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October 1, 1975

Dear Reverend Franklin:

I want to take this opportunity to thank you and your colleagues for taking time to meet with me this morning on the problems of undocumented persons in the United States.

Our meeting was most stimulating and productive and I am confident that the issues discussed will receive the full attention of the Domestic Council Committee on Illegal Aliens. I will see that your position paper reaches Mr. Richard Parsons of the Domestic Council staff.

Please convey my regards and best wishes to the members of your organization, particularly Messrs. Fred Ames, Joseph Max Colinet, Jean Dupuy and Archbishop Mikel.

Sincerely,

Fernando E. C. De Baca
Special Assistant to the President

The Reverend Douglas A. Franklin
Chairman
Concerned Citizens for Immigration
Justice
144 West 125th Street - Third Floor
New York, New York 10027

FECDdB:mmd:10/1/75



Illegal Entrants Flock to U.S.

A New Poverty Class

First of two articles

By Leroy F. Aarons

Washington Post Staff Writer

LOS ANGELES—No one knows how many. But they are here. Tens of tens of thousands. Downtown on Los Angeles Street, thousands of women pedaling away at sewing machines in hundreds of fly-by-night garment sweatshops, no air conditioning, no coffee breaks, usually at less than \$2 an hour, the non-farm minimum wage.

In the restaurants, hidden in the kitchens or in unobtrusive presence as busboys; in the washrooms, parking cars, cleaning hotel rooms, washing cars, assembling electronic gear, by the colors, in light industries; in the homes of the well-to-do, minding the children.

They are a new urban poverty class: the illegal immigrants, most of them Mexicans, who, in the last decade, have swarmed in ever-increasing numbers across 2,000 miles of border, through holes in barbed wire, hiding in secret compartments of vans, riding the rails, or flashing counterfeit credentials at border stations.

Mexican immigration—legal or illegal—is not an unknown phenomenon to the Southwest. This land once was part of Mexico, and the ebb and flow of millions of Latins across the new border has been part of American social and economic history.

See ALIENS, A8, Col. 1

Aliens Hard to Count

By Lawrence Meyer

Washington Post Staff Writer

On Jan. 9, Georgios and Athanasios Plessias were plying their trade, painting the Statue of Liberty at the union rate of \$9.71 an hour, when they were arrested by federal officials. The Plessias brothers, laboring so diligently under the lamp beside the golden door, were illegal immigrants.

The previous day, Jesus Herrera-Saucedo, a Metro subway construction crew foreman, was picked up by federal immigration officials in downtown Washington. Herrera-Saucedo, a Mexican who earned \$8.44 an hour, was also an illegal immigrant.

Every day, somewhere in the United States, thousands of illegal immigrants are apprehended by investigators from the Immigration and Naturalization Service—more than 800,000 last year. But at least that number and perhaps two to three times more slip into the United States without being caught, according to immigration officials.

Although when pressed immigration officials concede that no one can say with any certainty how many illegal immigrants go unapprehended or how many are living in the United States now, they estimate that 4 million to 12 million illegal immigrants already are here.

Immigration officials and members of Congress concerned about the problem variously characterize the influx of illegal immigrants as a "torrent" or a "flood," and express alarm that unless new legislation is

See IMMIGRANTS, A12, Col. 1



October 3, 1975

Dear Manny:

Thank you for your letter of September 29, 1975 regarding the Puerto Rican Migrant Workers proposal submitted by Dr. Richard Izquierdo.

I have initiated an inquiry to determine the status of Dr. Izquierdo's proposal and will contact you the moment I receive a reply from HEW.

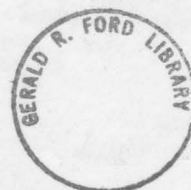
Warmest personal regards,

Yours sincerely,

Fernando E. C. De Baca
Special Assistant to the President

Mr. Manuel A. Gonzalez
108 DeFoe Place
Bronx, New York 10475

FECDeB:mmd:10/3/75



MANUEL A. GONZALEZ

108 DEFOE PLACE
BRONX, NEW YORK 10475
TEL. (212) 460-6492



COMMISSIONER
NEW YORK STATE
ATHLETIC COMMISSION

September 29, 1975

The Honorable Fernando C. De Baca
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Fernando:

Enclosed please find a letter addressed to me from Dr. Richard Izquierdo requesting a follow-up on his Puerto Rican Migrant Workers proposal.

Do we have a report back from the HEW people, if not, can your office give them a call on this matter?

With warmest personal regards.

Your friend,

Manny Gonzalez
Manuel A. Gonzalez

Enc.
icc



September 12, 1975

Manuel
Dear Mr. González:

Several weeks ago I contacted and urged you to help me with a program for the Puerto Rican Migrant Worker. Through your help, my assistant, Mr. Landrau, went to Washington with the proposal to meet with Mr. Fernando DeBaca. On August 6th Mr. De Baca wrote that he was interested in this proposal and would help present it to HEW.

I would like to request that when you speak with Mr. De Baca, would you please remind him of this matter.

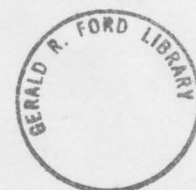
Hoping to hear from you soon as to the progress made, I remain

Sincerely yours,

[Signature]
RICHARD IZQUIERDO, M.D.

RI:ccc

Mr. Manuel Gonzalez
Asst. Vice-President
Con Edison
4 Irving Place
New York, New York 10003





CENTER FOR MIGRATION STUDIES

209 FLAGG PLACE • STATEN ISLAND, N. Y. 10304 • (212) 351-8800

FEB 26 1975

February 19, 1975

Dear Friend:

In the last few weeks, the national media has focused on the presence of illegal immigrants in the United States associating them with either criminality or the sabotage of the national economy. In projecting this bad image of the illegal aliens, the media has made them the victims of poverty and injustice as well as the scapegoats of the present economic recession and inflation.

While there are no exact figures as to the number of illegals, estimates have placed it from 4 to 12 million who are in the United States without papers. It is impossible for us to ignore them. Most of them (Dominicans, Haitians, Mexicans, etc.) are Catholics and should be shown the special concern of the Church for their needs.

As Congress is now considering important legislation affecting the whole immigration situation, it is imperative that we become aware of what is proposed in these laws. We must formulate joint strategies to serve the cause of our communities confronted with family disruption, loss of job and prejudice.

This urgent symposium has been jointly called by the Office of Migration of the Archdiocese of New York and the Diocese of Brooklyn and the Center for Migration Studies in order to review both the legislation and the pastoral situation affecting those without proper papers immigrating into our parishes and neighborhoods.

You are urged to attend this symposium in order to share your experiences and knowledge regarding the entire immigration scene from the perspective of our pastoral responsibility. This is a very critical moment in the lives of millions of people.

Sincerely,

Office of Spanish Speaking
Apostolate
Archdiocese of New York

Migration Office
Diocese of Brooklyn

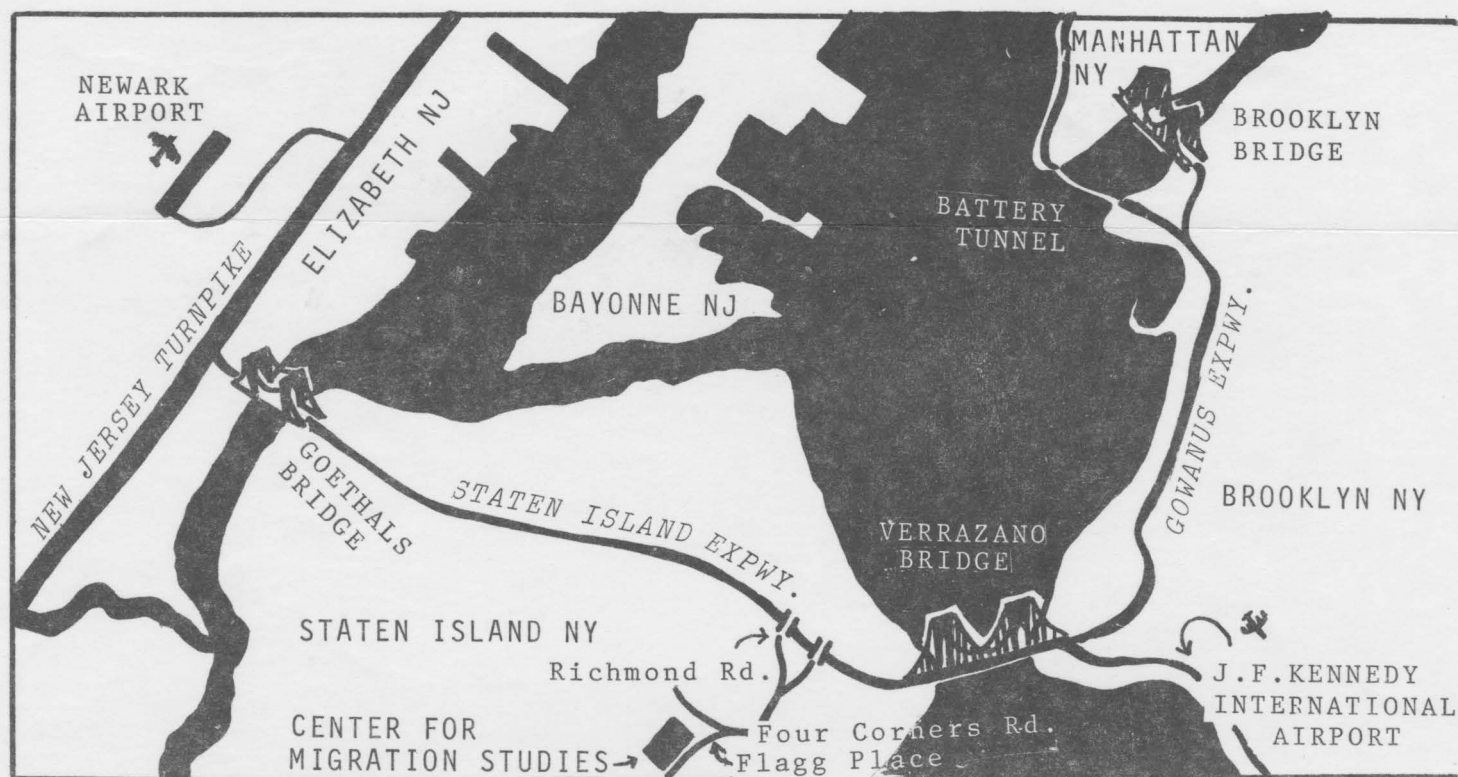
Center for Migration Studies





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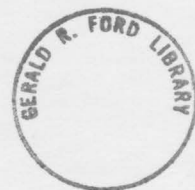
DIRECTIONS TO CMS

From New Jersey Turnpike: Take exit 13 (Elizabeth) and follow signs to Goethals Bridge. After Bridge Toll Booths, continue along U.S. 278 East until Slosson Avenue and Todt Hill Road Exit. Follow Todt Hill Road until Four Corners Road; turn left on Four Corners Road until Flagg Place; turn right on Flagg Place.

From the Staten Island Ferry Terminal: Take Bus nos. 108, 113 or 117 from Ramp B at the Ferry Terminal to Richmond and Four Corners Roads. The Center is about three blocks from the Bus Stop.

By car from the Ferry: Turn left onto Vanderbilt Ave. which eventually becomes Richmond Road; follow Richmond Road until Four Corners Road; bear right at Four Corners Road and make a left turn at Flagg Place.

From Long Island and Brooklyn: Cross the Verrazano Narrows bridge into Staten Island. After Bridge Toll Booths continue along U.S. 278 West until Richmond Road. Turn left at Richmond Road until Four Corners Road, then bear right. Turn left at Flagg Place.



years, but who also have American citizen family members and have fully adjusted to the community in which they live. For humanitarian, family unity, and hardship reasons, I am hopeful we can be compassionate and humane in dealing with the problem of illegal aliens. I am hopeful we have the good sense to avoid the mass deportations contemplated in some quarters, which would seriously injure many people and families, and the ideals for which our country stands.

Third, the bill provides for the adjustment of status of nonimmigrant aliens from Western Hemisphere countries on the same basis as nonimmigrant aliens from Eastern Hemisphere countries.

And fourth, the bill amends the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to bar job discrimination against alien refugees "lawfully present" in the United States, and "aliens lawfully admitted for permanent residence."

Mr. President, the bill I introduce today, and any similar legislation, offer no panacea in resolving the issue of illegal aliens. I believe, however, that action on the immediate immigration aspects of this issue, which are addressed in my bill, will go a long way in providing a remedy and meaningful reform.

But the issue also has other immigration dimensions, including the need for new general legislation involving the more equitable allocation of visas to immigrants from Western Hemisphere countries. And I shall shortly introduce a bill for this purpose.

And finally, the issue has economic and social dimensions, which not only involve our own citizens and society, but also our diplomacy in the international community and our relations with other countries.

The time is past due to face squarely the issue of illegal aliens, and the many domestic and foreign relations problems involved. I am hopeful that Congress will finally move on this issue, and that meaningful legislation will be enacted within the near future. I am also hopeful that the administration will actively join this effort, and that the President's new Domestic Council Committee on Illegal Aliens will closely work with Congress in accomplishing the goal all of us seek.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of the bill I am introducing and a brief summary of its summary be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the bill and summary were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 561

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Immigration and Nationality Act Amendments of 1975".

SEC. 2. (a) Notwithstanding any other provisions of law, and without regard to the numerical limitations specified in the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1101), the status of any alien who on January 1, 1975 was in the United States in violation of law may be adjusted by the Attorney General, in his discretion and under such regulations as he may prescribe, to that of an alien lawfully admitted for permanent residence if—

(1) the alien makes an application for such adjustment; and

(2) the alien has resided continuously in the United States for at least three years on the date of enactment of this Act.

(b) The provisions of this section shall be applicable to any alien described in subsection (a) of this section, who is physically present in the United States on the date of enactment of this Act and to the spouse and child of any such alien who are present with such alien in the United States.

(c) Upon approval of an application for adjustment of status under subsection (a) of this section, the Attorney General shall record the alien's lawful admission for permanent residence as of the date of the order of the Attorney General approving the application for adjustment of status.

(d) Application for adjustment of status pursuant to the provisions of subsection (a) of this section may be made on or after the date of enactment of this Act, but not later than the last day of the first fiscal year beginning on or after the date of enactment of this Act.

(e) Except as otherwise provided in this section, the definitions contained in section 101 of the Immigration and Nationality Act shall apply to this section.

SEC. 3. Section 245 of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1255) is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 345. (a) The status of an alien, other than an alien crewman or any alien admitted in transit without visa under section 238(d), who was inspected and admitted or paroled into the United States may be adjusted by the Attorney General, in his discretion and under such regulations as he may prescribe, to that of an alien lawfully admitted for permanent residence if (1) the alien makes an application for such adjustment, (2) the alien is eligible to receive an immigrant visa and is admissible to the United States for permanent residence, and (3) an immigrant visa is immediately available to him at the time his application is filed: *Provided*, That any alien who meets the qualifications of an alien refugee as set forth in section 203(a)(7) and determined by the Secretary of State, shall be eligible to make an application for adjustment regardless of such alien's means of entry into the United States.

"(b) Upon the approval of an application for adjustment made under subsection (a), the Attorney General shall record the alien's lawful admission for permanent residence as of the date the order of the Attorney General approving the application for the adjustment of status is made, and the Secretary of State shall reduce by one the number of the preference or nonpreference visas authorized to be issued under section 203(a) within the class to which the alien is chargeable, for the fiscal year then current."

SEC. 4. (a) Section 249(a) of the Immigration and Nationality Act is amended by striking out "June 30, 1948" and inserting in lieu thereof "October 3, 1965".

(b) The heading of section 249 of such Act is amended by striking out "JUNE 30, 1948" and inserting in lieu thereof "OCTOBER 3, 1965".

(c) Item 249 in the table of contents of such Act is amended by striking out "June 30, 1948" and inserting in lieu thereof "October 3, 1965".

SEC. 5. Section 274 of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1324) is amended by deleting the proviso in paragraph 4, subsection (a) and by redesignating subsection (b) as subsection (c) and adding new subsections (b), (c), and (d) to read as follows:

"(b)(1) It shall be unlawful for any employer, or any person acting as an agent for such an employer, or any person who for a fee, refers an alien for employment by such an employer, to hire and employ after the effective date of this Act, or refer for employ-

ment, any alien in the United States who has not been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence, unless the employment of such alien is authorized by the Attorney General: *Provided*, That an employer, referrer, or agent shall not be deemed to have violated this subsection if he has made a bona fide inquiry whether a person hereafter employed or referred by him is a citizen or an alien, and if an alien, whether he is lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence or is authorized by the Attorney General to accept employment: *Provided further*, That evidence establishing that the employer, referrer, or agent has obtained from the person employed or referred by him a signed statement in writing in conformity with regulations which shall be prescribed by the Attorney General that such person is a citizen of the United States or that such person is an alien lawfully admitted for permanent residence or is an alien authorized by the Attorney General to accept employment, shall be deemed prima facie proof that such employer, agent, or referrer has made a bona fide inquiry as provided in this paragraph. The Attorney General of the United States shall prepare forms for the use of employers, agents, and referrers in obtaining such written statements and shall furnish such forms to employers, agents, and referrers upon request.

"(2) If, on evidence or information he deems persuasive, the Attorney General concludes that an employer, agent, or referrer has violated the provisions of paragraph (1), the Attorney General shall serve a citation on the employer, agent, or referrer informing him of such apparent violation.

"(3) If the Attorney General finds that any employer, agent, or referrer upon whom such citation has been served has thereafter violated the provisions of paragraph (1), the Attorney General shall assess a penalty of not less than \$1,000 for each alien in respect to whom any violation of paragraph (1) is found to have occurred.

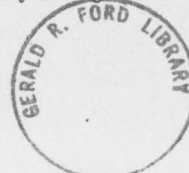
"(4) A civil penalty shall be assessed by the Attorney General only after the person charged with a violation under paragraph (3) has been given an opportunity for a hearing and the Attorney General has determined that a violation did occur, and the amount of the penalty which is warranted. The hearing shall be of record and conducted before an immigration officer designated by the Attorney General, individually or by regulation, and the proceedings shall be conducted in accordance with the requirements of title 5, section 554 of the United States Code.

"(5) If the person against whom a civil penalty is assessed fails to pay the penalty within the time prescribed in such order, the Attorney General shall file a suit to collect the amount in any appropriate district court of the United States. In any such suit or in any other suit seeking to review the Attorney General's determination, the suit shall be determined solely upon the administrative record upon which the civil penalty was assessed and the Attorney General's findings of fact, if supported by substantial evidence on the record considered as a whole, shall be evidence on the record considered as a whole, shall be conclusive.

"(c) Any employer or person who has been assessed a civil penalty under subsection (b)(3) which has become final and thereafter violates subsection (b)(1) shall be assessed a civil penalty of not less than \$2,000 for each alien in respect to whom any violation of this subsection occurs. The provisions of subsections (b)(4) and (b)(5) shall be applicable to violations of this subsection."

SEC. 6. The first paragraph of section 1546 of title 18 of the United States Code is amended to read as follows:

"Whoever forges, counterfeits, alters, or falsely makes any immigrant or nonimmigrant



grant visa, permit, border crossing card, alien registration receipt card, or other document prescribed by statute or regulation for entry into or as evidence of authorized stay in the United States, knowing it to be forged, counterfeited, altered, or falsely made, or to have been procured by means of any false claim or statement, or to have been otherwise procured by fraud or unlawfully obtained; or".

Sec. 7. Nothing contained in this Act, unless otherwise specifically provided therein, shall be construed to affect the validity of any document or proceeding which shall be valid at the time this Act shall take effect, or to affect any prosecution, suit, action, or proceeding, civil or criminal, done or existing, at the time this Act shall take effect; but as to all such prosecutions, suits, actions, proceedings, statutes, conditions, rights, acts, things, liabilities, obligations, or matters, the statutes or parts of statutes repealed by this Act are, unless otherwise specifically provided therein, hereby continued in force and effect.

Sec. 8. (a) Section 7151 of title 5, United States Code, is amended by inserting immediately after "employees" the following: "who are citizens of the United States, aliens lawfully admitted for permanent residence, or aliens lawfully present in the United States as a result of the application of the provisions of section 203(a)(7) or section 212(d)(5) of the Immigration and Nationality Act".

(b) Section 703 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(k) As used in this section the term 'individual' applies to a citizen of the United States, an alien lawfully admitted for permanent residence, or an alien lawfully present in the United States as a result of the application of the provisions of section 203(a)(7) or section 212(d)(5) of the Immigration and Nationality Act."

SUMMARY OF IMMIGRATION BILL INTRODUCED BY SENATOR KENNEDY

Section 1: technical provision.

Section 2: provides an authority for the Attorney General, under such regulations as he may prescribe, to adjust the status of any alien who on January 1, 1975 was in the United States in violation of law to that of "an alien lawfully admitted for permanent residence."

(a) the alien must apply for such adjustment of status.

(b) the alien must have been physically present in the United States for at least 3 years.

(c) the alien must not be a criminal, a violator of the narcotics laws, or among any other such class of aliens inadmissible to the United States.

Section 3: provides for the adjustment of status of nonimmigrant aliens from Western Hemisphere countries on the same basis as non-immigrant aliens from Eastern Hemisphere countries.

Section 4: facilitates "a record of lawful admission for permanent residence" for an alien who is present in the U.S. in violation, and who entered the U.S. to October 3, 1965.

Section 5: bars the employment of illegal aliens and other aliens not authorized to work, and provides for a 3-step sanctions procedure on the employer of such aliens. The 3-step sanctions procedure, involving civil penalties, is as follows:

(a) After the first violation, the Attorney General "shall serve a citation" on the employer.

(b) In case of a second violation, the Attorney General shall assess such employer "a penalty of not less than \$1,000 for each alien" employed.

(c) In case of a third violation, the employer "shall be assessed a civil penalty of not less than \$2,000 for each alien" employed in violation of law.

Section 6: Strengthens present law regarding the falsification and forgery of immigration documents.

Section 7: Technical provision.

Section 8: Amends the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to bar job discrimination against alien refugees "lawfully present in the United States" and "aliens lawfully admitted for permanent residence."

Section 9: Technical provision.

By Mr. KENNEDY (for himself, Mr. FONG, Mr. CASE, Mr. HUMPHREY, Mr. INOUE, Mr. McGEE, and Mr. MATHIAS):

S. 562. A bill to provide international disaster relief assistance. Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE ACT

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I am pleased to introduce today, on behalf of my distinguished colleague, Senator FONG, the ranking minority member of the Subcommittee on Refugees, as well as on behalf of Senators HUMPHREY, McGEE, CASE, INOUE, and MATHIAS, a bill to establish a permanent statutory authority for International Humanitarian Assistance.

This legislation embodies the essential provisions of an amendment I offered in the last session of Congress to the Foreign Assistance Act, which was adopted by the Senate in its first consideration of the bill in October, and accepted by the Foreign Relations Committee in its reconsideration in December. However, during debate on the bill last session, questions were raised over the funding provisions of that amendment, and I agreed with the distinguished manager of the bill, Senator HUMPHREY, and with Senator INOUE, to delete that section in favor of a revised funding authority under a separate bill.

The bill I am introducing today accomplishes this goal by authorizing a permanent source for international relief assistance as well as a \$50 million line-item appropriation for this fiscal year. Moreover, it establishes what I hope will be a permanent authority for international humanitarian assistance. The authorizing language and reporting requirements built into the bill are, I believe, very precise to insure that the funds appropriated are utilized solely for humanitarian purposes and not abused as so often has occurred under the existing contingency fund and disaster relief provisions of the Foreign Assistance Act. Funds made available under the International Humanitarian Assistance Act would be distributed through the Department of State, as well as the Agency for International Development.

Mr. President, this bill continues the long record of Congress and the American people in responding to humanitarian emergencies. Just last year Congress acted to meet famine needs in Africa, and the emergency relief requirements in Pakistan and Nicaragua, by authorizing a special foreign disaster assistance fund for fiscal year 1974. And last year, during consideration of the foreign aid bill, Congress enacted section 639B which provided substantial famine-and-disaster relief to the African Sahel for the first time.

This bill is a logical extension of these

acts by Congress, and it advances our country's proud record of concern for our fellow man.

Mr. President, the first important feature of this bill is that it establishes a permanent authority for international humanitarian assistance in disaster situations which require large-scale relief, rehabilitation, and reconstruction assistance. This provision of the bill will allow our Government to meet unanticipated humanitarian disasters that have never been adequately met through the existing contingency fund.

The second provision of the bill is a specific authorization of \$50 million for this fiscal year to meet the international relief, rehabilitation, and reconstruction needs caused by the massive flooding in Bangladesh, the civil and international strife in Cyprus, and the drought-and-famine conditions in the nations of Africa.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of the bill be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the bill was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 562

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "International Humanitarian Assistance Act of 1975".

POLICY

SEC. 2. Recognizing that prompt United States assistance to alleviate human suffering caused by natural and man-made disasters abroad is an important expression of the humanitarian concern and tradition of the American people, the Congress affirms the willingness of the United States to provide assistance for the humanitarian relief, rehabilitation, and reconstruction of peoples and countries affected by such disasters. Such humanitarian assistance both symbolizes the concern of the United States for the welfare of people in need throughout the world, but also constitutes an important element in the foreign relations of the United States in its efforts to contribute to a stable international peace.

GENERAL AUTHORITY

SEC. 3. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the President is authorized to furnish assistance, on such terms and conditions as he may determine, for disaster relief, rehabilitation, and reconstruction in the case of disasters that require large-scale relief and rehabilitation efforts.

APPLICABILITY OF FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT PROVISIONS

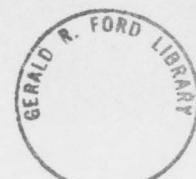
SEC. 4. Except as otherwise specifically provided, or as is inconsistent with the provisions of this Act, the provisions of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 shall apply to the provisions of this Act.

INTERNATIONALIZATION OF ASSISTANCE

SEC. 5. Assistance made available under this Act shall be distributed to the maximum extent practicable under the auspices and direction of the United Nations and its specialized agencies, other international organizations or arrangements, multilateral institutions, or private voluntary agencies.

REPORTING REQUIREMENT

SEC. 6. Not later than six months after the date of enactment of this Act, and at the end of each six-month period thereafter, the President shall transmit to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and the Committee on Appropriations and the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate a report describing fully and completely the disposition and use of funds made available



The El Paso

January 1975

Economic Review

THE
BUREAU OF BUSINESS
and
ECONOMIC RESEARCH
THE COLLEGE OF BUSINESS
ADMINISTRATION
THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS
AT EL PASO

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VOL. XII — No. 1

The International-Interstate Compact: An Economic Solution

by
REPRESENTATIVE DAVID FINNEY
Texas House of Representatives

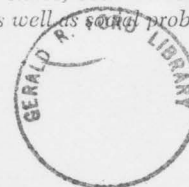
The massive migration of Mexican aliens into the United States is a phenomenon that has stirred considerable public attention and concern over recent months, as I'm certain you are all aware. I use the term "migration" rather than immigration, because the situation is just that. We are talking about an international problem of major dimensions, one, according to current statistics, which involves literally millions of persons who annually seek economic relief within the United States. And one, that as a result of inaction, has developed into a major crisis at the state, national, and international levels.

We in the border states must take the lead in attempting to solve what may well remain the nation's most pressing social problem for decades to come. Obviously, there are many divergent views regarding the border question. It is imperative that we consider them all and arrive at a consensus of opinion, if we hope to progress toward the formulation of sound solutions.

During my six terms in the Texas Legislature, I have become well-acquainted and deeply concerned with the border problem, and have sought to devise meaningful solutions that are more than temporary, stopgap measures. Quite frankly, I have been disturbed by what I consider simplistic, ineffectual responses to this complex situation — the calls from our highest law enforcement officials for stepped-up surveillance of our borders, and similar police measures — that may in the end only create more havoc than that which presently exists. I am hopeful that we can develop some solutions that are more imaginative and innovative than building a Chinese Wall.

I believe the answer to this basically economic problem is not in-

(Representative Finney delivered this paper to a conference on Mexican-United States Relations sponsored by the University of Arizona, The American Society of International Law and the Border States University Consortium for Latin America on January 17, 1975 at Tucson, Arizona. At the same conference, Governor Raul H. Castro, State of Arizona, spoke of the urgent need for the Governors of all border states, both United States and Mexico, to join together in resolving common economic as well as social problems that exist along the border. Ed.)



creased policing of the border, but rather, economic development of the border, and that the highest levels of government must assume an active role. I urge the border states and the federal government to mobilize their resources in seeking an economic solution. And in this light, I think we must explore the ways in which the border states and the federal governments of both the United States and Mexico can cooperate in an economic development program along their borders.

I want to emphasize that we must go to the root of the dilemma. Obviously, the source of the migration problem is the depressed economic situation in Mexico and along the border regions of all four states, which is further aggravated by the overall depressed condition of the Mexican economy relative to the U.S. economy. Though easily stated, I realize the situation represents a complex economic challenge. Unlike Appalachia, for example, the Mexican border difficulties are compounded by the wide range of geography and by the differences in culture, language, and currency. But the fact remains that we must take action, for the poor condition of the Mexican economy is resulting in a serious drain on our own.

Economic and social problems, such as educational deficiencies, low population density, remoteness from major market areas, and a surplus of unskilled labor, have plagued the border regions for years. The severity of the border problem in my own state of Texas, for example, was vividly illuminated in a recent article:¹

"A Department of Commerce study recently named the McAllen metropolitan area of Texas the poorest in America. Personal income per capita here is \$2,343 annually against a U.S. average of \$4,492 and a Statewide figure of \$4,045. About 145 miles to the west, Laredo ranks as the nation's second-poorest area. Per capita income: \$2,516 a year. Fifty miles to the east, Brownsville on the coast of the Gulf of Mexico ranks third, with incomes averaging out at \$2,607 annually per person. Things get even worse in rural areas of south Texas, where income per capita in some isolated counties runs as low as \$1,300 a year. . . ."

"The labor surplus is reflected in unemployment figures — 15.5 per cent at Laredo in June, 10.9 per cent in McAllen and 10 per cent in Brownsville. And with people fleeing an even worse unemployment rate of 40 per cent in Mexico, the labor surplus on the U.S. side of the border seems likely to increase. . . ."

"Facts and figures, to some extent, measure the deprivation rampant in south Texas. In Hidalgo County, including McAllen, 34.9 per cent of all families in 1971 had incomes of less than \$3,000. Another 20.8 per cent had incomes ranging between \$3,000 and \$5,000. An estimated 43 per cent of the population in south Texas is on welfare. Seventy per cent of Mexican-American families live in overcrowded conditions and about 30 per cent of the homes lack adequate plumbing. Many have no access to safe drinking water. Typhus, typhoid, amoebiasis and leprosy are more prevalent in this region than anywhere else in the U.S."

These facts are hardly news. For months now, the same relentless and disturbing statistics regarding the depressed economy of the U.S.-Mexico border region have been underscored in reports of numerous symposia and conferences, as well as by studies of noted educators and economists in the field. But while the need for remedial action along the border has been recognized, few individuals or agencies have come forth with specific recommendations that are both relevant and realistic.

An Interstate Compact

I want to take this opportunity to discuss briefly the legislative solution I am proposing — the formation of an Interstate Compact among the four border states, California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas. Such a Compact possesses, I believe, all of the characteristics that are critical to the success of a border development entity: Independence, flexibility, permanence, and the possibility of bi-national membership. Two years ago, I introduced legislation in the Texas House of Representatives that would have initiated the formation of such a Compact. I plan to reintroduce this proposal this month in the 64th Texas Legislature, because I believe it provides an effective vehicle for the initiation and coordination of all the economic and social programs required to revitalize the border regions.

While the basic intent of my proposed Compact is the unification of the policies of the four border states and of the federal governments of the United States and Mexico in their efforts to solve their common economic problems, in its inception, the Compact would probably be limited in function and scope to the coordination of planning and research. Additionally, the Compact would serve as an entity to solicit funds for studies from state and federal governments as well as private foundations. In my opinion, the fact that such a Compact would provide a critically-needed interstate forum for collective study and discussion of solutions is in itself ample justification for its very existence.

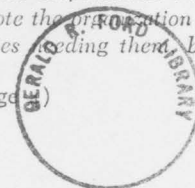
I am not alone in my belief that the direction we ought to take lies with a vehicle such as I have outlined. In Texas some initial steps to formulate plans for an acceptable borderlands entity have been undertaken by the Greater South Texas Cultural Basin Commission. At the same time, in a recent Borderlands Conference in El Paso, representatives from each of the four border states concluded that the success of an international border commission or agency is dependent upon the full and equal participation of Mexican and American states. In addition, studies and conference reports issued thus far are virtually unanimous in stressing that a primary criterion for any successful program is a unified effort at standardizing policy among the governments of the four border states.

In one of the most comprehensive studies on economic development published to date, Robert R. Nathan recommends the establishment of an "Association of Development Corporations." The profile of such an Association is similar in concept to the proposed Compact:²

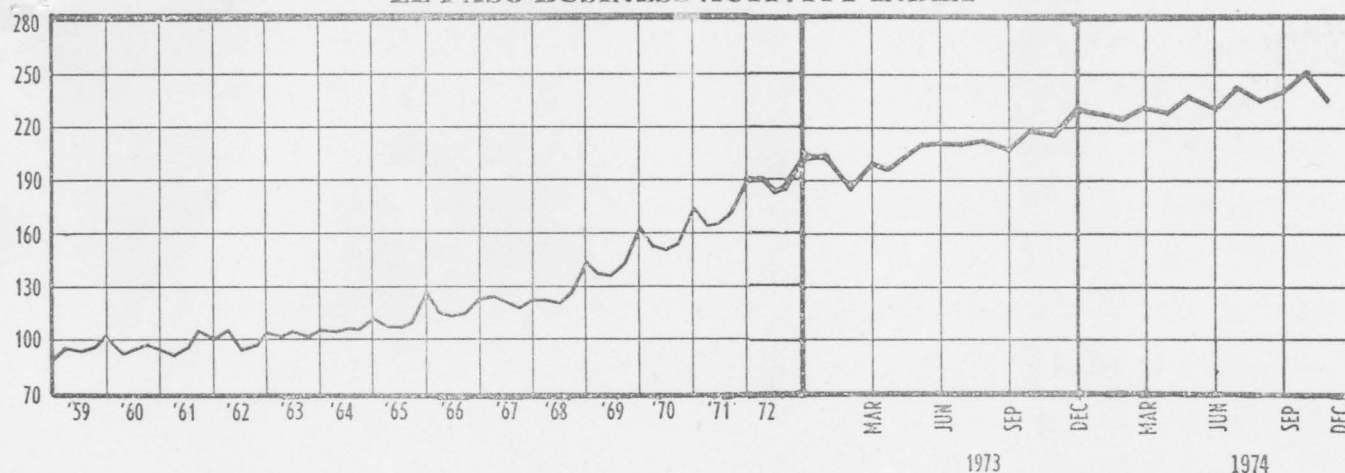
"There is a need for a vehicle which can provide . . . specific assistance to development corporations as well as to the businesses and communities that cannot afford to hire it directly. Such a vehicle should be capable of stimulating the growth of development corporations as well as servicing them, especially in communities which do not have them or in which they are not active. We recommend an association, or associations, of development corporations. . . ."

"The association could not only promote the promotion of new development corporations in communities needing them, but also

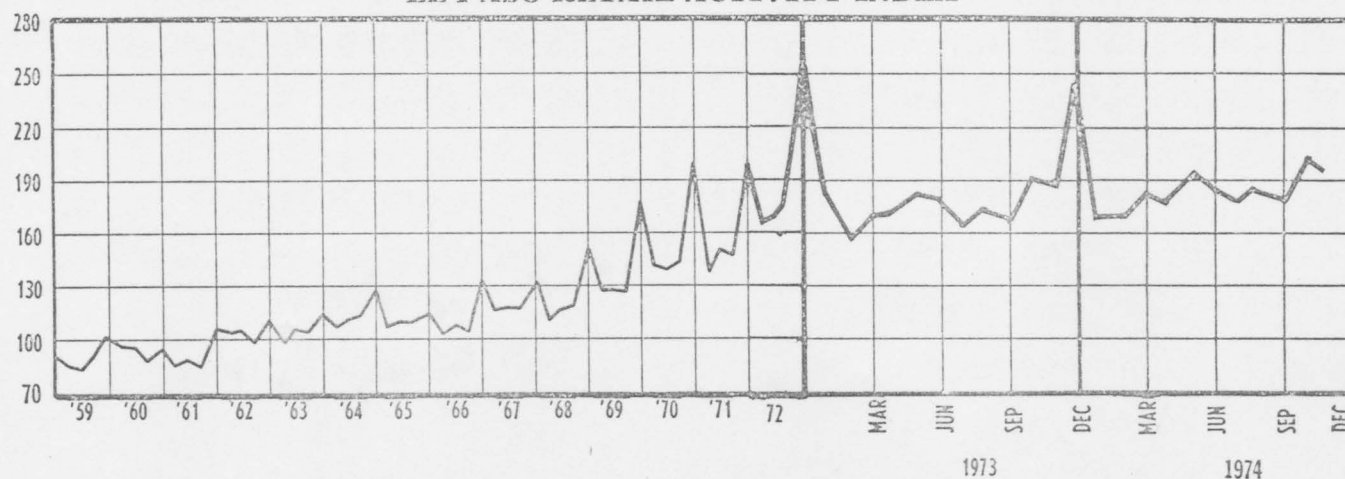
(Continued on page 8)



EL PASO BUSINESS ACTIVITY INDEX



EL PASO RETAIL ACTIVITY INDEX



EL PASO BUSINESS BAROMETERS

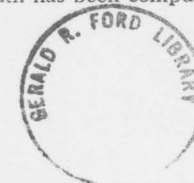
(All Indexes Based on 1962-63 equal 100)

	November 1974	November 1973	October 1974	Percent Change		
				Nov. '74 from Nov. '73	Nov. '74 from Oct. '74	Seasonal Norm for Month*
El Paso Business Activity Index	234.7	217.4	252.7	+ 8.0	- 7.1	+ .4
Trade						
Retail Activity Index§	196.6	184.4	211.3	+ 6.6	- 7.0	+ 1.1
Utilities						
Electric Power Sales (M's of KWH)§	145,956	142,315	148,363	+ 2.6	- 1.6	- 3.2
Telephones in Service§	209,979	198,639	209,316	+ 5.7	+ .3	
Postal Activity Index	119.7	105.9	128.7	+13.0	- 7.0	
Finance						
Bank Debits (Thousands)§	\$1,175,026	1,037,002	1,322,045	+13.3	-11.1	+ 1.7
Real Estate Activity Index	581.9	584.8	791.5	- .5	-26.5	
Construction						
Building Permits (Thousands)	\$ 10,437	5,789	9,383	+80.3	+11.2	-22.9
Construction Employment§	8,100	9,400	8,550	-13.8	- 5.3	+ 6.5
Manufacturing						
Manufacturing Employment§	31,000	29,200	32,600	+ 6.2	- 4.9	- 1.4
Employment						
Total Employment	133,200	136,300	140,100	+ 1.4	- 1.4	- .2
Percent Unemployed	6.4	5.6	5.5	+13.5	+15.2	+11.0
Military Disbursements						
Payroll (Thousands)**	\$ 18,200	16,875	18,200	+ 7.9		
Contract Payments (Thousands)	\$ 4,700	3,000	4,800	+56.7	- 2.1	

* Where sufficient information is available over a period of years a "normal" percent change from the preceding month has been computed for each month. A large variation in the actual change from the "seasonal norm" indicates an abnormal month.

§ Used in computing El Paso Business Activity Index

** Includes civilian and military payrolls



(Continued from page 2)

provide special skills on request to members and their clients. An even more important function would be the provision of continuing education for the member corporations in the techniques of development. The associations could be distribution centers through which new ideas on the creation of entrepreneurs and enterprises could be spread. Experiences could be exchanged among the members, with other regions of the country, with other organizations such as national trade associations."

Both Nathan and I are talking about a specific mechanism, an instrument by which united action can be taken. However, the Compact I propose differs from the Association recommended by Nathan in that it would function at a high government level. Not only does the Compact have this advantage, but it would also encompass the guiding principles for an effective organization which Martha Derthick so well articulated in *Between State and Nation*, the most authoritative study thus far of regional organizations of the United States:³

"Planning should not be sharply separated from governments or agencies with which the relevant operating functions are lodged. . . . Organizations 'for planning' should be denied opportunities to engage in alternative activities that may displace the planning function, which is likely to be unattractive. The 'Regional' area for which planning is supposed to be done must have a clear and compelling rationale. Otherwise there is no chance of resisting the inertia of existing jurisdictional arrangements."

It is clear that the state and federal governments must work together if solutions to the escalating social and economic problems of the border areas are to be achieved. Through the Compact, the states would be in a better position to participate in the federal decision-making process on matters that directly affect them. Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California are burdened with the problems of welfare, health, education, and police caused by depressed border conditions. If solutions are not found, our state economies will be the first to suffer. Conversely, we have the most to gain by developing the border regions.

Of course, the main purpose of a coordinated effort between the four border states is to improve the economic health of our own citizens. But in doing so, we cannot ignore the economic plight of the citizens of northern Mexico, for obviously, the economies on both sides of the border are inextricably linked. The Mexican government has recognized this fact and has given us every reason to believe that they would welcome and participate in programs to raise the standard of living of people on both sides of the international boundary.

In his fourth State of the Union message last September, President Luis Echevarría of Mexico, alluding to the difficult, unsettled questions of migrant labor in Mexico-U.S. relations, called on the United States as he had in the past

to work with Mexico in developing "a visionary and comprehensive policy for world problems" within which framework the *bracero* dilemma could be encompassed. As he expressed it, "What we need is to develop, defending it daily, a policy which is equitable for both the weak and the powerful at the same time."

President Echeverría reiterated and emphasized his well-known policy priority of regional development. He noted the establishment of a dozen special committees to coordinate and activate regional development efforts in Mexico and to disperse the benefits of economic growth to less favored regions and social classes. The President felt these objectives were so important that in March of 1974, the small and medium-sized industries of the northern frontier region were declared to be of "national utility" and, as such, eligible for a Ten-Year Program of special concessions and developmental benefits in order to create more jobs and utilize natural resources more effectively.

Clearly, the two concerns voiced by Mexico's chief executive are interrelated. Just as clearly, progress toward resolving the issues of migrant labor and regional development requires, as President Echeverría expressed it in an August 19 letter to President Ford, that "bilateral relations between our two nations be based on mutual respect and effective cooperation for the well-being and development of both peoples."

Although President Ford has proposed the establishment of a new Bi-National Commission to replace the one set up by President Johnson, which lapsed under President Nixon, it appears thus far that President Echeverría's invitation to join Mexico in developing constructive joint solutions has resulted in much less than he had hoped for.

But the serious problems I have briefly outlined, which have troubled the United States and Mexico, demand that we now respond to his invitation by laying the framework for the implementation of joint efforts to improve the economic and social health of our common border regions. I believe that the formation of an International-Interstate Compact is the first crucial step.

¹ "Poorest Area In America' Begins To Fight Its Way Up," U.S. News and World Report, pp. 45-48: October 7, 1974.

² *Industrial and Employment Potential of the United States-Mexico Border*, Chapter VI, "Priorities for Economic Development Activities in the U.S.-Mexico Border Region," (pp. 98-99). Prepared by Robert R. Nathan Associates, Inc., for the Economic Development Administration, U.S. Department of Commerce, December, 1968..

³ Martha Derthick, *Between State and Nation*, Regional Organizations of the United States, Chapter 8, "Action on a Regional Scale," p. 186. The Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C., 1974.

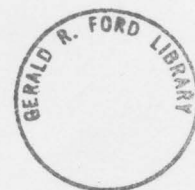
The EL PASO ECONOMIC REVIEW

Published Monthly (except August) by
The Bureau of Business & Economic Research
THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT EL PASO
P. O. Box 180 — El Paso, Texas 79968

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IMMIGRATION - ALIENS

NATIONAL OFFICE

MIGRATION AND REFUGEE SERVICES

1312 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W. • WASHINGTON, D. C. 20005 • 202/659-6625

December 20, 1974

JAN 07 1974

Dear Participant:

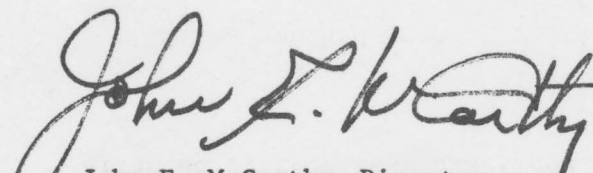
The Offices of the Migration and Refugee Services and the Secretariat for the Spanish-Speaking are co-sponsoring a meeting to be held in Washington, D.C., on February 11-12, 1975.

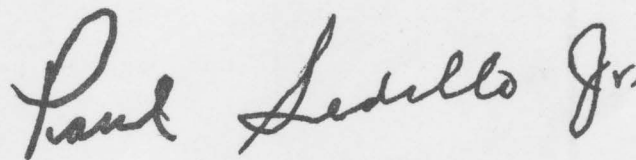
The purpose of this meeting is to provide a forum for discussion of the deficiencies in Western Hemisphere immigration policies with emphasis on the issue of aliens in this country without valid immigration documentation. It is our intention to gather information from the participants which will be useful to the USCC in eventually developing a Conference position and which will contain specific legislative recommendations for changes in the present law.

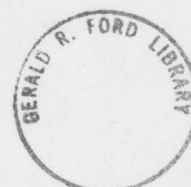
This meeting is being limited to the participation of twenty individuals with expertise in the field of immigration legislation and knowledge of the various nationality groups who are particularly adversely affected by the laws, practices and policies in effect today. These individuals represent a cross-section of the community and shall be coming from diverse parts of the United States.

Since you had been personally selected, we feel your input will be essential to the success of this meeting. We, therefore, hope you will be able to attend the meeting which will be held in the Bishop's Meeting Room, 1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., beginning at 1:00 p.m. on Tuesday, February 11, and will end at noon on Wednesday, February 12. Your immediate reply on the attached is requested so that we can complete preparations for the meeting.

Sincerely,


John E. McCarthy, Director
Migration and Refugee Services


Paul Sedillo, Jr., Director
Secretariat for the Spanish-Speaking



MEXICAN AMERICAN LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND

~~4730 RHODE ISLAND AVENUE, N.W., SUITE 801 / WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 / (202) 659-5166~~
1028 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, SUITE 1007 / WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 / (202) 659-5166

November 19, 1974

Mr. John Dreyfuss
Director, Office of Mexican Affairs
U. S. Department of State
Room No. 3906A
Washington, D. C. 20520

Dear Mr. Dreyfuss:

The Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF) is a non-profit corporation that works to protect the civil rights of American citizens of Mexican descent.

I have been informed by Mr. Fernando deBaca's office (Special Assistant to the President) that you are the government official in charge of helping to create a joint U.S.-Mexico Commission to do a comprehensive study of the illegal aliens problem. MALDEF is very interested in this area and in the creation of such a Commission. This interest arises because we have found that the illegal aliens problem and the enforcement of the immigration laws have a marked effect on Mexican Americans. Specifically, Mexican Americans have consistently had their civil rights violated by immigration officials. Since the creation of the Commission will add another dimension to the illegal alien problem, you can well understand MALDEF's concern over what impact the Commission will have on our constituency--6 million Mexican Americans in this country.

Another of our concerns is making sure that the aliens (90% are supposedly from Mexico) receive the full protection of their personal and humanitarian rights. This concern has also been expressed by President Echeverria of Mexico.

I would like to know whether you in fact are helping to set up the Commission; secondly, if you are involved, I would like to know what your plans are for receiving input from the Mexican American community; finally, I would like to know what the jurisdiction of the Commission might be and what other parties are involved in setting it up.

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GENERAL COUNSEL
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SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF 94103
415 626 6196

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COMMERCE BUILDING
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202 659 5166

1015 TIJERAS, N.W.
ALBUQUERQUE, NEW MEXICO 87101
505 247 1070
505 247 1079



Mr. John Dreyfuss
November 19, 1974

Page 2

I cannot overstate our concern with this issue; MALDEF is more than willing to meet with you and/or assist you with your project.

Thanking you in advance for your consideration, I remain

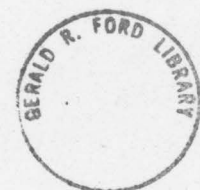
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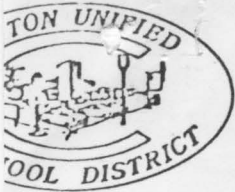
Al I. Perez
Al I. Perez

Associate Counsel

AIP:rm

cc: Vilma S. Martinez
Fernando deBaca





IMMIGRATION

NOV 22 1974

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Principal

L. Polsky

October 31st, 1974

Honorable Charles H. Wilson
Member of Congress
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Wilson:

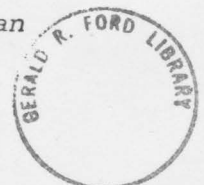
The headlines of this morning's Los Angeles Times state the following: "Saxbe Calls Illegal Aliens a U.S. Crisis--Cites Job, Crime, Welfare Costs, Wants to Deport One Million in Year." While I respect the Attorney General's position, I seriously question--after reading the article--whether or not he is sufficiently informed on all sides of the issue.

For the most part, the Mexican Nationals who come to the United States are honest, hard-working, decent people who want to have the opportunity to live and to eat on a regular basis. They are not criminals or social outcasts and, in no way, can they be classified as undesirable human beings. I would even go so far to say that from the point of view of morality, respect for others, and willingness to put in an honest day's labor, they are superior to other groups who live in the United States. Leonard F. Chapman, Jr., Commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, has stated the following:

Some (illegal aliens) are still in agriculture, but most are now in service jobs--waiting tables, driving taxicabs, in the hotels as bellhops, waiters and the like, and in piecework industry. These are not criminals. They're good people who are in an impoverished condition and are trying to find work, a salary and a wage so they can support their families. They do occupy a number of jobs that it's difficult, if not impossible, to find an American to fill.

(U.S. News and World Report, July 22, 1974, page 28)

Saxbe states that the illegal aliens "mock our system of legal immigration". I would like to know just who is actually mocking the system? Is it the Mexican laborer who wants a chance to eat or is it the corrupt official within the system itself who accepts bribes and pay-offs (recently, the newspapers have been filled with articles on corruption within the Immigration Dept. itself)? Or is the mocker not possibly the "coyote" who smuggles aliens across the border in car trunks and in other hazardous places? Or couldn't the mocker even be the Mexican government itself which drains off the country's wealth (mainly through U.S.





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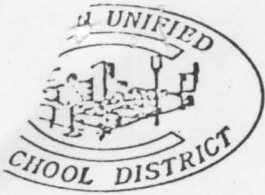
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investments) for use by the rich, leaving the poor to perpetuate themselves in misery?

The article states: "The illegal aliens hold millions of jobs, draw on social services ranging from schools to welfare...". It is probably true that they hold the jobs--but, as we have already seen, a great number are jobs which Americans do not want (or refuse to take because welfare is easier), and employers like to hire them because they work hard, follow orders and show appreciation for the opportunity afforded them. They are not constantly clamoring for higher wages and more leisure time. I do not think it is fair to state that they draw on the schools. Children are required to attend school by law if they are residing in this country. Parents are merely complying with the law if they send their children to school and, in addition, they are paying taxes which help support the schools. With regard to welfare, illegal aliens are not eligible to receive it, even in the case of starvation. And the majority (maybe even 99 per cent) do not want welfare--they prefer to work. Indeed many cases of economic hardship do exist among them, due to lack of work (they are also ineligible for unemployment benefits), family separation (sometimes the husband will be caught by the Immigration and shipped to Mexico, leaving the mother and children in the U.S. with no means of support and the Welfare will not help them because they are illegal) and other causes. There are actually people suffering from malnutrition and starvation at our own doorstep. Isn't it a tragic irony and absurdity and we are willing to send millions of dollars to remote parts of the earth to alleviate hunger when we are unwilling to do anything about the problem in our own land. And to add insult to injury, we belittle and harass the people in our land and accuse them of mocking our system. I am not advocating that the government cease relief operations abroad and, in fact, I think they should be increased. And they should be increased at Home, too, for the people who really need assistance. Historical and geographical circumstance has placed Mexico as our most immediate neighbor (together with Canada), and her citizens (whether in Mexico or the U.S.A.) are our brothers who deserve to be treated with respect, equality and love. In a larger sense, we must conclude that all peoples of the world are brothers. But how can we extend that feeling to the more remote areas of the world if we are unable to maintain and promote it among those who happen to share with us the same land space in the Northern Hemisphere? The Declaration of Independence states that "all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." It says all men - and not just "all green-card holders". From a historical point of view, the founding fathers of this nation could be classified as "illegal aliens".

Saxbe has recommended that the Immigration and Naturalization Service's budget be increased by \$50 million and that 2,200 employees be added to cope with the crisis.





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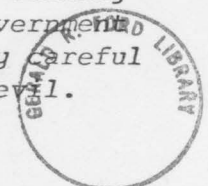
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Certainly, the budget could be increased to expand the services offered to all people (the office in Los Angeles, for example, is tremendously understaffed and the person requiring even a minor, relatively simple, service from the department must wait hours and hours, and the phones are constantly busy), but is it realistic to suspect that this will solve the problem? In the article, even Saxbe states that the total number of illegal in the U.S. could be as high as twelve million. Even if he were to reach the goal of deporting one million per year, it would take twelve years before all would be removed from the country (assuming that no new ones came in during that time). In the meantime, the remaining ones would live under the most adverse conditions of fear and neglect. And, of course, their children--who are automatically citizens when they are born here--would continue to suffer. They would be citizens who would be denied equal participation in American society because of the immigration status of their parents. And then would it be any surprise at all if many of them fell into crime (due to psychological frustration, identity crisis, feelings of inferiority, and language difficulties).

Once and for all, LET US BE REALISTIC! Twelve million illegal aliens working, living, paying taxes and co-existing with us in every way on U.S. soil is much different from twelve million aliens who exist in theory only. They are real, they are here now, and it's about time that we come to grips with that fact and that we commence finding solutions to the pressing problems which affect all of us. Even the Commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service recognizes the infeasibility of mass deportation:

Some of these people have been illegally in this country a great many years--10, 15, 20, 25, 30 years. Many of them are honorable members of their communities, with families, businesses and their children going to school. I think there has to be some consideration for them--perhaps some kind of "grandfather clause" that would suspend their removal pending action by the Congress in private bills to permit them to become U.S. citizens. (U.S. News and World Report, July 22, 1974, page 30).

The idea of mass deportation of a racial group which has become an integral part of a society cannot help but bring to mind the atrocities committed in Nazi Germany during World War II. Certainly, the circumstances are different and our government is a democratic one which is opposed to terrorism. However, we must be very careful when dealing with the idea of "mass deportation", an idea which reeks with evil.





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4

With regard to crime the article states:

In discussing problems caused by the illegal aliens, Saxbe cited a Los Angeles Police Dept. study showing that 36% of those arrested on felony charges last June in one police district were illegal immigrants. He did not identify the district or give any other details.

"This matter deserves much, much closer study nationally, for if illegal immigrants are a substantial factor in our growing crime rates, this gives even more impetus to the need for prompt action," Saxbe said.

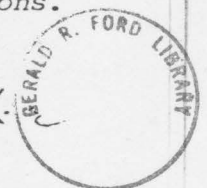
In the first place, I would seriously question the 36%. It is very dangerous to throw out such figures and allegations and then fail to give more detailed explanation. Which district was it? Were all of those people Mexican Nationals? Were they all deported? Which percent was Mexican National and which percent was second generation Mexican-American? What was the age group of those arrested? Saxbe himself admits that a closer study is called for.

One of the problems in the alien community is that very few studies have been done and those which have been attempted tend to reveal a one-sided perspective. The alien perspective is invariably disregarded. Fear prevents him from speaking up. Society doesn't encourage him to speak up because it tends to regard him as a non-entity--he has no right to voice an opinion, no right to partake of justice and no right to participate in the democratic process--he almost has no right to live. Psychologically, this takes due toll on the alien, and he learns to live as a mute within the shadows of the "barrio". It is worse than a master-slave relationship. The master is at least obliged to acknowledge the physical presence of the slave and provide him with food and lodging. The alien's is never officially acknowledged; the labor he performs is never looked on as a contribution to society; and the industrialists take no responsibility for his physical maintenance or well-being. They use copiously of his time, energy and talent and then turn him out to the street and to the barrio to face the threat of the "migra" (Immig. and Nat. Service).

I would urge you to give serious consideration to the contents of this letter and to use it as a springboard for further investigations into the problem. It seems like one of the first goals would be to meet with aliens in a spirit of co-operation and understanding.....to find out WHO he is, what is his true identity and how does he view the problem. Please feel free to call on me at any time for further suggestions.

Sincerely yours,

Thomas E. Alexander
Counselor





DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

IMMIGRATION
OCT 16 1974

October 8, 1974

Honorable Edward R. Roybal
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Mr. Roybal:

The Secretary has asked me to thank you for your letter of September 18, requesting a current status report on the Department of State's reassessment of, and discussions with Mexico concerning, the reopening of a "bracero program."

In a diplomatic note to our Embassy in Mexico, the Government of Mexico on June 19, 1974 again raised the subject of Mexican migrant workers in the United States, and inter alia, again suggested that the two governments enter into a bracero-type agreement. As a result of that note and other indications of intense Mexican interest, we once again reassessed the desirability of reinstituting such a program. In the process all the factors bearing on employment and wage levels in the United States, which would result from a large influx of foreign workers, were reviewed. We have now formally advised the Government of Mexico that a new bracero-type program is not at present or in the foreseeable future a feasible solution to the problem of Mexican workers who wish to enter the United States. You may be sure that the Congress would be consulted prior to reopening a program such as the one suggested by the Mexican Government.

I hope you will call on me if you believe we can be of further assistance.

Cordially,

Linwood Holton

Linwood Holton
Assistant Secretary
for Congressional Relations



EDWARD R. ROYBAL
30TH DISTRICT, CALIFORNIA

2404 RAYBURN OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515

LOS ANGELES OFFICE:
ROOM 7110, NEW FEDERAL P.O. BLDG.
300 N. LOS ANGELES STREET
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90012
PHONE: 688-4870

OCT 16 1974

COMMITTEE ON
APPROPRIATIONS

SUBCOMMITTEES:
FOREIGN OPERATIONS
TREASURY-POSTAL SERVICE
GENERAL GOVERNMENT
LEGISLATIVE

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

Washington, D.C. 20515

September 18, 1974

Honorable Henry A. Kissinger
Department of State
Office of the Secretary
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Mr. Kissinger: .

I have read Assistant Secretary of State Holton's reply of July 9 concerning the reopening of the bracero program.

This letter indicates that while no formal action has been taken, the State Department "(has) been reassessing the desirability of reinstating a bracero program." Apparently, this reassessment has already generated considerable interest and speculation in this country as well as in Mexico. I have again received inquiries regarding this issue, particularly from American labor groups. There is growing concern that continuing U.S.-Mexican discussions, plus your department's reassessment, will help encourage the influx of illegal aliens and their use as strikebreakers in this country.

I would hope that you also share this concern and will act to end any further speculation. As you know, Congress terminated the bracero program effective after December 31, 1974, because of the adverse effect on U.S. employment. I would greatly appreciate receiving a status report on the scope of State's reassessment and discussions with Mexico.

Thank you for your assistance and cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD R. ROYBAL
Member of Congress

ERR:mjz



UP-232

(ILLEGAL ALIENS)

NEW YORK (UPI) -- A CONGRESSIONAL AD HOC COMMITTEE HEARING CHAIRED BY REP. MARIO BIAGGI, D-N.Y., HEARD TESTIMONY TODAY ON WHAT HE CALLED THE "SILENT INVASION" OF ILLEGAL ALIENS AND THE THREAT THEY POSE TO THE JOBS, HOUSING AND GOVERNMENTAL SERVICES OF AMERICAN CITIZENS.

BIAGGI, WHO CONTENDS THE ALIENS ARE BLEEDING THE ECONOMY, HAS INTRODUCED LEGISLATION IN CONGRESS THAT WOULD PROVIDE CRIMINAL PENALTIES INCLUDING IMPRISONMENT FOR ANY EMPLOYER WHO KNOWINGLY HIRES AN ILLEGAL ALIEN. THE MEASURE WOULD ALSO BEEF UP IMMIGRATION ENFORCEMENT PERSONNEL BY 2,500.

TWO ALIENS -- WHO WORE SKI MASKS TO DISGUISE THEIR IDENTITY -- WERE ALLOWED TO APPEAR WITHOUT FEAR OF ARREST TO DESCRIBE IN DETAIL THEIR VOYAGE FROM SPAIN AND THEIR SUBSEQUENT HIRING AND ALLEGED MISTREATMENT BY EMPLOYERS AWARE OF THEIR ILLEGAL STATUS.

SPEAKING THROUGH AN INTERPRETER, THEY TOLD HOW THEY WERE ACTIVELY RECRUITED IN THEIR NATIVE COUNTRY AND PAID ABOUT \$120 TO GAIN A JOB ON A SHIP WHERE THEY WERE PAID ABOUT \$30 A MONTH.

ONE OF THE MEN SAID HE WAS OWED \$700 WHEN HE JUMPED SHIP IN PHILADELPHIA ABOUT THREE YEARS AGO. HE SAID A PORTION OF CREW MEMBERS' WAGES WERE ALWAYS HELD BACK AS A HEDGE AGAINST THE MEN JUMPING SHIP.

ONCE HERE, THEY SAID, MOST ALIENS ARE FORCED TO ACCEPT JOBS AT SOMETIMES ONE-THIRD THE PREVAILING RATE. ONE OF THEM SAID HE WORKED AS A DISHWASHER IN A RESTAURANT FOR \$120 A WEEK. HE SAID HE WORKED FROM 9 A.M. TO MIDNIGHT, SEVEN DAYS A WEEK.

BOTH MEN ADMITTED THAT ALIENS USUALLY OBTAIN SOCIAL SECURITY CARDS ILLEGALLY AND TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE PUBLIC ASSISTANCE ROLLS.

EARLIER IN THE HEARING, MAURICE F. KILEY, DISTRICT COMMISSIONER OF THE IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE, CALLED THE ALIEN PROBLEM "A NATIONAL CRISIS."

HE SAID THERE WERE NOW BETWEEN 10 AND 12 MILLION PERSONS ILLEGALLY IN THE COUNTRY AND 1 1/2 MILLION IN THE NEW YORK CITY AREA ALONE, WHERE THEY HOLD 106,200 JOBS, ENJOY PUBLIC SERVICES BUT DO NOT PAY TAXES, DEplete THE HOUSING STOCK AND, IN TURN, "ARE VICTIMIZED BY PROFITEERING EMPLOYEES."

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UP-233





NATIONAL OFFICE

MIGRATION AND REFUGEE SERVICES

1312 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W. • WASHINGTON, D. C. 20005 • 202/659-6625

May 2, 1975.

TO: ALL RESETTLEMENT DIRECTORS

FROM: JOHN E. MCCARTHY, DIRECTOR, MIGRATION AND REFUGEE SERVICES - U.S.C.C.

We had hoped to communicate with you before on the current Southeast Asia refugee situation. However, until the past few days, Government planners had been primarily concerned with finding safe haven for the refugees. Only now are they turning to resettlement efforts.

As you will note from the attached letters which Archbishop Bernardin has written the Bishops, the Church is being asked to respond to the needs of the present refugees as it has in the past for refugees from Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Cuba.

There is no question but that this resettlement program will be difficult in view of our present economy and the cultural background of the refugees. However, the fact remains that some very desperate human beings will be arriving in our country. They will, as were our forefathers, be in need of the kindness and humanitarian concern that is the tradition of the American people.

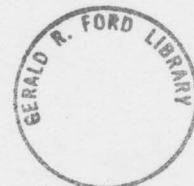
To implement action in this broad area, we have been meeting daily with Church and government officials in an endeavor to make this transitional movement effective, humane and of minimal disruptive impact on society.

We hope to meet with you all within the next two weeks at regional meetings being arranged by Catholic Charities. We hope that by the time of the meeting we will be able to outline the framework being set up to assist in the resettlement process. Meantime, we are referring offers of assistance from various locations to your respective offices.

We already have staff at the first processing center which is at Camp Pendelton. This operation is at present being staffed by Mr. Cummings, Mr. McLoone and others experienced in our previous refugee programs. They are working out of tents to avoid any delay in processing while more permanent facilities are being established. Within the next few days we will be able to send you the appropriate telephone numbers and mailing addresses for this operation. During the next three weeks we will have to establish like facilities at Fort Chaffee, Arkansas and perhaps Eglin Air Force Base in Florida.

It will be our hope that this entire situation can be cleared up rather quickly and we well realize that this can only be done with the help of our dedicated associates and friends both on the national and diocesan level who have literally moved mountains in the past and will be called on to do so once more.

I am hopeful that we will be able to send you additional information, on at least a weekly basis, to keep everyone fully informed of what is happening in this most critical situation.





1312 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W. • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005

Most Reverend Joseph L. Bernardin, Archbishop of Cincinnati
President

MOST REV. JAMES S. RAUSCH
General Secretary
REV. ROBERT V. MONTICELLO
Associate General Secretary
REV. MICHAEL J. SHEEHAN
Assistant General Secretary

April 25, 1975

Your Eminence:

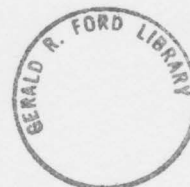
The tragic events in Southeast Asia are moving to a climax even more rapidly than was expected just a short time ago. On April 16 I wrote you suggesting that a special appeal be made in the dioceses of the United States to assist the victims of this upheaval. The Church has always responded to the needs of people in time of crisis.

In addition to funding, it now appears that a desperate need exists for homes and jobs for persons coming to the United States from Southeast Asia. Here, too, our record and our commitment are clear; since the end of World War II the Church in this country has often rendered such direct assistance to persons forced to flee their homelands because of oppression.

Obviously, our domestic economic and social needs are pressing. Yet, the needs of those who are fleeing, many due to fear of oppression because of their Catholic faith, cannot be ignored.

I have asked John McCarthy, Director of USCC Migration and Refugee Services and coordinator of our Southeast Asia Resettlement Program, and his associate, Edmund E. Cummings, to work closely with your designated representatives in efforts to provide the homes and jobs now required for these new refugees. In the past, the necessary assistance has repeatedly been forthcoming through united diocesan efforts, coordinated by Diocesan Resettlement Directors and their associates who, under the direction of the bishops, have provided the help required.

Primary responsibility for any refugee movement to this country rests of course with the United States government. Although no formal arrangements have yet been made, it is our expectation that funding for expenses incurred in this effort on the diocesan level will be available, as was the case in previous programs.

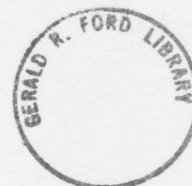


It would be most helpful if you or your Diocesan Resettlement Director could inform Mr. McCarthy of what might be expected of your diocese. Such information will be of great assistance to those coordinating the Church's refugee resettlement efforts in the United States.

With cordial good wishes, I remain

Sincerely yours in Christ,

x Joseph L. Bernardin
Archbishop of Cincinnati
President, NCCB/USCC





1312 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W. • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005

Most Reverend Joseph L. Bernardin, Archbishop of Cincinnati
President

April 16, 1975

MOST REV. JAMES S. RAUSCH
General Secretary

REV. ROBERT V. MONTICELLO
Associate General Secretary

REV. MICHAEL J. SHEEHAN
Assistant General Secretary

Your Excellency:

The past few weeks have seen unfold another tragic chapter in the plight of the war-ravaged people of Vietnam. Hearts are heavy, indeed, at the events which are heaping misery upon misery on a people for whom suffering is seemingly without end. I refer, of course, to the agony of the hundreds of thousands of new refugees in South Vietnam and Cambodia.

Our Holy Father himself has spoken movingly of the awesome responsibility which we, as Christians, hear in this particular situation. In furtherance of the plea of the Holy Father, I discussed the matter with the Executive Committees of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops and the United States Catholic Conference. We believe an opportunity should be provided to our people to respond to the urgent needs which presently exist.

The immediate need for food, medicine, clothing and shelter is great, and pressing needs will continue until the suffering of these people has been alleviated. I invite you, therefore, to consider the possibility of conducting a special collection in your diocese, to gather funds to assist Catholic Relief Services and the USCC Office of Migration and Refugee Services.

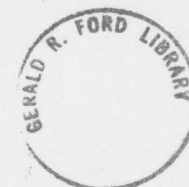
I am acutely aware of the proximity of this appeal to the recent overwhelmingly successful Laetare Sunday appeal as well as the generous response of our people to other appeals occasioned by disaster. Surely, however, the refugees of Vietnam and Cambodia present another opportunity for compassion. The generosity of American Catholics displayed so many times in the past will surely express itself again through direct and positive action.

Funds collected for this purpose should be sent to the Treasurer, United States Catholic Conference, 1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. (20005). We will see to it that they are transferred immediately to the appropriate agencies for the prompt relief of our brothers and sisters in Southeast Asia.

Sincerely yours in Christ,

+ Joseph L. Bernardin

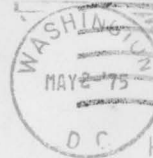
Most Reverend Joseph L. Bernardin
Archbishop of Cincinnati
President, NCCB/USCC



1312 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W. • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005

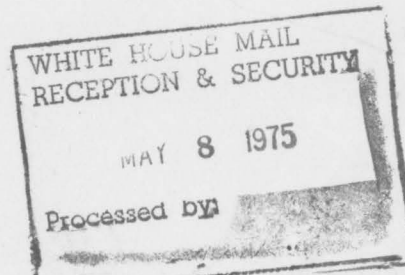
**UNITED STATES
CATHOLIC CONFERENCE**

**MIGRATION AND REFUGEE
SERVICES**



Mr. Fernando C. de Baca
White House
Old Executive Office Building
Room #197
Washington, DC 20500

IM



A1



Union of Pan Asian Communities of San Diego County
2952 Market Street, Suite F
San Diego, California 92102
Telephone: (714) 232-6709

June 19, 1975

Julia Vadala Taft
Director
Interagency Task Force
Department of State
Washington, D. C. 20520

Dear Ms. Taft:

On June 11, 1975, representatives from the Union of Pan Asian Communities met with Dr. Thomas Irvin, Deputy Civil Coordinator of the Interagency Task Force at Camp Pendleton. He authorized our organization (UPAC) to set-up the Asian American Resource Center (AARC) to provide some very basic services to the Indo-Chinese refugees.

The purpose of the Center is to:

1. Assist refugees in obtaining sponsors.
2. Develop resource material which would be provided to all refugees upon leaving for their destination.
3. Provide counseling and orientation to individual and groups.
4. Provide technical assistance to other agencies and volunteers on services to refugees.
5. Provide linkage to Asian American community across the United States.
6. Act as ombudsmen for Southeast Asian refugees with special needs.

It is estimated that a staff of nine will be necessary. Although the Interagency Task Force has been most cooperative and have provided the facilities and equipment, there is no provision for staffing. To be effective, bilingual/bicultural staff would be necessary. We had envisioned utilization of Vietnamese students. Because this is such a vital program, we are going ahead by using volunteers. However, unless we can mobilize some paid staff, the effectiveness of the Center will be limited.

In order to meet the staffing needs of the Asian American Resource Center, we are proposing four options which may be used individually or in combination:

1. Contract with UPAC to provide the services proposed. We estimate that \$110,814.00 for a one year period would be sufficient. This staff would be reassigned to provide services to the Indo-Chinese refugees located in San Diego County after the Camp Talega operation is discontinued. (Please see attachment)
2. Provide additional funds to the Interagency Task Force at Camp Pendleton in order to hire staff to be assigned to the Asian American Resource Center.
3. Provide additional CETA allocations to San Diego County earmarked to staff the Asian American Resource Center.



4. Assign Action allocations designated to the Interagency Task Force, Camp Pendleton, to volunteer with the Asian American Resource Center. Dr. Irvin has indicated he needs official sanction from the State Department in order to assign any Action volunteers to the Asian American Resource Center.

We have submitted a request to the County of San Diego for nine CETA positions to fulfill these functions. However, because of the local CETA freeze in hiring and due to CETA budget limitation for the coming year, the possibilities of obtaining staff for the Resource Center is improbable.

Because of the urgency of the situation, we would appreciate your assistance in expediting this request.

Sincerely,

Beverley C. Yip

Beverley C. Yip
Administrative Coordinator

BCY/ocl

cc:→Fernando De Baca
Senator John Tunney
Senator Alan Cranston
Congressman Bob Wilson
Congressman Van Deerlin
Assemblyman Peter Chacon
Human Relations Commission



BUDGET JUSTIFICATION FOR PERSONNEL
TO STAFF ASIAN AMERICAN RESOURCE CENTER

<u>Number</u>	<u>Position</u>	<u>Per Annum</u>
1	Coordinator/Director	\$ 12,000.00
1	Secretary	8,400.00
7	Field workers at the rate of \$9,600.00 per field worker	67,200.00
		\$ 87,600.00
	Fringe Benefits (15%)	13,140.00
		\$ 100,740.00
	Indirect Costs (10%)	10,074.00
	TOTAL	\$ 110,814.00



THE FEDERAL-INTERSTATE COMPACT:

AN INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC SOLUTION TO THE BORDER PROBLEM

(A WORKING DRAFT)

The massive migration of Mexican aliens into the United States is a phenomenon that has stirred considerable public attention and concern over recent months. I use the term "migration" rather than immigration, because the situation is just that. We are talking about an international problem of major dimensions; one, according to current statistics, which involves literally millions of persons who annually seek economic relief within the United States.¹ And one that, as a result of inaction, has developed into a major crisis at the state, national, and international levels, as mounting press reports daily confirm.² It may well remain the nation's most pressing social problem for decades to come.³

During my six terms in the Texas Legislature, I have become well-acquainted and deeply concerned with the border problem, and have sought to develop meaningful solutions that are more than temporary, stopgap measures. Now at a time when border conditions seem to have reached a crisis, I have been even more disturbed by what I consider simplistic, ineffectual responses to this complex situation--the recent calls from our highest law enforcement officials for stepped-up surveillance of our borders, and similar police measures--that may in the end only create more havoc than that which



presently exists. I maintain the hope that we can develop some solutions more imaginative and innovative than building a Chinese Wall.

I believe the answer to this basically economic problem is not increased policing of the 2,000-mile border between the United States and Mexico, but rather economic development of both sides of the border, and that the highest levels of government must assume an active role. In this light, I think we must explore the ways in which the border states and the federal governments of both the United States and Mexico can cooperate in an intensive economic development program along their borders.⁴ At the same time, I strongly believe that the four border states of California, Arizona, New Mexico and Texas must take the lead in formulating workable, effective solutions, for our states are most immediately burdened with health, welfare, education, law enforcement, and other critical problems caused by depressed border conditions. If solutions are not found, our state economies will be the first to suffer. Conversely, we have the most to gain by improving the social and economic health of the border regions.

I want to emphasize that we must go to the root of the dilemma. Obviously, the source of the critical migration problem is the depressed economic situation in Mexico and along the border regions of all four states, a condition further aggravated by the generally depressed condition of



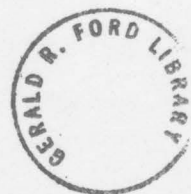
the Mexican economy relative to the U.S. economy. Though easily stated, the situation represents a complex economic challenge. On the one hand, the border regions have been plagued for decades by major social and economic problems which, though more severe, are common to other impoverished areas of the country--problems such as educational deficiencies, low population density, remoteness from major market areas, and a surplus of unskilled labor. Yet, unlike Appalachia for example, the Mexican border difficulties are compounded by still others indigenous to the region--by the wide range of geography, and by the differences in culture, language and currency.

The devastating impact of all of these factors can, perhaps, be best appreciated by looking at the situation in my own state of Texas. The severity of the border problem in the state's southern counties was vividly illuminated in a recent article in U.S. News and World Report:

A Department of Commerce study recently named the McAllen metropolitan area of Texas the poorest in America. Personal income per capita here is \$2,343 annually, against a U.S. average of \$4,492 and a Statewide figure of \$4,045.

About 145 miles to the west, Laredo ranks as the nation's second- poorest area. Per capita income: \$2,516 a year.

Fifty miles to the east, Brownsville on the coast of the Gulf of Mexico ranks third, with incomes averaging out at \$2,607 annually per person.



Things get even worse in rural areas of south Texas, where income per capita in some isolated counties runs as low as \$1,300 a year.

....

The labor surplus is reflected in unemployment figures--15.4 per cent at Laredo in June, 10.9 per cent in McAllen and 10 per cent in Brownsville. And with people fleeing an even worse unemployment rate of 40 per cent in northern Mexico, the labor surplus on the U.S. side of the border seems likely to increase.

....

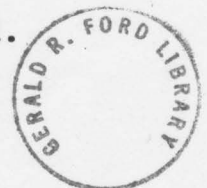
Facts and figures, to some extent, measure the deprivation rampant in south Texas.

In Hidalgo County, including McAllen, 34.9 per cent of all families in 1971 had incomes of less than \$3,000. Another 20.8 per cent had incomes ranging between \$3,000 and \$5,000.

An estimated 43 per cent of the population in south Texas is on welfare. Seventy per cent of Mexican-American families live in overcrowded conditions, and about 30 per cent of the homes lack adequate plumbing.

Many have no access to safe drinking water. Typhus, typhoid, amoebiasis and leprosy are more prevalent in this region than anywhere else in the U.S.⁵

These facts are hardly news. For months now, the same relentless and disturbing statistics regarding the depressed economy of the U.S.-Mexico border region have been underscored in reports of numerous symposia and conferences, as well as in studies of noted educators and economists in the field.



But while the need for remedial action along the border has been recognized, few individuals or agencies have come forth with specific recommendations that are both relevant and realistic. I believe that any successful program must acknowledge the complexity and interrelationship of the border problems, and therefore must entail a multi-faceted approach that integrates economic development with improvements in health care services, transportation facilities, educational opportunities,

and other public works programs. This comprehensive approach toward improving the economies of our poorest regions should enable the border states, at the same time, to enhance their overall economic health, for as the statistics I have cited clearly demonstrate, the impoverishment of the border regions constitutes a pernicious drain on the economies of all four states.

The scope of the border problems demands a regional approach and the establishment of a regional structure that, by virtue of its unified character, possesses greater potential power than any single state acting alone can summon. As Martha Derthick has pointed out in her authoritative study of regional organizations in the United States:

[Such entities] are needed to respond to the problem of "scale" that arises when functions spill over state boundaries without ... requiring nationwide action. The problem of scale may arise when actions in one state jurisdiction substantially affect the welfare of a neighboring jurisdiction. ...

[It] also arises when common social or economic characteristics ... extend across jurisdictional boundaries so that government activities ought to encompass the homogeneous area.⁶

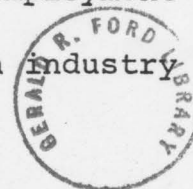
That the border situation falls squarely within these criteria is evident when we consider the increased difficulties that would arise from the efforts of a single border state to improve its own border area without corresponding efforts by its sister states. Improved conditions in one area will ensure increased migration to that region, thus adding to the already heavy burdens carried by that state and impeding any real progress in raising the standard of living in the area. But if there is a coordinated plan of development along the entire border, we can provide for gradual improvement along a broad front so that no single state will be forced to shoulder all of the responsibility. At the same time, such efforts will allow us to offer a wider range of choice in attempting to attract industry to locate along the border.

The legislative solution I am proposing--the formation of a Federal-Interstate Compact between the border states and the United States government--will, in my view, more effectively meet this formidable economic challenge than any other mechanism that has thus far been proposed. Such a compact possesses the characteristics critical to the success of a strong, multipurpose border development entity: independence, flexibility, and permanence.

But in addition, it promises a highly unique dimension--the possibility of bi-national membership, an opportunity for direct negotiations with neighboring Mexico as a Compact participant. This singularly crucial element, without which no contemporary borderlands program could realistically progress, represents the potential for mutual and coordinated development along both sides of the international boundary.

I am not alone in my belief that the direction we should take lies with the kind of vehicle I am proposing. In Texas some initial steps to formulate plans for an acceptable border entity have been undertaken by the Greater South Texas Cultural Basin Commission, created in 1972 by the Governor for the purpose of improving economic and social benefits in the 40-county area of South Texas. At the same time, in a recent Borderlands Conference held in Juarez, representatives from each of the four border states concluded that the success of an international border commission or agency was dependent upon the full and equal participation of Mexican and American states, a factor that, as I have indicated, is possible only through the compact arrangement.

In addition, studies and conference reports issued thus far are virtually unanimous in stressing that a primary criterion for any effective program is a unified effort at standardizing policy among the four border states. In his comprehensive study of economic development regarding methods of creating new employment opportunities within the U.S. border communities through industry



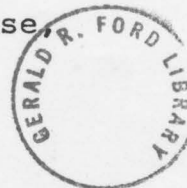
and trade, Robert R. Nathan recommends the establishment of an "Association of Development Corporations." The profile of such an Association is similar in concept to the proposed Compact:

There is a need for a vehicle which can provide ... specific assistance to development corporations as well as to the businesses and communities that cannot afford to hire it directly. Such a vehicle should be capable of stimulating the growth of development corporations as well as servicing them, especially in communities which do not have them or in which they are not active. We recommend an association, or associations, of development corporations.

....

The Association could not only promote the organization of new development corporations in communities needing them, but also provide special skills on request to members and their clients. An even more important function would be the provision of continuing education for the member corporations in the techniques of development. The associations could be distribution centers through which new ideas on the creation of entrepreneurs and enterprises could be spread. Experiences could be exchanged among the members, with other regions of the country, with other organizations such as national trade associations.⁷

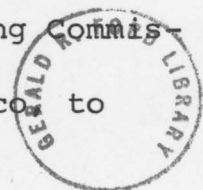
Both Nathan and I are talking about a specific mechanism, an instrument through which united action can be taken. However, the Compact differs significantly from the Association Nathan proposes in that it would function at a high government level. (In his program recommendations for border region communities, Nathan stresses two essential areas of assistance--community and business development--and suggests that Regional Economic Councils provide community programs, while development corporations administer business assistance. Under the Compact I propose



both of these broad areas could be embraced within a single entity.)

My conclusion that a Federal-Interstate Compact offers the most promising potential for a successful, unified border program has come after some consideration of existing regional organizations presently operating in the United States. Apart from the compact approach, there appears to be only one other realistic possibility--the establishment of a joint federal-state Regional Action Planning Commission authorized under Title V of the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965. Title V provides that the Secretary of Commerce may designate an area of the country as depressed. Upon designation, the governors of the states encompassing the designated region may form a regional action commission in cooperation with the federal government. With representation drawn from both the federal and state levels, the agency then becomes a federal-state co-venture, designed to develop a long-range regional economic plan and to coordinate the implementation of that plan through specific action programs.

The Act's purpose was to establish regional organizations similar to the Appalachian Regional Commission (ARC), formed in 1965. Seven Title V commissions, with twenty-nine states participating, were created in the first seven years of the Act's existence. And representatives of the Southwest Regional Office of the Economic Development Administration and the U.S. Department of Commerce have discussed the creation of a Title V Regional Action Planning Commission, composed of Texas, California, Arizona, and New Mexico to deal with border problems.



There are, however, several reasons why it seems unwise to embark upon a borderlands planning endeavor which would take the form of a Title V commission. First, because the commissions are subordinated to and constrained by the Department of Commerce, they have little independence; their effectiveness is diminished by bureaucratic barriers that hamper their ability to obtain the cooperation of other federal departments. The effectiveness of the commissions has been further diminished by the lack of clear authority in their federal cochairmen, as Martha Derthick explains:

The functions of the federal cochairmen have remained ill defined because the functions of the commissions have been in dispute. Throughout the history of the commissions, the federal cochairmen have been preoccupied with establishing their organizations, securing federal funds, and increasing their independence from the secretary of commerce. The Appalachian Commission remains the model to which they aspire. Lacking support from the President, they have failed. Whether as advocates for the region in relations with the federal government or as spokesmen for federal policy within the commissions, they are undermined by the indifference of the executive branch.

....

In general they have been organizations of limited accomplishment and low morale....⁸

Unlike the cochairmen in Title V commissions, the federal representative of the proposed Compact must have the authority to speak for all of our departments. If he is to coordinate their work, he cannot be subordinated to them. Therefore, it is imperative that he be appointed by the President and directly responsible to him. The border problems are simply too extensive and complex to be contained within Commerce, or any other single federal agency. A working relationship between the border commission and the departments of Commerce, State, Treasury, Agriculture, the Environmental Protection Agency,

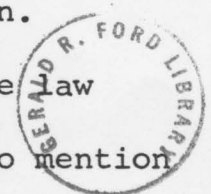
and all of their corresponding international divisions is re-
9
quired. The Mexican government's departmental equivalents to
our own executive departments must similarly be able to participate.

Second, under the mandate of the PWED Act, Title V commis-
sions possess only planning and coordinating authority. These
powers are insufficient to meet the demands of the border region,
which must have an aggressive, action-oriented, and operational
organization. As the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental
Relations has observed:

The action component of the Title V program is
represented basically by commission administration
of the State planning assistance grants, technical
assistance and research grants, and supplemental
grants. Taken together, these activities represent
a quite limited kit of economic tools to stimulate
regional development.¹⁰

Third, the very future of such commissions appears problema-
tical. From the beginning, they have lacked strong Presidential
support and adequate funding. (In the eight years of their
existence, no administration of either party has been willing to
11
make a major commitment of funds to them.) If federal parti-
cipation is phased out, as some authorities foresee, the commis-
sions would be deprived of one of the prime benefits of federal
stature: the possible federal-to-federal relationship between
the U.S. and Mexico. With federal participation gone, or even
weakened, there appears to be no strong argument for the use of
a Title V commission with respect to the border situation.

This is especially true in view of the fact that the
authorizing the formation of Title V commissions makes no mention



of bi-national membership. If the Mexican states cannot formally participate in such a body, it becomes all the more necessary to develop an alternative regional planning structure which would allow their full and equal participation.

A flexible structure such as the federal-interstate compact I propose would offer not only the opportunity for direct federal participation, but for involvement of the Mexican states, as well. Such compacts are authorized (albeit in a negative manner) by Article 1, Section 10 of the United States Constitution:

No State shall, without the consent of Congress ... enter into agreement or compact with another State or with a foreign power ...

As a contractual agreement, the compact can provide for coordination on all government levels--federal, state, local, and international--and for building vertical as well as horizontal relationships among them:

No other device known to our federal experience can provide the single legal pattern effective on all levels and for all types of government that is possible under the interstate compact. Nor can any other device provide a balance quite so effectively between intergovernmental integration and variation.¹²

The contractual nature of the compact would prohibit the states from unilaterally renouncing it, except as agreed to in the compact document itself. Consequently, the interstate compact



seems "the vehicle best suited for the establishment of permanent arrangements among the states,"¹³ The fact that the compact is a formal instrument common to and binding upon all participating governments means that a stable legal basis is established for the joint undertakings of the member parties. In its 1972 study of federal-multistate regional organizations, the ACIR concluded that "the compact device has proven to be a most useful instrumentality in the solution of problems shared by more than one state."¹⁴

Until the 1920s, interstate compacts were primarily bilateral and concerned with boundary disputes. However, in that decade, two important compacts were enacted which broadened the scope of compactual agreements. The New York Port Authority Compact established the first intergovernmental agency between two states, and the Colorado River Compact, which subsequently followed, represented the first attempt to use the compact to alleviate regional problems. Increasingly over the ensuing years, the compact has come to be used as an effective tool for meeting the complex and diverse needs of the states.

The limits of compact usage seem constrained only by the imagination of the participating states and any particular policies of the Congress, which must ratify all compacts that have an impact on the political balance within the federal system, or which affect a power delegated to the national government.¹⁵



Any field that lends itself to interstate cooperation is potentially suitable for a compact agreement. While they can and do deal with a wide range of problems, most compacts have taken one of the following forms:

1. Forum for discussion and study of mutual problems. This is the simplest and least controversial type of compact, existing only for the purpose of facilitating discussion of matters of common concern, (e.g., Atlantic States Marine Fisheries Compact).

2. A medium for provision of technical assistance and/or mutual aid. Such a compact regularizes mutual aid and assistance between states in areas such as police aid and forest firefighting, (e.g., North East Forest Fire Protection Compact).

3. A medium for planning, coordination and data collection. This is really only an extension of the forum concept. Like the forum-type compact, it has no independent powers and would exercise only an advisory role with reference to compact members. The Southern Growth Policies Board, which originated in 1971 and is composed of representatives of 13 southern states, exemplifies this type.

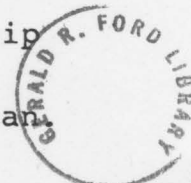
4. Regulatory and/or Operative Agency. Compacts of this kind have far more extensive powers to supervise and/or manage the programs and facilities required to carry out the purposes of the agreement. Before individual compact members can implement programs within the compact's purview, approval by members



has to be given, and such plans have to meet standards set by the compact. Depending upon the subject matter of the compact, it is at this level of authority that federal membership may become important. The Port of New York Authority has such broad powers, as does the Delaware River Basin Compact, which was established in 1961.

With the signing of the Delaware River Basin Compact, a new phase in the development of compacts was reached. For the first time, the federal government became a party to an interstate compact. The agreement was hailed as making possible the substitution of a unified program in place of the "competition, overlapping, duplication and jurisdictional no man's lands which have characterized the separate efforts of a multitude of local, state and federal agencies,"¹⁶ (Before the formation of the compact, 43 state agencies, 14 interstate agencies and 19 federal agencies had conflicting powers and duties in the area.)¹⁷

The Compact authorized a commission composed of one member from each of the four party states--New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware--and one federal representative appointed by the President who was to speak for all federal agencies concerned with river basin programs in the area. The Delaware River Basin Commission (DRBC) was charged with two major functions: to settle disputes among the states over allocation of water from the river, and to establish a federal-state partnership to develop the river in accordance with a comprehensive plan.



The Compact gives the commission broad powers "to encourage and provide for the planning, conservation, utilization, development, management, and control of the water resources of the basin." Specifically, it is authorized to:

Plan, design, acquire, construct, reconstruct, complete, own, improve, extend, develop, operate and maintain any and all projects, facilities, properties, activities and services, determined by the commission to be necessary, convenient or useful for the purposes of this compact.

Negotiate for such loans, grants, services or other aids as may be lawfully available from public or private sources to finance or assist in effectuating any of the purposes of this compact.

...borrow money for any of the purposes of this compact, and ... issue its negotiable bonds ... in respect thereto.¹⁸

Whether federal, state, or local in nature, all projects for use of substantial amounts of basin waters must come before the commission for review and approval. The commission gives approval only if the proposed project is in conformity with its own comprehensive plan, and it may require modifications of projects in order to assure such conformity. Most commission action is taken by a majority vote of the members. However, if the federal member does not concur, federal agencies are not bound by the commission decision.

Authorities have generally agreed that, although the DRBC has not proven wholly successful in fully exercising its broad



powers, it has been effective in achieving much of its primary goal of uniform water resource regulation and planning. Consequently, it appears that the DRBC may well serve as a model and precedent for the formation of similar compacts elsewhere. It has, in fact, already been duplicated in the Susquehanna River Basin Compact, formed in 1970, and the proposed Potomac River Basin Compact follows the Delaware model closely. Insofar as a border compact is concerned, what is attractive about the conception of the DRBC is the comprehensive and sweeping authority granted to it, which enables the organization to undertake a variety of functions beyond the mere planning and coordinating activities authorized under Title V. The DRBC and SRBC exemplify a trend to broaden the responsibilities of interstate compacts and to give them the significant planning, management, regulatory and operational functions they must have to be effective.¹⁹

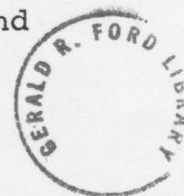
As I have emphasized, the compact form would allow, in the words of the Constitution, "foreign powers" to be members in cases where this is desirable. Of course, the DRBC has no need for such membership, but the border Compact would. At present, there are two compacts that have been ratified by Canadian Provinces: the North East Forest Fire Protection Compact, signed by Quebec and New Brunswick, and the Uniform Motor Vehicle Registration and Proration and Reciprocity Agreement,



signed by British Columbia. In addition, there are other compacts, notably the Interpleader Compact, and the Bus Taxation Proration and Reciprocity Agreement, which specify that foreign jurisdictions are eligible, although none have yet signed.

Some legal experts suggest that the compact is particularly useful for making local areal arrangements between the states and foreign jurisdictions. ²⁰ Given the current breadth and scope of compact agreements, it seems likely that "local areal arrangements" can be broadly interpreted to cover all areas of responsibility that are reserved for the states in the U.S. Constitution. This indicates that the four American states which border Mexico can compact with the border Mexican states in matters of mutual, local concern, such as regional planning and economic development. The only prohibited areas would be those which fall within the scope of foreign relations, since the conduct of foreign relations and any treaties or alliances in pursuit thereof, are the sole prerogative of the federal government.

Although less is known about the ability of Mexican states ²¹ to enter into compact agreements, there is presently a "bilateral understanding" between the border states of Chihuahua, Coahuila, and Tamulipas, and Texas concerning vehicle regulations. The agreement was negotiated in 1956, and



was made possible by a Mexican Federal decree which granted the three Mexican states the authority to make such an agreement. Whether a "bilateral understanding" has the force of statutory law, as do compact agreements, is unclear.

Other equally important considerations argue for the adoption of the compact form: Because the Compact would be binding on the federal government, it "has the potential to produce a much closer coordination of Federal and State law and administration than any other formal legal device."²² With the membership of a federal representative appointed by and responsible directly to the President (a provision in both the DRBC and the ARC), many of the required bureaucratic layers of government approval that cripple the effectiveness of regional organizations such as Title V commissions, would be obviated. Moreover, the states, acting as a unit through the Compact, would be in a position to exercise some control over federal decision-making in matters that affect them. According to the ACIR, "no other instrument has ever defined a Federal-State relationship in an operational field in terms so closely approaching parity."²³

The Compact's power to require that federal programs be reviewed for conformity with a comprehensive program formulated by party members serves as an additional control over federal programs. Because the initiative and much of the funding would derive from the states, rather than from the federal level



regional interests and needs could be more fully recognized and considered.

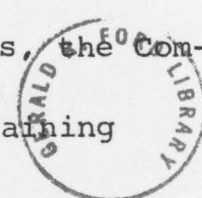
By working collectively, the border states can alleviate the fragmentation caused by competition for federal assistance to solve similar problems. With a unified program, the Compact would have greater potential to attract larger federal and private grants, and through the elimination of wasteful duplication of state agencies and services by pooling resources within one broadly empowered border development agency, economies of scale can be realized in program planning, administration, and the expenditure of funds.

The very fact that the compact would, from the outset, provide a critically needed interstate forum for collective study and discussion of solutions is in itself ample justification for its establishment. But in my view, a truly effective border Compact must, like the DRBC and SRBC, have regulatory and operational powers, and similarly combine a broad grant of federal authority with a joint structure that ensures member states an active and vital role in the regional organization's decisions. Because of the complexity and interrelationship of border problems, a single, interjurisdictional administrative agency is essential for effective, economical direction, supervision and coordination of governmental and private efforts. As a



result, the Compact must not only serve as a forum, planning and coordinating and regulatory body, but must also take an active role in the administration and operation of specific programs. Basically, the Compact would function in two major areas--social services and economic development. A primary concern in the area of social services must be the implementation of programs directed specifically at migrant workers. On the most elementary level, the Compact could help to alleviate much of the duplication and confusion that exists in the field of migrant programs by compiling, publishing, and distributing a list of all organizations that conduct programs for migrants. Beyond this, it might serve as liaison for the governors of the four states in coordinating programs for the benefit of migrant farmworkers, as well as establishing guidelines and regulations for the issuance of I.D. cards for migrant workers. Such an I.D. program could make possible the gathering of a more accurate migrant population census than is now available, and on the basis of such figures, the Compact could insure the proper allocation of federal funds for migrant projects in accordance with each state's proportion of the total migrant population. This is especially important in obtaining funds under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act of 1973, which provides for the allocation of funds on the basis of the number of unemployed persons within each state as compared to all other states.

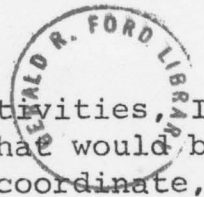
With comprehensive regulatory and operational powers, the Compact could perhaps become a "prime sponsor" of manpower-training



programs under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act and receive federal grants "to provide job training and employment opportunities for economically disadvantaged, unemployed, and underemployed persons." Of special interest in this regard are funds available under Subchapter III, Part A of the Act for "Special Target Groups," which include persons of limited English-speaking ability and migrant and seasonal farmworkers.

In addition, the Compact* might supervise the operation of federally funded migrant health clinics, administer a labor camp inspection program, and monitor labor recruiters and employment agencies along the border to ensure compliance with labor agency law. The Compact would also promulgate minimum rules and regulations for working and living conditions of migrant farmworkers. (States, of course, would be free to adopt and enforce more stringent standards.) The Compact could also be authorized to operate non-profit Housing Development Corporations in communities along the border to serve as sponsors or developers of projects in the absence of local groups which could undertake such efforts. These corporations would be similar to those initiated in several states (Texas is among them). They are calculated to furnish the high-risk seed or front money that is required to make development projects feasible in their initial stages, and act in close cooperation with local public and private groups. Finally, the Compact might qualify to receive federal funds through the Legal Services

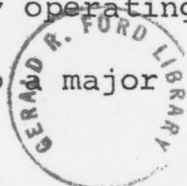
*When I use the term "Compact" with reference to its activities, I am, of course, referring to the agency or commission that would be established under the Compact agreement to supervise, coordinate, operate and administer the various programs.



Corporation Act of 1974 for the purpose of providing legal assistance to migrant and other poor persons.

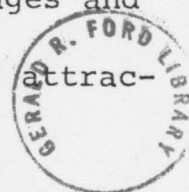
In the area of economic development, the Compact would have as its initial goal the building of an industrial base in the border area. Although there is a trend for industry to locate in areas like the border which are less densely populated and where wage rates are lower, before the border region can even begin to attract industry, it must have adequate water, sewer, housing, health, power, communications and educational facilities, in addition to satisfactory access by highway, rail and air. But the border communities have traditionally been capital-deficit. The continued outmigration of able-bodied workers has eroded their tax base so that they are unable to finance the civic improvements needed to encourage business development. In short, these communities are caught in a cyclical problem of poverty: the people are poor and therefore lack the means to build the institutions that will enable them to escape poverty. Through supervision of a comprehensive regional economic plan, the Compact can help the border communities to develop their resources with an infusion of both private and public capital in the form of grants, loans, loan guarantees and technical assistance.

One of the most significant steps the border states might take to enhance their ability to attract private industry to the border would be the empowering of the Compact to own and operate a Business Development Corporation similar to those presently operating in 23 states (with member states perhaps subscribing to major



portion of the capital). Even though individually some of the states might lack sufficient volume to justify establishing their own BDC, the Compact, as the representative of four states, could afford them the benefits of such a corporation. BDC's provide loans for the expansion of existing business or the development of new business enterprises when such organizations are unable to obtain adequate financing in regular channels of commerce. (Under the present Texas law, which I authored in 1971, a BDC may not make a loan to an applicant unless at least two financial institutions have refused to provide the funds.) The Compact BDC could be authorized to loan money to small businesses on both sides of the border (perhaps limited to U.S. businesses locating in Mexico). Mexico might be interested in buying stock in the Corporation, or Mexican banks might make loans to the BDC, so that it would have an international character. In fact, even if Mexico should decline to join the Compact, it might join the BDC, thus making possible at least some forms of economic cooperation.

BDC's are not restricted by governmental regulations as to the amounts of money they may loan, as are organizations such as the Small Business Administration and the Farmers Home Administration. However, a BDC operated by the Compact could also cooperate with the SBA and the FHA in obtaining federal money to finance local projects. (So far as I can determine, there are no statutory limitations on a BDC loaning money to local governments for community development projects.) The BDC might also buy up mortgages and thereby become involved in financing housing. A further attrac-

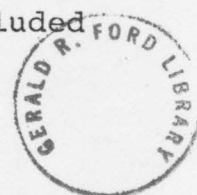


tive feature of the Compact BDC is the additional channel that it would offer for investment by banks and insurance companies, as well as for state retirement funds.

The Compact could also administer planning assistance, research and technical assistance grants and serve as a counselor and technical advisor to local governments and Councils of Governments in the formulation of community development projects and business development plans. Along the lines of the Association for Development Corporations proposed by Robert Nathan, it might provide continuing education in the techniques of development and serve as a distribution center for dissemination of new ideas and experiences in economic development.

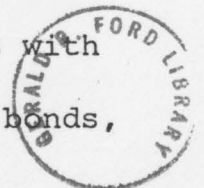
In addition, the Compact might advise Congress and the President as to the optimum tariff and quota mix that would encourage development of the border and at the same time not be disruptive to other parts of the United States and Mexico. (In this regard, a Tariff Commission survey indicates that manufacturing operations along Mexico's border utilize a higher percentage of American-made components than do those in Japan, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Korea. Yet, the United States continues to afford Asia economic advantages it has denied Mexico. When we consider, as well, that most U.S. dollars spent in Asia are not expended

to buy U.S. goods, while Mexico, on the other hand, spends large amounts of U.S. dollars along the border, we have to question the policy that has, for the most part, excluded



Mexico from our market. The Compact, through a study of tariffs and quotas and recommendations based on that study, could perhaps begin the process of correcting the Asia/Mexico imbalance.) The Compact could also own and operate--and subsidize, if necessary-- a free trade zone on both sides of the border--extending, for example, 30 miles on either side from Matamoros to Tijuana.

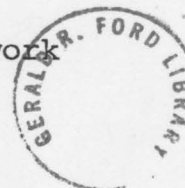
Clearly, the outline I have briefly sketched concerning the types of programs a border compact might undertake is ambitious and far-reaching. But I believe that the problems created by the escalating border crisis can only be solved by bold, innovative initiatives on the part of the governments involved. We must act forcefully before the situation is beyond our control. As I have stated, we in the border states have the most to gain from developing the border regions. Consequently, we must be willing to make substantial commitments, both in terms of funding and relinquishment of some sovereignty, if any significant steps are going to be made in solving the problems we face. It is not realistic in light of today's economic situation to expect that the federal government can or will take the initiative. And I do not believe it is desirable under any circumstances. Any truly successful program must be generated by those who are most affected by, and closest to, the problems. The states must be willing to challenge the federal government to cooperate in a joint effort. To do this, we must be active participants in financing the work of the Compact. Although most interstate compact agencies with substantial operative powers are financed through revenue bonds,



the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations recommends that this should be avoided as a primary means of funding, and that instead, states should provide for funding through appropriations (as is the case for DRBC) or bond-bank operations. It is the ACIR's view that financing of compact operations from state sources would strengthen the member states' fiscal oversight.²⁴ However, the Border Compact commission should not have to fight repeatedly for its very existence before four state appropriations committees. Ideally, I believe the method of financing should incorporate some form of "dedicated tax" to the commission for operational expenses--a tax similar to Texas' state highway fund, farm-to-market road fund, or omnibus tax clearance fund. Such a tax, guaranteed in the Compact agreement, would ensure the organization's independence, while still allowing legislative scrutiny by the four states.

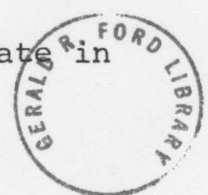
But whatever financing method is decided upon, the crucial point is that the states involved must make substantial and permanent commitments. The commission's budget should be allocated to allow those states with the greatest amount of population and border exposure to make the greatest contribution to the operations of the commission.

Of course, the states cannot solve the problems alone, for their genesis is international and their ramifications are of national scope. It is clear, therefore, that the state and federal governments of the United States and Mexico must work



together. In attempting to improve the economic health of our own citizens, we cannot ignore the economic plight of the citizens of northern Mexico, for obviously, the economies on both sides of the border are inextricably linked. Mexico has already implemented a Border Industrialization Program. Begun in 1965, ²⁵ this program allows non-Mexicans, as well as Mexicans, to own and operate factories in Mexico, and to import free of duty into Mexico equipment and materials if the resulting products and eventually the equipment, are exported from Mexico. The program was devised by the Mexican government as a means of stimulating manufacturing in Mexico by United States investors for the U.S. market." About 450 companies, employing approximately 100,000 workers, presently participate in the program. Most of the factories are located in the ten major Mexican cities along the border. In addition, during his administration President Luis Echeverría of Mexico has established a dozen special committees to coordinate and activate regional development efforts in Mexico and to disperse the benefits of economic growth to less-favored regions. In March of 1974, he declared the small and medium-sized industries of the northern frontier region eligible for a Ten-Year Program of special concessions and developmental benefits in order to create more jobs and utilize natural resources more effectively.

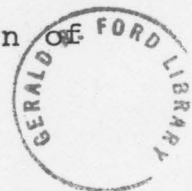
It is evident that the Mexican government recognizes the necessity for improving the economic and social standard of living along the border, and President Echeverría has given us every reason to believe that Mexico would welcome and participate in



programs meant to benefit people on both sides of the international boundary. In his fourth State of the Union message last September, the President called on the United States, as he had in the past, to work with Mexico in developing "a visionary and comprehensive policy for world problems" within which framework the migrant labor dilemma could be encompassed. In an August 19, 1974, letter to President Ford, President Echeverría urged that "bilateral relations between our two nations be based on mutual respect and effective cooperation for the well-being and development of both peoples."

Although President Ford has proposed the establishment of a new Bi-National Commission to replace one set up by President Johnson, which lapsed under President Nixon, such a body would not possess the necessary powers and authority to undertake the kind of wide-ranging mutual efforts that are needed. The increasingly serious border crisis demands that we respond now to President Echeverría's invitation by laying the foundation for the establishment of a common front to improve the economic well-being of our joint border regions. The time is right, I believe, for taking the first crucial step--the formation of a Federal-Interstate Compact.

Martha Derthick interestingly observes that the few regional organizations demonstrating the greatest achievements thus far--the TVA, the ARC, and the DRBC--have, at the same time, been the most unique, innovative, and experimental. All of them emerged on the American scene as "accidents" of their times--born



political, historical, and social circumstances and events peculiar to their era, which marked each with a striking individuality and strength that has not been duplicated.²⁶ Without the merging of such disparate forces as the Depression with its devastating impact, the constant ravages of the Tennessee River, and a strong political constituency, the TVA--the most important regional organization in America--would not have come into being. Similarly, without the concerned actions of the Appalachian governors, who came to Washington to plead for special assistance, (actions, again precipitated in part by natural phenomena--the severe flood disaster which struck the Cumberland valley), the visionary zeal of the New Frontier, and the attention of the national media on the poverty of Appalachia, the ARC might not have been created. Natural forces erupting once more in the case of the DRBC, coupled with a Supreme Court decree in 1954, regarding the allocation of Delaware River water, which prompted the cooperative movement among the basin states, helped to build the impetus behind that organization. Above all, what has played a major role in forging as well as sustaining these entities is their overriding character of grass roots regionalism.

The migration phenomenon we're presently witnessing in the United States-Mexico border region, at a time of worsening U.S. recession and surging unemployment, presents just such unique circumstances that lend themselves to concerted efforts to find



legislative remedies of scope and authority equal to the dimensions of the crisis. The tension between these forces and the resulting concern expressed at the state and federal levels for sanctions against aliens and those who employ them, have created an international, politically controversial issue.

We may be in a rare position to build the constituency we must have in creating a strong regional organization, and bringing its programs to fulfillment. Just as the TVA, the ARC, and the DRBC emerged as particular reflections of their times and of the regions they served, so too, the proposed border Compact appears the most appropriate response to the needs of our times, and to the crisis plaguing the southwest.

Former Secretary of State Dean Rusk, who has expressed concern over the border problem and sees some promise in a bi-national-interstate compact, recently observed that the current prevailing economic climate in America seemed, paradoxically, to spell a particularly propitious moment for the emergence of such a vehicle. Now, in the midst of hard times, the persistent border problem has suddenly been brought into sharp relief, and our direction at long last is shifting to the south.



FOOTNOTES

1. It is estimated by the U.S. Border Patrol that currently there are between seven and ten million illegal Mexicans in the United States. In fiscal year 1974, the Border Patrol apprehended 709,945 illegal immigrants from Mexico. D. Baerresen, Population Pressure and Border Industrialization in Mexico at 4 & n. 6. (unpublished paper) [hereinafter cited as Baerresen].

2. Much of this reporting--editorials, features, and extensive series---has focused on the economic impact of the migration of Mexican aliens during the current U.S. recession. One such series (which appeared in my home city in September, 1974), by Jack Moseley of the Fort Worth Press, was notable for its sensitive depiction of the plight of the alien in America, caught up in a furtive, subterranean existence, and unwittingly exploited as he struggles to survive on U.S. soil. Other recent articles include: Abrams and Smyser, "The Illegal Alien and Local Jobs," The Houston Chronicle (January 26, 1975); "Care Needed in Framing Illegal Alien Measure," Fort Worth Star-Telegram (Editorial, January 14, 1975); "'Human Cargo' from Mexico Keeps Border Patrol Hopping," Austin American-Statesman (December 1, 1974); "Illegal Aliens Pose 'Crisis'," Dallas Morning News (January 17, 1975); "Labor Head Aims to Make Hiring Wetbacks Illegal," The Houston Chronicle (November 8, 1974); Lewis, "Money Balances Fear for Illegal Aliens," Austin American-Statesman (December 1, 1974); McGuire, "Up From the Rio Grande," The San An-



tonio Light (December 1, 1974); Meisler, "Mexico's Contradictions," The Houston Chronicle (December 1, 1974); Montgomery, "The Wetback: Invasion From the South," The Dallas Times Herald (Six-part series, October, 1974); Montgomery, "U.S., Mexico Join in Effort to Stem Flow of Illegal Aliens Across Border," The Dallas Times Herald (November 3, 1974); Satchell, "The Illegal Aliens: Human Tide Cuts Deeply in America," The Washington Star-News (Four-part series, November, 1974); Welles, "Cowboy Aliens Unlikely," The Austin American-Statesman (December 26, 1974); Wheeler, "3 Million Aliens Hold U.S. Jobs," The Dallas Morning News (January 26, 1975).

3. Mexico's present population of about 56 million is expected to double in not more than 21 years if the present birth rate continues. As of 1970, almost one-half of its entire population was under 15 years of age.

This means that during the next few years we shall see a gigantic new wave of persons entering the labor force in Mexico. Already there exists in Mexico a serious problem of unemployment /an estimated 40% of Mexico's labor force is currently unemployed or underemployed/, so there is reason for grave concern about the increased magnitude of this problem in the next few years.

Baerresen at 2 - 3.

4. I am aware that there have been programs in the past which have sought to encourage industrial development in the border areas, but all of the programs to date have been half-way measures which focused



on isolated conditions rather than attacking all of the interrelated social and economic problems in a comprehensive way.

5. "'Poorest Area in America' Begins to Fight Its Way Up," U.S. News and World Report, October 7, 1974, at 45-48.

6. M. Derthick, Between State and Nation at 6 (The Brookings Institution 1974) [hereinafter cited as Derthick].

7. R. Nathan Associates, Inc., Industrial and Employment Potential of the United States - Mexico Border at 98 (Department of Commerce 1968) [hereinafter cited as Nathan].

8. Derthick at 129, 131.

9. The Compact, for example, may want to issue bonds for industrial development or other purposes. To do so, it would require a favorable ruling from the Treasury Department regarding its tax exempt status. Similarly, in promoting a housing program, it would wish the close cooperation of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, while it might require various exemptions from the Environmental Protection Agency in order to encourage certain businesses to locate along the border. In other areas, the Compact may see the need to operate a marketing cooperative, even though agri-business is and probably will continue to be the major industry on the border. The Compact would thus desire the cooperation of the Department of Agriculture,

whose sanction would also be necessary with respect to the import and export of agricultural commodities across the border. In sum, the Compact must be in a position to negotiate with a number of federal departments, as well as Mexico's counterparts to these agencies.

10. Report of the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Affairs on Multistate Regionalism at 56 (1972) [hereinafter cited as ACIR].

11. "...as of 1973 the average appropriation per commission in any one year had never exceeded the minor sum of \$8 million." Derthick at 112.

12. F. Zimmermann & M. Wendell, The Law and Use of Interstate Compacts at 50 (Council of State Governments 1961) [hereinafter cited as Zimmermann & Wendell].

13. Id. at 40.

14. ACIR at 217.

15. Zimmermann & Wendell at 21.

16. Zimmermann & Wendell, "New Horizons on the Delaware," State Government at 157 (1963), quoted in Derthick at 47.



17. DELA. CODE ANN. tit. 7 §6501 (Supp. 1970).
18. DELA. CODE ANN. tit. 7 §6501, articles 3.6(a), (g) and 12.1 (Supp. 1970).
19. ACIR at 150..
20. Zimmermann & Wendell at 53.
21. Article 117 of the Mexican Constitution prohibits the states of the Federation from entering into any alliance, treaty or coalition with another state or with foreign powers.
22. ACIR at 156.
23. Id.
24. Id. at 218.
25. Baerrensens at 5 - 6.
26. Derthick at 225 - 28.