

UNITED STATES SENATE WASHINGTON, D. C.

LLOYD BENTSEN TEXAS

April 25, 1979

Dr. Hector Garcia 1315 Bright Corpus Christi, Texas 78405

Dear Hector:

One of God's most precious gifts is children. Courtney to us was a very special child who enriched her parents' lives and ours. We will deeply miss her. It is a great comfort to know that she has found eternal peace and love.

B. A. and I appreciate your thoughts and prayers.

Sincerely,

Lloyd Bantsen

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20523

ASSISTANT ADMINISTRATOR

April 26, 1979

Dr. Hector Garcia The American G.I. Forum 1315 Bright Street Corpus Christi, Texas 78405

Dear Dr. Garcia:

It was a pleasure to see you last week in Corpus Christi. I enjoyed the opportunity to discuss my future plans with you and appreciate the support that you have always given me.

I will keep you informed as things develop. I think much preparatory work with the White House and the Congress will be required for the next time that an opportunity develops.

You will soon be receiving a copy of a letter I am sending to Don Pacheco regarding the seminar and travel grant program which I mentioned to you last week. We are hoping to be able to fund the travel costs of at least two people from each organization, which participates in the seminar scheduled for June. I hope that the Forum will have a full participation in the seminar. Please let me know anytime I can be of assistance to you in Washington.

I had a very nice visit with Dr. Cleo and also had the pleasure of meeting Tony Canales at the LULAC "roast" for the Nueces County Delegation to the State Legislature.

With best regards,

Cordially yours,

Abelardo L. Valdez Latin America and the Caribbean Bureau

P.S. As of today, I have not received your letter concerning a recommendation for Oscar Gomez. I will be happy to do so if you will furnish me a resume and orientation as to what you would like me to say about him.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20523

ASSISTANT ADMINISTRATOR

James Sala

April 26, 1979

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

I am pleased to forward the attached materials which Mr. Valdez thought you might find of interest.

> Leopoldo Garza Special Assistant

Bureau for Latin America and the Caribbean

Enclosures

"YOUTH AND THE PAN-AMERICAN DREAM"

ADDRESS BY

HONORABLE ABELARDO L. VALDEZ ASSISTANT ADMINISTRATOR FOR LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

BEFORE THE

1979 ANNUAL CONVENTION
OF THE
PAN AMERICAN STUDENT FORUM
OF TEXAS

SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS

MARCH 23, 1979

MR. CHAIRMAN, MEMBERS OF THIS CONVENTION, HONORED GUESTS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

It's a special privilege for me to come home to Texas to give the keynote address to your distinguished group. Working amid the peculiar pressures and sometimes frustrating pace of Washington, it's often easy to forget how much energy and idealism still flourish in organizations like the Pan-American Student Forum.

I THINK IT WAS WILL ROGERS WHO SAID THAT TEXAS OPTIMISM WAS NOT SO DIFFERENT THAN ANYWHERE ELSE IN THE COUNTRY. IT WAS JUST THAT HERE THERE WAS SO MUCH MORE OF IT IN ANY ONE PLACE AT ALMOST ANYTIME.

I SENSE THAT OPTIMISM WITH YOU TODAY.

FOR YEARS, THIS GATHERING HAS BROUGHT BRIGHT YOUNG PEOPLE TOGETHER IN THE CAUSE OF BETTER UNDERSTANDING AND BETTER CITIZENSHIP -- IN TEXAS, IN THE NATION, AND IN THE WORLD.

I ONLY WISH I HAD HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO BE A PART OF SUCH A GROUP AS I WAS GROWING UP IN FLORESVILLE, AS IT WAS, I CAME TO GOVERNMENT AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS BY A MUCH MORE ROUNDABOUT ROUTE, AND I ENVY YOU YOUR OPPORTUNITY.

IT IS ESPECIALLY FITTING THAT WE ARE MEETING HERE IN SAN ANTONIO, THIS REMARKABLE, BEAUTIFUL, FLOURISHING CROSSROADS OF THE PAN-AMERICAN SPIRIT. FOUNDED BY PIONEER IMMIGRANTS OF TWO GREAT PEOPLES, BUILT BY THE STRENGTH AND CREATIVE ENERGIES OF A BI-LINGUAL, BI-CULTURAL SOCIETY, SAN ANTONIO SYMBOLIZES WHAT WE CAN ACCOMPLISH IN AMERICA AND IN THE HEMISPHERE. THE PAN-AMERICAN IDEAL TRULY PREVAILS HERE. WE SHOULD BE PROUD TO BE PART OF THIS CITY'S RICH HISTORY, AND TO HAVE A CONTRIBUTION TO ITS EXTRAORDINARY FUTURE.

So in a very real way I am here to draw some inspiration from your example, from this place and moment.

AND THE KEYNOTE I WANT TO STRIKE IS VERY MUCH THE MATTER OF YOUR CONTRIBUTION TO THE FUTURE. THE WANING YEARS OF THIS CENTURY, THE FIRST FATEFUL YEARS OF THE 21st CENTURY ARE YOURS. YOURS TO LEAVE UNFULFILLED AND DANGEROUS. WHAT YOU BEGIN TO DO NOW TO MEET YOUR RESPONSIBILITIES IN AMERICA AND THE WORLD, HOW YOU CARRY FORWARD THE PAN-AMERICAN DREAM, WILL SHAPE THAT HISTORY. I WANT TO CHARGE YOU HERE TO TAKE HOLD OF THE FUTURE BOLDLY AND REALIZE ITS PROMISE -- WITH ALL THAT OUTSIZED TEXAS OPTIMISM YOU CAN MUSTER.

IN THE LAST HALF CENTURY, YOUNG PEOPLE HAVE MOVED HISTORY IN WAYS FEW COULD HAVE IMAGINED. SOMETIMES FOR THE WORSE, MORE OFTEN FOR THE BETTER. AND ALWAYS WITH A FORCE THAT SURPRISED EVEN THEMSELVES. YOUNG PEOPLE, FOR EXAMPLE,

ARE LEADING THE FIGHT FOR HUMAN DIGNITY AND FREEDOM IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, JUST AS THEY LED THE STRUGGLE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS HERE AND ARE STILL LEADING THE MOVEMENTS FOR ECONOMIC JUSTICE. YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN ARE BUILDING NATIONS FROM THE AMAZON TO THE NILE. THEY HOLD THE KEY TO PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND THE KEY TO PROGRESS IN THE FAR EAST, THE HOPES FOR DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA AND LATIN AMERICA AND THE HOPES FOR NUCLEAR SANITY AMONG THE RICH AND POWERFUL NATIONS OF NORTH AMERICA AND EUROPE.

EVERYWHERE, YOUNG PEOPLE SEEM TO BE EMBARKING ON A NEW COURSE OF POLITICAL SELF-ASSERTION. WELL, ALMOST EVERYWHERE. BECAUSE I SOMETIMES WONDER IF YOUNG AMERICANS ARE TRULY PULLING THEIR WEIGHT, TRULY GIVING WHAT THEY HAVE TO GIVE IN OUR NATION'S OWN CRUCIAL PASSAGE THROUGH THIS COMPLEX WORLD.

I know it is not true for this group, yet for many young Texans, I'm afraid, foreign policy may be what happens in Oklahoma, Arkansas or Colorado. America -- and the world -- Literally can't afford that kind of narrow perspective from your generation. And I hope to give you a few points to make with your peers about our common stake -- and our common responsibility.

FIRST, WHAT WE DO IN THE WORLD IS NOT REALLY FOREIGN
POLICY AT ALL. IT IS POLICY TOWARD EVERYONE HERE -- YOU, YOUR
PARENTS, AND MOST OF ALL, THE CHILDREN YOU WILL HAVE SOMEDAY.

- -- OUR TRADE AND INVESTMENT WITH THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES ALONE ACCOUNTS FOR OVER A MILLION U.S. JOBS, AND IT PLANTS OVER A MILLION ACRES OF AMERICAN FARMLAND.
- -- RIGHT HERE IN TEXAS, THE WORLD TAKES PRODUCTS AND MAKES THE LIVELIHOOD OF MUCH OF THE STATE. Some 64% OF ALL U.S. TRADE WITH MEXICO, ABOUT \$6 BILLION, PASSES THROUGH TEXAS. AND THE U.S. TRADE WITH LATIN AMERICA FLOWING THROUGH TEXAS AMOUNTS TO \$8 BILLION.

FROM THE PRICE OF GAS TO THE PRICE OF A RECORD ALBUM
OR TAPE, FROM THE CLOTHES YOU WEAR TO THE CARS YOU DRIVE, THE
ECONOMIES AND POLITICS OF OTHER NATIONS SHAPE YOUR LIVES.

Nor is it only a matter of commerce. The costs of Policy can include your lives, and the lives of your children. It certainly includes the taxes you pay for national defense.

IT HAS BEEN A CLICHE OF YOU GENERATION, OF THE ERA OF STAR WARS AND REAL MEN WALKING ON A REAL MOON, THAT WE LIVE ON A TINY, FRAGILE PLANET. BUT NO CLICHE WAS EVER TRUER, OR EVER LESS TIRESOME. SOMEHOW, IN OUR RELATIVE AFFLUENCE -- AND ESPECIALLY IN THE PREOCCUPATIONS OF YOUTH -- IT IS EASY TO FORGET THE DAILY, FLESH-AND-BLOOD REALITY OF OUR INTER-DEPENDENCE WITH THE REST OF MANKIND. BUT THEN THE YOUNG PEOPLE OF SOUTHERN AFRICA, OF LATIN AMERICA AND ASIA, WILL NOT LET YOU FORGET -- NOT FOR LONG.

YET EVEN IF INFORMED YOUNG PEOPLE LIKE YOU HAVE THAT AWARENESS OF OUR IRREDUCIBLE STAKE IN THE WORLD, EVEN IF FINE ORGANIZATIONS LIKE THE PAN-AMERICAN STUDENT FORUM MOBILIZE YOUR TALENT AND COMMITMENT, HOW CAN YOU REALLY SHAPE AFFAIRS THAT SEEM SO DISTANT? HOW CAN YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN FROM DALLAS OR HOUSTON OR SAN ANTONIO, FROM THE FIELDS OF EAST TEXAS OR THE PLAINS OF THE PANHANDLE AND THE RIO GRANDE VALLEY, MOLD AMERICA'S PLACE IN THE WORLD?

THERE WAS A TIME NOT SO LONG PAST, OF COURSE, WHEN OUR COUNTRY REACHED TOO FAR TO ATTEMPT TO CONTROL EVENTS IN VIETNAM AND ELSEWHERE. FORTUNATELY, THAT CHAPTER IS CLOSED. BUT INDIFFERENCE OR IMPOTENCE ARE NOT THE ONLY ALTERNATIVES TO BLIND INTERVENTION. YOUR FOREIGN POLICY RESPONSIBILITY -- AND MY GENERATION'S -- IS NOT TO BURY OUR POWER, OR BE ASHAMED OF IT, BUT TO USE IT WISELY FOR GOOD AND FOR DECENT ENDS.

AND THAT POWER -- YOUR POWER -- BEGINS NOT IN SOME STRANGE, FAR-OFF PLACE, BUT IN THE PLACE YOU KNOW BEST. IT BEGINS AT HOME. WITH WHAT THOMAS JEFFERSON CALLED THE POWER AND FORCE OF THE "AMERICAN EXAMPLE."

An interviewer once asked Winston Churchill a few years before his death if he had influenced the world. The old statesman smiled through his cigar and said, "A little, I should think, in the direction of home at least."

YOU IN THIS STATE, AT THIS MOMENT, HAVE QUITE A BIT OF INFLUENCE "IN THE DIRECTION OF HOME."

WHAT YOU DO FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND SOCIAL JUSTICE IN TEXAS SPEAKS LOUDER TO THE WORLD THAN ANY PROPAGANDA OR ANY ARMY.

WHAT YOU ACHIEVE IN THE ECONOMIC DEMOCRACY OF THE MARKET-PLACE HERE AFFECTS ECONOMIES AND THE DEMOCRATIC HOPE EVERYWHERE.

WHAT YOU DO TO PROTECT THE RIGHTS OF MINORITIES AND ENLARGE THE OPPORTUNITIES OF THE LESS FORTUNATE IN THIS STATE PUTS AMERICA ON THE SIDE OF THE WORLD'S MAJORITY AND ENLARGES OUR OWN OPPORTUNITIES FOR PEACE AS SURELY AS ANY DIPLOMACY.

WE ARE IN THE WORLD, TO THE WORLD, SO LARGELY WHAT WE DO HERE AT HOME.

IT IS NO ACCIDENT, I THINK, THAT THE GREAT PERIODS OF PAST AMERICAN STATESMANSHIP HAVE COINCIDED WITH ADMINISTRATIONS OF GREAT COMPASSION AND DOMESTIC PROGRESS AT HOME. WOODROW WILSON'S DEDICATION TO WORLD PEACE AND HIS NEW FREEDOM HERE. FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT'S DEDICATION TO FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE ABROAD AND THE NEW DEAL HERE. PRESIDENT CARTER'S STATESMANSHIP IN THE PANAMA CANAL ISSUE AND THE MIDDLE EAST, ALONG WITH HIS COMMITMENT TO RACIAL JUSTICS AND JOBS AND WELL-BEING HERE AT HOME.

JUST AS THE IMPACT OF FOREIGN POLICY IS NO LONGER FOREIGN, YOUR FOREIGN POLICY BEGINS AT HOME, WITH A BETTER, STRONGER, MORE DESCENT AMERICA. FOR OUR ULTIMATE POWER AS A NATION, OUR REAL NATIONAL SECURITY LIES IN HOW WE CARE FOR OUR SICK AND OUR OLD, HOW WE EDUCATE OUR YOUNG AND HELP THE NEEDY, HOW WE CONSERVE OUR RESOURCES AND SHARE OUR PLENTY. NOT AS THE LAST IN A LONG LINE OF COLONIALISTS AND EXPLOITERS. BUT AS WHAT OUR FOUNDING FATHERS INTENDED. AS AN EXAMPLE. AS THE "LAST BEST HOPE" OF THE HUMAN RACE.

PEYOND THAT HARD WORK, HOWEVER, THERE IS STILL MUCH YOU CAN BEGIN TO DO ABOUT FOREIGN POLICY WITHOUT EVER LEAVING THE UNITED STATES.

YOU CAN CONSTANTLY URGE YOUR FELLOW COUNTRYMEN -AND PARTICULARLY YOUR YOUNG PEERS -- TO TAKE AN INTEREST IN
FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND JOIN IN THE POLICY PROCESS. YOU AND THEY
WILL FIND IT ALL NO MORE MYSTERIOUS -- NO LESS THE PLAY OF
PEOPLE AND POLITICS -- THAN THE AFFAIRS OF THE TOWN COUNCIL
OR A STATE LEGISLATURE. YOU CAN TAKE THE MYSTIQUE AND THE
PUBLIC INDIFFERENCE OUT OF FOREIGN POLICY BY MAKING IT LESS
FOREIGN TO THE PEOPLE WHO PAY ITS COSTS.

Not least, you can yourselves work to get to the Congress, to the diplomatic service, to AID and other foreign affairs agencies which need more than ever the talent and views of a broad cross-section of America, West as well as East. I would especially urge you in this audience to consider a diplomatic career.

AND WHETHER YOU ARE IN WASHINGTON OR FORT WORTH,
WHETHER YOU ARE A DIPLOMAT OR FARMER, PUBLIC OFFICIAL OR
PRIVATE CITIZEN, LEARN AND THINK AND SPEAK OUT. NO FOREIGN
ENEMY, NO ALIEN IDEOLOGY OR ARMY, HAS DONE MORE DAMAGE TO
AMERICAN POLICY IN THE WORLD THAN OUR OWN SILENCE AND CONFORMITY,
OUR OWN LETHARGY OR LAZINESS IN DEBATING THE ISSUES.

FINALLY, I WOULD HOPE YOU WOULD FOCUS ALL THESE EFFORTS IN PARTICULAR ON THE FOREIGN POLICY PROBLEM WHICH IS AGAIN, IN A SENSE, CLOSEST TO HOME. ON OUR RELATIONS WITH MEXICO AND LATIN AMERICA.

I RETURN FROM THIS MEETING TO WASHINGTON TO ADDRESS.

AN IMPORTANT GATHERING AT THE PAN-AMERICAN UNION THERE.

AND LATER THIS SPRING I WILL BE COMING TO TEXAS AGAIN TO SPEAK TO THE PAN-AMERICAN UNIVERSITY. ALL THESE EVENTS ARE VIVID PROOF OF HOW MUCH THE PAN-AMERICAN SPIRIT IS STILL A FORCE IN THIS HEMISPHERE. HOW MUCH FOR ALL THE DIFFICULTIES

AND BARRIERS OF THE PAST, IT ENDURES MUCH AS SIMON BOLIVAR AND FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT BUILT IT. HOW MUCH IT LIVES IN REMOTE REGIONS OF THE SOUTHWEST AS WELL AS IN THE PANAMA CANAL STATESMANSHIP OF PRESIDENT CARTER AND THE CONGRESS.

THE PAN-AMERICAN DREAM HAS NEVER BEEN REALIZED.

BUT IT HAS NEVER DIED AND IT CANNOT DIE SO LONG AS ITS

SPIRIT FLOURISHES IN CITIES LIKE SAN ANTONIO, IN THE

VITALITY OF YOUNG PEOPLE LIKE YOU.

You have a unique role to play in keeping that spirit alive. The United States now has the fourth largest Spanish-speaking population in the Hemisphere. And along this great southern border with Latin America. Texas and the southwest form a fresh new constituency of concern and sensitivity for Latin problems.

OUR NEIGHBORS TO THE SOUTH NEED YOUR HELP MORE THAN EVER. DESPITE THE PROGRAMS OF THE LAST FEW DECADES, HALF THE CONTINENT LIVES IN A VAST ROOT POVERTY AND A DEADENING HUMAN DESPAIR. THE UNDOCUMENTED WORKER HERE IN TEXAS IS ONLY A SYMPTOM OF THAT POVERTY. MAINLY FROM MEXICO BUT ALSO SOME 40% FROM THE CARIBBEAN AND THE REST OF LATIN AMERICA, THE UNDOCUMENTED WORKER IS TRULY A REFUGEE FROM WANT AND DESPAIR. WE MUST UNDERSTAND THAT MEN AND WOMEN

LEAVE THEIR FAMILIES AND COUNTRIES ONLY IN A DESPERATE SEARCH FOR A BETTER CHANCE TO FEED AND CLOTHE AND HOUSE THEIR CHILDREN AND THEMSELVES. IT IS A TRAGEDY THAT WILL BE LIFTED NOT BY FENCES OR POLICY, BUT ONLY BY REMOVING THE CAUSES OF THEIR HOPELESSNESS.

Together with a new wave of environmental, conservation and energy problems, Latin America's submerged, forgotten poor threaten future prosperity and peace on both sides of the border.

NOR WILL THESE URGENT PROBLEMS BE SOLVED BY ONE COUNTRY ALONE. THE TIME IS LONG PAST WHEN THE U.S. COULD OR SHOULD PLAY BIG BROTHER IN THIS HEMISPHERE. WE MUST ACT IN COMMON IN THE AMERICAS TO MEET OUR GENUINELY COMMON, PAN-AMERICAN CHALLENGES. WE MUST ADOPT THE SPIRIT OF JEAN MONET, THE SPIRIT OF COOPERATION AND UNITY THE GROUND THAT CEMENTS A NEW EUROPE TODAY, TO THE HISTORIC DREAM OF BOLIVAR. AND IF WE DO NOT FIND A WAY TO WORK TOGETHER, -- TO PARAPHRASE WHAT WISE OLD BEN FRANKLIN TOLD THE AUTHORS OF U.S. INDEPENDENCE -- WE SHALL ALMOST CERTAINLY FAIL TOGETHER.

By the year 2000, when you are my age, there will be 600 million people in Latin America twice the population than the United States: The majority of them will be 18

AND YOUNGER, BUT UNLESS MEASURES ARE TAKEN NOW, MOST OF THEM ARE ALSO GOING TO BE DESPÉRATELY AND DANGEROUSLY FRUSTRATED.

YOU HAVE AN EXTRAORDINARY SERVICE TO GIVE IN WARDING OFF THAT BLEAK FUTURE.

As young people on the frontier, with first hand knowledge, you can speak to the rest of America about the problems and needs, the pride and hope, in Latin America. You can help rebuild the essential national constituency for our development cooperation there.

AND AS YOUNG TEXANS IN A BILINGUAL AND BICULTURAL SOCIETY, YOU CAN SPEAK TO LATIN AMERICA. YOU CAN REPRESENT THE BEST OF THE UNITED STATES FROM YOUR OWN EXPERIENCE WITH THE TOLERANCE, MUTUAL RESPECT AND COLLABORATION THAT YOU BRING TOGETHER IN THIS ROOM. AND THAT ALL OF US WILL NEED TO HELP LATIN AMERICA SOLVE ITS PROBLEMS --OUR PROBLEMS AS NEIGHBORS-- IN THE YEARS AHEAD.

THOSE ARE MY KEYNOTE HOPES FOR YOU TODAY. THAT
YOU UNDERSTAND AND HELP OTHERS UNDERSTAND HOW MUCH WE
ARE PART OF THE WORLD. THAT YOU TAKE YOUR OWN RIGHTFUL
PART, AS YOUNG PEOPLE AND AS CITIZENS AND VOTERS, IN

MAKING OUR FOREIGN POLICY. THAT YOU BEGIN BY MAKING AMERICA A BETTER COUNTRY AND A BETTER EXAMPLE. AND THAT YOU KEEP ALIVE THE PAN-AMERICAN SPIRIT BY GIVING TO OUR LATIN NEIGHBORS THE SPECIAL GIFTS OF YOUR OWN EXPERIENCE IN HUMAN DIGNITY AND UNDERSTANDING.

IT WILL INDEED BE YOUR HEMISPHERE, YOUR PLANET
IN THE NEXT CENTURY. YOURS AND THE MILLIONS OF YOUNG
AROUND A CROWDED EARTH. YOURS IN WHICH TO REALIZE THE
DREAM THAT ALWAYS ELUDED BUT NEVER DESERTED OUR HERITAGE.
THE DREAM THAT STILL CRIES OUT FOR REALIZATION IN THE EYES
OF CHILDREN FROM SAN ANTONIO TO TIERRA DEL FUEGO.

I WANT TO LEAVE YOU TO YOUR BUSINESS NOW WITH SOME WORDS THE GREAT VENEZUELAN POET MIGUEL OTERO SILVA, WHO MIGHT HAVE BEEN SPEAKING FOR THOSE HOPES.

"LISTEN TO ME'...

MY WISH FOR US IS, TO LIVE,

I WOULD SURVIVE WITH YOU,

IN THE DEEP LIFESTREAM OF HUMANITY:

IN THE LAUGHTER OF CHILDREN,

IN THE PEACE OF MANKIND

IN LOVE WITHOUT WEEPING."



ABELARDO LOPEZ VALDEZ
Assistant Administrator
for Latin America and the Caribbean
Agency for International Development

Abelardo Lopez Valdez was appointed by President Carter to be Assistant Administrator for Latin America, Agency for International Development, in April 1977. As the chief A.I.D. official for Latin American programs, he supervises the programming and management of United States economic development assistance throughout Latin America at a level of approximately \$425 million annually. Mr. Valdez' appointment makes him the highest ranking Mexican-American in the Department of State.

President Carter appointed Mr. Valdez to be Special Ambassador on two occasions during 1978, while serving as a member of the U.S. Delegation to the inaugurations of the Presidents of Costa Rica and the Dominican Republic.

Mr. Valdez served as a White House military aide to President Lyndon

B. Johnson from 1965-1967 and accompanied President Johnson to the Conference

of the American Presidents at Punta del Este, Uruguay in April 1967.

Prior to his appointment, Mr. Valdez was a founding partner of the Washington, D.C. law firm of Purcell, Hansen & Valdez, and specialized in international trade law and the regulation of commodity futures markets. He served as General Counsel for the Inter-American Foundation from 1973-1975, and was an attorney of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation

from 1971-1973. Mr. Valdez was a member of the faculty of the John F. Kennedy Institute of Politics at Harvard University in 1977, where he taught a seminar on Critical Issues in U.S.-Latin American relations.

Mr. Valdez holds a Master's degree in law from the Harvard Law School and a Juris Doctorate from Baylor Law School. He also studied international law at The Hague Academy of International Law in the Netherlands. Mr. Valdez also holds a B.S. degree in civil engineering from Texas A&M College.

Mr. Valdez has published several articles on Latin American economic development, agrarian reform, the role of law in social change, and on the regulation of commodity futures markets in the United States in such journals as The Harvard Political Review, The Harvard Journal of International Law, The Lawyer of the Americas, The Journal of International Law and Economics, and the American Bar Association Journal. While at Harvard Law School, he was an editor of the Harvard Journal of International Law. He is a member of The American Society of International Law and The American, Inter-American, the District of Columbia Bar Associations, and the State Bar of Texas.

Mr. Valdez is admitted to practice before the United States Supreme Court.

Mr. Valdez, thirty-five, was born and reared in Floresville, Texas where his family still resides.

Prepared: September 20, 1978

Attached is a paper entitled "Labor Mobility:
The Global Bracero Problem" which was delivered
by Abelardo L. Valdez, Assistant Administrator
for Latin America and the Caribbean, Agency for
International Development, before the 73rd annual
meeting of the American Society of International
Law on April 26, 1979.

THE CAUSES AND EFFECTS OF UNDOCUMENTED WORKER MIGRATION IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE: THE NEED FOR A DEVELOPMENT SOLUTION

PRESENTED BY

HONORABLE ABELARDO L. VALDEZ

ASSISTANT ADMINISTRATOR FOR LATIN AMERICA

AND THE CARIBBEAN

AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

BEFORE THE

SEVENTY THIRD ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN
SOCIETY OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

PANEL DISCUSSION ON

"LABOR MOBILITY: THE GLOBAL BRACERO PROBLEM"

APRIL 26, 1979

Washington, D.C.

I appreciate the opportunity to participate in this discussion of "Labor Mobility: The Global Bracero Problem." I think the American Society of International Law has chosen a challenging topic which will be current for many years to come.

International labor mobility is certainly not a new phenomenon. From the settlement of the Western Hemisphere in the 17th and 18th Centuries through the Irish potato famines and the major waves of migration to the U.S. in the early 1900s, the urge to better ones economic condition has been a major motivating force on the international scene.

And the movement of international labor continues to be common today. Nearly every country in Northern Europe imports labor from Southern European and North African nations. West Germany alone was reported to be employing around 1.5 million foreign workers in the early 1970s. primarily from Italy, Spain and Portugal. Of course, the U.S. has a fairly long history of employing labor from Latin America and the Caribbean—estimated at over 3 million workers today.

Major changes in perceptions of the foreign worker phenomenon have occurred recently as its economic impact has been more fully realized and as the world economy has undergone a difficult readjustment period in the 1970s. Increasingly, labor movements have significant impacts not only on receiving countries but also on sending countries as well.

For example, decreasing employment opportunities in Northern Europe in 1974 had a devastating effect on the Portuguese economy. Portugal lost

several hundred million dollars of foreign exchange because of the reduced earnings of its workers in Northern Europe.

A recent <u>Washington Post</u> series titled "The Long Journey to Find Work Here" explored the human stories of villagers in the El Salvadorean town of Intaipu, many of whom have found work in the Washington, D.C. area. 1/ While reporting on the risks and privation which people willingly undergo to improve their economic condition, the article also notes the changes which have occurred in their home village. The repatriated earnings of migrants have changed the town, led to better housing for many families and more amenities than exist in neighboring villages. The Washington Post's sensitive portrayal of the human motivations leading to the decision to migrate illustrates the complex nature of international labor movements.

International labor mobility is also of central concern to the United States. We are the largest importer of labor in the Western Hemisphere and one of the largest importers in the world. Here we often refer to this movement as the undocumented worker problem and it evokes nationalistic sentiments and rhetoric both within the U.S. and in those neighboring countries from which such workers come.

Our southern neighbors often claim that the U.S. is inconsistent in its treatment of international labor flows. These countries maintain that we want free movement of our surplus capital into Latin America but restrict the free movement of their surplus labor. Yet domestically, U.S. labor unions are demanding that something be done about uncontrolled immigration.

Hispanic organizations are concerned lest discrimination against all Latin residents of the United States will become more pervasive.

It is becoming increasingly clear that current U.S. law and immigration policy do not constitute an adequate framework for the management of the undocumented worker phenomenon. In December 1978 the Select Committee on Population of the U.S. House of Representatives recommended the following: "We urge a comprehensive review of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 and its attendant administrative procedures so that United States immigration law can be made enforceable, equitable and flexible. A complete examination of the premises upon which the law is based....is long overdue."2/

The U.S. Congress has established the Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy to review and make recommendations on U.S. policy with respect to undocumented workers. The Commission will be headed by the Honorable Ruben Askew, former Governor of Florida, who will be going to Mexico this month to follow up on President Carter's trip and begin the work of the Commission. It is likely that any new legislation will await the Commission's final report in October 1980.

As the United States moves toward a new immigration policy it is important to understand some of the factors influencing the flow of undocumented workers into the U.S. My succeeding remarks will be directed to this subject. I believe it would be useful to begin by summarizing briefly what we know and don't know about this problem. In examining the problem I believe several solutions may become apparent.

Estimates of the size of the undocumented alien population in the U.S. vary considerably. The State Department has cited a range of estimates from five million to seven million. The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) currently estimates the population at between three and six million. And there are yet other varying estimates. Whichever of these one accepts, it is evident that the size of this population is considerable.

Illegal migration to the U.S. is from a variety of countries in the developing world, primarily from Latin America, the Caribbean and Asia. The notion that the undocumented worker problem is only a Mexican problem is mistaken, although Mexico is the largest single source. INS estimates that 60 percent of the undocumented workers are Mexican, 20 percent from Caribbean countries, and the remaining 20 percent from other Western and Eastern Hemisphere countries.

The eight leading source countries, Mexico, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Jamaica, Guatemala, Colombia, Peru and Ecuador, are among our closest Western Hemisphere neighbors. Other estimates also include El Salvador and Honduras as major source countries. Thus, to a large extent, the problem is an inter-American problem: its root causes lie in the lack of economic opportunity in the sending countries, and its symptoms are manifested largely in those countries throughout the hemisphere which offer these opportunities.

The level of migration to the U.S. reflects the enormous gap between the living standard and employment opportunity for the rural and urban poor in Latin America and the opportunities available to them in the U.S.

Wage differentials between the U.S. and sending countries are often even larger than are income differentials. For example, while U.S. per capita income is about 6 1/2 times Mexico's \$1,000 per capita income, migratory farm workers in the U.S. earned roughly 10 times the wages of agriculture laborers in the principal Mexican source regions.

The proximity of our southern neighbors means that their economic problems inevitably will affect us because of the ease with which labor and capital can move across our national boundaries. This mobility of labor into the U.S. and capital flows in both directions are leading to increasing de facto economic integration of North and Central America and the Caribbean. Unless and until economic opportunities and living conditions for the poor improve, the flow is going to continue in the direction of the much more affluent North.

A review of migration patterns throughout the world reveals movement from low to high income regions—typically a rural to urban phenomenon. Survey after survey finds that the economic factors are the predominant reason for moving. There are both "push" factors in the poor areas and "pull" factors in the more prosperous areas. Both forces work in the same direction to produce undocumented workers. 3/

Within the Hemisphere, inter-country migration is not just a U.S. phenomenon. Other higher income countries in the region are also experiencing large inflows of workers from lower income neighboring countries. It is estimated that there are approximately one million Colombians working in Venezuela. Further south, large numbers of Bolivians are moving into Brazil and Argentina.

Other Latin American countries also have experienced considerable migration from neighboring countries. There has been a significant movement of Salvadoreans into Honduras that was one of the contributing factors to the 1969 "Soccer War." At that time, it is estimated that there were 300,000 Salvadoreans in Honduras—a number equivalent to 12½ percent of the Honduran population. Large numbers of Haitian workers are in the Dominican Republic and the migration of Haitians to the Bahamas has caused social problems on that island. There are also large numbers of Guatemalans in Mexico.

With regard to the so-called "pull" factors in the U.S., I believe that all of us have some feel for these factors—the things in this country that attract nationals of other countries. Foremost among the factors are our job opportunities which pay wages that, particularly for unskilled and semi-skilled workers, are often five to ten times those available in the countries from which the migrants come. The opportunities which exist in this country to work; to send money home for parents, wives and children; to save so that one can return home to buy a small plot of land, a few cows, or a small store—these are opportunities of a lifetime which this country offers millions of migrants with the courage to leave home. To these migrants, working in the U.S. often represents the only real opportunity to survive or to improve the lot of their families, maybe even of friends and relatives.

Now let me describe some of the factors that "push" these migrants out of their countries. I speak, of course, of the impoverished conditions in which millions of our neighbors live. There is a human tragedy here that

many are not aware of; almost one-half of the people living south of the Rio Grande, 140 to 160 million of our neighbors, have incomes of less than $$250 \text{ a year.} \frac{4}{}$

Despite reasonably high rates of economic growth, the countries in the region have failed to provide an adequate number of employment opportunities for their growing populations. Rural workers have experienced particular difficulty because of the poor performance of the agriculture sector. Government policies have often favored large, commercial farmers who have tended to use less labor per unit of land. Little effort was made to encourage small farms and other labor-intensive rural enterprises. This situation has been characteristic of most of the source countries.

The search for off-farm employment has led millions of workers to migrate to the urban areas, and the urban population in the region has grown spectacularly. Mexico City grew from 3.4 million to 12.2 million people between 1950 and 1979; Bogota grew from 600 thousand to 3.8 million during the same period.

Throughout Latin America, many of those who have migrated to urban areas have met with bitter disappointment. Jobs in the modern sector have expanded too slowly to absorb more than a fraction of the job seekers.

Unemployment and underemployment rates typically range from 25-50% throughout the region. Slums have grown up in and around almost every city and town; health, water, educational and sanitation facilities have been inadequate; the physical environment has deteriorated; crime and social unrest have increased as traditional social and cultural values have been eroded; and the number of shoeshine boys, street vendors, and other underemployed workers has multiplied.

Compounding the employment problem is the high rate of population growth observed in all the sending areas. Because of improvements in health, both life expectancy and population growth rates have risen and are now among the highest in the world. Since 1960 Mexican population has been growing at a startling 3.5 percent per year, although official Mexican Government figures now estimate some decline to around 3.0 percent. 5/ Inter-American Development Bank and World Bank projections show Mexico having a population of nearly 130 million in the year 2000, of which the Mexico City Urbanized Area would account for over 31 million inhabitants. 6/ At present growth rates, Mexico's population will exceed that of the U.S. in 50 years. The other major sending areas also have high population growth rates. 7/

The bitter reality undocumented workers are fleeing is sometimes hidden by favorable overall economic indicators. The economies of many of the Latin American countries, for example, have grown in recent years at an average annual rate of 4.5 to 5 percent in constant prices. As a result, many of these countries have become classified as so-called "middle income" or transitional developing countries. In almost all cases, the growth has been highly unbalanced. The vast majority of the population has remained at or near the subsistence level, although significant new urban middle classes have emerged and benefited from this growth. Production and employment on small farms have increased very little and, in several Caribbean countries, have actually declined. Nor have most small businesses and artesans in the informal sector done well. The real "winners" have been the new middle classes and the traditional upper classes.

This increasing disparity between the so-called "haves" and "have nots" within many of our neighboring countries helps to explain the irony of undocumented workers coming primarily from those Latin American and Caribbean countries with relatively high average per capita incomes and economic growth rates. These levels often obscure the plight of the poor majority. When economic growth is not shared by much of the population, the frustration level and migration are likely to rise.

I would now like to look briefly at the development policies and programs prevalent in most of the sending countries. These policies, I feel, have a good deal to do with the patterns of development just outlined.

Many of the sending countries have followed strategies designed to achieve two basic objectives: economic growth and economic independence. A principal component of this development strategy has been to stimulate modern manufacturing industries. Such industries, it has been argued, would not only contribute to growth and independence but would create sufficient additional employment to absorb the surplus, unemployed and underemployed agricultural workers. In this way, benefits would "trickle down" to the poor. If benefits were not widely distributed, they could be redistributed through government programs.

To implement this strategy, a wide range of policies were established to encourage industrialization. Governments also invested heavily in basic infrastructure for the modern sector. Super highways, new airports and harbors, large hydroelectric dams were built. Education, housing and health facilities for urban elite groups were rapidly expanded. Unfortunately,

many of these policies and programs inadvertently encouraged the adoption of capital-intensive technology and reduced the resources available for rural areas. As a result, few jobs were created and few benefits "trickled down" to the poor. Major income redistribution programs proved politically and economically unacceptable.

Relatively little was done to stimulate rural development in general, or agriculture and small, labor-intensive rural and urban industry in particular. Inadequate attention has been given to developing and utilizing new labor-intensive, light capital technologies that could increase productivity and expand employment opportunities. Investment in infrastructure for the poor, such as small irrigation systems, rural electrification, farm-to-market roads, low-cost housing, and water and sewage systems, have been inadequate or non-existent. Health and education services have been gradually expanded in rural areas, but the public expenditure per rural inhabitant has been only a fraction of the expenditures per urban resident. Insufficient effort has gone into providing family planning services to rural areas.

The results of these policies, as we have already seen, are rapidly expanding populations, slowly expanding job opportunities and a widening gap between the rich and the poor.

I think that it is clear from what I have just described that the growth strategies and the development policies pursued by many of the Latin American and Caribbean sending countries require rethinking to deal with these newly emerging problems. The 1970's mark a significant turning point. Governments are now groping for new models of development that can more effectively deal with fundamental problems of poverty, unemployment

and income distribution. However, change will not come easily. Past strategies have created powerful vested interests that see policy and program changes as threatening to their advantaged position.

Yet forces for change are also emerging. Throughout the 1970's there have been increasing development tensions and stresses within Latin American and Caribbean countries. The expanded flow of undocumented workers into the U.S. is just one manifestation of these tensions. For many countries migration has become a safety valve, easing social and economic pressures at home. However, the internal pressures for change continue to grow and, in some countries, progressive reforms are taking place. I believe we in the Agency for International Development (A.I.D.) have an important role to play in ameliorating the conditions which give rise to the migration imperative. In a number of cases, U.S. economic and technical cooperation has helped bring about changes.

However, several important constraints limit the role A.I.D. can play in dealing with the developmental problems that contribute to undocumented workers. In recent years, our focus on assisting the rural poor only addresses part of the problem. We have not been able to undertake the large-scale programs needed to deal with unemployment and poverty problems in both urban and rural areas. There are countries—such as Jamaica, Guyana, and Peru—which have undertaken fundamental structural reforms and require specialized assistance. These countries have encountered serious fiscal and balance of payments constraints which are limiting their ability to carry out growth—with—equity programs at a time of worldwide recession and high cost

petroleum imports. In these cases, development assistance programs for balance of payments and budget support could be important, although current Congressional restrictions prevent us from providing this type of assistance.

Furthermore, the level of bilateral assistance for the region has not been sufficient to launch a comprehensive attack on the problem of poverty. For example, in recent years new A.I.D. development assistance of just over \$200 million annually almost equals repayments that Latin American and Caribbean countries are making on previous A.I.D. loans to the region. In fiscal year 1980 the projected loan repayments from the region as a whole of \$204.5 million (which are returned to the U.S. Treasury rather than A.I.D.) will almost equal our combined development loan and grant assistance budget of \$230.3 million. At current A.I.D. levels, this trend will continue for at least the next decade.

In a number of major source countries—such as Mexico and Colombia—A.I.D. has no ongoing activities or has been limited to supporting very minor assistance efforts in recent years. It is ironic that these countries have achieved so-called middle income country status. Their outmigrations are symptomatic of fundamental development problems that continue to exist despite rapid rates of growth and relatively high per capita incomes. It is apparent that a country's average per capita income can be a highly misleading indicator of development.

In other sending countries--like Jamaica, the Dominican Republic and Guatemala--A.I.D. has programs that are dealing with some of the push problems

causing undocumented workers. In Jamaica, we are assisting the government with manpower and family planning, small farmer development, rural education, and low-income housing to replace urban slums. In the Dominican Republic, A.I.D. is financing agricultural and health programs that are directly benefiting the rural poor. We are assisting the Guatemalan Government expand its rural health and education systems, expand low-cost family planning services, and provide additional assistance to small farmers. And in the Caribbean we expect to support new programs for expanding small, labor-intensive enterprises that utilize more appropriate technologies.

However, in most of these countries, we have been largely limited by resource constraints to developing pilot programs, building institutional capacities, and focusing on relatively small target populations within individual countries. Our limited efforts have been effective, but the scale has been too small in most instances to have significant impact on the overall poverty and unemployment problems.

The flow of development assistance from the multilateral agencies such as the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank is much greater than the bilateral program. In many cases, these agencies are supporting resource transfer programs that finance large-scale capital investments in both the public and private sectors. These projects are essential for assisting countries maintain their rates of growth. All the international development agencies are now beginning to recognize that greater efforts must also be made to expand and target assistance on the fundamental problems of poverty, unemployment, and growing population and on other basic human needs.

We do not pretend to have all the answers to the linkage between development and the flow of undocumented workers into the U.S. This is a complex process that requires further study. There is no one easy solution for all countries. However, observations do suggest that it is not necessary to equalize wages or standards of living in the U.S. and the sending countries to reduce the flow of undocumented workers. Preliminary studies indicate that local perceptions of employment opportunities in Mexico are very important in determining who emigrates and who remains in Mexico. 9 There is evidence from Mexico that migration to the U.S. falls off once a rural community achieves a certain level of prosperity. 10 What is needed is to improve employment opportunities and standards of living in the rural and urban areas that produce the migrants.

I believe that the problem of undocumented worker flows into the U.S. must be viewed in a developmental context. The root cause of the problem is economic underdevelopment. Its long-term solution must be sought in the balanced economic development of the countries these people are leaving in such vast numbers. As the Select Committee on Population of the U.S. House of Representatives has concluded:

"The long term solution to the problem of illegal immigration requires an attack on the system of economic imbalance that now pervades the least developed countries of the world, particularly those in the Caribbean Basin. Foreign assistance emphasizing the high priority need for maternal/child health programs with strong family planning components and the creation of labor-intensive industries in rural areas and in small and medium-sized villages and towns will help somewhat to raise the standard of living in sending countries. This two-fold attack will increase motivation to have smaller families and provide the means for couples to do so, thereby reducing the number of future migrants seeking to enter the United States illegally." 11/

During the past several years there has been a growing realization that the U.S. may have reduced too much its bilateral assistance program in Latin America and the Caribbean. Since the 1960s the program has been reduced from over \$600 million annually to just over \$200 million and the Latin America percentage of the A.I.D. budget has fallen from 30% in 1970 to 15% in Fiscal Year 1980.

In its recent report on the 1980 A.I.D. budget, the House Committee on Foreign Affairs recommended that the "downward trend in the proportion of assistance to Western Hemisphere countries should be halted." The Committee goes on to maintain that it is clearly in our own self-interest to assist other hemisphere countries resolve development problems that lead to illegal immigration. As a result, the Committee expressed "the sense of Congress that significantly increased resources should be provided by the United States for development programs in Latin American and Caribbean countries...." 12/

I want to emphasize, however, that economic development assistance is just one among several instruments that should be considered as part of a comprehensive U.S. program for dealing with the undocumented worker phenomenon. We also need to encourage more opportunities for trade and investment throughout the hemisphere. During his visit to Washington in 1977, President Lopez Portillo said that the United States had the choice of importing either Mexican goods or Mexican labor. Repeating this same theme, the House Select Committee on Population recently reported the following:

"The United States has a unique relationship with Mexico: our 1,950-mile shared border is the only place in the world where a developed country and a developing country with a long, unfortified land border are side by side. This unique geographical relationship justifies creating unique financial, trade, and tariff relationships. Attempts to encourage the economic development of Mexico will have little effect unless the United States opens its markets to the goods produced by Mexican farms and factories. In the long run, we will either receive the agricultural and manufactured goods produced by Mexico or receive its 'surplus' population. We cannot and should not try to reject both."13/

Yet, while trade and investment are important, we must also realize that they will only marginally assist the poor unless national policies and programs are in place that encourage both economic growth and equitable distribution of income.

The problem of the undocumented worker is a Western Hemisphere regional problem and its solution will require mutual cooperation. One promising approach is to mobilize support in the entire donor community including the World Bank Group, the Inter-American Development Bank, and other donor countries for a broad scale attack on poverty, unemployment and lack of opportunity. An important step in this direction has been taken in the creation of the Caribbean Group for Cooperation in Economic Development under the auspices of the World Bank, and including the Inter-American Development Bank, the United Nations, the Caribbean Development Bank and other donor countries. Through this Group we have attempted to mobilize and better coordinate development resources for the Caribbean region.

Similar arrangements with other sending countries should also be explored.

At the same time, it must also be recognized that the poverty, unemployment and population problems in the sending countries have to be solved by the people of Latin America and the Caribbean themselves and by their governments.

But A.I.D. and the other international financial institutions can encourage and support governments which make growth-with-equity a commitment. If we do, then over the long term, the goal of reducing the flow of undocumented workers through more effective development and other programs may be possible.

This is a major undertaking, but it is not beyond our ability if we join in a cooperative regional effort to reduce poverty and expand economic opportunity. The problems we are dealing with are difficult and complex ones and will take time to overcome. However, we must begin now; time is not on our side.

FOOTNOTES

- 1/ Washington Post, April 1, 2, 3, 1979.
- 2/ Select Committee on Population, U.S. House of Representatives, Legal and Illegal Immigration to the United States, December 1978, p.3.
- 3/ Chaney, Elsa M., "Colombian Outpost in New York City", Society, Vol. 14, No. 4, Sept/Oct 1977, p. 62. "The Caribbean on the Move: Undocumented Workers in the Hemisphere", Paper prepared for the Study Group on Immigration on U.S. Foreign Policy, Council on Foreign Relations, New York City, May 15, 1978.

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- 4/ Pinto, Anibal, "Styles of Development in Latin America", CEPAL Review, First Semester 1976, pp. 99-130.
- 5/ World Bank Atlas, 1977, p. 8.
- 6/ International Bank of Reconstruction and Development, Spatial Development in Mexico, Vol. I, p. 17, Jan. 31, 1977.

Inter-American Development Bank, <u>Urban Population Growth Trends in Latin America</u>, Washington, D.C. 1975. See attachment for urban growth projections.

- 7/ Office of Population, A.I.D., Washington, D.C., World Fertility Patterns, November 1977.
- 8/ See Testimony by Honorable Abelardo L. Valdez before the Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs, House Committee on Foreign Affairs, February 14, 1979.

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- 10/ Richard Critchfield, "Why Mexico Villages Keep Heading North", The Washington Post, Outlook, December 4, 1977, p. Cl.
- 11/ Select Committee on Population, U.S. House of Representatives, Legal and Illegal Immigration to the United States, December 1978, p. 6.
- $\frac{12}{\text{U.S.}}$ House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Report on the Fiscal Year 1980 U.S. Bilateral Assistance Program, April 1979.
- 13/ Select Committee on Population, U.S. House of Representatives, Legal and Illegal Immigration to the United States, December 1978, p. 6.