innovation, efficient use of our resources, maintenance of ~~our resources and~~ our existing investment in permanent structures and success in applying new technologies.

In examining the sectors of the Texas economy, the Commission observed an intricate relationship of mutual dependence coupled with intense competition for the same resources: land, water, energy, government services. Competition necessitates the making of choices, both public and private. The broad implication of our report is that in order to make informed choices, Texas must engage in planning. Planning is the process of defining goals and devising a way of moving toward them. The Commission has begun this process, offering as a goal "the continued health and vitality of the Texas economy and ~~quality~~ <sup>the</sup> quality of life." Specific recommendations have been directed toward achieving that goal. The steps that ~~will~~ follow encompass the development of a number of individual

plans, each relating to goals of specific areas addressed by the Commission, and the implementation of those plans. Built into any plan should be the means of measuring progress toward reaching its goals.

The Texas 2000 Commission offers this report to the Governor of Texas, the Lieutenant Governor, and the Speaker of the House and the people of Texas with the following sentiment:

In a democracy, no plan works unless those who must carry it out participate in its creation. A plan which emerges by analysis, debate and consensus should command the support of a substantial majority and be carried out not only through our existing public institutions but also by private institutions and through public-private cooperation. It should, above all, be a dynamic and flexible process, changing as we experiment and learn what works and <sup>not</sup> doesn't work.

NIMC

# Is the border twin-plant concept for you?

by Janice Seay and Larry Trejo

Through the 1960s, "Made in Japan" was a common label on many products sold in the U.S.

Today, more and more companies are changing that to read, "Made in Mexico." Major companies such as General Motors, RCA and Sylvania — and even some Japanese corporations such as Canyon and Onion — are becoming part of the Mexican Industrialization Program (MIP).

Juarez, sister city to El Paso, has more than 44 percent of Mexico's 480 "in-land" or "twin plant" operations, as the MIPs are known.

"The reason is simple. Mexico has an abundant supply of low cost, highly-efficient laborers who need work, plus Juarez is minutes away from the United States," says Bill Mitchell, marketing manager for one of Mexico's most successful industrial parks, The Antonio Bernaldez Park in Juarez.

"One of the biggest problems facing U.S. manufacturers is the spiraling effect of inflation on wage levels. Many feel they will price themselves out of the market if they continue to depend solely on U.S. labor," Mitchell explains.

Taiwan, Hong Kong, Korea and the Philippines were the first solutions to the problem, however, three very serious drawbacks present themselves. First, all these labor markets are thousands of miles from this country. Second, high turnover rates and rising wages created long term labor shortages in some Far Eastern countries. And last, all these areas lie within the world's most politically unstable area.

On the other hand, Mexico has the problem of trying to upgrade its citizens' lives and curd the illegal alien flow. In 1967, the Mexican government established the MIP to attract foreign businesses to its shores. By 1970, big name companies began to move in and, with the close of the decade, there are more companies expressing a genuine interest that can be handled.

The following article, written by two El

Pasoans who interviewed Mitchell and dozens of other business-men, answers questions that are most often posed by companies interested in the twin-plant concept.

**Q. How does the twin-plant concept work?**

A. Basically, the plan works like this: Raw materials are shipped to the Mexico plant from its counterpart in another country for assembly into a finished product or sub-assembly. The product is then returned to the country of origin. All these products must be shipped out of Mexico and under no conditions can they be sold in Mexico. The only countries not eligible for the plan are those whose trade agreement with Mexico prohibits or limits the import of Mexican products.

**Q. How does a company qualify for the program?**

A. A company must have a minimum capital of \$2,000 and form a Mexican corporation which is given a permit to operate for either 50 or 95 years, according to the law. However, the permit can be easily obtained for any other term.

Unlike many other foreign countries, Mexico will allow the parent corporation to be a shareholder of the Mexican subsidiary. Most twin plant companies have their U.S. corporation as the major shareholder and four of its executives as owners of one share each.

**Q. How do a company's executives make the decision that a twin plant is for them?**

A. The basic approach is the same as establishing a plant in the U.S.: Research. The difference is that a company will be dealing with two countries rather than one, with two sets of laws, two languages, two cultural and historical backgrounds, as well as with two economies of different scale and priorities.

As a rule of thumb, if a company's labor cost in the U.S. is 50 percent or more of its total cost and its duty is 25 percent, chances are that Mexico is a

## Costs are low...

Utility and building costs •  
Twin Plant Operations

Item	Costs
Construction costs (per square foot for standard-type building, excluding land)	\$18.19
Telephone (Either direct line to El Paso, private line, or trunk line to switchboard)	
Installation	1,022.00
Monthly charge	
First 300 calls	4.10
Per additional call	.01
Per extension	1.26
Electric Power	
Installation	
Per kilowatt contracted	9.45
Per kilowatt installed	4.77
Fixed monthly charges	
First 50 kilowatts contracted	.96
Each additional kilowatt	1.30
Additional charges (per each kilowatt demand base)	
First 90 kilowatt hours	.02
Next 180 kilowatt hours in excess of 180 kilowatt hours	.013
Water and sewage	
Per cubic meter (water)	.13
Per cubic meter (sewage)	.02
Natural gas	
Monthly charge per cubic meter	.10
Per cubic meter installed	\$5.00
Installation and inspection (one time)	202.00 (est.)

## ...especially payroll

Monthly salary for Mexican twin plant workers (As of survey taken May 1973)

Position	Low salary	High salary
Production	\$318	\$1,119
Production manager	879	2,272
Industrial engineer		
manager	706	1,136
Quality control manager	570	1,363
Quality control supervisor	294	1,170
Quality control inspector	195	303
Electronic technician	264	454
Machinist	232	470
Import/export administrator	419	1,045
Bilingual executive		
Secretary	272	682
Building clerk	172	454
Industrial nurse	294	454

good investment (although many companies with widely varying figures have found it a good investment also).

Various consulting and service companies have been set up in Mexico that can help make the decisions to go into Mexico; these services help in every aspect of the set-up. They can even help a company with U.S. government customs side of the business.

For nine years, these private consulting companies and the Mexican government have been working to attract foreign investors.

**Q. How long does it take to get a plant operational?**

**A.** Not very long at all. Time from the start of the idea to open a twin plant until the day it is actually opened can be as little as 10 months. Compare that with from one to three years on the U.S. side of the border. This is possible because the Mexican government has cut most of the red tape. The single largest hang up in setting up a twin plant is getting through a company's own corporate jungle.

In the early days of the program it would take up to two weeks to get your goods across the border. Now, if you have more than a two-hour wait, something is wrong with your paperwork.

**Q. What about import duties?**

An example of the cooperation between Mexico and the U.S. is the 1972 Presidential decree. With this major achievement, machinery, equipment and raw materials were allowed into Mexico duty-free, provided that the finished product is eventually exported out of Mexico. And in the case of border locations, foreign-owned companies were given special permission to hold real estate in trust (with all rights of ownership to the property).

On the American side, as a general rule, the U.S. import duty is imposed only on the "added value" of the finished or semi-finished product when it is returned to the U.S. Specific cases will involve special U.S. Customs definition. The Mexican government does not apply import or export duties to any of the twin plant products.

**Q. Can companies keep their operations confidential?**

**A.** A benefit of the twin-plant concept is the privacy afforded to the companies. No information is released about individual companies without specific permission, which is almost never given. When company officials can be reached, they will not comment on even general phases of their business.

**Q. What will the new oil-richness of Mexico do to the program?**

**A.** There is a plan in action now that calls for part of the money from the oil to go into bettering the industrial parks and attracting more U.S. industry to Mexico. The government also hopes to upgrade their people's technical abilities, through American technology.

**Q. Are Mexican laborers, in general,**

**hard workers? Are they conscientious? Do they tend to join labor unions?**

**A.** Companies that use Mexican workers have praised their quality control. The Mexican laborers, especially women, are known for their craftsmanship, which seems to be easily adapted to the production of other goods as well. RCA, Sylvania, General Electric and hundreds of other companies are using this skill to manufacture a variety of sophisticated products throughout Mexico.

This skill is accompanied by another

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## Are American companies exploiting the Mexican laborer who will work for roughly \$7 a day?

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very important factor. Productivity is high and turnover and absenteeism among Mexican workers are amazingly low. Besides a direct savings in dollars per man hour, twin plant companies have found that Mexican labor productivity exceeds U.S. standards and, in most cases, affords better inspection procedures, thus improving quality.

As the U.S. educates itself out of the blue-collar market, more companies will be moving into Mexico. U.S. companies are finding it hard to hire employees who want to work in an assembly line, especially at a price they can afford.

The unions in the U.S. are another factor in the move to Mexico. Although there are unions in Mexico, they are made up of laborers from the top to the bottom. If you were to relate it to a time in U.S. history, the Mexican labor unions are at the beginning stages of what our labor movement was in the 1800s.

The main difference is that each local union is autonomous from the national organization and can make any decision it wants. For example, a few years ago, there was a union laborer trying to put the squeeze on the companies. The other laborers decided what he wanted to do was not in their best interest so they literally drove him out of town.

**Q. With the cheap and abundant supply of labor, are American companies exploiting the Mexican laborer who will work for roughly \$7 a day compared with \$24 and upwards in the U.S.?**

**A.** Definitely not. These people are making more in the American plants than they have ever made in their lives. If you tried to come in and pay an American wage, it could ruin the economic structure of this country, not help it. For the Mexican laborer, it is prestigious to work in the American plant. They will

proudly walk around in the downtown area wearing their work jackets with the company's ensignia on it. It is a status symbol.

**Q. Does this mean that the MIP is trying to attract runaway plants interested only in cheap labor?**

Definitely no. Nor was it designed to create employment in Mexico at the expense of U.S. jobs across the border. Quite the opposite has happened.

To give some idea of the economic impact on the U.S., a recent survey shows that 662 suppliers located in 33 states are needed to keep the 100 plants in Juarez furnished with raw materials. One of the companies even remarked that if it was not for their Juarez operation, the workers in the U.S. would be out of jobs.

Many companies have also built additional plants in El Paso to handle the goods from Juarez — a positive economic impact on El Paso.

**Q. When business people first think of a foreign country, a major question in their minds is: What about a government take-over of U.S. companies, like what happened in Cuba and many other countries?**

**A.** It would be against the Mexican government's best interest to take over a U.S. company. In the countries where this has happened, the feelings were that the companies were exploiting that nation's citizens by using their cheap labor and then turning around and selling the goods to them at relatively high prices.

When the Mexican program was set up, it was made clear that the goods would only be assembled in Mexico and then shipped out. This way, the benefit to the laborer with higher wages is the major consideration.

Still, the political realities of any country where the majority of the people live in extreme poverty should be addressed before committing to a business venture.

And as with most countries, there are radical groups whose main purpose is to incite this working class. Scattered incidents have occurred throughout Mexico, ranging from minor meetings to murder.

The only major incident to occur at the Juarez Twin Plant operation happened several years ago. A radical group known as the 16th de Septiembre tried to organize some of the laborers in the twin plant. The incident passed without violence and has not reappeared.

**Q. Is the twin-plant system working?**

**A.** "It must be. When we first started this project, we were getting the 'Don't call us, we'll call you' routine. Now, U.S. companies are almost breaking down our doors to get in. We've asked several of them 'Why are you building a new plant when the U.S. is entering a recession?' The answer is always the same, 'We have no other choice, with rising labor and building costs and the reducing of productivity.'" Bill Mitchell sums up. ☆

# TARRANCE

V LANCE TARRANCE & ASSOCIATES

## PHONE NUMBERS

1. Lionel Sosa 512/227-2013
2. Carlos Rodrigues 916/427-7174
3. Texas 2000 Commission 512/475-8386
4. Rick Montoya -- Clements top aide for Mexican Americans who now works in Washington -- we don't have a current number for him, but will pass it along when we get it.

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# TARRANCE

V. LANCE TARRANCE & ASSOCIATES

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You ought to be aware of this "nonpartisan" effort for 1984 -- in the 1960 Presidential campaign, the "Viva Kennedy" operation caught the national Republican Party by surprise.

Lance

# **SOUTHWEST VOTER REGISTRATION EDUCATION PROJECT**

201 N. ST. MARY'S ST., SUITE 501  
SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS 78205  
AC/512-222-0224



SOUTHWEST VOTER REGISTRATION  
EDUCATION PROJECT

## A SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES

The Southwest Voter Registration Education Project is a 501(c)(3) non-profit tax exempt organization committed to raising the level of political participation of minorities, particularly Hispanics and Native Americans, in the Southwest. Since its inception in 1974, the project has conducted 374 voter registration and voter education campaigns in 132 local communities in the states of Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico, Texas and Utah. During this time, we have witnessed the greatest increase in Chicano registration and turnout in history. From 1976 to 1980 there was an increase of 44% or 664,695 registered voters and an increase of 313,504 in the number of votes cast in the Presidential Election. The fruit of this work can also be seen in the dramatic leap in the number of Hispanic elected officials. In a five year period, between 1974-1979, the number of Hispanic elected officials increased by 20% in the Southwest, mostly in 1978 and 1979. Current research indicates an even greater increase from 1979 to 1982.

The goal of the project is to continue this momentum and to increase Chicano registration by another 44% from 1980 to 1984.

### Our Approach

Our approach is a rather straightforward one and can be summarized by the following list of activities. In essence, we . . .

1. Build a coalition at each site.
2. Conduct on-site training for each site.
3. Conduct coordinator training in San Antonio for key drives.
4. Provide political and demographic analysis for each site.
5. Fund coalitions to conduct door-to-door voter registration drives.
6. Conduct voter education through Spanish-speaking radio and television.
7. Litigate to remedy gerrymandering.
8. Publish reports and studies to educate the public at large concerning the Chicano voter potential.
9. Form SVREP planning committees in key regions.

Each site is visited by SVREP staff and all proposals are written with the people on the steering committee and on site. No single organization is funded, but rather a coalition is funded. A seminar is held, training people in the most effective techniques available to register voters and mobilize our collective political strength. An extensive manual has been published by SVREP on how to conduct effective campaigns. The best person on site is then picked to be a coordinator and trained in San Antonio. This training, lasting a day and a half, covers voter registration methodology, campaign methodology, get-out-the-vote techniques, media strategies and targeting. Every aspect of the drive is explained in detail and involves all components of the SVREP staff. During the training, the staff explains the demographic and political analyses prepared by the research staff and initial determinations are made regarding possible malapportionment and gerrymandering of district lines. The litigation department then describes the operation of its department and acquaints the local coordinator with the legal steps involved in remedying potential gerrymandering abuses.

The organization is divided into four basic departments: Field Organizing, Research, Media and Litigation. Each is geared toward mobilizing minority voters.

#### Field Department

All the departments of SVREP, field, communications, litigation and media, and research are geared toward mobilizing minority, and particularly Hispanic voters. The field department not only organizes cost-effective voter registration campaigns, it also trains local leadership in get-out-the-vote techniques, telephone banks and inexpensive in-house polling.

A recent innovation in the field department has been the establishment of "regional planning committees." These committees are composed of local community leaders throughout a defined geographic area. Their purpose is to counsel with SVREP on sites for local voter registration drives. In addition to targeting voter registration drives, the regional planning committees serve as political networks in which local leadership is brought together to discuss issues of key importance to the Mexican American community.

#### Research Department

The research department provides a targeting package for each of its voter registration campaigns pinpointing precincts with low minority registration and turnout. In this way, the local community can set realistic political goals and objectives. Another function of the research department that services our field work is to discover the mechanisms through which greater political participation may be encouraged. Toward this end, the research department recently completed an in-depth study consisting of 900 in-depth, personal interviews in California and Texas. The thirty minute in person interviews gathered data on the political behavior and attitudes of Mexican Americans. Among other items, SVREP collected information on the sources of political information for Mexican Americans, partisan identification, issue orientation and voting behavior as well as how age, income and education affect these variables. In addition, SVREP intends to engage in an ongoing polling program to enhance the political sophistication of our political communities.

Another research activity assesses the impact Hispanics have on state, national, and local elections. Our election reports and exit polls are the only readily accessible data base of voting behavior and patterns of voter support on Hispanic voters. As such, SVREP has become the major source of information on Hispanic political behavior for the public at large.

#### Communications/Media Department

An important element in our work has to do with voter education. Public Service Announcements produced by SVREP encouraging Hispanics to register and vote have received wide distribution. SVREP has had its radio tapes and T.V. films played on more than 160 stations. Our local coalitions are trained on how to get access to local media and how to evaluate the effectiveness of media for the appeal being made. We have found that the Spanish language media is a major trusted source of political information for Mexican American voters and have been very successful in exploiting this median. Their cooperation has been a valuable tool for mass registration and education.

#### Litigation Department

Our litigation department provides legal services to protect the voting rights of minorities. It enforces the Federal Voting Rights Act and the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment. Our legal efforts are directed at eliminating discriminatory election devices that are commonly employed by state and local governments. In the past two years, over 30 county and two state governments have been defendants in our litigation.

Gerrymandering has been of particular concern to the project. The Litigation Department, upon determining that a given political jurisdiction is malapportioned, will seek to change the districting scheme to allow for a more equitable opportunity for minorities to elect a minority representative.

CONTRACTED QUESTIONS:  
45 TOTAL QUESTIONS,  
4 OPEN-ENDS

TEXAS HISPANIC/SOUTH TEXAS  
THIRD DRAFT

VERSION A

INTERVIEWER \_\_\_\_\_  
TARRANCE & ASSOCIATES  
PERSONAL/CONFIDENTIAL

Study # 1705  
Time started \_\_\_\_\_  
Time ended \_\_\_\_\_  
Finance GTK  
Coding \_\_\_\_\_

A

Hello, I'm \_\_\_\_\_ of Tarrance & Associates, a national research firm. We're talking to people in Texas today about public leaders and issues facing us all.

I \_\_\_\_\_

N \_\_\_\_\_

T \_\_\_\_\_

# \_\_\_\_\_

\*\* Buenas (os) tardes (días), soy \_\_\_\_\_ de Tarrance y Socios, una empresa nacional de estudios sobre la opinión pública. Le estamos hablando a diferentes personas en Texas para preguntarles algo sobre líderes públicos y algunos asuntos a los que nos enfrentamos.

A. Are you registered to vote in Texas and able to vote on Texas issues?

\*\* ¿Está Ud registrado para votar en Texas y puede Ud. votar sobre asuntos de Texas?

Yes \*\*Sí (CONTINUE).....1  
No (THANK & TERMINATE).....2

B. Some people have the time to vote in every election while others do not. Do you recall having had the time to vote in the 1980 Presidential election between Ronald Reagan and Jimmy Carter?

\*\* Algunas personas tienen el tiempo para votar en cada elección mientras que otras no. ¿Recuerda Ud. si tuvo tiempo de votar en la elección presidencial de 1980 entre Ronald Reagan y Jimmy Carter?

Yes \*\*Sí (CONTINUE).....1  
No (THANK & TERMINATE).....2

CONTRACTED QUESTIONS:  
45 TOTAL QUESTIONS,  
4 OPEN-ENDS

TEXAS HISPANIC/SOUTH TEXAS  
THIRD DRAFT

VERSION B

INTERVIEWER \_\_\_\_\_  
TARRANCE & ASSOCIATES  
PERSONAL/CONFIDENTIAL

Study # 1705  
Time started \_\_\_\_\_  
Time ended \_\_\_\_\_  
Finance CJK  
Coding \_\_\_\_\_

B

Hello, I'm \_\_\_\_\_ of Tarrance & Associates, a national  
research firm. We're talking to people in Texas today about public leaders  
and issues facing us all.

I \_\_\_\_\_

N \_\_\_\_\_

T  
# \_\_\_\_\_

\*\* Buenas (os) tardes (días), soy \_\_\_\_\_ de Tarrance y  
Socios, una empresa nacional de estudios sobre la opinión pública. Le  
estamos hablando a diferentes personas en Texas para preguntarles algo  
sobre líderes públicos y algunos asuntos a los que nos enfrentamos.

A. Are you registered to vote in Texas  
and able to vote on Texas issues?

\*\* ¿Está Ud registrado para votar en  
Texas y puede Ud. votar sobre  
asuntos de Texas?

Yes \*\*Sí (CONTINUE).....1  
No (THANK & TERMINATE).....2

B. Some people have the time to vote in  
every election while others do not.  
Do you recall having had the time to  
vote in the 1980 Presidential election  
between Ronald Reagan and Jimmy Carter?

\*\* Algunas personas tienen el tiempo para  
votar en cada elección mientras que  
otras no. ¿Recuerda Ud. si tuvo tiempo  
de votar en la elección presidencial  
de 1980 entre Ronald Reagan y Jimmy  
Carter?

Yes \*\*Sí (CONTINUE).....1  
No (THANK & TERMINATE).....2

First of all --

\*\* Primeramente --

1. How long have you lived in Texas?  
(READ LIST)

\*\* ¿Cuánto tiempo tiene de vivir en Texas?  
(READ LIST)

1979-1982.....	1
1975-1978.....	2
1970-1974.....	3
1960-1969.....	4
Before **antes de 1960.....	5
Native **nativo.....	6

Thinking about things here in Texas --

\*\* Pensando en cosas aquí en Texas --

2A. In your own words, other than inflation, what is the number one problem facing people in this part of Texas today which you and your family are most concerned about? (PROBE: CAN YOU TELL ME A LITTLE MORE ABOUT THAT?)

\*\* En sus propias palabras, Aparte de la inflación, ¿Cuál es el problema número uno al cual las personas en esta parte de Texas se enfrentan hoy? -- es decir, por el cual Ud. y su familia están preocupados? (PROBE: CAN YOU TELL ME A LITTLE MORE ABOUT THAT?)

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First of all --

\*\* Primeramente --

1. How long have you lived in Texas?  
(READ LIST)

\*\* ¿Cuánto tiempo tiene de vivir en Texas?  
(READ LIST)

1979-1982.....	1
1975-1978.....	2
1970-1974.....	3
1960-1969.....	4
Before **antes de 1960.....	5
Native **nativo.....	6

Thinking about things here in Texas --

\*\* Pensando en cosas aquí en Texas --

2B. When thinking about the types of leaders the State of Texas will need to solve the problems that face Texas, what type of leader comes to mind -- that is, what experience, personality, or style of leadership will a governor need to be successful? (PROBE: CAN YOU TELL ME A LITTLE MORE ABOUT THAT?)

\*\* Pensando en los tipos de líderes que el estado de Texas necesitará para resolver los problemas que se presentan en el estado de Texas, ¿qué tipo de líder se le viene a la mente? -- es decir, ¿qué experiencia, personalidad o estilo de mando necesitará un gobernador para ser un éxito? (PROBE: CAN YOU TELL ME A LITTLE MORE ABOUT THAT?)

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In recent months, the media has presented many stories about problems which face people in this part of Texas. I'm going to read a list of some of the problems which have been mentioned and I'd like for you to tell me which one you feel is most important. (READ LIST, ROTATE) Which problem is next most important?)

\*\* En los últimos meses, los medios de comunicación han presentado muchas historias sobre los problemas a los cuales se enfrenta la gente en esta parte de Texas. Le voy a leer una lista de algunos de los problemas que se han mencionado, y me gustaría que Ud. me dijera cuál cree Ud. que es el más importante. (READ LIST, ROTATE) ¿Cual es el segundo en importancia?

	Q.3 Most <u>Important</u>	Q.4 Next Most <u>Important</u>	
1. High interest rates			
** Los altos intereses	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	
2. Shortage of jobs in this area			
** La escasez de trabajos en esta área	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	
3. Illegal aliens			
** Los indocumentados	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	
4. Quality of education in public schools			
** La calidad de educación	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	Q.3 _____
5. Illegal drugs			
** Las drogas ilegales	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	
6. The need for stronger leadership in government			
** La necesidad de dirección mas rígida en el gobierno	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	Q.4 _____
7. Equal employment opportunities			
** Igualdad de oportunidades de empleo	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>	

---

5. Would you favor or oppose a plan that would issue work permits to aliens allowing them to enter the country and work for half a year at a time? There would be no limit on the total number of permits issued.

\*\* ¿Estaría Ud en favor o en contra de un plan que diera permisos de trabajo a los indocumentados permitiéndoles entrar a este país y trabajar por medio año a la vez? No habría límites en el número de permisos que se dieran.

IF CHOICE MADE, ASK: And do you feel strongly about that?

Favor/strongly \*\*a favor/  
firmemente.....1  
Favor \*\*a favor.....2  
Unsure \*\*No seguro  
(DO NOT READ).....3  
Oppose \*\*Opuesto.....4  
Oppose/strongly \*\*Opuesto/  
firmemente.....5

IF CHOICE MADE, ASK: \*\* Y cree firmemente en eso?

Let's think about our state government for a minute --

\*\* Pensemos en nuestro gobierno del estado por un minuto --

6. Based on what you know and have read, how would you rate the job which our state legislature in Austin does -- excellent, good, only fair, or poor?

\*\* Basado en lo que Ud. sabe y ha leído, ¿cómo calificaría Ud. el trabajo que la legislatura en Austin hace -- excelente, bueno, solo mediocre, o malo?

Excellent \*\*excelente.....1  
Good \*\*bueno.....2  
Only fair \*\*solo mediocre.....3  
Poor \*\*malo.....4

As you may know, there will be an election this fall for Governor and U.S. Senator. Looking at the governor's race, I'm going to mention a few phrases which might describe a candidate for Governor in Texas. For each one, please tell me whether you would be more likely or less likely to vote for a candidate with that characteristic. First --

\*\*Como Ud. sabrá, habrá una elección este otoño para Gobernador y para Senador de los E.E.U.U. Pensando en la campana de gobernador, le voy a mencionar unas cuantas frases que pudiera describir a un candidato para Gobernador en Texas. Por cada una, dígame si sería más probable o menos probable que Ud. votara por un gobernador con esa característica. Primero --

7. "Has a close working relationship with the governors of Mexico's border states."  
(PROMPT: WOULD YOU BE MORE LIKELY OR LESS LIKELY TO VOTE FOR A CANDIDATE WHO HAS A CLOSE WORKING RELATIONSHIP WITH THE GOVERNORS OF MEXICO'S BORDER STATES?)

\*\* "Tiene una relación muy buena con los gobernadores de los estados fronterizos de Mexico." (PROMPT: SERIA MAS O MENOS PROBABLE QUE UD. VOTARA POR UN CANDIDATO QUE TENGA UNA RELACION BUENA CON LOS GOBERNADORES DE LOS ESTADOS FRONTERIZOS DE MEXICO?)

More likely \*\*mas probable.....1  
No difference \*\*no hay diferencia  
(DO NOT READ).....2  
Unsure \*\*no seguro (DO NOT READ)..3  
Less likely \*\*menos probable.....4

---

8. "A Republican."  
(PROMPT IF NECESSARY)

\*\* "Un Republicano."

More likely \*\*mas probable.....1  
No difference \*\*no hay diferencia  
(DO NOT READ).....2  
Unsure \*\*no seguro (DO NOT READ)..3  
Less likely \*\*menos probable.....4

---

9. "Someone supported by former Governor Dolph Briscoe."  
(PROMPT IF NECESSARY)

\*\* "Alguien apoyado por el Gobernador anterior, Dolph Briscoe."  
(PROMPT IF NECESSARY)

More likely \*\*mas probable.....1  
No difference \*\*no hay diferencia  
(DO NOT READ).....2  
Unsure \*\*no seguro (DO NOT READ)..3  
Less likely \*\*menos probable.....4

---

10. "Someone who supports President Reagan's economic plans."  
(PROMPT: WOULD YOU BE MORE LIKELY OR LESS LIKELY TO SUPPORT A CANDIDATE WHO SUPPORTS PRESIDENT REAGAN'S ECONOMIC PLANS?)

\*\* "Alguién que apoye los planes económicos del Presidente Reagan?"  
(PROMPT: SERIA MAS O MENOS PROBABLE QUE UD. APOYARA A UN CANDIDATO QUE APOYE LOS PLANES ECONOMICOS DEL PRESIDENTE REAGAN?)

More likely \*\*más probable.....1  
No difference \*\*no hay diferencia  
(DO NOT READ).....2  
Unsure \*\*no seguro (DO NOT READ)..3  
Less likely \*\*menos probable.....4

11. And, of the major political parties, which one do you feel works hardest to defend the interests of residents of Hispanic descent -- (ROTATE) -- (1) the Democratic Party, or (2) the Republican Party?

\*\* Y, de los partidos políticos mayores, ¿Cuál cree Ud. que trabaja más para defender los intereses de los residentes de descendencia hispana -- (ROTATE) -- (1) el Partido Demócrata, o (2) el Partido Republicano?

Democratic party \*\*partido  
Demócrata (TO Q.12a).....1  
Republican party \*\*partido  
Republicano (TO Q.12b).....2  
La Raza Unida (DO NOT READ)  
(TO Q.13).....3  
Neither \*\*Ninguno (DO NOT READ)  
(TO Q.13).....4  
Both the same \*\*Los dos  
igualmente (DO NOT READ)  
(TO Q.13).....5

IF "DEMOCRATIC PARTY" IN QUESTION 11, ASK:

12a. And in your own words, what are one or two reasons why you feel that the Democratic Party works hardest for Hispanic residents? (PROBE: CAN YOU TELL ME A LITTLE MORE ABOUT THAT?)

\*\* Y en sus propias palabras, ¿Cuáles son una o dos razones por la cual Ud. cree que el partido Demócrata trabaja más por los residentes hispanos? (PROBE: CAN YOU TELL ME A LITTLE MORE ABOUT THAT?)

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

(GO TO Q.13)

IF "REPUBLICAN PARTY" IN QUESTION 11, ASK:

12b. And in your own words, what are one or two reasons why you feel that the Republican Party works hardest for Hispanic residents? (PROBE: CAN YOU TELL ME A LITTLE MORE ABOUT THAT?)

\*\* Y en sus propias palabras, ¿Cuáles son una o dos razones por la cual Ud. cree que el partido Republicano trabaja más por los residentes hispanos? (PROBE: CAN YOU TELL ME A LITTLE MORE ABOUT THAT?)

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

13. The names of public officials often slip people's minds. Do you happen to recall the name of the Governor of Texas?

\*\* A veces los nombres de los funcionarios se les olvidan a las personas. Por casualidad, ¿recuerda Ud. el nombre del gobernador de Texas?

Bill Clements named \*\*Bill  
Clements se nombró (TO Q15)..1  
Bill Clements not named \*\*Bill  
Clements no se nombró (TO 14).2

IF "BILL CLEMENTS NOT NAMED" IN QUESTION 13, ASK:

Now I'm going to read a name. Please tell me whether you recognize the name, and if so, what the person is doing nowadays. If you don't know the name, just say so.

\*\* Ahora le voy a leer un nombre. Por favor dígame si reconoce el nombre y lo que la persona hace hoy en día. Si no conoce el nombre, nomás diga que no.

14. Bill Clements

CORRECT IDENTIFICATION:  
Governor of Texas,  
Republican

Never heard of \*\*nunca ha oído de el  
(TO Q.26).....1  
Heard of only \*\*solamente ha oído de el  
(TO PROMPT & 16).....2  
Correctly identified \*\*identificó  
correctamente (TO Q.15).....3

IF CLEMENTS NAMED IN Q.13 OR IDENTIFIED IN Q.14, ASK:

15. How would you rate the job that Bill Clements is doing as Governor -- excellent, good, only fair, or poor?

\*\* ¿Cómo calificaría Ud. el trabajo que Bill Clements está haciendo como Gobernador -- excelente, bueno, solo mediocre o malo?

Excellent \*\*excelente.....1  
Good \*\*bueno.....2  
Only fair \*\*solo mediocre.....3  
Poor \*\*malo.....4

PROMPT IF NECESSARY: AS YOU MAY RECALL, BILL CLEMENTS IS THE GOVERNOR OF TEXAS.

\*\* COMO RECORDARA, BILL CLEMENTS ES EL GOBERNADOR DE TEXAS.

16. If the election were held today and you had to make a choice, would you vote to re-elect Bill Clements as Governor?

\*\* Si la elección fuera hoy, y Ud. tuviera que escoger, ¿Votaría para re-elegir a Bill Clements como Gobernador?

Yes \*\*sí (TO Q.17a).....1  
Undecided/depends on opponent  
\*\*Indeciso/depende del contrincante  
(DO NOT READ) (TO Q.17b).....2  
No (TO Q.17c).....3

IF "YES" IN QUESTION 16, ASK:

17a. And in your own words, what has the governor done to earn your support? (PROBE: CAN YOU TELL ME A LITTLE MORE ABOUT THAT?)

\*\* Y en sus propias palabras, ¿Qué ha hecho el gobernador para ganar su apoyo? (PROBE: CAN YOU TELL ME A LITTLE MORE ABOUT THAT?)

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

(GO TO Q.18)

IF "UNSURE" IN QUESTION 16, ASK:

17b. And in your own words, what would the governor have to do to earn your support? (PROBE: CAN YOU TELL ME A LITTLE MORE ABOUT THAT?)

\*\* Y en sus propias palabras, ¿Qué tendría que hacer el gobernador para ganar su apoyo? (PROBE: CAN YOU TELL ME A LITTLE MORE ABOUT THAT?)

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

(GO TO Q.18)

IF "NO" IN QUESTION 16, ASK:

17c. Why do you feel that way? (PROBE: CAN YOU TELL ME A LITTLE MORE ABOUT THAT?)

\*\* ¿Por qué piensa así? (PROBE: CAN YOU TELL ME A LITTLE MORE ABOUT THAT?)

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Now I'm going to read a few phrases which others have mentioned about the Governor. Please tell me for each one whether you feel it correctly describes Bill Clements. First of all --

\*\* Ahora le voy a leer unas cuantas frases que otros han mencionado sobre el Gobernador. Por favor dígame por cada una si cree que la frase describe correctamente a Bill Clements. Primeramente --

18A. "Is sincere."  
(PROMPT: DO YOU FEEL THIS PHRASE DESCRIBES BILL CLEMENTS?)

\*\* "Es Sincero." (PROMPT: CREE UD. QUE ESTA FRASE DESCRIBE A BILL CLEMENTS?)

Yes \*\*sí.....1  
Undecided \*\*Indeciso (DO NOT READ).2  
No.....3

19A. "Cares about the needs of people like me."  
(PROMPT IF NECESSARY)

\*\* "Le importan las necesidades de la gente como yo."  
(PROMPT IF NECESSARY)

Yes \*\*sí.....1  
Undecided \*\*Indeciso (DO NOT READ).2  
No.....3

20A. "Cares about the quality of education."  
(PROMPT IF NECESSARY)

\*\* "Le importa la calidad de educación."  
(PROMPT IF NECESSARY)

Yes \*\*sí.....1  
Undecided \*\*indeciso (DO NOT READ).2  
No.....3

IF "NO" IN QUESTION 16, ASK:

17c. Why do you feel that way? (PROBE: CAN YOU TELL ME A LITTLE MORE ABOUT THAT?)

\*\* ¿Por qué piensa así? (PROBE: CAN YOU TELL ME A LITTLE MORE ABOUT THAT?)

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Now I'm going to read a few phrases which others have mentioned about the Governor. Please tell me for each one whether you feel it correctly describes Bill Clements. First of all --

\*\* Ahora le voy a leer unas cuantas frases que otros han mencionado sobre el Gobernador. Por favor dígame por cada una si cree que la frase describe correctamente a Bill Clements. Primeramente --

18B. "Is decisive and straightforward."  
(PROMPT: DO YOU FEEL THIS PHRASE DESCRIBES BILL CLEMENTS?)

\*\* "Es decisivo y honesto."  
(PROMPT: CREE UD. QUE ESTA FRASE DESCRIBE A BILL CLEMENTS?)

Yes \*\*sí.....1  
Undecided \*\*indeciso (DO NOT READ).2  
No.....3

19B. "Is a good manager of the state government."  
(PROMPT IF NECESSARY)

\*\* "Maneja bien las cosas del gobierno."  
(PROMPT IF NECESSARY)

Yes \*\*sí.....1  
Undecided \*\*indeciso (DO NOT READ).2  
No.....3

20B. "Has fought hard to stop crime and drug trafficking in Texas."  
(PROMPT IF NECESSARY)

\*\* "Ha luchado con diligencia por detener el crimen y el tráfico de las drogas en Texas."  
(PROMPT IF NECESSARY)

Yes \*\*sí.....1  
Undecided \*\*indeciso (DO NOT READ).2  
No.....3

21. "Is effective in dealing with the illegal alien problem."  
(PROMPT IF NECESSARY)

\*\* "Es eficiente al tratar con el problema del indocumentado."  
(PROMPT IF NECESSARY)

Yes \*\*sí (TO Q.22a).....1  
Undecided \*\*Indeciso (DO NOT READ)  
(TO 23).....2  
No (TO 22b).....3

---

IF "YES" IN QUESTION 21, ASK:

22a. And what are some of the things he has done best in dealing with the illegal alien problem? (PROBE: CAN YOU TELL ME A LITTLE MORE ABOUT THAT?)

\*\* ¿Cuáles son algunas de las cosas que él ha hecho al tratar el problema de los indocumentados? (PROBE: CAN YOU TELL ME A LITTLE MORE ABOUT THAT?)

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(GO TO Q.23)

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IF "NO" IN QUESTION 21, ASK:

22b. And why do you feel that way...what should he be doing? (PROBE: CAN YOU TELL ME A LITTLE MORE ABOUT THAT?)

\*\* Y, ¿Por qué piensa así... que debe estar haciendo? (PROBE: CAN YOU TELL ME A LITTLE MORE ABOUT THAT?)

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Being as objective as you can, do you strongly approve, approve, disapprove, or strongly disapprove of the job Governor Clements has done in the following areas. (READ RESPONSES, ROTATE)

\*\* Siendo tan imparcial como pueda, ¿Aprueba Ud. mucho, solamente aprueba, desaprueba, o desaprueba mucho lo que el gobernador Clements ha hecho en cuanto a los siguientes temas: (READ RESPONSES, ROTATE)

23. Obtaining the passage of effective crime legislation

\*\* En conseguir la adopción de legislación para combatir el crimen

Strongly approve \*\*aprueba mucho..1  
 Approve \*\*aprueba solamente.....2  
 Unsure \*\*no seguro (DO NOT READ)..3  
 Disapprove \*\*desaprueba.....4  
 Disapprove/strongly \*\*desaprueba  
 mucho.....5

---

24. Protecting the equal employment opportunities of Hispanics.

\*\* En proteger la igualdad de las oportunidades de empleo para los hispanos.

Strongly approve \*\*aprueba mucho..1  
 Approve \*\*aprueba solamente.....2  
 Unsure \*\*no seguro (DO NOT READ)..3  
 Disapprove \*\*desaprueba.....4  
 Disapprove/strongly \*\*desaprueba  
 mucho.....5

---

25. Appointing Hispanic judges.

\*\* En nombrar jueces hispanos.

Strongly approve \*\*aprueba mucho..1  
 Approve \*\*aprueba solamente.....2  
 Unsure \*\*no seguro (DO NOT READ)..3  
 Disapprove \*\*desaprueba.....4  
 Disapprove/strongly \*\*desaprueba  
 mucho.....5

---

26. And speaking of politics and elections, in which political party's primary election did you vote on May 1st?

\*\* Y hablando de política y elecciones, en la elección primaria del 1<sup>o</sup> de mayo ¿votó Ud. como demócrata o republicano?

Democratic \*\*Demócrata (TO Q.27)....1  
 Republican \*\*Republicano (TO Q.28)..2  
 Didn't vote \*\*no votó (DO NOT READ)  
 (TO Q.28).....3  
 Refused/unsure \*\*rehuso/no seguro  
 (DO NOT READ)(TO Q.28).....4

IF "DEMOCRATIC" IN QUESTION 26, ASK:

27. And in the Democratic party's primary election, for which gubernatorial candidate did you vote -- (ROTATE) -- Buddy Temple, Bob Armstrong, or Mark White?

\*\* Y en la elección primaria del partido Demócrata, ¿ Por cual candidato para gobernador votó Ud -- (ROTATE) -- Buddy Temple, Bob Armstrong, or Mark White?

Buddy Temple.....1  
 Bob Armstrong.....2  
 Mark White.....3  
 Unsure/refused \*\*no seguro/rehusó  
 (DO NOT READ).....4

Now let's think ahead for a minute --

\*\* Pensemos en el futuro por un minuto --

28. If the gubernatorial election were held today, and you had to make a choice, for whom would you vote -- (ROTATE) -- (1) Bill Clements, Republican, or (2) Mark White Democrat?

\*\* Si la elección para gobernador fuera hoy, y Ud. tuviera que escoger, ¿por quién votaría -- (ROTATE) -- (1) Bill Clements, Republicano, o (2) Mark White, Demócrata?

IF CHOICE MADE, ASK:	And do you feel strongly about that?	Clements/strongly firmemente.....1
		Clements.....2
		Lean Clements **inclina a Clements.3
		Undecided **indeciso (DO NOT READ).4
		Lean **inclina a White.....5
		White.....6
		White/strongly **firmemente.....7
<hr/>		
	** Y, ¿cree firmemente en esto?	
IF UNDECIDED, ASK:	And which candidate do you lean toward slightly?	
	** Y, ¿Por cuál candidato se inclina un poco?	

IF "CLEMENTS/STRONGLY" OR "CLEMENTS" IN QUESTION 28, ASK:

29a. And is that a vote for Bill Clements or a vote against Mark White?

\*\* Y ¿Es ese un voto por Bill Clements o un voto en contra de Mark White?

For Clements **por Clements.....1
Undecided **indeciso (DO NOT READ).2
Against White **contra White.....3

IF "WHITE/STRONGLY" OR "WHITE" IN QUESTION 28, ASK:

29b. Is that a vote for Mark White or against Bill Clements?

\*\* ¿Es ese un voto por Mark White o en contra de Bill Clements?

For White **por White.....1
Undecided **indeciso (DO NOT READ)..2
Against Clements ** contra Clements.3

\*ROTATE QUESTIONS 30 THROUGH 32\*IF "MARK WHITE" IN QUESTION 28, ASK:

30. And would you still vote for Mark White even though you learned that Bill Clements has a closer working relationship with the governors of the Mexican border states?

\*\* Y ¿votaría Ud. por Mark White aun sabiendo que Bill Clements tiene una relación mejor con los gobernadores de los Estados fronterizos de Mexico?

Yes \*\*sí.....1  
 Unsure \*\*no seguro (DO NOT READ)..2  
 No.....3

IF "MARK WHITE" IN QUESTION 28, ASK:

31. And would you still vote for Mark White even though you learned that his budget proposals would mean higher state taxes during the next few years?

\*\* Y ¿votaría Ud. por Mark White aun sabiendo que el presupuesto propuesto por el significaría impuestos del estado mas elevados durante los siguientes años?

Yes \*\*sí.....1  
 Unsure \*\*no seguro (DO NOT READ)..2  
 No.....3

IF "MARK WHITE" IN QUESTION 28, ASK:

32. And would you still vote for Mark White even though you knew he opposed the extension of the voting rights act for the State of Texas?

\*\* Y ¿votaría Ud. por Mark White aun sabiendo que el señor White se opone a la extensión del acta de los derechos de votar (voting rights act)?

Yes \*\*sí.....1  
 Unsure \*\*no seguro (DO NOT READ)..2  
 No.....3

33. And when thinking about politics and the upcoming campaigns for offices such as governor and U.S. senator, where do you get most of your information about the candidates and the campaigns -- (ROTATE) -- (1) radio, (2) television or (3) newspapers?

\*\* Y al pensar en la política y en las campañas que vienen para puestos tales como los de gobernador y senador de los E.E.U.U., ¿De dónde recibe Ud. la mayoría de su información sobre los candidatos y las campañas -- (ROTATE) -- (1) la radio, (2) la televisión, o (3) el periódico?

Radio.....	1
Televisión.....	2
Newspapers **periódico.....	3
Other **otro (DO NOT READ)	
(SPECIFY) _____	4

Now I'm going to ask you some questions about how often you speak Spanish in your household. Just tell me which statement applies in your case...

\*\* Ahora le voy a hacer algunas preguntas sobre qué tan seguido habla español en su casa. Solamente dígame cuál frase mejor se aplica a su caso ...

34. How likely is it that you would speak Spanish with your parents and other family members? -- (READ LIST) --

\*\* ¿Qué tan probable es que Ud. hable español con sus padres u otros miembros de la familia?  
-- (READ LIST) --

Never **nunca.....	1
Very unlikely **no muy probable...	2
Likely **probable.....	3
Very likely **muy probable.....	4
Always **siempre.....	5

35. How likely is it that you would speak Spanish with children or other younger members of the family? -- (READ LIST) --

\*\* ¿Qué tan probable es que Ud. hable español con los niños o con otros miembros jóvenes en su familia?  
-- (READ LIST) --

Never **nunca.....	1
Very unlikely **no muy probable...	2
Likely **probable.....	3
Very likely **muy probable.....	4
Always **siempre.....	5

36. How likely is it that you would speak Spanish with friends or neighbors?  
-- (READ LIST) --

\*\* ¿Qué tan probable es que Ud. hable español con amigos o vecinos?  
-- (READ LIST) --

Never \*\*nunca.....1  
Very unlikely \*\*no muy probable...2  
Likely \*\*probable.....3  
Very likely \*\*muy probable.....4  
Always \*\*siempre.....5

---

37. How likely is it that you would speak Spanish with co-workers and acquaintances?  
-- (READ LIST) --

\*\* ¿Qué tan probable es que Ud. hable español con compañeros de trabajo o amistades?  
-- (READ LIST) --

Never \*\*nunca.....1  
Very unlikely \*\*no muy probable...2  
Likely \*\*probable.....3  
Very likely \*\*muy probable.....4  
Always \*\*siempre.....5

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38. Please think of the last 10 hours of radio you listened to. How many of those hours were Spanish language radio? -- (READ LIST) --

\*\* Por favor piense en las últimas 10 horas de radio que Ud. ha escuchado. ¿Cuántas de esas horas fueron de una estación de radio de habla hispana?

Up to 2 hours \*\*hasta 2 horas.....1  
Up to 4 hours \*\*hasta 4 horas.....2  
Up to 6 hours \*\*hasta 6 horas.....3  
Up to 8 hours \*\*hasta 8 horas.....4  
Up to 10 hours \*\*hasta 10 horas...5

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39. Finally, how important is bilingual education in the development of your child (children) -- (READ LIST) -- (1) very important, (2) important (3) somewhat important, or (4) not at all important

\*\* Por último, ¿qué tan importante es la educación bilingüe para el desarrollo de su hijo (hijos) -- (READ LIST) -- (1) muy importante, (2) importante, (3) poco importante, o (4) nada importante?

Very important \*\*muy importante.....1  
 Important \*\*importante.....2  
 Somewhat important \*\*poco importante..3  
 Not important \*\*nada de importante....4  
 Don't know, no children, no answer  
 (DO NOT READ).....5

Now, just a few final questions for statistical purposes only --

\*\* Ahora unas cuantas preguntas mas para fines estadísticos solamente --

40. What is your age, please?

\*\* ¿Cuál es su edad?

18-24.....1  
 25-34.....2  
 35-44.....3  
 45-54.....4  
 55-64.....5  
 65 and over \*\*65 y más.....6

41. What is the last grade of school you completed? (READ LIST)

\*\* ¿Cuál es el último año escolar que Ud. terminó? (READ LIST)

Less than high school \*\*menos que high school.....1  
 High school graduate \*\*graduado de high school.....2  
 Some college \*\*algo de universidad.3  
 College graduate \*\*graduado de universidad.....4

42. When thinking about politics and government, do you consider yourself to be -- (ROTATE) -- (1) very conservative, (2) somewhat conservative, (3) somewhat liberal, or (4) very liberal?

\*\* Al pensar en la política y el gobierno, se considera Ud -- (ROTATE) -- (1) muy conservador, (2) un poco conservador, (3) un poco liberal, o (4) muy liberal?

Very conservative \*\*muy conservador..1  
Somewhat conservative \*\*poco conservador.....2  
Moderate \*\*moderado (DO NOT READ)....3  
Somewhat liberal \*\*poco liberal.....4  
Very liberal \*\*muy liberal.....5

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43. Which of these statements best describes how you usually vote?  
(READ LIST)

\*\* ¿Cuál de estas frases describe mejor como vota Ud. usualmente?  
(READ LIST)

Mostly Republican \*\*mayormente Republicano.....1  
A few more Republicans than Democrats un poco mas Republicano que Demócrata.2  
Independent/the man \*\*Independiente/el hombre (DO NOT READ).....3  
A few more Democrats than Republicans \*\*un poco mas Demócrata que Republicano.....4  
Mostly Democrat \*\*mayormente Demócrata.5

---

IF "DEMOCRAT" IN QUESTION 43, ASK:

44. And have you ever voted for a Republican candidate for any political office?

\*\* ¿Ha votado Ud. alguna vez por algún candidato Republicano para cualquier puesto político?

Yes \*\*sí.....1  
Unsure \*\*no seguro.....2  
No.....3

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45. Of the following types of work,  
which one describes what the head  
of the household does?  
(READ LIST)

\*\* De los siguientes tipos de trabajos  
¿cuál describe lo que hace el jefe  
de la familia? (READ LIST)

Self-employed **trabaja para sí mismo..	1
White-collar **trabajo de oficina).....	2
Blue-collar **trabajo industrial.....	3
Government worker **trabajo de gobierno.....	4
Farmer/rancher **ranchero.....	5
Not in the labor force (student, housewife, retired) **no trabaja (estudiante, ama de casa, jubilado)..	6
Unemployed **sin empleo.....	7
Other **otro (SPECIFY) _____	8

46. And do you own or rent your residence?

\*\* ¿Es Ud. dueño de su casa o renta?

Own **propietario.....	1
Rent **renta.....	2

47. Sex (BY OBSERVATION)

\*\*Sexo (BY OBSERVATION)

IF FEMALE, ASK: And are you  
employed outside the home?

\*\* Trabaja Ud. fuera del hogar?

Male **masculino.....	1
Female/stays at home **femenino/ queda en casa.....	2
Female/works outside the home **femenino/trabaja fuera del hogar.....	3