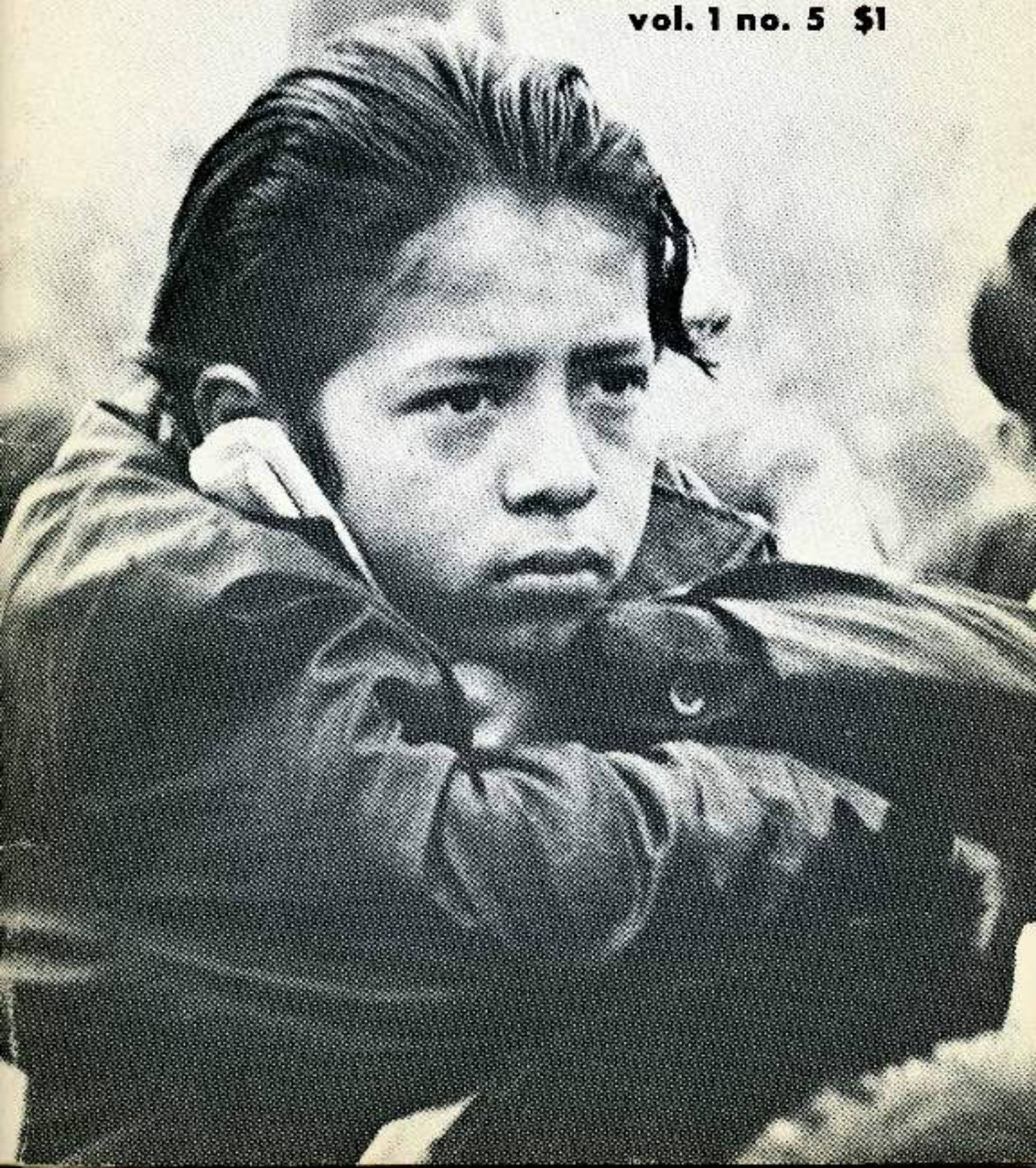
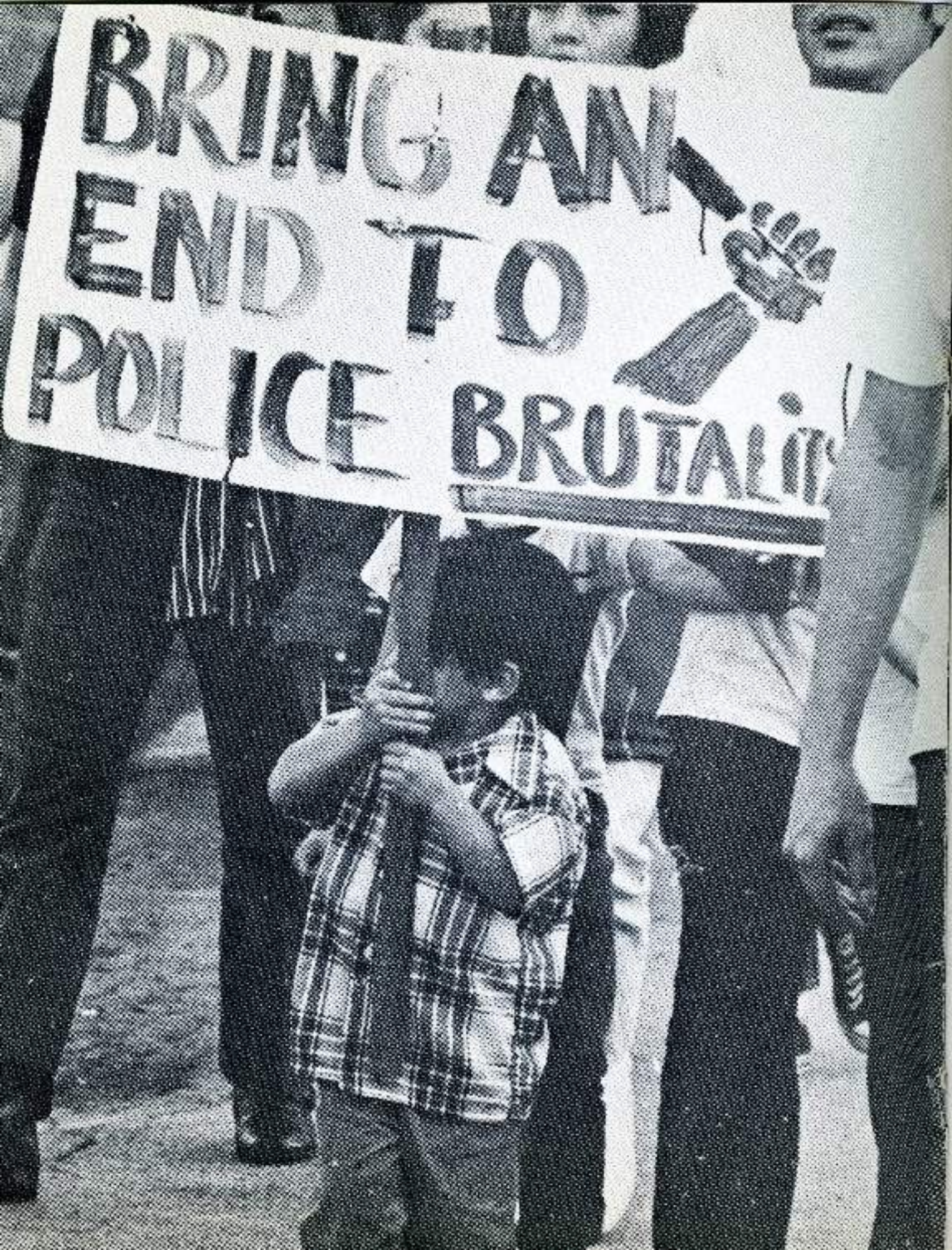


LA RAZA

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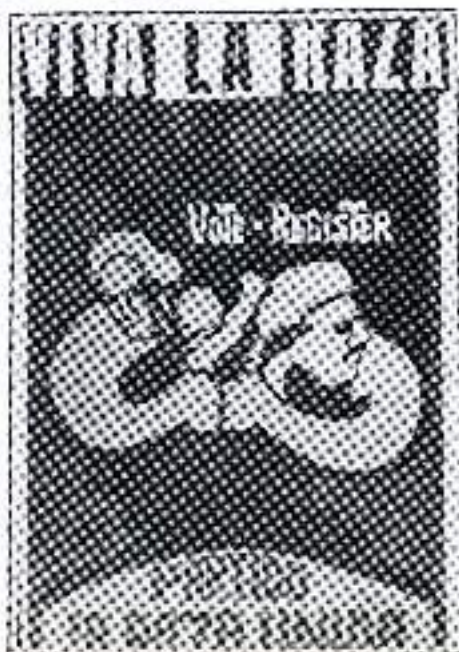
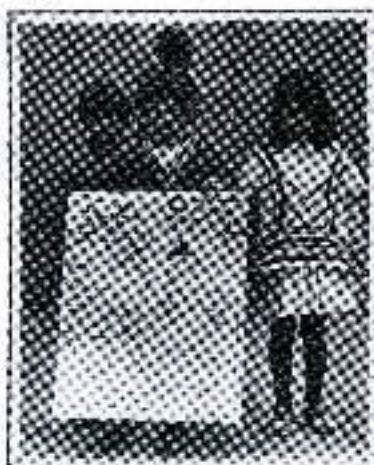
BRING AN
END TO
POLICE BRUTALITY

LA RAZA

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LETTERS CARTAS LETTERS CARTAS



Dear Editor:

Existen muchas y muy variadas razones porque el Mexicano, Americano descendiente de Mexicano, el Chicano o como se guste llamar, debe de apoyar y respaldar el magazine LA RAZA. Entre otras:

Cuando el Anglosajón robara más de la mitad del territorio Mexicano lo primero que hizo entre otras cosas, fue evitar un medio efectivo de comunicación entre el mexicano como es la prensa. Se acepta, desde luego, que ha habido através del tiempo innumerables periódicos, diarios semanales, bisemanales, y etc. Todos ellos sin trascendencia alguna ya que la mayoría cambió su ruta defensiva a causa de razones poderosas (\$) para desorientar al mexicano y prostituir el periodismo verdadero como es la obligación de un periódico: decir la verdad a costa de todo. En pleno Español, y hablando en plata, nunca ha existido un periódico o magazine con los suficientes "Guevos" para escribir las injusticias que a muchos siglos ha agobiado al mexicano. Ah, pero eso se acabó; ahora ya hay uno. LA RAZA MAGAZINE.

Esta magnífica revista, como todo en esta vida, empezó humildemente, desde abajo; en la misma forma con que un bebé nace, se desarroya y crece. Paulatinamente y gracias a todos los mexicanos, Chicanos o usando la terminología que usted quiera usar, LA RAZA se convierte en el favorito de todos nosotros. Sin embargo, la tarea es ardua. La lucha apenas empieza. El sendero que tenemos que recorrer es largo y lleno de espinas; la jornada que el magazine LA RAZA ha iniciado tiene un trayecto interminable y doloroso. Y claro, como es obvio suponer, esta revista no lo puede hacer todo. El magazine, LA RAZA necesita, como dije antes, el apoyo moral, material, físico y económico de todos los que llevamos orgullosamente una o mas gotas de sangre "Mexicana" en nuestras venas. Esta revista TIENE que ser leída donde quiera que lata un corazón Chicano sin importar donde sea esto: Sur América, el Lejano Oriente, Alaska, Europa, etc. Que como vamos a lograrlo...? Muy fácil.

El precio de LA RAZA MAGAZINE es de solo un dólar. Si, el ridículo precio de un dólar. Empero, el precio y valor monetario sedesvanecen la nada cuando nos damos cuenta la labor informativa y veraz que Raza ha desarrollado. Entonces, apoyamos y respaldamos Raza comprando uno, dos o más copias y enviémosla a nuestros hermanos, hijos o

demás parientes donde quiera que estos se encuentren: En el servicio en Vietnam, Korea, Japón, la Zona del Canal en Panamá, europa, aquí en Estados Unidos, y especialmente a todas las instituciones correccionales donde nuestros hermanos Chicanos han ido a parar gracias a la estructura, "destructor" Anglosajona. Recordemos, entonces, que un dólar es nada cuando con ese dólar el magazine LA RAZA puede hacer tantas cosas en favor de Nosotros.

WE SHALL OVERCOME.

Elias Benavides Orozco
Oxnard, California

CENSORED POEM

Dear Editor:

Brown is the sound you
hear when somebody yells "Chicano
Power!!" Brown is the taste you
get when you taste home made
beans. Brown is what you see when
you look at burned down Whittier Blvd.
Brown is what you feel when
you touch a brown person (Chicano).
Brown is beautiful!

I wrote this poem "BROWN" as an assignment in my English class. My English teacher liked it a lot and said she would put it in the school newspaper. So she went to the principal of our school to ask permission to have it put in. He did not approve it, and said it was favoritism, but then he turns around and says nothing about the Blacks saying "To our brothers" and other sentences like this.

An eight grade student
at Bassett elementary school

A VIETNAM, YO NO VOY

Dear Editor:

On March 2, 1971 I will be tried in the U.S. District Court in L.A. for refusing induction. I am not going to deny that I refused to be drafted and I am not going to keep quiet about it either. I am proud of it and I want to make as many people, especially my fellow Chicanos, think about the stupidity and waste of war. A man once wrote, "War is not an accident. It is the logical outcome of a certain way of life. If we want to attack war, we have to attack that way of life." That way of life is keeping Chicanos in poverty, is killing us off with pesticides, is denying us education and jobs, and now it expects me to go kill and be killed in order to "defend" it. Ya Basta!

Too many Chicanos have died to keep this racist, exploitive system going. It's time for Chicanos to stand up and say proudly, "There's too much work to be done here at home for me to waste my time and my life killing some other pobre in Viet Nam." Our Raza needs us strong, committed and alive to fight the poverty and the oppression right here and right now.

Talk to your familias and your carnales about what war has done to us. Chicanos have been tricked into fighting for Uncle Sam while the same degrading conditions remain unchanged in barrios across the country. Like Cesar Chavez, I am now convinced that the truest act of courage, the strongest act of manliness is to sacrifice ourselves for others in a totally non-violent struggle for others. To be a man is to suffer for others.

If I do time in prison, the suffering that I and my family go through will be worth it if Chicanos believe in the power of non-violence and self-sacrifice and if each one of us becomes a walking, one-man movement that opposes injustice every time he sees it.

VIVA LA CAUSA

Lorenzo Martin Campbell

LA RAZA NOT ACCEPTABLE

Dear Sirs:

I am a convict at the Sierra Conservation Camp. I would like to receive La Raza. Somehow it is getting lost before we get a chance to read it. Enclosed is a list of new procedures, quoted in full, which prison authorities have handed down. Your attention is called to number 12.!

LETTERS CARTAS

Newspapers, Magazines and Books. A. Inmates may purchase books and may subscribe to newspapers and magazines by special order through canteen. B. Material considered obscene or likely to incite violence or racial unrest will not be permitted nor will other matter felt to be a threat to the security of the institution. C. A list of disapproved periodicals is attached and will be added to as they come to our attention. Requests to purchase questionable material will be referred to the appropriate Program Administrator, who will approve or disapprove the request after discussion with the Associate Superintendent and/or Superintendent. Inmates will remain responsible for seeing that any material they order is in conformance with Section 12b, and materials which arrive through the mail will not be distributed if they do not conform. Questionable materials will be referred to the appropriate Program Administrator. D. Because of the limited storage space available, inmates are limited to a maximum of three hard bound books in their property except for legal books or special approved educational books. NOT APPROVED: Free Press, Berkeley Barb, Berkeley Tribe, R La Raza.

Tu Carnal Pinto

(for obvious reasons the inmates name cannot be printed)

ABAJO CON LOS MACHOS

Dear Editor:

When I became involved in the Movement I began to hate men (MACHOS). It was my silence, now fully grown into a public scream. It is the silence, I presume, of many other Chicanas as well who are brown feminists and don't know it.

Sadly, most Chicanos tend to think of a feminist as a white, thick calved, lesbian-oriented, eye glassed gal. In truth a Chicana simply wants to be loved by a CHICANO and to be an equal member of the Movement.

Almost every new Chicano turned out to be a mere passerby. A typical Chicano set up: a few words of Movimiento talk (if you're lucky), and then (he thinks) we go to bed. If you're good, I'll probably call again. Well, if you're smart? Who gives a damn? If I want to talk about barrio problems why do I need a Chicana?

The Chicana refuses to accept each experience as a lesson, and so she learns NADA.

Physically, to coax a Chicano your attributions should be as follows: stacked, big assed, and if

LETTERS CARTAS

posible fuera.

Over the last year, I have found myself getting much coarser and more than one Chicano has pronounced it as being un-Chicana.

The question here is not one of sex. I (and most Chicanas, I hope) enjoy it as much as the next Chicana. To me the most valid argument for Chicana Women's Lib is simply that the Chicana is not supposed to be an intellectual.

The majority of Chicanos think of Chicanas in sexual terms only.

The problem of the Chicana Movement is this, I am torn between what I want and what I fear is true. I cannot hate Chicanos and expect to love a Chicano. I want desperately to love and be loved by a Chicano, but I can't stop resenting Chicanos.

The Chicana Women's Lib is here and here to stay. It is here and here to stay. It is for every Chicana who wants to be treated as a human being. Whether it is necessary for her to make known her views, only because she has been "oprimida" for generaciones.

Chicanas are much more than canta and tortilleras and should be treated as iguales, or one of two equally depressing alternatives awaits them: They can turn their carino into fists and become vocal and unappealing Lib members. Or they can turn away from what they really need and want.

Like me, sola yo, a Chicana who is learning to odiar what she would love to amar.

Una Chicana

ARZOBISPO ARZUBE

Estimado Director Revista LA RAZA:

Como usted ha de saber, ya tenemos OBISPO de la Raza en Los Angeles, Calif.

Con fecha 9 de Febrero de 1971, el delegado Apostólico en U.S.A. anunció el nombramiento en Washington D.C., y rápidamente se difundió la noticia en todas las esferas del país.

El 25 de marzo recibirá el ordenamiento a manos del Arzobispo Manning.

El Padre Arzube es la segunda persona con apellido Hispano que recibe dicho nombramiento en un plazo aproximado de 6 meses, el primero fue el hoy Obispo Auxiliar Flores, en Texas.

El nombramiento de estas personas para desempeñar el papel de Obispos en la iglesia católica, no es una mera casualidad, sino debido a la presión que se desató en el ámbito católico después de las demandas presentadas por la agrupación llamada Católicos

por La Raza, en los últimos meses del año '69 al Cardenal Francis McIntyre, en los se incluía nombramientos de sacerdotes mexicanos o latinos, al rango de Obispos, para que la población mexicana y latina del suroeste de U.S.A. que llega casi a los 8 millones de católicos, tubieran a alguien que los conociera mejor.

JUBILO EN LA COLONIA DE HABLA HISPANA.

Las "ovejas" chicanas, mexicanas, mexicoamericanas y latinas en E.U.A. están de placemes porque al fin se le hizo a uno que aunque no es CHICANO, si es de la RAZA a llegar a Obispo, ya que por siglos los curas de la RAZA no pasaban de ser eso, "curas" y nada mas. Cual fue el motivo por lo que su Santidad el Papa se este acordando de sus ovejas morenas? El o sus antecesoros ignoraban que existiamos? Claro que no, pero los "Jefes Católicos" de U.S.A., en su totalidad de procedencia Irlandesa, solo recomendaban a sus paisanos para los altos puestos.

Hubo necesidad de que al Cardenal McIntyre se le "apareciera Juan Diego" en la forma de Católicos por La Raza, para que o ros cardenales y Arzobispos le recomendaran al Papa hiciera algo, por que como luego dicen, "el gallinero se estaba alborotando", en este caso, la borregada (ovejas) se estaba alborotando o la estaban alborotando unos "desidentos", "enemigos de la iglesia", "barbudos revoltosos" como los llamo el piadoso y católico periódico "The Tidings" a Católicos por La Raza.

Hoy, que esto escribe, yo con satisfacción, que poco a poco, las demandas de "aquellos locos" y aunque sea "para taparle el ojo al macho", se estan llevando a efecto, a "huc los jefarcas de la iglesia juren y perjuren que los que esta sucediendo no por presión, sino pura coincidencia. Que casualidad.

QUIEN ES EL YA NOMBRADO OBISPO J. ARZUBE.

Haciendo una especie de encuesta en el ELA me dí cuenta que el Obispo Arzube era un desconocido a pesar de que se le ha dado mucha publicidad a su nombramiento. Existen algunas (13 de 30 en mi encuesta personal, que no saben quien es su nuevo Obispo.)

Por allá en la "Placita" hubo una señora que me contactó; Arzube? No señor, no se quien sea. Mire, vaya aquella iglesia protestante que esta ahí enfrente y pregunte por el, aqui no hay ningún Obispo, sino el padre ya nos los hubiera dicho.

Pero he aquí los datos que se han publicado en la prensa comercial. Juan Arzube nació en Guayaquil, Ecuador, por allá en Sud-América, el primero de Junio de 1918. Su familia tenía "sus centavitos" por lo tanto lo pudo enviar a estudiar a escuelas católicas en Ecuador y luego nada menos que a Inglaterra. Después lo mandaron a U.S.A. y en el Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, en Troy, N.Y. a estudiar Ingeniería.

Regresó a Ecuador y estuvo ejerciendo su profesión por dos años. Después regresó a USA y anduvo dos años entre la farándula artística de Hollywood queriendo ser actor, pero sirvió nada más que para hacer doblajes en español de las voces en películas destinadas al mercado de habla española.

Después de dos años en los foros de Hollywood, por eso que llaman "vocación tardía" o tal vez por que vio más "futuro" en la iglesia se metió como cura. Sus estudios los hizo en Camarillo, California y se ordenó como sacerdote el 5 de Mayo de 1954, teniendo como "padrino" a su Eminencia el Cardenal McIntyre.

Fray Arzube fue asignado como pastor asistente a la iglesia de Santa Inez, pasó luego a la iglesia de la Resurrección y después a la iglesia de la Ascención. En 1968, como pastor asistente, estuvo en la iglesia de la Natividad y al mismo tiempo nombrado como administrador de la Misión de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe en el Monte, California. Ese mismo año fue también nombrado asistente de la Unión del Santo Nombre.

OBISPO PARA LOS POBRES?

Nuestro sagaz Arzobispo Manning ha dicho: El Padre Arzube será para la congegación de habla Hispana, la promesa y realización de nuestro interés en su bienestar espiritual y temporal. Y hay que aclarar que en el tiempo que tiempo como "jefe" el Arzobispo Manning, sus promesas han sido solamente eso: Promesas. Esperamos que el nuevo Obispo si las lleve a efecto. Esperamos así mismo que se identifique no solamente como un Obispo de habla Hispana, sino como un Obispo de los pobres, que ayude a resolver las angustias materiales de nuestra comunidad, entre otras cosas la explotación económica de que es objeto por parte de la Iglesia como institución.

LA MONTAÑA

Se dice por ahí que si la montaña no viene a nosotros, (como es lo más lógico) nosotros iremos a la montaña. Ya estaremos, Católicos por la Raza en la "montaña" con nuestras demandas y críticas constructivas, por que nuestro lema seguirá siendo: Señalar y combatir los defectos de nuestra Iglesia, es SERVIRLA.

Atentamente. P. A. S.



"HE THREW A ROCK AT ME"

EDITORIAL

In light of the repressive measures such as mass arrests and repeated rip-offs of leadership which have occurred in our barrios during the past year, a shift in the mood of the community has been noted. The romantic notions of helping to organize our community through rhetorical masturbations are quickly fading. The serious mood of pensive soul-searching for alternative ways of achieving power is underway.

Many of our people have come to the realization that the time has come not only to "talk" but act substantively on the issue of POWER. The term "Chicano Power" has been heard thousands of times throughout our barrios. One hears it at meetings, demonstrations and every-day conversations. We are continually asked "What is it that the Chicano community wants?" The answer generally falls around the issues of community self-determination, community-control, Chicano power, liberation and justice, equality, the right to control our destiny, etc. All these terms are pure terms; they sound pretty but can have a thousand different meanings depending on the speaker.

The time has come for us to quit dealing in rhetoric and eloquence and begin defining what we mean. Community self-determination, local community control, liberation and justice and all those other terms are terms which allow us to avoid the issues which we must deal with. Issues such as:

Is the Chicano community basically interested in obtaining a piece of the pie by its protests?

Is revolution really possible and if so, what forms must it take? What do we mean by revolution? Does power really come out of the gun? Is our struggle against oppression only a Chicano struggle or is it a class struggle?

These and many other issues are all part of the ideology which has been seriously lacking in our movement. Without SYSTEMATIC CONCEPTS there can be no definitive direction; we continue to act in crisis situation rather than taking the offensive. For example, the concept of local community control is very shallow. Utilizing that concept we could never attain local control of the educational system in our barrio because teachers receive their teaching credentials from the state office in Sacramento. Most of the books that are utilized at the various schools are also approved at the State level. The same process is repeated in having to deal with health and welfare agencies.

Control of our barrios can only occur if we have broad influence in the State, the Nation and international affairs as well.

How then can we obtain power? Before that question is dealt with, we must understand what power is. Power is the capability to compel, to wage war or to produce desired effects. Power can be defined more concretely as resources such as equipment. A mimeograph for example is a source of power. It is a means through which messages can inexpensively be communicated to our community. Money is power because the use of it can buy resources such as the hiring of people and the buying of equipment. It is time that we, as a community, start beginning to think of our assets as sources of power and comparing them to the sources of power of the police departments, of the political systems, both Democratic and Republican, of the merchants who control much of the economy of our community. When we do this, we quickly find that we are powerless in material goods such as equipment, good homes, tremendous wealth, etc., but that we are also very powerful in other aspects.

The main source of power for Chicanos is that we are twenty percent of the entire population in Los Angeles County, with a total of more than 1.1 million Chicanos. One out of every six county residents is a Chicano. Throughout the State, we average slightly over fifteen percent of the population. The fact that we have a significant number of Chicanos in Los Angeles County and throughout the State is not power in itself, but if we organize the broad and varied masses of our people who are just as dissatisfied with the situations that plague them as we are, then that can lead to power. If the Chicano community in East L.A. was sufficiently organized and coordinated, we could break every merchant who refused to give proper service and just prices for his merchandise. Those merchants, whether they be located on Whittier Blvd. or North Broadway, are dependent upon Chicanos to daily and weekly spend their money. If we, as an organized community, boycott them for any significant amount of time, the merchants will be ruined. That is POWER! The power to compel others to change their way.

La Raza Unida can become a source of power. Traditionally the Chicano community has voted Democratic, so much so that we have become known as the "hip pocket vote" for the Democratic Party. We have been repaid back by having our community gerrymandered into three separate political districts.

It is time that we utilize our votes in a different manner. We must break away from both the Democratic and Republican parties and become a Third Party, La Raza Unida. Since we, as a community are twenty percent of the County's population, we will have the power, in terms of votes, to determine who will be elected. That is POWER, CHICANO POWER, because the political institutions who have discriminated against us for so long, must then meet our terms and come to us rather than we to them. At the same time, we must realize that

those who still work through the electoral process have few illusions as to its efficacy to change the present course of the nation, but La Raza Unida can serve as a power base in many different ways. It can become a vehicle for uniting our barrios not only locally, but throughout the State. Texas and Colorado have already organized La Raza Unida in their respective states. Their approach varies from a political party to a pressure group. It is up to us to move and act and obtain POWER!



EDITORIAL

En vista de las medidas represivas como la enorme cantidad de arrestos, la repetición de altos y bajos de dirigentes que ha ocurrido en nuestros barrios durante el año pasado, se ha podido notar un cambio en la actitud de la comunidad.

Las románticas nociones de ayudar a organizar nuestra comunidad por medio de señorio retórico an decado rápidamente.

La tendencia de pensar seriamente y tratar de descubrir en el fondo del alma las alternativas para conquistar el poderío están ya en camino.

Mucha de nuestra gente ha llegado a realizar que la hora no solamente de hablar sino también de actuar sustancialmente por la causa del poder ha llegado.

El vocablo "Chicano Power" ha sido escuchado miles de veces a lo largo de nuestros barrios.

Uno lo escucha en reuniones, demostraciones y en las conversaciones cotidianas. A nosotros nos preguntan continuamente "Que es lo que la comunidad Chicana quiere?"

La respuesta generalmente recae cerca de la determinación de la comunidad por conquistar el control y el dominio de la liberación, la justicia y la igualdad, el derecho de controlar nuestro destino.

Todos estos términos de domingo, suenan bien pero pueden tener mil maneras diferentes para definirlos y depende de quien sea el orador.

Ha llegado la hora de que dejemos de obrar con elocuencia retórica y empecemos a definir lo que queremos dar a entender. La determinación de la comunidad, el control local de la comunidad, la liberación, la justicia, y todos esos otros términos son vocablos que nos permiten evadir el punto en cuestión que debemos tratar.

Puntos como:

Esta la comunidad interesada básicamente en obtener un pedazo de pastel por sus protestas?

Es posible en realidad la revolución, y si lo es, que formas debe tomar, y que camos a entender por revolución?

Sale el poder realmente de la plaza?

Es nuestra lucha contra la opresión solamente una lucha de clases?

Esta y muchas otras cuestiones son todas parte de la ideología que ha venido faltando seriamente en nuestro movimiento. Sin los conceptos sistematicos no puede haber dirección definitiva. Continuamos actuando empujados por situaciones críticas en lugar de tomar la ofensiva. Por ejemplo, el concepto del control de la comunidad local es muy superficial, utilizando ese concepto nunca vamos a obtener el control local del sistema educacional de nuestro barrio porque los maestros reciben sus credenciales de enseñanza de las Oficinas del estado en Sacramento.

La mayoría de los libros utilizados en las diferentes escuelas debenser también aprobados por el estado. El mismo proceso es repetido cuando se tiene que tratar con las agencias de salud y bienestar social. El control de nuestro barrios puede ocurrir únicamente si logramos tener influencia con el Estado, La Nación y también en asuntos internacionales.

Como podemos obtener el poder? Antes de que podamos negociar con esta pregunta debemos entender lo que es el poder. Poder es la capacidad que nos empuja a declarar la guerra o a producir los efectos deseados. Poder puede ser definido mas concretamente como recursos así como equipos, un míniógrato por ejemplo es un origen del poder. Es un medio por el cual de una forma económica se pueden transmitir mensajes a la comunidad. Dinero es poder porque por medio del uso de esto se pueden comprar recursos como es emplear gente y comprar equipos. Ya es hora de que nosotros como comunidad empecemos a pensar en nuestro capital como origen del poder y lo comparemos con el origen del poder de los departamentos de policía, del sistema político, Democrata y Republicano, de los comerciantes que controlan la mayor parte de la economía de nuestra comunidad. Cuando hacemos esto, rápidamente nos encontramos con que carecemos de poder en bienes materiales, como son equipos, buenas casas, enormes riquezas, etc. pero somos muy poderosos en otros aspectos.

El principal origen de poder para los Chicanos es que somos el veinte por ciento de la población total del condado de Los Angeles, con un total de mas de 1.1 millon de Chicanos. Uno de cada seis residentes del condado es Chicano. A través del estado tenemos el promedio de un focu mas del quince por ciento de la población. El factor de que tenemos un significativo número de Chicanos en el condado de Los Angeles y a lo largo del estado no es poder en si mismo pero si organizamos la gran variada masa de nuestra gente que justamente esta tan inarticulada como nosotros con los problemas que nos plagan, esto puede llevarnos al poder. Si la comunidad Chicana del Estado de Los Angeles estuviera suficientemente organizada y coordinada, podríamos arruinar a todos los comerciantes que rehusaran darnos servicios decentes y precios justos por las mercancías. Estos comerciantes tanto si estan localizados en Whittier Blvd., en North Broadway, dependen de Chicanos que diaria y semanalmente gastan su dinero. Si nosotros como comunidad por medio de una coalición organizada nos negamos a negociar con ellos por determinada cantidad de tiempo los arruinamos.

Esto es poder, el poder de obligar a otros a cambiar su forma de ser. "La Raza Unida" puede hacerse un origen de poder. Tradicionalmente la comunidad Chicana ha notado democrata tanto que nos

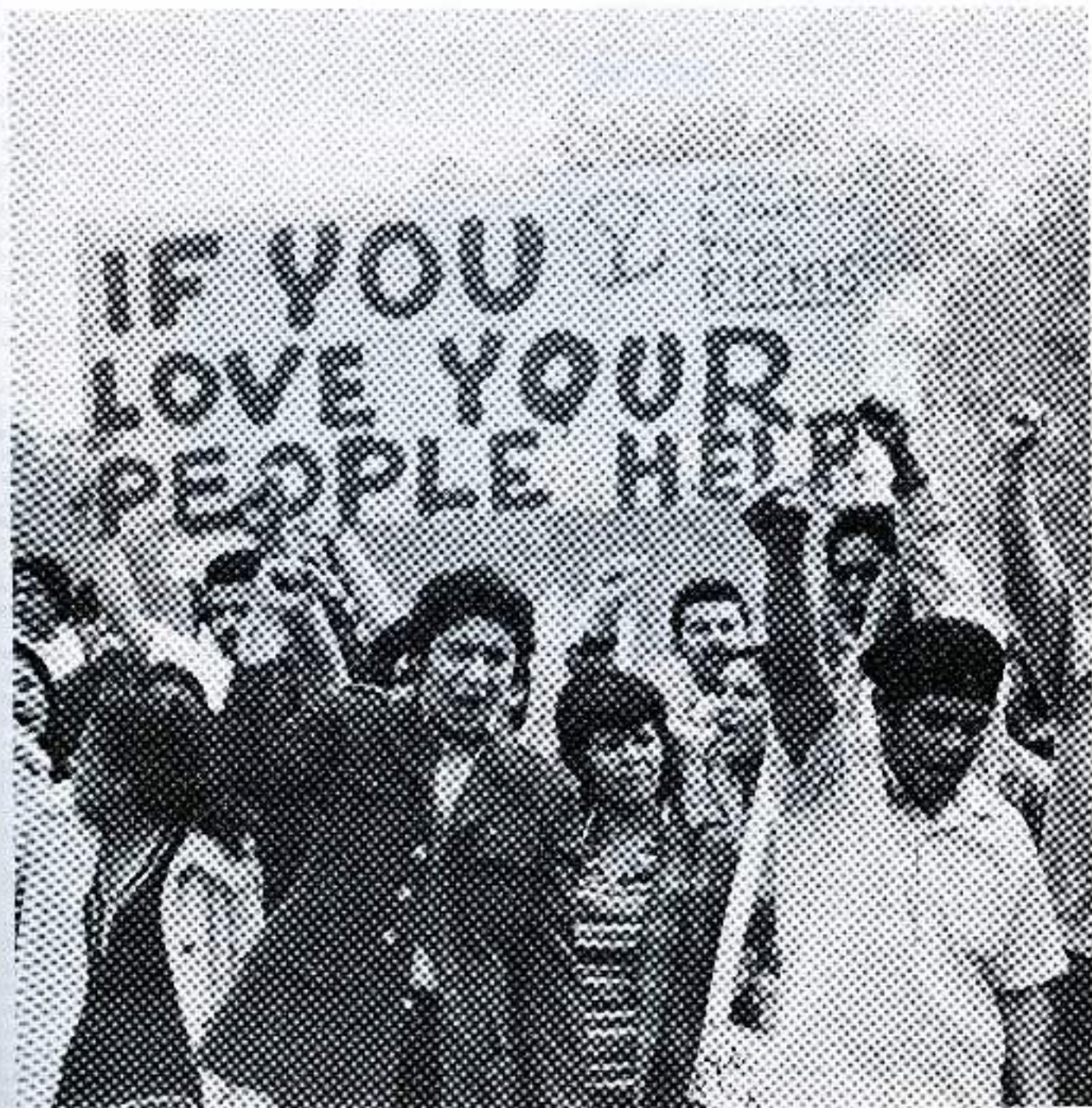
bemos dado a conocer como "el voto de bolsillo" del partido Demócrata.

Y nos han pagado manteniendo nuestra comunidad dividida en tres distritos políticos separados.

Ya es hora de que utilizemos nuestros votos de diferente manera. Debemos separarnos de los partidos Demócrata y Republicano y hacernos un tercer partido: La Raza Unida. Siendo como comunidad tendremos el dominio en forma de votos, para determinar quien sera elegido. Eso es poder, "Chicano Power" porque las instituciones políticas que han venido discriminandonos por tanto tiempo tendrán que venir y negociar con nosotros en lugar de

nosotros buscarlos a ellos. Al mismo tiempo debemos realizar que esos que todavía trabajan por medio del proceso electoral tienen pocas ilusiones acerca de la eficacia en cambiar el presente curso que lleva la nación pero la Raza Unida puede servir como una base de poder en diferentes formas. Puede convertirse en un vínculo de unidad en nuestros barrios. No solo localmente, sino tambien a lo largo del estado.

Texas y Colorado tienen ya organizada La Raza Unida en sus respectivos estados. La táctica varía y se convierte de un partido político a un grupo de presión. De nosotros depende que nos movilicemos y actuemos para obtener el poder.-



RAZA UNIDA PARTY

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA AND JOSE ANGEL GUTIERREZ

Ever since the victories of Chicanos in South Texas—specifically Crystal City—through the formation of La Raza Unida Party, Chicanos throughout the Southwest have begun similar drives to unify our people and thus bring about change. Our people have become cognizant of the fact that the only way by which we can survive in this country as people of Aztlán is through unity. Chicanos see el Partido de La Raza Unida as the most viable tool to achieve self-determination for our people.

In Northern California monthly meetings are held with representatives from all areas. Ideas are exchanged and progress reported. In order for el Partido to appear on the ballot, we must legally register 70,000 Chicanos under La Raza Unida Party. Registration drives are under way. More raza registrars are needed to reach all members of La Raza. Screening, publicity, and finance committees have been set up with representatives from all chapters. Preambles and emblems from the various areas are being submitted and considered at the monthly meetings.

So far, meetings have been held in Berkeley, Union City, Alviso and Stockton. The March meeting is scheduled for Sacramento on March 25 (location to be announced). These meetings help us realize that all the members of La Raza are working for the development of the party. What is even more important is that we are all working together. The most important decision made has been the decision to break away from the Republican and Democratic Parties, neither of which have ever done anything for the Chicanos. This party will not be a come-election-time-party. It will be a working and struggling party 365 days of the year. And it will address itself to every single need of the Chicano.

Although the situation here in California is not exactly the same as that of Crystal City, Chicanos still look at Crystal City as a model. On February 12, 1971, Jose Angel Gutierrez, co-founder of MAYO and of La Raza Unida Party in Texas, spoke at the La Raza Conference on Community Colleges held at Merritt College. He began by saying that he had come to share some of the ideas and rationale of el partido de La Raza Unida. Gutierrez is opposed to "approaching problems by looking at ideologies. We have one of the extremist ideologies and strongest alignments that we can use—el carnalismo and hermandad que extiende en nuestras familias, en la palomilla, con padrinos rios, y abueloa. En nuestra familia, cuando hay pedo,

todos estamos juntos."

We have what little we have and we share it. This closeness is not found in the gringos. "Love is always found in our homes, because we truly have a home, not a residence."

"When we began thinking about organizing a La Raza Unida Party, we knew that we were always being a prostitute, because we didn't even get paid. The people leading us had been people protecting their own interests." Political parties only come around when there are elections. The candidates speak a little Spanish, give out tamales and cerveza, and talk about how they love Mexicans. "We recognized that we were only a tool for them. All of their programs of action excluded us. They were not designed with us being the recipients. If we did receive something, it was an accident. We were outside the sphere of influence.

"We realized that the only way we will have control of our destiny is to be independent." We have to demand and determine what it is that we want for ourselves and the rest of our carnales. We decided to form a political party completely divorced from all others. With this frame of mind, we went into elections. We do not assume for one minute that America belongs to the white man. We own Aztlán! And we are going to take it. However, in any kind of confrontation on the streets we are going to lose. So, "for the time being we use ballots rather than use bullets."

Once you have control, you can violate the law that under normal situations would be unlawful. And we tell the gringo, "We don't give a damn what your laws say. This is Aztlán, and this is what we are going to do." Gutierrez cited example of accomplishments since Chicanos have gained control such as: three free meals for most students, an all Chicano police force who now protects the interests of the people and not those of growers or big businessmen, lowering the raza's taxes and taxing capital, and Chicano Studies throughout the schools.

"We went to where the Mexicano was very active. After we got our nucleus of workers, we went to different communities and said the same thing which people were saying. Many times we attempt to do something and it doesn't work, and we blame the people instead of ourselves. We went into communities and tried to be as natural as possible. In other words, we could not take them material from the MILITANT or the "we are all victims of the same oppressor" approach. This was not na-

No political party can possibly lead a great revolutionary movement to victory unless it possesses revolutionary theory and a knowledge of history and has a profound grasp of the practical movement. C/S



The above photos were taken at the recent convention of the Partido de la Raza Unida in Los Angeles.

rural. This was not what people understood. People in the communities gave us the problems. We did not tell them what they were." We tell the people to "never forget that 'una mano no se lava sola.' This is something that can be understood rather than we got to get our shit together."

Gutierrez went over some of the basic problems encountered while trying to organize people:

1. Problems misread as apathy: "The fact is that the community has been beaten against the walls so many times, that they don't want to do it again. They do not want nonsense. They want solutions. And they do understand."

2. Can't motivate people: "Many times organizers get frustrated when people have the "no pueden ganar attitude." Our people view this government and

system not only as ineffective, but also illegitimate. So we told them, "We know this belongs to us. If we take over and vote collectively podemos darle en la madre a los gringos, and it makes sense. They accepted it."

3. Getting people to understand the mechanics of what is going on: "We spend energy in saying that we are going to beat the gringo. But people ask "when we beat the gringo, then what are we going to do?" So we try to address ourselves to actual problem solving. And the only solutions that you are going to come up with are solutions you find at home."

Axtlan---la idea de un pueblo de raza se esta haciendo realidad. Que viva el PARTIDO DE LA RAZA UNIDA!

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF LA "RAZA UNIDA PARTY" IN SAN FERNANDO

VALLEY

By Richard Lou

Student at San Fernando Valley State College

La Raza Unida is a political party, but it means much more, it is a concept of nationalism among la Raza. However, the idea is new to many of our people. Therefore our attempts to organize El Partido in the barrio has to be handled carefully. The chicano movement and all its activities, meetings, conferences, the farmworkers struggle, the Chicano Moratorium, and El Movimiento Estudiantil, etc., etc., has in my opinion, accomplished its purpose, that of creating a new pride in the spirit of LA RAZA, this of course is manifested in the rising spirit of nationalism among the Chicano people. At long last, the Mexicano has become aware that he has not been successful in the gabacho system because of racial inferiority, cultural deprivation or language barriers, but because the gabacho has succeeded in veiling the real reason; oppression, capitalist exploitation, plain racial hatred. In other words the Mexicano now recognizes the real enemy the gabacho establishment and all it's institutions: police, school system, bosses, capitalist exploiters and most important the political institutions that perpetuate the gabacho strangle hold on the Raza. These political institutions are none other than the Democratic and Republican parties.

La gente of la Raza have been aware for a very long time that politicians of both of these parties have only paid lip service to the barrio during elections. Shortly thereafter the politician forgets his promises and everything remains the same in the barrios. So the Mexicano has chosen not to participate in the gringo parties. Now it is our duty to introduce a new type of political awareness in our barrios. Now we must introduce La Raza Unida to our gente not because we want to assimilate in the gabacho political system, but because we want to forge a new one. A Chicano political power force. A Chicano Mexicano political party. We must deal with introduction to our people in an organized planned thoroughly researched manner. This is my idea how it should work:



political agitation and political acceptance

El partido La Raza Unida, must be made known to the barrios. We must create political fervor with posters, pamphlets, bumper stickers, newspapers, television, and radio coverage, etc. If nothing else graffiti on the walls of our barrios will bring the message to our barrios.

political instruction and education

We must learn the present political structure, investigate the political setup of our barrios, the registration process, precinct organization, etc. The partido must be brought to where the Chicanos reside and we must bring El Partido to the leaders and to the potential leaders of each Chicano precinct. Each precinct must organize its own Raza

development of party ideology

Unida system, recruit its own registered voters, and develop its leadership. In short, develop La Raza Unida at the grass roots level.

This stage must be simultaneous with developing Chicano deputy registrars and conducting massive registration drives in each precinct. In dealing with this registration process we establish permanent partido structure in each, thus precinct party leadership must be developed at all levels. At work, school, church, home, etc.

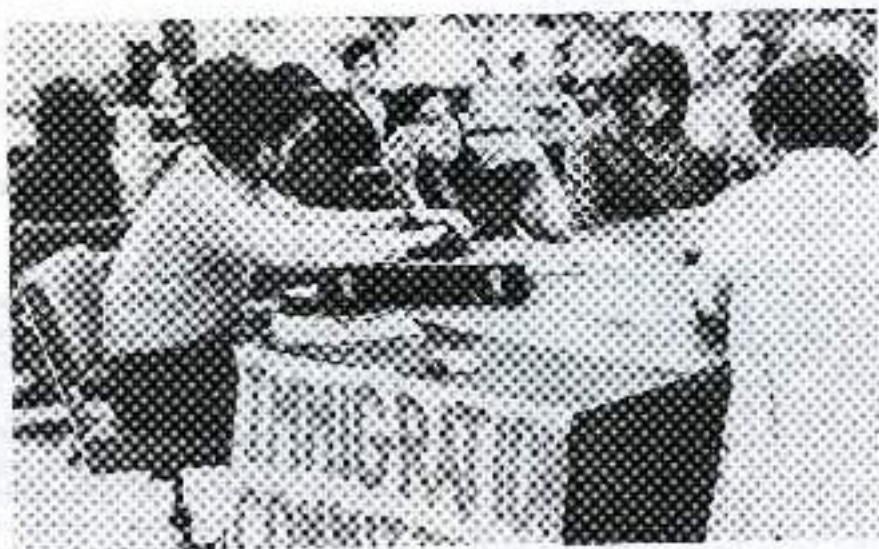
Massive meetings at each precinct must be held in order to include the entire barrio. La gente must participate in its own partido and formulate its direction, action, ideology, as well as to provide its force and drive.

development of platform and candidates

Before we can have candidates el partido must be firmly entrenched in our barrio precinct. The partido must have people supporting it before it can be an effective political force. When this is accomplished we can formulate a platform that deals with our prob-

lema as we see them and we must develop candidates to present the platform and be willing to fight for it. This is a sketchy outline as many other factors must be considered but we must begin somewhere. From the beginning we must include the people for they will provide the power, thus the success of the partido. El Partido must be brought to the streets so that it can be discussed by the people wherever they gather.

We must act now for the movimiento has achieved a high degree of political, social, and economic sophistication for our people and it must not be allowed to stagnate at this point. We can rest laurels, La Raza Unida is the first stage of the realization of the Chicano nation, Aztlan.
QUE VIVA AZTLAN!! QUE VIVA LA RAZA UNIDA!!!



The photos on this page were taken at the recent convention of el Partido de la Raza Unida in Los Angeles.



ACCORDING TO THE SUPPOSED OATH TAKEN
UPON INITIATION OF GRADE FOUR OF THEIR
RELIGIOUS ORDER,

THE KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS BECAME FANATICS AND DANGEROUS CRIMINALS.

OATH

I..in presence of the Almighty God, the Virgin Mary and the blessed St. John the Baptist, the Blessed Apostles Saint Peter and St. Paul and all saints, sacred hosts of heaven and of yours my most exalted father, the superior general of the Society of Jesus, founded by St. Ignacious of Loyola, during the potentate of Paul III, and continued till the present, through the womb of the Virgin Mary and the Matrix of God, and the Miter of Jesus Christ I declare and swear that our Sanctity, the Pope is Vice regent of Christ and that he is the only and true head of the Catholic Church Universal in all the earth; and that in virtue of the keys to tie and untie given to his Sanctity by my Saviour Christ, he has power to depose kings, heretics, princes, states, communities and governments and to destroy them without any prejudice. Therefore, with all my strength I will defend this doctrine and the rights and customs of his Sanctity against the heretical usurpers or protestant authorities especially the German Lutheran Church of Germany, Holland, Denmark, Sweden and Norway, and now of the pretended authority of the Church of England and Scotland and of the branches of the same established in Ireland and in the American Continent and of all the adherents who are considered heretics and usurpers, enemies of the Holy Mother, the Roman Catholic Church.

I renounce and disown any alliance as a dury with any heretical king, prince or state, calling itself protestant or liberal, and the obedience to any of their laws, magistratus or officials.

I declare furthermore, that the doctrines of the churches of England and Scotland, of the Calvinists Huguenots or others of the name Protestant or Masons are damnable and all those who do not abandon them.

I declare, also, that I will help, assist and advise any or all of the Sanctity's agents in any place I might be, be it Switzerland, Germany, Holland, Ireland or America or in any other kingdom, or territory where I go and I will do all in my power to extricate the heretical doctrines, protestant or masonic and to destroy all its pretended powers legal or of any type.

I promise and declare, notwithstanding that I am permitted to pretend any heretical religion with the end of propagating the interest of the Mocher Church to keep the secret and not to reveal all the council of the agents according to instructions, and not to divulge directly or indirectly, by word, writing or any other method, but to execute all that is proposed or recommended and all that is ordered to me by you, my Holy Father, or by anyone of this Sacred Order.

I declare, furthermore, and promise that I will not have a will or an opinion of my own, nor any doubts, but like a cadaver, I will obey unconditionally everyone of the orders given to me by my superiors in the militia of the Pope and of Jesus.

That I will go to any part of the world to which I am sent, to the cold regions of the North, to the dense jungles of India, to the centers of European civilization, or to the wild hats of the barbaric savages of the American continent, without a murmur or a complaint; and I will submit to all that is told to me.

Mexico and the Knights of Columbus.

I promise and declare that I will make, when the opportunity arises, war without quarters, secretly and openly, against all Protestant and Mason heretics, such as I am ordered to, eliminate them from the face of this earth and that I will not take into account age, sect, or condition and that I will hang, burn, destroy, boil, strangle and bury alive those heretics; I will open up the stomachs and insides of their wives, and the heads of their children I will hang against the walls in order to exterminate this detestable race, that when this cannot be done openly, I will secretly make use of the cup of poison, strangulation, the steel of a dagger, or a bullet, without consideration of honor, level, dignity, or authority of the persons, whatever their conditions in life may be public or private, just as it is ordered to me at any time by the agents of the Pope or the Superior of the Holy Order, of the Society of Jesus.

With all that I consecrate all my life, soul, and all the corporal powers and with the dagger that I now receive, with my blood I will inscribe my name in its testimony; and if I am false or weak in my determination my brothers and my fellow soldiers of the Pope's militia can cut off my hands and my feet and my neck from ear to ear, open up my insides and burn sulfur in them, and give me all the punishments that are known on this Earth, and that my soul be tortured by the demons in eternal hell forever.

That I will always vote for someone in the Knights of Columbus with preference for a Protestant, especially a Mason, and will make sure everyone in my party does the same; that if two Catholics are fighting, I will become assured as to who feels the strongest towards the Holy Mother Church and will cast my vote for him.

I won't deal with or employ a Protestant, instead I could deal with or employ a Catholic, I will place a Catholic young girl in a protestant family so that she may give weekly reports of heretic actions in the family.

That I will supply myself with arms and ammunition so that I may be ready when the order is given, or be ordered to defend the church as an individual or in the Pope's Militia.

All of which I swear by the Holy Trinity and Holy Sacrament, which I'm about to receive, execute and carry through this oath.

The following were used as references:
Asociacion Difusora de la Biblia, Circular No.15
Congressional Record, Vol. 49, February 15, 1913, p. 3262

Book in Spanish of J.Natividad Rossles: "Mason Secreta on el Vaticano", Segunda Parte, pag. 214,215

The activities of the Knights of Columbus have been for Mexico, those of treasonous and aggressiveness. For example, in February of 1913, when the tyrannical Victoriano Huerta came to power, after having the President and Vice-President of the Republic of Mexico, murdered; Francisco I. Madero and Jose Maria Pino Suarez, respectively, the event was celebrated jointly by Huerta and the hierarchy of the clandestine order, as a "Te Deum" to give thanks to God for having made it possible for Victoriano Huerta to come to power.

The ambassador from the United States to Mexico, Henry Lane Wilson, was happiest of all.

As related by the then Cuban Ambassador to Mexico Manuel Marquez Sterling, in his book "The Last Days of President Madero":

In 1916 and 1917 when the United States of America was trying to totally invade Mexico (Pershing had done this in part) and grab all of the Mexican territory, something the U.S. had to stop pursuing because of their intervention in the first world war, the knights of Columbus were active in what seemingly was to be the invasion of Mexico, and had the disgrace to establish clubhouses (Casas de descanso) for the Yankee army. These were set up from the gulf of Mexico to the gulf of California, encrossing the border between the U.S. and Mexico. In these clubhouses the foreign army was given means for recreation, leisurely enjoyment and religious services. But above all, they were given encouragement to carry through, hopefully with favorable results "The Divine Mandate to invade Mexico."

In 1926, after a very intensive campaign to alienate the public against the Mexican government at a cost of more than one million dollars in the U.S. alone, the so called "Christian Rebellion" erupted in Mexico. The Knights of Columbus supported and participated in this rebellion by providing men and thousands of dollars for the purchase of arms.

Then in 1934 the revolutionary government of Mexico, presided over by General Lazaro Cardenas, was furiously attacked by the reactionary press in the U.S.A.

The Knights of Columbus were the ones to initiate this dirty campaign in the name of "God and country."

There is more to be said about this order of "the KKKnights." But for now I will give you some curious similarities between the Knights of Columbus and the KKK. With the KKK, there is the supreme or "Grand Dragon" with the Knights of Columbus we have "the supreme Knight", Grand Knight, supreme officials, supreme secretary, etc. etc. The Knights of Columbus are found in all levels of the social structure and their membership consists of no less than 1,185,000. In U.S.A., Mexico and Canada (10 Provinces) in the Panama Canal Zone, Puerto Rico, Guatemala and the Philippine Islands. And of course the work of the Knights of Columbus are always in the name of charity and peace; and all under the banner of "For God and country."



DE ACUERDO CON EL SUPUESTO JURAMENTO QUE
HAGEN AL INICIARSE EN EL CUARTO GRADO DE
SU ORDEN RELIGIOSA, HAGEN DE

LOS CABALLEROS DE COLON UNOS

FANATICOS Y ASESINOS PELIGROSOS.

JURAMENTO.

Yo... en presencia del Todopoderoso Dios, de la bienaventurada Virgen María, del bienaventurado San Juan Bautista, de los Santos Apostoles San Pedro y San Pablo, de todos los santos, sagradas huesas del cielo, y de Ti mi Santísimo Padre, el superior general de la Sociedad de Jesús, fundada por San Ignacio de Loyola, en el Pontificado de Pablo III, y continuada hasta el presente, por el viestre de La Virgen María, y la Matriz de Dios, y el cayado de Jesucristo, declaro y juro que su Santidad, el Papa, es Vice-regente de Cristo y que es la única y verdadera cabeza de la Iglesia Católica o Universal en toda la tierra; y que en virtud de las llaves para atar y desatar dadas a su Santidad por mi Salvador Jesucristo, tiene poder para deponer reyes, herejes, príncipes, estados, comunidades y gobiernos, y destruirlos sin perjuicio alguno. Por lo tanto, con todas mis fuerzas defenderé esta doctrina y los derechos y costumbres de su Santidad contra todos los usurpadores heréticos o autoridades protestantes, especialmente de la Iglesia Luterana de Alemania, Holanda, Dinamarca, Suecia, y Noruega, y ahora de la pretendida Autoridad e Iglesia de Inglaterra y Escocia, y de las ramas de la misma establecida en Irlanda y en el Continente Americano y de todos los adherentes a quienes se considera como herejes y usurpadores, enemigos de la Santa Madre Iglesia Romana.

Renuncio y desconozco cualquiera alianza con un deber con cualquier Rey hereje, príncipe o Estado, llamado protestante o Liberal, y la obediencia a cualquiera de sus leyes, magistrados u oficiales.

Declaro, además, que las Doctrinas de las Iglesias de Inglaterra y Escocia, de los Calvinistas Hugonotes, y otros de nombres Protestantes o Masones son condenables y todos los que no las abandonen.

Declaro, igualmente, que ayudaré, asistiré y aconsejaré a todos y a cualquiera de los agentes de su Santidad, en cualquier lugar donde esté, ya sea en Suiza, Alemania, Holanda, Irlanda o América, o en cualquier otro reino, o territorio a donde vaya; y haré todo lo que pueda para extirpar las doctrinas heréticas, protestantes o masonas y para destruir a todos sus pretendidos poderes legales y de cualquier clase que sean.

Prometo y declaro, no obstante de que me es permitido pretender cualquier religion herética con el fin de propagar los intereses de la Madre Iglesia, guardar el secreto y no revelar todos los consejos de los agentes, según sus instrucciones y a no divulgarlos directa o indirectamente, por palabra, escritura o de cualquier otro modo, sino a ejecutar todo lo que sea propuesto o encomendado y los que se me ordenen por medio de Ti, mi Santísimo Padre, o por cualquiera de esta sagrada Orden.

Declaro, además, y prometo que no tendré opinion y voluntad propia, ni reserva mental alguna, sino que como un cadáver, obedeceré incondicionalmente cada una de las órdenes que reciba de mis superiores en la milicia del Papa y de Jesucristo.

Que iré a cualquier parte del mundo a donde se me envíe, a las regiones frías del Norte, a los espesos montes de la India, a los centros de civilización de Europa, o a las silvestres cabañas de los bárbaros salvajes de América, sin murmuración o queja; y seré sumiso a todo lo que me sea comunicado.

Prometo y declaro que hare cuando la oportunidad se me presente, guerra sin cuartel, secreta y abiertamente, contra todos los herejes protestantes y masones, tal como se me ordene hacer, extirparlos de la faz de toda la tierra; y que no tendré en cuenta ni edad, sexo, o condición, y que colgaré, quemaré, destruiré, herviré, deshollaré, estrangulare y sepultaré vivos a estos infames herejes; abriré los estómagos y los vientres de sus mujeres, y con la cabeza de sus infantes daré contra las paredes a fin de antiquar a esta execrable raza. Que cuando esto no pueda hacerse abiertamente, emplearé secretamente la copa del veneno la estrangulación, el acero del puñal, o la bala de plomo, sin tener en consideración el honor, rango, dignidad, o autoridad de las personas, cualquiera que sea su condición en la vida, pública o privada, tal como mesa ordenado en cualquier tiempo por los agentes del Papa o el Superior de la hermandad del Santo Padre, de la Sociedad de Jesús.

Para todo lo cual consagro toda mi vida, alma, y todos los poderes corporales y con la daga que recibo ahora suscribiré mi nombre con mi sangre en testimonio de ello; y si manifestare falsedad o debilidad en mi determinación pueden mis hermanos y mis soldados compañeros de milicia abrir mi vientre y quemar azufre en él, y aplicarme todos los castigos que se puedan sobre la Tierra, y que mi alma sea atormentada por los demonios en el eterno infierno para siempre.

Que daré mi voto siempre por uno de los Caballeros de Colón con preferencia a un Protestante, especialmente a un Masón, y que haré que todo mi partido haga lo mismo; que si dos católicos están luchando, me convenceré quien defiende mas la Santa Madre Iglesia y daré mi voto por él. No trataré ni emplearé a un Protestante si está en mis facultades tratar o emplear a un católico, colocare a una señorita católica en familias protestantes para que semanalmente rindan informes de los movimientos familiares de los herejes.

Que me proveeré de armas y municiones a fin de estar listo para cuando se dé la orden, o me sea ordenado defender la Iglesia ya como individuo o en la Milicia del Papa.

Todo lo cual...juro por la Bendita Trinidad y el Bendito Sacramento que estoy para recibir, ejecutar y cumplir este juramento. (Tomado del "Congressional Record" del Febrero de 1913. Pagina 3262.

Tomado de la Circular No. 15 de la "Asociación Difusora de la Biblia"---13 de Marzo 1957 y del libro de José Natividad Rosales "Misión Secreta en el Vaticano", Segunda Parte. Pag. 214-215

MEXICO y Los Caballeros de Colon.

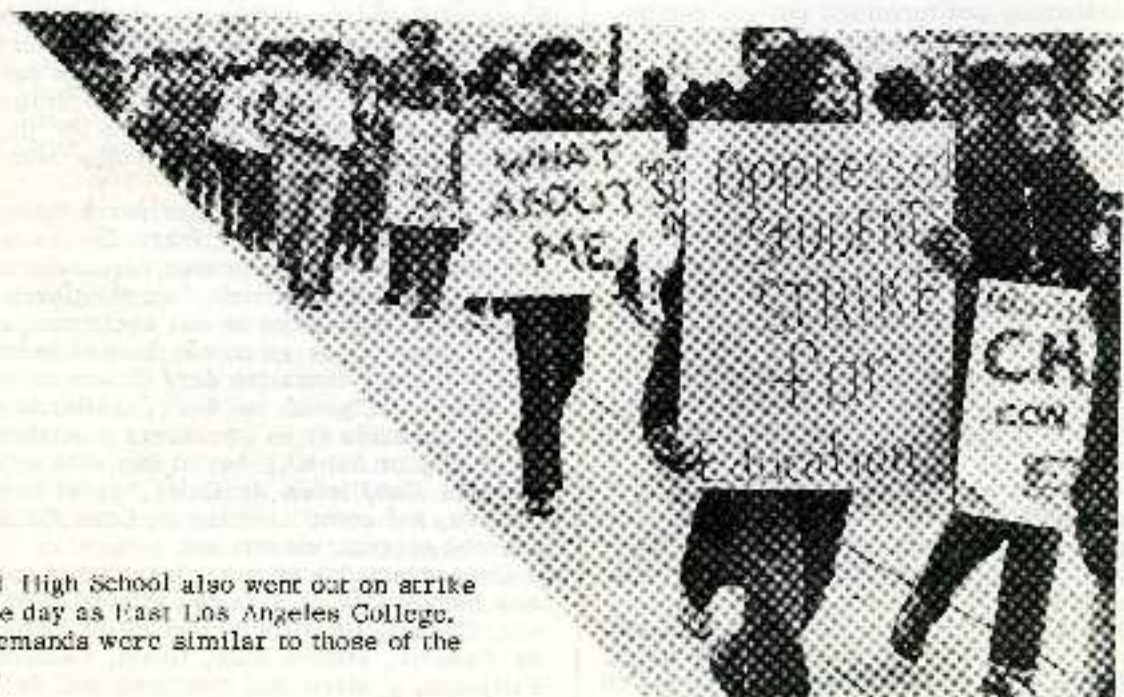
Las actividades de los Caballeros de Colón han sido para México, funestas y agresivas. Por ejemplo, en Febrero del año de 1913, cuando el dictador Victoriano Huerta, se apoderó de la Presidencia después de mandar asesinar al Presidente y Vicepresidente de la República Mexicana, los señores Francisco I Madero y José María Pino Suárez, Respectivamente, celebraron junto con la alta Jerarquía Eclesiástica, un "Te Deum" para dar gracias a Dios el haber permitido que Victoriano Huerta tomara el poder. El embajador de U.S.A. en México, Henry Lane Wilson, era el mas feliz de todos los hechos acontecidos, según relata el entonces embajador de Cuba en México, Manuel Márquez Sterling, es su libro: Los Ultimos Días Del Presidente Madero.

En 1916 y 1917, cuando U.S.A. trataba de invadir completamente a México, (Perahing ya lo habia hecho en parte) y apoderarse completamente del territorio mexicano, lo cual tuvieron que desistir por su intervención en la I guerra mundial, Los Caballeros de Colón, fueron los mas activos apoyando la invasión a México, y tuvieron la desfachatez de establecer "casas de recreo" (Clubhouses) a todo lo largo de la frontera, desde el Golfo de México hasta el Golfo de California. En esos clubes se le daba al ejercito yanqui, diversión, recreo, servicios religiosos y sobre todo alientos para que llevaran a cabo con buen éxito "el divino mandato de invadir México" (vea folleto #9 de Los Caballeros de Colón, llamado "Those Men They Call Knights").

En 1934, el gobierno Revolucionario mexicano, precedido por el General Lázaro Cárdenas, fue atacado ferozmente por la prensa reaccionaria de U.S.A. Los Caballeros de Colón, "en el nombre de Dios", fueron los iniciadores de esa sucia campaña.

Hay mas cosas que contar de estos señores KKK Caballeros y por ahora les dare el dato curioso de que la Orden religiosa de los Caballeros de Colón es muy parecida en la estructura y nombramientos a los KKK, con los KKK hay el Supremo o Gran Mago, con los Caballeros de Colón hay el Supremo Caballero, así como tambien el Gran Caballero, Supremos secretarios etc. etc.

Desparramados en todos los niveles sociales, hay una membresía de más de 1,185,000 en U.S.A, México, Canadá, (10 Provincias), en la Zona del Canal de Panamá, Puerto Rico, Guam, Guatemala y Las Filipinas, y claro sus misiones son de "caridad" bajo el lema de "Por Dios y por la Patria."



Garfield High School also went out on strike the same day as East Los Angeles College. Their demands were similar to those of the College.

EAST LOS ANGELES

COLLEGE STRIKE

East Los Angeles College by virtue of its location should be the one truly Chicano college in the nation.

The only community that exists around that college is Chicano. Over 95% of that community is Chicano.

Does the college even minimally reflect service to that community?

This question is best answered by examining the number of Chicano administrators, faculty and staff of that school.

Of a possible college employment roster of over 1,000 people, there are no more than 15 Chicanos employed. This is of course includes the janitors, gardeners, etc.

President Welles himself stated, "ELA College presently employs 8 people of Mexican ancestry on our staff." He was referring to the secretaries, janitors, gardeners, etc.

There are only 2 full time and 2 part time faculty personnel.

There are no administrators who are Chicano. We threw in 3 positions "de pilon."

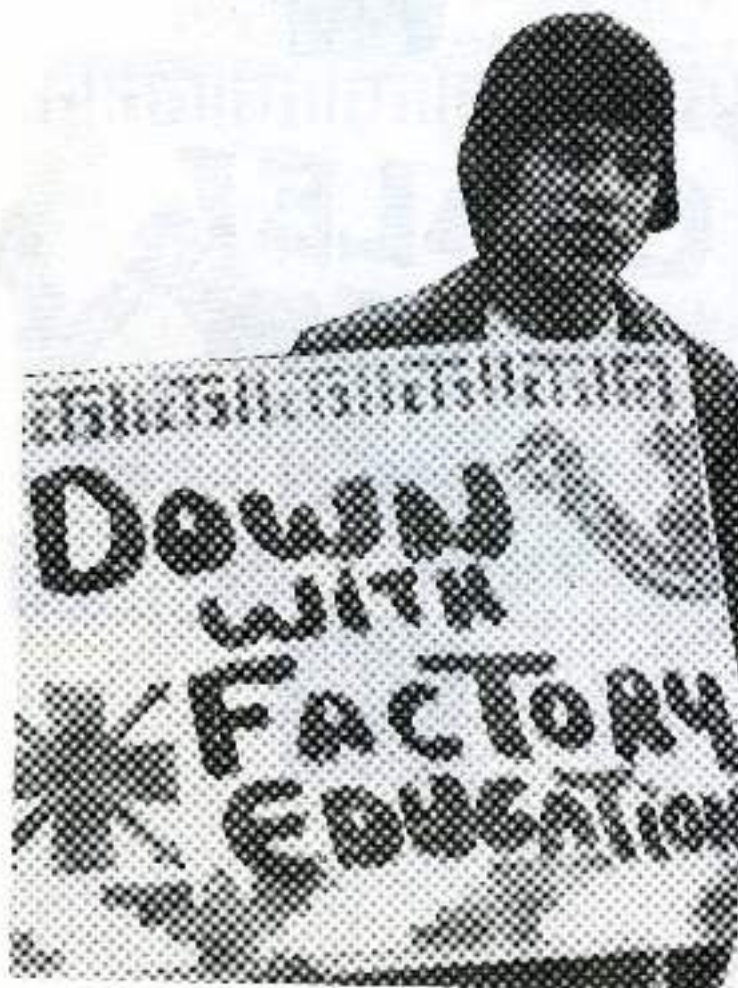
This is the most flagrant abuse of federal, state and local guidelines for minimal minority employment ratio.

The students themselves comprise a surprising number. Of a possible 14 thousand students, 5 thousand are Chicano. Where do all the students that are not Chicano come from?





President Welles of East Los Angeles College.



They come from Alhambra, Monterey Park, Glendale, Pasadena, Montebello, etc. Just the student composition tells us that the community college serves outlying areas over its immediate community.

E.L.A. College should contain no less than 80% Chicanos if we take into consideration the tremendous Chicano population that exists around that college.

As can be seen, the students do have a justifiable position when they say the college doesn't relate to the community.

When we examine the number of classes that are specifically Chicano oriented, we find that of the total class curriculum, only 5 fall into this category.

The police science department is the largest in the nation. It is the best funded and staffed.

It is a wonder that the students have not burnt that racist pig institution down yet.

Yet, all the students want is a better educational facility.

More education and less oppression. What is so terribly wrong with that? The list of demands which we listed here are for the sole purpose of directing the service of that school to the community. This was the intended purpose for the founding of the community colleges like E.L.A. --to serve the community.

I submit that the school is in default. That it must change or suffer the consequences of enraged community.

When tyranny is law, Revolution is order;
DEMANDS:

The following are four of the 19 DEMANDS made by the students:

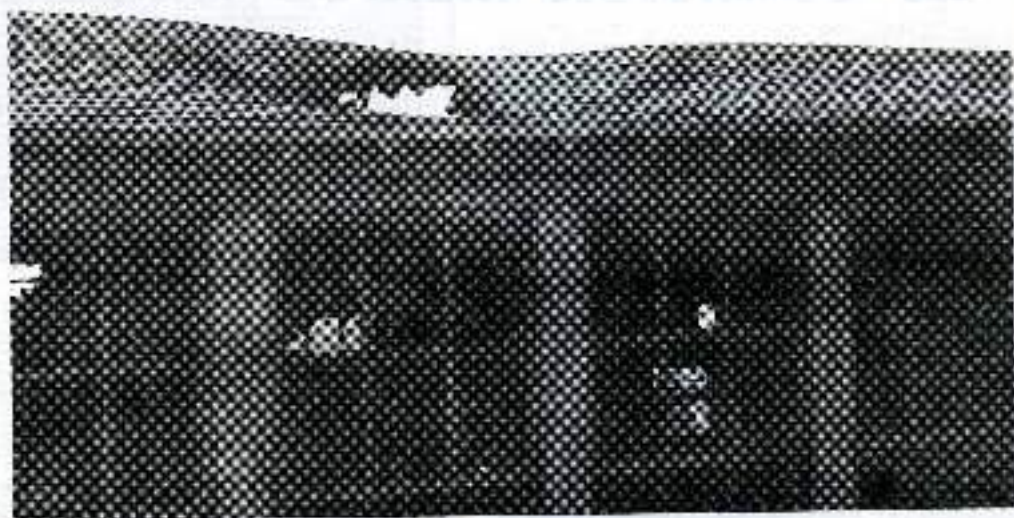
1. Involvement in policy making decisions that effect our education.
 - a. Curriculum

Creation of programs and classes dealing with the social-economic-cultural structures of the immediate community, i.e., making the curriculum more ethnically relevant, and expanding and strengthening the ethnic studies departments.
2. We demand personnel committees be set up.
 - a. Composed of faculty, community, and students.
 - b. Emphasize the hiring of more Chicano, Black and Asian administrators, faculty, and staff. And that definite time-table be presented for implementation of minority hiring.
 - c. The employment population of ELA College shall reflect the ethnic composition of the immediate community.
3. We demand minority administrative positions such as Deans.
4. Since ELA College is situated in the community, it is logical and reasonable to expect that the president of the College shall reflect that ethnic population. In other words, we want a Chicano President at ELA College.

The Mexican American Studies Department Bungalow was totally destroyed by fire (mysteriously) on March 21.

This is the answer of the school to the plight of the Chicano students.

To the Chicano Students:
ONE BLAZE IS AS GOOD AS ANOTHER. AS A
MATTER OF FACT, BETTER!!!



Burnt Chicano Studies bungalow.



Arturo Flores, Chicano Studies Teacher holds class on steps of College, due to the destruction of the Chicano Studies bungalow .

RENUNCIA

LA COMISION MEXICO AMERICANA DE EDUCACION

Por Pedro Arias

La falsedad de las promesas de la Junta de Educación los obligó a tomar esa decisión. Una vez más la comunidad Chicana ha sido víctima de la falta de comprensión, racismo e hipocresía por parte de los anglosajones encargados por "voto popular", de administrar y proporcionar la educación en las escuelas. Un vez más se ha puesto en claro que para que haya justicia y se cumplan las promesas, la comunidad debe de tomar conciencia y emprender una nueva clase de lucha para que se le respete e imparta justicia.

La Comisión México Americana de Educación (CMAE) por dos años consecutivos de trabajos tesoneros logró desterrar del ambiente educativo en las escuelas del este de Los Angeles, tres de los mil males que lo aquejan y que hace de nuestras escuelas fabricas de obreros mal pagados, soldados o carne de cañon en Vietnam, o "huéspedes" pro-dilectos de la cárcel de gachas.

Lento fueron los avances hechos por la CMAE pero como vulgarmente se dice "pero es chile y el agua lejos" y en un país de corrupción y de franca oposición al avance educativo de las minorías étnicas, hay que reconocer que se hizo mucho, o cuando menos demostrar que se puede hacer algo. Ahora solo falta que comprendamos que hay que cambiar las tácticas de combate y cambiar el "por favor" por el "exigimos" o de plano si comprendemos que y sabemos hasta el consancio que nuestros hijos no aprenden nada en las escuelas, entonces para que nos hacemos tontos y los seguimos mandando? Si se tomaran medidas a este respecto y las escuelas quedaran vacias ya veriamos si se nos escuchaba o no.

Pero habrá el valor y unidad necesaria para dar un paso de tal convergadura?

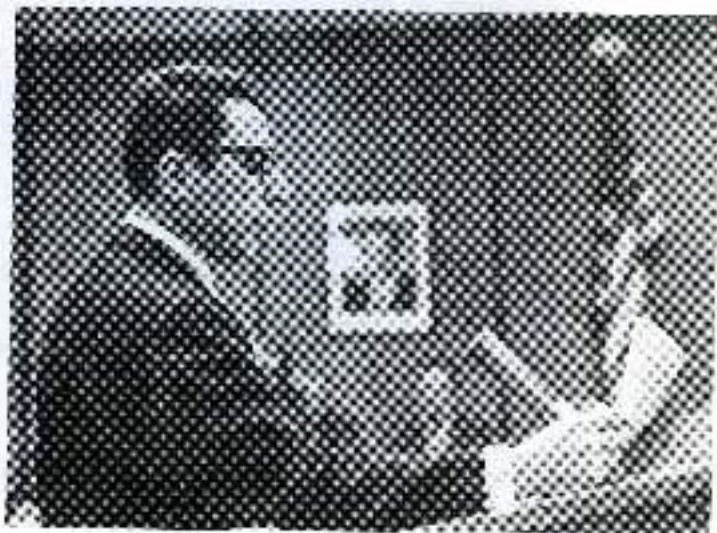
Ahí le paso al costo a todos ustedes y ahora pasemos hablar con el Reverendo Vahac Mardirosian para que nos de un poco de información sobre la CMAE por medio de una entrevista que se le hizo en los primeros días de Marzo 1970.

P. Rev. Mardirosian, que tiempo tenía la CMAE de establecida?

R. Aproximadamente dos años, la Junta de Educación votó reconociendonos como Comisión el día 2-19-69, así que podemos decir que actuó por un período de dos años.

P. Durante este tiempo cual fue el trabajo de la Comisión?

R. Bueno, la comisión trabajó sobre las demandas hechas por los jóvenes de las escuelas secundarias en Febrero y Marzo de 1968. Es decir la comisión que fué el resultado de una sugerión hecha por el "Educational Issues Coordination Committee" de que se estableciera un grupo que investigara estos problemas e hiciera recomendacions a la Junta de Escuela por su acción. Con esa meta la CMAE hizo algunas sugeriones que fueron aceptadas por la Junta de Educación. Una de ellas fue la eliminación de la Pruebas de I.Q. que eran dañosas especialmente a los niños, méxico-americanos. Investigamos la habilidad para leer de los niños anglosajones en las escuelas de Los Angeles y nos dimos cuenta de que había una discrepancia muy mar-



El presidente de la C.M.A.E.
leyendo su renuncia.



cada y nosotros trazamos la razón de esta discrepancia a la falta de aptitudes para los niños México-Americanos de parte de los maestros en las escuelas, y como consecuencia de esta determinación la junta estableció un comité para mejorar la enseñanza de lectura un programa que va a costar este año dos millones de dólares. Para este programa la CMAE insistió que uno de nuestro líderes, el Sr. Pedro Ortiz fuera nombrado co-Director para la creación de este programa de entrenamiento para maestros. También en este período de tiempo sugerimos y se llevó a efecto la conversaciones de padres y maestros en la escuela que fueron un ejemplo de la manera en que los padres de la comunidad pueden participar en el proceso educativo de los niños. En este plan se suprimieron los reportes que los maestros hacían por escrito. Nosotros planeamos que los padres vinieran a la escuelas para tener conversaciones con el maestro de sus niños y determinar de que manera el niño podrá recibir una mejor educación.

P. Las recomendaciones anteriores llevadas luego a efecto fueron bien recibidos por la Junta de Educación y las prestaron todo su apoyo para que estas tuvieran éxito?

R. Bueno...de hecho...bueno y no se si ellos tenían todo el deseo de hacerlo lo que si se es que la junta votó favorablemente en estos casos aceptando nuestras recomendaciones.

P. Para aclarar mejor mi anterior pregunta, dígame Rev. Martirosian, la junta aprobó por unanimidad sus proposiciones?

R. Bueno, la Junta de Educación tiene una división de 4 o 5 a 2 en favor de la Comisión. Los Señores Chambers siempre han estado opuestos a la comisión y a cualquier actividad de la comisión.

P. Cual fue el motivo principal por el cual se vieron obligados a renunciar como comisionados?

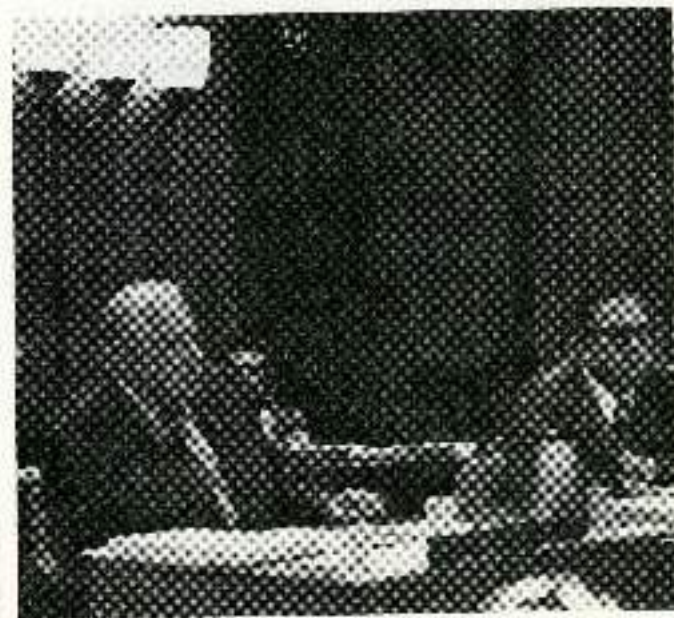
R. ?Como usted podrá ver en mi carta de renuncia, la razón principal es que nosotros creemos que la Junta de Educación no nos toma con la seriedad debida. En Junio de 1970, la Junta de Educación decretaron una póliza la cual ellos se comprometieron a llevar a efecto según esta política, adoptada por la junta en votación de 5 a 2, la Junta de Educación debería de intruir al superintendente y

ayudantes y estos consultar con nuestra Comisión respecto a cualquier problema en el cual nuestra comisión tuviera un interés.

De acuerdo con este convenio, nosotros creemos que la Junta de Educación faltó muy gravemente a sus responsabilidades, al permitir que el Superintendente asignara al Profesor Sal Castro a una escuela de North Hollywood sin consultar tal decisión con la Junta de Educación, sabiendo de antemano que nuestra comisión tenía interés en que el Pro-



Members of the Commission.



Chambers y Ferraro, 2 racistas.

profesor Castro fuera designado al este de Los Angeles como profesor. Nosotros le hicimos saber al superintendente que la política había sido determinada por la Junta de Educación y que él debería observarla. El superintendente constató que él no había recibido órdenes definitivas en esto y que por lo tanto no había razón para consultar a nosotros con respecto a la designación del Profesor Castro a una escuela de North Hollywood.

P. La renuncia que ustedes han hecho como integrantes de la CMAE fué hecha verbalmente, ahora habrá necesidad de hacerla por escrito para que se tome como definitiva?

R. Nuestra renuncia es definitiva y final a menos que la Junta de Educación tome acción en reasignar o de cambiar al profesor Castro de North Hollywood a East Los Angeles. En caso de que ellos procedan hacer esto durante el semestre escolar presente, entonces nosotros estamos dispuestos a reconstituir la comisión.

P. Han señalado ustedes una fecha exacta para dicho cambio?

R. No. Nosotros aunque hemos dicho que debe de ser inmediatamente; no hemos definido una fecha absoluta, pero insistimos que debe de ser en este semestre escolar y no en Septiembre cuando empiecen los nuevos cursos escolares como lo ha sugerido tímidamente el superintendente.

P. Después de la renuncia de la CMAE ustedes han tenido algunas prácticas o intercambio de opiniones con la Junta de Educación?

R. Sí, pero en las reuniones que hemos tenido no han presentado una respuesta adecuada a nuestra demanda. En estos días probablemente tendremos otra reunión con junta, después que la Junta de Educación decidan por voto su decisión respecto al Profesor Castro. Si en esa sesión se logra el voto de 4 a 3 en nuestro favor entonces tod se normalizará y seguiremos en nuestro trabajo.

P. En caso de que la decisión de la Junta sea adverso a su demanda cuales son sus planes futuros seguirán trabajando juntos los integrantes de la comisión o cada quien lo hará por separado.

R. Bueno, usted ya ha visto que por cerca de 3 años hemos estado trabajando por una mejor educación a nuestros niños y jóvenes, en nuestras escuelas y tenemos el propósito de seguirlo haciendo aunque no hemos decidido si conjuntamente o cada quien. Pero una cosa si le digo, en la forma que lo hagamos pondremos todo nuestro empeño y podremos decir 3 cosas:

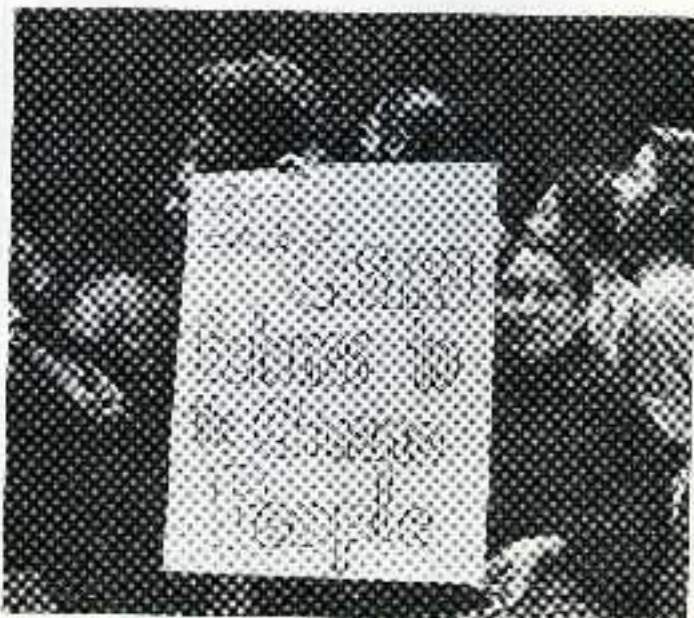
1. Creemos que ninguna persona o grupo de personas puede determinar o efectuar mejoras. Nosotros creemos que la comunidad debe unirse.

2. Nosotros creemos que aquellas personas que asuman el liderato para efectuar esta organización de la comunidad deben de ser personas que puedan ser efectivos y puedan también proteger a nuestra comunidad. Que puedan ofrecer una metodología de cambio en el model del Sr. Chavez que ha estado personalmente a sufrir encarcelamientos y privaciones con tal que el trabajador del campo no tenga que correr los riesgos de una confrontación con aquellos que tiene el poder y las armas.

3. Me parece que debemos de utilizar los recursos en el campo de la educación donde estos se encuentran. Actualmente hay un movimiento de reforma educativa en todo el país y algunas de las ideas que han sido usadas con éxito en otros lugares creo que deben de ser adoptados para crear una situación de cambio mas rápido. En otras palabras, no tenemos que estar "inventando las ruedas cada vez; sino que debemos de utilizar los avances que otros han hecho en otro lugar.



Superintendente Johnson, ceco y sordo al clamor popular



LEGAL DEFENSE FOR ASSASSINS OF SANCHEZ COUSINS

On July 16, 1970, Guillardo Alcazar Sanchez, 22 and his cousin, Guillermo Beltran Sanchez, were murdered by police officers from the Los Angeles and San Leandro Police Departments. Acting under a supposed tip that a Chicano suspected of murder in San Leandro was hiding up in a downtown Los Angeles apartment units accompanied by a detective from the San Leandro Police Department surround the apartment building and proceeded to break down the apartment door where the suspected murderer was hiding. But this apartment in fact was occupied by Guillardo, his cousin, and other members of their family, all of whom had just recently arrived from Mexico. None of them spoke English or could understand what was taking place outside their apartment door. Guillermo responding to the assault, proceeded to the door which was being kicked down by the police. He was met with a hail of bullets which ended his young life, that of his cousin also.

While the reaction of the Chicano community was swift (LA RAZA VOL. 1, NO. 2) in demanding that the officers involved in these murders be arrested and tried for murder, the Chief of the L.A.P.D., Davis, insisted that it was just a terrible mistake, but one that was understandable. After all, all Mexicans look alike, and these men were just doing their job. In an effort to appease the Chicano community whose demands for justice for the Sanchez cousins was continuing to mount, a hearing was held on whether or not the officers directly involved in the two killings should be held over for trial. In the usual display of judicial justice, the judge dismissed the case and made the following remark: "No reasonable jury would be able to find these men guilty." Once again the community was left to bury its dead and taste the injustices of those who are supposedly hired to protect and serve the community.

Following the August 29th Chicano Moratorium, the resulting Murder of Ruben Salazar and Lyn Ward by the L.A. sheriffs, the pressure from the community for a federal investigation of the L.A.P.D. and Sheriff Department, the Federal government was forced to act. Not willing to prosecute those involved in the Salazar murder out of fear of what might be revealed, the Federal government chose the alternative of indicting three Los Angeles police and one San Leandro police officer. The following is a copy of the grand jury indictment:

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE CENTRAL DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA
March 1970 Grand Jury
United States of America, Plaintiff,
v. Marshall Frank Gaines
Edgar Brown
Angelo Duran
Defendants

The Grand Jury charges: 18 U.S.C. 242-Deprivation of Rights. 18 U.S.C. 241-Conspiracy Against Rights of a Citizen.

COUNT ONE
18 U.S.C. 242

On or about July 16, 1970, in Los Angeles County, within the Central District of California, defendant Marshall Frank Gaines, being then and there a peace officer of the State of California, and acting under color of the laws of the State of California, did willfully intrude upon and enter, with deadly force of arms, and without knocking and announcing his purpose or identity as a peace officer or his intent to enter, by kicking in the door thereof, without having probable cause so to do, those premises known as 826 East 7th Street, Apartment 15, in the city of Los Angeles, California, which premises were then and there occupied by Guillardo Alcazar Sanchez, Guillermo Beltran Sanchez, Ramon Sanchez Orozco, Angel Michel Bartoleno, Jose Michel Bartoleno and Antonio Ojeda Benavides, all inhabitants of the State of California, and did willfully arrest and capture the said occupants without probable cause, thereby causing the deaths of the said Guillardo Alcazar Sanchez and the said Guillermo Beltran Sanchez, and thereby willfully depriving the occupants of said apartment, namely, Guillardo Alcazar Sanchez, Guillermo Beltran Sanchez, Ramon Sanchez Orozco, Angel Michel Bartoleno, Jose Michel Bartoleno, and Antonio Ojeda Benavides of a right secured and protected by the Constitution and law of the United States, namely the following right: the right to be free of unreasonable searches and seizures of their persons and property without due process of law; in violation of Title 18, United States Code, Section 242.

COUNT TWO
18 U.S.A. 242

On or about July 16, 1970, in Los Angeles County, within the Central District of California, defendant MARSHALL FRANK GAINES, being then and there a peace officer of the State of California, and acting under color of the laws of the State of California, did wilfully intrude upon and enter, with deadly force of arms, and without knocking and announcing his purpose or identity as a peace officer or his intent to enter, by kicking in the door thereof, without having probable cause so to do, those premises known as 826 East 7th Street, Apartment 15, in the city of Los Angeles, California, which premises were then and there occupied by Guillermo Alcazar Sanchez, Guillermo Beltran Sanchez, Ramon Sanchez Orozco, Angel Michel Bartoleno, Jose Michel Bartoleno, and Antonio Ojeda Benavides, all inhabitants of the State of California, and did wilfully arrest and capture the said occupants without probable cause, thereby causing the deaths of the said Guillermo Alcazar Sanchez and the said Guillermo Beltran Sanchez, and thereby wilfully depriving the occupants of said apartment, namely, Guillermo Alcazar Sanchez, Guillermo Beltran Sanchez, Ramon Sanchez Orozco, Angel Michel Bartoleno, Jose Michel Bartoleno, and Antonio Ojeda Benavides, all inhabitants of the State of California, and did wilfully arrest and capture the of California, of a right secured and protected by the Constitution and laws of the United States, namely the following right; the right not to be deprived of liberty without due process of law; in violation of Title 18, United States Code, Section 242.

COUNT THREE
18 U.S.C. 242

On or about July 16, 1970, in Los Angeles County, within the Central District of California, Defendant MARSHALL FRANK GAINES, being then and there a peace officer of the State of California, and acting under the color of the laws of the State of California, did wilfully deprive the said Guillermo Beltran Sanchez of a right secured and protected by the Constitution and laws of the United States; that is, the right not to be deprived of his life without due process of law; in violation of Title 18, United States Code, Section 242.

COUNT FOUR
18 U.S.C. 241

Beginning on or about March 10, 1970 and continuing to approximately July of 1970, in the Central District of California, the defendants EDGAR BROWN, MARSHALL FRANK GAINES, and ANGELO DIRIENZO agreed, conspired and conspired together, to injure and oppress a citizen of the United States, Virginia Van Shaw, in the free exercise and enjoyment of her rights to be free from unreasonable search and seizure, and to not be deprived of her property without due process of law.

The objects of said conspiracy were to be accomplished as follows: Defendant DIRIENZO, acting as an informant for the Los Angeles Police Department and under the direction of defendants GAINES and BROWN, would burglarize at the night time the home of Virginia Van Shaw in order to obtain certain property. Defendant DIRIENZO would then photograph this property and give the photographs to defendant GAINES and BROWN. The property would then be transferred to Lester Berman whom defendant GAINES and BROWN would later arrest for possession of stolen property.

To effect the objects of said conspiracy, the defendants BROWN, GAINES and DIRIENZO committed diverse overt acts in the Central District of California among which are the following: 1) On or about March 10, 1970, defendant DIRIENZO met with defendants BROWN and GAINES and outlined his plan for a burglary of the residence of Virginia Van Shaw. 2) On or about March 10, 1970, defendant BROWN instructed defendant DIRIENZO to perform the burglary at a time when no one was at home. 3) On or about March 10, 1970 defendant BROWN purchased film for defendant DIRIENZO. 4) On or about March 11, 1970, defendant DIRIENZO burglarized the home of Virginia Van Shaw at 1609 Bently Avenue, Los Angeles, California. 5) On or about March 11, 1970, defendant DIRIENZO met with defendants BROWN and GAINES and showed them the pictures taken of the stolen silver. 6) On or about March 12, 1970, defendant DIRIENZO transferred the stolen silver to Lester Berman.



Just plain Sam; Principal proponent for the legal defence of the pigs.

COUNT FIVE
18 U.S.C. 242

On or about March 11, 1970, in Los Angeles County within the Central District of California, defendants MARSHALL FRANK GAINES and EDGAR BROWN, being then and there peace officers of the State of California and acting under color of the laws of the State of California, did wilfully counsel, command, induce and procure defendant, ANGELO DIRIENZO, while acting under color of the laws of the State of California, to commit the crime of burglary in the nighttime upon the premises known as 1609 Bently Avenue, which were then and there occupied by Mrs. Van Shaw, an inhabitant of the State of California, thereby wilfully depriving Mrs. Van Shaw of a right secured and protected by the Constitution and laws of the United States, namely: the right to be free of unreasonable searches and seizures, in violation of Title 18, United States Code, Section 242.

COUNT SIX
18 U.S.C. 242

On or about March 11, 1970, in Los Angeles County, within the Central District of California, defendants MARSHALL FRANK GAINES and EDGAR BROWN, being then and there peace officers of the State of California, did wilfully counsel, command, induce and procure defendant, ANGELO DIRIENZO, while acting under color of the laws of the State of California, to commit the crime of burglary in the nighttime upon the premises known as 1609 Bently Ave. which were then and there occupied by Mrs. Van Shaw, an inhabitant of the State of California, thereby wilfully depriving Mrs. Van Shaw of a right secured and protected by the Constitution and laws of the United States, namely the right not to be deprived of property without due process of law, in violation of Title 18, United States Code, Section 242.

A TRUE BILL
ROBERT L. MEYER

UNITED STATES ATTORNEY



Following the announcement of the Federal Grand Jury indictments in the early part of March of this year, the Chief of Police, members of the City Council, the Mayor's office, and all other supposed public servers of the community have been ranting and raving over the grave injustice done to these fine police officers. The implications being that all they did was murder a couple of Mexicans.

But the Law Enforcement agencies, local politicians and pawn brokers of this city were not about to let these murderers face the justice which they denied to the Sanchez cousins. The Los Angeles City Council, led by Councilman Art Snyder, so-called representative of Lincoln Heights, voted by an eight to five margin to have the city pay for the legal defense of the three indicted officers. This means that every Chicano in this city who pays taxes is in part, footing the bill for the murderers of his own Raza. It is important to realize the meaning of the city council's actions, for it makes perfectly clear what for so long has been known in the Chicano Community: There is no justice for the Chicano in the courts, the City Council and Law enforcement agencies of this city. Never before in the history of this city has the tax payer been forced to pay the legal expenses of a city employee charged with a crime. Why then did the city council make an exception this time? The answer is obvious, the law enforcement agencies are the enforcers of the status quo, the army of the oppressors of the Anglo power structure which is determined not to let the Chicano achieve political or social justice. They are thus forced to defend their own, less their hired mercenaries turn against them. So probably the most clear cut example of the dual system of justice, and the treatment accorded law enforcement personnel, the acting chief of police, appearing before the city council was asked if at any point during this entire case those officers charged had been booked, finger printed or made to go through any of the dehumanizing procedures Chicanos or Black must go through once arrested. The answer was NO.

By voting to defend the police officers, the City has in effect told the law enforcement agencies of this city that they can continue to commit murder with the assurance that if caught, the taxpayer will finance his legal defense.

But perhaps the saddest part of this entire incident is the fact that while there were thousands of Chicanos demonstrating in the streets immediately following the Sanchez murder, there were but a handful of Chicanos at City Hall to protest the action of the city council. Has the blood of our own RAZA become that cheap? How soon we forget.



TESTIMONY OF JUDGE LEOPOLDO U. SANCHEZ

Oscar Zeta Acosta is currently in court questioning the validity of the Grand Jury System. The following is an interview with one of the judges subpoenaed to testify;

SUPERIOR COURT OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA FOR THE COUNTY OF LOS ANGELES
HON. ARTHUR L. ALARCON, JUDGE

THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA,
Plaintiff
Vs.
RALPH RAMIREZ, ERNESTO CEBADA, JUAN ROJAS, MOCTEZUMA ESPARZA, and RENE NUNEZ,
Defendants

DIRECT EXAMINATION OF JUDGE LEOPOLDO G. SANCHEZ

By Mr. Acosta;

- Q. When did you take the superior court bench?
A. About 10 years ago. That would be on January 3rd, 1965.
- Q. What is your age, please?
A. 43.
- Q. Your political affiliation, if any?
A. Democrat.
- Q. And your religious affiliation, if any?
A. Catholic.
- Q. Your race?
A. White
- Q. Are you white Caucasian?
A. Yes.
- Q. What is your ethnic ancestry?
A. Mexican.
- Q. Do you consider yourself a Mexican-American?
A. Yes.
- Q. And where was your birth, please?
A. Los Angeles.
- Q. What neighborhoods have you lived in, in Los Angeles?
A. We moved around quite a bit as a youth. I have lived in Happy Valley, in Alpine, Flats, East L.A., and now Montebello.
- Q. Are you familiar with the class of persons known as Mexican-American?
A. Yes.

Q. Do you have any personal friends that you believe to be Mexican-American?

A. Yes.

Q. Approximately how many?

A. It depends on the meaning of the word "friend."

Q. Persons that you consider your friends.

A. I have a very restricted definition of "friend", and I would say maybe ten.

Q. What are the qualities that you look for in a person when you are seeking a nominee to the grand jury?

A. A person that would be fair, impartial and capable.

Q. I'm sorry what was the last?

A. Capable.

Q. Since 1965 have you known any persons that you believe to be Mexican American that would have these qualities that you have just stated?

A. Yes.

Q. Approximately how many?

A. A hundred; at the maximum, a hundred.

Q. And did you ever nominate any of them to the grand jury?

A. Yes.

Q. Between the years '65 and '69 did you ever nom-



inate any of them to the grand jury?

A. Yes.

Q. And which ones are those?

A. I don't remember.

Q. For 1967, according to my list, anyway, you nominated Mrs. Margaret Shalhoub.

Q. Is she white caucasian?

A. She's white.

Q. Do you know what her ethnic ancestry is?

A. Armenian.

Q. Mrs. Christine Mangione, what is her occupation or profession, please?

Q. Do you remember the name of any Mexican-American that you considered for the Grand Jury?

A. Yes.

Q. Who was that?

A. I only remember one, but I'm sure that I considered at least twenty.

Q. And the name of the person that you remember?

A. Ramona Banuelas.

Q. Is Mrs. Banuelas a person that you believe to be Mexican-American?

A. Yes.

Q. Was there some particular reason why you did not nominate her?

A. Yes.

Q. What was that?

A. She indicated that she would not be able to serve, if selected.

Q. And you say you considered approximately 19 or 20 other persons. Do you recall their names?

A. No.

Q. When you say---

A. I asked one individual to assist me in finding a person that would be of Mexican descent that would be able to serve if elected.

Q. What individual was that?

A. Raul Chavez.

Q. You asked him to make a recommendation for you?

A. Yes.

Q. And specifically, a Mexican-American person?

A. Yes.

Q. Did he make any recommendations?

A. No.

Q. These other 20 individuals, when you say you considered them, did you do something more than just think about them? Did you ever reduce it, for example, to a written list?

A. I didn't reduce it to a written list, but I did other than just think about them. I contacted them and inquired, and in every instance they were unable to, they indicated they would not be able to serve if selected.

Q. And were any of these---

A. Pardon me, I also asked my wife to inquire, within her realm of acquaintances, whether she would be able to come up with a person of Mexican descent. I outlined my requirements (fair, impartial, capable) and she responded---after some time, she indicated that she was unable to find someone that would be able to serve, if selected.

Q. For 1968, you nominated Mrs. Shalhoub again, and a Miss Mary Gilliland.

A. Yes.

Q. What is her occupation or profession?

A. She's a medical doctor.

Q. And her religious affiliation, if you know?

A. I don't know.

Q. Her political affiliation?

A. I don't know.

Q. Her ethnic ancestry?

A. I don't know.

Q. Is she white Caucasian?

A. I believe she is.

Q. For 1969 you nominated Christine Mangione again and Oscar Wiener. What is his occupation or profession?

A. A retired pharmacist.

Q. Is he white Caucasian?

A. I believe so.

Q. Do you know what his ethnic ancestry is?

A. Jewish.

Q. Between the years 1966 and '69, did you ever consider nominating anybody for grand jury service that you believed to be a black American?

A. No.

Q. Between those same years did you ever consider nominating anybody to the grand jury that you believed to be an Oriental-American?

A. No.

Q. During those same years did you ever nominate anyone that you believed to be an American Indian?

A. No, I gave it no thought.

Q. Are you in any way related with an organization known as LUCHA?

A. I've attended some of their meetings. I've attended every meeting that they have invited me to.

Q. And that has a predominantly Mexican-American membership, is that correct?

A. Yes. And at this last function that they had, I contributed \$50.00 to their fund-raising.

Q. That's the function that resulted in a death, you're referring to?

A. Pardon me?

Q. That's the function that resulted in a death? Mr. Mayer: Objected to, your honor. Motion to strike the question on the grounds of relevancy.

THE COURT: I don't see the relevancy of it. Objection is sustained.

Q. Mr. Acosta: Now did you ever ask the G.I. Forum to make any recommendation for you for grand jury nominees?

A. No.

Mr. Mayer: I'm sorry, could I have that question read back?

THE COURT: Yes, read the question, please. (The question was read.)

Mr. Mayer: I'll object to that question. I don't see how an entity can make recommendations.

THE COURT: In your answer "No" to that question, did you understand it to mean some officer or some person who would respond on behalf of an entity?

THE WITNESS: When I answered "No," I was thinking in terms of bringing the matter before a G.I. Forum meeting and asking at the meeting for someone to make a recommendation.

THE COURT: Objection is overruled.

Q. Mr. Acosta: It's that type of solicitation that I'm referring to. I don't mean to an individual, I mean to bringing it before the board or before the meeting. Did you ever bring it before the East Side Boys' club, if they had any recommendations for the grand

jury?

A. I never brought it up before any organization.

Q. Neither MAPA nor LUCHA, nor any organization you have listed, you never asked for recommendations from persons present as a meeting?

A. No.

Q. Did you ever ask any person that you believed to be on welfare and was Mexican-American to serve as your nominee?

A. No.

Q. Did you ever ask any Mexican-American person to serve as your nominee who had no income whatsoever, to your knowledge?

A. I don't know.

Q. Weren't they---

A. Some of the people that I have asked, I don't know whether they have an income or not.

Q. Have you ever asked anybody to serve as your nominee that you did not personally know?

A. Yes.

Q. Of the approximately 20 Mexican-American individuals that you said that you spoke to, concerning nominations, did you know those individuals?

A. Yes.

Q. Approximately how many individuals who are Mexican-American did you ask to serve as your nominee, that you did not know?

A. None.

Q. The fact is, you never sought nominees from the lower economic levels of the Mexican-American community, isn't that a fact?

Mr. Mayer: Objected to, as argumentative and requiring a conclusion on the part of the witness.

THE COURT: It is argumentative. Reframe it, please.

Q. Mr. Acosta: Are you generally familiar with the terms lower, middle and upper economical classes?

A. I'm familiar with the descriptions that have been mentioned by various individuals and surveys.

Q. Did you ever ask a person to serve as your nominee who you believe came from the lower economic status?

A. No.

Q. Is there any particular reason why you did not?

A. Yes.

Q. What was that?

A. I didn't believe that they would be able to accept if asked, because of the demands that are put to the grand jurors in terms of meeting, roughly three times a week.

Q. Because of money, you mean?

A. Yes.

Q. You didn't believe that they couldn't afford to earn the 40 or \$50 a week they would get from the grand jury?

A. I was not aware---

Mr. Mayer: I'm sorry, may I have that question read back?

THE COURT: Yes, read the question, please.

(The question was read)

Mr. Mayer: Objected to, as argumentative.

THE COURT: Sustained.

Q. By Mr. Acosta: Are you familiar with the concept of an "elitist" or a "Blue Ribbon" grand jury?

A. Yes.

Mr. Mayer: Objected to, as an improper characterization of the answer.

THE COURT: Sustained.

Q. By Mr. Acosta: When you said that they would not be able to fulfill the other requirements, to whom were you referring?

A. That was in response to your question as to why I did not nominate someone from the poor.

Q. And it's your---

THE COURT: Are you using the term "poor" within your definition of lower social-economic status?

THE WITNESS: Within my definition.

Q. By Mr. Acosta: perhaps we should have your definition.

A. The definition that I have accepted is the one that appears to be generally accepted, and the reason I've accepted it is so that we can discuss this question in the same channels, and that would be earning less than \$3,000.00 or having less than \$3,000.00 income annually.

Q. \$3,000.00 per year?

A. Yes.

Q. Per person? Per individual, you mean?

A. Per family.

Q. Using that definition, you said that you did not ask any person from that level because you didn't know any that would fulfill the other requirements, is that correct?

A. Partially correct.

Q. And by "the other requirements," you're referring to those three qualities that you mentioned that your nominee must possess before you would personally nominate him?

A. That's correct.

Q. Namely one of fairness, impartiality, and capability?

A. Right.

Q. You don't know any poor person that's fair, impartial, and capable, and Mexican-American?

A. That's correct.

Q. You don't know any one poor Mexican person that has all three of these qualities? Or you know some that have one or two? Or what? Could you explain your answer, please?

A. I know of no one that has all three.

Q. Do you know what the term "racist" means?

A. Yes.

Q. Are you a racist?

A. No.

Q. Are you hostile towards this motion?

A. No.

Oscar Zeta Acosta

chicano lawyer

Q. Have you ever expressed any statement of bias or prejudice against the defendants?

A. Against a defendant?

Q. Yes, sir.

A. No.

Q. Have you ever expressed any bias or prejudice against the members of the Brown Berets?

A. No.

Mr. Mayer: Objection, no showing he knows anything about the Brown Berets.

THE COURT: Motion to strike is granted. Objection sustained.

Q. By Mr. Acosta: You are familiar with the organization known as the Brown Berets, are you not?

A. Yes.

Q. You have made some public statements critical of them, have you not?

A. No.

Perhaps I might have made statements critical of some of their actions, but I have not made any statements critical of the Brown Berets.

Q. You have a hostility towards the defendants' attorney in this case, do you not?

A. No.

Q. You have no bias, then, as you sit here on the stand, against the thrust of this motion?

A. No.

Q. You have made some public statements against him, have you not?

A. No.

Q. You have no bias, then, as you sit here on the stand, against the thrust of this motion?

A. No.

Q. And you do not consider yourself a racist?

A. No.

I mean, that is correct, that I do not consider myself a racist.

Q. You don't consider the statements that you know no poor Mexican-American that's fair, impartial and capable, being a racist statement?

Mr. Mayer: Objection, argumentative.

THE COURT: Sustained.

Mr. Acosta: That's all.

REDIRECT EXAMINATION

BY Mr. Acosta:

Q. Are you aware of any racism within the Los Angeles County Judicial System?

A. No.

Q. Have you ever seen any judge make any statement which you believe to be racist?

A. I have never.

Q. Have you ever made any such statement?

A. No.

Q. Didn't you tell an attorney that we should not subpoena you to come here and testify?

A. I'm sorry, didn't I tell who?

Q. Did you tell an attorney by the name of Herman Sillas to relay the message to me that we should not subpoena you to come here and testify?

A. I did not.

Q. You have never made such a statement?

A. I couldn't care less whether I testify or not.

I did not make that statement, or anything close to it.

Q. When you say you couldn't care less, does that mean you are not interested in the merits of this motion?

A. No.



JUDGE LEOPOLDO SANCHEZ

Mr. Mayer: May I interpose an objection, please? That's argumentative.

THE COURT: Motion to strike is granted. The objection is sustained.

Q. By Mr. Acosta: What did you mean when you said that you couldn't care less about testifying?

A. Well, your question suggests that maybe I have a desire of not appearing. My answer is, I don't care whether I appear or not. If I'm subpoenaed, I'll be tickled to death to come down and testify. If I'm not subpoenaed, I am tickled to death not to testify.

Q. You are aware of the subject matter that is before Judge Alarcon, are you not?

Mr. Mayer: Objected to as argumentative, not relevant.

THE COURT: Overruled. You may answer.

The Witness: I believe so.

Q. By Mr. Acosta: You know we are questioning the composition of the grand jury---

A. Yes.

Q. ---for under-representation of Chicanos on the grand jury?

A. That's what I believe, yes.

Q. And you, as a Mexican-American, Judge, have you any interest in this issue?

Mr. Mayer: Objected to. That's argumentative and not relevant.

THE COURT: It's immaterial. Sustained.

Q. By Mr. Acosta: Have you ever expressed any opinion as to what the outcome of this motion should be?

A. No.

Q. BY Mr. Acosta: Do you presently have any opinion as to what the outcome of this motion should be?

A. No.

Mr. Acosta: No further questions.

THE COURT: Anything further?

Mr. Meyer: Nothing further.

THE COURT: You're excused. Please do not discuss your testimony with any other person until after I have ruled on the motion.

BARRIO DEFENSE COMMITTEE RELEASES.

LAWLESSNESS IN EAST LOS ANGELES

An explanation on protest, demonstrations, rebellion, and police relations; issued by the BARRIO DEFENSE COMMITTEE, P.O. BOX 33534, L.A., Cal. 90033. 2/24/71

In September 1968, Jesus Dominguez was brutalized by the LAPD requiring four hours head surgery at the V.A. hospital. We organized the Dominguez Defense Committee, when appeals for aid were ignored by ACLU and others. After 2 hung juries, we campaigned successfully in 1970 for dismissal, prior to a scheduled third trial. We became the Barrio Defense Committee, to handle a few similar cases, not expecting that it would be over 50 cases. Our services are: bail, lawyers, investigation, press and TV publicity, etc. In some cases we do all of these, in other only 1 or 2, doing only what the victim cannot himself afford. Cases are limited by funds, lawyers, and volunteer help available and are limited to violations by public agencies. Priorities are based on need for medical attention, etc.

The Barrio Defense Committee has tried, since its inception, to be heard by police the U.S. Civil Rights Commission. We have been exposing police mal-practice; but meet with official indifference, ignorance, or hostility. The news media does not cover day-to-day incidents of police lawlessness. Here are a few examples from the last year of a century old story.

Seven deaths have occurred in the East Los Angeles Sheriff's station under mysterious circumstances. One man had called his

mother for bail; a short time later, declared a suicide, bruises found on his body. Reports of prisoners having been choked have come out of this jail, where suicides by hanging were declared. Another man was beaten in front of his son's home and was declared dead half an hour later at the station, heart attack. Another was reported beaten to death by a cell-mate.

Two Mexican Nationals shot to death in their own apartment; mistaken identity. Three men killed during the August 29th Moratorium, two shot in the head, one mangled in an explosion. One El Monte woman shot at twelve times while backing out of her driveway, eight bullet holes in the windshield, one bullet pierced her nose.

Another El Monte family home riddled with bullets, rear passed 2 1/2 hours, caught fire; mother and eight children inside; young man shot in the back, shot while on the ground already wounded, paralyzed from the waist down.

A 17 year old, offering no resistance, was attacked through the windshield of a car, beaten with nightsticks by four officers. His left eyeball was knocked out of its socket, permanently blinded.

A Highland Park middle-aged couple and seven visitors attacked in their home at the point of a shotgun. CHARGE: Failure to disperse.

A Sun Valley family assaulted in their kitchen. Police looking for a "suspect."

A Boyle Heights family attacked during a barbecue. Boy thrown from a six foot porch, faces pushed into dirt, kicked in the groin,

dragged by the hair, arrested. Police returned hurt mother's back, ripped blouse of teenage girl, house ransacked. CHARGE: Disturbing the peace.

A 17 year old Lincoln Heights boy shot during a dispersement order from the front yard of a friend. Died two weeks later, shackled by the ankles to hospital bed.

An art student clubbed in the head (8 stitches) while observing an arrest.

Seven people attacked in a project house. One man suffered a broken forearm. One girl lain face down on the ground and struck across the back.

A middle-aged woman pulled from a car and knocked to the ground. With his knee in her back, an officer banged her head against the pavement.

A middle-aged man stopped on the Harbor Freeway. Assaulted while performing a sobriety test. Handcuffed, shackled by the ankles and kicked until unconscious.

A young man chased through his own home for saying "Viva la Raza" and beaten in his front yard while handcuffed.

An East L.A. man assaulted for refusing to be arrested on a warrant that did not bear his name.

a young East L.A. man assaulted and left lying unconscious on the street. No charge.

Harassment, assault, false arrest, breaking and entering, racial insult, and death at the hands of police is common occurrence. In the wake of this official terror and abuse, it is the Chicano community that has shown tremendous restraint.

A House Judiciary Committee is going to study us. Rep. Don Edwards (D-Calif.), head of the Committee, expects to find out if the various civil rights laws are working, and if not, why not.

If the Congressman, or the reader, finds East L.A. hard to understand, think of it as Paris under the Nazis.

Our needs are urgent. Let yourself be generous.



Jose Sandoval, Chicano victim of L.A.P.D.
Shot five times

But then the officer took it upon himself to break up the party which the court said later he had no authority to do since there was no problem. When the Garcia family refused to be dictated to by this officer more police were summoned which led to Chicanos getting their heads busted. A 66 year old grandmother who was pleading with the sheriffs to refrain from their brutal tactics was herself beaten and knocked to the ground.

Another family who lived near by drove to the scene, when they heard of the sheriffs riot, to see if their nephew, who was attending the party was ok. But the sheriffs beat them and forced his wife to drive out of the area even though she explained that she didn't have a license and didn't know how to drive.

The incident ended with 23 of the Chicanos arrested with charges ranging from assault and battery to resisting arrest and disturbing the peace. A few of the arrestee's were juveniles who were later cleared but the adult cases were to be tried together.

So with the defense of the Police Malpractice Complaint Center volunteer lawyers, two court appointed lawyers and help from the Mexican-American Legal Defense all thirteen people started their trial on February 22nd in Compton Municipal Court.

After three days of sheriffs testimony a Police Malpractice Complaint Center volunteer lawyer made a motion to have the case dismissed because the police failed to put on a case against the defendants. The lawyer also added that there was no reason for the first officer to break up the party and that if the deputy would have left the area there would have been no problem; in other words the deputy was the problem. The court agreed so the case was dismissed.

CITY OF PARAMOUNT INCIDENT

After three days of trial, charges against 13 Chicanos from Paramount have been dismissed.

The incident goes back to July 25, 1970 when the Angel Garcia family was celebrating the homecoming of the Garcia son from overseas. A sheriffs squad car arrived on the scene to find two people arguing in front of the home so they were separated and told to disperse which was done.

DEATH SENTENCE

REIES TIJERINA



In January, 1971, Reies Lopez Tijerina finished serving his sentence from charges coming out of the 1966 occupation of Echo Amphitheater by Alianzistas. But he had a new federal sentence waiting for him; Three 3-year terms for allegedly "aiding and abetting" in the burning down of two U.S. Forest Service signs at Coyote, New Mexico. He got this long sentence while two Anglos who recently stole a Forest Service sign were only given a \$25 fine.

Tijerina's conviction for that sign-burning is still on appeal. On January 19, 1971, a hearing was held as to whether Tijerina would be granted an appeal bond and be freed while the case went through the appeal process. Tijerina testified that his 20 months in jail had given him time to think about his past, that he would be completely non-violent. He said "I will show the world my good side" and that he would spend the rest of his life showing that hate, revenge and violence don't pay.

Judge H. Vearle Payne refused to grant the bond and sent Reies back to jail. He did this because, according to the U.S. Attorney, Victor Ortega, Tijerina is a "menace to the community."

Because of the state of Tijerina's health, this decision was not just a jail sentence but almost like a death sentence. Ever since Tijerina was imprisoned on June 11, 1969, he has suffered from a throat condition that has grown worse and worse despite an operation. There is evidence that prison hospital treatment has made the condition worse instead of better. Some Chicano newspapers have carried reports that Tijerina is dying; this has been denied by the Alianza office, but there is no doubt that his condition is extremely serious. Many people

remember how the militant Puerto Rican independence leader Pedro Albizu Campos died in jail in 1965 as a result of what eye-witnesses said were excessive doses of rays that caused burns.

A national petition campaign has been started to free Tijerina. In many places, near and far, people are collecting signatures on a petition to Governor Bruce King of New Mexico. Copies of the petition can be obtained from the office of the Alianza Federal, 1010 Third St. N.W., Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Meanwhile, another Tierra Amarilla courthouse defendant, Juan Valdes, also faces jail from his conviction on "raid" charges. And 9 other men still have charges hanging over their heads for which they have never been tried.

FREE

REIES

TIJERINA.



LUCHA

The



government

needs

YOU

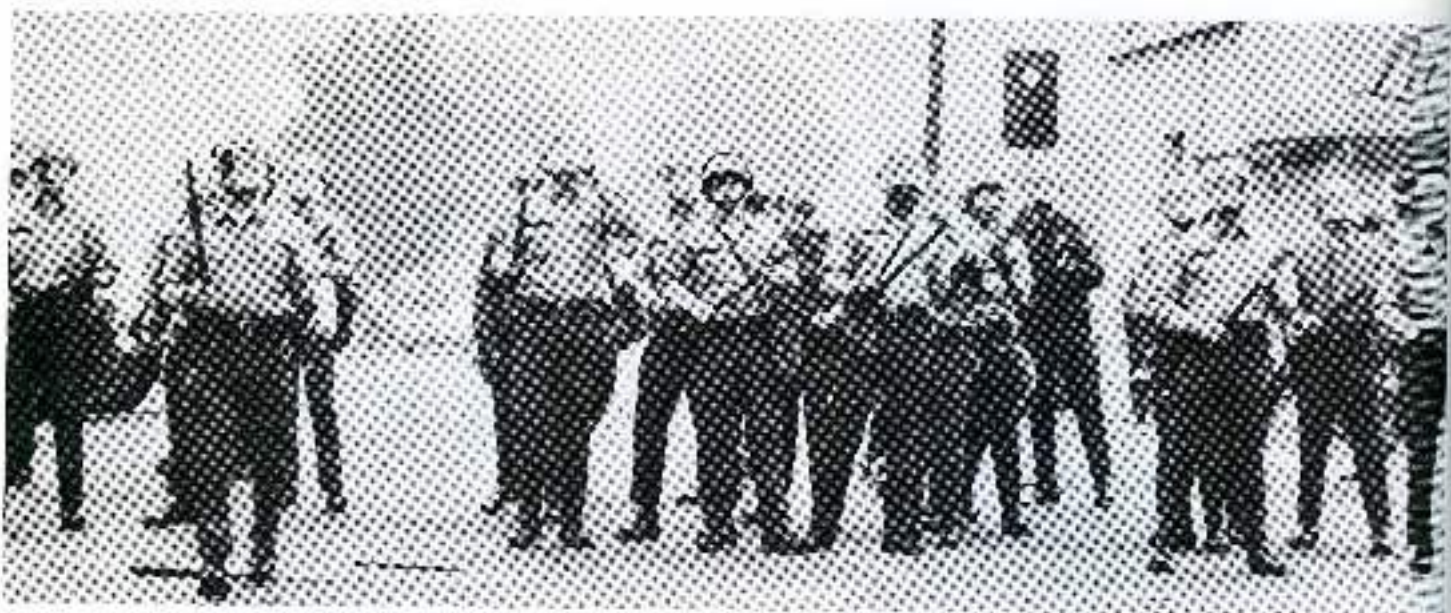
LUCHA, League of United Chicanos to help Addicts, has fallen on hard times among Chicano Movement organizations in the community. LUCHA was first organized in early 1968. Its primary objective was to help addicts in and out of prison. Kickpads, counseling services and employment services were part of the LUCHA agenda. Headed by a charismatic leader by the name of Ed "Moe" Aguirre, LUCHA developed and became known as an organization that specialized not only in drug addiction problems but also problems of the Pintos and ex-cons who came out of the prisons.

LUCHA first started losing credibility in the barrio when they started receiving federal funds for their programs. Their ideology appears to have changed. Ed "Moe" Aguirre became known in movement circles as "Moe Money" Aguirre. For whatever reasons, LUCHA stopped most of their community organizing and began to frequent meetings with politicians who have sold our community down the river.

Headed by LUCHA, in-fighting over poverty funds with the Blacks disrupted the coalition between the Chicano and Black communities. One individual who seriously questioned LUCHA's intentions was beaten by LUCHA members with bumper jacks and hospitalized.

During the Chicano moratorium marches, LUCHA acted in the capacity of monitors. After the riot in which Ruben Salazar was killed, a major change in temperament was noted in LUCHA's behavior. They began to "red bait" community organizations. Anyone that did not agree with them was a "Communist". During the Chicano Moratorium march on 16 September, LUCHA again served as monitors. When another riot broke out, they assisted Sheriff deputies in directing traffic and attempted to quell the disturbance. Even after numerous of our Chicano people were shot and hurt in front of their eyes, they persisted in their assistance to the same oppressive forces.

The latest fall-out with community groups occurred before the Moratorium march on the 31st of Jan. LUCHA did not endorse the march and went as far as attempting to persuade organizations not to march. The march was successfully held with over ten thousand Chicanos participating. After the march, a clash between Chicanos and the Sheriff's took place. One person was killed and over 25 Chicanos were wounded. A few days later, Moe Aguirre, along with traditional vendidos such as Judge Leopoldo Sanchez and Armando Lawrence, denounced the march and stated that they would provide leadership and new direction to the community. Fortunately, they have had no following and the question that remains unanswered is whether the government has recruited LUCHA or whether LUCHA has recruited the government.



31st

MASSACRE

By this late date most persons are aware of the violence that erupted on January 31, 1970 following the National Chicano Moratorium's March For Justicia at Belvedere Park in East Los Angeles. The events however which led to another individual (Gustav Montag) being murdered by sheriff's deputies and between 35-50 individuals being shot by the Sheriff Department still remain unclear.

Following the peaceful breakup of the rally at Belvedere Park, approximately 350 to 500 persons began moving West along 3rd Street, then proceeded south down Arizona Street in the direction of Whittier Blvd., a business district. What if any was the purpose of the marchers in going to the Blvd.? The answer to this question will never be known for sure, for as the marchers reached the Inter section of Whittier and Arizona, they were met by a line of sheriff's deputies from the special enforcement patrol (a specially trained and equipped unit of the sheriff's department, operating out of the East Los Angeles sheriff's substation) in full riot gear. Rocks, bottle and almost any other object which could be thrown was

hurled at the sheriffs. The response of the sheriffs was quick. Without so much as an order to disperse or a warning shot, the sheriffs opened fire on the marchers, felling several individuals in the middle of the street, amongst whom was Gustav Montag. In shock and anger over this blatant slaughtering, the marchers moved forward, with rocks, bottles and empty hands against, riot guns, rifles, shot guns and M-16's. The sheriffs once again moved quickly turning the marchers down the Blvd., then once covered by sheriffs on three sides, opened fire once again on the marchers. The crowd scattered throughout the area to escape this execution by the sheriff's, while a few persons remained to help those who had been wounded. A series of fires erupted throughout the business district of the Blvd, and confrontations between sheriffs and small groups of individuals continued throughout the afternoon and into the evening. As night approached the Sheriff Department imposed a dusk to dawn curfew throughout a large section of East Los Angeles, allowing no one to enter the area. Sheriff cars cruised the area, assault-

ing individuals whom they found on the streets, and indiscriminately broke into persons' homes and attacked the occupants.

It is important to note here that the tactics being employed by the Sheriff Department in breaking up the marchers. Throughout the entire day, the emphasis of the Sheriff Department was not on arresting individuals, even though there were approximately 100 persons arrested, but rather through the sheer use of arms to completely breakup the march. In addition the sheriffs were selective in their victims. There were numerous reports to the effect that one deputy would point out an individual who he felt to be leading the group and another deputy with a rifle would then fire at this individual. Also, numerous individuals carrying cameras were singled out by deputies and were fired upon. This was an obvious attempt at preventing a recurrence of the events of the murder of Ruben Salazar where staff members of LA RAZA MAGAZINE (Vol.1, No.3) took photos clearly showing the actions of the deputies which contradicted the story which these deputies had previously given of this incident. It has become obvious to all those cognizant of the e-

vents of the 31st, that the Sheriff Department was out to murder and at least wound as many individuals as possible, acting as judge, jury and executioner.

But the total significance of this day does not solely lay on the actions of the sheriff's deputies. There has been, as a result of the 31st, a considerable amount of internal questioning amongst established organizations as well as individuals active in the community. Why was the vast majority of this seasoned group of marchers in their late teens or early twenties? Why did they go to the Blvd. Why did they go up against the rifles of the sheriffs with only rocks and bottles, knowing full well the outcome. In part, the answers to these questions lays in the fact that the youth of our community (which makes up its largest overall percentage) is fed up with the promises of better tomorrows and hopes for justice from this system. For four or five years they have seen groups organizing to achieve better education for their children or some amount of local economic justice. They have become politicized, and are asking what has changed with all the established organizations' meetings, conventions and ne-





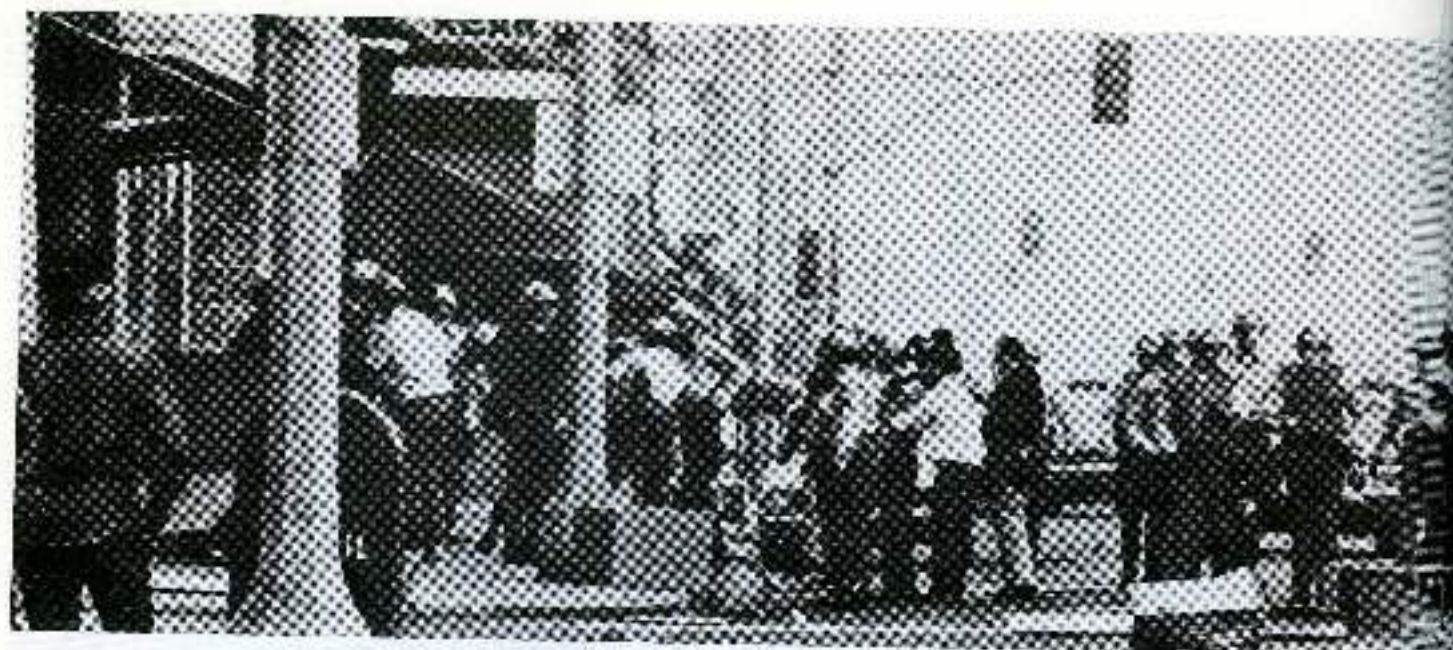
negotiations. The schools still remain alien to our children. Their mothers and fathers continue to be exploited by their bosses, the local market, the car lots, the department stores and the multitude of other businesses they are forced to deal with in the barrio. And they continue to get harassed and arrested by the police. They see the poverty programs, the 'HOLACU's, MACPF's, YUP's, MAOP's and Health Task Forces' and question of what relevance are they, other than to provide good salaries to a lot of individuals who proceed forth with programs of pacification, wait until next year, and hope in the Ford Foundation to solve all the communities problems. And at the slightest hint that their funding sources give that they are too community involved, they proceed to develop meaningless programs which will ensure the perpetuation of their incomes, economic development, housing, research, etc. These are the issues. Never mind the fact that the police are murdering your people, or a family of welfare receiving 22¢ per meal is made to feel like thieves, or the sweeps of the Immigration Department through the barrios.

To the majority of youth in the barrio, Whittier Blvd. represents the epitome of the oppression and exploitation exsistant in the community. Money greedy merchants line the area, ready to remove what little money you may have in your pockets with salomon in perfect Spanish, and promises and guarantees which last as long as the breath of air on which they









were spoken. This coupled with the inability to drive down the Blvd. without being stopped by the police, your car torn apart, insulted, and dependent upon the mood of the particular officer involved, a crack on the head, and a charge of resisting arrest, has led many to believe that change will not be brought about through submission of proposals to Father Ford or Rockefeller, but only through violent confrontation with the system and its army of oppressors, the law enforcement agencies.

The contradictions in justice are too obvious to ignore. If you are white you can throw rocks, bottles and eggs at the President of the United States, the Governor, and Senators. You will only be reprimanded with a slap on the hand. But if a Chicano, you are likely to end up like Gustav Montag or with a bullet or cracked skull. Or if a police officer, you can murder innocent Mexicans, call it an accident, such as the case with the Sanchez cousins, and the City will pay for your legal defense.

There is a failure on the part of many organizations and individuals in the community to recognize that a new wave of young people are emerging who are not going to be satisfied with the same answers as to why there is no justice for the Chicano and why they must wait. These young people see the sham of O.E.O., fights over foundation grants, banquets or endorsing political candidates, Republican or Democratic, whose only concern is their political future which always comes at the expense of justice for the community. The youth have by-passed those who are too interested in perpetuating their own little interest or organization, and are demanding a new direction for the community.

And to those who feel that they can deter this movement, the Moe Aquirres, Leopoldo Sanchez' and all other asserted VENDIDOS and anglo cohorts, they would be wise to consider the following "Nothing can withstand the force of an idea whose time has come."







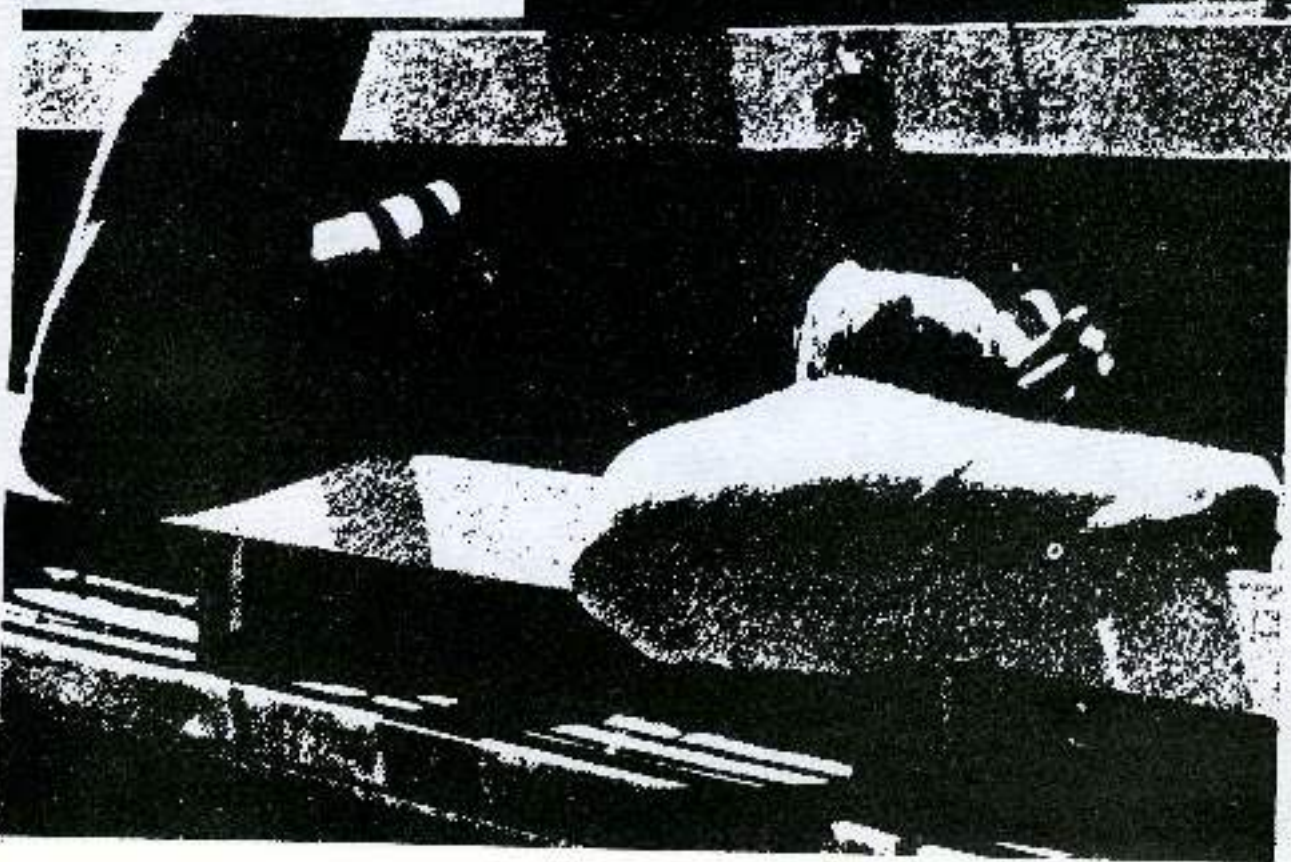


NOTICIAS

DE LA



PINTA



Nuestra causa le llaman conspiración,
los abortos de la justicia
y el que note la injusticia
su protesta es trición.

Las puertas de la prisión,
cerradas nos esperan,
y todos los que miran,
luchan contra la discriminación.

Gloria. ¿Hay en esta nación
para el poderoso,
y el pobre es animal asqueroso
y su futuro es la opresión.

Los cobardes piden piedad,
los hombres levantan la frente,
porque llevan en su mente,
exigir, respeto y dignidad.

Las cortes con su maldad,
no les infunde temor,
Porque saldrán con honor,
por servir a la entera humanidad.

por Arturo Sánchez

'LIFE'

IN

PRISON



With only 75 days before being released from California's coldest and darkest dungeon...POLSON STATE PRISON, Alfonso "Pache" Alvarez is confronted with possible life; his parole date revoked as a result of his political beliefs and amelioration for LA RAZA.

On February 25, 1971, Alvarez appeared before a Review Panel of the Adult Authority...genocidal representatives of the Establishment...in this case, chairman Kerr and Chamlee, member administered their sectarianism power to rescind his release date; May 10th, 1971. So now he will revert to being a victim of California's indeterminate sentence, insanity.

Generally, a first term prisoner is incarcerated in a "minimum security" POW prison but for his unwavering, bold Chicanoism caused him to be classified as CLOSE CUSTODY in "maximum security."

Sent to Soledad Prison in 1967, he engaged in learning a trade and became involved in the study of Mexican culture, in line with his growing awareness and responsibilities as a Chicano in a fascist-oriented society. Soon thereafter he was transferred to the "stalag" at Tehachapi Prison. Once again his involvement in helping to form a Chicano group in the all-white oriented prison resulted in his being shipped to Soledad Prison. To his soldados de la Raza, he was their demagogue, to the racist pigs, an agitator.

At the outset of the PRISON CRISIS on penal REFORM he was once more transferred, being labelled as a "Chicano" instigator in the Soledad Three Case. Held incommunicado at San "Auschwitz" Quentin Prison, he finally appeared before the arbitrary decision-making body known as the Adult Authority, and was GRANTED PAROLE. Shortly afterward, a transfer to San Luis Obispo Prison brought him in touch with some colleagues who were in the process of forming a culture group for La Raza. Here he met and discussed matters of mutual support with Black Panther Party leader, Huey Newton. During an interview, he was shackled up once again and transferred in the infamous "Grey Goose" bus of the Department of Corrections; back in the super-pig's playground at San Quentin.

During a "routine" shake-down of his cell (which was ransacked weekly) the prison PIGS confiscated his Chicano literature, underground newspapers and personal writings...a poster of Emiliano Zapata was torn to shreds and the remainder of his personal property was "lost." Disciplinary charges were lodged against him, and he was submitted to arrest, only to find that his body was admitted to the University of California Hospital at San Francisco the day before. Upon his return, he was put into an illegal and contaminated isolation cell in 'B' section; despite court orders that specifically forbade the use of such cells for human occupancy...the same death chambers Fred Billingslea was murdered in with tear gas. After 30 days of dead time he was taken before a four minute Kangaroo court and was found guilty and was refused medical treatment by prison authorities.

On a special visit to San Quentin Prison, his close friend, Attorney Lawrence Weiss of San Rafael interviewed Alvarez and found his unbelievable condition. He contacted his attorney Sulle S. Soladay. She then filed a \$250,000.00 claim against the Board of Controls. Attorney Alex Hoffmann of the Black Panther Party Legal Defense of Berkeley sent a private doctor to administer aid to Alvarez, only to be subsequently barred further admittance for the purpose of rendering medical services by the Warden.

Whereas attorney Martin Gluck for CRLA, contacted the District Attorney by phone, urging Alvarez's removal from the dungeon of B-section in S.Q.'s medieval South Block to the prison hospital.

Presently attorney Alice Daniel of NAACP Legal Defense and her associate, Alfred Sigman of the Mexican American Legal Defense in San Francisco took action pertaining to his appearance before the Adult Authority Board.

The allegations brought were both inadequate and in direct violation of the United States Constitutional Rights---the First Amendment's guarantees of Freedom of Speech, the California Penal Code (Section 2600 (d) and the Guadalupe Hidalgo Treaty were all equally and flagrantly disregarded.

The Adult Authority exercises its authority by virtue of Section 3020, of the Penal Code... (setting and fixing of prison sentence under the INDETERMINATE SENTENCE LAW---a law which is constantly misused and manipulated according to whims, attitudes and reflecting the Board Member's prejudices...as well as ignorance of social justice and FAILURE TO UNDERSTAND BEHAVIOR OF CHICANISMO...all the while clothed in the robes of Almighty power over the entire POW chain in California. All Chicanos are sacrificial victims in this alien, oppressive regime by serving longest prison terms.

One only need look as far as the so-called "adjustment centers" throughout the state; including the infamous "segregation blocks" to acknowledge the extent of human warehousing...genociding grins on the over-paid, over-dead, porcine portrayers of custody. In these concrete pits hundreds are victims of "silent beefs" (usually trumped-up, unproven minor infractions of prison rules) and are thus paralyzed, having no recourse or protection of due process of laws. This is cruel and unusual punishment in its

most blatant form... Vietnam has its prisoners... and California has your prisoners.

Kangaroo Court

Kerr (Chairman) reviewed the hearing and here is the issue as best as I can recall:

Kerr: Do you have anything to say about this charge?

Alvarez: Yes, that this charge of discipline should have been handled at San Quentin, for I feel that I was illegally charged. I was not in the penitentiary at the time of infraction.

K: You know that everytime inmates receive 115's (CDC disciplinary forms) they automatically appear before the Board.

A: The charges on me were in violation of my constitutional rights, and California's Penal Code 2600.

K: What is the code?

A: 2600, paragraph three... "to own written material produced during imprisonment."

K: What we are concerned with is the burning, rioting and striking of cell blocks you wrote of.

A: I admitted the literature was mine, my own copies that I had copied, and the reason for that is that I am interested in Prison Reform.

K: What do you think of the new prison reform?

A: Your conjugal visits and setting a convicts time is the best, so far, but the Indeterminate Sentence Law should be looked at.

K: You are non-violent and you write revolution. Why?

A: To understand and evaluate the word revolution; to me it is a social change and confrontation of violence.

K: But why are you saving these papers?

A: I once had the opportunity to write an essay for Dr. Julian Nava of the Board of Education, L.A., and I felt that I must compile all material on prison life in order to cover all points. However, due to censorship, I did not write the essay, but would do so upon parole.

KERR'S COMMENT FOR DENIAL OF PAROLE:

Subject (Alvarez) contends he did not consider or advocate violence. He was advised that such material in his handwriting raised implication that he believed in and was advocating extreme violence.

Panel believes further observation and evaluation are desirable.

This parasite, so called servant of the people, Kerr---should be removed from his legally sanctioned guillotine. The time has come to redress our oppressor...the revolution is here...use your pen to express your views of these executioners' practices...write your government representative. Kerr had written Congressman Edward R. Roybal that no charges would be taken on political prisoner Alvarez...such contemptuous lies are an insult to our representative to the U.S. Government.

Alvarez says, "I may rot in this dungeon of the 18th century, but I don't wish to see the continuance of this oppression on Chicanos and other political prisoners in these snake-pits of no feeling or compassion...one sacrifice...is too many... VLN-
CEREMOS.
FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS!

Alfonso Frank (Pache) Alvarez
P. O. Box B-7965
Folsom State Prison
Represa, California 95671

de Levenworth

pa'im ooo
ciego /sordo/mudo

Simon, man;
awakening from a
deep & non-euphoric dream
nausea overcomes me.

A tacodio (that grano asquerozo
which infects our piel de bronce)
tells me i've been dreaming
the American Dream...

No way, compa, this
was a righteous nightmare. .
Desides, ESTAS MAS LUCAS
TU QUE LA CHINGADA!

In that nightmare/dream sequence
i delight in being patriotic/chauvinistic/
middleclassamerican LOOK MA,
I'M A JONES BOY DRIVIN'
A '69 CHEEVIE.

I don't wanna' be a MESKIN all my life---
"There's equal opportunities for all,
my son, just go out and
LOOK."

O' the landlord
 he is pounding
& my creditors are
 hounding
soon uptightness
 starts resounding
FOUND: an opportunity to go out
 boosting
 dealing dope
 & robbing banks.

"Yeah, one good score and
I'll move away from this
stinkin' barrio into the suburbs."

RAUL SALINAS

I sentence You to the Federal Penitentiary.....

Hay! Amigo, Como Se Llamas---Soy Purro
 Misicano,
Tacos, enchiluders, equal rights & all that
 sorta' jazz. Later For You, Chumpl
YOU ARE ALREADY DEAD AND BURIED,
 WITH NO ONE TO MOURN YOU!!!

LOS SIETE DE LA RAZA

DANIEL MELENDEZ

AND

GARY LASCALLET

FROM SOMEWHERE IN

THE 3rd WORLD

LOS SIETE DE LA RAZA

LOS SIETE DE LA RAZA

Editor's Note: LA RAZA received a tape recorded message from Daniel Melendez and Gary Lascalle. They have had to flee into the Third world to escape the violence of the pigs.
FREEDOM FOR LOS SIETE!
QUE VIVA!
DANIEL MELENDEZ y GARY LASCALLE!!
HASTA LA VICTORIA!
NOS VEREMOS!

Soy Daniel Melendez, uno de los siete de la Raza. Los siete de la Raza is forced to take separate paths, but to unite once again to fight alongside of you in the "People's Revolution."

First of all, I want to say that we are called "Armed and Dangerous." We are called fugitives of the law, but we are not criminals. We are revolutionaries fighting for the liberation of our people. We will fight until death if necessary. I say to you, the people of the Revolutionary Republic, pick up a gun as we have done. For to fight means to win. To win means a new life for all brothers and sisters: black, brown, red or whatever color they may be. It is very sad to this present day that I cannot walk among you, but as I said before, the roads that will shed the tank will cross again. We will fight along side of you in the People's revolution.

I want to say before I go back into the pit of the monster (and off into the Third World) that if any pig swine agent tries to jeopardize my freedom, I will shoot to kill. The law will consider me armed and dangerous.

I am armed. I am only very hazardous and dangerous to those who stand in the way of my freedom.

We, los siete, must flee the "justice" of this racist capitalist society. For eighteen months, justice was not given to us. For eighteen months, we suffered for a crime that we did not commit. We suffered at the hands of a pig who shot another pig.

I say to you, death to all pigs. I would like to say also that the eighteen months that we spent in the bastille of San Francisco have kept us alive because of the People's spirit. There are more people than pigs. I say, "Off the pig!" I am willing to die. And I am ready to die for a cause that is truly worthy. If I die, or better yet, should I say murdered, I die for my people. I die fighting for my people, for my brothers and sisters, for all oppressed people here in racist capitalist America. I say to you, we must free the number 1 political prisoner here in the United States, Reyes Lopez Tijerina! You must free all political prisoners. And I say to you, keep los siete free! Because without your support, I would not be making this tape.

May 1, 1969 was the turning point of the lives of Los Siete de La Raza. The turning point for Tony Martinez, Mario Martinez, Jose Rios, Gary Lascalle, Nelson Rodriguez and myself, Daniel Melendez. We cannot live normal lives again. Our lives are constantly in danger, as is the case when the people do not run the government. And all of us will be in danger until the true power is given back to the people.

She said, we learn from that great source of wisdom that is the PEOPLE. I have learned alot from my querida Raza. I say again, I am willing and ready to die for my people. Keep us free so that one day we shall return to live along side each other to fight in the People's Revolution. All power to the people.
QUE VIVA MI QUERIDA RAZA!!!

THE TRIAL OF LOS SIETE

Fifty-two days—sixteen weeks—of testimony and the trial of Los Siete de la Raza is expected to end soon. Four of the defendants have taken the stand, in addition to alibi witnesses, character witnesses, a newspaper reporter, a private investigator, a college president, several cops and the ex-wife of Paul McGoran, Thelma McGoran.

The defense case began as brother Danilo (BeBe) Melendez took the stand to tell how Officer Paul McGoran beat up another defendant, Gary Lescollett, and then drew his gun on him; and how before BeBe managed to wrestle the gun away from McGoran, Officer Joe Brodnik was accidentally shot. BeBe's story fit everything together that had been confusing in the prosecution case, and must have explained things even to District Attorney Thomas Norman, who tried to maintain an air of casual confidence as his case against the brothers was slowly reduced to sewage.

Norman acted more desperate when Jose Rios, Mario Martinez and Tony Martinez followed BeBe to the stand. Jose and Mario agreed with BeBe's story in every detail: he, BeBe and Gary were supposed to accompany Mario Martinez to the College of San Mateo that morning to register for the summer session. Jose found that his car had a dead battery and called Mario to pick him up. Mario drove into the Mission District from Daly City and found Jose arguing with a friend, Gio Lopez, who had just placed some hot property in Jose's basement. Jose was scared his parents would "blow it" and insisted Gio remove the stuff. After much arguing, Jose and Gio convinced a very angry Mario to help move the stuff to another place Gio knew. Mario was amazed when he saw the size of the haul—Gio and his partners had removed almost everything from the Horenstein home that wasn't nailed down. Mario finally agreed to move as much as would fit in the car, which he had borrowed for the day from his brother Tony.

Brodnik and McGoran approached and McGoran started right in with a stream of racist insults—"What're you punks doing?" "Where'd you motherfucking greasers steal this shit?" etc. Brodnik asked whose house it was and when Jose said it was his, asked for some ID. Jose went upstairs to get some, and asked Mario and Gio to come with him.

Mario said he and Gio hid in the attic while Jose went back downstairs. Jose, standing a few feet away, watched McGoran pull Gary into an argument with comments like, "Your father's a grapepicker; I eat grapes" and "You greasy bastard, I'm gonna wash my hands on your back." (referring to a favorite phrase of his, "wetback") Jose kept telling Gary to cool it; not to answer McGoran, but finally McGoran started a fight. He knocked Gary down and then pulled his big .41 magnum revolver. When BeBe saw this, he jumped up and grabbed McGoran's gun hand. As they struggled, the gun went off twice: the first time killing Brodnik and the second time hitting the house.

Jose said he ducked down as soon as BeBe grabbed McGoran's gun hand. When he heard the first shot, Jose looked up and saw Brodnik fall. Then he heard the second shot and saw BeBe grab the gun from McGoran's hand. Jose ran to the car and tried to start it; remembered Mario had the key, and began to scream, "Mario! Mario!" Mario heard him and came down from the attic, but when he looked outside and saw Brodnik, he and Gio split through the back door.

Jose testified he fled and hid in bushes two blocks away. He heard the enormous amount of gunfire directed at his house, saw police helicopters flying overhead and decided the smartest course of action would be to get out of the city. Mario and Gio, BeBe and Pinky, all came to the same conclusion, and by various routes they made their way to Palo Alto and then to Santa Cruz, where



Tony Martinez

they were caught six days later.

Charles Garry had brought in a character witness for Mario, Marsha Berent, who had been a teacher at the College of San Mateo when Mario was there. She described him as an "excellent student" and a "leader" and was about to read a short essay he wrote for her phonics class, and later included in a phonics textbook, when the D.A. objected that it was irrelevant. The judge agreed, and despite Garry's protests, refused to allow this short essay into evidence. Garry insisted that the essay, which expresses Mario's commitment to the struggle of all races against oppression, establishes: (1) that a young man of Mario's character couldn't have formed the "specific intent" to commit the crimes charged; and (2) that Mario had the kind of commitment to helping his people which would make his story-bringing brothers to college on May 1-believable.

Mario testified about his recruiting activities. He said he was in a hurry to get to college that day because he was supposed to tutor students. D.A. Norman expressed great surprise at this and pulled out a transcript of Mario's academic record, which contained a good number of Withdrawals and Fails. This put the D.A. in the ridiculous position of trying to get a murder conviction on the basis of bad grades. Mario explained that the object of the tutoring program was for people to relate to each other and help each other as much as they could, and it wasn't necessary for you to be an A student in order to help your brothers and sisters.

The president of the College of San Mateo, Dr. Robert Fwagleben, came to testify for Tony and Mario. He said they were both leaders in the College Readiness Program and good students. He described Tony, president of COBRA (The Confederation of Brown Races for Action), as one of the leaders who emerged in the Program after the Third World Strike at San Mateo in the fall of 1968.

D.A. Norman asked each brother details about the people who helped them escape. Each in turn refused to answer these questions, saying that they would not give the names of brothers and sisters who had helped save their lives when the police were terrorizing the whole Mission in search of them. At one point, Norman asked Mario how far it was from the San Mateo bus station to a house where he hid. Mario, at first, refused to answer, but, after a conference with Garry, gave the distance. Norman asked: "What did Mr. Garry just tell you?"

Mario replied: "He said you were a tricky son of a bitch but I should tell the truth."

Following Mario was Kathy O'Rourke, a young white sister who had been Tony's tutor in the spring of 1969, and had been with him all during the morning of May 1. Kathy agreed with Mario's testimony that she had picked Tony up early in the morning and driven him to school. She said they had studied for a biology exam in the library from 8 until 11:30 a.m.

D.A. Norman was embarrassed, to say the least. After a few attempts to establish Kathy's prejudice (Did you ever attend any social functions with Tony? What organizations do you belong to? Did you visit Tony in jail?) he asked the witness why she didn't tell the police she had been with Tony all that morning.

"I told her not to!" Garry thundered. Norman persisted: "Don't you think it would have been of some assistance to Mr. Martinez if you told the police?"

"Objection!" shouted Mike Kennedy, Bob's lawyer. "That assumes facts not in evidence--namely, that the police are interested in justice."

Later, during his own testimony, Tony explained that Kathy was a "middle class" girl who hadn't much experience with the police and who thought she might do Tony some good by telling the police his alibi. He said that being brown, and from the Mission, he knew the police to be "arbitrary" and "racist" and so told Kathy not to talk to them. The unspoken implication was that had she made herself known to the police, she might never have made it to the witness stand.

Alibi witnesses for Nelson Rodriguez spoke very clearly about where he was on May 1, 1969. From early morning until 10:30, witness Donald Wilson said, he was with Nelson in the apartment of Nelson's girlfriend, Sandy. Nelson left with Ralph Ruiz at 10:30 a.m. to go to San Mateo. Ralph had been picked up in connection with the incident, and gave the same statement as Nelson's witnesses and then was released. This destroys McGoran's identification of Nelson at the scene on Alvarado St. In fact, Nelson's girlfriend said that when she got home from work that day at 5 p.m., Nelson was waiting for her. Jose had phoned him to say the police were after him and Nelson asked Sandy if she knew what it was all about.

Evidence of a person's past violence or aggressive behavior is admissible in court when that person claims to be the victim of an assault--in this case, Paul McGoran. So last week, defense witnesses described some of McGoran's previous activities:

July, 1966: McGoran's home was in Pacifica with his wife Jane and his son Paul Jr. However, he was also maintaining an apartment in San Francisco with a



Mario Martinez



Gary Lescallett

waitress named Thelma who later became his second wife. McGoran was in a Pacifica shopping center on a Sunday afternoon with his son when he got involved in a fight with a young long hair named Daniel Ring. Ring was in a car with three friends when Paul Jr. walked by and gave him the finger. Ring returned the compliment. A few minutes later Paul Sr. approached the car with his son and grabbed Ring by the shirt, which tore as McGoran punched Ring in the face and then, with his knee propped against the car door, smashed Ring's head against the floor of the car three times. Ring is about 5'4", 130 pounds. McGoran is 6'4", around 215 lbs. Finally Ring's friend in the back seat pushed McGoran's hands away. By this time a crowd of church-dressed Pacificans had gathered, and some were yelling, "Get the big guy off of him." At this point, McGoran whipped out his gun and waved it at the crowd, shouting, "Anybody interere and I'll shoot!" When the Pacifica police arrived, McGoran made a show of arresting Ring, but the police, who knew McGoran as a trouble maker in the community, let the kids go and later pressed charges of battery against McGoran. The trial ended in a hung jury.

Sept., 1966: McGoran accused a young man of throwing a rock at him. The police asked them both to take lie detector tests. When McGoran arrived for the tests, he became so freaked out that he said the kid had only made a motion as if to throw a rock; and then had an attack of "tachycardia," a nervous condition in which the heart speeds up very fast.

Feb., 1967: McGoran, in plainclothes as usual, stopped a young couple in Girardell Square by grabbing the boy (5'4", 105 lbs.) by the collar and smashing him against the wall, and clutching the girl (5', 90 lbs.) tightly by the arm. He accused them of stealing a package from a car, which was in fact the girl's package from her own car. When the girl showed McGoran her car registration and the receipt for the package, he said, "That wasn't the car I saw you going into. It was the one next to it." Even after the owner of the neighboring car verified that nothing had been stolen from it, McGoran had the boy arrested. (The charges were dismissed.)

June, 1967: McGoran, drunk, brutally beat an Indian by the name of Ronald Crowfoot, manager of the Sunshine Apartments, in which McGoran had partial ownership. Crowfoot was so upset that he left town and hasn't been heard from since.

July, 1967: McGoran stopped BeBe Melendez, now one of Los Siete, in the parking lot of a Doggie Diner, and yelled, "Come here, punk." BeBe said, "I don't see any punks around here," McGoran answered, "I mean you," then grabbed BeBe's wine bottle, emptied it on the ground and punched BeBe in the lip—he still has the scar.

That same summer, McGoran's wife Jane filed a complaint in Pacifica that Paul beat her outside their home.

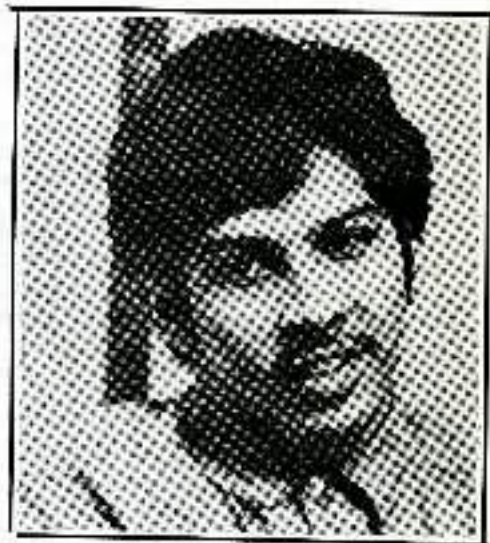
It was also around this time that McGoran helped get a gun permit for a known burglar named Ken Nelson, who lived in the Sunshine Apartments. According to McGoran's second wife, Thelma, McGoran also bought stolen tools and guns from this man.

January, 1968: At McGoran's direction, Paul Jr. a chip off the old block, beat up Jane McGoran on the lawn outside their home. Paul Sr. looked on.

April, 1968: McGoran, now living with Thelma on Elizabeth St. in the Mission District, stopped a 15 year old girl named Carol Wilson outside the building as she was talking to her friends, one of whom was a dark-skinned Puerto Rican. McGoran, confusing Carol with another girl, said, "I don't like goddam little tramps threatening my wife," then grabbed Carol tightly by the arm and called her friend a "goddam nigger," and asked Carol "what kind of trash" she was hanging around with. McGoran, who was drunk, then staggered back to his truck and took out a rifle which he pointed a few inches from Carol's stomach saying, "I'm a police officer, I have authority. You kids have no respect for authority." Carol broke away and ran up the stairs, nearly hysterical. Shortly after, she and her older brother went downstairs to McGoran's apartment. The brother asked why McGoran was hassling his sister, at which point Paul Sr. held him up, against the hallway wall with a revolver while Thelma, in the background, held a rifle. McGoran called the police and had Carol's brother booked for "disturbing the peace"; charges were later dismissed.

August, 1968: McGoran stopped two black youths at gunpoint and made them stand spread-eagled against the car until a patrol car came. The car was burning hot and the brothers asked if they could get off, as their flesh was burning. McGoran said, "Nigger, if you don't lay on it, I'll put a cap in you." A lady across the street called the police because she thought McGoran was striking the brothers up.

March, 1969: McGoran, Brodak and a few other cops burst into an apartment without warrants or permission. McGoran smashed the resident against the wall, his arm at the man's throat, while he pushed a visitor down the stairs. Then held his gun on both of them while the other cops removed a TV set.



Danilo Melendez

a stereo, several tape recorders, guns and other property from the premises. Most of this property was later returned to the owner and no charges were pressed.

May, 1969: Brodnik and McGoran stopped 5 young Latinos on Alvarado Street while they were moving some property from a house to a car. While three went upstairs for IDs, McGoran, drunk, poked the other two with insults—"motherfucking assholes, greasers, wetbacks," etc. He punched one of them, Gary Escalante, against the wall, they fought, McGoran knocked Gary to the ground and pulled his gun. Then BeBe Melendez grabbed McGoran's gun hand and struggled with him; the gun went off, killing Brodnik, who had rushed forward, shouting, "No, Paul, not your gun!" In the following days, McGoran and the police department concocted a story of how all the brothers assaulted him, took his gun and shot Brodnik.

MRS. THELMA MCGORAN SURPRISE DEFENSE WITNESS

The surprise defense witness took the stand on Thursday, Oct. 8. This was Mrs. Thelma McGoran, ex-wife of Paul McGoran, who had been with him for 3 years prior to May, 1969. Mrs. McGoran was calm and strong as she spoke her side of life with McGoran, even though she had been threatened and has been at fear of her life since she decided to testify. She has been hiding from McGoran since their divorce. She came out to testify because, "he lied about everything else, so I knew he was lying about this too. I knew the boys were innocent. I had to become involved even though I was told not to."

Mrs. McGoran's story agreed with all the other defense witnesses. She described incidents she had been at where he brutally beat and arrested people for no reason. She told of how he used to take narcotics home, then bring them with him when he went to work. Why? To plant them on people so he would be sure to get a conviction. Mrs. McGoran indicted the entire police department when she talked about the stolen property McGoran brought to their home. "Why?" she asked. "If I bring it down to the station the captains and lieutenants will take the heat," he said, "I'm just taking my pick now."

Mrs. McGoran told the jury of her personal life with the man. He beat her constantly, even though she had had a serious operation, requiring hospitalization and long bed rest. He once pushed her out of his famous white pick-up truck while it was moving at 23rd and Dolores Streets during an argument. He kept going and left her there, lying injured in the middle of the street. He took her disability check and drank it up, leaving her with no money for medicine. She and her 10 year old son were often left hungry for he gave them no money. She wrote letters to Captain Kiely, of the Mission Station, telling of his misconduct and bad treatment of her. Capt. Kiely denied receiving them. She also wrote an apology when McGoran threatened her. For that letter he gave her \$20 worth of groceries. She called the police on him many times, but when they arrived, the stolen goods disappeared from their apartment and he would tell them she was drunk or crazy. Since he was a police officer, they believed him and all her protests did no good. She told this whole story to the jury to show the regard he had for his own family. If he treated his family like this, how would he treat brown and black, and long haired people who he really had hate and contempt for?

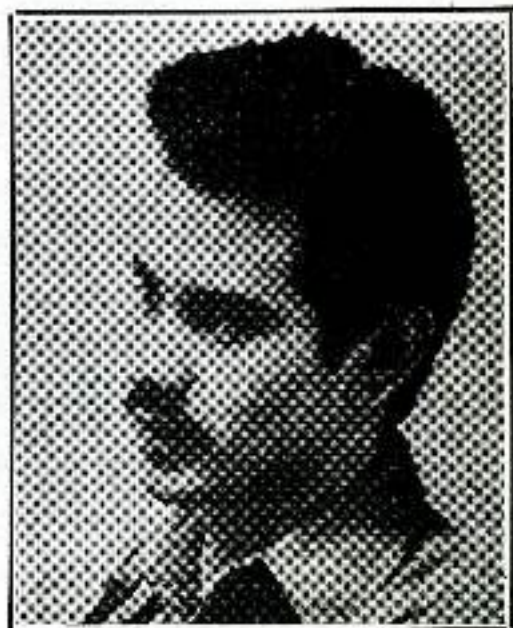
Mrs. McGoran's testimony was interrupted by a phony message from her "daughter." At first she was shaken but she recovered to ask the clerk what the daughter's name was. "It isn't my daughter," she said. "I didn't tell anyone I was going to be here. My daughter lives in Michigan and I haven't seen or talked to her for 3 years." She said, "They're trying to scare me, but I'll show them I'm stronger than that." She walked out of the courtroom a proud and strong woman. All the relatives and friends of Los Siete embraced and kissed her. There were no words to describe the thanks people felt for her. It was a brave thing she did, to put her life out in public like that. When asked if she hated McGoran she said, "No, I feel sorry for him," but she felt justice was the most important thing of all. "I know what it is like to be locked up," she said, "and those boys deserve their freedom."

The defense case is expected to end this week. A prosecution rebuttal and then a defense rebuttal, then closing arguments will follow. Then the judge will give his all-important instructions to the jury, and the brothers, who have waited 16 months to free themselves from this incredible frame-up, will be acquitted.

FRBB LOS SIETE!



Nelson Rodriguez



Jose Rios

KPFK

EXCLUDES CHICANO COMMUNITY FROM PROGRAMING

Pacifica Foundation, the parent of KPFK-F.M. RADIO was organized by liberal establishment professionals who were concerned about the lack of real, meaningful, or courageous radio programming. They wanted to fill the vacuum that existed and exists today concerning radio stations. They helped to create the kind of radio that would not have to cater or pander to advertisers and censors in order to stay on the air and make the all important buck. They depend solely on their listeners for their economic support. The community being serviced would hopefully support this alternative to the audio pollution of the establishment radio.

This was a radical enough concept 20 years ago, and it remains so. Even more radical was their policy in programming viewpoints that could not get on the air because of their unpopularity with the management of establishment radio station. This policy has tested the moral strength of Pacifica and KPFK in particular, as they have received many threats and challenges to their license.

All of this of course is very admirable but the story does not end there.

KPFK and Pacifica are not free of establishment policies on programming and certainly not free of institutional racism in their bureaucratic levels of their organization.

One need only examine the monthly program guide to discover that there are no Spanish surnamed, let alone Chicano's on the National Board of Directors. The local board of directors also reflects this exclusion of Chicanos. The management and paid staff of KPFK also reflect this exclusion.

As a matter of fact, it is only when we examine the volunteer staff of over 140 that we run into two Chicanos; Moctezuma Esparza and Raul Ruiz.

The programming also reflects racist exclusion. Out of 168 regular, weekly broadcast hours, only 1 is specifically Chicano. This program is "La Raza Nueva" produced by the only two Chicanos listed in the folio.

Let us for a moment consider the area and audience served by KPFK. The transmitter is in Mt. Wilson and the radiated power is 112,000 watts. This is enough to reach a potential audience from Santa Barbara to the Mexican Border.

In the most conservative estimate, over 2 million Chicanos or approximately 20% of the total population reside in this area.

If one compares KPFK to the other radio stations in their relevancy to the Chicanos that reside in this area, KPFK is admittedly 1 hour and 2 Spanish surnames ahead.

This is what radical radio, a la KPFK has been for over 20% of the population served by KPFK.

In effect, KPFK alternative radio is synonymous to regular establishment radio broadcasting. Both ignore the Chicano.

Let us now examine the status of our lone Chicano hour on KPFK, "La Raza Nueva." This program came into being during the wave of the first East Los Angeles High School walkouts in March of 1968. Since that time, "La Raza Nueva" has had its time changed from 11:00 p.m. to 1 a.m. Thursday, 11:00 p.m. to 12:00 p.m. Thursday, 10:00 to 11:00 Thursday, 8:00 to 9:00 p.m. Thursday, 9:00 p.m. to 10:00 p.m. Thursday and finally out of the Thursday rut, to 6:30 to 7:30 p.m. on Mondays.

All of these changes were done without our knowledge or consent.

Many times our shows have been cancelled without even an hour's notice.

We have brought guests to the station only to find that the show was cancelled or would be delayed.

The usual excuse was bureaucratic oversight and volunteer help incompetency.

The present time of our program was only agreed to by the station only after we asked for listener support. The public responded and we received our time. Otherwise, we might still be in the late hours of the night.

The station is now attempting to get rid of our program altogether. The public affairs director informed us that we no longer had our program scheduled for the month of April. In the past they just moved the hour to a different time slot. Now, the station was moving the hour out the door.

The director informed us that the station was investing too much money on its public affairs programming between the hours of 3:30 and 5:30, and that it had to move this program slot to the prime section of the day 6:30 to 8:30 p.m. daily.

He indicated that this would take place in April and that all the commentators, including ourselves were being offered 1/2 hour a week for commentary in the afternoon. He stated that this did not mean a cut back in our time as we could produce shows whenever we wanted and that they would be considered for possible broadcasting during the weekly 6:30 to 8:30 public affairs time.

Our position is that KPFK is abusing the public airways by systematically excluding the Chicano community.

That KPFK has systematically excluded Chicanos from policy decisions that affect the Chicano community.

"La Raza Nueva" cannot and will not allow further abuse from KPFK to the Chicano community.

We are illiciting support from all people that sympathize with the Chicano community to make this station more relevant.

We are demanding that KPFK address and ratify the following demands:

1. A public apology for censoring the program of March 15.
2. Retention of "La Raza Nueva" in its present time slot.
3. That "La Raza Nueva" be listed in the folio as of May 1971.
4. "La Raza Nueva" will develop and refine its programming without station pressure. That all station resources be made available when requested by "La Raza Nueva" for programming.
5. That no changes in programming schedule be implemented without prior advisement or consent from "La Raza Nueva."
6. That KPFK open up at least 1 full time and 1 part time paid staff position. Selection to be carried out with concurrence of "La Raza Nueva."
7. That no programming that directs itself to the Chicano community be developed without input from La Raza Nueva."
8. That KPFK's local board of Directors be expanded to include at least two Chicanos. Selection to be made in conjunction with "La Raza Nueva" and the Congress of Mexican American Unity.
9. That all agreements which "La Raza Nueva" be put in writing.
10. That KPFK establish an outpost in the community. It will be developed through the cooperation of KPFK, La Raza Nueva, and the Congress of Mexican American Unity.

We expect to receive a favorable response to the demands to make KPFK truly a people's station---all of the people.

We expect to receive a favorable response from the station in order to create a real alternative for radio broadcasting for the entire community of Los Angeles.

KPFK THREATS

LA RAZA NUEVA HOSTS

Dear Mectozumas:

As you have already been informed, KPFK is in the process of making a number of changes in its overall program format. I can state, but I have no way to make you believe, that no person or group was singled out for unfair treatment---nor will unfair treatment be imposed on any individual or group at anytime.

The public affairs programming at KPFK (a great deal of which has been going out on non-prime time) must be strengthened and one way to achieve this is to have larger and more frequent input from as many sections of the community as possible. You represent a very important section of this community, not only as individuals, but as the people best qualified to bring people from that community to the microphone. Beginning with the Air Folio, a part of the new plan will be in effect---and the public affairs block will be in much better time and therefore from a much larger audience.

One of the policies we are instituting is that as many as possible of the programs we do will be pre-recorded rather than live so that both the program department and the people who produce the programs can, if it will improve them, have the opportunity to do technical editing or cutting. We trust that this also will prove to be a method you can use which you will feel improves the programs you will wish to get onto the air---we on our part are going to make every effort to have a more efficient production staff on hand to work with program producers.

May I point out that any action on your part which would force us to cancel your contribution to programming would be a serious disservice to the people whom you wish to represent and also that careless threats against the station which we feel sure you to not mean, would be interpreted with the utmost seriousness by the authorities if anyone did do damage to the station.

In all friendship and concern, both for you and for the contribution we feel you make to the station, we hope that you will try to understand and cooperate with the changes we are making and postpone any final judgement about them until we have given the new format a fair trial.

Sincerely,
William Strother
Acting Manager, KPFK

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LUIS VALDEZ

Director

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Telephone 455-3892

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Ricardo Nieto
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Guineanos, and other dark-skinned people of the world, have been nothing more than "moving targets" on screen

CHICANOS AND THE MOTION PICTURE INDUSTRY

by THOMAS M. MARTINEZ
and JOSE PERALEZ
Sociology Department, Stanford University

There they are, Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid, cornered in the marketplace after ripping off money with great Yankee ease throughout the countryside south of the border. Surrounded by several thousand Bolivian soldiers, the brave pair put up a courageous battle. Even though they are killed, because a few of the soldiers actually shoot straight Yankee ego is maintained by their "bravery." It is incredible that ruthless robbers of unarmed, poverty-stricken dark-skinned people can still be portrayed as heroes. But, then, that's Hollywood.

The incredulity that makes heroes out of anglo-whites for killing defenseless Chicanos has been going on for over forty years. It is called the American western movie. Chicanos, and other dark-skinned people of the world, have been nothing more than "moving targets" on screen--to be riddled by anglo-white actors from Tom Mix through John Wayne and Paul Newman.

THE MOVIE IMAGE OF CHICANOS

Hollywood-produced movies have continually portrayed Chicanos in dehumanizing roles, stripped of dignity. For male Chicanos, this has often meant playing the "fall guy," who has difficulty walking. He is usually deprived of the elementary ability to defend himself through clear thinking. He is either in awe of the anglo-white cowboy, waiting helplessly for his protection, saying "si, si señor," or a dirty, sneaky, bandido ready to ambush. The Chicano women, in the movies, often reject the Chicano man in favor of the super anglo-white hero. In general, the women are portrayed as highly sexual, amoral, and unable to resist a "real man."

Incompetency is the focal trait of the Chicano in the movies. In the example above, it required thousands to do the job of a handful, or fewer. Competency is one of the main racist myths. In the portrayal of Chicanos, incompetency is carried off to an absurd degree, in all facets of life. One movie showed Emiliano Zapata sitting on a bed with his anglo wife during his honeymoon. What were they engaged in? She was teaching him how to read! The

words stumbled out of the mouth of the man who in real life moved with grace and power. How and why such absurd images of the Chicano came to dominate Hollywood can be understood within the context of the dynamics of the movie industry in American society.

The American movie industry serves and profits from society in many ways. Not only have they given this country Ronald Reagan and George Murphy, who it's said have the same mannerisms because they were trained in the same studio, but also a portrait of the world and its people, past and present.

Hollywood movies have always been essentially "hero oriented." During the early days of motion pictures, the primary concern of producers was romantic love stories--boy meets girl, girl meets boy, etc. The plots were simple, and they made money. When the western was introduced into the silent movies, it became an immediate audience-pleaser. It was natural for movie-makers to film westerns for several reasons. Novelists and magazine story writers had been utilizing the appeal of the wild and dangerous life in the west for about a century. Drawings in school books and stories about the history of the west had always been part of the American classroom. Thus, by the time the western movies were produced, the American public was well-prepared to receive them.

The audience was also prepared to see a stereotyped version of the natives of the west. The same sources which prepared them for exciting adventure our west conditioned them to believing the incredulous character Hollywood made of the Chicano.

The American public had been led to think that the history books about how the west was won were in fact authentic. The distortion was due to attempts to make the history of the southwest proof of the white supremacist myth. Therefore, audiences both agreed with and were thrilled by the violent movie reenactments of the adventures of the superior anglo-white in the west. Violence and anglo-white superiority became the themes of the western movies. As a result, they helped to fortify and institutionalize the American tradition of Manifest Destiny.

The movie glorification of violence logically developed into a personification of "manliness" and of "getting the job done," however roughly. The mor-

al of the story is that the twin virtues mark a hero. The two traits also mark the cornerstones of American racism--Social Darwinism (survival of the fittest) and the Protestant Ethic (devotion to hard work, as indicated by success). As a result, the sentimental portrayal of supposedly legitimate American history of the southwest serves to define the past as authentic and acceptable. Almost from the inception of western movies, Chicanos were ruthlessly murdered in mass.

The early western movies cast a tradition of film making that persists today. This year, three of the many movies that uphold racist views were nominated for Academy Awards. In addition to "Burch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid," "The Wild Bunch" has a content of shooting up Chicanos like fish in a barrel. Even the much-acclaimed Oscar nominee, "Easy Rider," would not have a plot without the cocaine score from impoverished Chicanos.

Today's generation has been reared on movies. Films are, in addition to providing entertainment, teaching devices. People are taught how to measure their self worth, among other things.

Two main attributes of self worth are feelings of competency and legitimacy says Clark. The most competent and legitimate image that dominates the screen

is a young, clean-shaven, anglo-white male with a slim waistline and even teeth, who upholds middle-class values. This has detrimental psychological consequences for Chicanos, as well as other minorities. The motion picture industry has set in motion a process of "disidentification." Chicanos and the rest of the audience are influenced to identify with the star of the movie. In order for the star to be unambiguously portrayed as a hero, the movie has a contrasting player, who is portrayed in the most unfavorable light, literally. Whenever Chicanos are portrayed in the movies, it is never as heroes, but always much less competent and legitimate than the anglo-white hero. Even in movies about famous Mexican heroes, the star is an anglo-white. Marlon Brando played ZAPATA in the movie noted above. Wallace Beery played PANCHITO VILLA. Therefore, the unconscious tendency to identify with the hero means that Chicanos are influenced by the movies to give esteem to anglo-white superiority, and dissociate themselves from their true identity.

The extent of media influence among Chicanos is unmeasured. However, it has been proven that people are unconsciously influenced to accept a negative stereotype of self and other through simple exposure to everyday media. A recent demonstration was the reaction of ordinary television viewers to information on the Carol Burnett show. A skit presented the telephone number of President Nixon, and hundreds of viewers actually called the number. It amazed the producers and performers, and dismayed the person who had the number. We are reminded of Orson Well's radio program, during which he dramatically informed his listeners about an invasion from Mars. The rest is history.

Not only is Chicano identity blasphemed in this country due to the movies, but also abroad. For example, it is common in the Philippines to call some one a "Mexican" to indicate he is considered dirty or lazy, or both. Our heritage name is known as a de-

rogatory term in the Phillipines largely because of Hollywood westerns. Other countries hold a Hollywood image of Chicanos, because movies are believable everywhere, and set many cultural practices. For example, motorcycle gangs now exist in such far away places as Asia minor, and so does the Chicano stereotype. Much of the world has come to think of the U.S. of A. as a land of anglo-white superiority, which is a myth maintained in the exported movies.

Firmly established within American society, the movie industry is an important, but neglected, form of institutionalized racism. Movies are repetitions of media-established racist stereotypes. In a time of social upheaval and the need to change the structures that divide man against himself, one can still stroll into a movie theater and get lost in the myth of anglo-white supremacy.

The American movie industry promotes disharmony among the poor, the young, and the dark-skinned people of the world. For example, Chicanos are inferior to Blacks in the movie "100 Rifles." Here a "super Black" lawman is used to keep Chicanos and Indians in line. The Black lawman overwhelms them both physically and mentally, in the anglo-white screen tradition. This tends to divide the minorities against themselves. Orientals are also displayed in an unflattering manner by American movies. One Japanese actor recently complained that the only role he can get is playing a rickshaw driver. Other than "West Side Story," the existence of Puerto Ricans is not even recognized by movies. And, there were very few Puerto Ricans in that movie.

Concerning Chicanos, the movie industry seeks to perpetuate the least attractive portrait. The industry purposely seeks out actors who are about 35-55 years old, short and paunchy. They make better targets somehow, are deemed "harmless", and more closely approximate the imagined "Frito Bandito" stereotype. If a couple of teeth are missing all the better, since that adds more "character" and is more colorful. (Of course, teeth can be blackened out.)

The script writers who help perpetuate the Chicano stereotype are not very original. They are falling back upon plots of forty years ago. One of the most outspoken Chicano critics of the motion picture industry, Ray Martel, Executive Director of the Los Angeles-based organization CARISSMA (Council to Advance and Restore the Image of Spanish-Speaking and Mexican-Americans), said in an address before the writers' association: "We are deluged daily through motion picture and television screens with dull, insipid, morbid themes which have no basis in reality and which reflect a general lack of talent on the part of the so-called creators whose only motive is to sell them for their own selfish financial gain." Another Chicano critic, Tony Calderon, Executive Director of IMAGE (Involvement of Mexican Americans in Careful Endeavors) of San Antonio, said: "Full length stories about Mexican Americans can be written in ten minutes, because it is always the same plot."

Writers and producers conserve energy by using a stereotype. Much like in advertising, the stereotype symbol sticks in the mind of the viewer. Therefore, their points can be made easier, rather than take the

effort to develop a three dimensional character and let the audience make up their own mind. In the early western movies, the good guys would wear white hats, and the bad guys black hats. While the evolution of movies has given a boost to the audience's ability to discriminate good from bad, many of the racist Chicano stereotypes remain.

Besides the bandito, common roles reserved for Chicanos include generals, dictators and priests. The Chicano in the western is sometimes a cook, who says "I feex lots of beans and cheele peppers." Most often, the Chicano is the recipient of violence. Probably the most famous Chicano stereotype actor is Alfonso Bedoya. He played the sly smiling bandit leader in "Treasure of Sierra Madre." Whenever he was interviewed by the press, he would hasten to apologize for his colorful accent, according to his biography. He was known for such terms as, "Horry up," and "Gee wheez." He was described as "friendly and



Movie "Gun" Hero

John Wayne, Indian Killer

likeable as they come. His eyes are smiling, his accent is soft and musical and he's always happy." Before he died in 1957, he left a highly structured Chicano movie stereotype, comparable only to "step 'n fetch it." Following in his footsteps came the actor Pedro Gonzales Gonzales. He first gained attention on the Groucho Marx show for "his unique natural comedy delivery." His pet phrase became "I theenk." While the idea that actors would do anything to get a part gave birth to Hollywood as a producer of prostitutes, the various ways of prostitution has gone unnoticed.

Are there any exceptions to this treatment of Chicano actors? Here, Anthony Quinn and Ricardo Montalban come to mind. (Cesar Romero is Cuban and plays mostly stereotyped roles.) Yet upon close examination, they are really not exceptions. Montalban plays stereotypical Chicano roles requiring a heavy Spanish accent. Quinn had always played a standup Indian in Hollywood films. Fortunately, his talent was appreciated by the Italian and Greek producers. He has not worked in Hollywood in nine years, because he would not play the stereotype any longer. However there was one exception in the early films, Ramon Navarro, who played Ben Hur.

THE CHICANO PROTEST

While many Chicanos disliked the prejudicial portrayal of their people, Hollywood was immune to their unorganized criticism. One of our Madras informs us that when she was a young girl, she witnessed Chicano movie viewers who actually shot at the western hero on the screen. The history of organized Chicano protest against the motion picture industry began in 1968. A Chicano movie actor, Ray Martel, provided the initial inspiration by speaking out against the unfair hiring practices of the industry. Martel discovered that unless he could meet the stereotype requirements, which he could not since he is six feet, three inches tall and hardly a lightweight, he would not get any parts. The only parts the studios would consider a Chicano for were the stereotype roles.

For historical purposes, a brief chronology of the Chicano protest against the motion picture industry follows.

Stage one. On the set of the movie "Che" Ray Martel met Ray Andrade. Together they decided to organize local people against the motion picture industry. Martel's aim was to help remedy the injustices existing in the casting practices, whereas Andrade was more concerned with the image. They went and found support from MAPA. Under the organizational auspices of MAPA a formal complaint was lodged with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

Martel, together with Ray Andrade decided to organize local people against the motion picture industry. Martel's aim was to help remedy the injustices existing in the casting practices, whereas Andrade was more concerned with the image, a formal complaint was lodged with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission in Fall, 1969. As quoted in Variety, the complaint indicted the industry for, "their unfair and discriminatory hiring practices against us in employment. We are seldom hired and often under-represented." This was the first organized Chicano protest against the movie industry. Since then Andrade has formed an organization called JUSTICIA, and the Academy Awards in the Spring of 1970 was its first target. Mass Picketing of the Awards to pub-

**'LITTLE BIG MAN'
IS**

**"A DARING GALLOP THROUGH THE
WINNING OF THE WEST!"** —Charles Champlin, L.A. Times



DUSTIN HOFFMAN "LITTLE BIG MAN" GP

**"A RAMBUNCTIOUS
TRIUMPH! THE '70s
FIRST GREAT EPIC.
THE NEW WESTERN TO
BEGIN ALL WESTERNS!"**

Sidna Kanfer, Time Magazine

licize the industry's lack of concern for the image of Chicanos was initiated.

It is noteworthy that the pervasive practice of the media to stereotype Chicanos is reflected in a news article which appeared in the San Francisco Chronicle the morning of the protest:

The Hollywood movie industry's annual Academy Awards spectacular is due to be hit by a demonstration tonight. A band of Mexican American students and others is planning to picket the 42nd annual Oscar presentation in Los Angeles because of what they call "The dramatization of racism, the glorification of violence, and the obsession with anglo-white superiority in Hollywood. Note the use of the term "band." Possibly it was thought that the Chicanos were hiding in the Hollywood hills, armed to the teeth, waiting to ride down and shoot up the awards presentation. Unfortunately, this was not the case. It was an orderly picketing. The point was made, and covered in every major newspaper including the New York and several foreign papers.

Andrade has also organized mass walk-ins into the studios.

The history of the Chicano protest against the motion picture industry parallels much of the Chicano protest in general, from friendly attempts to deal with the establishment under the belief that economic men act out of a sense of justice when a case is presented, to mass confrontation. The "teeming horde of inferiors" whom Hollywood tried to make accept a false identity has challenged the credibility of the creative ability of not only Hollywood, but also of this nation. By challenging identity promoted by the mass media, Chicanos are breaking the back of American society, because identity is what holds society together. American society is built upon putting down others. Without a tall guy, the anglo-white would not know who he is.

SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

The mass media in this country not only informs and entertains, but also persuades people to hate self and others. This society has consequently involved into a "put down" syndrome, whereby putting down others is deemed an effective, convenient means of enhancing one's own self-esteem.

Movies add significantly to Chicano negative stereotypes available in society. Such stereotypes are now deeply ingrained in American consciousness. As a result, probably no adult Chicano has ever escaped being so labeled. Each of the many sources of the stereotype, including books, periodicals, commercials, TV shows, and a wide variety of street signs for restaurants and hotels, must be dealt with by Chicanos on a local level. Or else, it will go on and on.

Who controls the media is one of the underlying and far-reaching issues our analysis raises. At present, the media is an economic institution. It responds to the whims of the marketplace. However, various forms of censorship can be and are subtly functioning. For example, Domingo Nick Reyes was forced to resign from a Washington, D.C. all news radio station, because in his capacity as Executive Director of the National Mexican American Anti-Defamation Committee he criticized the media's treatment of Chicanos. This occurred during Vice-President Agnew's initial onslaught on the media, attempting to get more pro-administration views on the public airwaves. In addition to the Agnew influence upon our mass media censorship, the Texas right-wing billionaire, H.L. Hunt, purchased ownership rights to ABC. It should not be forgotten that 1984 is a media-controlled society promoting one way of life. If the Chicano way of life is to be preserved and developed, then Chicanos will either have to rely upon limited access to the mass media, or attempt to change the content and structure of the media while there is still time, for everyone's sake.



ELA PUEBLO TRIBU



COCHITI PUEBLO TRIBU



SANTA CLARA PUEBLO

THE DEATH OF A SUN

Cochiti Pueblo is dying. The death cries take on the sound of bulldozers and sales pitches from Great Western Cities. The old people lay in their beds in the morning in their pueblo and hear the final gasps of a dying culture. 15,000 years of history come to an end not in the shouts of battle but in the roar of machines.

A 99 year lease on Indian land. A "Cochiti City" of 50,000 white people. A recreational lake. Water stolen from other tribes. Men in business suits posing with tribal leaders. Old men sitting on their porches dazed. Children playing in the plaza looking confused. One feels like an ancient Mayan astronomer observing the once in an eon event of a sun exploding in the heavens.

The religious leaders of Cochiti have recognized the death of their Pueblo. They have removed all the sacred objects from the kiva and told the tribal council that as far as they are concerned, "Cochiti is dead."

The Cochiti Project goes far beyond Cochiti. In order to provide enough water for the white people's playground, water rights of the surrounding Pueblos will be taken away. Water is the blood of a Pueblo. Pressure for land on the other Pueblos is being exerted. The land is the flesh of a Pueblo. White people with their values and cultural confusion are moving in. Tradition is the soul of a Pueblo. If Cochiti dies, it would not be an isolated event; it would affect the other Pueblos like a death in the family.

Strangely, Cochiti is dying not because it could not adjust to the 20th Century but because it adjusted to it too well.

The Cochiti Project is a monument to the greed of white people and the weakness of Indian leadership: Though always remember that one night in 1680 the Pueblo people revolted and drove the Spanish out of New Mexico. May those white people who will dwell in Cochiti City dream on that.



NANDE PUEBLO TRIBU



SAN JUAN PUEBLO TRIBU



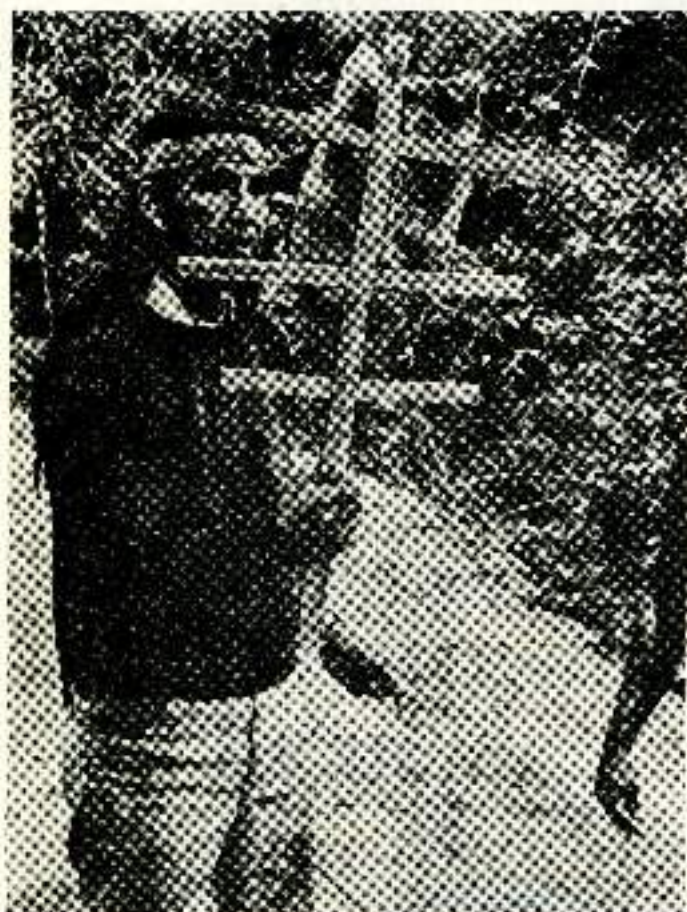
TEJES PUEBLO TRIBU



TIKI TRIBU

THE INDIAN STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL

THE CRY OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE IN THE PAST HAS BEEN THAT



OF A CRY FOR HELP

OR OF TOTAL DESPERATION.

TODAY THE CRY HAS BECOME

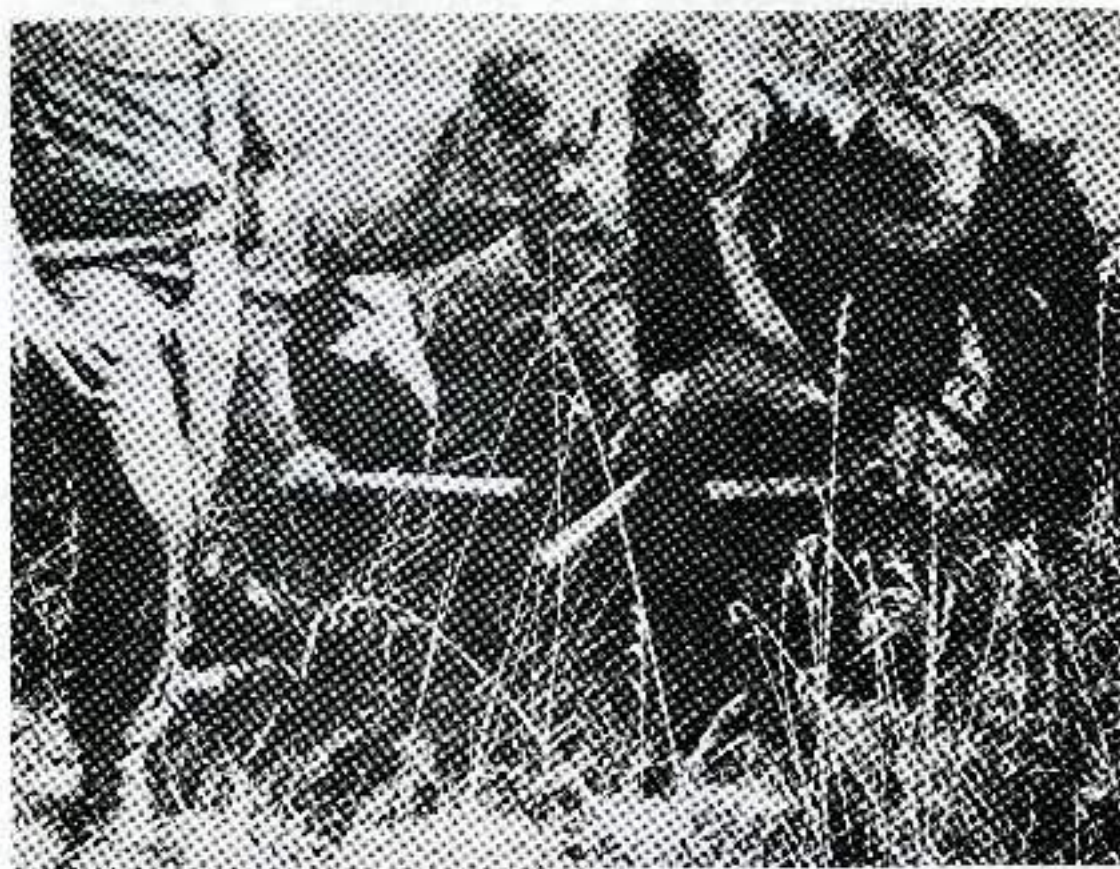
ONE OF HATE,

ANGER,

AND WAR.

This is what the Puyallup Tribe in Tacoma, Washington wrote to Nixon last August about their long struggle for fishing rights---rights guaranteed under the 1854 Noducube creek treaty.

THE MASSACRE OF THE PUYALLUP CAMP



On September 9, their camp was attacked and tear-gassed by police. 59 Indians and supporters were arrested.

Among those arrested was Dolores Varela, staff photographer for El Grito. Her pictures tell the story of the camp in brief.

After police broke up the camp, they attacked it with bulldozers and destroyed it completely. The Puyallup set up another camp and it was cleaned out---probably by sports men who want all the fish for themselves, not to feed their families but to show off. Yet, the Indians' spirit is high and their struggle goes on. Vivan los valientes de Puyallup!

Tacoma police stand ready to KILL as the Fisheries men begin pulling the Indians' nets in from the river.

(story on next page)

FISHERMEN AND THE FASCISTS

The long struggle of the Puyallup Indian tribe to keep their right to fish--which is actually a struggle for the right to survive--continues in Washington State. Neither white police nor white vigilantes with guns nor the white man's legal system have been able to stop the Puyallup.

On September 9, 1970, over 200 police stormed an Indian fishing camp and torquaged the people, arrested dozens of Indian and Anglo supporters, and bull-dozed the camp away causing \$10,000 worth of damages. (See *El Grito*, Sept. 16, Oct. 8). A total of 59 people are being tried from this incident. So far, four have been found guilty and four were acquitted on February 25, after a dramatic trial.

After the police raid on the camp, hundreds of white vigilantes calling themselves "sportsmen" who want to grab all the salmon for themselves--began raiding one Indian camp after another. They have sunk Indian fishing boats, stolen and destroyed Indian nets, taken pot-shots at Indians, harassed and threatened Indian families on their own land. None of the whites have been arrested.

On January 19, 1971, just before dawn, two of those white vigilantes fired point-blank into the stomach of a 27 year old man, Hank Adams, a leader in the Indian struggle to assert their fishing rights. Adams was seated in his car beside the river, tending a net with a friend, Michael Hunt, when two white men came up, cursed him and one shot Adams with a .22 rifle. But police said Adams had shot himself and asked him to take a lie detector test to prove he hadn't.

From his hospital bed, Adams said: "I can't identify him (the man who fired the gun) but hell, I've seen him before. I've seen him a a thousand taverns, in a thousand churches and on a thousand juries. I've seen him in a thousand organizations, a thousand offices and in a thousand uniforms. And he's wounded each of us, every Indian, a thousand times."

The Puyallup says that there is a conspiracy between State Game officials who incite white into acts of violence, and the Tacoma police, who refuse to protect the Indians, together with the entire white community. All have conspired to violate what is clearly the law. Several treaties signed in the 1850's including the Treaty of Medicine Creek, guaranteed the Indians of Washington and Oregon unlimited rights to off-reservation fishing on certain rivers. Indians of the arealike the Puyallup have been fishing these waters for centuries and are almost entirely dependent on salmon for their food and livelihood.

So it is life itself that the Indians are trying to defend, against the guns of the "sportsmen" and in the courtroom. In 1967, local Indians spent close to \$60,000 going to the U.S. Supreme Court, which ruled that Indians can fish. Last January the first

group of people arrested in the police invasion of September 9 went on trial. Those four, all white supporters, were convicted and sentenced to 6 months in jail.

The second trial then began for three Indians-- Maiselle Bridges and her daughter Woni-muc (Suzette) Mills and Johnvigil Orlando Chiquiti--and a white photographer named Carol Burns. The charges were again misdemeanors, unlawful assembly and failure to disperse. The prejudice and racism of the judge became obvious in a series of incidents. Finally, on February 8, Maiselle Bridges--who is a member of the Puyallup Tribal Council--stood up and started walking out of the courtroom. She said, "This court doesn't have jurisdiction over me and this case. With all these lies being told about me and my people in this court, I know I can't get justice. I can no longer stay here." The judge roared "Stop her!" but the masses of supporters protected Maiselle from the bailiffs so she was able to leave.

Her daughter, Woni-muc, also walked out of the court. Neither went into hiding--they have been either at home or travelling to win support for their cause--but the police have made no move to arrest them for jumping bail, although warrants are out.

That same day, Johnvigil Chiquiti revealed in court that the prosecution had offered him and the others a deal--to drop the charges if they would forfeit their bail of \$10. "I won't sell my people out for \$10", he said. Johnvigil also called the judge a racist for giving preferred white treatment to the white defendant. For those actions, the judge ordered Chiquiti taken out of the court in irons and recessed the trial for one week. Then he resumed it--without two of the defendants being present!

Then came the day of closing argument, February 25. Chiquiti, who was defending himself, spoke to the jury for a long time.

The invasion of the Indian camp and the arrests were "an act of war", he said--"it was a police action, as in Vietnam." And it was carried out because "we are a reminder of a thing the state of Washington swept under the rug many years ago. The peace was broken by this State of Washington I was confined because I was Indian. I was put together wrong. I was unlawfully assembled."

Talking about the trial, Chiquiti said: "I looked at Lt. Henderson on the witness stand. I saw the face of hatred. He identified me through the scope of a rifle. Was that gun loaded? You bet it was. Was he disappointed he could not fire that gun? You bet he was. Because everyone knows the only good Indian is a dead Indian."

"My grandpa gave me the strongest weapons an Indian has," Johnvigil told the jury and the judge. "Weapons stronger than the bow, stronger than the spear. He gave me the truth. Help me, I have the



Photo: Elmer Allen

FIVE LEADERS involved in the Indian fishing struggle at a recent press conference. From left to right: Allison Bridges, Suzette Mills, Hank Adams, Ramona Bennett and Al Bridges. A new attempt will be made to restore puyallup fishing camp

truth. Tell me how much of the truth I am allowed to say. Tell me what I can say, Your Honor. Where is your honor, Your Honor?"

Chiquiti talked about the fact that he is a Hopi-Tewa Indian. "The prosecution says I am not an enrolled Indian. To be an enrolled is to choose between my mother and my father. This I will not do. Hopi means peace. Tewa means protector of the peace. Hopi means plant corn, take care of the earth, make rain. Tewa means warrior craftsman. I am Hopi-Tewa."

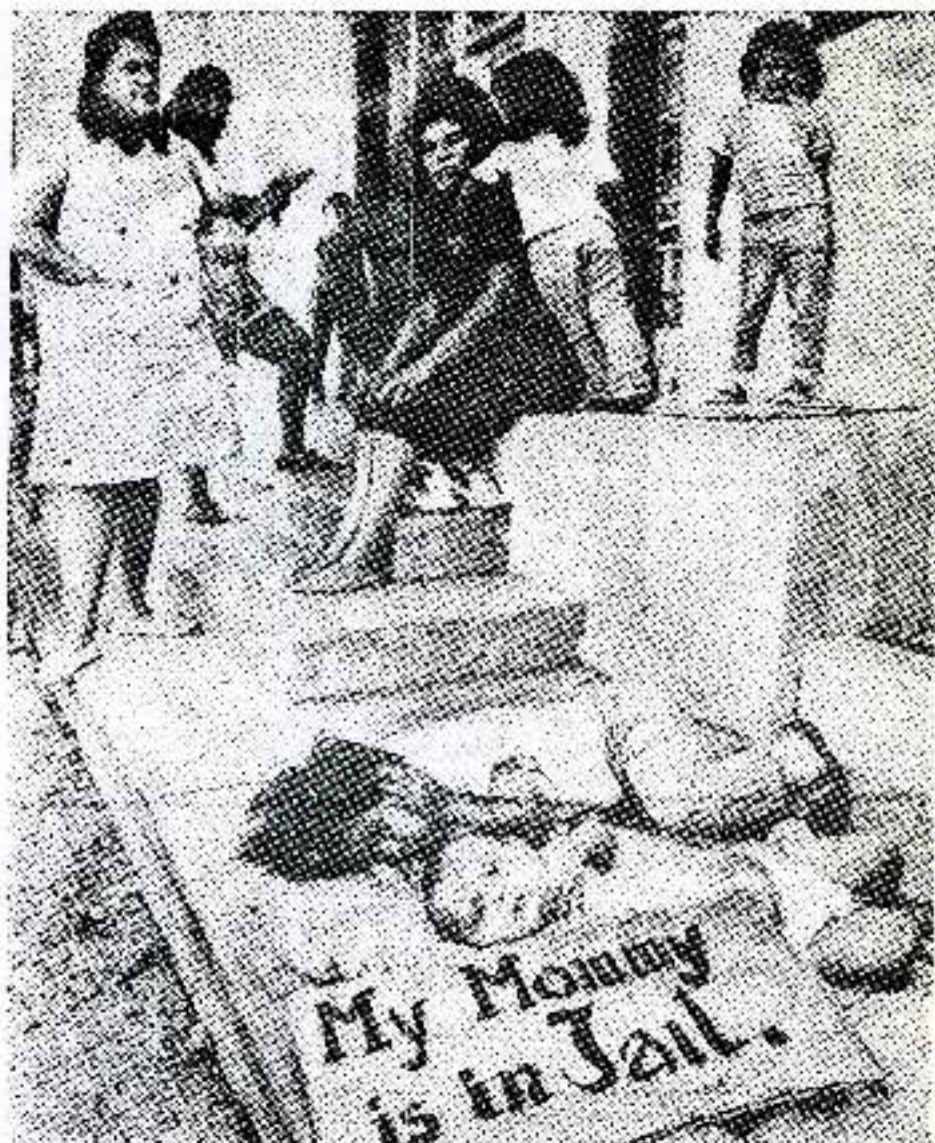
During his statement, Chiquiti had a big pile of deer hides on the floor near the jury box. And now he told the jurors: "The court instructed you to write your verdict on a piece of paper. I want you to write your verdict on these deer hides---not a piece of paper. Recognize me as an Indian. These deer hides mean something to me and my people. They have a history. I ask you to do that for me."

The prosecution was calling out objections to this unusual procedure, but Johnvigil went on talking as if they did not exist. Finally, the jury did write their verdicts on deer hides---giving their names and addresses as well.

There are still 51 people to be tried. Outside the courts, the struggle goes on. It is many years old; in 1968, federal troops had to be sent to Washington to protect Indian finishing rights when they were being threatened in ways much like today. But now, the white man justifies his greed for fish and land by saying the Indians could, with modern equipment, over-fish the salmon runs and that the Indians don't know how to regulate their own fisheries. They claim this despite the fact that until the white man came, there were plenty of salmon to be caught. The Indians say that today they get only two or three percent of the salmon caught, and that the decline of salmon really comes from non-Indian fishing, pollution and dams. The whole struggle over fishing rights is, in fact, a conservation struggle as well



PIT RIVER C H A L L E N G E



Pit River Indian children waited outside jail before earlier freeing of 34

A guerrilla task force of Pit River Indians observed the opening of the white man's hunting season over the weekend by felling great trees and using steel culverts to shut off two Pacific Gas and Electric Co. roads to hunters at Big Bend and Cassel.

Members of the group also attempted to confront a PG&E employee at the Hat 2 power house near Cassel Sunday afternoon. They scaled a barbed wire fence and tried, without success, to get the worker to come out of the building before closing off the road with a huge cedar.

The action was taken to assert the Indians' rights to control hunting and fishing on their ancestral land and to reassert the claim that PG&E is illegally occupying Pit River territory, according to tribal chairman Mickey Gemmill.

Several fishermen complied with the Indians' request to have the Hat 2 power house area Sunday afternoon before the road was sealed off with felled trees.

The Sheriff's sub-station at Burney is investigating possible malicious mischief charges, but Capt. Harold Kramer said there were no suspects.

The road to Cassel was cleared shortly after the Indians departed, but it was not clear if the road to the Pit 6 dam near Big Bend, closed Saturday night, was open today.

PG&E's Redding office manager E.J. Simpson would make no comment this morning on the action.

The force of about a dozen young men and women, accompanied by a number of small children, ranged across the timbered and rolling meadow countryside between Big Bend and Cassel late Saturday night and Sunday, traveling in old pickup trucks and cars.

They moved first on the gigantic dam, Pit 6, which was a target for similar action in July. Hugo metal culverts were pulled across the road to the dam and red and white paint was used to inscribe them with "Pit River Nation."

The group then moved to the top of the dark and deserted dam which had been lit by eerie fluorescent lights during the July takeover. There, the group again splashed the walls of the structure with the tribal insignia, adding an arrow head tipped with red paint.

Moving back down the road, a huge pine was felled as a barricade and a sign was nailed to it proclaiming:

"Keep out: Property of Pit River." A smaller placard reading "No Hunting" was added.

The group moved on the Hat 2 Power House near Cassel Sunday afternoon. Several fishermen stood on the banks of Hat Creek and a PG&E employee peered from a window high in the cement power house where a generator hummed out electricity.

A family, which was preparing to leave when the Indians arrived, was informed by a spokesman that the road was to be shut off.

"The land belongs to the Pit River Tribe," they were told.

"Since when", responded a man, as the family pited into their station wagon. "That sounds like Richard Oakes."

Stokes Richardson, a mathematics teacher at Fall River High School, stood on the bank fishing as he was approached by the Indians.

"That's all right. I understand," said Stokes, as he took apart his pole, "I know what's going on."

As the fishermen departed, two Indians scaled the barbed-wire fence around the power house, knocked on the door and peered through a window attempting to get the PG&E employee inside to come out before the road was blocked. Failing, they scrambled back over the fence and up the road as companions dropped an oak and a great cedar across the road was fallen. A sign with the somewhat irrelevant inscription "Bridge Out" was nailed to the fallen cedar.

Somewhere on a road near Hat Creek, a dark bird flapped a wide wing span and soared over a meadow and into the distant pines.

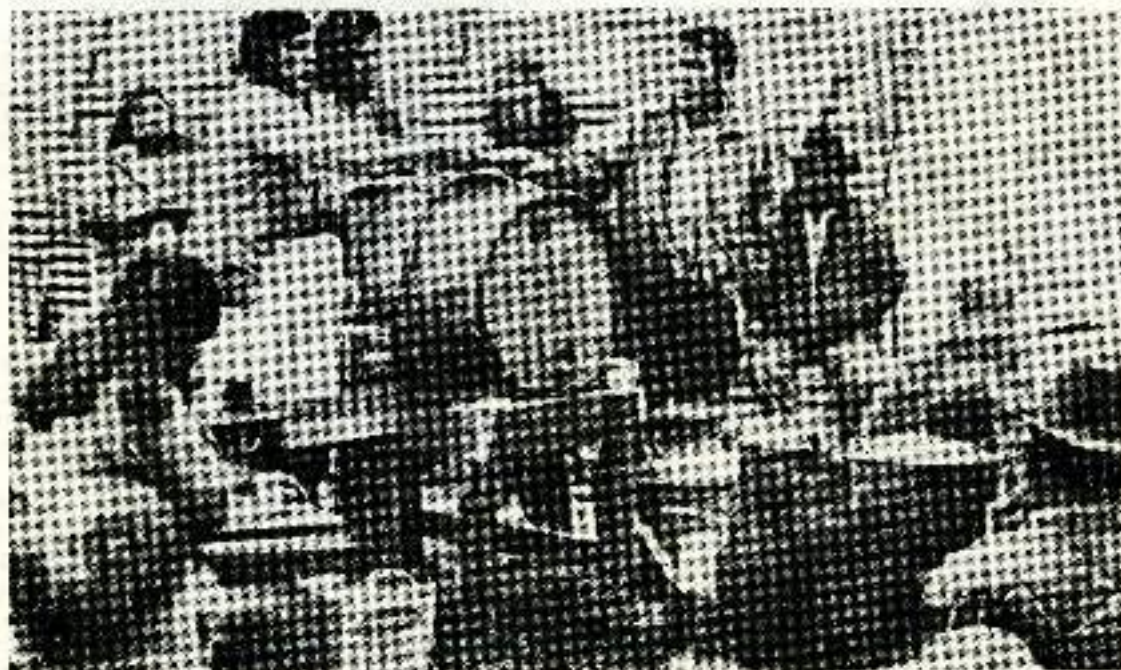
Tribal Chairan Gemmill watched the bird disappear and said:

"There used to be more of those.

There used to be more deer and fish, more everything before the white man came...the Indians consider the earth their mother and all the animals are their brothers...Indians hunt deer all year around for food. They don't shoot them for trophies. If a deer is killed by a car on the road, they take it home for food - they can't afford to buy meat."

Commenting on the activities of the guerrilla force, Gemmill said that even the cutting of a single tree to block a road brought him pain.

But, he said, the young people who took the action were trying to save the forests, the wildlife and the land.



The occupation goes on

GUADELUPE, ARIZONA

NON-EXISTANT TOWN

Guadalupe, Arizona, is a town that does not exist. It is there, but it does not exist, at least according to available information.

It is a town of Yaqui, a Nation that does not exist in the U.S.A.

It is a town where Yaqui and Mexicans live as a community. Yet history tells us the Yaqui and Mexicans are and always have been enemies.

There are no street lights in Guadalupe, but no one is very concerned. After all, they don't have a policeman or a fire department. Yet this city that doesn't exist has a population of about 5,500 citizens.

The town that doesn't exist covers about 300 acres, which has no zone laws. Most of the people do not have to pay taxes. There are no sidewalks, and to add to the odd situation, the Yaqui have never been defeated by the Gringos of the U.S.A.

Back in 1910, the Mexican government was in the midst of doing their best to exterminate the Yaqui. Two Bands then moved across the border and settled in Tucson and Phoenix.

The Phoenix group received a 40 acre land grant from the U.S. government, and so the town that does not exist was born.

Later, in an effort to get the Yaqui to move away, Mexican migrant farm hands were also moved into the town. But the Yaqui remained, as did the Mexicans.

A grant of 100 acres was made, and the town grew in size; still not existing.

The town does possess two items of disaster equipment. One is a 1947 truck with a 750 gallon tank on it that is a part of the non-existent fire department. The other item is also a fire truck; a 1936 Dodge. It would run, but a long time ago the motor was taken apart to be repaired and the head of the motor was somehow lost. So it really is not much good as a fire truck.

The U.S. Army also took an interest in the town, and gave Dr. J.A. Jones, an Anthropologist, a five year \$196,931 contract from the Army Medical Research and Development Command.

The good doctor was to make a total study of the town in an effort to establish a program for winning over Viet Nam village leaders. It seems that the US Army can't tell the difference between a Yaqui and a Vietnamese.

The doctor is now at Pennsylvania State University. Who knows, perhaps he is making another study there. All about "white gook kids."

Well, this town that does not exist, complete with its post office, the fire department that does not work, the Yaqui villagers from Mexico, and their former Mexican "enemies" present more than a few interesting questions; ones that will have to be faced at some near future time.

The college town of Tempe is reported bulldozing its way to the town. It is estimated that the white man's town of Tempe is building an average of 100 houses a month; all heading towards the Yaqui.

Land prices in the town have shot from \$500 per lot to as much as \$1,500 per lot. And this is a poverty area.

The town has two very impressive anti-poverty programs, but the directors and other are too busy fighting each other to get much done. Still, the programs are very impressive; even if nothing gets done.

Some one once "pushed" to get street lights in the town, but the idea fell through. The townspeople feel that if you get your work done in the daylight that you won't need any street lights.

The two anti-poverty programs are about typical for most areas. One was started by private individuals, and then the US government decided to get into the act, so they commenced to establish a Field program. Well, the government wanted a lot of offices and a lot of their own people to run the program. The people of the town said no dice; it was their town and lives, so any poverty program would have to be under the control of the town.

Then there is the small problem of the Church. It seems that some of the land given to the town was left to the local church for administrative purposes. Now the people living there do not pay land taxes because the land is considered Church land. But, what happens when the land exploiters reach that acreage?

It is there, but how can they get the land away from the church when the church cannot sell the land, and the people living there don't want to change the situation? The church has made efforts to turn lot titles over to the people living on the lots. But what the heck, there is no hurry.

After all, what can go wrong with a Tribe of non-treaty Yaqui? There's no BIA law that applies. They can't be sent back over the border now because the government GAVE them permission AND LAND to live on.

Another point is that the Yaqui were never conquered nor their lands taken from them, nor a treaty made with the U.S. government. Doesn't it seem reasonable to assume that they constitute a sovereign Native Nation in the United States?

Most reliable reports said there are only five non-treaty Nations left in the area occupied by the United States. It seems that there is one more.

The town of Guadalupe has more than 2,200 Yaqui.

Now then, let's not forget that the center of the Yaqui Nation is in Mexico. These are all Yaqui citizens according to the United Nations and the U.S. Constitution.

So, what are the Yaqui of Guadalupe, Mexican, Yaqui or United States citizens? Common sense tells us they are Yaqui. But what does common sense have to do with Gringo politicians?

The case of Carlos Feliciano, forty-one year old Puerto Rican militant, raises clear questions of a radical nature, about the whole judicial process and the possible political motivations behind the imprisonment of political figures such as Bobby Seale, Angela Davis, and in a recent case, the Berrigans. Just as important, of course, is the potential danger it represents to the growing Puerto Rican movement in New York and Puerto Rico. In growing numbers, people are beginning to mobilize around the case. It is important that the facts be perfectly clear.

Carlos Feliciano was arrested on May 16, as he was parking his car in the South Bronx, on his way to a sporting goods shop to have a rifle scope fixed. Two policemen approached Feliciano's car and asked to see his license. As he was reaching for it, the police grabbed him, dragged him out of the car and handcuffed him. He was placed under arrest.

While the arrest was taking place, two detectives from the 47th precinct in the Bronx, detectives Gutierrez and Rodriguez, appeared on the scene and, taking the ignition keys out of the car, opened the trunk. In the car's trunk, they found a stale loaf of French bread, which Carlos claims he picked out of a trash can for his dog several weeks before; he had forgotten all about it.

Running toward the sidewalk with the bread, one of the two detectives started banging it against the pavement, yelling, "I got it. I got it." Police then claim that this detective extracted a pipe from the loaf of bread. Carlos and a number of witnesses who managed to see, despite the police attempts to chase them away, saw no pipe. They claim that the bread was thrown whole and unbroken into a bomb squad truck which arrived on the scene.

Carlos was then thrown into the detective's car and driven around the Bronx from 1:15 P.M., the arrest time, to 5:30, in a bizarre tour of the city's bars. (While this "tour" was being conducted, Carlos' car was moved to a space in front of an Army recruiting station some blocks away). Each stop the detectives made, they told Carlos to stay put while they went in to "watch the game". Although Carlos was only handcuffed, he did not attempt to escape. Carlos Feliciano had an experience with the law before.

The average resident of El Barrio only vaguely knew the mild-mannered, soft-spoken father of six. He was a man who worked two jobs a day for several years

CARLOS FELICIANO

The New York police, just as the one from Los Angeles, from Chicago or any other city, has the same common goal: Repression and brutality.

to support his family. Perhaps they knew that he had once been a member of the Nationalist Party (see *Liberated Guardian* January 27, 1971, for background on the Nationalist Party). But he certainly had little time for any political activity. To his neighbors, Carlos was just another *Puertorriqueno*. They could never guess his past.

Carlos in Puerto Rico

Carlos was nineteen years old in 1948, when the United States government passed a law known as the "peacetime draft", a law which was passed in preparation for the Korean war and which would affect all of the island's young men. Sixty thousand young Puerto Ricans refused to serve in the United States Army, Carlos was one of them. For this "crime", refusal to serve in the army of a country which was occupying his own, Feliciano was brought to the San Juan District Jail, "La Princesa". There he was approached by two FBI men, who made him an offer: if Carlos were to register publicly, the charges against him would be dropped.

Feliciano, at that time a Nationalist Party youth member, had no intention of registering but agreed to the FBI's offer. Walking with the two agents through the crowded San Juan streets, Carlos made a run for it and escaped.

Carlos was not seen again in public till the famous uprising of 1950. Then the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico was forced to take up arms to defend itself

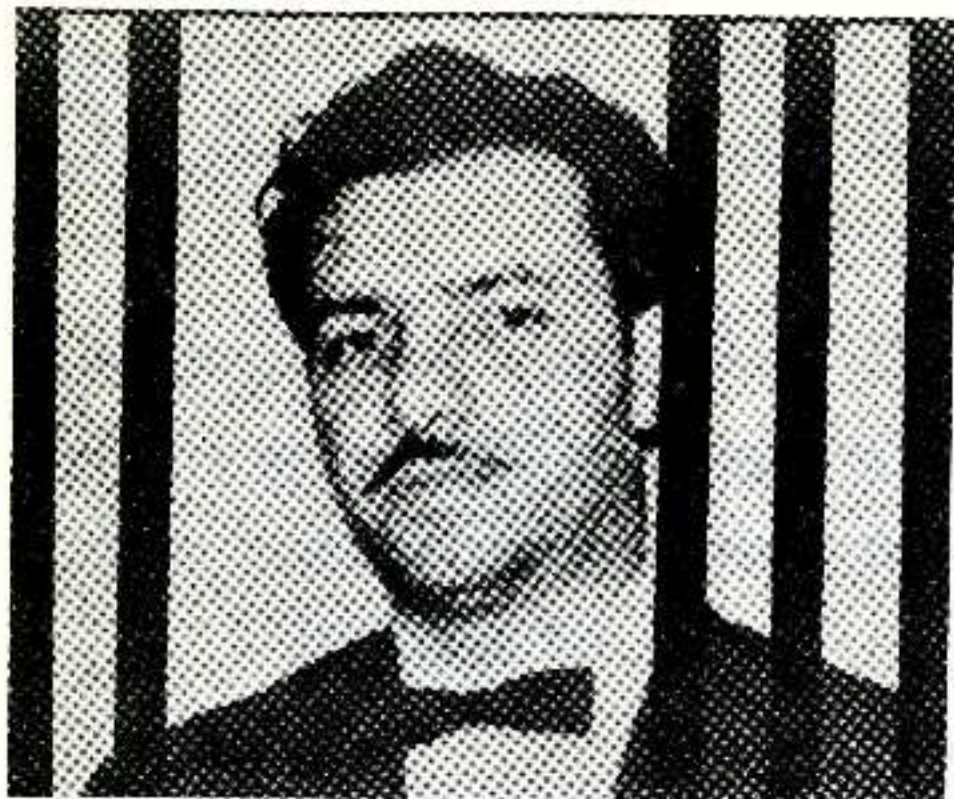
against government attempts to assassinate its leadership. Carlos was arrested in Arecibo and charged with the murder of four police, as were dozens who participated in this same fighting. He was convicted and sentenced to 456 years in prison.

Several months later, a government witness in Mayaguez testified to seeing Carlos in that town at the same time he was allegedly in Arecibo. This conflicting testimony forced the government to throw out its previous sentence. But, to pay Carlos back for his draft escapade several years before, they sentenced him to six years in prison for advocating the overthrow of the government by force and violence "by virtue of his membership in the Nationalist Party." He served the sentence, then came to the United States. That was fourteen years ago.

This experience taught Carlos one thing: Yanqui law is not very consistent. Carlos says he sat in the car thinking of himself running down the street and feeling a slug in his back. He wouldn't give these two "Puerto Ricans" or the "law" a chance to try him when his back was turned.

Lessons of Yanqui law

When Carlos was finally brought into the Manhattan Criminal Court building, he was arraigned and bail was set at \$5,000. For some reason about two hours later, the case was recalled. At this trial, Assistant District Attorney John Fine read from an affidavit which he later pre-



sented to the press. This affidavit is the center of the case's legal controversy . . . it was an argument for raising the bail.

He then explained that in the seven hours since Carlos' arrest, police had conferred with Puerto Rican police and gotten evidence on Carlos, with which he had confronted Carlos in an interrogation. The fruits of this interrogation were two admissions. Carlos, according to Fine, had *admitted* possessing explosives and other "contraband" in his car at the time of his arrest. Carlos also *admitted* to being a member of MIRA (Movimiento Izquierda Revolucionaria Armada), an underground group allegedly responsible for a number of bombings in Puerto Rico and New York. He also said that Carlos "is affiliated, we have reason to believe, with an alien government outside the territorial limits of the United States." Which one? Fine refused to say; it would jeopardize the case.

On the basis of these extraordinary statements, bail was set at \$150,000.

Besides failing to mention how his allegation about an alien government *wouldn't* prejudice the case, Fine failed on a number of other accounts.

In the indictment submitted afterward, Fine only mentions one bombing (of the GE building) and one attempted bombing (of the Army recruiting station to which his car had been moved). HE FAILED TO MENTION THE OTHER THIRTY-ONE BOMBINGS. Where did they go? Contradiction number one.

Fine also failed to release the record of the interrogation which he conducted with Carlos Feliciano, the interrogation was full of these admissions. With great reason! When the lawyers finally did get the police record, they found that Carlos had made *no* admissions to having any contraband at all in his car. And MIRA, the group to which Fine said Carlos had admitted membership, is not even mentioned!

Those are the facts of the case. The basis for the astronomical bail is two admissions and thirty-five acts. The police department's own records show these admissions were never made. The indictment shows that the government will not, or most likely, cannot prove that the acts were committed. The case is a fraud.

Of course, this bail is unjustly high but, for the politically conscious, merely admitting injustice is insufficient. The political life is a life of striving, striving to change things. To change things one must understand why things are the way they are.

For almost twenty years now, the government of the United States has been conducting a program, as well publicized as it is sinister, to "industrialize" the island of Puerto Rico. The plan was written down on paper by Harney Perloff in his book, *Puerto Rico's Economic Future*. It was advanced by a program known as IOMENTO. It is the reason for Puerto

Rico's getting a government and a constitution at all: these would facilitate the centralization and control of American capital on the island. A government could be a job manager for Yankee business.

A cornerstone of the empire

In this evolution, more than 75% of the capital development on the island is North American capital. Puerto Rico is the industrial base for American imperialism into Latin America.

Therefore it is no coincidence that the American military has such a firm hold on the island. Puerto Rico has always been a military base for some other power . . . first Spain and now the United States.

This is our island's dual importance. Maintaining power over the island is crucial for the maintenance of American power in Latin America.

Carlos Feliciano is a representative of that social force which would throw the Americans off the island of Puerto Rico. He is a representative of a growing force of discontent on that island. In this role, the political importance of the case is obvious.

An attempt is being made to draw a link between three elements: 1) the Nationalist Party and by ideological and organizational connection, all of the Puerto Rican groups who demand independence, 2) elements which employ terrorist tactics to meet fully stated goals of the overthrow of capitalism and the government, 3) an "alien government". Just imagine what a conviction would mean. Given the present use of the "conspiracy" laws, a conviction of Carlos Feliciano could mean the legalized smashing of the Puerto Rican movement in New York and Puerto Rico.

The Feliciano case brings into focus several things to justice minded people:

In focus is the whole system of judicial law, which time and again has been applied in a way that only the most unconscious of people could deny is politically motivated.

In focus is the injustice of a system which would put a man, who works two jobs to keep a family of seven alive, in jail for being unable to pay \$175,000 (Feliciano's bail was raised as the result of adding bail when he was moved to Bronx courts).

In focus is the treatment that the courts have given the case, one judge going so far as to wall off the bench rather than hear a bail application.

And lastly, in focus is the valiant fight by our people, Carlos' people, to free our island and attain our self-determination.

LEGEND:

THE REAL BACKDROP TO THE FELICIANO CASE

BY Alfredo Lopez

Very often it is difficult to examine an event separated from historical context. You can't look at Pearl Harbor without looking at all of World War II. You can't examine the Bay of Pigs without a look at the Cuban revolution. You certainly can't begin to explore the Puerto Rican political situation (particularly, the question of its political prisoner) without going back to 1947.

How could it be any different? 1947 was an important year for the little island of Puerto Rico. The Second World War had just ended. Puerto Rican men were returning (in part) after being pulled off their island, like leaves off a tree, by a government (Uncle Sam) which did not let them fly their own flag or sing their own national anthem, or control their own lives. The things American kids feel now about the ugly war in Vietnam, Puerto Rican boys felt about World War II...fighting hard, dying confused, living in the kind of daze that you feel when things that you can't do anything about run past you, perhaps not even stopping to laugh at you...feeling the gut pain oppression.

As a nation, Puerto Rico was in flux. Industrialization, sponsored and owned by the United States, was just beginning to hit the island...All around them, Puerto Ricans could see the large buildings and the churning machines and know, because they had never been shown any different, that all the promises of the politicians, the industrialization would bring prosperity, were only promises and that industrialization only meant more poverty. They had had enough poverty.

So 1947 was a year when things were beginning to happen, a year of instability and confusion. Most importantly, 1947 was the beginning of a period, a period called the era of the Nationalist Party, a period which was to end in the most widespread revolt in the history of Puerto Rico.

At the end of the year, on December 15, Dr. Pedro Albizu Campos returned to his island. For Don Pedro, as we know him it had been a horrible ten years. Part of the time spent in jail, part of it in the hospital, Campos' health had been affected adversely, his mind had been deeply troubled. The time in the United States had been one of misery for a man whose heart had never left Puerto Rico.

But he was back. And this was important. Pedro Albizu Campos was the president of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico, and in this position, he had proven over and over again that he was a man deserving of the most profound respect.

First of all, Pedro Campos was, for all practical purposes, a genius---not only in the fact that he had been a brilliant law student at Harvard, but because he had those qualities, that charisma, the

ability to speak clearly and spellbindingly to all his people whether they be the poorest or richest, most educated or most ignorant. His message could enlighten every mind, enliven every tongue. He was a man of the people.

Secondly, Albizu Campos, and he alone, could give the party the leadership it sorely needed. Only his overwhelming, almost superhuman, strength of character could arm the party against the almost constant repression. His organizational ability and the fact that he had "antennae" in every government office were other weapons to add to the arsenal. Thirdly, Don Pedro Albizu Campos had a program, a program which he wasted no time outlining.

The first wave of repression took place on the University campus where three students replaced the American flag with the Puerto Rican only to be expelled from the University. "When the succeeding student leadership invited Albizu Campos to deliver a lecture on campus on "Puerto Rico and the United Nations", the rector (who five months earlier had enunciated an absolutely open policy in response to American Legion protest over a meeting on campus addressed by the President of the Communist Party of Puerto Rico) forbade the meeting." The refusal ended in widespread demonstrations and activity, the closing of the University for three weeks and the stationing of five hundred police on campus (they remained for six months). There were also arrests, even of people who walked two abreast from one classroom to another, and crushing---brutal crushing---of all peaceful demonstrations.

For the next two years, Don Pedro and the party travelled extensively throughout Puerto Rico, holding public meetings (which were almost sabotaged by ineffectively enforced gag laws in 1948), pushing on the question of independence in the United Nations and the OAS (which was to have taken the question up at its next mass meeting).

In order to counteract the party's effective actions, the United States government in Puerto Rico drafted a bill called the Federal Relations Act. Under this act Puerto Ricans would draft their own constitution to deal with matters that were minor procedural questions. The suspicious absence of any mention of power over military use of the island and the economic framework and system of Puerto Rico in the law, tipped the Nationalists off as to what the law was all about. When the United States, in order to present a "facade of democracy," allowed the Puerto Ricans to vote on the law, the Nationalist Party advocated complete boycott of the referendum.

It is quite probable that the United States government, realizing that there was no other way, decided to decimate the leadership of the party by

incarceration or assassination. "Accordingly, on April 28, 1950, Louis Jordan, United States Secretary of War, arrived in Puerto Rico. For three days he conferred with United States military officials and then went back to Washington." A few days later, Campos was informed by his very competent party intelligence, that those military officials had been instructed to tell Luis Muñoz Marín, the governor of Puerto Rico, to jail leadership or, if they proved difficult to apprehend, to kill them.

The party undertook a campaign to expose this fact to the Puerto Rican people. Because the papers would not handle even a paid advertisement, the party had to do it by public meeting. The campaign started in Manatí on June 11, 1950. It was public pressure, especially from Latin American where the world spread very fast, that delayed the execution of the plan for six months. Six months, however, go by very quickly.

One morning in 1950 (October 27) police blocked off a road on which a Nationalist Party caravan was traveling back from a meeting. They alleged that two cars had run red lights and carried both cars' occupants off to jail. They seized several weapons in the raid.

That same afternoon, police invaded the home of the President of the Ponce section of the party, but they found nothing to use for an arrest. So on that night, the police found nothing, but before they could leave, four nationalists, who had been advised of the raid on the elderly woman's farm, arrived and nineteen policemen took them on in a gun battle. Three of the nationalists died.

As the news spread, there was no longer any doubt: the plan's delay was over. The police were coming down on the Nationalist Party. The nationalists responded to the murderous repression with guns.

"In the mountain village of Jayuya, nationalists decided to attack police headquarters and, once they had taken possession of the weapons stored therein, to proclaim the Republic of Puerto Rico. Under heavy police fire, they broke down the door and

**The government
could not allow the nationalists
to control this village and set
up a base for their operations.**

started up the stairs. The leader of the group, Carlos Irizarry, exchanged fire with Police Officer Virgilio Camacho and both were mortally wounded. Seeing their leader incapacitated, the nationalist youths revised earlier plans of action and set fire to police headquarters. It went up in flames..." That fire spread to the Post Office and Selective Service Office, then to the neighborhood homes and stores. The firemen refused to fight the fire, even though the nationalist promised them safety if they would.

The government could not allow the nationalists to control this village and set up a base for their

**So,
after bombarding the village
from the air
and
deployment of vast numbers
of
National Guardsmen,
the government claimed control.**

operations. So, after bombarding the village from the air and deployment of vast numbers of National Guardsmen, the government claimed control. But revolt was still going on. In Arecibo, Mayaguez, Naranjito and Untuado, incidents like the above occurred over and over. And in San Juan, five nationalists were seriously wounded (four died, one is crippled for life) when they tried to raise the Puerto Rican flag at La Fortaleza, that symbol of ages of colonial domination which now serves, quite appropriately, as the governor's palace.

The revolt even spread to the United States when two nationalist, Oscar Collazo and Griselio Torresola, who had tried to go to Puerto Rico to join the revolt, could not get passage. Instead they went to Washington, to Blair House, the temporary residence of the man who allegedly had given the repression order to Louis Jordan--Harry Truman, President of the United States. In the now famous aborted assassination attack, Torresola was killed and Collazo wounded. He still remains in jail today.

All told, more than two thousand arrests of nationalists and friends were made. Those who had answered police fire to defend themselves were accused of assassinating police. Those who had been in incidents where no police were shot, even if they had not taken a shot at police, were accused of attempted assassination.



Jayuya, November 4, 1950: National Guardsmen round up nationalists.

"The hundreds of non-participants in the revolt who were nonetheless held after questioning were all charged with violation of Law 53 of 1948, the "Little Smith Act" especially designed to jail devotees of independence. Bail set ranged from \$10,000 in the case of a few of those charged with violation of Law 53 to \$97,000 in the case of Albizu Campos.

"Those released on \$10,000 bail were promptly re-arrested, their bail having been increased to \$25,000, the standard bail applied in Law 53 cases. With hundreds of cases pending and all of its leadership in jail, the Nationalist Party could not possibly supply bail pending trial. Thus, by excessive bail alone, the Government made certain that the Nationalist Party position would not be expounded until after the trials were held, at the very earliest."

Trials dragged on, beginning in January of 1951 and continuing for three years. "Almost all of the hundreds of persons accused were found guilty, it being sustained by the courts that anyone who so much as passed a collection plate at a nationalist gathering was by that act advocating the overthrow of the government by force and violence."

Over the years, nationalists were released, one by one, some of them only to die. A number died in prison. Don Pedro died, of a cerebral hemorrhage, in the Presbyterian Hospital in Puerto Rico in 1965, completely paralyzed and having lost, for over a year, his ability to speak more than two words at a time.

Today, in the prison of Puerto Rico, four prisoners remain in jail. One of them, Ismael Dias Diaz, is the brother of the woman who was arrested and convicted of murder for feeding her family, though still active, the Nationalist Party, many of whose positions have been adopted by the MPI and PUP, is small in number. It is little more than a reminder of those years of patriotism 1947-54,

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FREE
THE
PUERTO RICAN
POLITICAL
PRISONERS



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OPERATION CULEBRA

**As long
as we are slaves
we have to fight**

By Bill Wingell.

Special to the Guardian

San Juan, P.R.

A federal judge has given three-month prison sentences to 14 persons—including Ruben Berrios, president of the Puerto Rican Independence party, and Daniel Balderston, an 18-year-old Quaker from Pennsylvania—for their parts in the campaign to get the U.S. Navy off the Puerto Rican island of Culebra.

U.S. district judge Jose V. Toledo issued the sentences Feb. 18 after finding the defendants guilty of contempt for refusing to obey his temporary restraining order against entering the Navy target practice zone on Culebra's Flamingo Beach.

The demonstrators were arrested over a two-week period last month and in January when they entered the target area in an effort to stop the Navy's "Operation Springboard," an annual intensified training exercise joined by the warships of six other nations. The Navy has used parts of Culebra for ship-to-shore shelling and aerial bombing practice since 1936, despite the fact that the island, only seven miles long and three miles across at its widest, is inhabited by more than 700 persons.

In the emotion-charged court session, Independence party leader Berrios, who also teaches law at the University of Puerto Rico, told the judge: "This sentence will rebound one and a thousand times against this court until Puerto Rico is free, independent and socialist." Toledo cut off Berrios, but the defendant retorted: "There is no one who can stop history."

Fist salutes

The crowd of Independence party supporters jamming the courtroom sang the Puerto Rican anthem as U.S. marshals escorted the fist-saluting prisoners from the room. Balderston, a student at a Quaker school in Wallingford, Pa., and a member of Quaker Action Group, went limp and had to be carried out.

The Philadelphia-based Quaker Action Group and the Independence party launched a joint campaign in January to help the Culebrans get the Navy off their island. Said Berrios at the time: "The Navy is here because we [Puerto Ricans] are not free. As long as we are slaves we have to fight."

During the trial, the defendants—all Puerto Ricans except for Balderston—refused to offer any defense, even to the extent of declining to enter a plea. They also insisted on speaking in Spanish, despite the judge's stipulation that the language of the court was English.

In a statement given by Berrios in Spanish, the party spokesman admitted the defendants had "broken the law of the empire," but, he noted, "breaking the law of the empire is fulfilling the law of the fatherland."

"We accept the fact that we have intentionally disobeyed a federal order and that we have interrupted the bombardment of Puerto Rican territory by the Navy," he added. "Our behavior should be understood as an integral part of a patriotic movement which aims at the elimination from Puerto Rico of federal authority."

In a separate statement, Balderston told the court: "The orders of this court and the fences which seek to enforce those orders cannot hide from us the fact that Culebra is used for the testing of weapons that destroy human flesh in Vietnam and Laos and Cambodia."

The student said he "acted knowingly in disobedience of those orders because they seek to justify the expropriation of the land of Culebra and to restrict the free use of Culebra by its people and because they try to protect the bombing of Culebra from the accusing voice of humanity, which has seen too much killing."

Support for Action

Several hundred persons demonstrated outside the courthouse during the trial. After the prisoners had been taken to the Presidio, the state penitentiary on the outskirts of San Juan, more than 1000 persons held an all-night vigil outside the jail. The next day, hundreds of University of Puerto Rico students demonstrated and smashed windows in a San Juan business district, singling out American-owned establishments.

The jailing of Berrios, Balderston and the other defendants, among them six Culebrans (one was later released when officials discovered he was only 17 years old) took place 10 days after the Navy had torn down a "peace" chapel built by the protesters on the edge of the target zone as part of their campaign.



Guardian photo by Bill Wimpell

Culobra protesters, as they were arrested and taken away by U.S. marshals.

The chapel was dismantled, according to the Navy, because it was deemed "unsafe" although, the Culobrans point out, it took at least a dozen men two hours to reduce it to rubble with axes.

Destruction of the chapel caused a three-hour battle between a force of about 90 Marines guarding the target area and some 50 Culobrans, with the Marines lobbing dozens of "CS" tear gas canisters and the islanders responding with Molotov cocktails.

"The Marines used the gas and the boys threw the gasoline; it was like Vietnam," observed Mrs. Rosa Feliciano, a 49-year-old housewife who witnessed the action.

One Marine was hospitalized with second-degree burns on his hands—caused by a gasoline bomb, according to a spokesman for the 10th Naval District headquarters in San Juan. Culobrans suffered only minor bruises and burns, mostly the result of tossing the hot tear gas canisters back at the Marines.

Conflicting stories

After the battle, the Navy quickly issued a statement asserting that the Marines fired the tear gas after approximately 30 demonstrators, "many of them carrying gasoline-filled bottles in their hands," had rushed onto federal property "displaying obvious intent to physically harm military and civilian guards."

On the other hand, islanders who took part in the battle contend the Marines started tossing the gas at them after less than a half-dozen unarmed residents had entered the Navy property—through a gate strangely left open to try to stop destruction of the chapel. The throwing of Molotov cocktails began after the Marines had started using tear gas and had apprehended a woman resident, according to the Culobrans.

The islanders' account is corroborated in a blow-by-blow description of the action prepared by two civilian surveyors who were visiting the island to do an attitudinal study of the residents for the Defense Department and who say they witnessed the entire melee.

In a report they sent to Washington, the consultants, Alfred Wilson, of Michigan State University, and John Coggins, affiliated with a New York City research firm, said the Culobrans did not start throwing Molotov cocktails until five minutes after the Marines had started using tear gas. And the first gasoline bombs, according to the researchers, were thrown over the Navy fence, not carried inside by invaders.

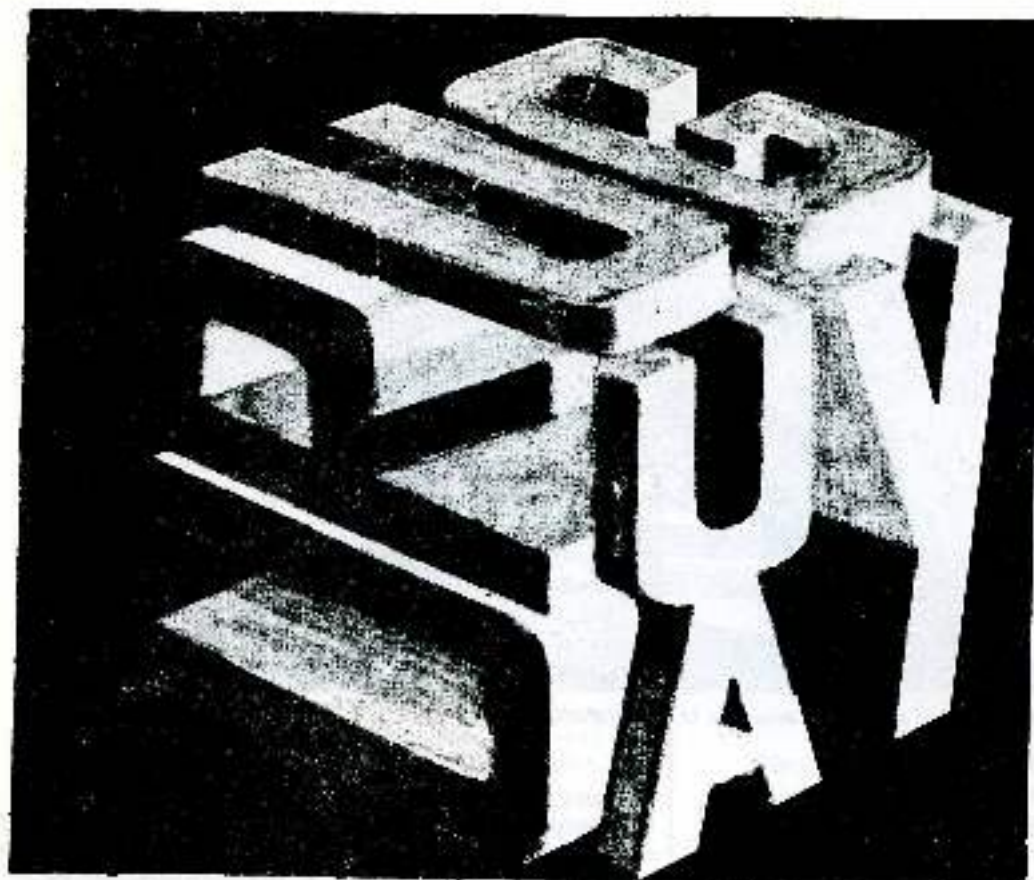
During the battle, the Culobrans burned down a small guardhouse and tore out a section of the Navy fence. Later the same week, the Navy rebuilt the fence but not without the embarrassment of having the gate stolen by islanders.

At last report, Culobrans and several members of the Quaker Action Group maintained a round-the-clock vigil at a makeshift camp just outside the Navy fence on Flamingo Beach. A force of about 40 Marines stood guard inside.

Intent on showing the permanence of their commitment to the struggle to get rid of the Navy, the vigilers worked to build a "Parque del Pueblo" (People's Park) nearby. They also talked of renewing their harassment of the Navy's ship-to-shore shelling.

Anastasio Soto, a husky, 44-year-old fisherman who serves as president of both the island's fishermen's association and its "Rescue Culobra Committee," said he believed the jail terms given the 14 persons were designed "to make other people afraid to enter the restricted area."

"But that will not stop the struggle in Culobra," Soto said. "Our fight is to make the Navy leave the island, and we will keep up that fight."



tu pa ma ros

North American Congress on Latin America

Last July 30, the Tupamaros captured some prisoners of their own—the pigpooes were the Brazilian consul and the chief US pig advisor to Uruguay, Dan Mitrione. The actions took place simultaneously with two other attempts which were unsuccessful. Big Dan is part of a US "team" of four advisors in Uruguay who are there for the sole purpose of helping to keep the people down and stamp out the Tupamaros in fact Mitrione is the leading American expert on the Tupamaros. Dan and his friends are all roving pigs in the public safety program sponsored by that well known charity organization A.I.D. (the Agency for International Development, an imperialist hoax used to gain economic control over third-world countries). There are 57 others like him in 15 Latin American nations all advising and training local police forces. In addition to this team, the US has provided the repressive Uruguayan government with helmets, shields and other riot equipment as well as a radio network which helps the military and civilian "security forces" coordinate their activity.

In return for Dan and Aloysio Marrs Dias Cornade, the Brazil consul, the Tupamaros are demanding the release of 100 Tupamaros (the total number now in jail). This will raise a rather interesting situation for the government of President Pacheco who has repeatedly said that he will never give in to guerrilla demands. The problem, of course, will be how he will deal with the pressure from Brazil and the US. It is hard to imagine that he can say no to the US, being totally dependent on it economically in particular the International Monetary Fund (IMF), better known as the World Bank run by our

old friend, Robert MacNamara, and as we have just seen to an extent militarily. Brazil is also a problem, being a close neighbor and incidently, having agreed to help Uruguay put down any rebellion which seems to be getting out of hand. Rumor at Montevideo has it that as a solution President Pacheco might grant an amnesty to all political prisoners, but this is not yet definite.

This action immediately followed last week's pigtapping of the judge responsible for trying most of the captured Tupamaros. He will be set free after a "long chat" according to a communique which was received. These actions are the first in several weeks by the Tupamaros who have had a truce with the police recently.

Sometime about the beginning of July, the Tupamaros sent a letter to the police in which they asked them to refuse to accept orders from their superiors. The letter was headed with a phrase from the writings of Jose Artigas, a national independence hero in Uruguay. "Among ourselves we do not want wolves in sheep's clothing, why, therefore, make us wage a more furious war? He who will be the enemy, declare yourself, and we will know to oppose arms with arms and men with men. Justice demands the punishment of the guilty and the rewards to the virtuous." This letter seems to have set off tremendous conflict within the police, and there have been constant meetings and discussions. Also made public at the same time were the contents of the letter which the Tupamaros sent to the lawyer who is defending the police who have already rebelled. The letter said:

Doctor Carrasco Hernandez:

Since learning of your actions in defense of a group

of officers who are demanding that the police institute not be used for ends other than those specified, we ask that you make known to those officers the following declarations—

1. Concerning the attempted assassination of the agent Nelson Sosa, who was serving in the business district, the MLN wishes to explain that no member of this organization committed that attack. As we have shown many times, our fight is not against the modest police functionary who honestly performs his duty.
2. Without doubt, in recent times, and for causes alien to their desires, the police functionaries have not only had to perform their duties, but they have also had to tarnish their uniforms in all the attacks on freedom, the tortures and the murders decreed by the government of Pacheco. Unfortunately, those who promote these policies are hidden away while those who execute it and are in the streets defending it are the police functionaries.
3. For this reason, we have arrived at the firm conclusion that we are not able to overthrow this regime without systematically attacking at her defenses, the forces of the police (and army and navy) which defend this system and execute her policies. We, therefore, from this point make ourselves responsible for the attacks against police functionaries. We are conscious that this strategy of attack on officers who are not our true enemies may be unjust, but we do not see how to make a regime collapse without attacking those who defend it.

In this moment in which we have achieved the greatest development and have the best offensive tools in order to succeed in this strategy, we are determined to have a truce of 15 days in any type of attack on the repressive forces, hoping that your members will think over and understand what their true patriotic duty is, since indications already exist that they are doing just this.

Because we trust that with many of those who today, paradoxically, we are confronting, tomorrow we will be able to march together in a revolutionary gesture for the liberation of our beloved Uruguay.

This year, the level of struggle has continued to rise. In an incredible action this spring, they attacked a naval base and armory getting away with over 700 weapons. The action was perfect. They had arrived dressed in police uniforms and clearly had good inside information. It is most probably this arms build-up which has allowed them to reach the stage they referred to in the letter. No one was captured in this action.

Immediately following this attack and in celebration of International Women's Day, they managed to free 13 of their sisters. At the time of the action, the sisters were in church. Several of the sisters started clapping, and in the confusion they managed to overpower the police and escape.

It is actions like these, I have outlined only the most spectacular, which have made the Tupamaros internationally known. The battle which they are waging in Uruguay is a constant one. Almost everyday something happens—within the past few years they have expropriated over a million dollars from banks, they have

ripped off hundreds if not thousands of arms from the military and police and, most spectacularly, an action which they are renowned for, has been the appropriation of government, corporate and personal documents which have revealed the extent corruption exists in the Pacheco government. These documents have consequently been delivered to the media and widely publicized—this is an important part of every bank robbery.

They have, at all times, tried to avoid the death or injury of anyone not directly involved in the pig establishment. At the same time, they have always tried to make clear exactly who the real enemy is. One of the most important aspects of their actions has been the way in which they have related to mass struggles which are taking place at the same time. In this way they have gotten a tremendous amount of sympathy from a large portion of the population. Kidnappings usually tie in with a strike, the money from bank rip-offs go to the most oppressed sectors and their communiqués are written in a way that everyone can relate to. They have no disdain for the people but are rather part of them and see themselves as working with them.

The document adds that the Tupamaros' actions against the police recently culminated in the disarming of a member of the Republican Guard whose life they then spared explaining their politics and saying that their struggle was against the chiefs and the oligarchy not him. The Guard then returned to his station where he told everyone there what had happened. After much discussion, the officers resolved that they were not in agreement with the methods which the government used, like the machine-gunning of two unarmed Tupamaros who had their hands in the air, and decided to refuse to go out in the streets to continue that kind of fascism.

This action immediately received the sanction of all the officers in the Republican Guard and led to the mass insubordination of city officers, firemen, intelligence and political police who fucked up the minister of the Interior for several hours by just refusing to do certain administrative shit like give him his phone calls. The government pigs then panicked and called on the army to do something, but they refused to act against the police. The next day the police refused to go out and patrol.



The end of the Tupamaro document talks about their strategy "the MLN [Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional=Tupamaros] established as the core of their actions the harassment of the repressive forces that constitute, paradoxically, the strongest and the most vulnerable part of the regime. This attack on the repressive forces must be continuous and systematic. Sporadic blows are only able to cause equivalently sporadic retreats on the part of the repressive forces and in the course of time the action loses effect if not continued."

All these recent events have led to a peak in terms of the mood of the country. The Tupamaros are extremely popular in Uruguay and have support in almost every segment of society; despite the fact that their name is banned in the press, they have become popular heroes. This situation, of course, has been a real hammer for the government with the Defense Minister recently saying "We are at war."

THEORY AND PRACTICE

The structure of the Tupamaros is a classic cell structure. Each cell consists of 4 or 5 people and functions independently. The people within the cells are known to each other by their war names only, which is purely a security measure. The cells are coordinated by leaders—all of whom meet only once a year. Actions to be taken are voted on by the whole cell before approved. The cells are composed of both men and women. Each new recruit must have a sponsor who then writes a long report on the person as the first step to admittance.

Each cell is under tight discipline—there is no drinking allowed and those who smoke are asked to cut down. Each member must know how to operate all kinds of weapons and explosives, how to start a car without a key and how to sabotage a police car. It seems at least to an extent that members of the group do not live "underground" lives only, but rather operate normally within the society while concealing the fact that they are Tupamaros. Of the members who have been caught, besides peasants and workers, some have been actors and writers, some students, some doctors, and some government workers (including an official of the Ministry of Foreign Relations).

The Tupamaro bases which have been discovered have been found to contain medicines and medical instruments, weapons, labs for making bombs, ammunition, license plates, false ID (also the equipment needed to make the papers—photography shops, paper, machines, etc., all stolen from police headquarters), and uniforms of every kind.

They apparently have a high level intelligence system which provides them with detailed information on the military (locations, equipment schedules, private addresses, number of men, etc.), among other things. It is believed that it was the Tupamaros who furnished Che with his false Uruguayan passport.

The basic tenant of their strategy/ideology is that the acts of arming oneself, preparing for the struggle by obtaining equipment etc. generates a revolutionary consciousness, provides the basis for an organization and creates revolutionary conditions. "Revolutionary movements must prepare themselves for the armed struggle at any stage, even when the conditions for it don't exist." The reasons they give for this are two-fold: 1) that they

may be attacked by the repressive forces at any time and have to defend themselves, and 2) that each militant must have the thinking of a fighter from the beginning for, if he does not, he can only provide support for those who will carry out the revolution.

It is clear to them that armed struggle quickens the mass movement. "Nobody can doubt any longer that the smallest armed group has more chance to become a popular army than the group that limits itself to taking 'revolutionary positions.'" As is probably already clear, they are totally nonsectarian, believing that the unity of various groups will be achieved when the struggle begins and that it is incorrect to wait for that unity to begin. The party will grow out of the struggle not vice versa.

Their strategy is now five fold, that is: 1) the creation of an armed force; 2) the creation of a consciousness in the population that only revolution can bring change; 3) the strengthening of the labor movement and finally its connection and joining with the revolutionary movement; 4) the creation of bases in the cities and in the rural areas; and 5) a joining with other Latin American movements.

This strategy is based on several objective conditions within Uruguay. The primary condition is the economic crisis which Uruguay is undergoing and her dependence on the United States, and the second and more critical condition is the high degree of unionization in every sector of the economy from civil servants to industry. It is this last condition which makes the possibility of a general strike a real one, facilitating the revolutionary struggle.

Lastly, like every revolutionary movement in the third world, the Tupamaros are aware of the possibility of US intervention. They believe that this is, in no way, a reason for waiting—for one, they point out the example of Cuba and secondly, if the US did intervene, they feel that it would be an immediate setback militarily but would, in the end, hasten the revolution and be a political advance by precipitating "2-3-many Vietnams."

HISTORY OF THE TUPAMAROS

To understand the Tupamaros and their strategic development it is necessary to know a few basic things about Uruguay. To begin with, Uruguay is primarily an agricultural country and, like most other countries in Latin America, about 50% of the good land is owned by about 3% of the people. This results in two things: first, the rest of the people in the rural areas are really poor and, second, there is very little development in agriculture because these few guys can make enough money the way it is already. So the economy stagnates, the government gets in debt and the US, in the form of AID or IMF, steps in to "help out." This is exactly what has happened in Uruguay. Around 1965, there was a banking crisis with the cost of living going up over 100% a year and so the IMF stepped in and took over one condition, among others, being a mandatory freeze on

The image shows a stylized, high-contrast logo for the Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional (MLN). The letters 'M', 'L', and 'N' are rendered in a bold, blocky, sans-serif font. The 'M' and 'N' are significantly larger than the 'L'. The letters are filled with a dense, stippled or halftone pattern, giving them a textured, almost three-dimensional appearance. The background is a lighter, dotted pattern, creating a strong visual contrast.

wages and prices (around 1968). This has proved very important in terms of organizing because the middle class has been fucked over as well as the working class by this deal.

The other important thing is Uruguay's size. The total population is 2.7 million people—about 1/3 that of New York City. More than 1/2 of these people live in Montevideo, with about 50% of them being middle class. The rest of the people are mainly from the industrial proletariat and then the peasants who are the most exploited.

The Tupamaros had their beginning in these rural areas where Raul Sendic, who is now considered the leader of the Tupas, was organizing sugar workers. After successfully helping to start a union of sugar workers and leading several marches from these areas to Montevideo to make known their demands for better conditions and higher pay, Sendic left with some companeros in the Socialist Party and seemed to disappear. This was in early '63, later that year a pile of guns were stolen from a fancy rifle club—the Tupamaros had begun. Twenty people went underground with the intention of preparing an army; one and a half years later, posters throughout the country proclaimed the birth of the MLN.

Their first actions in 1964 were the "hunger commandos"—rip-offs of food from large firms which were later distributed to the people. The most famous was the Christmas dinner in December of 1964. In 1965, understanding that the subjective conditions necessary for making the revolution could be created, they began the creation of focus in Montevideo. This same year, a bomb exploded at the main Bayer (of aspirin fame) plant in Uruguay, the note attached said:

Death to Vietnam's Yankee assassins, the assassins' intervention in Vietnam must be answered by the union of all oppressed people. The common enemy must be crushed. Bayer, a Nazi enterprise, provides gas for the gringos' intervention. Viva Vietnam. Viva la Revolution.

Tupamaros

The year 1966 was a bad year for them—still in a preparatory stage—they suffered several unplanned encounters with the police, and a few of their bases were discovered resulting in the loss of arms and medicine. In 1967, President Gestido died and Jorge Pacheco succeeded him. President Pacheco immediately banned all leftist groups including some newspapers, inaugurated the Emergency Laws (fascist repressive measures) and initiated censorship of those papers which remained. It was at this time that the Tupamaros began operating most efficiently in response to this repression. Offensive actions were begun; an underground had been established.

In July of that year, minutes before President Pacheco was to have addressed the nation, the Tupas invaded the Radio Station Ariel, owned by Jorge Battle, head of the right wing Colorado Party. Dressed as mounted police, they overpowered the guards, placed bombs in strategic places and left, all within 5 minutes. The transmission had been cut off. No one was hurt and only pamphlets explaining the action were found at the scene.

The following month, they kidnapped Pereira Reverbel, president of the Uruguay utilities and

telephone company, UTE, and one of President Pacheco's closest friends and confidants. He was let free after being detained for several days, stoned on sodium pentathol (truth serum). Last year he was voted the most hated man in Uruguay.

In October of 1968, the Tupas launched a triple assault against the minister of Industry and Commerce, Jorge Peirano Facio. A bomb was thrown at his house, another at the stock exchange where he worked, and another at the Banco Mercantil which was owned by him.

New Years Day, 1969, was celebrated with the recovery from the Police Court of all the arms which had been taken from them in the past 2 years—that included 36 revolvers and pistols, 5 submachine guns and carbines. They left nothing but memos denouncing the government. In February, they tipped off the Casino at Punta del Este (big upper-class and imperialist resort spot) taking \$220,000, some of which they announced belonged to the workers there and would be given to them. Within the next month, they invaded a radio station once to broadcast a tape they had made, and once interrupted a broadcast by using stronger wave lengths outside.

To welcome the imperialist pig Rockefeller, they set fire to GM causing \$1 million damage. They then invaded the radio station to broadcast a message calling Rocky the emissary of imperialism and accusing President Pacheco of acting in behalf of IMF. The police were forced to cut off electricity in that part of the city to stop it.

In July of 1969, a bomb destroyed the new electronic computer and records of the Banco Comercial. The computer had centralized the accounting for all bank agencies. It had also cost \$500,000.

In September, 294 persons were arrested in raids as a consequence of Tupamaro actions. In retaliation for this, the Tupas called the pigs with a "tip" on where they could find the Tupamaros. When the cops arrived at the house, the whole thing exploded, leaving pamphlets strewn around saying that their next action would be much more drastic.

The last action of 1969 was the take-over of the town, Pando. The MLN attacked the police and fire departments, seized all the money in 4 banks and cut communications.



questions

to a

Revolution

TUPAMARO

**armed struggle is a technical activity
which requires technical knowledge,
training, practice, materials, and
the psychology of a combatant.**

Carlos Nunez, Montevideo 1969

1. What has been the fundamental principle upon which the activity of your organization has been based up to now?

The principle that revolutionary action in itself, the very act of taking up arms, of making preparations, of gathering munitions, of initiating activities which violate bourgeois legality, generates consciousness, organization, and revolutionary conditions.

2. What is the fundamental difference between your organization and other organizations of the left?

The majority of the latter appear to trust more in manifestos, in emission of theories about revolution, to prepare militants and revolutionary conditions without understanding that fundamentally it is revolutionary actions that precipitate revolutionary situations.

3. Can you give me an historical example illustrating how this principle--that revolutionary actions generate consciousness, organization and revolutionary conditions--functions?

Cuba is an example. In place of a long process of formation of the Party of the masses, a guerrilla foco installs itself with a dozen or so men and this generates consciousness, organization and revolutionary conditions which culminate in a truly social-ist revolution. In the face of a consummated revolutionary feat, all authentic revolutionaries are obliged to fall in behind.

4. Does this mean that once the revolutionary action has been launched, the famous unity of the Left can ensue in the struggle?

Yes, the forces which call themselves revolutionary must opt between supporting or disappearing. In Cuba, the Popular Socialist Party opted to support the struggle which it had neither initiated nor directed, and it survived. But Prío Sarras, who called himself the principal opposition to Batista, didn't support the struggle and he disappeared.

5. This is with respect to the Left. And with respect to the people in general?

For the people---there is a contradiction between them and the injustices of the system---the choice is much easier. The people want change and must choose between the improbable and remote change which some offer them through proclamations, manifestos or parliamentary action, and the direct road incarnated by the armed group and its revolutionary action.

6. Do you mean to say that armed struggle, at the same time that it is undermining the bourgeois power, can be creating the mass movement that an insurrectional organization needs in order to make the Revolution?

Yes. Without taking into consideration the lot of effort in building a party or mass movement before launching the armed struggle, one must recognize that armed struggle hastens and precipitates the mass movement. Cuba isn't the only example---in China, too, the Party of the masses was built in the course of the armed struggle. This means that the rigid formula of certain theoreticians "first create the Party, then launch the Revolution", historically has known more exceptions than applications. At this stage of history, no one can deny that an armed group, however small, has greater possibilities of success in converting itself into a great popular army than a group which limits itself to emitting "revolutionary positions."

7. Nevertheless, a revolutionary movement needs platforms, documents and such.

Of course. But the issue must not be confused. The Revolution is not made only by political platforms and programs. The basic principles of a socialist revolution have been given and experience in countries like Cuba, and that's that. It is sufficient to adhere to those principles, and through action, point out the road to insurrection in order to fulfill these principles.

8. Do you think that a revolutionary movement should prepare itself for armed struggle in any state, even when the conditions for armed struggle are not given?

Yes, for at least two reasons. Because a revolutionary movement of the Left can be attacked at any level of its development and it must be prepared to defend its existence---remember Argentina and Brazil. And because if the mentality of the combatant isn't inculcated into each militant from the beginning, we will go along elaborating other things; just a movement which supports the Revolution made by others, for example, but not a movement revolutionary in itself.

9. Could this be interpreted as looking down on all other activity, except that of preparing for combat?

No. The mass work of the people toward revolutionary positions is also important. But the militant including the one involved in mass work---must be thoroughly aware that when the day comes that armed struggle breaks out, he can't sit at home waiting for the outcome. He should prepare himself accordingly, even though his present task as a militant is on another front. This, moreover, gives authority, authenticity, sincerity and seriousness to his present revolutionary activities.

10. What are the concrete tasks, in relation to the mass movement, of a militant belonging to your organization?

If it is a militant in a labour union or a popular organization, he or she should try to create a unit, whether it is a small group or the whole union, which can organize support for the actions of the armed sector and prepare for entry into this sector. Theoretical formation and practice, recruitment, ---these are the principal concrete tasks in this area. Moreover, propaganda for armed struggle. And whenever possible, to push the union towards more radical struggles and towards more definitive states of the class struggle.

11. What are the fundamental objectives in general of the movement at this stage?

To have an armed group, as well prepared and equipped as possible, tested in action.

To have good relations with all popular movements who support the class struggle.

To create propaganda organs designed to radicalize the struggle and create consciousness.

To have an efficient apparatus for selection and screening of militants with possibilities for theoretical formation, and groups inside the mass movement which perform the above-mentioned functions.

12. The importance which the movement gives to preparation for armed struggle---does this imply that the combatant cannot depend on improvisation at the moment of combat?

Armed struggle is a technical activity which requires technical knowledge, training, practice, materials, and the psychology of a combatant. Improvisation in this terrain can be paid for very dearly in lives and in failures. The spontaneity favoured by those who speak vaguely of "The Revolution which the people will make" or "The masses", is either a delay tactic, or is abandoning to improvisation the culminating stage of the class struggle. All vanguard movements, in order to preserve their vanguard character at the culmination of the struggle, must intervene and must have the technical know-how to channel the popular violence against the oppression in such a way that the objective is achieved with the minimum sacrifices possible.

13. Do you think that the parties of the Left can accomplish this preparation for armed struggle by maintaining a small shock force or self-defense group?

No party can fulfill the revolutionary principles it enunciates without seriously facing up to this preparation at all levels of the party. There is no other way to achieve the maximum possible efficiency for confronting the reaction at each stage. The lack of this efficiency can result in fatal negligence (remember Brazil and Argentina) or the loss of a revolutionary opportunity.

If they fail to focus on their specific objective, the small armed party groups can wind up transformed into a sad morass of political intrigue and manipulation. A miserable example to be remembered in this sense are the events of the demonstration on the last First of May: armed groups reduced to the task of protecting the distribution of a manifesto against the attacks of other leftist groups, and armed groups reduced to impeding the repartition of manifestos by other groups.

14. What do you see as the things which the militants of armed groups attached to a party should be able to demand from their respective leaderships?

That their action be directed only against the class enemy, against the bourgeois system and its agents. No armed unit can fulfill its specific aim if its direction does not fulfill at least these minimum requirements:

1) To be consistent and to demonstrate in action its unflinching adhesion to the principle of armed struggle, giving it the importance and the material means necessary for its preparation.

2) To offer the necessary conditions of security and discretion for those militants who carry out illegal tasks.

3) By its correct line and breadth of approach, to have the possibility---as immediate as possible---of moving into the leadership of the proletarian masses.

15. Don't you think that an armed group should be tied to a political party?

I think that any armed group should form part

of a mass political movement or organization at a certain stage of the Revolutionary process, and if such a movement or organization does not exist, should contribute to its creation. This does not mean, given the present panorama of the Left, that such a group must link itself to one of the existing political organizations, or that it should start a new one.

That would just be perpetuating the mosaic or adding to it. We must combat the petty idea, currently in vogue, of the Party---that identified with a head office, meetings, a newspaper, and positions on everything around it. We must combat the absurdity of hoping that somehow all the other parties of the Left will be buried under the avalanche of their own verbal outpourings, and that their bases of support and the people in general will one day flock to one's own party. This is what we've had for sixty years in Uruguay, and the result is plain to see. It must be recognized that there are genuine revolutionaries in all the parties of the Left, and many more who are not organized. A task for the left in general is to take these elements and groups wherever they are to be found and unite them, so that one day sectarianism will be a thing of the past. This is something which does not depend on us. But the Revolution can't be detained while it waits for this to happen. Each revolutionary and each revolutionary group has one sole task; to prepare themselves to make the Revolution. As Fidel said in one of his last speeches, "...with or without a Party. The Revolution can't wait."



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Financial crisis has prevented LA RAZA from publishing as often as we had envisioned. We re-evaluated our circumstances and came to the consensus that by changing from a newspaper format to that of a magazine some of the financial pressure would be relieved, thus enabling LA RAZA to publish more regularly. We ask our subscribers to bear with us and even to help us in our struggle to survive.

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