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Great! thanks.

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DEMOGRAPHICS

Hispanics -- Beyond The Myths

By Dick Kirschten, National Journal

, National Journal Group Inc.

Friday, Aug. 13, 1999

The immigrants keep coming, not only to the Southwest but up to the eastern seaboard to New York and Boston and west to

Chicago and the Midwest, where they meet the long-established Chicanos, the North Americans of Mexican origin, who have

been here even longer than the gringos. -- Carlos

Fuentes, The

Buried Mirror, 1992

On the eve of the 21st century, Hispanics --

people
variegated of
emerging
America's hot
of
graced
the covers of popular
magazines, including Newsweek, Rolling Stone,
People, and
George, surrounded by headlines blaring that "Young
Hispanics Are
Changing America" and "Latino Power Brokers Are
Making
America Sizzle." At Major League Baseball's All-Star
Game in July,
seven of the starting players were Hispanics, whose
average
salaries exceed \$7 million a year. Presidential
aspirants are using
Spanish-language sound bites in their stump
speeches.

Not only are famous Hispanics getting attention, but so, too, are the infamous. The nation's front pages and television screens focused relentlessly this summer on the face of illegal immigrant Rafael Resendez-Ramirez, the object of a six-week FBI manhunt, a man thought to be the "railroad killer" responsible for eight brutal slayings since 1997.

Indeed, Hispanics are becoming a larger and more prominent part of the American polyglot. Their numbers have been bolstered by high birth rates and a remarkable shift in immigration patterns since World War II, with Latinos making up more than 11 percent of the U.S. population, a proportion that is projected to grow to one in four by 2050. (The terms "Latino" and "Hispanic" seem to have become virtually interchangeable.) They will outnumber non-Hispanic blacks

by 2005, laying claim to the title of America's largest minority group.

Hispanics, however, are not the monolithic minority sometimes portrayed in the media. With origins traceable to more than a score of Spanish-speaking homelands, and complexions that range in hue from white to brown to black, Hispanics are, as Mexican diplomat Carlos Fuentes so aptly noted, "above all mixed, mestizo."

A more accurate portrait of the 31 million Hispanics in the United States would be equally mixed and, indeed, more complex. Most Hispanics are neither highly paid entertainers nor members of an impoverished underclass of illegal aliens.

In reality, the Hispanic community is both more and less successful, and more and less important, than popular opinion or prejudice might suggest. It is a vibrant community to be sure, and many -- probably most -- members are carving their niche in the nation's middle class, just as other ethnic immigrants did before them. Others, however, are struggling to get into the working class. Poverty is a serious concern for one Latino in four.

Neither are Hispanics a teeming mass of illegal and illiterate aliens. Today's Hispanics are predominantly native-born (56 percent). When those who have been naturalized or are Puerto Rico natives are included, 70 percent are U.S. citizens. A majority of the remainder reside here legally. Estimates vary, but it appears that no more than 13 percent to 14 percent of Hispanics in the United States are here unlawfully.

Spanish is spoken in many Latino households, but fluency in English is widespread, especially among U.S.-born children exposed to

television programming and the U.S. educational system. And bilingual education, although controversial, is, in fact, rare.

Two-thirds of Hispanic children who speak only Spanish receive instruction in U.S. schools where only English is taught.

Though they are voting in larger numbers, the might of the Latino electorate -- quadrennially hyped as "a slumbering giant" -- has proved illusory. Although one in nine Americans is Hispanic, only about one in every 20 votes is cast by a Hispanic. Nearly a third of Hispanics cannot vote because they are not citizens, and more than 40 percent of those who are citizens are below voting age.

Politicians, however, can ill afford to ignore the Latino community, which in recent years has begun to mature as a political force and to place higher priority on attaining citizenship. Hispanic voters are particularly important because they are concentrated in a half-dozen key electoral states. In California, whose 54 electoral votes are by far the largest plum in presidential contests, Hispanics make up more than a third of the population and cast upward of 12 percent of the votes in the 1996 election. In Texas, where 32 electoral votes are up for grabs in 2000, Latinos accounted for 17 percent of the 1996 vote.

Hispanic economic power is also maturing. The magazine *Hispanic Business*, which annually lists the 500 largest Latino-owned companies, this year hailed the first such company to post annual revenues in excess of \$1 billion: the Miami-based construction firm MasTec Inc., headed by Jorge Mas Jr., son of a deceased Cuban-exile leader.

But like other immigrant groups before them, Hispanics for the most part are found on the lower rungs of the economic ladder. In today's booming economy, Hispanic men are participating in the labor force at a higher rate than either black or white men. But not all who are working are getting ahead. The median family income for U.S. Hispanics was \$26,628 in 1997 and has been climbing slowly. It remains well below that of whites (\$38,972) and only slightly higher than that of blacks (\$25,050).

Large numbers of Latinos, both native- and foreign-born, belong to the ranks of America's working poor. More than a third of Hispanic children are being raised in poverty -- defined as \$16,700 a year for a family of four -- and disturbingly large numbers of them are falling by the educational wayside, dropping out of school and -- with increasing frequency -- dropping into the criminal justice system.

This more nuanced portrait of Hispanics in America has given rise to a lively debate as to whether Hispanics should be treated as a discriminated against minority entitled to civil rights remedies similar to those afforded blacks, or viewed simply as another immigrant group en route to assimilating into the U.S. mainstream. It's a debate that continues today in such states as California and Texas, where quotalike approaches to affirmative action have been rejected, but other means are used to bolster Latino enrollment in state colleges and universities; one such measure is Texas' program of admitting any student who graduates in the top 10 percent of his or her high school class.

Political scientist Peter Skerry ruffled feathers with his 1993 book, *Mexican Americans: The Ambivalent Minority*, which

criticized those who promote the idea that Hispanics are an oppressed minority. "It is the racial minority perspective that has fundamentally shaped Mexican-American politics," he wrote. Such an approach, he argued, may be "emotionally and programmatically gratifying to its elite practitioners, but it offers little help to newcomers struggling to make sense of their new lives."

But other experts warn that if America wants to enjoy continued prosperity and maintain a qualified work force, remedial governmental measures are needed to ensure that today's youthful Hispanic population receives the educational tools -- including command of the English language -- necessary to compete successfully in a technology-driven economy.

Susan F. Martin, executive director of the congressionally mandated immigration reform commission that completed its work in 1997, says that the federal government should more aggressively address the problems of newcomers using new "immigrant integration" policies that give "particular attention" to health care and English skills. The government, she adds, should also provide aid to communities most affected by immigration.

Now at Georgetown University, Martin argues that if a larger proportion of Hispanic immigrants and their children are to prosper as American citizens in the 21st century, they need special services now, including a faster process for obtaining citizenship that would also better educate them about American civic culture.

The elimination of naturalization backlogs is a high priority of Latino advocacy groups and congressional critics of the Immigration and

Naturalization Service. Most immigrants must reside in the United States for five years before they can apply for citizenship, but it takes another 15 to 24 months to process their applications, according to Rep. Lamar S. Smith, R-Texas, chairman of the House Judiciary Immigration and Claims Subcommittee, which oversees the INS. Smith notes that the INS has a backlog of 1.8 million naturalization petitions and 800,000 applications for permanent residence. And the pressure will very likely not ease any time soon. About 450,000 Hispanics enter the United States each year, including legal and illegal immigrants.

A Complex History

The story of U.S. Hispanics -- some call them Americanos -- dates back to the Spanish crown's sponsorship of Christopher Columbus' 1492 voyage of discovery. His feat led to the establishment of a Spanish empire in the Western hemisphere in the early 16th century. Its foot soldiers were the conquistadors and missionaries who left their language, their religion, and sometimes their progeny from Florida to California.

Few of today's Latinos trace their roots directly to Spain. Some claim bloodlines here long predating this nation's founding, but most are of more recent vintage and more closely related to the native peoples of this hemisphere who came under the Spaniards' control.

Nearly two-thirds of "Americanos" are of Mexican ancestry; 11 percent are Puerto Rican; 4 percent Cuban; and the rest are mostly from Central and South America and other countries of the Caribbean. Mexicans first headed north in large numbers in the 1920s, in a movement that was cut short by the Depression and

World War II, which virtually halted immigration to America. From 1942-64, 4 million to 5 million supposedly temporary farm workers were shuttled in from Mexico under the "bracero," or "strong arms," program. Many stayed illegally and joined the low-wage underground economy. In the 1960s, and again in the 1970s and 1990s, refugees from the Castro revolution in Cuba washed ashore in large numbers in southern Florida.

The doors opened more widely for Hispanics (and Asians) in 1965, when Congress revoked restrictive and discriminatory "country of origin" quotas and anchored U.S. immigration policy on the principle of fostering the reunification of families. Migration from south of the border increased further after the enactment of 1986 legislation granting amnesty to nearly 3 million unlawful immigrants, who later became eligible to send home for their wives and children. Civil warfare in Central America during the 1980s created even more refugees.

Reaching Middle Class
Although this country's Hispanics did not arrive on trans- Atlantic ships, as their European counterparts did earlier this century, they do resemble the Ellis Island immigrants in their slow but steady generational advancement up the economic and political ladder.

Rep. Lucille Roybal-Allard, D-Calif., represents a downtown Los Angeles district adjacent to the one that her New Mexico-born father, Rep. Edward R. Roybal, served for 30 years before retiring in 1992. In an interview, she stressed the need to paint a balanced and more complex picture of a Latino community that has both serious needs and laudable accomplishments.

"There are lousy schools in the Latino community, and people need better jobs," she said. "But we have to make sure that the public isn't under the impression that every Latino is a poor immigrant or -- unfortunately, because of negative publicity -- that we are all criminals or drug addicts."

Roybal-Allard noted that "the Hispanic community is very proud that we have more Medal of Honor recipients than any other ethnic group, that we have doctors, lawyers, teachers, and other professionals."

Gregory Rodriguez, a research fellow with the Pepperdine University School of Public Policy in California, has traced the economic progress of Hispanics in five Southern California counties that, according to the 1990 census, were home to more than a fifth of the nation's Latino population. Their progress was conspicuous.

His 1996 survey, "The Emerging Latino Middle Class," found that a third of the area's households headed by foreign-born Hispanics, and slightly more than half of those headed by U.S.-born Hispanics, had incomes in excess of \$35,000 or owned their own homes.

In a recent interview, Rodriguez argued that Washington's "dysfunction-oriented" approach to minorities has created a perverse political system that "channels the spoils to the loser." If minorities prove they are victims, they get special help. Such an approach, he maintained, makes little sense at a time when Hispanics are making significant political gains in key states. (California's Lt. Gov. Cruz M. Bustamante and state Assembly Speaker Antonio R. Villaraigosa, for example, are both Latinos.) "It becomes incongruous to use the victimization approach when

you're the lieutenant governor," he said.

Rodriguez likens today's Latinos to earlier generations of Irish and Italian immigrants, whose economic progress was "multigenerational, evolving over time from upper-blue-collar to sort of lower-pink-collar." He predicted that the basic Spanish identity will not go away, but politically, Latinos will be co-opted by the mainstream. "When Al Smith first became Governor of New York," he said, "that's when people first started identifying the Irish as Irish-Americans. And that is already happening with Hispanics."

As the author of a recent report, "From Newcomers to New Americans," published by the Washington-based National Immigration Forum, Rodriguez hopes to debunk the stereotype that portrays Hispanics as unwilling to culturally assimilate and adopt English as their language. "We have to take the debate away from the left-wing multiculturalists and the ethnic nationalists, as well as from the right-wing nativists," he said. To do that, "it makes common sense to focus on the upward mobility of these groups."

Rodriguez's research on Southern California shows that, as Latinos move into the middle class, they achieve increasing fluency in English while retaining "some linguistic and cultural continuity" in the home. Significantly, the majority of upwardly mobile Latinos choose to reside in racially integrated middle-income communities where they often constitute a minority, the report states. Nearly a third, he found, marry non-Hispanics.

A third-generation Mexican-American, Rodriguez acknowledges that Hispanics have differed from other immigrant groups in their

reluctance, even after living here for decades, to formally sever ties with their homelands by becoming U.S. citizens. "There was a nostalgia for home, an idea that one day they would return to Mexico to retire," he said. But that tendency has changed markedly since former California Gov. Pete Wilson backed a ballot initiative in 1994 to deny public education and other benefits to illegal immigrants, and Congress, two years later, voted to strip legal immigrants of their eligibility for key benefits. The nostalgia for home has diminished, and Hispanics are seeking to naturalize in record numbers.

Struggling For A Foothold
Yet while many Hispanics are achieving middle-class status, a sizable portion is not. In her recently published book, *No Shame in My Game: The Working Poor in the Urban City*, sociologist Katherine S. Newman of Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government notes that "the largest group of poor people in the United States are not those on welfare. They are the working poor, whose earnings are so meager that despite their best efforts, they cannot afford decent housing, diets, health care, or child care."

Hispanics are more likely than any other group to be members of the working poor. Newman's study focuses on New York City, where Puerto Ricans and Dominicans are among the poorest of the poor. The Puerto Ricans, who have the advantage of U.S. citizenship and greater English proficiency, tend to have higher earnings, she reports, while the Dominicans "tend to make up for this disadvantage by increasing the number of people per household who are in the labor market."

Yet even when both parents in a Hispanic family are working, their income often falls short of their needs. "One of the really troubling things," says Sonia Perez, a deputy vice president of the National Council of La Raza, a Hispanic advocacy group, is that Latino families headed by intact married couples are more likely to live in poverty than similar African-American or white families.

"There is something wrong here," Perez argued in a recent interview. "You have a mother and a father and someone who is working full time. This is what everybody is supposed to be doing. These are the values we are trying to promote. They are exemplified by this community, but it's not working for them."

Census statistics support Perez. Hispanic households are almost as likely as white households to be headed by married couples -- 55 percent, compared with 56 percent for the latter. Only 32 percent of non-Hispanic black households are headed by married couples. Yet more than a fourth of Latino families (27.1 percent) are poor, and slightly more than a third of America's total Hispanic population lives in poverty.

Education Is Key
Perez and other experts view education as critical to overcoming Latino poverty, particularly for large numbers of children who are growing up in Spanish-speaking homes and whose fluency in English is limited or nonexistent. The Urban Institute, a Washington think tank, notes that the number of school-age children whose parents are immigrants has more than tripled since 1970 and now totals nearly 12 million. Of that number, close to 7 million are Hispanics.

The highly polarized debate over bilingual education has not helped.

It has masked the fact that such programs are offered to fewer than a third of immigrant children, and that many language-limited youngsters receive no special help at all.

Researchers estimate that more than 3 million public school students, three-fourths of whom are Hispanics, have limited ability to speak and understand English.

The debate over bilingual education has also hidden the need for continuing help with English for Hispanics in the upper grades of elementary school and in middle and high schools.

In an interview, Michael Fix, a senior analyst at the Urban Institute, said "some kind of language instruction" is available to three of four elementary students who need it, but fewer than half of students in higher grades whose English is limited receive such assistance. Hispanic students, he added, are far more likely than whites or blacks to attend schools where a third or more of the enrollment consists of English-deficient students. Such schools, he declared, "are not just ethnically, but linguistically, segregated."

Studies show that "limited English proficiency" students have better attendance rates than other students, but nonetheless perform worse on tests, including those administered in Spanish, and are less likely to graduate from high school. One of every five students with limited English proficiency drops out of school -- double the rate for English speakers.

Like other school dropouts, Latino youngsters frequently become involved with gangs and run afoul of the law. Although Hispanics make up only about 11.5 percent of the U.S. population, they

account for a larger -- and steadily rising -- share of the nation's state and federal prison populations. Justice Department estimates indicate that 13.3 percent of all prisoners in 1990 were Hispanic, a figure that rose to 15.8 percent by 1996. A recent National Academy of Sciences report that focused on immigrants found that "noncitizens are more likely to be in prison for drug offenses, especially possession of drugs," than for violent offenses or property crimes.

From the perspective of La Raza's Perez, America can ill afford to ignore the problems associated with low educational achievement by large numbers of Hispanics. As of 1997, only 54.7 percent of U.S. Latinos had graduated from high school and only 7.4 percent from college.

"These are the workers for the new millennium, and we need to make sure that we prepare them for the kinds of jobs that will have high demand," she said. "We don't live in the kind of society any more in which people without a diploma can get a factory job and raise a family."

The Critical Few
America's Hispanics are many things -- both rising middle class and working poor. But one thing they are not is a monolithic vote.

Florida's Cubans have found a comfortable home in the Republican Party; Puerto Ricans in the big cities of the Northeast and Midwest have found solace in the social safety net programs of the Democratic Party. While the growing electoral strength of Mexican-Americans in California has recently enhanced the prospects of Democrats in the Golden State, Mexican-Americans in

their Texas have elevated the presidential prospects of
Spanish-speaking Republican Governor, George W.
Bush.

Indeed, the fact that Hispanics have voted in mixed
patterns makes them highly sought after by both parties, and
explains why Latinos are so much in play for the 2000 elections.

Republicans next year would love to equal or better
the high-water mark set in 1984 when President Reagan received 40
percent of the nationwide Hispanic vote in his re-election
sweep. Democrats, on the other hand, crave a repeat of 1996 -- when
GOP contender Bob Dole won only 21 percent of the Latino vote.

But in seeking Hispanic votes, the approaches of the
two parties could not be more different. Bush has chosen Linda
Chavez as his leading adviser on immigration issues. She is a
controversial and outspoken opponent of affirmative action who was
Reagan's appointee to chair the U.S. Commission on Civil
Rights. A key adviser to Vice President Al Gore will be Maria
Echaveste, currently a deputy White House chief of staff, who
made a name for herself at the Labor Department cracking down on
sweatshop abuses by the garment industry.

Chavez traces her Latina ancestry through her
father's side of the family back to Spain and the 1600s. Her mother was
English-Irish. Echaveste, by contrast, is the daughter of Mexican
farmworkers who migrated first to Texas, then to California, and
now, in retirement, have returned to their native Mexico.

In separate interviews, the two advisers argued that
the traditional approaches of their respective political parties
will have resonance with Hispanic voters.

Chavez pointed out that the Hispanics who "are most likely to vote" are hard-working entrepreneurs "who are moving into that lower-middle-class niche" despite shortcomings in formal education. For the most part, she said, they operate small businesses, such as restaurants, gardening services, or mom-and-pop groceries.

Republicans should be able to appeal to such voters by addressing their concerns about crime and safety and by condemning government regulation. "These are people who have problems with red tape, problems with government mandates for everything from health care to mandatory parental leave," Chavez said.

Echaveste, by contrast, said Democrats will appeal to Hispanics as consumers of government services that will be in jeopardy if the GOP gains control of the White House. "One of the reasons that Hispanics are caught in low-wage jobs is that they need better command of the language so they can move up," she said. "But the Republican Party has not been a friend of the Department of Education or of programs designed to get resources into poor neighborhoods."

If Gore is the Democratic candidate, Echaveste predicted, Hispanic voters will reward him for the Clinton Administration's recent efforts to restore welfare benefits for legal immigrants and for efforts to block the deportation of Central Americans seeking political asylum here.

Chavez and Echaveste are probably both correct. The political fault lines that divide Hispanic voters are largely economic and precisely the same as those that divide the rest of the

electorate. If that's the case, rising prosperity among Latinos could, over time, boost the GOP's share of their vote.

Political scientist Harry P. Pachon, who heads the California-based Tomes Rivera Policy Institute, says "the roots of partisan attachment are not deep" among Hispanics, who have mostly voted Democratic but are comparatively new to the electoral process. When his institute polled Latinos in three states last year, 55 percent said that "neither party" does a better job than the other.

Roybal-Allard, who chairs the all-Democratic Congressional Hispanic Caucus (three Latino Republicans in the House decline to join), notes that Los Angeles Mayor Richard Riordan, a Republican, "does very well with Hispanic voters because he reached out to the community and supported important educational projects" before running for public office.

"Traditionally, Latinos are more conservative," Roybal-Allard explained, adding that Democrats will have to overcome "the unfortunate perception that they are anti-business" if they expect to compete for middle-class Hispanic votes.

That competition could be crucial. Although Hispanic voter registration and turnout rates still lag behind those of other groups, they have increased dramatically in recent elections. In the 1996 presidential election, 11.2 million Hispanics were eligible to vote, but only 6.6 million were registered and only 4.3 million actually voted, according to the National Association of Latino Elected Officials. Next year, according to projections by Pachon, the nationwide Hispanic vote may reach 5.5 million.

"It doesn't take many to be called 'the critical few,' " Republican political consultant V. Lance Tarrance Jr. recently observed. He noted that with support for both parties evenly balanced nationwide, it is possible "for the Hispanic vote to become the balance of power for the next decade."

ECONOMY

The Economics Of Being Hispanic

By John Maggs, National Journal
, National Journal Group Inc.
Friday, Aug. 13, 1999

Are Hispanics the new underclass of a prosperous America? Broad and detailed statistics on the economic status of Hispanics are in short supply, but what numbers there are indicate that Hispanics are increasingly stuck on the lowest rung of the economic ladder. And although this status is partly due to a steady stream of recent immigrants who lack the basic tools to succeed in an Information Age America, the relative position of Latinos economically seems to be dropping even as native-born Hispanics are making up a larger share of the Hispanic population.

disparity
school
rates
and
skilled,

The causes of this
are many, but chief among
them are lower high
and college graduation
for Hispanic-Americans,
a changing economy that
marginalizes low-
low-education workers.
Despite this bad news for
Latinos, new research shows that successive
generations of
faced by their
suspicions that
wages, and
otherwise.

The Numbers
Over the past two decades, a
period of unprecedented Hispanic
immigration, the relative economic
status of Hispanics in America has
been dropping steadily. According
to the U.S. Department of Labor,
median weekly earnings in 1998 for
a full-time worker 16 years of age
or older were \$572, or about
\$30,000 a year. The median for a
Hispanic worker, in contrast, was
\$398, or about \$21,000 per year, just 69.5 percent
of the median for
all workers. This percentage has been falling
steadily since 1980.
That year, when workers were taking home weekly
earnings of
\$292, Hispanics were earning \$230, or 78.7 percent
of the median.
In 1985, when median weekly earnings were up to \$378
for all
workers, Hispanic earnings were only \$292, or 77.2
percent of the
median. The relative earnings of Hispanic workers
have been
declining ever since, to last year's 69.5 percent
level.

That's an 11 percent drop in the earning power of Hispanics, relative to all Americans, in 18 years. The depth of that decline seems even more dramatic when compared with the relative earning power of another minority group -- blacks. Over the same 18-year period, when the relative earning power of Hispanics was falling steadily, the relative earnings of black workers were virtually unchanged, and hardly fluctuated in any year.

In 1980, black workers had median weekly earnings of \$232, amounting to 79.4 percent of the \$292 earned by all workers.

Fast-forward to 1998, and the relative amount of black earnings has barely changed, rising slightly to 79.7 percent of that for all workers.

Throughout that period, the ratio of black earnings to the national average never changed by more than a few tenths of a percentage point.

But consider how Hispanics did compared with blacks. In 1980, black and Hispanic workers had almost exactly the same median weekly earnings -- \$232 for blacks and \$230 for Hispanics. By 1985, a small gap had appeared -- blacks earned \$300 and Hispanics earned \$292, or 97.3 percent of black earnings. The gap widened. In 1990, Hispanic earnings were 94 percent of blacks'; in 1998, they were 87 percent. That change, 12 percent over 18 years, is almost exactly the same amount by which Hispanic earnings declined compared with the national average during the same period.

So during a generation of great economic turmoil and growth for the United States, although Hispanics emerged as the ascendant ethnic minority, they also steadily lost ground economically, compared with

other Americans and with those previously stuck in that low rank. Americans have prospered in those nearly 20 years, but some more than others: Earnings by all Americans and by blacks nearly doubled in that generation. Hispanic earnings rose too, but 20 percent less than that of whites and blacks.

Education Lags

There are no easy answers for this phenomenon. It is tempting to conclude that recent waves of immigration, both legal and illegal, are responsible, because recent Hispanic immigrants are mostly poor and take the lowest-paying jobs when they arrive. But against this backdrop of rising Hispanic immigration in the 1990s has been a much larger increase in the overall population of native-born Hispanics. At current birthrates and levels of legal and illegal immigration, more than three times as many Hispanics are born in the United States each year as are added from immigration. Simply blaming the lagging earnings of Hispanics on the disadvantages of recent immigrants is not enough of an explanation.

A major factor seems to be education, or the lack of it. According to a study in the December 1998 Population and Development Review, a New York-based academic journal, the proportion of adult immigrants without a high school education has been rising since 1980; by 1994, they numbered about a third of all immigrants in the United States, or 5.1 million workers. That's a small proportion of the total U.S. work force of well over 100 million people, but immigrants represent 30 percent of all U.S. workers without a high school diploma.

Another factor hurting Hispanic earnings is the changing economy, which demands that workers have more education if

they are to get ahead. Although some immigrants are foreign-born doctors or computer programmers bringing their skills to U.S. shores, most new arrivals are part of the low-skilled work force -- indeed, they have come to dominate it. Between 1980 and 1994, the number of native-born low-skilled workers dropped from 20 million to 13 million.

And as improved living standards become more dependent on education and skills in an information-based economy, immigrants (half of them Hispanic) are falling further and further behind. In 1980, the poverty rate for immigrants was 15.6 percent, not much more than the 12.2 percent poverty rate for native-born Americans. By 1994, the poverty rates for immigrants had grown to 22.7 percent compared to 13.9 percent for natives. Here's why: For immigrants without a high school diploma, the poverty rate rocketed from 20 percent in 1980 to 36 percent in 1994. Changes in the U.S. economy have made education and English-language skills more vital than ever. The lack of English proficiency tends to work against low-skilled workers in the Information Age more than it did in previous generations, when manufacturing jobs didn't necessarily require much in the way of language skills. Those immigrants without education and English are more likely to be trapped in poverty.

It is impossible to say exactly how much of the low-skilled work force is made up of recent Hispanic immigrants, but new research by Jeffrey S. Passel of the Urban Institute in Washington indicates that Hispanics are much more likely to lack basic education than the next-largest immigrant ethnic group -- Asians.

Hispanic Passel said that sharp differences between Asian and
disparities in immigrants' earnings are due almost entirely to
educational attainment. Hispanic immigrants earn
about two-thirds of what is earned by "third-generation" white
workers, whom Passel defines as those whose parents were born in the
United States. But Asian immigrants earn much more -- 95 percent of
what whites earn. The source of this disparity is clear: Only 41
percent of Hispanic immigrant workers are high school
graduates, vs. 84 percent of Asian immigrants. Among third-generation
whites, 92 percent complete high school.

The gulf is even more dramatic among the college-
educated. Asian immigrants have an even higher college graduation
rate -- 42 percent -- than third-generation whites' 30 percent.
Only 5 percent of Hispanic immigrants graduate from college, all
but shutting out millions of other Hispanics from the credential and
skills that are increasingly the means for escaping poverty in
America.

Passel said there is some good news for Hispanics in
his research, however. The disadvantages that plague Hispanic
immigrants recede sharply for their children and grandchildren.
For U.S.-born children of Hispanic immigrants, or for children who
were less than 10 years old when they arrived, the benefits of an
American education close the wage gap to 90 percent of the
earnings of third-generation whites. Unfortunately, third-
generation Hispanics don't make further progress, earning the same 90
percent achieved by their parents, he said.

This is again mainly due to the lag in the college
graduation rate for

Hispanics, which is only 19 percent for second-generation Hispanics and 13 percent for third-generation Hispanics. The wage gap reflects the education gap -- third-generation whites are more than twice as likely to graduate from college, and third-generation Asians three times as likely. This huge difference seems to point to a continued lag and perhaps even a widening of the earnings gap for Hispanics unless more of them can graduate from high school and college. Passel's research will be detailed in a study to be published this fall by the Urban Institute.

The Bigger Picture

A question separate from how well Hispanics are doing is what impact Hispanic immigrants have on the U.S. economy. Some Americans view immigrants as a pool of cheap and conscientious workers in a tight labor market -- one in which arduous or distasteful jobs are especially hard to fill. Others see immigrants taking away jobs from American-born workers, depressing wages, and becoming a burden for federal and local governments.

An influential work on this debate is *The New Americans*, a 1997 study by the government's National Research Council. The study argues that immigration provides clear benefits to the U.S. economy. First, by boosting the supply of labor, immigration adds to U.S. output, providing more wealth for all Americans to share. Also, a larger labor pool allows workers to specialize and be used more productively, the study says. Overall, the actual gain from immigrant labor in an \$8 trillion economy is minuscule -- between \$1 billion and \$10 billion a year -- but a clear plus.

There are winners and losers from immigrant labor, however. The winners include business owners and higher-skilled

workers whose pay is boosted, since low-wage immigrants allow capital to be used more productively. More generally, benefits are extended to all consumers who buy goods and services that are cheaper because of immigrant labor. The losers are less-skilled workers who compete with immigrants for jobs and wages.

However, empirical research indicates that the damage to the losers is very slight, and is overwhelmed by the benefits to others. The NRC study estimates that immigrants depressed the wages of other lower-skilled workers by only 1 percent to 2 percent in the 1980s, while boosting wages for higher-skilled workers and benefiting consumers by a much larger amount.

Even in those areas where large numbers of immigrants compete with other lower-skilled workers -- in Los Angeles, for example -- research shows little impact on native-born workers. Although some observers have argued that blacks suffer disproportionately from competition with immigrants, this is not true, according to the council's study. In fact, the main victims are earlier waves of immigrants.

Despite suspicions that immigrants are a fiscal burden on government, they are actually a net revenue generator, through the taxes they pay on their income and spending. The revenue produced by immigrants in two immigrant-rich states -- New Jersey and California -- reduced federal taxes by \$2 to \$4 a year for each American household nationwide, the study found, even allowing for the cost of education and welfare payments.

Gary Burtless, an economist at the Brookings Institution, a think tank in Washington, says he tends to think that the

disadvantages

Hispanics face -- even after several generations in the United States -- will diminish over time. The United States, almost alone among developed nations, confers one advantage that tends to reduce the disadvantages faced by immigrant groups -- full citizenship for anyone born here. "It is a powerful force," said Burtless.

EDUCATION

The Education Challenge

By Siobhan Gorman, National Journal
, National Journal Group Inc.
Friday, Aug. 13, 1999

The half-paved road that leads up to Kelly Elementary School is lined with single-bedroom, wood-frame houses that sleep families of six to eight people and lack running water. Located in the Las Milpas colonia -- an impoverished border community -- in the city of Pharr, Texas, the neighborhood struggles with gangs, domestic violence, and an unemployment rate exceeding 45 percent. At Kelly, 99 percent of the students are Hispanic; few students enter pre-kindergarten speaking English; and 84 percent come from families with low-enough incomes to qualify for the

free or reduced-price lunches offered under a federal program. But despite all their problems, inside the school walls, children are learning.

compared to "It was an oasis everything around it," said Rosalie O'Donoghue, a former educator who was part of a team of evaluators who awarded Kelly a 1997-98 national "distinguished school" award, one of five awarded to schools in Texas by the U.S. Department of Education.

Schools such as Kelly, made up mainly of immigrants' children, usually start miles behind the starting block. Each year, they face unpredictable enrollment numbers and flocks of students who do not speak a word of English at home. In addition, immigrant communities tend to have low incomes and are not a popular destination for teachers, especially good ones.

But Kelly's students are doing well. More than 90 percent of them are passing the Texas Assessment of Academic Skills test. The key seems to be Kelly's energetic yet flexible emphasis on basic reading skills, frequent diagnostic tests, increased parental involvement, a strong principal, and a school district that has kept teachers' salaries competitive.

But the school's progress is recent. Four years ago only 68 percent of Kelly's students passed the Texas assessment test, a result that prevented the school from achieving the second highest of four academic ratings from the state. The explanation: Many of the kids

just couldn't read. With little supervision at home and no after-school options, most Kelly students went home to a television set. They would return to school the next day minus homework and books, but able to summarize the plot of that afternoon's novelas -- Spanish soap operas.

Kelly faced other handicaps no different from those of many other schools that serve immigrant families. Annual budgets are based on the number of students enrolled the previous year, so a school with an unpredictable and growing enrollment is perpetually underbudgeted, said Rodolfo O. de la Garza, a University of Texas (Austin) government professor who specializes in Latino issues. At Kelly, which the state regards as a "rapid growth" campus, the student population swelled to 800 last year, finally prompting the school district to move half of the children to another, newly created elementary school.

In communities such as Las Milpas, where Spanish is the only language spoken at home, schools need to adapt their curricula and budgets accordingly. They need sets of books and teaching materials in two languages, as well as teachers trained in teaching children English while they're also teaching them math, science, and history. And de la Garza has found that even when schools recruit properly trained bilingual teachers, sometimes those teachers overcompensate for the students' problems by expecting less from them.

With students growing up in a Spanish-speaking community, it also becomes more difficult to convince them that learning English is important. "They speak English here in school, but they go home and

it's Spanish all the time," said Trine Barron, the principal of Kelly Elementary. "We have to do a lot of motivating just to get them interested in English."

Attracting good teachers and retaining them are also problems. "The holding power of a low-income school district makes it very difficult to compete," said Oscar M. Cardenas, a senior director in the Texas Education Agency's Office for the Education of Special Populations.

Barron said her school has been blessed with a district superintendent who has made teachers' salaries a priority and has kept them competitive with those of surrounding areas. The starting salary in the Hidalgo Independent School District is \$28,240; teachers also get bonuses every five years.

After climbing for nearly a decade, Kelly students' reading scores plateaued four years ago, and curriculum tinkering, such as adding a computer-based reading program, had not helped much.

Barron decided it was time for drastic action. Because reading was the school's weak point, she dedicated two hours of classroom time each day to reading, and started using Reading Recovery, a curriculum that has been successful with many kinds of students across the country. The program, which requires specialized training for teachers, consists of daily intensive 45-minute, one-on-one sessions with students. At Kelly they're usually conducted in Spanish.

Since the adoption of Reading Recovery, the school's passing rate on the Texas assessment test for reading has shot up from 68 percent to 91 percent. Now some of the kids who lagged far behind

in reading are among the school's top readers, Barron said.

And two years ago, the Hidalgo School District began requiring schools to administer diagnostic tests in reading, math, writing, social studies, and science every six weeks. Teachers report back to the district on each student's progress and the areas in which children need help. Students who show deficiencies on the tests attend daily after-school tutoring that targets the concepts that are troubling them.

The other major change at Kelly was an increased emphasis on parental involvement program four years ago, and it now holds monthly meetings at the school and at parents' homes, in addition to offering field trips and English-language programs.

In the first year, the number of parent volunteers in Dominguez's program at Kelly grew from two to 15. It has leveled off at 25, which is still small for a school that had 800 students. But Dominguez says the program's outreach efforts have made many more parents comfortable with the school. She estimates that 80 percent of them are illegal immigrants who feared the school would contact immigration officials. A few years ago, parents would set foot on campus only when their children got in trouble, but now, Barron said, "they've become a lot more comfortable coming in. They see us as partners."

Perhaps one of the keys to Kelly's success is the willingness of administrators and teachers to try new things. This school year, which began on Aug. 10, Barron has a new experiment in the works. She has restructured the day to allow

students reading at the highest levels to go home an hour early. Barron hopes that the smaller number of students for that last hour will enable teachers to offer more specialized attention to slower readers.

While Kelly Elementary's experience shows that a focused effort can bring low-performing Hispanic children up to speed, it is the exception and not the rule. Throughout the 1990s, Hispanic students in grades 4, 8, and 12 have scored about 10 percent lower than non-Hispanic white students in reading on the National Assessment of Educational Progress test.

And the demographic challenges are considerable. The Hispanic school-age population is growing faster than that of any other ethnic group. Census figures predict the Hispanic school-age population will rise 54 percent between 1995 and 2010, and the white school-age population will decline about 6 percent.

But Hispanic leaders note that immigrants come here not only for jobs but also for the American promise of universal education, and the country would do well to meet that need.

"Education has been the fundamental consistent policy concern of Mexican-Americans since the 19th century," de la Garza said.

"Their ability to realize that objective has been limited, and their success at realizing that objective has been limited, but they have always tried to pursue it despite their own lack of education."

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Dag Vega (CN=Dag Vega/OU=WHO/O=EOP [WHO])

CREATION DATE/TIME: 9-SEP-1999 15:44:34.00

SUBJECT:

TO: Noticiero52@18182472561@fax (Noticiero52@18182472561@fax [UNKNOWN])
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TO: Telemundo48@17132666397@fax (Telemundo48@17132666397@fax [UNKNOWN])
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TO: Eastern Group Publications@12132639169@fax (Eastern Group Publications@12132639169@fax [UNKNOWN])
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TO: ElbioRodriegez (CN=ElbioRodriegez/O=LaRazaNewspaper@17735257747@fax [UNKNOWN])
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READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:
THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release
September 9, 1999

STATEMENT BY THE PRESS SECRETARY

Anti-Sweatshop Fair Labor Association Names Charles Ruff As Chair

Over three years ago, the President called together members of the apparel and footwear industries, labor, and consumer, labor rights, and human rights organizations to find ways to ensure that products made for American consumers were not made under abusive sweatshop conditions. Responding to his challenge, the invited groups joined together to form the Apparel Industry Partnership (AIP). The AIP established a historic workplace code of conduct and monitoring principles and drafted a blueprint for a new organization, the Fair Labor Association (FLA), to oversee implementation of code, development of a service mark, and raise consumer awareness.

These companies and non-governmental organizations have taken a major step toward making the FLA blueprint a reality by announcing today that Charles Ruff will be the first Chair of the Board of Directors of the FLA. The President is confident that Mr. Ruff will bring to the FLA the extraordinary intellect, energy, and integrity that have served him so well through his distinguished legal career, including his service as White House Counsel. Mr. Ruff's ability to forge compromise among diverse points of view and his commitment to an inclusive process make him a natural to head an organization that provides a forum for some of the most difficult and contentious issues in international labor rights. Mr. Ruff's leadership and foresight will be invaluable to this evolving institution as it addresses these issues.

This appointment of the Chair comes on the heels of other significant steps: the recent announcement that two additional major apparel companies have joined the FLA and the decision by yet more colleges and universities (now over 120) to require that their licensees meet FLA standards. These events, taken together, make clear that the FLA promises to be one serious, viable mechanism to address our shared goals of raising labor standards in workplaces around the world and providing accountability to American consumers.

The President congratulates the FLA for its new leadership and

applauds the companies that have made this commitment to raising labor standards. We hope that others will continue to join the effort.

30-30-30

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Patrick M. Dorton (CN=Patrick M. Dorton/OU=OPD/O=EOP [OPD])

CREATION DATE/TIME: 9-SEP-1999 14:27:41.00

SUBJECT: Need OK from karen ASAP

TO: Carolyn T. Wu (CN=Carolyn T. Wu/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:
THE WHITE HOUSE

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RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Barry J. Toiv (CN=Barry J. Toiv/OU=WHO/O=EOP [WHO])

CREATION DATE/TIME: 9-SEP-1999 18:35:58.00

SUBJECT: Statement by the Press Secretary: Anti-Sweatshop Fair Labor Association Names Charles Ruff As Chair

TO: Friedman@nytimes.com (Friedman@nytimes.com @ inet [OMB])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

I'm hoping this is Tom Friedman's e-mail. This is FYI following your column and your comments last night. Daniel and I both enjoyed the evening. You've obviously done a lot to get the kids thinking (not to mention myself and the other adults). Thanks for appearing.

----- Forwarded by Barry J. Toiv/WHO/EOP on 09/09/99.

06:34 PM -----

Jason H. Schechter

09/09/99 03:42:23 PM

Record Type: Record

To: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message

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Subject: Statement by the Press Secretary: Anti-Sweatshop Fair Labor Association Names Charles Ruff As Chair

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

September 9, 1999

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30-30-30

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Kristina Wolfe/OVP@OVP
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Lauren K. Gillespie/WHO/EOP@EOP
Ann O'Leary/OPD/EOP@EOP
Shivaun A. Cooney/WHO/EOP@EOP

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Carolyn T. Wu (CN=Carolyn T. Wu/OU=WHO/O=EOP [WHO])

CREATION DATE/TIME: 9-SEP-1999 14:30:33.00

SUBJECT: Re: Need OK from karen ASAP

TO: Patrick M. Dorton (CN=Patrick M. Dorton/OU=OPD/O=EOP@EOP [OPD])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

kt has signed off!!

Patrick M. Dorton
09/09/99 02:27:34 PM
Record Type: Record

To: Carolyn T. Wu/WHO/EOP@EOP
cc:
Subject: Need OK from karen ASAP

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release
September 9, 1999

STATEMENT OF THE PRESS SECRETARY
Anti-Sweatshop Fair Labor Association Names Ruff As Chair

Over three years ago, the President called together members of the apparel and footwear industries, labor, and consumer, labor rights, and human rights organizations. to find ways to ensure that products made for American consumers were not made under abusive sweatshop conditions. Responding to his challenge, the invited groups joined together to form the Apparel Industry Partnership (AIP). The AIP established a historic workplace code of conduct and monitoring principles and drafted a blueprint for a new organization) the Fair Labor Association (FLA), to oversee implementation of code, development of a service mark, and raise consumer awareness.

These companies and non-governmental organizations have taken a major step toward making the FLA blueprint a reality by announcing today that Charles Ruff will be the first Chair of the Board of Directors of the FLA. The President is confident that Mr. Ruff will bring to the FLA the

extraordinary intellect, energy, and integrity that have served him so well through his distinguished legal career, including his service as White House Counsel. Mr. Ruff's ability to forge compromise among diverse points of view and his commitment to an inclusive process make him a natural to head an organization that provides a forum for some of the most difficult and contentious issues in international labor rights. Mr. Ruff's leadership and foresight will be invaluable to this evolving institution as it addresses these issues.

This appointment of the Chair comes on the heels of other significant steps: the recent announcement that two additional major apparel companies have joined the FLA and the decision by yet more colleges and universities (now over 120) to require that their licensees meet FLA standards. These events, taken together, make clear that the FLA promises to be one serious, viable mechanism to address our shared goals of raising labor standards in workplaces around the world and providing accountability to American consumers.

The President congratulates the FLA for its new leadership and applauds the companies that have made this commitment to raising labor standards. We hope that others will continue to join the effort.

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Barry J. Toiv (CN=Barry J. Toiv/OU=WHO/O=EOP [WHO])

CREATION DATE/TIME: 9-SEP-1999 18:42:20.00

SUBJECT: Statement by the Press Secretary: Anti-Sweatshop Fair Labor Association Names Charles Ruff As Chair

TO: Broder@nytimes.com (Broder@nytimes.com @ inet [UNKNOWN])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

John, could you please pass this on to Tom Friedman? I guessed at his e-mail address but didn't get it right.

----- Forwarded by Barry J. Toiv/WHO/EOP on 09/09/99
06:41 PM -----

Barry J. Toiv

09/09/99 06:35:48 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Friedman@nytimes.com @ inet

cc:

Subject: Statement by the Press Secretary: Anti-Sweatshop Fair Labor Association Names Charles Ruff As Chair

I'm hoping this is Tom Friedman's e-mail. This is FYI following your column and your comments last night. Daniel and I both enjoyed the evening. You've obviously done a lot to get the kids thinking (not to mention myself and the other adults). Thanks for appearing.

----- Forwarded by Barry J. Toiv/WHO/EOP on 09/09/99
06:34 PM -----

Jason H. Schechter

09/09/99 03:42:23 PM

Record Type: Record

To: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message

cc:

Subject: Statement by the Press Secretary: Anti-Sweatshop Fair Labor Association Names Charles Ruff As Chair

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

STATEMENT BY THE PRESS SECRETARY

Anti-Sweatshop Fair Labor Association Names Charles Ruff As Chair

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30-30-30

Message Sent

To: _____
Christine A. Stanek/WHO/EOP@EOP
Anne M. Edwards/WHO/EOP@EOP
David E. Kalbaugh/WHO/EOP@EOP
Julie E. Mason/WHO/EOP@EOP

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BARBUSCHAK_K@A1 @ CD @ LNGTWY
INFOMGT@A1 @ CD @ LNGTWY
JOHNSON_WC@A1 @ CD @ LNGTWY
SUNTUM_M@A1 @ CD @ LNGTWY
WOZNIAK_N@A1 @ CD @ LNGTWY
backup@wilson.ai.mit.edu @ inet
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usnwire@access.digex.com @ inet
GRAY_W@A1 @ CD @ LNGTWY
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Ann O'Leary/OPD/EOP@EOP
Shivaun A. Cooney/WHO/EOP@EOP

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Richard Powelson <PowelsonR@SHNS.COM> (Richard Powelson <PowelsonR@SHNS.COM> [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME:10-SEP-1999 11:36:25.00

SUBJECT: FW: Statement by the Press Secretary: Anti-Sweatshop Fair Labor Association Names Charles Ruff As Chair

TO: Sarah E. Gegenheimer (CN=Sarah E. Gegenheimer/OU=WHO/O=EOP [WHO])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Ms Gegenheimer:

Here's what I was writing about. See third graf, "Mr. Ruff?s" came through twice instead of "Mr. Ruff's"

I don't understand why the "?" is replacing the "' ' " in your transmission in every release from the White House.

Richard Powelson

>Subject: Statement by the Press Secretary: Anti-Sweatshop Fair
>Labor Association Names Charles Ruff As Chair

>

>

> THE WHITE HOUSE

>

> Office of the Press Secretary

>

>For Immediate Release September 9, 1999

>

>

> STATEMENT BY THE PRESS SECRETARY

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>
> 30-30-30
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>
>
>
>

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Sarah E. Gegenheimer (CN=Sarah E. Gegenheimer/OU=WHO/O=EOP [WHO])

CREATION DATE/TIME:10-SEP-1999 11:47:22.00

SUBJECT: Re: FW: Statement by the Press Secretary: Anti-Sweatshop Fair LaborAssociation Names Charles Ruff As Chair

TO: Richard Powelson <PowelsonR@SHNS.COM> (Richard Powelson <PowelsonR@SHNS.COM> [UNKNOWN])
READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:
It must be an effect of translating the e-mail. I'll pass that along to our systems folks.

Richard Powelson <PowelsonR@SHNS.COM>
09/10/99 10:51:36 AM

Record Type: Record

To: Sarah E. Gegenheimer/WHO/EOP
cc:
Subject: FW: Statement by the Press Secretary: Anti-Sweatshop Fair LaborAssociation Names Charles Ruff As Chair

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

>For Immediate Release September 9, 1999

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30-30-30

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Sarah Rosen Wartell (CN=Sarah Rosen Wartell/OU=OPD/O=EOP [OPD])

CREATION DATE/TIME:29-SEP-1999 12:45:53.00

SUBJECT: Statement by the Press Secretary: Anti-Sweatshop Fair Labor Association Names Charles Ruff As Chair

TO: Amy Comstock (CN=Amy Comstock/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

FYI -- One of the changes that you or meredith (forget who I dealt with) asked for may not have gotten in. Confusion between me and press office. I can't find it or see it but recall there was something. Sorry. Anyway, for your purposes ----

----- Forwarded by Sarah Rosen Wartell/OPD/EOP on
09/29/99 12:44 PM -----

Patrick M. Dorton
09/09/99 08:25:47 PM
Record Type: Record

To: Sarah Rosen Wartell/OPD/EOP@EOP
cc:
Subject: Statement by the Press Secretary: Anti-Sweatshop Fair
Labor Association Names Charles Ruff As Chair

----- Forwarded by Patrick M. Dorton/OPD/EOP on 09/09/99
08:25 PM -----

Jason H. Schechter
09/09/99 03:42:23 PM
Record Type: Record

To: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message
cc:
Subject: Statement by the Press Secretary: Anti-Sweatshop Fair
Labor Association Names Charles Ruff As Chair

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release
September 9, 1999

STATEMENT BY THE PRESS SECRETARY

Anti-Sweatshop Fair Labor Association Names Charles Ruff As Chair

Over three years ago, the President called together members of the apparel and footwear industries, labor, and consumer, labor rights, and human rights organizations to find ways to ensure that products made for American consumers were not made under abusive sweatshop conditions. Responding to his challenge, the invited groups joined together to form the Apparel Industry Partnership (AIP). The AIP established a historic workplace code of conduct and monitoring principles and drafted a blueprint for a new organization, the Fair Labor Association (FLA), to oversee implementation of code, development of a service mark, and raise consumer awareness.

These companies and non-governmental organizations have taken a major step toward making the FLA blueprint a reality by announcing today that Charles Ruff will be the first Chair of the Board of Directors of the FLA. The President is confident that Mr. Ruff will bring to the FLA the extraordinary intellect, energy, and integrity that have served him so well through his distinguished legal career, including his service as White House Counsel. Mr. Ruff's ability to forge compromise among diverse points of view and his commitment to an inclusive process make him a natural to head an organization that provides a forum for some of the most difficult and contentious issues in international labor rights. Mr. Ruff's leadership and foresight will be invaluable to this evolving institution as it addresses these issues.

This appointment of the Chair comes on the heels of other significant steps: the recent announcement that two additional major apparel companies have joined the FLA and the decision by yet more colleges and universities (now over 120) to require that their licensees meet FLA standards. These events, taken together, make clear that the FLA promises to be one serious, viable mechanism to address our shared goals of raising labor standards in workplaces around the world and providing accountability to American consumers.

The President congratulates the FLA for its new leadership and applauds the companies that have made this commitment to raising labor standards. We hope that others will continue to join the effort.

30-30-30

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RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Mickey Ibarra (CN=Mickey Ibarra/OU=WHO/O=EOP [WHO])

CREATION DATE/TIME: 4-OCT-1999 09:53:25.00

SUBJECT: Fair Labor Association

TO: Maria Echaveste (CN=Maria Echaveste/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

I have received a request for suggestions from the executive search firm looking for an executive director for the Fair Labor Association which Chuck Ruff has just been named chair of the Board. This new non-profit was created as a result of the Clinton initiated Apparel Industry Partnership. Because you were such an important part of this initiative, I thought you may have some suggestions or wish to talk to the firm directly. Let me know.

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: WIP Account <Wip@aficio.org> (WIP Account <Wip@aficio.org> [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME: 6-DEC-1999 18:30:08.00

SUBJECT: Work In Progress, December 6, 1999

TO: Michael K. Gehrke (CN=Michael K. Gehrke/OU=WHO/O=EOP [WHO])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Work In Progress
December 6, 1999

New members reported in this week's WiP: 5,093
New members reported in WiP, 199: 456,871

VICTORY AT AVONDALE * The six-year battle by 4,100 Avondale shipyard workers for a voice at work ended in victory last week when a neutral arbitrator certified their signatures on authorization petitions.

"Avondale shipyard workers made history today by winning their uniona success built on unwavering solidarity and courage," said AFL-CIO President John Sweeney. The workers endured a massive anti-union campaign of firings, harassment, intimidation and legal maneuvering by shipyard management after they voted for a union in 1993. Dangerous working conditions at the New Orleans yard, below-standard wages and benefits and a lack of respect and dignity by management toward the workers spurred their fight. Litton Industries, which operates a unionized shipyard in Mississippi, took over Avondale this year and signed a neutrality agreement, which enabled the workers to claim their voice. "They lined up, often dozens deep, to sign union petitions carried by their co-workers. Far more than a majority signed up in less than two weeks. For years to come, their story will inspire other workers to take a stand for their rights, and will serve as a special source of pride for workers and their communities across the South," Sweeney said.

FAA WORKERS SCOPE OUT AFSCME -- Some 510 Federal Aviation Administration workers, seeking to regain their rights in the workplace, voted to join AFSCME Dec. 2. A 1996 law cost FAA employees critical protections enjoyed by most federal workers, affecting sick leave, overtime, grievance procedures and other issues. "This election gives employees back the ability to negotiate for rights lost under the new personnel system....It s about having a voice in the workplace," said Sherry deVries, a program analyst and union supporter.

A VOICE WITH THE UAW -- By a better than 2-to-1 margin, workers at Auto Modular in New Castle, Del., voted to join the UAW last month. Along with those 146 new union members, a unit of 224 workers at Cambridge Industries in Canandaigua, N.Y., voted for a voice at work and joined the UAW.

ILLINI WORKERS WIN -- In Elgin, Ill., 91 municipal, technical and clerical workers voted to join SEIU Local 73 last month, as did 22 city workers in Maywood.

BUST THE UNION BUSTERS -- The AFL-CIO is launching a new initiative to keep track of anti-union consultants, the tactics they use and what it takes to beat them. This information soon will be available to union organizers in a password-protected area within the AFL-CIO's website. If union-busters were used in recent organizing drives in which you were involved, please contact the Corporate Affairs Department by e-mail: infoctr@aflcio.org; or fax to Gordon Pavy: 202-508-6986.

NOTHING LAX HERE -- More than 200 Los Angeles International Airport security workers seeking a voice at work and their supporters from the community rallied as human billboards in front of airline terminals on the day before Thanksgiving, the airport's busiest travel day. The workers at Argenbright Security voted to join SEIU Local 1877 in September, but instead of honoring the workers' choice, the company has responded by harassing and intimidating the workers, the union charges. More than 1,000 paper plates decorated by local school children were displayed on banners with the message, "A good job would fill this plate."

MINNEAPOLIS BACKS WORKERS' VOICE -- Any new hotel or restaurant built in Minneapolis with any kind of city assistance such as tax breaks will come complete with a neutrality agreement, according to the terms of an ordinance passed 12-1 by the city council Nov. 24. Richard Johnson, president of the Minneapolis Central Labor Union Council, said unions had reached verbal agreements with management to respect workers' choice to join a union in several projects now in the planning stage. He added that construction of more new downtown hotels is expected to meet the needs of an expanded city civic center.

DOCTOR, DOCTOR, GIVE ME THE NEWS -- More than 90,000 interns, residents and fellows in private hospitals nationwide are eligible to join unions following an NLRB ruling last week. The board ruled that the doctors are employees, not students as they had been defined by the NLRB for the past 23 years, and therefore have collective bargaining rights. The case arose when unionized residents at Boston Medical Center members of the Committee of Interns and Residents, an SEIU affiliate, asked the board in 1997 to certify their election. "Resident physicians in private hospitals will now have the right to a voice in their working conditions. This means they can actively advocate for the highest-quality patient care," said CIR President Dr. Ladi Haroona.

TAKING OFF AT US AIRWAYS -- Passenger service workers at US Airways ratified their first contract with a 75 percent approval vote. The five-year pact includes a pay parity formula that puts the Communications Workers members at the top of the industry and improves retirement benefits and job security for more than 10,000 employees. "Passenger service employees overcame many obstacles in their drive for representation and a real contract," said CWA President Morton Bahr. The workers chose CWA two years ago; US Airways' legal maneuvering and an appeal by the airline of National Mediation Board rules governing the first election resulted in a federal court calling for a new election in

August, when workers overwhelmingly voted for CWA.

TITAN TIRES BARRED -- The Warren County (Iowa) Board of Supervisors voted unanimously to boycott tires made by Titan International Inc., a multinational tire and wheel conglomerate based in Quincy, Ill. More than 1,000 members of Steelworkers Local 164 in Des Moines, Iowa, and USWA Local 303L in Natchez, Miss., have been replaced after they were forced on an unfair labor practices strike more than a year ago. Titan is sinking financially, said Local 164 President John Peno, noting, "By refusing to negotiate with us, (CEO Morry) Taylor is destroying the company."

GORE WALKS THE LINE -- Vice President Al Gore brought the coffee and donuts when he joined striking Teamsters on the picket line in front of Overnite Transportation Co. s Londonderry, N.H., terminal last week. Gore, who highlighted the Overnite workers' struggle at October s AFL-CIO convention, told the workers their battle at Overnite was a struggle against one of the most relentless anti-union companies in history, the IBT reported. In Indianapolis, 400 union leaders in town for the Indiana State AFL-CIO convention marched and rallied in front of the company s terminal. Overnite workers have been engaged in an unfair labor practices strike against the company since Oct. 24. For more information, see www.teamster.org.

PAID PARENTAL LEAVE URGED -- States will be allowed to use their unemployment insurance funds to offer paid parental leave to new parents under an executive order issued by President Bill Clinton last week. He noted that the solvency of state UI funds and the low unemployment rate give states an opportunity to implement new family leave proposals. Clinton said the order was completely voluntary and that it "gives states the flexibility to experiment with paid employment leave...one of the best things we can do to strengthen our families and help new mothers and fathers meet their responsibilities both at home and at work."

SOUR NOTES -- Striking members of Musicians Local 802 vow not to return to work at the New York City Ballet without a fair agreement on work rules. The strike forced cancellation of the opening night of the fall season Nov. 23. The ballet also is using taped music for its traditional Christmas presentation of "The Nutcracker." At issue is a management proposal to increase the number of required rehearsals for musicians.

AND THE SURVEY SAYS -- Shoppers would be willing to pay more for merchandise if it was guaranteed not to be manufactured under sweatshop conditions, a survey by the Marymount University Center for Ethical Studies in Arlington, Va., shows. Eighty-six percent of the respondents would pay an extra dollar on a \$20 item. Compared with a 1995 survey, almost twice as many people (19 percent to 10 percent) say manufacturers and retailers should be held responsible for ending sweatshop abuses. For a copy of the survey, visit www.marymount.edu/ethical.html.

EQUAL MEDICINE -- When the Coalition of Labor Union Women adopted a resolution calling on health insurance plans to cover contraception devices and prescriptions at its 1997 convention, Felisa Castillo of Bakery, Confectionery, Tobacco Workers and Grain Millers Local 24 in San Francisco and Mary Peterson of BCTGM Local 326 in Detroit decided to see

whether they could implement it in their respective health plans. As the CLUW resolution noted, the majority of health plans do not routinely cover most contraceptive methods. The two, both local financial secretaries and trustees to their health plans, met with their plans boards and showed such coverage is a family issue and could be cost-effective in the long run. They also noted a bit of inequity, as their plans had speedily covered Viagra prescriptions. Castillo and Peterson recently reported to CLUW they had won the expanded coverage.

RUDOLPH THE UNION REINDEER -- That and other such nontraditional holiday songs as I m Dreaming of a Just Workplace and Here s to Our Stewards (think Frosty the Snowman) are available from the Labor Heritage Foundation. To get the lyrics of seven union versions of holiday carols, call: 202-842-7879; fax: 202-842-7838; or e-mail: Laborheritage@erols.com.

MOVING UP -- President Clinton announced the recess appointment of former UAW attorney Leonard R. Page as general counsel of the National Labor Relations Board. Clinton nominated Page to the post in February, but the Senate adjourned without acting on the nomination. Also, Charles Richard Barnes was confirmed as director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service. Barnes previously served as deputy director of the FMCS.

FLAVIN HONORED -- The late Robert Flavin, who served as president of Communications Workers Local 1170 in Rochester, N.Y., for 36 years, was honored posthumously with the Community Services Award, presented jointly by the United Way of Greater Rochester and the Rochester and Vicinity Labor Council, for his efforts on behalf of his local union, the central labor council and the Rochester community. In addition, the award has been named for Flavin, who died Nov. 5 at the age of 73.

WORKING TOGETHER -- The AFL-CIO Union Label & Service Trades Department is seeking nominations for the first Labor-Management Award of the millennium. The award recognizes employers with exemplary relationships with employees and their unions. Nominations should be sent to Labor-Management Award, ULSTD, 815 16th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006. The deadline for nominations is Feb. 7.

THE SHOUT HEARD ROUND THE WORLD

After nearly 40,000 union members, students, community activists, farmers, religious leaders and environmentalists marched and rallied in the streets of Seattle, the Nov. 30-Dec. 3 meeting of the World Trade Organization ended in disarray, with trade ministers and heads of state from member countries unable to achieve any agreement or even issue a final statement. "The breakdown reflects the first step in a serious coming to terms with pivotal issues: accountability, democratic procedures, workers and human rights and the environment that protesters highlighted all week," said AFL-CIO President John Sweeney. "It signals the beginning of a new era that recognizes the urgent need to construct a trading system that can face the challenges of the 21st century." The WTO impasse occurred two days after Sweeney met with President Bill Clinton and told him that no deal by the world's trade ministers was better than a bad deal that would

hurt the world's workers. Sweeney also reiterated the AFL-CIO's opposition to admitting China, the world's most populous human rights abuser, into the WTO.

Activists from around the world began gathering in Seattle during the Thanksgiving Day weekend, as Sweeney joined world trade union leaders to observe the 50th anniversary of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. Sweeney presented the George Meany-Lane Kirkland Human Rights Award to the ICFTU for its distinguished struggle for human rights.

Religious Community Joins In

On the eve of the Nov. 30 rally and march, activists gathered for an interfaith service at Seattle's 146-year-old First United Methodist Church, where they coupled their demand for fair labor and environmental standards with a call to break the chain of global debt for the world's poorest countries. After the service, the 3,000 congregants, joined by thousands of activists waiting patiently in Seattle's rain-soaked streets, conducted a candlelight procession to Exhibition Hall, where WTO delegates were enjoying a reception. Holding ribbon, activists linked arms and circled the hall. Sweeney and a dozen religious leaders closed the circle, chanting "Cancel the debt now."

The day of the rally, union activists, many arriving in more than 200 buses, began gathering at Memorial Stadium two hours early, and the overflow crowd spilled into the adjoining parking lot. The turnout was boosted by the AFL-CIO's New Alliance initiative to improve coordination between local, state and national union bodies. "We're basically putting a human face on the WTO," Teamsters President James P. Hoffa told the cheering crowd. "It has to consider human rights and worker rights along with trade."

Solidarity Marks Effort

In a demonstration of solidarity, the Longshore and Warehouse Union shut down the Port of Seattle and dozens of ports along the West Coast. "By taking time out from work to voice our concerns, the ILWU is telling the transnational corporations that they cannot run the global economy without the workers of the world," said ILWU President Brian McWilliams. IAM President Tom Buffenbarger led thousands of his members, who made up one of the largest delegations at the event. Some 900 IAM members served as parade marshals. "A trade policy without worker rights is a trade policy that is doomed to failure," Buffenbarger said.

At a Steelworkers National Conference on Rapid Response, USWA President George Becker insisted that U.S. leaders should take steps to replace the WTO if it fails to include worker, human and environmental standards in its current deliberations. "Fix it or we'll nix it," Becker declared before a roaring crowd, as he described global trade policies that encourage the free flow of capital across borders in pursuit of cheap labor. "They've got to make the trade rules raise all boats, or we'll raise holy hell," Becker said.

In a letter to Clinton, Transport Workers President Sonny Hall, president of the AFL-CIO Transportation Trades Department, warned that changes in aviation trade policies that could come about under WTO rules "would be a severe mistake."

Free Trade Isn't Free Sweeney, AFL-CIO Executive Vice President Linda Chavez-Thompson, Buffenbarger, UAW President Stephen Yokich, UNITE President Jay Mazur and dozens of other union officers, as well as religious, human rights, environmental and international leaders, told the Nov. 30 rally that free trade isn't "free" if its costs are child labor and forced labor, poverty wages, hazardous workplaces and environmental degradation, and that free trade must be replaced with fair trade.

A small group of demonstrators received a huge amount of media attention when they engaged in violent actions. Sweeney voiced agreement with Clinton's regrets that a few people had given the protesters a bad name.

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RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Sarah Rosen Wartell (CN=Sarah Rosen Wartell/OU=OPD/O=EOP [OPD])

CREATION DATE/TIME: 5-JAN-2000 15:22:19.00

SUBJECT: "Living Wage" Study

TO: Karen Tramontano (CN=Karen Tramontano/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

FYI. let me know if you have any ideas or problems with below.

And thanks for the photo. Much appreciated.

----- Forwarded by Sarah Rosen Wartell/OPD/EOP on
01/05/2000 03:21 PM -----

Sarah Rosen Wartell
01/05/2000 03:20:35 PM
Record Type: Record

To: Melissa G. Green/OPD/EOP@EOP
cc:
Subject: "Living Wage" Study

As you will recall, when the Apparel Industry Partnership was negotiating to form the charter for the Fair Labor Association, one of the contentious issues had to do with whether or not the FLA would pursue policies to require that employers pay workers a "living wage." There was much debate about what it meant to provide a living wage. DoL was asked to prepare a study "of the relationship between wages and basic needs in the apparel and footwear industry around the world and in the United States." The Charter specifies an outline for the study, which was to compile publically available data from existing sources on:

minimum and prevailing wages in relevant countries;
the market basket of goods used to establish the poverty level in these countries;
whether the minimum and prevailing wages including non-wage benefits reaches or exceeds the established poverty level; and
how the minimum and prevailing wages compare to employees basic needs.

Finally, the study was to compile existing research on methodologies used to measure basic needs. As you can see, its mandate was carefully and narrowly crafted. The FLA Charter provides what the Association will do with the study:

"In its effort to continue to address questions critical to the elimination of sweatshop practices, the Association shall review this and

any other pertinent and necessary data and consider their implications, if any, for the Workplace Code."

The study is now complete. While it is not a Congressionally mandated study and does not require formal clearance, I ran an informal clearance process. I insisted that each state regional bureau for the 30 countries described clear on the report, even though most of the country specific information was collected by State Department and embassy officials. Final clearance is due tomorrow. It looks pretty clean.

The study includes a compendium of country specific information on wages, benefits, poverty line, and meeting workers' needs for 30 countries with apparel and footwear industries. The compendium will provide an extremely useful tool for researchers and advocates in that it collects in one place all of the available information relevant to the issue. It lays out the various different ways that different countries assess poverty or do not assess poverty as the case may be, and demonstrates the extreme difficulty of comparing between countries. On the ultimate issue of meeting basic worker needs, the assessment on Costa Rica is typical of many.

"There is little conclusive evidence on the extent to which wages and non-wage benefits in the footwear or apparel industries in Costa Rica meet workers' basic needs. Some information from the U.S. Department of State or U.S. Embassy reports indicate more generally that, especially at the lower end of the wage scale, the minimum wage in Costa Rica is insufficient to provide a worker and a family a decent standard of living. (Two publications on the issue are then cited.)"

In the general sections, on the same issue, it concludes:

"Many countries take into consideration the poverty threshold (if one has been established) among other things in setting and adjusting the minimum wage. While in many cases, the minimum wage is supposed in theory to meet a worker's basic needs, the level at which it is actually set usually represents a political compromise or a balance between meeting those needs and economic conditions and the employer's ability to pay. ...

"In assessing the adequacy of wages, decisions must be made on whether one wage earner should be able to support (met the basic needs of) his/her family (support for how many dependents?); how much is enough (poverty measures usually tell us how much is too little); whether income from other sources (investments, savings, or in-kind or non-cash payments) should be included in determining disposable income; and whether one's position in the life-cycle should be considered. As with the construction of poverty measures, opinions vary widely on these questions, especially with regard to the treatment and valuation of health care and insurance, housing, and child care expenses.....

"For several countries where data are available, the minimum wage (and in a few more countries, the prevailing wage in the footwear and apparel industries) may yield an income above the national poverty threshold for an individual (and perhaps one dependent, but not for a family of 4 or 5 with one wage-earner). However, whether this wage is a "living wage" is likely to be in the eye of the beholder."

Based on conversations with DoL and others outside government, we can anticipate that there will be a somewhat critical response to the study. While the study will provide useful starting point for research by universities and NGOs, because there are few conclusive statements about the adequacy of wages and what financial/living differences there would be between a living wage and the current market wages, the students and other FLA critics will attack it for being inconclusive and not doing enough to push the debate forward.

DoL does not envision any major roll-out. The intended to send it with a cover letter to the FLA (since they had done it per the FLA charter request) and post it on the website. No other major press commotion. The cover letter would set out the clearly limited nature of the mandate for the study and talk about its utility for universities and NGOs and others as a "starting point" for groups like the FLA, universities etc to use it in further research and as a base for developing policies on wages.

Please let me know if you are okay with this plan or have other thoughts about how to handle the roll-out.

**Clinton Presidential Records
Automated Records Management System
[EMAIL] and Tape Restoration Project [Email]**

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

This marker identifies a responsive email, already made available within another collection.

Collection: 2013-0306-F

Bucket: WHO

Creation Date: 2000-01-14

Subject: Global Sullivan Principles - USG Washington Meeting

Creator: Dragnich, George S <DragnichGS@state.gov>
Dragnich, George S <DragnichGS@state.gov> [UNKNOWN]

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

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CREATION DATE/TIME:30-JUL-2000 14:23:23.00

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READ:UNKNOWN

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(PDT)

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-0700 (PDT)

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(8.9.2/Pro-8.9.2) with SMTP id LAA195826 for
<latino-law-profs@ucdavis.edu>; Sun, 30 Jul 2000 11:10:35 -0700

Date: Sun, 30 Jul 2000 12:10:35 -0600

From: <krjohnson@ucdavis.edu>

Subject: ?

Sender: owner-latino-law-profs@ucdavis.edu

To: latino-law-profs@ucdavis.edu

Reply-to: krjohnson@ucdavis.edu

Message-id: <200007301810.LAA195826@pcnbill.ucdmc.ucdavis.edu>

MIME-version: 1.0

X-Mailer: Perl Sendmail Version 1.21 Christian Mallwitz Germany

Content-type: text/plain; CHARSET=US-ASCII

Content-disposition: inline

Content-transfer-encoding: 7BIT

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Latinos and Spanish-speaking Gringos

Hasta la vista, baby!

Part I

By

Rodolfo F. Acuna

The intensity of the wooing of the Latino vote by presidential candidates,
and listening to George W. Bush and Al Gore speak Spanish, with "little

brown ones" fluttering around them as if they were gods, reminds me of what Mexicans used to say in Texas: never to trust a gringo who speaks Spanish or a Mexican who smokes a cigar. (Both are likely to be politicians).

Bush has been a regular visitor to California and has included the Latino community at many of his stops, something that would have been rare four years ago, and never happened a decade ago. Just in the last couple of weeks he has visited the conventions of the National Council of La Raza and the League of United Latin American Citizens. Bush also attended the annual convention of the National Association for Colored People, where the reception was not as warm.

Bush includes a smattering of Spanish in his speeches: "I like to be seen in neighborhoods sometimes where Republicans aren't seen . . . I like to fight the stereotype that somehow we don't have the corazon (heart) necessary to hear the voices of people from all political parties and from all walks of life," he drawled in his affected Texas intonation at the National Council of La Raza confab. Bush prominently displays his nephew, 24-year-old George P. Bush, son of his brother, Florida Gov. Jeb Bush, and his Mexican-born sister-in-law, Columba.

The possibility of Latinos taking Bush seriously and a sizeable voting for him frightens many of my liberal friends, who ask me (as if I knew what all Mexicans thought), why Latinos were doing the unthinkable and backing a Republican for president? An unproved assumption at best. Yet I must admit as a once lifelong Democrat, who grew up with a portrait of Franklin Delano Roosevelt prominently displayed in the pantheon of saints on my grandmother's dresser, the prospect disconcerts me.

Nevertheless, after the hundredth time asked the same inane question by liberal and leftist alike my defensiveness turns to hostility. It is as if these liberals and radicals think that Mexicans should automatically vote Democrat or even better, Ralph Nader, who has yet to articulate a coherent position on immigration. My radical friends act as if Mexicans should know their class interests in a country where very few Americans know them, and even to mention them is a cardinal sin.

As idiotic is the response of Latino pundits and cigar chomping Mexican American politicians that Latinos are not a monolithic bloc--da! With an all-knowing smirk on their faces they pompously point out that Cuban-Americans typically back Republicans by 2-to-1 margins. Texas Latinos tend to be more flexible in willing to vote Republican, while California Latinos slammed by Proposition 187, the 1994 ballot initiative that denied many public services to illegal immigrants, vote 2 to 1 for Democrats.

The fact is that Bush may fail quizzes on foreign policy but he receives an "A" for using Spanish language commercials. One tag line in his election as governor was: "Vote for Bush-Who cares if he's not a Democrat?" in Spanish. He has also broken with nativist such as former California governor Pete Wilson and exhorted others to change their policy on immigration. Moreover, the Bush challenge has Democrats and even Greens learning Spanish and proudly flouting their cigar chomping Latinos. The reasons for Latinos being so gullible go deep, and do not recognize their class interests is rooted in the inability of gringos of whatever political persuasion to come to grips with the race question. Latinos are not independent and are a product of the US political ambience. They are a

social construct of the North American whose chauvinism and ideological bias promote a paradigm that fits all Latinos. According to that paradigm, on policy issues, from affirmative action to defense spending, Latinos and Asians are more conservative than blacks. That Latinos are rural and Catholic is always cited proof of this assumption.

Thrown in for good measure is that Latinos often fail to support black candidates for office. Forgotten is that when given a choice Latinos prefer Latino candidates, and that Blacks prefer black candidates, and not all black leaders and organizations support Latinos on issues such as immigration. The fact is that it has only been recently that Blacks and Latinos have communicated without white intermediaries. To most North Americans, from the left and the right, all Asians are Asians, no matter if they are from Japan, China, Korea, or the Philippines. Just like anyone with a Spanish surname is Mexican to them.

A reductionist logic compels Anglos to expect Mexicans, for instance, to behave like African Americans when in truth they are different. Latinos and Blacks are the product of distinct historical experiences. Despite their racism, whites have always felt guilty about Blacks who had and have for some time had a national presence. Liberals and radicals have always felt paternalistically close to Blacks. With Latinos they have been more ambivalent. Whites feeling less comfortable around them. Few recognize that the US stole half Mexico's territory or that they have suffered from racism. In isolated cases there has been contact between Latinos and white liberals, but for the most part it has been with gringos speaking Spanish. Part of the explanation for the alienation between Latinos and liberals and even radicals is the latter two's chauvinism. Basically they do not respect Latinos. A partial explanation for this is that many Latinos are immigrants, and what the white left knows about them is in great part impressionistic, anecdotal, and subjective.

I have been involved on the left for over forty years, and, during this period, I have found few white leftist who know the history or know much about Mexican Americans. Before 1970, very few did research on Mexican Americans, Carey McWilliams' *North From Mexico*, the notable exception. Substituted for historical knowledge are myths and stereotypes. This has greatly contributes to an ideological bias, and even racism.

I will not deny that there are differences between those on the left and Republicans. George W. Bush, for example, has chosen Linda Chavez as his leading adviser on immigration issues. Chavez's qualification rests on her being a Clarence Thomas clone. Chavez also boasts of her Spanish American, not her Mexican ancestry, and of being half white. In contrast, a key adviser to Vice President Al Gore is Maria Echaveste, currently a deputy White House chief of staff. While on Labor Department, she cracked down on sweatshop abuses by the garment industry.

The other differences are those of degree. Under Bush, the compassionate conservative, has continued to support the establishment of a low-level radioactive waste disposal site in Sierra Blanca-the small, poor, and predominantly Mexican American community that already receives daily trainloads of sewage sludge from New York. The Sierra Blanca dump site, although a blatant example of environmental racism, has become a George W. Bush project. Under Bush South Texas, predominately Mexican American, continues to be an environmental and economic disaster, with many living in homes with outside toilets.

Just last year George W. offered a tax plan that exempted small businesses from the franchise tax if their annual gross revenue was \$250,000 or

under. Part of the plan was a \$2 billion property-tax cut for his rich friends. Nastier, the plan would have taken it from the schools, which according to George W., is his most important priority. The truth be told, Texas did not even have fully funded kindergarten, which disproportionately affected Latino children. Texas under Bush is in per capita government spending, which again affects the poor. Bush says he has corazon but has executed more Mexican Americans than any other governor, even when alerted by the US Supreme Court that it is a no no to admit discriminatory evidence into the process, which is common in Texas. My concern and my thesis in this article and the one that follows is that there is no ongoing political education of Mexican Americans and Latinos. The result is that Latinos are often uncritical of the politicians like George W. Bush and Al Gore who come to them with ridiculous promises during election time, speaking Spanish as proof of their concern. The Democratic party that until recently has not even bothered to spend money on Spanish-speaking media is now scurrying to out Bush, Bush, and show that it has always had a corazon.

What I want to show in Part II of this article is that in order for the community to break out of its "pediche" mentality is for it to begin to recognize its class interests. This can only be done through the inclusion and maintenance of a social and political vocabulary that is skeptical, and critically analyzes political discourse. In the second part, I want to show how liberals and radicals have contributed to the political illiteracy of Mexican-origin people and other Latinos. Indeed, Cuban Americans and Nicaraguans as communities are almost politically lost causes because of the lack of attention of the left. Radicalization takes money and an agenda that includes Latinos.

One cannot expect more of Latinos, given the lack of engagement of the left media. They feel left out even in spaces that one would expect them to be included. The left has contributed to this alienation. It is therefore no wonder that Latinos feel grateful when paid attention by gringos speaking Spanish. Even "Hasta la vista baby!" has a welcome sound in a universe where even television has no brown faces.

Latinos and Spanish-speaking Gringos
Hasta la vista, baby!

Part II

By

Rodolfo F. Acuna

For my part, I believe the failure to respect Latinos, as well as what is the relationship between civil rights and Latinos, is ripe for reexamination. No matter how one cuts it, if Mexican Americans and other Latinos seem fickle in goo-gooing when gringo politicians come courting, it is a product of the left's negligence and ignorance. As far back as the mid-1960s, I preached to anyone who would listen in the California Democratic Council that Mexican Americans were not naturally conservative just because they had strong family values or many of them were Catholics. The building of a political ideology takes education. It has to be seeded, and it takes the development and maintenance of a political language. Yet, historically, Democrats, like Republicans, have preferred to play the role of the gringo speaking Spanish, taking for granted that Latinos will vote against Republicans.

Instead of helping Latinos to develop politically, the left has simplistically told Mexican Americans --Democrats good, Republicans bad. An important factor contributing to the alienation between the various

groups is the lack of ideological bonding. One of the main factors encouraging the lack of bonding has been that the groups have been spatially separated.

For example, the Jewish American community, an important player in left coalitions, around World War II in Los Angeles lived in close proximity to Mexicans. Leftist Jews lived alongside Mexicans in Boyle Heights and contributed to the ideological development of the Mexican American community. However, with the flight of Jews from places Boyle Heights to the westside, the bonding weakened as did the sharing of historical memories. In contrast, middle- class neighborhoods such as the Baldwin Hills put Blacks into much closer proximity to Jewish Americans, who sponsored the rise of black politicians such as Mayor Tom Bradley. Space and the arrival of East Coast Jews, who did not share a knowledge of Mexicans furthered the gap between the two groups. Literally, Jews and other white progressives lived on the westside and Mexicans on the eastside, with Mexicans left out of much of the mainstream civil rights coalitions formed in the 1960s.

Much of the black population also came from the east coast and midwest where there were no Mexicans or Central Americans. Blacks coexisted with Latinos and were numerically equal to Latinos until the dramatic growth of the Latino community in the 1970s. This growth threatened Black and Jewish interests, and tensions developed over redistricting and a feeling grew among Latinos that certain districts belonged to them.

Because the political brokers and the liberals excluded Mexican Americans during the Mayor Tom Bradley, Mexican American politicians also developed an our time has come mindset. They wanted control of institutions much the same way Blacks did during the 1970s and 1980s. Term limits opened the door of opportunity. The lack of a strong Latino political community gave rise to individual political aspirations.

The new Latino politicians created a new coalition, which begs to be critically analyzed. Along with alliances with labor, Chicano politicians often joined forces with Mayor Richard Riordan to get elected. This resulted in more Chicanos elected to the City Council, but, simultaneously, these alliances supported Riordan's corporate takeover of the city, the schools, and transportation. It was a marriage of convenience without any serious ideological bonding.

How is the left responsible for this state of affairs? A universe that trains future politicians and gives a voice to minority thinkers is the media. Especially influential is the left media because the conservative culture of the mainstream estate does not offer the developing writer to mature politically. Ironically, the left media that had loudly and frequently criticized the lack of affirmative action was and is guilty of not hiring Latinos. Because of limited space, I will only focus on three examples: the LA Weekly, The Nation and Pacifica Radio.

The Weekly covers Latinos. It has to--one of every two Angeleno is a Latino. However, English- speaking gringos write most of the stories on Latinos. At The Weekly, Harold Myerson is an important voice on the left. He frequently writes about Latinos, and is influential in developing the critique of the city politics. Given the immense Latino population one would expect a larger Latino presence within the newspaper.

The lack of a critical presence of Latinos in The Weekly's community has seriously retarded its understanding of Latinos. Its lack of bonding with that community makes its coverage and editorial content in great part impressionistic, anecdotal, and subjective. Take Myerson, who a serious

scholar of LA politics. He has contributed to the myth that Latinos are conservative. According to Myerson, a new Democratic coalition of immigrant and second- and third-generation Latinos, energized by labor activists, is driving Latinos in increased numbers to the polls. He adds that the old black-led liberal coalitions has given way to a new labor and Latino-immigrant axis that is "largely positioned to the right of the older coalition on these issues but to the left of the Republicans on workplace issues such as the minimum wage and on the improvement of public education."

My problem with Myerson is the lack of skepticism in his analysis. A greater inclusion of Latinos would have sharpened his own knowledge of the infighting that took place around Proposition 187 (passed in 1994), and efforts within that community by Latino and non-Latinos to tone down the opposition to 187. Further, there was criticism of the Democratic party and labor in 1996 for sacrificing affirmative action and the anti-immigrant provisions in the 1996 federal welfare reform bill, and prioritizing the election of Bill Clinton. Some Latinos are still bitter at labor and Democratic candidates downplaying their support of Proposition 227, the anti-bilingual education measure, in 1998, in favor of Proposition 226, which would have required employers and labor unions to obtain a worker's permission each year before withholding wages or union dues for political purposes. Most some labor candidates quietly declined to carry controversial anti-227 literature. More important, Myerson ignores the failure of the Internationals, housed on the East Coast, hoarding large pension funds running into the billions of dollars, of abandoning immigrant worker projects such as the California Immigrant Workers' Association.

The Nation, an influential left magazine among policy makers, simply does not believe that the Southwest exists. Even under Carey McWilliams, who wrote the first comprehensive history of Mexicans in the United States, the Nation failed consistently to give a voice to Latino issues. When it featured a Latino writer, Gregory Rodriguez, a fellow at the conservative Pepperdine University think-tank, his views on bilingual education came from the right, something The Nation would not have done to Black Americans.

Currently civil war of the lefties is raging at KPFK in Los Angeles and at KPFA in the Bay area. Both stations belong to the Pacifica Network, and what is happening there is symptomatic of the problem. Demographers expect the Latino population from 1998 to 2010 to account for almost half of all the population growth in the U.S. and 62 percent to the year 2050. One would think that Pacifica, a giant among independent alternative media, because its five stations, in New York (WBAI), Washington (WPFW), Houston (KPFT), Los Angeles (KPFK) and Berkeley, Calif. (KPFA), are smack in the middle of this growth, would want to attract this audience.

Not so! Neither side talks about mentoring young Latino and Latina voices and getting more Latinos to listen. Other than supporting the dismissed Latino volunteers, not much has been heard from the Chicano community, which sees it as a war of the vanguards who want to control the message and the messenger, and their right to speak for their little brown brothers and sisters.

Would it matter if there was a critical mass of Latinos at these alternative newspapers, magazines and radio stations? Most certainly, this mass would challenge today's mainstream thought and its preoccupation with a positivist objectivity that supports established interests.

In order to fully understand the hypocrisy of the left in its failure to promote affirmative action from within one must understand their political culture. White radicals and liberals have never thought of Mexicans as equal partners largely because of a historical ignorance of them. Latinos until recently lacked a national presence, partly due to the heavy immigrant Latino population. Their presence is limited. For example, in 1991 five states accounted for seven out of eight applicants for citizenship; over 54 percent resided in a single state, California, and half the top ten Metropolitan areas of residence were in California. Applicants from Los Angeles-Long Beach, overwhelmingly Mexican, accounted for over 34 percent of the nation's total.

Immigration has magnified racial diversity and intragroup differences. Immigration therefore was peripheral to civil rights politics until Chicanos thrust it into the mix. In the last three decades immigration has demanded the inclusion of new issues more often unfamiliar to the left. Further, immigration has contributed to a fragmentation, i.e., a 1986 opinion poll showed 52 percent of black Americans favored immigration at current or increased levels, while 39 percent wanted the levels decreased. This has accounted for the fact that both African Americans and liberals have belatedly formed progressive stances on immigration.

Further, the dramatic growth of the Latino middle-class, which some Latino scholars and writers have celebrated as an example of Latino ingenuity. This lack of a sense of their own civil rights history has taken attention away from the fact that, according to the 1990 census, five Southern California counties housed more than a fifth of the nation's Latino population. Although they developed a substantial middle class, Latinos are "the largest group of poor people in the United States [that] is not . . . on welfare. They are the working poor, whose earnings are so meager that despite their best efforts, they cannot afford decent housing, diets, health care, or child care."

Add to this that radicals in particular are obsessed by revolution--transformation--to them reform is a dirty word. They are romantics who supported Central Americans during their civil war. However, when the wars ended, most went on to other beehives. I remember appearing on a program at KPFK, hosted by the then head of the local Lawyers Guild. One guest was a 15-year-old Mexican kid, who was a leader of a walkout of Latino students (a walkout of some 30,000 middle and high school students), protesting Proposition 187. The attorney literally had a mental orgasm, asking the student, vulnerable because of his immigration status, if this was the beginning of a militant movement.

If the Latino community does vote for Bush, it will not be because we are genetically or culturally conservative. It is because of a lack of political education, which the vanguard left's elitism has failed to contribute to. One of the purposes of affirmative action was to integrate minorities at all levels of society. Evidently, the left does not believe that affirmative action applies to it.

No doubt, some may accuse me of pessimism. They will claim that we have made tremendous gains and that both political parties are now accepting us speaking Spanish. Still, as of 1997, only 54.7 percent of U.S. Latinos had graduated from high school and only 7.4 percent from college. We had the largest number of school dropouts, and consequently more Latino youth found their way into gangs and ran afoul of the law. In 1990, we made up about 11.5 percent of the U.S. population, and accounted for 13.3

percent of all prisoners. This stat rose to 15.8 percent by 1996.

Despite all this, I am not ready to say Hasta la vista baby! to the left.

A radical critique is vital and we must fight for control not only of mainstream institutions but also alternative media and organizations that have made a living of critiquing our poverty. It is time that we spoke for ourselves and not through Spanish-speaking gringos or cigar smoking Mexicans.

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: "Christopher Edley, Jr." <edley@law.harvard.edu> ("Christopher Edley, Jr." <edley@law.harvard.edu> [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME:31-JUL-2000 09:08:07.00

SUBJECT: Hispanic politics

TO: Penda Hair <hairpenda@aol.com> (Penda Hair <hairpenda@aol.com> [UNKNOWN])
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Maria Echaveste (CN=Maria Echaveste/OU=WHO/O=EOP [WHO])
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: "orfielga@HUGSE1.HARVARD.EDU" <orfielga@HUGSE1.HARVARD.EDU> ("orfielga@HUGSE1.HARVARD.EDU" <orfielga@HUGSE1.HARVARD.EDU> [UNKNOWN])
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TEXT:
I thought the following two-part article was pretty fascinating. I don't know the author.

>Date: Sun, 30 Jul 2000 07:21:45 -0700

>Subject:

>Sender: hchsc003@csun.edu

>From: hchsc003@csun.edu

>To: bsizemor@wppost.depaul.edu,

> betances@mail.megsinet.net,

> Sue_Klein@ed.gov,

> mjchang@worldnet.att.net,

> beverly@crespar.law.howard.edu,

> cdmoody@umich.edu,

> edley@law.harvard.edu,

> DDPark@aol.com,

> donna@cal.org,

> equity@educ.umass.edu,

> estheronaga@yahoo.com,

> gary_orfield@harvard.edu,

> gharvey@WestEd.org,

> HKohl@sorosny.org,

> kathleen_george@harvard.edu,

> pang@mail.sdsu.edu,

> RobertD917@aol.com,

> snieto@educ.umass.edu

>

>Latinos and Spanish-speaking Gringos

>Hasta la vista, baby!

>Part I

>By

>Rodolfo F. Acuna

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>The intensity of the wooing of the Latino vote by presidential candidates,
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>Spanish or a Mexican who smokes a cigar. (Both are likely to be
>politicians).

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>Bush has been a regular visitor to California and has included the Latino
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>years ago, and never happened a decade ago. Just in the last couple of
>weeks he has visited the conventions of the National Council of La Raza
>and the League of United Latin American Citizens. Bush also attended the
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>Bush includes a smattering of Spanish in his speeches: "I like to be seen
>in neighborhoods sometimes where Republicans aren't seen . . . I like to
>fight the stereotype that somehow we don't have the corazon (heart)
>necessary to hear the voices of people from all political parties and
>from all walks of life," he drawled in his affected Texas intonation at
>the National Council of La Raza confab. Bush prominently displays his
>nephew, 24-year-old George P. Bush, son of his brother, Florida Gov. Jeb
>Bush, and his Mexican-born sister-in-law, Columba.

>
>The possibility of Latinos taking Bush seriously and a sizeable voting for
>him frightens many of my liberal friends, who ask me (as if I knew what
>all Mexicans thought), why Latinos were doing the unthinkable and backing
>a Republican for president? An unproved assumption at best. Yet I must
>admit as a once lifelong Democrat, who grew up with a portrait of Franklin
>Delano Roosevelt prominently displayed in the pantheon of saints on my
>grandmother's dresser, the prospect disconcerts me.

>
>Nevertheless, after the hundredth time asked the same inane question by
>liberal and leftist alike my defensiveness turns to hostility. It is as if
>these liberals and radicals think that Mexicans should automatically vote
>Democrat or even better, Ralph Nader, who has yet to articulate a coherent
>position on immigration. My radical friends act as if Mexicans should know
>their class interests in a country where very few Americans know them, and
>even to mention them is a cardinal sin.

>
>As idiotic is the response of Latino pundits and cigar chomping Mexican
>American politicians that Latinos are not a monolithic bloc--da! With an
>all-knowing smirk on their faces they pompously point out that
>Cuban-Americans typically back Republicans by 2-to-1 margins. Texas
>Latinos tend to be more flexible in willing to vote Republican, while
>California Latinos slammed by Proposition 187, the 1994 ballot initiative
>that denied many public services to illegal immigrants, vote 2 to 1 for
>Democrats.

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>The fact is that Bush may fail quizzes on foreign policy but he receives
>an "A" for using Spanish language commercials. One tag line in his
>election as governor was: "Vote for Bush-Who cares if he's not a
>Democrat?" in Spanish. He has also broken with nativist such as former
>California governor Pete Wilson and exhorted others to change their policy

>on immigration. Moreover, the Bush challenge has Democrats and even Greens
>learning Spanish and proudly flouting their cigar chomping Latinos
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>The reasons for Latinos being so gullible go deep, and do not recognize
>their class interests is rooted in the inability of gringos of whatever
>political persuasion to come to grips with the race question. Latinos are
>not independent and are a product of the US political ambience. They are a
>social construct of the North American whose chauvinism and ideological
>bias promote a paradigm that fits all Latinos. According to that paradigm,
>on policy issues, from affirmative action to defense spending, Latinos and
>Asians are more conservative than blacks. That Latinos are rural and
>Catholic is always cited proof of this assumption.
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>Thrown in for good measure is that Latinos often fail to support black
>candidates for office. Forgotten is that when given a choice Latinos
>prefer Latino candidates, and that Blacks prefer black candidates, and not
>all black leaders and organizations support Latinos on issues such as
>immigration. The fact is that it has only been recently that Blacks and
>Latinos have communicated without white intermediaries. To most North
>Americans, from the left and the right, all Asians are Asians, no matter
>if they are from Japan, China, Korea, or the Philippines. Just like anyone
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>A reductionist logic compels Anglos to expect Mexicans, for instance, to
>behave like African Americans when in truth they are different. Latinos
>and Blacks are the product of distinct historical experiences. Despite
>their racism, whites have always felt guilty about Blacks who had and have
>for some time had a national presence. Liberals and radicals have always
>felt paternalistically close to Blacks. With Latinos they have been more
>ambivalent. Whites feeling less comfortable around them. Few recognize
>that the US stole half Mexico's territory or that they have suffered from
>racism. In isolated cases there has been contact between Latinos and white
>liberals, but for the most part it has been with gringos speaking Spanish.
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>Part of the explanation for the alienation between Latinos and liberals
>and even radicals is the latter two's chauvinism. Basically they do not
>respect Latinos. A partial explanation for this is that many Latinos are
>immigrants, and what the white left knows about them is in great part
>impressionistic, anecdotal, and subjective.
>
>I have been involved on the left for over forty years, and, during this
>period, I have found few white leftist who know the history or know much
>about Mexican Americans. Before 1970, very few did research on Mexican
>Americans, Carey McWilliams' North From Mexico, the notable exception.
>Substituted for historical knowledge are myths and stereotypes. This has
>greatly contributes to an ideological bias, and even racism.
>
>I will not deny that there are differences between those on the left and
>Republicans. George W. Bush, for example, has chosen Linda Chavez as his
>leading adviser on immigration issues. Chavez's qualification rests on her
>being a Clarence Thomas clone. Chavez also boasts of her Spanish American,
>not her Mexican ancestry, and of being half white. In contrast, a key
>adviser to Vice President Al Gore is Maria Echaveste, currently a deputy
>White House chief of staff. While on Labor Department, she cracked down on

>sweatshop abuses by the garment industry.

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>The other differences are those of degree. Under Bush, the compassionate
>conservative, has continued to support the establishment of a low-level
>radioactive waste disposal site in Sierra Blanca-the small, poor, and
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>trainloads of sewage sludge from New York. The Sierra Blanca dump site,
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>according to George W., is his most important priority. The truth be told,
>Texas did not even have fully funded kindergarten, which
>disproportionately affected Latino children. Texas under Bush is in per
>capita government spending, which again affects the poor. Bush says he has
>corazon but has executed more Mexican Americans than any other governor,
>even when alerted by the US Supreme Court that it is a no no to admit
>discriminatory evidence into the process, which is common in Texas.

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>My concern and my thesis in this article and the one that follows is that
>there is no ongoing political education of Mexican Americans and Latinos.
>The result is that Latinos are often uncritical of the politicos like
>George W. Bush and Al Gore who come to them with ridiculous promises
>during election time, speaking Spanish as proof of their concern. The
>Democratic party that until recently has not even bothered to spend money
>on Spanish-speaking media is now scurrying to out Bush, Bush, and show
>that it has always had a corazon.

>

>What I want to show in Part II of this article is that in order for the
>community to break out of its "pediche" mentality is for it to begin to
>recognize its class interests. This can only be done through the inclusion
>and maintenance of a social and political vocabulary that is skeptical,
>and critically analyzes political discourse. In the second part, I want
>to show how liberals and radicals have contributed to the political
>illiteracy of Mexican-origin people and other Latinos. Indeed, Cuban
>Americans and Nicaraguans as communities are almost politically lost
>causes because of the lack of attention of the left. Radicalization takes
>money and an agenda that includes Latinos.

>

>One cannot expect more of Latinos, given the lack of engagement of the
>left media. They feel left out even in spaces that one would expect them
>to be included. The left has contributed to this alienation. It is
>therefore no wonder that Latinos feel grateful when paid attention by
>gringos speaking Spanish. Even "Hasta la vista baby!" has a welcome sound
>in a universe where even television has no brown faces.

>

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>

>Latinos and Spanish-speaking Gringos

>Hasta la vista, baby!

>Part II

>By

>Rodolfo F. Acuna

>

>For my part, I believe the failure to respect Latinos, as well as what is
>the relationship between civil rights and Latinos, is ripe for
>reexamination. No matter how one cuts it, if Mexican Americans and other
>Latinos seem fickle in goo-gooing when gringo politicians come courting,
>it is a product of the left's negligence and ignorance. As far back as
>the mid-1960s, I preached to anyone who would listen in the California
>Democratic Council that Mexican Americans were not naturally conservative
>just because they had strong family values or many of them were Catholics.
>The building of a political ideology takes education. It has to be seeded,
>and it takes the development and maintenance of a political language. Yet,
>historically, Democrats, like Republicans, have preferred to play the role
>of the gringo speaking Spanish, taking for granted that Latinos will vote
>against Republicans.

>

>Instead of helping Latinos to develop politically, the left has
>simplistically told Mexican Americans --Democrats good, Republicans bad.
>An important factor contributing to the alienation between the various
>groups is the lack of ideological bonding. One of the main factors
>encouraging the lack of bonding has been that the groups have been
>spatially separated.

>

>For example, the Jewish American community, an important player in left
>coalitions, around World War II in Los Angeles lived in close proximity to
>Mexicans. Leftist Jews lived alongside Mexicans in Boyle Heights and
>contributed to the ideological development of the Mexican American
>community. However, with the flight of Jews from places Boyle Heights to
>the westside, the bonding weakened as did the sharing of historical
>memories. In contrast, middle- class neighborhoods such as the Baldwin
>Hills put Blacks into much closer proximity to Jewish Americans, who
>sponsored the rise of black politicians such as Mayor Tom Bradley. Space
>and the arrival of East Coast Jews, who did not share a knowledge of
>Mexicans furthered the gap between the two groups. Literally, Jews and
>other white progressives lived on the westside and Mexicans on the
>eastside, with Mexicans left out of much of the mainstream civil rights
>coalitions formed in the 1960s.

>

>Much of the black population also came from the east coast and midwest
>where there were no Mexicans or Central Americans. Blacks coexisted with
>Latinos and were numerically equal to Latinos until the dramatic growth of
>the Latino community in the 1970s. This growth threatened Black and
>Jewish interests, and tensions developed over redistricting and a feeling
>grew among Latinos that certain districts belonged to them.

>

>Because the political brokers and the liberals excluded Mexican Americans
>during the Mayor Tom Bradley, Mexican American politicians also developed an
>our time has come mindset. They wanted control of institutions much the
>same way Blacks did during the 1970s and 1980s. Term limits opened the
>door of opportunity. The lack of a strong Latino political community gave

>rise to individual political aspirations.

>

>The new Latino politicians created a new coalition, which begs to be
>critically analyzed. Along with alliances with labor, Chicano politicians
>often joined forces with Mayor Richard Riordan to get elected. This
>resulted in more Chicanos elected to the City Council, but,
>simultaneously, these alliances supported Riordan's corporate takeover of
>the city, the schools, and transportation. It was a marriage of
>convenience without any serious ideological bonding.

>

>How is the left responsible for this state of affairs? A universe that
>trains future politicians and gives a voice to minority thinkers is the
>media. Especially influential is the left media because the conservative
>culture of the mainstream estate does not offer the developing writer to
>mature politically. Ironically, the left media that had loudly and
>frequently criticized the lack of affirmative action was and is guilty of
>not hiring Latinos. Because of limited space, I will only focus on three
>examples: the LA Weekly, The Nation and Pacifica Radio.

>

>The Weekly covers Latinos. It has to--one of every two Angelenos is a
>Latino. However, English-speaking gringos write most of the stories on
>Latinos. At The Weekly, Harold Myerson is an important voice on the left.

>He frequently writes about Latinos, and is influential in developing the
>critique of the city politics. Given the immense Latino population one
>would expect a larger Latino presence within the newspaper.

>

>The lack of a critical presence of Latinos in The Weekly's community has
>seriously retarded its understanding of Latinos. Its lack of bonding with
>that community makes its coverage and editorial content in great part
>impressionistic, anecdotal, and subjective. Take Myerson, who a serious
>scholar of LA politics. He has contributed to the myth that Latinos are
>conservative. According to Myerson, a new Democratic coalition of
>immigrant and second- and third-generation Latinos, energized by labor
>activists, is driving Latinos in increased numbers to the polls. He adds
>that the old black-led liberal coalitions has given way to a new labor and
>Latino-immigrant axis that is "largely positioned to the right of the
>older coalition on these issues but to the left of the Republicans on
>workplace issues such as the minimum wage and on the improvement of
>public education."

>

>My problem with Myerson is the lack of skepticism in his analysis. A
>greater inclusion of Latinos would have sharpened his own knowledge of the
>infighting that took place around Proposition 187 (passed in 1994), and
>efforts within that community by Latino and non-Latinos to tone down the
>opposition to 187. Further, there was criticism of the Democratic party
>and labor in 1996 for sacrificing affirmative action and the
>anti-immigrant provisions in the 1996 federal welfare reform bill, and
>prioritizing the election of Bill Clinton. Some Latinos are still bitter
>at labor and Democratic candidates downplaying their support of
>Proposition 227, the anti-bilingual education measure, in 1998, in favor
>of Proposition 226, which would have required employers and labor unions
>to obtain a worker's permission each year before withholding wages or
>union dues for political purposes. Most some labor candidates quietly
>declined to carry controversial anti-227 literature. More important,

>Myerson ignores the failure of the Internationals, housed on the East
>Coast, hoarding large pension funds running into the billions of dollars,
>of abandoning immigrant worker projects such as the California Immigrant
>Workers' Association.

>

>The Nation, an influential left magazine among policy makers, simply does
>not believe that the Southwest exists. Even under Carey McWilliams, who
>wrote the first comprehensive history of Mexicans in the United States,
>the Nation failed consistently to give a voice to Latino issues. When it
>featured a Latino writer, Gregory Rodriguez, a fellow at the conservative
>Pepperdine University think-tank, his views on bilingual education came
>from the right, something The Nation would not have done to Black
>Americans.

>

>Currently civil war of the lefties is raging at KPFFK in Los Angeles and at
>KPFA in the Bay area. Both stations belong to the Pacifica Network, and
>what is happening there is symptomatic of the problem. Demographers
>expect the Latino population from 1998 to 2010 to account for almost half
>of all the population growth in the U.S. and 62 percent to the year 2050.
>One would think that Pacifica, a giant among independent alternative
>media, because its five stations, in New York (WBAI), Washington (WPFW),
>Houston (KPFT), Los Angeles (KPFFK) and Berkeley, Calif. (KPFA), are smack
>in the middle of this growth, would want to attract this audience.

>

>Not so! Neither side talks about mentoring young Latino and Latina voices
>and getting more Latinos to listen. Other than supporting the dismissed
>Latino volunteers, not much has been heard from the Chicano community,
>which sees it as a war of the vanguards who want to control the message
>and the messenger, and their right to speak for their little brown
>brothers and sisters.

>

>Would it matter if there was a critical mass of Latinos at these
>alternative newspapers, magazines and radio stations? Most certainly, this
>mass would challenge today's mainstream thought and its preoccupation with
>a positivist objectivity that supports established interests.

>

>In order to fully understand the hypocrisy of the left in its failure to
>promote affirmative action from within one must understand their political
>culture. White radicals and liberals have never thought of Mexicans as
>equal partners largely because of a historical ignorance of them. Latinos
>until recently lacked a national presence, partly due to the heavy
>immigrant Latino population. Their presence is limited. For example, in
>1991 five states accounted for seven out of eight applicants for
>citizenship; over 54 percent resided in a single state, California, and
>half the top ten Metropolitan areas of residence were in California.
>Applicants from Los Angeles-Long Beach, overwhelmingly Mexican, accounted
>for over 34 percent of the nation's total.

>

>Immigration has magnified racial diversity and intragroup differences.
>Immigration therefore was peripheral to civil rights politics until
>Chicanos thrust it into the mix. In the last three decades immigration has
>demanded the inclusion of new issues more often unfamiliar to the left.
>Further, immigration has contributed to a fragmentation, i.e., a 1986
>opinion poll showed 52 percent of black Americans favored immigration at

>current or increased levels, while 39 percent wanted the levels decreased.

>This has accounted for the fact that both African Americans and liberals

>have belatedly formed progressive stances on immigration.

>

>Further, the dramatic growth of the Latino middle-class, which some Latino

>scholars and writers have celebrated as an example of Latino ingenuity.

>This lack of a sense of their own civil rights history has taken attention

>away from the fact that, according to the 1990 census, five Southern

>California counties housed more than a fifth of the nation's Latino

>population. Although they developed a substantial middle class, Latinos

>are "the largest group of poor people in the United States [that] is not

>. . . on welfare. They are the working poor, whose earnings are so meager

>that despite their best efforts, they cannot afford decent housing,

>diets, health care, or child care."

>Add to this that radicals in particular are obsessed by

>revolution--transformation--to them reform is a dirty word. They are

>romantics who supported Central Americans during their civil war. However,

>when the wars ended, most went on to other beehives. I remember appearing

>on a program at KPFK, hosted by the then head of the local Lawyers Guild.

>One guest was a 15-year-old Mexican kid, who was a leader of a walkout of

>Latino students (a walkout of some 30,000 middle and high school

>students), protesting Proposition 187. The attorney literally had a mental

>orgasm, asking the student, vulnerable because of his immigration status,

>if this was the beginning of a militant movement.

>

>If the Latino community does vote for Bush, it will not be because we are

>genetically or culturally conservative. It is because of a lack of

>political education, which the vanguard left's elitism has failed to

>contribute to. One of the purposes of affirmative action was to integrate

>minorities at all levels of society. Evidently, the left does not believe

>that affirmative action applies to it.

>

>No doubt, some may accuse me of pessimism. They will claim that we have

>made tremendous gains and that both political parties are now accepting us

>speaking Spanish. Still, as of 1997, only 54.7 percent of U.S. Latinos

>had graduated from high school and only 7.4 percent from college. We had

>the largest number of school dropouts, and consequently more Latino youth

>found their way into gangs and ran afoul of the law. In 1990, we made up

>about 11.5 percent of the U.S. population, and accounted for 13.3

>percent of all prisoners. This stat rose to 15.8 percent by 1996.

>

>Despite all this, I am not ready to say Hasta la vista baby! to the left.

>A radical critique is vital and we must fight for control not only of

>mainstream institutions but also alternative media and organizations that

>have made a living of critiquing our poverty. It is time that we spoke for

>ourselves and not through Spanish-speaking gringos or cigar smoking

>Mexicans.

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Part I
By Rodolfo F. Acuña

The intensity of the wooing of the Latino vote by presidential candidates, and listening to George W. Bush and Al Gore speak Spanish, with "little brown ones" fluttering around them as if they were gods, reminds me of what Mexicans used to say in Texas. Never to trust a gringo who speaks Spanish or a Mexican who smokes a cigar: Both are likely to be politicians.

Bush has been a regular visitor to California and has included the Latino community at many of his stops, something that would have been rare four years ago, and never happened a decade ago. Just in the last couple of weeks he has visited the conventions of the National Council of La Raza and the League of United Latin American Citizens. Bush also attended the annual convention of the National Association for Colored People, where the reception was not as warm.

Bush includes a smattering of Spanish in his speeches: "I like to be seen in neighborhoods sometimes where Republicans aren't seen . . . I like to fight the stereotype that somehow we don't have the corazon (heart) necessary to hear the voices of people from all political parties and from all walks of life," he drawled in his affected Texas intonation at the National Council of La Raza confab. Bush prominently displays his nephew, 24-year-old George P. Bush, son of his brother, Florida Gov. Jeb Bush, and his Mexican-born sister-in-law, Columba.

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Nevertheless, after the hundredth time asked the same inane question by liberal and leftist alike, my defensiveness turns to hostility. It is as if these liberals and radicals think that Mexicans should automatically vote Democrat or even better, Ralph Nader, who has yet to articulate a coherent position on immigration. My radical friends act as if Mexicans should know their class interests in a country where very few Americans know them, and even to mention them is a cardinal sin.

As idiotic is the response of Latino pundits and cigar chomping Mexican American politicians that Latinos are not a monolithic bloc--da! With an all-knowing smirk on their faces they pompously point out that Cuban-Americans typically back Republicans by 2-to-1 margins. Texas Latinos tend to be more flexible in willing to vote Republican, while California Latinos slammed by Proposition 187, the 1994 ballot initiative that denied many public services to illegal immigrants, vote 2-to-1 for Democrats.

The fact is that Bush may fail quizzes on foreign policy but he receives an "A" for using Spanish language commercials. One tag line in his election as governor was: "Vote for Bush-Who cares if he's not a Democrat?" in Spanish. He has also broken with nativist such as former California governor Pete Wilson and exhorted others to change their policy on immigration. Moreover, the Bush challenge has Democrats and even Greens learning Spanish and proudly flouting their cigar-chomping Latinos

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Blacks are the product of distinct historical experiences. Despite their racism, whites have always felt guilty about Blacks who had and have for some time had a national presence. Liberals and radicals have always felt paternalistically close to Blacks. With Latinos they have been more ambivalent. Whites feeling less comfortable around them. Few recognize that the U.S. stole half Mexico's territory or that they have suffered from racism. In isolated cases there has been contact between Latinos and white liberals, but for the most part it has been with gringos speaking Spanish.

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One cannot expect more of Latinos, given the lack of engagement of the left media. They feel left out even in spaces that one would expect them to be included. The left has contributed to this alienation. It is therefore no wonder that Latinos feel grateful when paid attention by gringos speaking Spanish. Even "Hasta la vista baby!" has a welcome sound in a universe where even television has no brown faces.

Acuña is a professor of Chicana/o Studies, California State University, Northridge. His books included "Anything But Mexican: Chicanos in Contemporary Los Angeles" (Verso, 1996); "Sometimes There is No Other Side: Chicanos and the Myth of Equality" (Notre Dame, 1998); "Occupied America: A History of Chicanos" (Longman, Dec. 1999).

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READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION: PROMOTING HUMAN RIGHTS

December 6, 2000

Promoting human rights at home and abroad has been a central policy objective of the Clinton Administration. President Clinton,s leadership has contributed to the growth of democracy and human rights worldwide.

The Clinton Administration:

Led the successful international effort to create the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights.

Issued an Executive Order strengthening implementation of human rights treaties, signed into law the Torture Victims Relief Act, and substantially increased our annual contribution to the United Nations fund for torture victims.

Helped secure China,s signature of the International Covenants on Civil and Political Rights and Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and vigorously pressed for progress on prisoner releases, political rights, religious freedom and the rule of law in the PRC.

Cosponsored resolutions at the United Nations Human Rights Commission calling on China, Cuba, Russia, Sudan, Iran, Iraq and the countries of the former Yugoslavia, among others, to improve human rights practices.

Advancing Democracy Worldwide

Led effort on the Dayton Agreement to end the war in Bosnia, led a successful multilateral effort to reverse the ðnic cleansing 8 in Kosovo, and successfully aided the Serbian democratic movement in bringing an end to the regime of Slobodan Milosevic.

Pressed for and consistently supported the democratic transition in Indonesia, as well as East Timor ,s historic move toward independence.

Led an international coalition to restore the elected Government of Haiti and promoted free and fair elections throughout the Americas where every country but one (Cuba) is now democratic.

Supported peace and the disarmament processes, provided support for free and fair elections, and gave critical assistance to historic democratic transformations.

Continues to aid democracy advocates and pressure authoritarian governments around the world.

Co-founded the Community of Democracies, a global alliance of democratic nations.

Bringing War Criminals to Justice

Led the effort to establish and is the biggest contributor to the International Criminal Tribunals for the Former Yugoslavia and Rwanda. Appointed the first Ambassador-at-Large for War Crimes Issues and established an early warning system to focus intelligence resources on and alert policy makers to situations that could potentially lead to genocide or mass atrocities.

Supporting Labor Rights and the Most Vulnerable Victims of Abuses

Worked with corporations and non-governmental organizations through the & No Sweat Initiative 8 to develop voluntary ethical codes of conduct to prevent the importation of products made in sweatshop conditions.

Worked to combat child labor by contributing \$30 million annually to the International Labor Organization's International Program on the Elimination of Child Labor.

Signed and ratified the International Labor Organization Convention on the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labor in December 1999. President Clinton signed the Optional Protocol on the Involvement of Children in Armed Combat in June 2000.

Led a concerted effort to combat trafficking in women and children.

Proposed and successfully negotiated a UN protocol to combat trafficking in persons, to be signed next week, which, for the first time, will require countries to criminalize trafficking and will provide a framework for enhanced protection of and assistance to victims. The President also signed into law the Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000.

Promoting Religious Freedom Abroad

Made religious freedom an integral part of its foreign policy, including by appointing the first-ever Advisory Committee on Religious Freedom Abroad.

Signed the International Religious Freedom Act, codifying many of the additional steps the Clinton Administration had taken on religious freedom, including the appointment the first Ambassador-at-Large for International Religious Freedom.

Expanded reporting on the religious freedom in every country and designated Afghanistan, Burma, China, Iran, Iraq, Sudan and the Milosevic regime in Serbia as countries of particular concern for having engaged in or tolerated particularly severe violations of religious freedom.

Assisting refugees

Assisted international refugees by reforming the asylum adjudication process, resulting in more expeditious granting of meritorious claims and fewer fraudulent ones.

Advocated immigration legislation that addressed the circumstances of asylum seekers with longstanding ties to the United States from Central America (Nicaraguan and Central American Relief Act of 1997) and Haiti (Haitian Refugee Immigration Fairness Act of 1998), and then promulgated regulations to ameliorate disparities among nationalities covered by NCARA.

Issued new guidelines for the adjudication of asylum claims by women and

children and adopted comprehensive procedures to claimants from being returned to face torture. In addition, the United States has enhanced the rescue component of its refugee resettlement program, including increased resettlement efforts for refugees from Africa and the Near East, and continues to be the world's most generous haven for refugees.

Promoting Human Rights at Home

Fought for and won passage of the Hate Crimes Sentencing Enhancement Act, which proposed to increase penalties for hate crime as part of the 1994 Crime Bill.

Worked to end racial profiling by directing cabinet agencies to collect data on the race, ethnicity and gender of individuals subject to certain stops by federal law enforcement to help determine where and when racial profiling occurs.

Signed into law in 1994 the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA), landmark legislation to combat violence against women, and this year, worked closely with Congress to reauthorize it.

Fought to protect the rights of all Americans, increasing funding for civil rights enforcement from \$47 million in 1992 to \$82 million in 2000.

Ordered a comprehensive review of federal affirmative action programs, which concluded that affirmative action is still an effective and important tool to expand educational and economic opportunity to all Americans.

Focused the nation's attention and resources to help stop the rash of church burnings across the country, creating the National Church Arson Task Force in 1995 to investigate these crimes, prosecute those responsible and speed the rebuilding process.

Took action to ensure fairness and equal participation in American society for legal immigrants. In 1997 and 1998, restored disability, health and nutritional benefits for certain legal immigrants.

###

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Lisa Ferdinando (CN=Lisa Ferdinando/OU=WHO/O=EOP [WHO])

CREATION DATE/TIME:10-JAN-2001 09:35:11.00

SUBJECT: POSTPONED: International sweatshops and abusive child labor event

TO: Mark A. Kitchens (CN=Mark A. Kitchens/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Cheri L. Stockham (CN=Cheri L. Stockham/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Richard L. Siewert (CN=Richard L. Siewert/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Sarah E. Gegenheimer (CN=Sarah E. Gegenheimer/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Lisa Ferdinando (CN=Lisa Ferdinando/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Craig A. Minassian (CN=Craig A. Minassian/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Jennifer H. Smith (CN=Jennifer H. Smith/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Gilbert S. Gonzalez (CN=Gilbert S. Gonzalez/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Stephen N. Boyd (CN=Stephen N. Boyd/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Victoria L. Valentine (CN=Victoria L. Valentine/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Jason H. Schechter (CN=Jason H. Schechter/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Leah M. Bryner (CN=Leah M. Bryner/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Oliver D. Pangborn (CN=Oliver D. Pangborn/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Elliot J. Diringer (CN=Elliot J. Diringer/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Nanda Chitre (CN=Nanda Chitre/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Jenni R. Engebretsen (CN=Jenni R. Engebretsen/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Valerie J. Owens (CN=Valerie J. Owens/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Drew T. Gardiner (CN=Drew T. Gardiner/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Helen L. Langan (CN=Helen L. Langan/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Anne M. Edwards (CN=Anne M. Edwards/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Karen C. Burchard (CN=Karen C. Burchard/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Daniel L. Cruise (CN=Daniel L. Cruise/OU=NSC/O=EOP@EOP [NSC])
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Philip J. Crowley (CN=Philip J. Crowley/OU=NSC/O=EOP@EOP [NSC])
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Christine L. Anderson (CN=Christine L. Anderson/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Margaret M. Suntum (CN=Margaret M. Suntum/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Pamela P. Carpenter (CN=Pamela P. Carpenter/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Gregory J. North (CN=Gregory J. North/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Mary Ellen Countryman (CN=Mary Ellen Countryman/OU=NSC/O=EOP@EOP [NSC])
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Ellen E. Eckert (CN=Ellen E. Eckert/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])
READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

International sweatshops and abusive child labor event
The International sweatshops and abusive child labor event scheduled for
today has been postponed until Tuesday, January 16th.

Message

Secretary of the Treasury Larry Summers, Secretary of State Madeline
Albright, Secretary of Labor Alexis Herman, and National Economic Advisor
Gene Sperling will announce a series of measures that the Clinton
Administration is taking to combat international sweatshops and abusive
child labor.

The event will be open press and there will be press escorts from the briefing room.

Background

Under President Clinton's leadership the United States has been the international leader in advocating the improvement of working standards around the world including efforts to fight sweatshops and abusive child labor. Among other initiatives, in 1996, the President brought together a diverse group of manufacturers, consumer groups, labor and rights organizations, and universities, to form the Apparel Industry Partnership. Out of this model was created the Fair Labor Association, a coalition organization dedicated to ensuring that products purchased by Americans consumers were not made in overseas sweatshops.

President Clinton has highlighted the importance of working to end abusive child labor in several State of the Union addresses, signed ILO Convention 182, which prohibits the worst forms of child labor, and has established the United States as the largest contributor to international efforts to eliminate abusive child labor.

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Oliver D. Pangborn (CN=Oliver D. Pangborn/OU=WHO/O=EOP [WHO])

CREATION DATE/TIME:12-JAN-2001 14:29:22.00

SUBJECT: ADVISORY: Secretary of the Treasury, Secretary of State, Secretary of Labor and National Economic Advisor
to Announce New Administration Efforts to Fight Sweatshops and Child Labor

Staff (Staff [UNKNOWN])
READ:UNKNOWN

Pool (Pool [UNKNOWN])
READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:
THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

FOR PLANNING PURPOSES
ONLY
456-7150
January 12, 2001

Contact: (202)

SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY, SECRETARY OF STATE,
SECRETARY OF LABOR AND NATIONAL ECONOMIC ADVISOR
TO ANNOUNCE NEW ADMINISTRATION EFFORTS
TO FIGHT SWEATSHOPS AND CHILD LABOR

Washington D.C.) Secretary of the Treasury Larry Summers,
Secretary of State Madeline Albright, Secretary of Labor Alexis Herman and
National Economic Advisor Gene Sperling will announce a series of measures
that the Clinton Administration is taking to combat international
sweatshops and abusive child labor on Tuesday, January 16, 2001 at 10:15
a.m.

Under President Clinton's leadership, the United States has been
the international leader in advocating the improvement of working
standards around the world, including efforts to fight sweatshops and
abusive child labor. In 1996, the President brought together a diverse
group of manufacturers, consumer groups, labor and rights organizations
and universities to form the Apparel Industry Partnership. Out of this
partnership, the Fair Labor Association was created, a coalition
organization dedicated to ensuring that products purchased by Americans
consumers were not made in overseas sweatshops.

President Clinton has highlighted the importance ending abusive child
labor in several State of the Union addresses. The President has also

signed ILO Convention 182, which prohibits the worst forms of child labor and has established the United States as the largest contributor to international efforts to eliminate abusive child labor.

WHO: Secretary of the Treasury Summers
Secretary of State Albright
Secretary of Labor Herman
National Economic Advisor Sperling

WHAT: Announcing new measures to combat sweatshops and abusive child labor

WHEN: Tuesday, January 16, 2001 at 10: 15 a.m.

WHERE: Presidential Hall
Eisenhower Executive Office Building
The White House

COVERAGE: OPEN PRESS
Pre-set 9:00 a.m.
Final Access: 10:00 a.m.

NOTE: Media needing White House clearance to cover this event should contact the Office of the Press Secretary at 202-456-7150.

Press should gather in the press briefing room prior to pre-set and final access times for escorts to Presidential Hall.

-30-30-30-

===== ATTACHMENT 1 =====
ATT CREATION TIME/DATE: 0 00:00:00.00

TEXT:
Unable to convert NSREOP0203:[ATTACH.D36]SREOP024000E1IH.001 to ASCII,
The following is a HEX DUMP:

===== END ATTACHMENT 1 =====

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

FOR PLANNING PURPOSES ONLY
January 12, 2001

Contact: (202) 456-7150

**SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY, SECRETARY OF STATE,
SECRETARY OF LABOR AND NATIONAL ECONOMIC ADVISOR
TO ANNOUNCE NEW ADMINISTRATION EFFORTS
TO FIGHT SWEATSHOPS AND CHILD LABOR**

Washington D.C. – Secretary of the Treasury Larry Summers, Secretary of State Madeline Albright, Secretary of Labor Alexis Herman and National Economic Advisor Gene Sperling will announce a series of measures that the Clinton Administration is taking to combat international sweatshops and abusive child labor on Tuesday, January 16, 2001 at 10:15 a.m.

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President Clinton has highlighted the importance ending abusive child labor in several State of the Union addresses. The President has also signed ILO Convention 182, which prohibits the worst forms of child labor and has established the United States as the largest contributor to international efforts to eliminate abusive child labor.

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Secretary of State Albright
Secretary of Labor Herman
National Economic Advisor Sperling

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Eisenhower Executive Office Building
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COVERAGE: **OPEN PRESS**
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**Automated Records Management System
Hex-Dump Conversion**

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-30-30-30-

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Lisa Ferdinando (CN=Lisa Ferdinando/OU=WHO/O=EOP [WHO])

CREATION DATE/TIME:12-JAN-2001 10:23:11.00

SUBJECT: Re: POSTPONED: International sweatshops and abusive child labor event

TO: Sarah E. Gegenheimer (CN=Sarah E. Gegenheimer/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

It has been changed for Tuesday at 10:15am - I will send you the final advisory for review so we can release it today

Sarah E. Gegenheimer
01/12/2001 10:18:22 AM
Record Type: Record

To: Lisa Ferdinando/WHO/EOP@EOP

cc:

bcc:

Subject: Re: POSTPONED: International sweatshops and abusive child labor event

What's the time and location for this? Do you have an advisory yet from Patrick?

Lisa Ferdinando
01/10/2001 09:35:02 AM
Record Type: Record

To: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message

cc:

Subject: POSTPONED: International sweatshops and abusive child labor event

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To:

Mark A. Kitchens/WHO/EOP@EOP
Cheri L. Stockham/WHO/EOP@EOP
Richard L. Siewert/WHO/EOP@EOP
Sarah E. Gegenheimer/WHO/EOP@EOP
Lisa Ferdinando/WHO/EOP@EOP
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Philip J. Crowley/NSC/EOP@EOP

Christine L. Anderson/WHO/EOP@EOP
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Pamela P. Carpenter/WHO/EOP@EOP
Gregory J. North/WHO/EOP@EOP
Mary Ellen Countryman/NSC/EOP@EOP
Ellen E. Eckert/WHO/EOP@EOP

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Sarah E. Gegenheimer (CN=Sarah E. Gegenheimer/OU=WHO/O=EOP [WHO])

CREATION DATE/TIME:12-JAN-2001 10:55:34.00

SUBJECT: Re: POSTPONED: International sweatshops and abusive child labor event

TO: Lisa Ferdinando (CN=Lisa Ferdinando/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Great -- in Presidential Hall?

Lisa Ferdinando

01/12/2001 10:23:01 AM

Record Type: Record

To: Sarah E. Gegenheimer/WHO/EOP@EOP

cc:

bcc:

Subject: Re: POSTPONED: International sweatshops and abusive child labor event

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01/10/2001 09:35:02 AM
Record Type: Record

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President Clinton has highlighted the importance of working to end abusive child labor in several State of the Union addresses, signed ILO Convention 182, which prohibits the worst forms of child labor, and has established the United States as the largest contributor to international efforts to eliminate abusive child labor.

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To: _____
Mark A. Kitchens/WHO/EOP@EOP
Cheri L. Stockham/WHO/EOP@EOP
Richard L. Siewert/WHO/EOP@EOP
Sarah E. Gegenheimer/WHO/EOP@EOP
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Mary Ellen Countryman/NSC/EOP@EOP
Ellen E. Eckert/WHO/EOP@EOP

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Sarah E. Gegenheimer (CN=Sarah E. Gegenheimer/OU=WHO/O=EOP [WHO])

CREATION DATE/TIME:12-JAN-2001 10:18:34.00

SUBJECT: Re: POSTPONED: International sweatshops and abusive child labor event

TO: Lisa Ferdinando (CN=Lisa Ferdinando/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

What's the time and location for this? Do you have an advisory yet from Patrick?

Lisa Ferdinando
01/10/2001 09:35:02 AM
Record Type: Record

To: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message
cc:
Subject: POSTPONED: International sweatshops and abusive child labor event

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To:

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Mary Ellen Countryman/NSC/EOP@EOP
Ellen E. Eckert/WHO/EOP@EOP

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Patrick M. Dorton (CN=Patrick M. Dorton/OU=OPD/O=EOP [OPD])

CREATION DATE/TIME:16-JAN-2001 09:19:24.00

SUBJECT: Need clearance on this POTUS statement by 9:45 -- need to handout at sweatshop event. Thank You

TO: Jenni R. Engebretsen (CN=Jenni R. Engebretsen/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

----- Forwarded by Patrick M. Dorton/OPD/EOP on
01/16/2001 09:19 AM -----

Patrick M. Dorton
01/16/2001 09:10:04 AM
Record Type: Record

To: Elliot J. Diringer/WHO/EOP@EOP, Nanda Chitre/WHO/EOP@EOP,
Oliver D. Pangborn/WHO/EOP@EOP, Sarah E. Gegenheimer/WHO/EOP@EOP

cc:

Subject: Need clearance on this POTUS statement by 9:45 -- need to
handout at sweatshop event. Thank You

Can you guys clear this POTUS statement quick for us. We would
appreciate.

DRAFT STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

Today, I am pleased to announce new initiatives that build upon our ongoing efforts to protect workers, children, and families from abusive and unfair labor practices and put a more human face on the global economy. Around the world, tens of millions of children are deprived of their childhood and subjected to the worst forms of child labor, slavery, forced or compulsory labor, prostitution, pornography, and other kinds of harmful and unsafe work. At the same time, many millions of workers toil under conditions that are deplorable and unacceptable. These Anti-Sweatshop grants and the Customs Advisory on Forced and Indentured Child Labor represent additional tools to help eliminate sweatshops and abusive child labor across the globe.

Over the last eight years, we have made the U.S. a leader in the global fight to stamp out abusive labor practices and open the door to education and opportunity. I am proud that the U.S. was among the first nations to ratify the International Labor Organization's (ILO) Convention 182 for Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labor. With the support

of Senator Tom Harkin (D. Iowa), we have increased our contributions to the ILO's International Program for the Elimination of Child Labor (IPEC) fifteen-fold from \$3 million in 1993 to \$45 million today. We have doubled to \$10 million Customs Service resources to enforce the ban on the importation of goods made with forced or indentured child labor. And last year, we passed a new \$37 million Department of Labor School Works program to strengthen educational systems in developing countries, targeted to areas where abusive child labor is prevalent.

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###

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Christine L. Anderson (CN=Christine L. Anderson/OU=WHO/O=EOP [WHO])

CREATION DATE/TIME:16-JAN-2001 09:35:56.00

SUBJECT: NEEDS TO GO OUT ASAP

TO: Oliver D. Pangborn (CN=Oliver D. Pangborn/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:
THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate
Release
2001

January 16,

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

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RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Nanda Chitre (CN=Nanda Chitre/OU=WHO/O=EOP [WHO])

CREATION DATE/TIME:16-JAN-2001 09:29:52.00

SUBJECT: Need clearance on this POTUS statement by 9:45 -- need to handout at sweatshop event. Thank You

TO: Christine L. Anderson (CN=Christine L. Anderson/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

----- Forwarded by Nanda Chitre/WHO/EOP on 01/16/2001
09:29 AM -----

Patrick M. Dorton
01/16/2001 09:10:04 AM
Record Type: Record

To: Elliot J. Diringer/WHO/EOP@EOP, Nanda Chitre/WHO/EOP@EOP,
Oliver D. Pangborn/WHO/EOP@EOP, Sarah E. Gegenheimer/WHO/EOP@EOP
cc:

Subject: Need clearance on this POTUS statement by 9:45 -- need to
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----- Forwarded by Nanda Chitre/WHO/EOP on 01/16/2001
09:29 AM -----

Patrick M. Dorton
01/16/2001 09:11:32 AM
Record Type: Record

To: Oliver D. Pangborn/WHO/EOP@EOP, Nanda Chitre/WHO/EOP@EOP, Sarah E. Gegenheimer/WHO/EOP@EOP, Elliot J. Diringer/WHO/EOP@EOP
cc:
Subject: FINAL PRESS PAPER for sweatshop event -- can you put out by 10. Thank you

===== ATTACHMENT 1 =====

ATT CREATION TIME/DATE: 0 00:00:00.00

TEXT:

Unable to convert NSREOP0202:[ATTACH.D46]SREOP024000EUPG.001 to ASCII,
The following is a HEX DUMP:

===== END ATTACHMENT 1 =====

The Clinton/Gore Administration: New Efforts to Fight Sweatshops and Child Labor Around the World & Put A More Human Face on the Global Economy

January 16, 2001

TODAY SECRETARY SUMMERS, ALBRIGHT, HERMAN, & NATIONAL ECONOMIC ADVISOR SPERLING WILL ANNOUNCE NEW ADMINISTRATION EFFORTS TO FIGHT SWEATSHOPS & CHILD LABOR. As part of the Clinton/Gore Administration's ongoing commitment to the improvement of working standards around the world, the Departments of Treasury and State will announce two new initiatives to protect workers, children, and families from abusive and unfair labor practices. These two new initiatives represent important milestones in the President's leadership on anti-child labor and sweatshop efforts, and will help strengthen the kind of global partnerships among governments, international organizations, and the private sector necessary to put a more human face on the global economy.

THE CLINTON/GORE ADMINISTRATION WILL TODAY ANNOUNCE TODAY 2 KEY INITIATIVES:

- **U.S. CUSTOMS SERVICE ADVISORY ON FORCED CHILD LABOR.** The Department of Treasury and the U.S. Customs Service have prepared an Advisory on Forced Child Labor to help importers, manufacturers, retailers, and other businesses identify goods that may be produced with forced or indentured child labor. The Advisory, developed in cooperation with the Advisory Committee on International Child Labor Enforcement, will facilitate voluntary compliance by describing the types of working conditions and indicators that may signal the presence of forced or indentured child labor. The Advisory will:
 - ✓ Describe the types of working conditions that signal the presence of forced or indentured child labor.
 - ✓ Present two sets of indicators, "red flags" and "yellow flags," that importers and others can use in seeking to determine whether specific merchandise is likely to be prohibited from importation on the grounds that it was produced with forced or indentured child labor.

- **DEPARTMENT OF STATE ANTI-SWEATSHOP INITIATIVE.** The Department of State will provide \$3.9 million in grants to support private sector efforts to eliminate abusive working conditions and protect the health, safety, and rights of workers overseas. This new Anti-Sweatshop Initiative will support innovative strategies to combat sweatshop conditions in overseas factories that produce goods for the U.S. market. Five non-governmental and international organizations received over \$3 million, and the U.S. Agency for International Development will administer an additional \$600,000 for smaller grants in support of promising strategies to eliminate abusive labor conditions worldwide. Today's grants were awarded to:
 - ✓ **Social Accountability International** will receive \$1 million to implement its Social Accountability 8000 standard, which promotes human rights in the workplace.
 - ✓ **The American Center for International Labor Solidarity** will be awarded \$962,801 to implement projects for the promotion of and adherence to labor rights and standards in Central America and the Philippines.
 - ✓ **The Fair Labor Association**, a coalition of apparel and footwear manufacturers and consumer, human and labor rights groups, will be awarded \$750,000 to establish and maintain a roster of accredited external monitors around the world.
 - ✓ **The International Labor Organization** will receive \$496,974 for research on the management systems used by multinationals to assure compliance with their company's labor standards.
 - ✓ **The International Labor Rights Fund's** will be awarded \$152,880 Anti-Sweatshop to raise awareness and promote viable solutions to sexual harassment in the workplace.

PRESIDENT CLINTON HAS MADE AMERICA A LEADER IN WORKING TO PREVENT

ABUSIVE CHILD LABOR AND SWEATSHOPS AROUND THE WORLD. Under President Clinton's leadership, the United States has been the international leader in advocating the improvement of working standards around the world including efforts to fight sweatshops and abusive child labor.

President Clinton's key actions include:

- Calling for the elimination of abusive child labor in his last three State of the Union addresses and becoming the first U.S. President to address the International Labor Organization (ILO) conference;
- Leading the global campaign in the adoption of ILO Convention 182 to eliminate the worst forms of child labor;
- Making the U.S. the world's largest contributor to the International Program for the Elimination of Child Labor (IPEC), and since 1995, funding projects to prevent or remove some 225,000 children in Africa, Asia and Latin America from dangerous or abusive work in many, as well as prostitution and domestic service.
- Bringing together a diverse group of manufacturers, consumer groups, labor and rights organizations, and universities to form the Apparel Industry Partnership, the precursor to the Fair Labor Organization – a coalition dedicated to ensuring that products purchased by American consumers were not made in sweatshops overseas.

BUILDING ON THIS RECORD, THE CLINTON/GORE ADMINISTRATION HAS MORE THAN DOUBLED RESOURCES TO COMBAT ABUSIVE CHILD LABOR IN THE 2001 BUDGET:

- President Clinton has more than doubled funding from last year's level of \$45 million to \$92 million in FY 2001 to help eliminate abusive child labor around the world. This \$92 million commitment includes:
 - ✓ A 50% increase in the U.S. contribution to the ILO's International Program for the Elimination of Child Labor (IPEC) – to \$45 million.
 - ✓ \$37 million in new funding for targeted bilateral educational assistance to promote school rather than work in countries where exploitative child labor is prevalent.
 - ✓ Doubling – to \$10 million – Customs Service resources to enforce the ban on the importation of goods made with forced or indentured child labor, denying such products access to the lucrative U.S. marketplace.

THE PROBLEM OF ABUSIVE CHILD LABOR

- The ILO estimates that there are at least 250 million working children between the ages of five and 14 in developing countries -- about half of them work full-time and do not attend school.
- Tens of millions of children work under very hazardous and abusive conditions. Around the world, young children in their formative years are exposed to hazardous conditions, including toxic and carcinogenic substances in manufacturing, dangerous conditions in mines and on sea fishing platforms, and backbreaking physical labor.
- Some children labor in bondage, are sold into prostitution, or are indentured to manufacturers, working against debts for wages so low that they will never be repaid.
- The majority (61 percent) of the working children are found in Asia, followed by Africa (32 percent), and Latin America and the Caribbean (seven percent). While Asia, by far the most populous region, has the highest number of child workers, Africa, the poorest region, has the highest proportion of child workers, with 41 percent of its children engaged in some form of economic activity.

DETAILS OF THE CUSTOMS ADVISORY ON FORCED CHILD LABOR

The Treasury Department and the U.S. Customs Service today announced the issuance of an advisory intended to combat forced and indentured child labor. The advisory is intended to help importers, manufacturers, retailers, and other businesses involved in importing merchandise identify goods that may be produced with forced or indentured child labor.

The Advisory, developed in cooperation with the Advisory Committee on International Child Labor Enforcement, will help promote voluntary compliance with child labor laws. The committee is comprised of industry representatives and distinguished child labor experts from the human rights and worker rights communities.

Abusive child labor is one of the most serious worker and human rights issues facing the world trading community. Child labor is endemic in many parts of the developing world; there are approximately 250 million child workers worldwide. Section 307 of the Tariff Act of 1930 prohibits importing into the United States merchandise produced in whole or in part with prison, forced, or indentured labor under penal sanction, including forced or indentured child labor. The United States Customs Service is responsible for enforcing this prohibition.

The Advisory describes the types of working conditions that may signal the presence of forced or indentured child labor. It presents two sets of indicators, “red flags” and “yellow flags,” that importers and others can use in seeking to determine whether specific merchandise is likely to be prohibited from importation on the grounds that it was produced with forced or indentured child labor. The indicators track the kind of evidence that the U.S. Customs Service considers in determining whether merchandise should be excluded.

- “*Red flags*” are factors that alone, or with other available information, strongly imply that a supplier in a foreign country may be using forced or indentured child labor, or sourcing from a facility that does so. Red flags include slave labor conditions; employment to discharge a debt or debt bond; financial penalties for absenteeism, production errors, refusal to work overtime, or minor infractions, where such penalties eliminate wages or credits already earned or create indebtedness that must be discharged; physical or sexual abuse of child workers at the workplace; and employment of very young children.
- “*Yellow flags*” are working conditions or business practices that, while not necessarily constituting direct evidence of forced or indentured child labor, should create suspicion on the part of importers that unfair or illegal labor practices, possibly including employment of forced or indentured child workers, might be involved, and warrant further serious inquiry and investigation. Yellow flags include work performed during unusual hours, such as early morning or late at night, or when a child could be expected to be in school; poor and unhealthy working environment; violations of local laws and regulations; employment in hazardous industries or under extreme conditions; missing or altered employment records; and workers missing from operating workstations during on-site visits. While the Advisory is not exhaustive, it represents U.S. Customs best effort to provide useful advice to businesses on how to identify goods that may have been made with forced or indentured child labor.

DETAILS OF DEPARTMENT OF STATE ANTI-SWEATSHOP GRANTS

Fair Labor Association - \$750, 000

The Fair Labor Association (FLA) is a coalition of apparel and footwear companies and human rights, labor rights and consumer advocates that represents an innovative strategy to address violations of internationally recognized labor rights in the apparel and footwear industries. The FLA works with member companies to develop their own internal monitoring plans, which in turn are reinforced and verified by a rigorous system of external monitoring. The Anti-Sweatshop funds will be instrumental in enabling FLA to recruit, accredit, and maintain a diverse roster of external monitors around the world.

International Labor Organization – \$496,974

The International Labor Organization (ILO) is a specialized agency of the United Nations that works to improve labor conditions worldwide. Business and labor representatives, as well as governments, participate in its work. The ILO's responsibilities include the adoption, promotion and supervised application of formal international labor standards.

Using federal Anti-Sweatshop funds, the ILO will carry out a research project involving several multinational enterprises at the corporate level and their suppliers in developing countries. The research will examine what types of management systems are used by multinational companies to assure compliance with their company's labor standards (and throughout the company's supply chain) and what is being done to correct labor conditions that are found to be unsatisfactory.

International Labor Rights Fund - \$152,880

The International Labor Rights Fund (ILRF) is a non-profit action and advocacy organization which uses innovative means to encourage enforcement of international labor rights. The ILRF's activities include research, publications, legal advocacy, and consumer campaigns. ILRF achieves its policy objectives through participation in NGOs and community based coalitions or advocacy groups.

Sexual harassment is increasingly viewed as a form of violence against women in the workplace. Using federal Anti-Sweatshop funds, the ILRF with the help of its local partners will undertake a two-year project to promote increased awareness of and viable remedies for the problem of sexual harassment.

Social Accountability International - \$1,000,000

Social Accountability International (formerly the Council on Economic Priorities Accreditation Agency) is a U.S.-based non-profit organization dedicated to the development, implementation and oversight of voluntary social accountability standards. The Social Accountability 8000 (SA8000) standard promotes human rights in the workplace and is based on internationally accepted United Nations and International Labor Organization conventions.

SAI will use federal Anti-Sweatshop funds for public education and consultative projects related to the use of the SA8000 standard, research on and testing of social auditing techniques for ensuring compliance with SA8000, capacity building for trade unions, NGOs, and small- and medium-sized enterprises to participate in audits and institutional development and the promotion of multi-sector collaboration in social auditing.

American Center for International Labor Solidarity - \$962,801

The American Center for International Labor Solidarity (Solidarity Center) conducts programs abroad dedicated to the promotion of and adherence to international labor rights and standards. Working through trade unions and other indigenous organizations, the Solidarity Center's programs help facilitate dialogue among business, labor and government leaders to address workplace conditions and the development and improvement of legal frameworks, institutions and practices for the enforcement of internationally recognized worker rights. Using federal Anti-Sweatshop funds, the Solidarity Center will implement projects in both Central American and the Philippines.

The Central American project, utilizing educational programs and union capacity building pilot projects, will work to improve the rule of law through technical assistance programs provided to workers, government official and academics. The Philippines project will provide the unions and NGOs with tools to make codes of conduct more effective through the construction of verification systems. This project will also enable unions to deepen their engagement with International Financial Institutions (IFI) in order to ensure that IFI programs produce jobs where workers labor in conditions of dignity.

U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) - \$600,000

Programs administered through the "Civil Society Strengthening Program" in the USAID's Global Bureau Center for Democracy and Governance are designed to advance democratic processes worldwide including the promotion of worker rights and the elimination of sweatshop labor.

Federal Anti-Sweatshop funds will be used to support a cooperative agreement that will provide small grants of between \$25,000 and \$150,000 to support promising efforts in the field aimed at eliminating abusive labor conditions in factories overseas producing goods for the U.S. market. These Anti-Sweatshop efforts will complement and support other initiatives developed by indigenous NGOs, trade unions, private and public sector enterprises and governments.

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Adam L. Rosman (CN=Adam L. Rosman/OU=WHO/O=EOP [WHO])

CREATION DATE/TIME:16-JAN-2001 10:13:37.00

SUBJECT: Need clearance on this POTUS statement by 9:45 -- need to handout at sweatshop event. Thank You

TO: Lisel Loy (CN=Lisel Loy/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

I cleared this.

----- Forwarded by Adam L. Rosman/WHO/EOP on 01/16/2001

10:13 AM -----

Nanda Chitre

01/16/2001 09:29:53 AM

Record Type: Record

To: Lisel Loy/WHO/EOP@EOP, Adam L. Rosman/WHO/EOP@EOP

cc:

Subject: Need clearance on this POTUS statement by 9:45 -- need to handout at sweatshop event. Thank You

----- Forwarded by Nanda Chitre/WHO/EOP on 01/16/2001

09:29 AM -----

Patrick M. Dorton

01/16/2001 09:10:04 AM

Record Type: Record

To: Elliot J. Diringer/WHO/EOP@EOP, Nanda Chitre/WHO/EOP@EOP,
Oliver D. Pangborn/WHO/EOP@EOP, Sarah E. Gegenheimer/WHO/EOP@EOP

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