

LA RAZA

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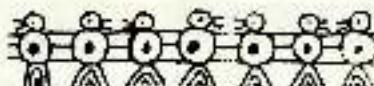
LA RAZA

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LETTERS CARTAS LETTERS CARTAS



CARNAL IN VIETNAM

Carnales:

Let me introduce myself. I am the voice of many soldiers overseas. I am the voice of Zapata screaming vengeance from his white horse. I am the voice of your comrade in Korea, or your brother in Vietnam, whose hatred is burning inside him like a passion. But most of all, I am the voice of the Chicano soldier.

We, the Chicano soldiers have something to say to the carnales of East Los Angeles.

We were proud when we heard of the East Los Angeles demonstrations. But why did you stop there? Why did you let the white bigote praise you to defeat. Why has the death of Ruben Salazar gone forgotten?

You say that the accused is being held for trial. My carnales, in the old days to kill a Mexican was a sport. The only change now is that it's done by legal means. Carnales, open your eyes, and think about it. What is going to happen to the accused? Why did you stop at this point? What have you accomplished? Nothing?

The gabachos praised you in saying that you were well planned and organized. Now you sit back confident that you've accomplished something. Well, in our eyes you've accomplished nothing. You've only

cleaned up your own mess, and lost a carnal.

It took this long for the gabachos to make it a case against the law, only to satisfy your morale? Carnales, only to keep you quiet! A case of involuntary manslaughter, if it ever comes to trial, is not enough.

Carnales, we had faith in you! Don't let the gabachos stall around till this whole situation blows away in the wind. Remember the Sleepy Lagoon Case? Remember the Zoot Suit Riots? Ya Basta! Carnales. Think about it? Who really won? We sit here impatiently waiting to get home. Forgive us if we cuss and cry out in anger, we are just lonely and are looking for a way home.

A Soldier De La Raza, overseas

GETTING IT TOGETHER

Dear Editor:

I am writing on behalf of your magazine in which I read a few days ago. A friend of mine had it, so I asked him to let me read it. Well, I finished reading it and I really think it is great. I really enjoyed it.

I wish to thank you and your staff for taking time to put this interesting magazine together (since the gringo press does not care to publish anything concerning Chicano demonstrations). It is time someone did something for la raza. You are all really getting it together. Again, thank you and the staff for this fine and interesting magazine.

que viva la raza!!!
Tina Flores
Victoria, Texas

BORN AGAIN

Dear La Raza:

How does one begin to tell of the joy I've just experienced, after having read a book title, LA RAZA THE MEXICAN AMERICANS by Stan Steiner.

After twenty-eight years of not knowing or understanding the strange feelings I would always get when race was mentioned, I now understand. I am one of the Chicanas who ran away, who was ashamed of what I was, not even knowing why. I married a gringo, and came to live in the North. Only something followed me that I couldn't shake off.

I've discovered I'm brown, not white as I've been told so often. I'm brown, of the brown and proud, beautiful race. I humbly ask forgiveness from my brown brothers and sisters. I shall never deny my race again. I've been born again.

Sincerely,
Dolores Thobaben
East Cleveland, Ohio

YA ES TIEMPO

Respetable Sr. Director:

He leído en ésta nuestra revista LA RAZA así como en otras revistas, magazinos, periódicos, etc. tanta injusticia que sufre nuestra querida RAZA de Bronce. En su último número leí el artículo que se refiere al llamado "Fort Moore Pioneer Memorial" y no pudo menos que sentir que me hervía la sangre ante tanta desfachatez y mentira de estos racistas gringos, pues después de que nos robaron estas tierras, nos colonizaron nos sojuzgaron y ahora nos tienen relegados a un tercer término (pues es bien sabido que nos tienen peor que a los negros) les ocurre poner todo esto como un gran "acto heróico" en un monumento, y de paso poner que fué con su té en Dios.

Estoy completamente de acuerdo con el Sr. Pedro Arias en que todo esto es un insulto a nuestra historia y dignidad y creo que ya es tiempo de que todos los Mexicanos ya sean de éste o del otro lado odescendientes unamn para protestar contra ésta y otras injusticias y salvajadas provenientes del gobierno gringo. ¿O no les parece salvajada lo que hicieron esos perros disfrazados de sheriffs con nuestro hermano Rubén Salazar? Y que me dicen de los Sánchez? y de otros tantos Chicanos y Mexicanos que han muerto o han sido heridos salvajemente sólo por protestar contra tanta injusticia. Y todavía el jefe de policía e incluso el alcalde Yorty haciendo alarde de un cinismo increíble manifestaron que les parecía "injusto" que un jurado federal vaya a juzgar a 3 de sus esbirros después de que uno local los absolvio' de todo cargo. Del caso Salazar ya se sabe que el perro que lo asesino' ya está libre, listo y seguramente ideando la forma en que va a matar al siguiente Chicano que se le pare en frente como lo hizo con Salazar a quién sin motivo alguno mató a quemarropa sin darle tiempo siquiera a decir una palabra a su favor. Ya es tiempo de unirnos todos y luchar hasta la victoria.

Su hermano,
Manuel Lopez
Los Angeles, California

LISTEN, KMEX!

Señor Villanueva:

The United Community Efforts, CEP NYC staff regarding the KMEX reporting staff. It is the unanimous opinion of the UCE CEP-NYC staff that never before in the history of this country, let alone the Southwest USA, has our Chicano community ever had the privilege of fair and just television reporting as exemplified by such professionals as Messrs: Guillermo Restrepo, Roberto Cruz, Nono Arsu, and Alex Nervo. We feel that to place limits on their reporting in affairs relating to our Mexican-American community is tantamount to racial discrimination against our people. This we will not accept or tolerate.

Sincerely,
United Community Efforts, Inc. CEP-NYC staff
Coordinator, Rudy Tovar

The following letter was written to the management of KMEX in an effort to stop the firing of those people on the staff who have contributed most to the Chicano community, and because of this are being threatened with loss of job by KMEX.

MARA

Dear Editor:

I would like to introduce you and your editorial group to our grupo, MARA, Mexican American Research Association which is a culture and self-help group here in La Pinta of C.I.W.

All the Carnales here want to let you know that we read your magazine whenever we get a copy. We really enjoy it, because it does not white-wash nothing, like so many of the gabacho magazines do. LA RAZA Magazine tells it like it really is.

We get very hostile when we read about the police. We also got very indignant when we read the hate letters in Vol. I, no. 3. As far as the Carnales are concerned here, the white man was talking off the top of his head again as usual.

We also wanted to let you know that we were aware and were all fighting for la causa. I would also like to ask you if you have some magazines to spare each month that you could send us. We also have a monthly newsletter here.

Muchas Gracias from our grupo MARA,

QUE VIVA LA LINDA RAZA!
Lola Ruiz

LETTERS CARTAS

LETTERS CARTAS

BOOK IS BAD

What kind of horse-shit is Manuel Servin trying to feed us in his book, THE MEXICAN AMERICAN: Glencoe Press, 1970? Why did he include "The Modern Texas-Rangers," article by Ben H. Procter, as an excerpt on Texas Rangers and Chicanos?

Doesn't the Texas Rangers' side get told enough by the news media and gabacho politicians? Did he pick the article because it seemed scholarly, "unbiased" and written by a "qualified" newspaperman? Has he lost contact with the Chicano in the barrios and the fields? Has he lost contact with the workers fighting for "la causa?" What is wrong with the Chicano with the bashed head as a source of information?

Too obviously, the article by Procter is nothing more than another attempt to glorify the horseless wonders and whitewash their activities.

Procter, speaking on verbal attacks made by Senator Joe Bernal and others, against the Rangers, somehow manages to point out the "indignity" of these "world famous...fearless peace officers." Who the hell is he trying to kid with his "world famous" bit? Who is he kidding with the "fearless peace officers" bit? Who ever heard of the Techingan outside of Terror-Barrio, Texas? As for their feeling of "indignity" I will answer that one later.

To Procter, the Rangers don't take sides they just "go by the book." Speaking of the Rangers role in the Farm Workers strike against La Casita, in 1967 he makes the stupid statement that; "Never had they been confronted with problems involving that gray area, that 'twilight zone between civil and criminal actions.'" While, throughout the country, each working day of the week, lawyers, judges, true peace officers, and other public servants, spend thousands of hours, at the cost of millions, constantly deliberating this same "gray area." Yet, Procter has the gall to say that these deviates in high heels had never been confronted with the "gray area...between civil and criminal actions."

They don't take sides, like a teen girl reaching puberty, they are "bewildered", as they were during the aforementioned strike. He states, "for the Rangers la buelta was a bewildering angering, unpleasant assignment." Since thirty is the minimum age requirement for Rangers, according to Procter, then how do they rate on the maturity scale? Can't they tell their car-since they no longer ride asses-from a hole in the ground? Should men who don't know whether they're coming or going be allowed to carry guns and clubs? Were they really bewildered?

Procter thinks he is retelling the "true" story of Tim McCoy. Every chance he gets he manages to glorify the Rangers. He states "Today the Texas Rangers are experienced peace officers, trained in the latest methods of crime detection and armed with

modern technological equipment." Yes, I'm surprised he didn't mention their night courses in sensitivity training.

He continues, "Basically they are uncomplicated men-direct, straightforward, and not especially concerned about social amenities...sometimes punctuating their sentences with colorful if not downright earthy expressions." Then adds, "Although outwardly friendly and easygoing, they are suspicious of strangers and hesitant to talk." Yes, Mr. Procter, we all saw the same movie. It was called "John Wayne Rides Again, and Again, and Again."

Once, during the same strike, when he seems about to admit to the Rangers' brutal nature, he decides that they act the way they do because they are "tough." First he states, "In the ensuing roundup, so the strikers claimed, the Rangers slapped several of them...and kicked Krueger, (Reverend Ed Krueger) then slammed a car door on his leg. Then taking the Rangers' side, Procter implies their innocence of any brutality, "Then the tough Ranger Captain grabbed him by the belt and the seat of his trousers and unceremoniously escorted him to a nearby car." Of course, having been "provoked" they acted as any of Procter's tough western heroes might.

Speaking on the same incident, Procter sanctifies the unholy, unhooded gangsters. He says, "Captain Allee and his men, increasingly harried and perturbed by newsmen and cameramen flocking about them as they were trying to do their job, added more fuel to the growing furor." And, continues, "On several occasions they unwisely threatened to confiscate or destroy cameras..." As before, they sometimes act "unwisely," they are only doing their job, and as always, they are "perturbed."

In completing the whitewash, Mr. Ben Procter closes with a "scholarly," repetitious, statement in which he reminds one that "There is no question that men of the force are experienced law enforcement officers, that they know their job, that they are top-flight in investigating crimes and apprehending criminals."

Yes, they do an excellent job. This being true, naturally they become "indignant" whenever there is blacklash. Yes, only the Rangers can sit on the stool and stink up the place and expect to do so with dignity.

Next time Professor Servin wants information on the Rangers and the Chicano, I suggest he find an unbiased and capable writer for the job. The Chicano side must be told.

Yet another solution, what is wrong with questioning the victim himself. The Chicano in the fields and the barrios, although he sometimes acts unwisely, and has never been confronted with the "gray area between civil and criminal action", is quite qualified. The Chicano is highly "experienced", "modernized and trained" at receiving abuses from the Techingan. Why can't he tell his side?

Remember that the Chicano in the barrios and the fields is tough, wise, and intelligent-molded and time hardened by the continuous, and continuing abuses of the ignorant.

Con Safos y Doble
Written by Edmundo LOPEZ

MORATORIO

Dear Editor:

El dia 24 de abril en la Ciudad de San Francisco, en una masiva marcha que se estimó en más de 250,000 almas, que demostraron bien claro y fuerte sus ansias de Paz y la decepción al sistema belicoso y decadente.

En ésta marcha gigante se gritó fuerte ya basta de guerras! Se demostró que los desidentes no son una minoría sino la mayoría, y el dilema es que se encuentran entre la espada y la pared en donde ésta nación, o cambia la actitud estúpida de Nixon y todos sus cercos consejeros o se la lleva la insalvable caída del imperio Yanqui.

Durante el trayecto de la marcha, me tocó ir cerca de un grupo artístico Chicano, que le daba un toque de alegría con sus porras llenas de colorido, con un admirable ritmo sincopado, cantando y bailando con más ritmo que el que traen en las venas Mariano Morcón, Trilli Muñoz o Arcenio y sus maravillas de Cuba con un perfecto unisono en sus coros decían Fidel... Fidel... que tienen los americanos que no pueden con él...

No cabe duda, los incidentes ocurridos en los moratorios del 29 de agosto de 1970, del 10 de enero de 1971, y del 31 de enero, las barbaridades de la brutalidad policiaca en lugar de intimidar al pueblo Mexicano de Los Angeles, indudablemente que sus macanazos y bombas lacrimógenas no intimidaron sino que politizaron a nuestro pueblo y fue una de las razones de la gran participación de nuestra gente en San Francisco para expresar su rencor por el sistema de vida tan abominable y que tanto nos opprime. Nuestro presidente Nixon imoxicado de torpes consejos dijo en una de sus tantas tonterías que el

rehusaba ser el primer presidente norteamericano que pierda una guerra... pero las flores de la juventud, los sacrificados, ya demostraron su sagrado derecho al rehusar ser los últimos sacrificados y a nuestro presidente no le queda mas que tragarse sus palabras y buscar un pretexto mínimo para huir de VietNam o rendirse incondicionalmente; porque la vida de un pueblo vale mas que el honor de Tricia y su papa Nixon juntos.

Arturo Sanchez
Los Angeles

DE SAN QUENTIN

Dear Editor:

All of you carnales y carnadas are doing an outstanding job. Your magazine LA RAZA is in demand here in La Pinta. It's waking up a lot of carnales to the Chicano Movimiento. All of you are taking care of business! We are 645 proud Chicanos here in San Quentin, ready to protect Aztlan by any means necessary! Por mi raza yo mato! Viva Nuestra Linda raza! Viva la causal! Viva la revolución!

"Chito"
San Quentin



EDITORIAL

Numerous confrontations have occurred at the East Los Angeles Health Task Force, a community health organization, over the past six months. The Health Task Force was originally set up because the Chicano community had no voice in determining what kind of health services were in the barrio or what kind of services they were giving. For example, our people often lost several days in the waiting rooms of the L.A. County General Hospital because it did not have Spanish-speaking interpreters who could understand what our people wanted to say. Doctors would diagnose by only speaking two words: Donde? and Dolor? Where? and Pain? and on that basis determine what the medical problem was. U.S.C., U.C.L.A., Regional Medical Programs, Comprehensive Health Planning, among others have been the powers that determine the health needs and health services of the community. The East Los Angeles Health Task Force was to be an alternative to these agencies. The objectives of the Health Task Force were to involve and organize the Chicano community so that there would be Chicano-run clinics and hospitals providing the needed services; confront the health powers to turn loose funds for the training of Chicano personnel; create employment opportunities for Chicanos in medical fields.

To date, the Health Task Force has met some of the objectives. Chicano translators are now employed by the General Hospital; Chicano nursing students are enrolled at Cal State L.A., but still there are no health services available to our people and they will never be. Health services will not be available because numerous health agencies have seen that the East Los Angeles Health Task Force has become a power in health

matters. USC and UCLA know that they cannot ask for state or federal funds in Chicano health affairs without dealing with the Health Task Force first.

In order to influence the direction of the ELAHTF, agencies have allowed their Mexican American lackeys to infiltrate and provide "expertise" to the organization. Thus, Frank Aguilera from Regional Medical Programs works as a consultant and writes proposals for them. Jose Carlos, who works for the L.A. County Health Department is now temporary Chairman of the Board of Directors. Numerous other agencies ranging from Mental Health to LUCHA interests now comprise the Health Task Force. The Task Force has become a bureaucratic agency that is more concerned with writing proposals for funding than providing services to the community.

To add to its difficulties, Moe Aguirre, head of LUCHA, has decided that the ELAHTF belongs to him. Moe Aguirre is the individual that has "stolen funds" from numerous pinto projects for his own use. He has had difficulty in obtaining funds for his proposals because of his "financial mismanagement" background. Even United Way Crusade and EYOA, a local branch of OEO, will no longer fund his LUCHA projects.

serious questions have to be considered when regarding the ELAHTF standing in the barrio. Should it be allowed to function? Why were Board of Directors nominations stopped suddenly when community persons were nominated? Will Moe "Money" Aguirre rip off more community money if he gets in and then yell communist to those who accuse him?

EDITORIAL

Durante los últimos seis meses, han ocurrido discusiones y riñas dentro la organización Esfuerzo de Salud del East Los Angeles.

La organización Esfuerzo de Salud fué implantada en el East L. A. respondiendo a la necesidad de un servicio de salud de nuestra comunidad Chicana que jamás había tenido voz para determinar una clase de servicio adecuado.

Por ejemplo: En el hospital de Condado de L. A. se perdían varios días solamente para diagnosticar una enfermedad, ya que los doctores que ejercen su profesión ahí, solamente sabían decir en español: "Donde, y dolor?"

La carencia de intérpretes era completamente notoria y urgentemente necesaria.

El Programa Médico Regional y el de Salud de Proyección Comprensiva de U.S.C. y U.C.L.A. así como varios otros, eran los encargados de determinar los servicios de salud para los miembros de nuestra comunidad.

La organización Esfuerzo de Salud del E.L.A. fué la contestación para remediar dichas anomalías y remplazar las organizaciones antes mencionadas.

Algunas de las metas de Esfuerzo de Salud, además de organizar y hacer que participe activamente nuestra gente para resolver sus problemas de Salud, conforme nuestras necesidades; es encargar debidamente los fondos monetarios para que exista personal Chicano debidamente entrenado para ocupar las posiciones y vacantes en el campo de la medicina.

En la actualidad, Esfuerzo de Salud ha resuelto relativamente algunas de esas metas. Hay ya intérpretes en el Hospital General, y estudiantes de enfermería matriculados en el Colegio del Estado en L. A., pero la necesidad de un servicio mejor de Salud no se ha resuelto satisfactoriamente y no hay esperanzas de ello, debido a la oposición de otras agencias que ven en la popularidad de Esfuerzo de Salud, un competidor en el reparto de fondos monetarios. U.S.C. y U.C.L.A. saben que no pueden pedir fondos para programas de salud relacionados con la comunidad Chicana, sin tener un arreglo con Esfuerzo de Salud.

Las agencias han recurrido a "vendidos" y los han infiltrado en la Mesa Directiva de Esfuerzo de Salud para manejarlos a su antojo. Algunos de ellos son Frank Aguilera, consejero del programa Médico Regional y que hace las peticiones para Esfuerzo de Salud. José Carlos, que trabaja en el Departamento de Salud de L. A. y que actualmente desempeña el puesto de Presidente Provisional de la Mesa Directiva de Esfuerzo de Salud.

También para manejar a su antojo a Esfuerzo de Salud, hay otras agencias y personas altamente interesadas, como son Salud Mental y LUCHA.

Hoy en día, y con las infiltraciones mencionadas, Esfuerzo de Salud se ha convertido en una agencia burocrática dedicada a formular peticiones para adquirir dinero y lo emplean en otras cosas, menos en los servicios de salud para la Comunidad del East L. A.

Para remachar con brújula de oro las dificultades y desafíos de Esfuerzo de Salud, Moe Aguirre, mandamás de LUCHA, ha decidido que Esfuerzo de Salud pase a ser una propiedad personal.

Moe Aguirre, es el mismo que en el desempeño de funciones administrativas, ha hecho desaparecer misteriosamente, cantidades de dinero de algunos proyectos destinados a la ayuda de los "pintos" (prisioneros) y los ha despilfarrado en provecho propio.

En la actualidad, y ahí el empeño por apoderarse de Esfuerzo de Salud, Moe Aguirre tiene dificultades para obtener fondos para sus "trabajos", provenientes de EYOA y United Way Crusade que son algunas de las agencias que le proporcionan dinero; pero en vista de los malos manejos de Moe Aguirre, éstas ya se abstienen de hacerlo tan generosamente como lo hacían con anterioridad.

Varias consideraciones deben de tomarse ahora en cuenta respecto a Esfuerzo de Salud del East L. A. y la firma que está trabajando.

Se permitirá que algo funcione?

Por qué es que no se permitió que se llevaran a cabo las elecciones en donde estaban nominadas personas de la comunidad para ocupar los puestos de la Mesa Directiva?

Se le permitirá a Moe "Money" Aguirre que siga robando dinero destinado a las necesidades de la comunidad y que siga llamando "comunistas" a aquellos que le han hecho públicamente encara su mal proceder y descubierto sus "maldas chuecas"?

Fiesta de Los Teatros

**CHICANO TEATRO IS
A WEAPON OF OUR
STRUGGLE .
IT IS THE REVOLUTION
WITHIN THE SPIRIT.
IT IS THE LIBERATION
OF THE SOUL .**

The second annual Fiesta de los Teatros was presented during the week of April 5-10 on the campus of Santa Cruz University.

The Teatro Campesino under the directorship of Luis Valdez, boasted the Fiesta and Los Muscaronca, a theater group from Mexico City, specializing in choral poetry was the feature attraction. I say "feature attraction" not as a commercial punch line, but because their group through its disciplined and artistically committed participants electrified audiences with each presentation.

The Festival was a success in that it brought together teatro groups that could learn at first hand from each other the technique and form of Chicano drama.

There were daily performances, lectures, study groups, seminars, rap sessions and in general total absorption in the teatro.

People were able to exchange ideas and criticize performances.

I think that in the last category, though, is where the Festival failed. The participants in the teatros seemed to be deathly afraid of offending each other as actors and as Teatro groups. There seemed to be a lack of honest criticism on the part of individuals as to their efforts on stage.

Criticism is one of the highest compliments that a person can pay to another. It is through criticism that one learns of weaknesses and failings.

If we don't respect each other enough to honestly talk to each other, then we don't have any business being involved in a revolutionary struggle.

Lack of criticism implies a general state of perfection. This was not the case of a great many of the Teatros at the Festival.



For example, many of the teatros show very little originality in structure of actos and in execution. Most of the teatros were pushing too hard to become another Teatro Campesino.

The Teatro from Santa Barbara, for example, performed what I consider one of the worst actos to be performed on the stage.

The play was about "Tres Elotes" and the search which one young man made to find them. Actually his search was in vain, as the "Tres Elotes" symbolized the father, mother, and child. La Familia, then, was the symbol of our strength and somehow or other it would liberate us. Bueno, tal vez.

The play didn't come off though because the actors were stiff, their voices were strained and their actions were stilted. Under closer examination, the message was silly or at least treated in a very superficial level.

Most of the actors, especially our young wanderer spoke Spanish very badly and you could actually feel his awkwardness.

One thing that Chicano actors should learn is that if you can't speak Spanish, don't try to pawn off Gabacho sounding Spanish words for the sake of Speak-

ing Spanish. Speak English!

Our language is a mixture of English and Spanish in varying degrees. We don't speak like Mexicans de la madre patria nor do we speak English like the King would prefer us to.

We speak Chicano. Chicano is the mixture of English and Spanish. It could be a lot more English than Spanish, or vice-versa. It could include a whole series of Chicano modismos or a thoroughly developed dialect like that of the vatos locos Tiroquiando.

Another thing about that acto was the rural campesino setting and its cultural theme.

This type of setting and theme might work for the Teatro Campesino, but it certainly doesn't for young Urban dwelling, campus oriented Chicanos. The Teatro Campesino comes from a socio-political campesino setting rich in folklore and tradition, but most of the other teatros originate, as I said before, from city dwelling college Chicanos.

Teatros that contain actors that can't speak Spanish, that never picked a grape or plum in their life and only relate to land when they sit at the park on a Sunday afternoon, should not attempt to portray the essence of campesino life.

These Chicanos should relate to the urban scene where 94% of our people live. We are an urban people. We live in the cities. Our biggest barrios are found in Los Angeles, El Paso, San Antonio, Chicago, Denver.

Tenemos un chingero de problemas in the cities. These problems should also be dramatized so that our people can be politicized. It is very difficult to expect Chicanos that were born and lived all their lives in the projects to relate to the great suffering and problems of the campesinos when they are so weighted down with their own problems.

Another Teatro that was quite disappointing was the Teatro del Piojo.

This Teatro seemed to explode with energy but did not seem to know what to do with it.

Simply to yell Chicano Power! and Viva la Raza as you march around the stage is not enough to make a politically conscious Chicano theater.

In the areas where political consciousness was so critical, the children's actos, it failed most miserably.

We have to begin to politicize our children with their rhymes, songs, literature, poetry and theater. If we don't then we will continue to perpetuate the cycle of the unpoliticized masses. Remember they will become the mothers and fathers of the future and what you teach them is what they will teach their children.

The "Caporula Roja" was cute but totally useless as Chicano Teatro. We can't just simply rip off the gabacho's stories and translate them into Spanish or into Chicano and think that you have a Chicano acto.

It was a gabacho acto performed by Chicanos.

Actually, it was not even good objective and unpoliticized children's theater, because it was much too complicated for children. The scene changes were too sophisticated and the vocabulary much more appropriate for the adults. The humor level was also much too sophisticated. Children seemed to laugh only when somebody made a loud noise or a funny





face. The adult audience was laughing at the story content. If this was supposed to be for children, then it simply ignored its audience—children.

"La Llorona", another children's acto, performed by puppets was a complete failure as theatre food for Chicano children.

Here was an excellent opportunity to adjust this children's tale to political reality which could have easily been understood by children. In the original, La Llorona kills her children because she doesn't have any food to feed them and then mourns for the rest of her life for what she did.

All that the Piojos had to do was to adjust the acto to relate why she had no food for the children. Maybe she was on welfare, maybe she was a poor campesina. Who knows? But certainly it could have easily been adjusted.

Simply to preserve cultural traditions for the sake of preservation is a reactionary concept. Culture is not sacred in and of itself. Culture, which includes our traditions and folklore must be adjusted to meet the reality of Chicano existence in this pig society.

The concept that we must preserve the myth of "La Llorona" in its pure traditional sense because it is part of our culture is like saying that we must continue to pay blind homage to the Catholic Religion because its part of our culture.

This ignores the historical reality of the exploitative and reactionary and treacherous role the Church has in Mexico and in Chicano history.

Our folklore, like all folklore was promulgated by unpoliticized, romantic individuals who were more interested in their prowess for verse and words, than in depicting the social reality of the people. Folklore is not folk. It has been accepted by the masses but it was not created by them. The masses do not have the time, opportunity nor desire to romanticize their lives. They suffer and they know it. It hurts and it pains.

Only a pseudo-intellectual would conceive of the plight and death of starving children as a means of creating an allegory for getting children to mind their parents.

The "Tecato" acto was good, but underdeveloped. The use of the lighting effect was exciting and should be explored for more creative and politicized effects.

It is not enough to simply show a Chicano fixing and a group of other Chicanos, presumably the movement, waving banners and flags as sufficient to get this carnal to drop his kick and help his raza. In effect, it assumes too much and it treats the essence of the movement too superficially.

How does the movement help the tecato? How? How? The acto didn't even know. I think our movement is too presumptuous that is why there are too many people running around saying that they are the movement but actually doing and saying very little or nothing at all.

We have to begin to put depth to our rhetoric whether it be verbal or dramatized.

Because of time and space it is impossible to go into detail with the other teatros, but certainly a few cursory comments on some of them might be well taken.

The Teatro Mestizo got hung up on sexism. Once you have established that you are trying to seduce







a person, then the effect has been accomplished. The rest becomes sensationalism and bad taste, especially if families and children are present.

Seduction is reactionary love whether by a man or by a woman. It has no business in Chicano theater, even if it is used to make a point. You defeat your own purpose by solving the problem of sex between men and women by giving as the answer what actually caused the problem. Sexism without a social conscious.

The Teatro Aztlán was weighted down by its conjunto, which by the way is very good. The actos are created around the conjunto. They either will have to decide to be the best conjunto around or begin to seriously consider the merits of Chicano Theater.

The Mascarones were certainly very good, but they seemed to have gotten hung up on only one style of execution. It is a very effective execution choral reading—but it can become monotonous.

The poems should be introduced and explained in a short prologue before each reading because sometimes it is difficult to grasp the meaning or even understand the context of the poems until almost half through the reading.

You can lose a lot of people that way, and you can never presume that people know what is actually going on in Vietnam or Mexico.

An introduction to some of the poems would certainly help, I think.

The tone of the reading is also too somber. More variety, satire, for example, should be employed.

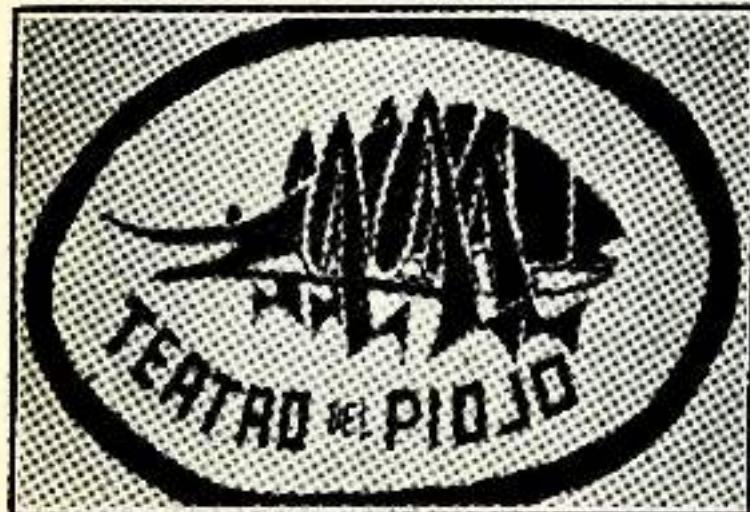
The songs, many times, are out of tune.

Everybody doesn't have to sing if their voice just takes away from the song.

The Teatro Campesino, of course is also a tremendous experience to watch and enjoy.

It cannot be denied that Luis Valdez is truly Chicano genius in drama.





He has the feel and pulse of the Chicano and the Teatro radiates this almost perfect reflection of the Chicano in this society.

I say almost, because we are all humans and we fail. The Teatro Campesino at least to this Chicano seems to unconsciously or inadvertently caricature our people. Take for example the "Quinta Temporada." Why show the poor campesino as a buttonn type. Why does he have to appear so completely stereotypic to illicit laughter from the audience.

It is almost like dressing a Chicano bigot in a sombrero with a sarape and guaraches, and have him act stupid for the sole purpose of engendering laughter.

Satire does not, or it should not satirize the victim, but the victimizer.

We have too many racist gabachos laughing at our people because they have an image of us that looks too much like characters or types in the Campesino acts.

People might begin to ask, "What's wrong with showing the Frito Bandito if in the Teatro Campesino they look and act just as stupid."

Another thing, Chicanos don't drink wine, smoke pot or fuck at the drop of a dime.

Many of our people, and this includes the majority of our parents, are hard working, quiet, religious and conservative.

Our people work hard and they suffer much and whether we like it or not, they worship as Catholics. They are very religious. Unfortunately, true, but that is reality.

Wine drinking and pot smoking are not a product of our culture, but rather the results of economic situation creating a need for some personal relief.

We must begin to discourage this type of image because it is counterrevolutionary and actually creates more problems than it solves.

We must begin to dramatize the new man, the new Chicano that doesn't need so many crutches to survive.

In one of the rap sessions, drinking and pot smoking were highly criticized and yet we glorify them on stage. There seems to be some schizophrenia here.

Los Hijos del Sol, the Teatro from Berkeley was a tremendous and unexpected pleasure.

The acto they performed was great because it was wellexecuted and the message was politically relevant to most of the Chicanos there. It had a campus setting.

With profesional and revolutionary depth it dealt with the whole farco of campus and pseudo-cultural revolutionaries.

This acto should be performed on all the campuses where MIGLIAs abound.

The only criticism that I could make is that the acto was more appropriate for intra-movement audiences than for the general public audiences.

The festival was a unique experience for me because I learned much and I had an opportunity if only as a spectator to join in the creation of the most powerful and beautiful weapon in our struggle for liberation-Chicano Teatro.

The criticisms are made because what is important, effective and relevant creates and elicits responses. What is unimportant and irrelevant is ignored.

Chicano Teatro cannot be ignored.

If you want to be praised, then you are on an individualistic bourgeois bag, more concerned for ego than for revolution.



HISTORY OF THE TEATRO CAMPESINO

LOUIS VALDEZ

Luis Miguel Valdez was twenty-five years old when he began the Teatro Campesino, in a small shack in Delano. He had previously talked to Dolores Huerta about the possibility of establishing a farmworker's theater; but at the time, he was acting with the San Francisco Mime troupe.

When he did come down to Delano, in November, he had no conceivable form on how to begin.

One night, he began talking to the campesinos but he saw that it was useless, unless he illustrated what he was talking about. Luis had previously asked a friend to make signs for him with names such as huelgista, patroncito, esquirole, and campesino. He hung these signs around some campesinos and asked one of them, Agustin Lira, to act like an esquirole. Agustin didn't want to because the word had a bad connotation to it, but he finally did and with good spirit. Two other campesinos began shouting at Agustin and by the end of the evening, the small shack was full and everyone had jumped in and imitated all kinds of things and so the actos originated and the Teatro Campesino had begun.



LOUIS MIGUEL VALDEZ

NOVEMBER 1965

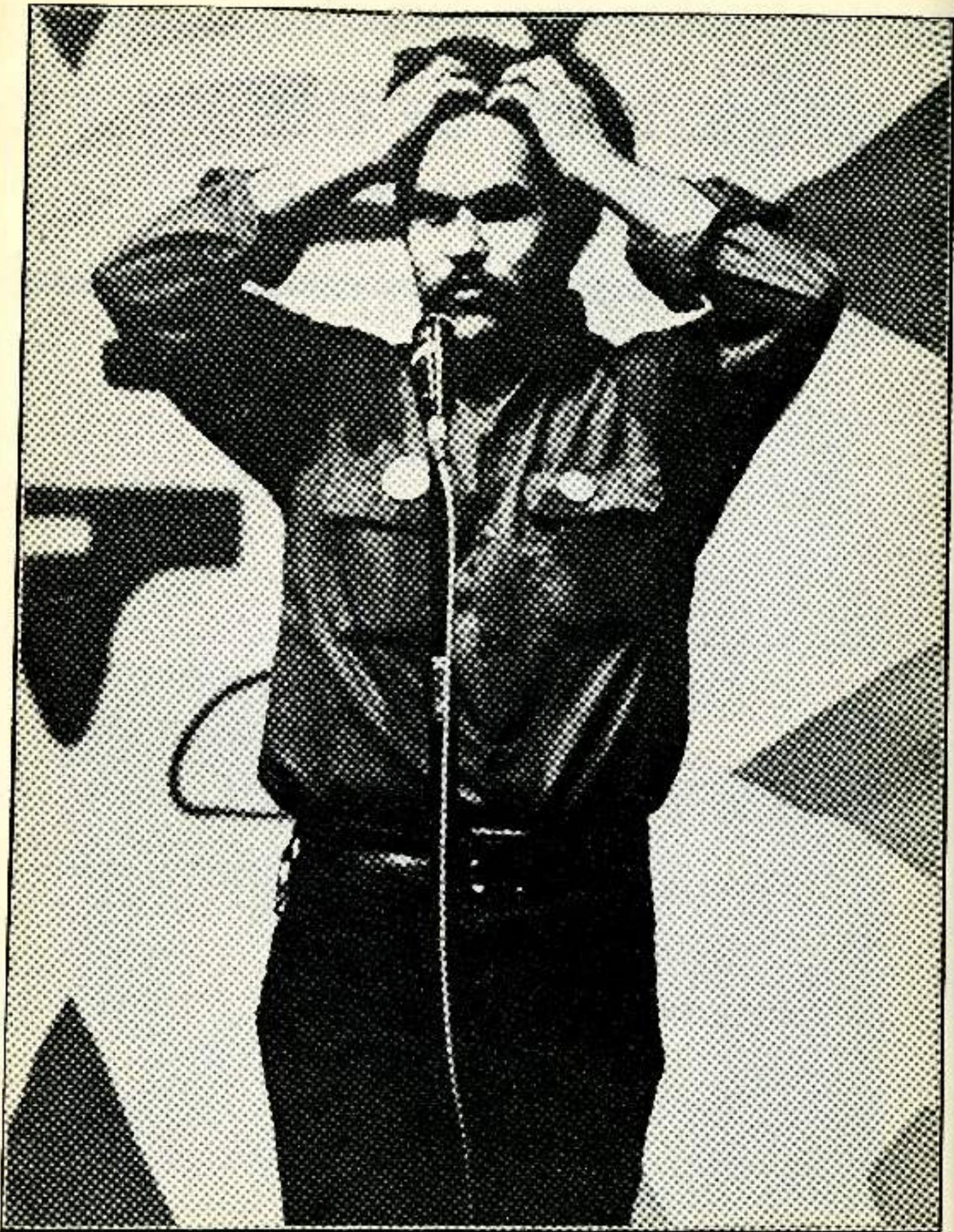
Actos developed from the political situation and from the everyday struggle of La Huelga. Laughter arose from the portrayal of the patroncito's dogmatic character, which was ridiculed in comic slapstick style. The actos were forceful, direct and educational, mixed with a taste of irony.

In March of 1966, the campesinos began a 300 mile march to Sacramento. The huelgistas had been striking for nine long months without much results. They decided to march to the state capitol at Sacramento to publicize the strike and to make more campesinos aware of the strike and the Union.

For 25 days, La Raza marched; women, children, viejitos, and jovenes. Frequently, the hot weather was unbearable but for the campesinos this was nothing new. They were used to working in all extremes of weather. At night, regardless of their aching bodies and swollen feet, campesinos would perform for the marchers. This was a time of education and laughter for both audience and actors. Improvisation was the Teatro's asset and the ideas of actors and audience united in one common cause. Here the earth roots of life in its majestic form, La Raza, Chicanos, Mexicanos, Latinos and Indios fighting peacefully and in unity for a just cause.

The Teatro's first urban performance was May 2, 1966 at the Committee Theater in San Francisco. The Teatro's first national tour was in July-August of 1967. They performed to publicize the strike and to raise funds for the Huelga. Performances were held at union halls, civic auditoriums, the New York Village Theater, the Newport Folk Festival and the Courtyard of the U.S. Senate Building in Washington D.C.

For two years El Teatro was united directly with the Huelga. They performed on backs of pick-ups, picker lines, labor camps and in urban areas to raise funds for the Huelga. The impact of the Teatro was a gasping truth; its actos were composed from the bitter reality of the campesino's life.



SEPTEMBER 1967

We became totally independent when we moved to Del Rey, a small community about 60 miles north of Delano. Even though we no longer worked as close with the Huelga, the roots of the Teatro will always be with the struggle of the campesino. In Del Rey, we established El Centro Campesino Cultural. We taught classes in music, history, drama, English, Spanish and practical politics. Our responsibility grew as we began to depict all aspects of Chicano life, from the pachuco to the Mexican American.

Our cultural pride had been plastered and hidden by a superficial white culture. Many of our people felt shame and loss of pride in their own Mestizo culture, though we derive from prehispanic times, from our Tolteca, Mayas, and Azteca ancestors. Then the Espanoles came and implanted Christianity and mercilessly robbed and exploited our people.

Now this white society has even tried to deprive us of our Mestizo language. So the responsibility of El Teatro's Cultural Center is to reach the history and culture of our past ancestors, to bring forth that sense of pride in being a Chicano.

While in Del Rey, we performed in many of the surrounding small towns, such as Parlier, Selma, Fowler, Dinuba, etc.; in short, throughout the San Joaquin Valley.

March of 1968, we were awarded an Obie (off-Broadway) in New York, for creating a farmworker's theater that demonstrated the politics of survival. That same year in October, we produced our first full-length play "The Shrunken Head of Pancho Villa," which symbolizes the social despair of the Chicano family.

JANUARY 1969

We moved again; this time to Fresno. We established ourselves in an old church building, the transition was more difficult, located in a semi-urban neighborhood. But our message of education and agitation while still daring to delight was as strong or even stronger since we had encompassed all aspects of the oppression of Chicano life.

April of 1969, we went to Nancy, France, to the 7th World Theater Festival. This is one of the quotations that appeared in the French press, about the teatro.

"They do not go to the people; they come from the people, and nothing separates them from life itself." ---Le Monde

OCTOBER 1969

We moved to our present location on North Van Ness, still in Fresno, because the building previously being used was condemned by the city. The new building was a restaurant but the teatro quickly and energetically transformed the place into a teatro with stage, office rooms, and Chicano atmosphere. During the harvest season that year, we continued performing for campesinos fund raisers for the Hu-

elga. In the fall, we performed for colleges, universities and other organizations.

That same fall, Teatro began working on a film based on Corky Gonzales' epic poem "I am Joaquin." The photography was done by George Ballis and the historical narrative by Luis Valdez. It was finished in the spring, 1970. At the San Francisco Film Festival, it was judged as the best in its category. At Monterey Film Festival, the film not only received the top money award, critics acclaimed it as exceptional among all the rest of the films submitted.

In May of 1970, the First Chicano Teatro Festival sponsored by Teatro Campesino was held in Fresno. Approximately 13 teatros attended among them were Los Reveladores del Tercer Mundo from New York City, Los Mascarones from Mexico City and Teatro Bilingual from El Paso, Texas. Workshops were held in improvisation, music and drama. In spite of many problems created by Governor Reagan's closure of the State Colleges (because of the Kent State massacre). The political and social messages were distinctly defined in all of the performances of the groups.

"Bernabe" our second full-length play was premiered. It focused on the "loquito del pueblo" Bernabe.

In August and September 1970, we toured throughout Aztlán (the Southwest: Utah, Colorado, Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico.) The performances varied from Huelga rallies to university and barrio performances.

November 1970: We organized a state-wide tour for Los Mascarones from Mexico D.F. Los Mascarones were based in Fresno, and for six weeks, we exchanged ideas, constructively criticized performances and learned quite a lot from each other. Economic and political injustices are the messages found in their performances much like in our own teatro. They use a different style that distinguishes them: it's called Poesía Coral. The knowledge and experience gained from their stay is priceless.

March 19, 1971, we performed at the University of Santa Clara. After the performance, we marched in Calavera costume to the grave of Tiburcio Vasquez, a revolutionary of California. The act of marching to the grave as Teatro Campesino was an act of guerilla theater.

That same night, we had the opening of the Calavera de Tiburcio Vasquez, our new resident company in San Juan Bautista. The compact theater has a small stage with lighting and a dressing room. It is ideal for new material to be performed by our company. It is situated in a valley rich with our history, with rolling hills that were once ours and where now campesinos still work the land for mere wages of survival.

El movimiento progresista dia tras dia y nosotros tenemos que seguir un paso adelante con nuestros mensajes políticos. Actuamos no para la gloria falsa de un aplauso, sino para educar, informar y unir LA RAZA.



THE FRESNO MORATORIUM MARCH

The Fresno Moratorium March was successful in that a sufficient number of Chicanos (1,000) marched in protest to the war.

Even though the march reflected a very young age group, there were still many old people and young children present to sufficiently represent the community.

Fresno has never been noted for its radicalism, as a matter of fact, Fresno is a bastion of conservatism best exemplified by Dr. Norman Baxter.

Baxter, as you know, is the president of Fresno State College. His administration was responsible for the destruction of the Chicano Studies Center at the college.

Baxter, next to Hayakawa is the most reactionary administrator in California.

Fresno is also the administrative and economic center for the large farming combines of that area.

This is where agribusiness does its banking. Billions of dollars of corporate exchange and profit are handled through the windows and offices of dozens of large farming banks. Fresno is the farming capital of California and if we judge it by volume of business in wholesale farm sales, it is the farming capital of the world.

One would think that Fresno is an ideal place to raise a family. This is true if you're rich, but if you're poor, and most Chicanos are, then forget it.

The Chicano population of Fresno is approximately 45,000. The total population is about 175,000.

Almost all of the Fresno Chicanos work as farm laborers and in farm related industries like the canneries. The average income of Chicanos living in Fresno is \$3500.

Thus as can be seen, the lot of the Chicano in this rich farming area is incongruous to the wealthy overall economic future.

The average education of Chicanos in Fresno and its related feeder towns is 6.3 grades. The average educational level of the anglos is over 12 grades.

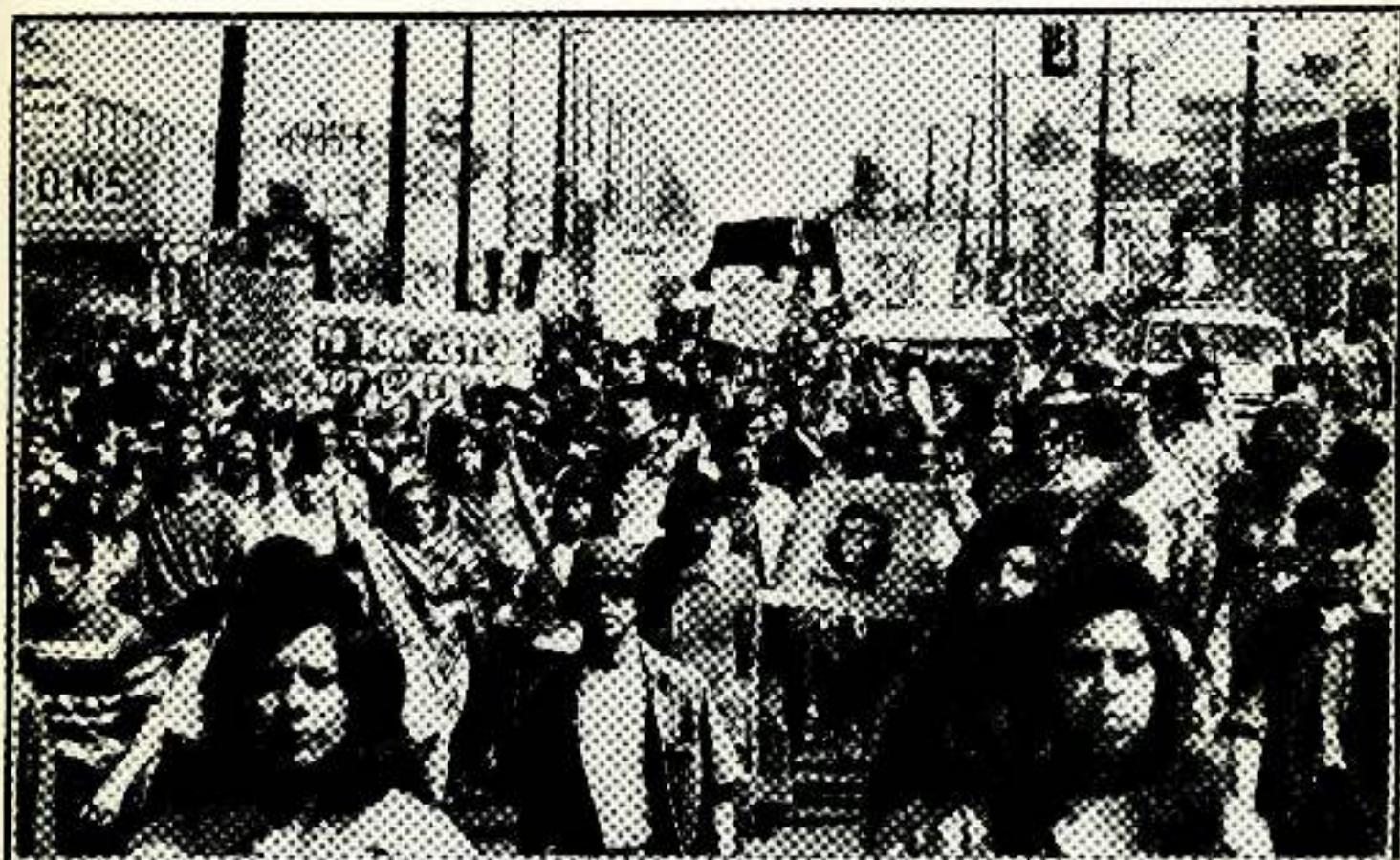
About 30,000 of the 45,000 Chicanos that live in Fresno are 20 years old and younger. This would certainly mean that a great many Chicanos are available for the draft or volunteer for the military.

As can be seen, there is sufficient reason for Chicanos in Fresno to protest against the war. Especially since 20% of the casualties from the southwest are Chicanos.

The March was peaceful enough and it had a festive, "familia" atmosphere.

There were unfortunately a great many undercover pigs posing as sympathetic gabachos and as newsmen.

When the march ended at the park, over 1,000 people received the marchers and welcomed them to an





afternoon of speeches, music, dancing and of course the Teatro of Luis Valdez, "El Teatro Campesino." El Teatro performed a new acto entitled "El Soldado Razo." This is an excellent acto because it educates the people or brings about a new consciousness of the whole syndrome of approbation of the military image by the family.

Overall the March was very successful and effective with the possible exception of the infighting on stage by some young Chicanos.

Two of the Chicanos were loaded and were making fools of themselves.

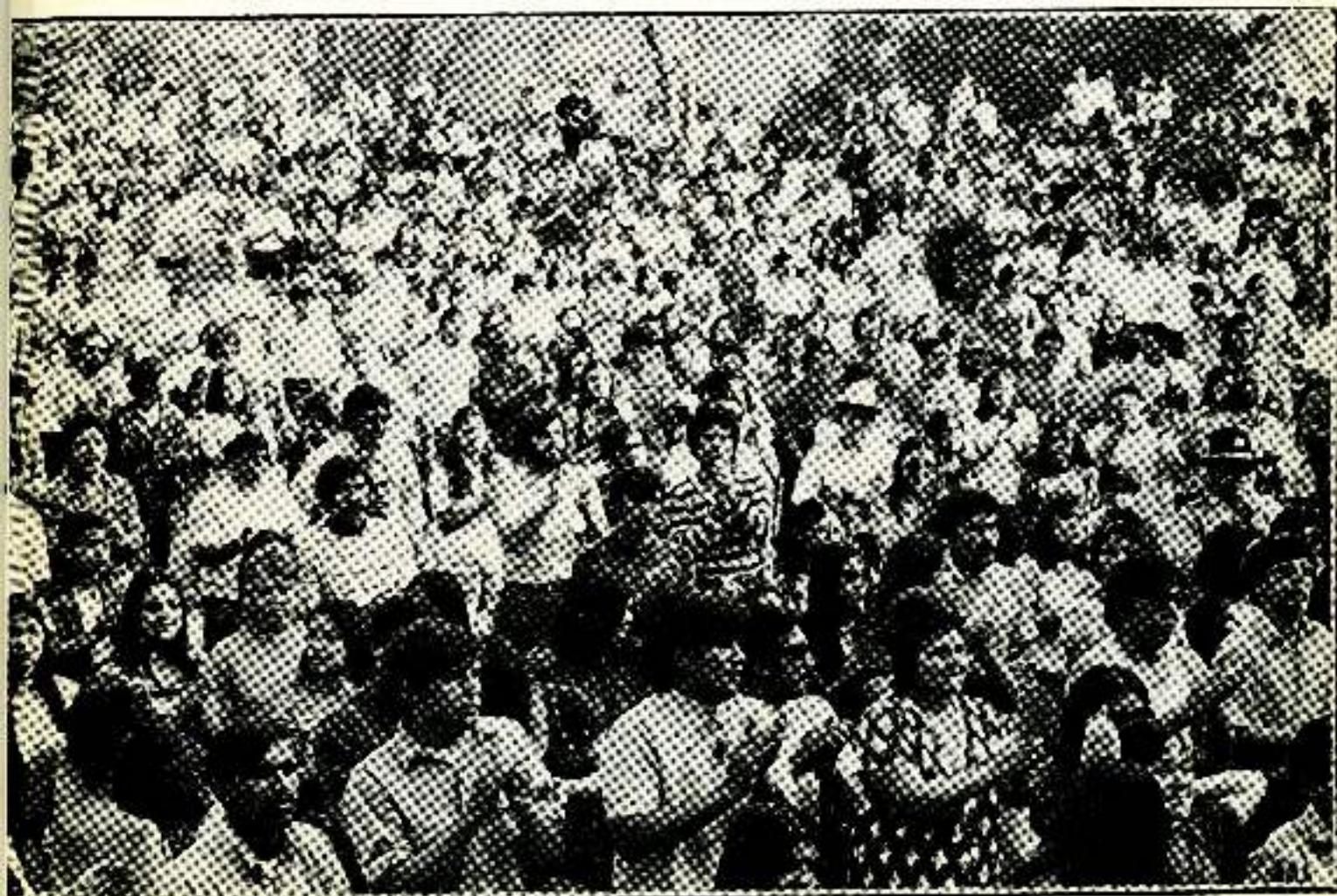
I think that this arguing back and forth stage hassle did much to destroy the original purpose of the moratorium march.

The worst thing that happened was when one of the minotors, tired of the hassling approached the microphone and told the people that the program was over and to go home.

Not even a thank you. Not even an explanation. This was bad. The people should never be treated in this manner. They are our base. Without them there is no purpose, no movement.

Fresno should have more marches, more demonstrations if only to break the overwhelming Anglo atmosphere of that area.







MARCHA DE LA RECONQUISTA

We of the National Chicano Moratorium Committee are about to undertake. The march is to protest the police brutality committed against our people, the indignities and brutalities which our people suffer at the hands of the Department of Immigration, Nixon's senseless and maniacal war in Southeast Asia and the cutbacks of E.O.P. and other grants to Chicano students.

The march will start Cinco de Mayo (May 5th) from Calexico, California, and will terminate in Sacramento, California. This march will cover approximately 750 to 800 miles, will take about two or three months to complete and has been named "LA MARCHA DE LA RECONQUISTA." We are reconquering our rights.

The events of the last few months have clearly shown us that it is useless to place any trust in the present political system.

1. The police kill our people and all is forgiven by calling their actions "a tragic mistake." Then when the Federal Government intervenes, and sets up a congressional investigation, Police Chief Davis and Mayor Sam Yorty of Los Angeles scream police harassment from the federal level to the point where the investigation is withdrawn. This does nothing more than give the police a license to kill, because now the Los Angeles City Council has voted to pay for the legal defense of these killers with our tax dollars.

2. Daily, our brothers are arrested, held prisoners and deported without due process of law. Now, despite Nixon's words to the contrary, that this country finds itself in an economic squeeze--the same situation that was seen during the great de-

pression is beginning to emerge. We believe that a mass deportation of our people is about to begin. This we cannot allow to happen.

3. The war in southeast Asia continues, and as you well know, our Chicano brothers are still being sought after for use as cannon fodder. This we cannot tolerate.

4. There is a concerted effort to force M.E.C.H.A. and other Chicano organizations off of the college campuses. One of the tactics being used in California is the cutbacks in the E.O.P. (Educational Opportunity Program) funding. On the one hand Governor Reagan withdraws funding for students because of a lack of money and on the other he gives \$13 million dollars to three campuses. That money will be administered by three police department heads. These police officials will receive \$55,000 each apart from their regular salaries and they will not have to answer to anyone. We believe that in reality they will attempt to buy out the Chicano students who will be using their grants.

It is for these reasons and many more that we are forced to march. All M.E.C.H.A. and Chicano organizations, who wish to do so, may send us their organizational banner. We will carry the banners in a truck and the individual organizations may reclaim them when they join the march, either along the route of march or in Sacramento before the march ends. In Sacramento we are planning to terminate "LA MARCHA DE LA RECONQUISTA" in a rally or a convention. At that time we will have voter registrars among the crowd, which we are positive will number no less than 60,000 people, and they will register everyone into "La Raza Unida Political Party." We are in effect going to tell the Democrats and the Republicans to GO TO HELL! Another matter of interest is the

situation that is developing in national, state, and municipal politics. We believe that Mayor Sam Yorty of Los Angeles is entering the Democratic Primaries only to divide the Democratic Party. He will also use this opportunity to attack Nixon and divide the Republicans. Yorty proved this recently by refusing to meet Spiro Agnew at the airport when the Vice President arrived in Los Angeles, and also by refusing to attend a luncheon that the Vice President was to address the next day. After Yorty has divided both the Democrats and the Republicans, look for Governor Ronald Reagan to enter the Republican race for President. He will then attempt to cut off Nixon from the inside and become the Republican Standard bearer.

If Reagan becomes President, California Attorney General Younger, who has little love for Mexicans, will try for the governorship with Reagan's help. Reagan will then appoint Yorty to the position that Yorty is really seeking--a cabinet post or a seat on the Supreme Court. Next look for Los Angeles Police Chief Davis to make his move. We believe that Chief Davis would like to become Mayor of Los Angeles. This would really complete the circle because one of the main newscasters in Los Angeles is a former Chief of Police of the Los Angeles Police Department. Another of the main newscasters is, even by the most liberal definition, a conservative, and to make matters worse, there is a former police officer on the Los Angeles City Council. There is one other possibility that is very frightening--the word is out that if Reagan becomes President he will appoint Los Angeles Police Chief Davis to replace J. Edgar Hoover.

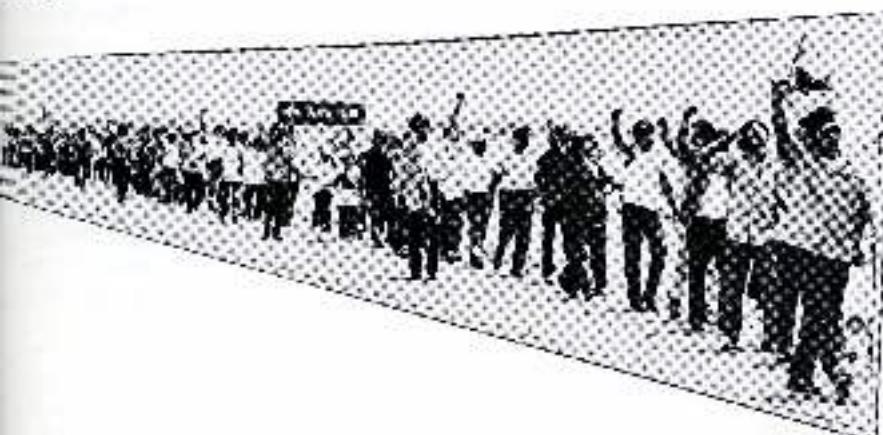
The preceding may sound far-fetched but we believe that these people are being financed by Henry Salvatori, who is the funnel for funds from the Bank of America to the Republican Party. This is why we say that time finds us at a crucial place in history.

I will close now with an invitation for all our brothers and sisters who are able to come and join us in "LA MARCHA DE LA RECONQUISTA" to feel free to do so. As of now there are some accommodations open and I am certain that we will be able to put some people up. Once the march starts then things will be much easier to arrange. If you come, please bring a sleeping bag and a good pair of walking boots. For further information, you can write to the following address, as we are centering one of our information centers near the start of the march. If you wish, you may enclose your phone number and area code and also the hours that you may be reached. Keep in mind that due to the lack of funds we will be forced to call you collect, but rest assured that I will call you personally because I am confident that this March will go down in history and will someday be entered into Chicano studies. I am also enclosing a telephone number, but I am sorry to inform you that we will not be able to accept any collect calls.

Due to our lack of funds and shortage of addresses, we find it impossible to contact one tenth of the organizations we would like to reach. Therefore, you would be doing everyone concerned a tremendous favor if you would duplicate and distribute this correspondence to all interested organizations in your state. We would also appreciate it very much if you would give all this information to all newspapers, radio and television stations in your area, as there is a news blackout on the Chicano Moratorium Committee in this state.

HASTA LA VICTORIA, SIEMPRE!

Gilberto Cano
El Comite Nacional del Moratorium Chicano
(213) 268-1705



STOP THE WAR — JOIN LA MARCHA
DE LA RECONQUISTA MAY 5TH CALEXICO
CALIFORNIA

LA MARCHA DE LA RECONQUISTA

El Comité Nacional del Moratorio Chicano, para levantar a nuestra raza de la pobreza, discriminación y sufrimiento, está organizando una marcha de Calexico a Sacramento.

Esta marcha se está haciendo para enseñar a nuestra gente y a todo el mundo el genocidio, brutalidad y discriminación causado por éste gobierno contra la gente de descendencia Mexicana.

1. EN LA GUERRA DE VIET NAM: Este gobierno nada más usa Mexicanos como sangre de cañón. Somos 6% de la población de los Estados Unidos y un 20% de los muertos en Viet Nam. De cada 10 soldados Mexicanos que van a Viet Nam, mueren 3 Mexicanos. POR ESO PROTESTAMOS.

2. POLICIA: La policía nos ve como bestias, animales e ignorantes, y nomás saben tratarnos a base de mocanadas y pistolas. Tenemos datos que hay más raptos, asaltos y robo a mano armada, en la comunidad anglosajona que entre la comunidad Mexicana. Pero, en Los Angeles hay

4.6 policías por milla cuadrada en las comunidades blancas, y 13.4 policías por milla cuadrada en la comunidad Mexicana. ¿Recuerden, cuando han visto un Mexicano robando un banco en California?

3. LA EMIGRACIÓN: El departamento de Emigración es nada mas un brazo del sistema político de los E.U. Cuando nos necesitan para pelear sus guerras o levantar sus cosechas, entonces si somos tolerados. Pero cuando llega el momento que no ocupan nuestros servicios, y la economía se ve quebrantada, entonces no nos pueden ver ni pintados. POR ESO PROTESTAMOS.



4. WELFARE: El Gobernador Reagan usa el Welfare (La Ayuda Social) como marro sobre la cabecera de nuestra gente para así mantenerla oprimida. Se queja de la cantidad de Mexicanos que están bajo la ayuda, pero no dice que la mayoría de la gente que está recibiendo asistencia pública son gringos. Aboca que el gobernador-Reagan se encuentra en dificultades busca el apoyo de la clase media tratando así de convertirse en su héroe. Su primera táctica fué quitar la ayuda para los Mexicanos. La segunda es de entregar a los Mexicanos contra el Departamento de Emigración. POR ESO PROTESTAMOS.

5. ESTUDIANTES: La única esperanza para el pueblo Mexicano era el estudiante Mexicano, pero ahora también él sufre, porque el Gobernador Reagan ha quitado las BECAS! El 60% de la

juventud anglosajona está asistiendo los colegios o universidades, mientras que la juventud Mexicana solo el 3% asiste. POR ESO PROTESTAMOS.

El Comité Nacional del Moratorio Chicano toma esta oportunidad para invitar a nuestros hermanos a participar en La Marcha De La Reconquista que empezará en el parque de Rockwood Plaza, calle Seventh y Huber, en Calexico, California, el 5 de Mayo a las 7 de la mañana.

"LA MARCHA DE LA RECONQUISTA tiene el apoyo de César Chávez de La Unión de Los Campesinos, Corky Gonzalez de La CRUSADA POR La Justicia de Denver, Colorado, y José Angel Gutiérrez - el presidente del Partido Político de La Raza Unida de Texas.

POR MAS INFORMACION (714) 357-4411



LA POLICIA DE LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

MATA A OTRO CHICANO POR "ERROR"

LOS QUE SE DICEN PERTENECER AL CUERPO POLICIACO MEJOR DEL MUNDO, COMETEN OTRO "LAMENTARLE ERROR", ESTA VEZ EN EL VALLE IMPERIAL, HASTA DONDE SE DESPLAZARON INEXPLICABLEMENTE PARA ASESINAR A UN CHICANO EN PRESENCIA DE SU FAMILIA.

EXISTE GRAN INDIGNACION EN LA COMUNIDAD MEXICANA POR ESTE ALEVOSO Y CRUEL ASASINATO.

LA "GRAN PRENSA" Y OTROS MEDIOS DE INFORMACION, HAN GUARDADO UN ERMETICO Y COMPLICE SILENCIO EN ESTE ASUNTO QUE PROBABILMENTE QUEDA SIN CASTIGO, COMO HAN QUEDADO TODOS LOS ASESINATOS COMETIDOS EN CONTRA DE LOS MEXICANOS Y CHICANOS.

Por Pedro Ariza.

Un muerto, once huérfanos.

Francisco García de 41 años, originario de Laredo Texas, campesino y en un tiempo policía de Web County en Texas, padre de 11 niños, 6 mujeres y 5 hombres entre las edades de 6 meses a 18 años, fue asesinado arteriamente por policías procedentes de Los Angeles, California en el rancho Valenzuela, cerca de Thermal y Coachella, California, a 8 millas de distancia de esta última población.

El señor García había participado días antes en la "Marcha de la Reconquista" en el trayecto de Calipatria a Bombay Beach y por informaciones recogidas entre los residentes de la población de Coachella, se desprende que debido al estusiasmo y apoyo que en esa región ha tenido LA MARCHA de la RECONQUISTA la policía ha tratado y tratará de enfrentar dicha MARCHA que se inició el 5 de Mayo en Calexico, California, con la participación aproximada de 2 docenas de personas y que en el trayecto de Thermal a Coachella ya ascendía a trescientos o cuatrocientos encontrándose entre los participantes gran número de campesinos y estudiantes.

Como ocurrieron los hechos.

De acuerdo con Juanita García, hija mayor del fallecido Sr. García y testigo presencial de los hechos, nos informó que su padre había llegado el día de la tragedia a su casa como a las 7:45 o 7:50 de la noche procedente de la población cercana a donde había ido a la tienda a surtirse de algunos alimentos para la numerosa familia. Cuando su padre llegó, toda la familia salió a recibirla llena de alegría, y los más chicos corrieron a abrazarlo y besarla. Juanita luego ayudó a bajar las bolsas con alimento y las metió a su casa. El Sr. García también entró a su domicilio y al poco rato salió por la puerta de atrás tomándose una cerveza.

Una amiga de Juanita que se encontraba en esos momentos con la familia García, en forma de broma se dirigió a Juanita y le dijo: "Mira a tu papá, no puede eh? Juanita nos hace la aclaración que su padre no tomaba, que de vez en cuando compraba un "6 pack" y que este duraba semanas sin ser tocado.

El Sr. García, a los pocos minutos acompañado de su esposa abordó de nuevo el "pick-up" para ir a recojer un matrimonio vecino del rancho el cual los iba a llevar a la iglesia para que bautizaran ahí al

más pequeño de la familia García. Es decir, se iban a convertir en "Compadres" y padrinos del infante.

Juanita nos sigue narrando los hechos y dice que hasta los momentos en que su padre abordó el Pick-up, no había notado nada anormal o la presencia de alguna otra persona en la cercanía de la casa aunque había visto algunos movimientos y sombras, pero por la oscuridad no distinguía a nadie y todo lo atribuyó a los perros que pur abí merodean en busca de desperdicios de comida.

Juanita dice que oyó cuando su padre empezó el motor del carro después de varios intentos pues el arrancador del carro fallaba, luego oyó el ruido particular del arranque del motor en primera y en el espacio comprendido para que el engrane de la transmisión del carro pasó de primera a segunda, escuchó varios estruendos que luego comprendió eran disparos de pistola. "El motor del pick-up dejó de funcionar inmediatamente" continuó diciendo Juanita, y yo movida como por un resorte corrí hacia el carro, abrí la puerta y alcancé a ver a mi padre, ya sin vida y con los "ojos en blanco." Entonces un individuo barbón con trazas de "Hippy" apuntándome con su pistola empezó a darme de aviones y diciendo que me fuera a mi casa. Yo me resistí y le decía que con qué derecho me quería apartar de mi padre, pero luego aparecieron más sujetos con la misma facha del primero en un número aproximado a 15. Todos ellos, recalca Juanita, vestidos de "paisanos" algunos barbones y mal vestidos. Nunca oí alguna orden de que se parara mi padre, ni que eran policías, solamente oí una balacera tremenda, mi padre murió instantáneamente con 2 balas en el corazón y una en la cabeza.

La Policía trata de presionar a la familia García para que no diga nada. Cuando un grupo de periodistas, miembros del moratorio Chicano y un servidor nos dirigimos para tratar de entrevistar a la familia García al llegar a la estación de la casa que servía de hogar a los García yo me bajé del vehículo en que iba para tomar unas fotografías de la casa tanto del exterior como del interior y los demás prosiguieron en los carros hasta unas 500 metros más adelante a la casa del matrimonio que iba a ser compadre del matrimonio García.

Tomé fotografías del exterior a distancia considerable y cuando me acercaba a la "casa" salieron 2 individuos, eran policías, uno uniformado y otro de civil y se encaminaron a mi encuentro, uno de ellos con un walkie-talkie. Me dijeron que ahí no había nadie de la familia García y como sus movimientos no eran nada amigables opté por retirarme inmediatamente.

Ya en la casa donde se encontraba la familia García, noté la presencia de más policías, todos ellos mal encarados. Ya en contacto con la Sra. Emedina Ramírez, viuda de García, y su hija Juanita éstas y el resto de la familia se negaron en un principio hacer cualquier clase de declaraciones.

Juanita se encontraba en un trance histérico y no quería que se tomara fotografía alguna. Después de un intercambio de palabras logramos por fin que nos platicaran lo que en parte resumo en estas líneas.

No cabe duda la policía en alguna forma o tal vez bajo alguna amenaza lo había prohibido a la familia García decir algo a los periodistas Chicanos ya que con anterioridad habían hecho algunas declaraciones a los periodistas gringos.

LA VERSION DE LA POLICIA

De acuerdo con la información aparecida en los periódicos comerciales, la policía ha declarado que todo fue un lamentable error, ya que se buscaba a otra persona sospechosa estar inmascada en un contrabando de marihuana descubierto en esa región en días pasados donde se dice se decomisó una tonelada de dicha hierba.

También se asegura y se ha comprobado que los policías que mataron al Sr. García no eran de la localidad sino de Los Angeles, California y que la policía local no sabía de la presencia de estos miembros policiacos que tal vez fueron a dar una lección a sus compañeros de Coachella, Indio, etc. como se efectuaron las aprehensiones y lo más importante, como asesina a indefensos mexicanos a los cuales aparentemente quieren apaciguar en su lucha por JUSTICIA e igualdad que a pesar de tanto asesinato, encarcelamientos y brutales golpizas no podrán doblegar.

Descansa en paz hermano Francisco García, hoy fuiate tu, mañana tal vez nosotros o cualquier otro mexicano o chico. LA MARCHA DE LA RECONQUISTA seguirá adelante y nuestra lucha en contra del despotismo injusticias y discriminación también seguirá adelante hasta triunfar o morir.



La inconsolable Sra. Medina Ramírez, hoy viuda de García, gracias a unos miembros de la policía Angelina.

LAPD MURDER ANOTHER INNOCENT CHICANO

"LAMENTABLE ERROR" SAY POLICE

On Friday, May 14, 1971, still another Chicano was murdered, one more victim in a long list of genocidal "accidents" committed against our people by the Los Angeles Police Department. Francisco Garcia, a migrant campesino and father of 11 children, was assassinated just outside of his home on the Rancho Valenzuela in Thermal, California. Thermal is a small town situated just 8 miles outside of Coachella, where La Marcha de la Reconquista (in which Senor Garcia had participated from Calipatria to Bombay Beach) was to rally the following day.

As evidenced countless times in the past; the police have attempted to disguise their true character of racism and brutality by creating confusion around the events of that night. Following is an account of what occurred, taken from an interview with Francisco Garcia's widow, Adelina, and his eldest daughter, 18 year old San Juana.

The Garcia family began migrating 5 years ago, following the crops as far north as San Jose for 4-5 months, then returning each year to their home in Laredo, Texas. Prior to that, they had resisted the temptation to migrate for the sake of keeping the children in school, but each year it became increasingly difficult to manage when the work became scarce. On May 14, the 13 members of the Garcia family were living in a one room shack on Ibarra Ave. north. Juanita took care of the younger children so that her mother and father could work topping onions. The work would only last until noon on that day and Sr. and Sra. Garcia were making plans to baptize their youngest daughter, 6 months old. When Sr. Garcia arrived home a little before 8, all his children ran outside to greet him---he was very playful with them. A light illuminated the yard as Juanita and her mother routinely unloaded the bags of groceries and took in the laundry. Juana and a girlfriend got on back of the truck to talk while her father drank a beer, to the chiding of another daughter's "Ejele, ya no puedes!" (That Sr. Garcia wasn't much of a drinking man is evidenced by the fact that only 4 cans of beer were missing out of a 6 pack which had been there for two and one half weeks.). Juana had heard some noises out in the darkness of the dusty road, but had dismissed it as being caused by one of the dogs or some other animal. Sr. and Sra. Garcia were preparing to go to their compadres house, just down the road, to talk about the upcoming baptismal.

After one unsuccessful attempt to start-up the truck (which had a habit of stalling), Garcia and his

One of the Garcia children



wife started down the road. As her father switched on the headlights, Juana simultaneously heard the first shot and saw two huge shadows in the roadway as the sound of the truck shifting from first to second gear came to a choking halt. And one of the shadows kept shooting even then. In a minute she was in front of a bearded, long-haired "hippie", screaming "What did we do to you. Why did you kill him?" He pushed her roughly, saying "Get out of here, go home."

Sr. Garcia died instantly, having received 8 shots (one in the head and two in the heart). His wife received a wound in her leg and several cuts and bruises on her arms and back caused by flying glass. Then they realized it was a mistake---another "unfortunate incident."

Several conflicting facts attributed to statements by the police were published by local newspapers on the following day:

---that the police had connected Sr. Garcia to a marijuana operation going through Thermal

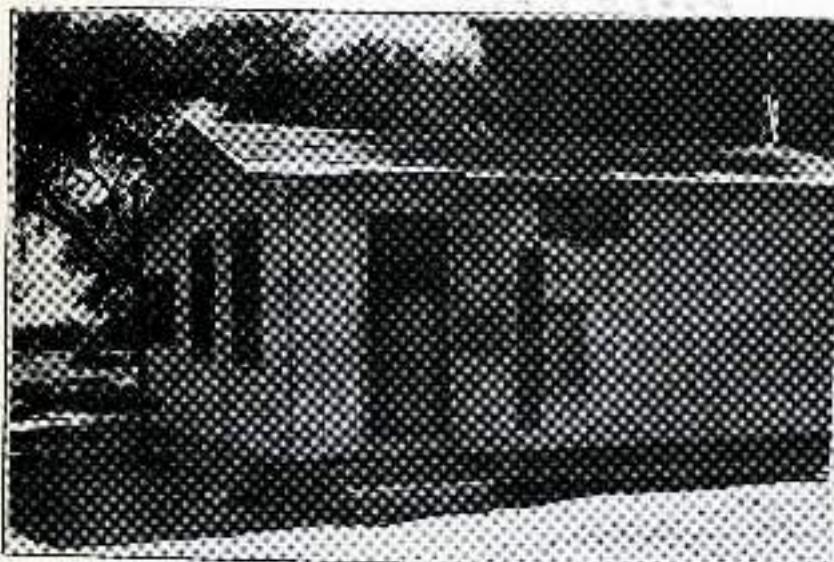
---But arrests in connection with the marijuana operation had been made a few days prior, so the police already knew who was connected with this traffic. Garcia was at no time a suspect for anything. Five minutes after his assassination all they could say was "I'm sorry, Senora."

---That a great quantity of marijuana was found in the truck. (This is in no way true. The police intentionally made vague and misleading statements to cause confusion and thereby shift attention from their guilty.)

---That Sr. Garcia inadvertently stumbled onto a trap intended for someone else. (Ibarra Road is virtually isolated, with only 3 small shacks in the immediate vicinity. Because the assassination took place on that little road, just a few feet from the house, the Garcia home had to have been the focus of attention for the half hours preceding the murder. The area behind the house---which faces the dirt road---was well lighted, thus the 15 ambushers could clearly observe the activities of the Garcia family, could observe that there were only children and 1 woman present, could observe the moment when Sr. Garcia and his wife got on the truck to leave.

---That the police shot because Garcia resisted arrest and failed to recognize the order to halt. (The truck, as Juana pointed out---was not in the best condition. Could Garcia have made a fast getaway in a truck that had stalled even a few minutes before? And how difficult an identification could have been made by the undercover pigs once the pickup was al-

In front of this shack that was the home of the large Garcia family, Señor Garcia was murdered viciously by agents of the L.A.P.D.



ready in motion? Even if Sr. Garcia had seen the men in the road, it seemed likely that he would have fled, leaving his children to the mercy of the long-haired, bearded, and armed anglos? Further, Juanita and her mother both deny that there was any warning whatever.

Is it the policy of the LAPD to shoot first and ask questions later? Or is this only practiced when Chicanos or Blacks are involved? What business does the LAPD have murdering our people, even outside of L.A. County? Why were 12 shots necessary to stop one man, who was outnumbered by 15. These and many other questions will probably never be answered. And still Chief Davis gets upset when the community call him and his accomplices "pigs." But what is metaphoric truth in comparison to daily systematic genocide?

The Moratorium Committee in Coachella started a fund to help the Garcia family with the funeral expenses. At the rally for the Marcha de la Reconquista the following day, a mass was held in his honor. The authorities are fearful that a "disruption" might break out.

In a country that sends mercenaries to kill a people on their own land in order that oil magnates might have the right to exploit the resources; in a country which allows hunger to exist while spending millions of dollars on a day storing food in order to control prices; in a country which enacts legislature to legalize the exploitation of people for the profit of a few; in a country with the technology to perform heart transplants, yet is number 8 in the world in infant mortality rates---and on and on---in such a country, can even a "accidental" murder in connection with marijuana traffic in anyway be justified?

The words of Juanita Garcia echo in our minds, "Ya me canzo de hablar; ahora, que vamos a hacer?"



A "perro" (the one on the left) keeping watch at the Garcia home.



Some of the children of the Garcia family.

EL ORDENAMIENTO COMO OBISPOS DE LOS Sacerdotes ARZUBE Y JOHNSON

FUE TODO UN ESPECTACULO DE FANTASIA,

CON DERROCHES DE LUJO, ORO Y SEDAS.

**Un espectaculo para el "JEFE" Davis y
Pistoleros, y para 3 o 4 Lambiscaos de oficio.**

Un espectaculo exclusivo para ricachones, curas y monjas.

EL TOQUE EXOTICO A CARGO DE UN MARIACHI.

EL PUEBLO, AL QUE VAN A SERVIR LOS OBISPOS, "BRILLO" POR SU AUSENCIA YA QUE SE LE EXCLUYO PREMEDITADAMENTE.

EL RACISMO FUE NOTORIO. 95% DE LOS INVITADOS SELECCIONADOS FUE ANGLO SAJON, EL 5% RESTANTE LATINO, INCLUYENDO A LA FAMILIA DEL OBISPO JUAN A. ARZUBE.

LO ANTERIOR SERIA EL RESUMEN SINTETIZADO DEL ACTO CELEBRADO EL 25 DE MARZO 1971, EN LA CATEDRAL DE SANTA VIBIANA, DONDE DOS Sacerdotes RECIBIERON EL ORDENAMIENTO COMO OBISPOS, PARA CONTINUAR "LA TRADICION" Y REPRESENTACION DE AQUELLOS 11 HUMILDDES APOSTOLOS ESCOGIDOS POR EL REY DE LA HUMILDAD, POBREZA Y JUSTICIA PARA EXPARCIR SU DOCTRINA.



Recordando la historia , tal y como me la contaron el Cura de mi pueblo y las beatas catequistas.

Por Pedro Arias.

Cuando Dios se hizo hombre, nació en las condiciones más paupérrimas que se puedan concebir; dándose así el ejemplo de cuál sería la base de su doctrina.

Siendo un Dios omnipotente, quizo nacer humildemente. En el alumbramiento su madre no tuvo ayuda alguna. En el lugar donde nació, la higiene más elemental no existía. Desperdicios de paja y rasrojos entremesclados con los desperdicios intestinales de animales fue su cuna. No tuvo cobija, ayate o pedazo de tela del material más barato de la época para defendérse de las inclemencias del invierno.

En fin, nació en la forma más humilde y pobre que se pudiera nacer. Y como decía mis abuelos, de ahí al real, toda su corta vida fué un ejemplo de pobreza, de lucha y de sufrimientos.

De ese ejemplo se desprende su verdadera grandeza. Siendo un Dios omnipotente, un Dios de la sabiduría y del poder, Rey de Reyes, Amo y Señor del Universo, despreció y combatió los fujos y riquezas

desde su nacimiento como hombre hasta su muerte como humano.

Si su desprecio al poder del oro fué palpable, más palpable, más intenso fué su desprecio a la HIPOCRESIA.

Si hubo algo que alterara su temperamento divino, eso fué la presencia o la existencia de un hipócrita. La hipocresía sencillamente lo irritaba. Sus palabras más fuertes, sus palabras más apasionadas, sus palabras más claras, fueron siempre dirigidas cuando se trataba de combatir las riquezas y la hipocresía. Al rico y al hipócrita.

Los Apóstoles.

Para perpetuar su ejemplo, para que se enseñara su doctrina en todos los rincones del mundo, Jesucristo escogió a doce personas, pero antes les exigió que abandonaran todo, y que sus pertenencias las repartieran entre los pobres, en otras pala-



Esta "dama" arrojó del templo al viejito que burro samente se dirigió a la izquierda de la fotografía.

bras, que se olvidaran para siempre de las comodidades, del lujo, y del dinero.

Todos los escogidos a excepción de uno, no tuvieron jamás la tentación del dinero. Judas falló, fue débil y por 30 monedas delató a Jesucristo. Jesucristo no perdonó aquella falla de Judas, y no precisamente el hecho de haberlo delatado, sino por el hecho de haberse Judas traicionado a sí mismo y haber tenido la tentación del dinero, y aceptar aquellas monedas. La falta del apóstol San Pedro, al negarla 3 veces, le fue perdonada ya que no hubo dinero de por medio sino su propia vida. El arrepentimiento de San Pedro ha de haber sido tan sincero y auténtico, que tal vez por eso Dios lo escogió para ser el pilar de su doctrina y la piedra primera de su iglesia.

Dios recomendó después a Pedro y los restantes diez apóstoles, ir a divulgar el Evangelio con la condición de que no llevaran ni acumularan dinero, y así lo hicieron.

A la muerte de los Apóstoles, estos nombraron a sus sucesores, y se entiende y se acepta que las mismas condiciones impuestas por Dios a ellos, fueran las mismas que ellos impusieron a sus sucesores.

La traición a Cristo

En la actualidad, y vaya a usted a saber desde cuándo, las cosas han cambiado. Ahora los que se llaman sucesores de los apóstoles, al aceptar seguir el ejemplo de aquellos, reciben un anillo con valor de miles de pesos, un cetro (báculo) de oro macizo y una mitra (gorro con bordados de oro y se-

da como símbolo de la representación Apostólica. Reciben además un hogar (o lo tienen de antemano) con todas las comodidades conocidas y por conocer, y el dinero suficiente para hacer del desayuno, comida y cena, un banquete que ya quisiera para un día de pachanga cualquier sultán o Rey que aun nos quedan por ahí.

La simplicidad, pobreza y humildad, que tanto Dios como los primeros Apóstoles mostraron al nombrar a sus sucesores, hoy en día es un espectáculo que cuesta miles de dólares, donde solamente los ricos explotadores del pueblo, los políticos en el poder que atacan al pueblo, sacerdotes que engañan al pueblo, y lambiscones que traicionan al pueblo, disfrutan de él.

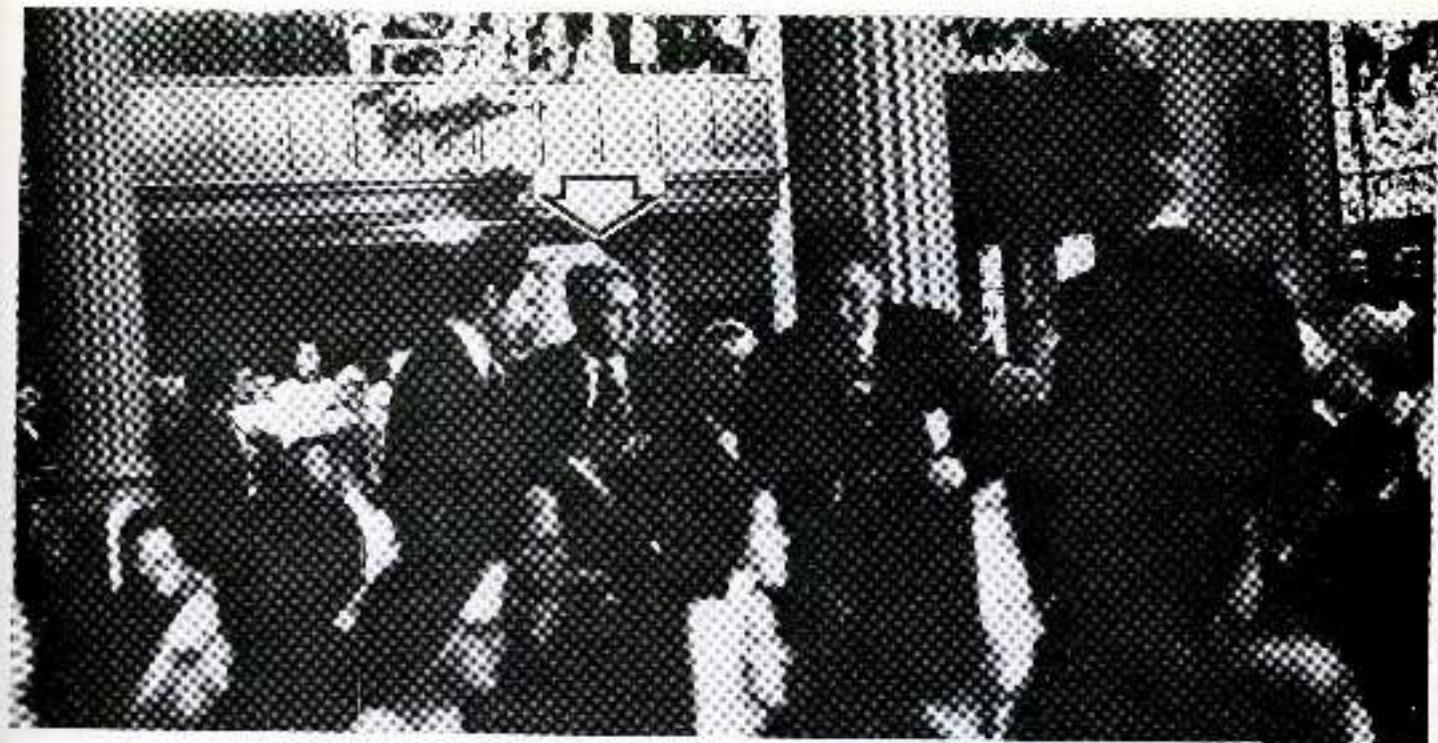
La primera misión

Daniel, el compañero que por primera vez fuó a desempeñar la misión de recoger información y tomar fotografías del evento u ordenamiento de los nuevos Obispitos, a su regreso, y al encontrarse conmigo, su semblante irradiaba satisfacción y sus palabras eran de júbilo al decirme:

"Cumplí mi primera misión. Me les conté y presenté todo. Aquí están la invitación que se repartió, y ésto es el rollo con las formas que tomé, ojalá salgan bien, por que andaba todo nervioso y con la cámara todavía tengo mis dificultades, como para tomar buenas fotografías."



El Arzobispo Manning, entregando al Obispo Arzube, un báculo de oro y plata macizo, que representa el poder de la iglesia.



El "jefe" Davis con 3 de sus pistoleros, entromesclándose entre las monjas, para presenciar el espectáculo religioso ofrecido por sus "cuatrachos" el Arzobispo Manning y el Cardenal McIntyre.

Al preguntarle que como cayó el acto, su rostro cambió rápidamente de expresión, su voz de tono y exclamó con pesadumbre:

"Tenía usted razón, cuánto lujo, cuánto gringo rico,

y cuánto cura y monjas hubo en la iglesia."

Al seguidas, Daniel me dijo: "Fíjese que también presencie como fue echado casi a empujones un pobre viejito harapiento para fuera de la iglesia, nomás una fotografía, ojalá salga clara pues todo fue repentina. Le pregunte a la señora que corría al viejito que por qué lo hacía, y me contestó que por qué esa clase de gente nomás iba a robar las bolsas de las "damas" y comprendían la carrera. La verdad, continuó relatándome Daniel que aquel pobre viejo no podía ni con su alma, con trabajos caminaba, yo no creo que pudiera robarse una bolsa y luego poder correr."

Y yo pensé para mis dientes y me dije: Tienes razón Daniel, eso de robar y correr fué solamente el pretexto para echarlo a la calle. Como se iba a permitir la presencia, en la casa de Dios, de uno de sus hijos predilectos cuando el "show" estaba en su apogeo. No era posible que aquel mugroso desarrapado viejo fuera a romper el marco de "pura critud" que formaban aquellos invitados selectos que estaban disfrutando de aquél espectáculo que muy pocas veces se tiene la oportunidad de ver. Imposible, Dios los libre de tanta desacato. Daniel continuó platicando sus experiencias y me dice: "sabe una cosa? De todas las veces que he asistido a la iglesia a participar de un acto religioso, es la primera vez que ven no piden limosna."

Sería el colmo, lo contesté, o más bien dicho, sería un insulto, si, un insulto a los invitados seleccionados de ese día. Esos insultos solamente se le hacen a los pobres parroquianos que regularmente, y

cada Domingo o día de fiesta asisten a la iglesia. De los "contavitos" de estas ovejas, es de donde sale para los festejos de estos "lobos".

Daniel ya se retiraba, pero se devolvió y exclamó: "Ah, se me olvidaba decirte, ahí atrás de la iglesia, donde está uno como schon play (patio de recreo) hubiera visto como estaba lleno de carros, pero de señoras carrazas; puros limousines, Mercedes, cadillacs, etc., etc., pero como yo iba de carrera pues se me hacia tarde para llegar al trabajo, nomás de pasada tome una fotografía del carro mas cercano a mí."

Bueno, te contesté, también esos carros salen de los "contavitos" de la misma gente que te acabo de mencionar, pues ya te diste cuenta que por ahí andaban 800 sacerdotes y 300 "monjitas".

Jesucristo, Judas, y sus sucesores

En días pasados, su santidad el Papa Paulo VI, llamó o comparó con Judas a los sacerdotes que abandonan la iglesia, y expuso sus motivos. Pero yo me pregunto, cuáles sacerdotes serán más Judas, aquéllos que abandonan la iglesia teniendo comodidades, lujo y dinero, o aquéllos que se quedan en ella para disfrutar de esos placeres?

Serían unos Judas, el Padre Hidalgo, Morelos y demás sacerdotes que los secundaron y abandonaron la iglesia? Fue un Judas el padre Camilo Torres?

Son unos Judas los sacerdotes como los Herrigan, los Melville, Bonpane, y decenas como ellos que en realidad no abandonan la iglesia, sino que los echan de ella por sus ideas y prácticas verdaderamente cristianas?

O Ahí les dejo estas interrogaciones para que se las contesten cada uno de ustedes...

should we tax

CHURCH \$\$ \$\$ WEALTH

BY KENNETH G. GROSS reprinted from LOOK

One August afternoon, a green truck parked outside St. Patrick's Cathedral in Manhattan. While two armed men kept a hair-trigger vigil, another heavily armed pair loaded the armored car with sacks of cash: Sabbath receipts for deposit in secret bank accounts. With minor variations, that same split-second ceremony was duplicated at dozens of other of the city's churches.

This happened in New York—a city that recently cut the clothing allowance of children on welfare. The city piles taxes on citizens who already surrender every third dollar to the government, yet one-third of the land in this capital of the world's wealth is untaxed—and the largest privately held chunk belongs to the churches.

While inflation and taxes chew up the value of their money, more and more Americans gaze covetously at the privileged sanctuary—the church—as the last untapped source of relief. An underground church flourishes as some clergymen question institutions that grow so rich in the midst of such need.

How much do churches own? God only knows. Several agencies of Federal Government have attempted to determine the extent of untaxed church wealth in the United States, but have been blocked by stubborn resistance. The average American taxpayer may be startled to learn that no church has to reveal to anyone in any way what it owns and the profits it makes. There is no law or regulation, secular or otherwise, compelling churches to disclose their assets, and they show no inclination to do so. Their silence is maintained by right discipline. One Roman Catholic priest in Brooklyn, exiled to a black neighbourhood after trying to gain detailed knowledge of the system, explained to me that the rules for enforcing security were drawn along military intelligence lines. Only those with a demonstrable "need to know" has access to the Church financial involvements.

In May, 1967, the WALL STREET JOURNAL tried to penetrate the investment secrets of the churches but gave up after encountering hostile reactions. Later, a Wall Street investment house began a survey of all church stock investments. The researchers reached a \$3 billion figure before realizing that they had only penetrated the surface, and then they too gave up.

Despite these difficulties, it is estimated that churches own at least \$100 billion. Some taxpayers, undeterred by tradition or the threat of hell, want to do something about it.

Former Commissioner of Internal Revenue Mortimer M. Caplin, in testimony before the House Ways and Means Committee last year, attacked the system of exemptions for church-owned businesses: "A number of churches have entered into active and aggressive commercial endeavors. One, for example, has become a wholesale distributor of popular phonograph records. Another has acquired at least seven sports-wear-and-clothing-manufacturing businesses. A third manufactures mobile homes and operates a drilling business. Others conduct real-estate-development businesses, provide petroleum storage facilities and carry on a broad variety of manufacturing enterprises."

Attempts are being made to crack the churches' special privileges. Frederick Walz, a Bronx, N.Y. attorney, has brought suit over his \$5.24 annual estate tax bill on an unoccupied lot on Staten Island. Walz, a nonpracticing Christian, argues that his tax bill would be even smaller if churches were forced to share the costs of government. Thus a plot of land worth \$100 threatens to tumble the entire churchly empire.

But little real progress has been made by critics like Walz. Even the 1969 tax-reform act dared not tamper with the ancient privilege. The new law taxes the income of church-owned businesses unrelated to religious purposes but gives the churches six years to get rid of these businesses before the tax applies.

In 1950, Congress exempted churches from paying taxes on any of their ventures, even those unrelated to church work. This law has had the effect of offering a long list of temptations to churchmen. Churches are given stipends for the use of their names by businessmen, who thus evade taxation. Further, there is the intricate "sale-and lease-back" arrangement, under which a church may buy a losing business, then rent it back to the original owner. Free of the burden of taxes, the owner now turns a profit for himself and, on top of that, for the church.

Still protected by the 1950 law, churches engage in a dazzling variety of activities, ranging from the manufacture of wine (Christian Brothers Wines) to a Bap-

list skating rink, gym and bowling alley; to ownership of electronics firms like Brooklyn's JFD Electronics Corporation, which was owned by the Stratford Retreat House, an interdenominational Protestant group that also owned another Brooklyn firm, Pierides Repairs, Inc. Stratford was forced to abandon its outside properties when public pressure became too great.

When you shop at a supermarket, you may be picking up products of a company owned in part by a church group (S & W Fine Foods, White Rose, etc.) The school you attend, the hospital that treats you, the hotel that houses you, the clothing that covers you, the insurance that protects you, the nursing home that shelters you, and even the funeral home and cemetery that bury you may be connected with, sponsored, or owned by a church.

The intricacies of church wealth in New York City are so confounding that when Americans United for Separation of Church and State decided to commission a study of assets and immunities in 14 cities, they excluded New York on the ground that it was "simply too complex."

There are over 4,883 churches, synagogues, monasteries, convents spread through the five boroughs of New York. The value of the land they occupy is conservatively placed at \$726,010,645. Tax experts at least double that amount would be closer to reality.

The assessed value does not include the worth of 1,383 parsonages or the 931 private dwellings for the clergy, or the hospitals, cemeteries, colleges and religious schools whose value adds at least another billion to the total.

New York's balance of church property is similar to the proportions in most of the nation: Catholics own about 50 percent of the total; Protestant sects, a little more than 40 percent, and Jews account for the rest.

Protestants came to America seeking religious freedom. They settled on the land, and it became a traditional source of wealth. The Protestant churches prospered with the country. In 1705, Queen Anne donated much of the land in New York from the Battery to the tip of Greenwich Village to the Episcopalian Trinity Church. Today, Trinity Church Corporation, which occupies several floors at 74 Trinity Place, lists dozens of buildings in New York's Real Estate Directory. The church voluntarily pays a tax on the scores of office buildings; the property, however, is routinely under-assessed.

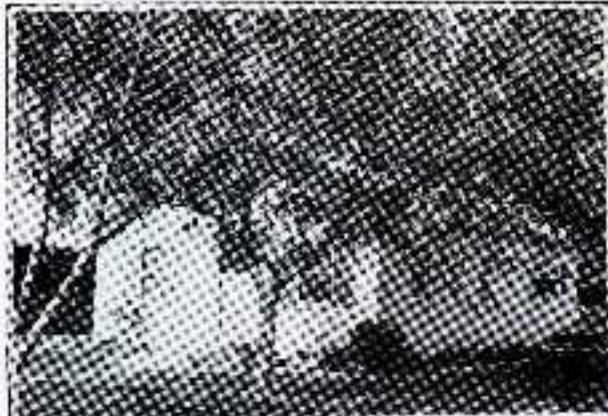
Many churches have become slumlords. In 1966, Friendship Baptist Church had to shut down rooming houses it operated on West 130th St. between Seventh and Lenox Avenues, since the buildings were "no longer fit for human habitation," according to church officials.

The second careers open to churchmen range from landlord to industrialist. Prof. Elwyn Smith, a teacher of religion at Temple University, recalled the dilemma of one minister of a Presbyterian church on

the East Side when he was bequeathed the majority shares of a clothing factory. "What shall I do?" asked the minister, trying to decide whether or not he should run it or dispose of the stock. He eventually sold it.

The Real Form Girdle Company is owned by the Cathedral of Tomorrow Church in Akron, Ohio, which also owns the Nassau Plastics Corp. on Long Island. The pastor defended these activities by asking, "What's the difference if it's a girdle company or an airplane company?"

The Brighton Heights Reformed Church on Staten Island has 450 members. Its minister, the Rev. Stanley J. Verhey, also serves as treasurer. The June, 1969, balance sheet for the congregation listed with Reynolds and Co. members of the New York Stock Exchange, amounted to \$1 million. It included stock in Mobil Oil, Dreyfus Investment Fund, Inc., General Motors, Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, American Telephone and Telegraph, Baltimore Transit, American Home Products, Travelers, Allegheny Power System, Niagara Mohawk Power, Columbia Gas System, Occidental Petroleum.



House located in Middle Class Anglo community, owned by Church.

The United Methodist Church, with headquarters on Riverside Drive, recently reported that its Board of Pensions had assets of \$257 million, the bulk in corporate stock.

The United Church of Christ, headquartered on Park Avenue South, has an investment portfolio valued at at least \$175 million.

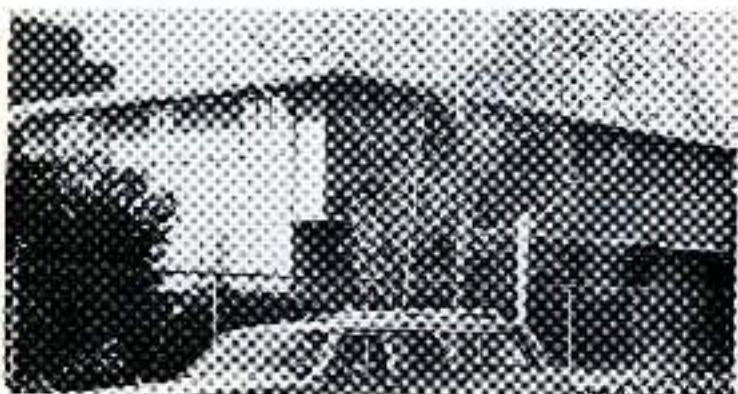
The administrators of Trinity Church refuse to divulge Wall Street investments. Recently, a church official was warmly discussing broad questions of church property. When the subject turned to specific holdings of Trinity Church, his voice faded. "We do not think that it is anyone's business. Good-day."

Some ministers within the Presbyterian, Methodist and Protestant Episcopal churches are attempting to deal openly with the question of church property. In 1967, Episcopal Bishop Hurance W. B. Donegan canceled a \$12 million building-fund drive to complete the Cathedral of St. John the Divine in Manhattan "until there is greater evidence that the anguish and despair of our disadvantaged people has been relieved." The United Presbyterians, the United Methodists and the American Lutherans have gone further and publicly argued against continuing tax exemptions on non-church-related property.

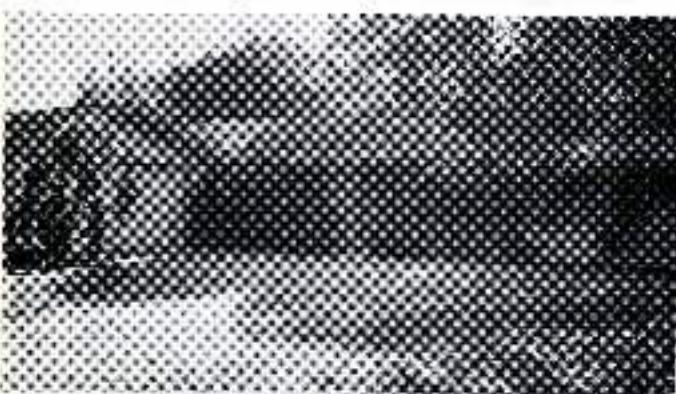
The National Council of the Churches of Christ whose constituency includes 43 million Protestants, Anglicans and Eastern Orthodox, urged that the "Federal tax law be revised so that any church or convention or association of churches which regularly conducts a trade or business that is not substantially related to its exempt function shall pay tax on the income from such unrelated trade or business." The National Council recommended in a report adopted by the General Board on May 2, 1969 that churches be compelled to file "full financial reports" about their assets.

But the reason for that is to keep the wolves away from the bulk of their property," said a Presbyterian minister. "It's the only way they can retain what they have. They, I guess, we, recognize that the mood is against us..."

Temple's Prof. Elwyn Smith, a Presbyterian who withdrew from the active ministry in protest against church wealth, charges: "What they—the people amassing all this property—what they fail to realize is that they are despoiling religion. For make no mistake, there is a price for that exemption. It is silence. You cannot freely criticize when so heavily obligated to the government."



Two story apartment house complex in Canoga Park and residential home in Northridge owned by Catholic Church.



Operating under its tax-free umbrella, the Roman Catholic Church in America generates great wealth. Exactly how much stock do the Church and its orders own? "Let your mind wander," one market expert suggested to me. "Let it lift, and when it touches figures like \$20 billion, maybe you'll be close. Maybe."

The Archdiocese of New York is the richest in the Roman Catholic Church. Today, its assets are estimated at \$55 million. However, that is only the land value, and the estimate is low. It does not include the stock portfolio, Catholics, organizationally and clerically, reportedly realize major profits from Graceline, Moran Towing, dozens of food producers and packagers, the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, and various utilities. Jesuits own large blocks of shares in defense industries (National Steel, Boeing, Lockheed, Douglas, Curtiss-Wright), as well as DiGiorgio Corp. and other firms. The Knights of Columbus, a tax-exempt lay Catholic group, includes the land under Yankee Stadium in a portfolio of half a billion dollars.

An assistant United States attorney, while investigating a fraud committed against a Catholic society, stumbled across a remarkable example of its wealth. Shortly before his death, Francis Cardinal Spellman received a frantic call from a priest belonging to the order in Washington. The priest explained that he had to have several hundred thousand dollars in three hours or the society would be forced to default on a bond issue. Spellman recognized that such a default could explode confidence in Catholic holdings and explode a wave of reinvestment. In two hours, the priest had the Cardinal's check.

Churches have only to answer to GOD for spending people's money

"The most remarkable thing about that," said the U.S. attorney, "is that Spellman only had to answer to God for spending that money."

The man who guards those capital investments is John Aloysius Coleman. He began his career in Wall Street as a page 54 years ago and is now head of Adler, Coleman & Co.

Coleman is known as "the Pope of Wall Street." It was Coleman's hand that Pope Paul VI first clutched when he stepped off the airplane at Kennedy Airport during his visit. It was in that same hand that the Vatican was said to have placed an estimated \$30 million when the Italian Government threatened to withdraw tax exemptions. Coleman once wielded impressive clout in Democratic politics, and former Mayor Robert V. Wagner, who was close to Cardinal Spellman, employed Coleman as a labor mediator. His name appeared often on lists of charity drives, Democratic functions and Gracie Mansion intimates.

The presence of Roman Catholics in sensitive spots in city government is not accidental. A few days after Mayor John V. Lindsay took office in 1966, he was visited by Cardinal Spellman. After a brief exchange of greetings, Spellman laid a piece of paper on Lindsay's desk. "What's that?" the new Mayor

asked.

"A list of jobs," replied Spellman. "A list of our (Catholic) JOBS."

The city commissioner who was at the meeting told me that the list included positions in the real estate department, judgeships, administrative posts in schools. Every department of city life vital to the Church was represented. Mayor Lindsay did not invite an open battle with the flinty Cardinal, but rather chose to erode the notion of a Catholic category, the commissioner recalled. He did allow the practice to continue, while throwing up some resistance.

The late Eugene Hult, a favorite of Cardinal Spellman's was appointed building superintendent of the city's school system in spite of lacking an engineering degree. His job required funneling millions of dollars in school-construction contracts to building firms. Aware of the superintendent's ties, construction firms, according to several officials close to Mayor Lindsay, were inclined to give a cut price to a parochial-school construction job.

The wealth of the Church is dependent upon strategic allies. No one was more strategic than the late Joseph P. Kennedy. Through Kennedy, the Church acquired a choice property for chancery offices at 451 Madison Avenue. He had purchased the block of six houses from a Wall Street colleague named Fahnestock. The old buildings were almost empty until World War II.

During the war, the Archdiocese was determined to have a new printing of the writings of St. Thomas Aquinas. The Publishers, Random House, said they could not handle the job since they had to vacate their offices on 57th Street. Besides, they argued, paper was not available.

A spokesman for Random House told me: "At the time, real estate was so scarce that when we looked for a place to move, all we could find was an old brewery and a few garages."

Cardinal Spellman was advised of the problem, "Get me Joe Kennedy," he said.

Kennedy was about to tee off on a private golf course near his Palm Beach winter house when an aide plugged in a portable telephone. "Don't worry about a thing," he told the Cardinal.

Kennedy sold the publishers one of the Fahnestock buildings at a low fee. The Archdiocese was given the remainder of the property by Kennedy. Random House diverted paper from another project, and the second printing of Aquinas came forth.

There are critics of church wealth in Catholic as well as Protestant churches. "The Catholic Church must either get back to helping its poorest members rather than cultivating its most influential parishioners, or else risk devastation," said a Bronx priest close to the Young Lords, a Puerto Rican activist group.

What happens to Jewish contributions is frequently different from what happens to Roman Catholic and Protestant ones. The structure of Jewish congregations, designed to survive alone as isolated outposts during the diaspora (dispersion), would not support the kind of capital expansion more unified denominations have embarked upon. Still the wealth is there.

In a study of 677 congregations - of which only 181 responded - just 35 of the administrators were even willing to discuss in detail their investment program. The

study was conducted in 1968 by the Commission on Synagogue Administration and the National Association of Temple Administrators of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. Of the 35 synagogues willing to discuss the subject, all indicated heavy investment portfolios, ranging from securities to cash deposits in savings accounts.

The business of death also yields profit. "A disturbing response," commented the report on cemetery privileges, "was the one which indicates that 24 congregations (from the smallest category to the largest) require retention of membership in order to utilize burial space...one (New York) congregation does not require continued membership; it charges an additional \$1,000 burial fee to a person who purchased a grave while a member, and who is no longer affiliated at the time of death!" The report termed the practice "unconscionable," although it is common in many religions.

Hasidic Jewish sects own and operate apartment houses on the Lower East Side, where there has been a disturbing rash of anti-Semitism among blacks and Puerto Ricans who feel exploited by the landlords.

The assets of the United Lubavitcher Synagogues in Brooklyn, whose members are thought to scorn secular involvements, is reportedly the most substantial of all Jewish congregations.

Traditionally, Jews have used their wealth to buy land, expand property or establish ethnic welfare societies. During the second World War, much of the wealth was used to rescue Jews from Nazi Germany and buy land in Palestine. Abuse is rare.

The implications of attacks on church immunity have reached Temple Emanu-El, located on 65th Street and Fifth Avenue. Emanu-El flanks Central Park and is generally ranked the wealthiest of all Jewish congregations. "Of course we are concerned about losing our exemptions," said Henry Kraus, financial administrator for the temple, noting the mood of aggressiveness toward religions. "Why? There are two aspects. One is, naturally, the real estate taxes. It would eat heavily into our budget. The other is that some of our heaviest contributors might not give without important exemptions. The tax-deductible feature is very important for contributions. Those who give the larger annual contributions might think twice about making contributions if they were not tax deductible."

No one argues about the tax-deductible dollars churches collect and spend in the interest of God and man. That's part of their role. But what many Americans have argued about is the tax-exempt status of totally unrelated business activities and certain large unreported investment holdings. The 1969 tax-reform act should within six years eliminate the most flagrant temptations that beset the churches -- if the grace period is not extended indefinitely. It will also make the churches reveal the nature of some of their holdings and force them into more appropriate economic activities.

Laws can prevent the churches from soiling themselves in the market place. But they cannot restore the soul of organized religion. Young people claim a fundamental hypocrisy in a church that aims for a spiritual target and strikes a bargain. It would be ironic if the revival were brought on by the government.

EL MOVIMIENTO AND THE CHICANA

**WHAT ELSE COULD BREAKDOWN A REVOLUTION BUT
WOMEN WHO DO NOT UNDERSTAND TRUE EQUALITY**



In the movimiento Chicanas have been in the background of organizations. We have seen few Chicanas take leadership roles. Las mujeres have largely played the role of the secretary. When women were given leadership roles, it was mainly out of tokenism to a silent, yet potentially powerful group. This has been the very same type of tokenism that the system has used only now its Chicanos doing it to the mujeres. When a carnala was given a title, a definite position, it was mostly a head secretarial position. There is no denying that many organizations need an office to run smoothly and if a woman can do it, orale, but this is where most women have remained.

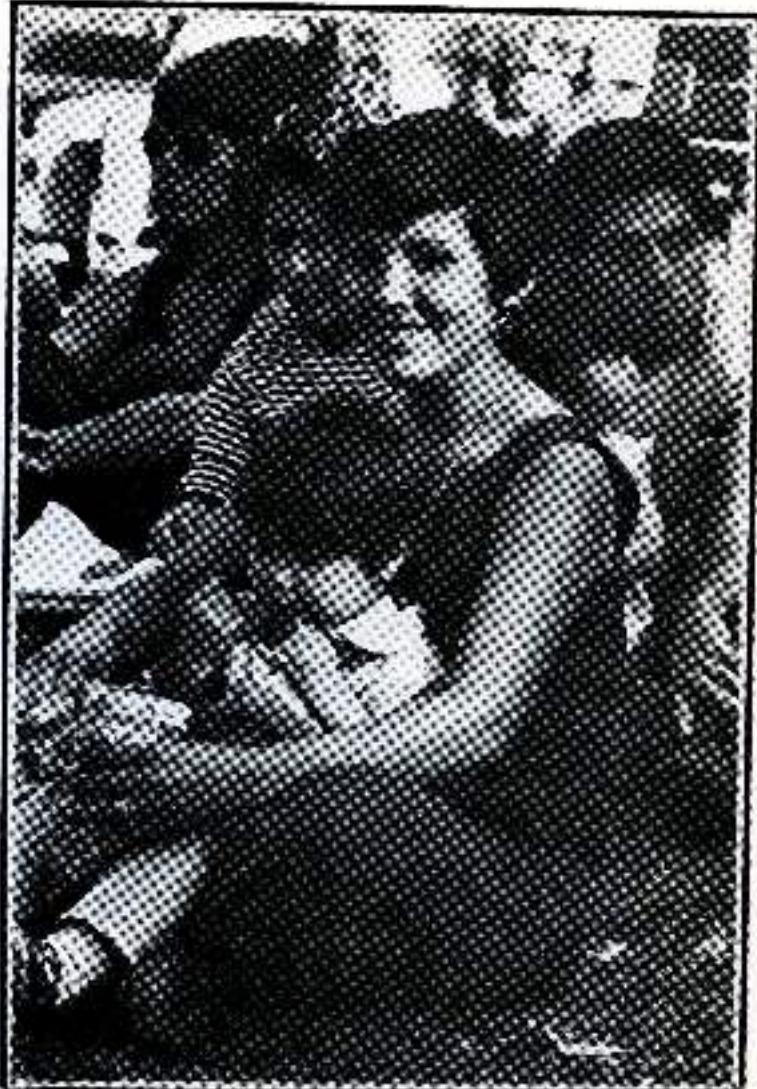
At other times there were schisms among the women themselves; that is "petty jealousies" arose. A woman who was supposedly together or in pretty much in agreement with whatever the men said would be set apart from the other women. This woman would not have to be very vocal; she did not necessarily know how to analyse a situation the organization was into. She merely had to parrot a lot of the rap that the vatos put out. The men would then begin to set her up as the true example of what the women's role was all about. She was symbolically put on a pedestal. She was the queen or Azteca princess of the organization. She was to be possessed, cared for like a chicano takes care of his little sister, not equal to the men. All ideas which capitalism perpetuates. How many times would Chicanas hear, "But, you're a better worker, more together and revolutionary than the other lame chicks". This is most assuredly non-revolutionary. For being revolutionary means that you are a part of the people, you are with the people. So, this hermana, having all the attention of the guys, would begin to look down on the other

chicanas. She became egotistical (another symptom of capitalism) in her total attitude in regards to the other mujeres. She was already a "liberated woman". She could not stoop so low as to get the other women's head straight, which is her truest revolutionary task for the liberation of an oppressed people.

The women at the Regional Conference would not deny the fact that they are in total revolution against the system. Why women are looking at Chicanas and saying that they are being used is another look into realities. There aren't very many Chicanas in the movement. This is of course ridiculous because there are two women for every man in this nation. We must realize that the U.S. system has brainwashed us in spite of all our shouts of Chicano power we still have strains of white upper class attitudes that reflect in our ideology. This is the idea that there must always be an underdog and a top dog. That there must be a rich class and a lower class because history has proved it to be that way. So in our familias, in our organizations we have vestiges of the old ideas in sex and the oppressed sex. Revolutionary ideology is an evolution, a change in our thinking. We, chicanas and chicanos are still unaware of our upper class attitudes. (And it's excusable at this moment for Chicanas are for the first time really looking at their role.) It is in our dialogue, it is in our love relationship. It is in our organizations. Most Chicanas have been pre-conditioned (brainwashed) into the idea that they can not speak up or be smarter than their men. Now this may sound like an anglo womens liberation thing, but the chicana has had it in her family not to talk against the father, not to disagree with him on anything. The Chicana while being raised is to never question the authority, rules, or actions of her father nor of her brothers.

She, la hermana, is kept in a closed shell, protected from all the "evils" in the world by the men in her family. She may go either of two ways. One is that she has been so affected by male dominance that she is easily influenced by any man from there on, be it either in politics of an organization or naively falls for the guys that radicalize her off her panta. The other well-protected hermana may go into an organization sincere in her heart to do something for her people. She is welcomed by a group of guys who try to get her into bed before she can ask "What is the Chicano movement all about?" She is basically turned off because she still has very religious ideas of virginity, La Virgen, St. Mary Magdalene, and the Pope.

If the hermana has an open mind about pre-marital sex, she is turned off to the movimiento because she values herself as a human being. She knows that she has physiological desires, but she wants to be recognized as an individual who has brains and the ability to use them. This particular type of woman is separated from all the other Chicanas and Chicanos immediately. She does not want to be used as a sexual object but does want to be involved in all aspects of the movement. This the guys don't like. They distort her actions and make foolish accusations of strong women



being dikes just because a chicana will not go to bed with him, while they mock her by stating that she tries to dominate over everything.

This is about how the expression goes. Estas Chicanas find themselves dating few of the guys in the organization. She is socially ostracized from the group. When she brings up the issue of machismo, the other hermanas silently agree but do not say anything to support her. So she is labeled a personality problem, a power-hungry egotistical woman.

The political, and economical struggle of the Chicana is the universal question on women. The difference between the liberation of Chicana women and other Third World women is cultural. The Chicano culture has very positive effects and very bad ones. We have to fight a lot of Catholic ideas in our homes and in the movement. For example, the idea of large families is very Catholic. The Pope says no birth control, abortions, lots of kids (and make me richer.) So what do the guys say



in the movement, have lots of kids, keep up the traditional Chicano family. If a Chicana knows anything about sex, right away Chicanos think that she must have gone through the mill. The cultural oppression here is that Anglos have a saying that goes: A woman should be an angel in the kitchen and a devil in the bedroom. For the Chicana there is not that "double standard." She is to be a virgin before marriage and remain naive about sex through her entire married life. When a Chicana gets into an organization and doesn't go with any particular guy in that organization, the guys all become her older brother. The Chicanas now look out for the Chicana like her father would. Who's that Tina's with? Is he ok, together? Like in the family the Chicana then has to argue that she has a rational mind and that she has the capacity to judge a person, and doesn't need anyone telling her who to or who not to go out with. So for a lot of Chicanas they go from the kettle into the fire, from the home into the movement.

In our movement we must work overtime on the question of the women's role. Women may have to work on separate projects or services very pertinent for changes for las mujeres. This will not be done to bring about jealousies, conflict, or to see which sex works better than the other nor to cause a permanent schism in the Chicano struggle for liberation and equality. This will be done for the positive evaluation of each other. To realize that in the struggle for liberation of a people, we must count the other half of the work force--the women. This will be done to realize that in order to make a successful revolution the two sexes must be completely liberated from upper class ideas, traditions and tendencies.

Hermanas should realize that we could be strong, teach each other, and help each other towards revolutionary ideals and responsibility--for what else could breakdown a revolution but women who do not understand true equality and still possess upper-class ideas of possession--property.

CHICANA REGIONAL CONFERENCE



The Chicana Regional Conference of May 8 was the result of a successful organizing attempt by women from three different colleges to bring Chicanas together to discuss their role in the movement. An estimated 200-250 Chicanas attended the conference, along with a handful of interested Chicanos.

This regional conference was the forerunner to a nation-wide conference which will be held in Houston, Texas on May 28, 29, and 30. Its primary purpose was to draw up an L.A. platform to present at the national Chicana conference and secondly, to raise funds to send representatives from the L.A. area.

Six workshops were organized for the regional conference in the areas of philosophy, education, welfare, the pinta, political education, and communication.

The Chicana conference was undoubtedly a great step forward for Chicanas--only 2 years ago, in the Spring of 1969 at the Denver Chicano Youth Conference, the general consensus of the women's caucus was that "Chicanas do not want to be liberated." The Chicana, as a political force in the movement was, therefore, never fully explored because she was too willing to accept her culturally oppressed role. Thus, any potential for leadership was never allowed to develop. She would always remain ideologically behind the man.

The relationship between the Chicana and Chicano within organizations has not gone far beyond the petty and superficial games with revolutionary rhetoric as the playing field and sexual conquest as the objective. This type of male-female relationship has been detrimental to the movement. The detriment lies in that the immature and undisciplined actions of the individuals involved create more conflict and division within the organizational structure.

La Mujer Como Revolucionaria



The fact that Chicanas are finally getting together is an indication that the movement is maturing, for we are now analyzing our historical and revolutionary roles and rejecting those things that stand in the way of our liberation.

Chicanas are realizing that the existence of relationships which are based on superior and inferior sex levels are counter-revolutionary. Relationships of this kind do not allow for the conception of ideas and their successful implementation. Actions, whether independent or in concert are negatively affected. Thus this type of relationship hampers the political development of both the Chicana and the Chicano.

The Chicana Regional Conference is only the beginning step towards political awareness. Because it is only the beginning, many mistakes in ideology are bound to come up, as well as many conflicts. These must be evaluated and criticized. Some Chicanas at the conference expressed the opinion that there actually was no need for Chicanas to get together since this would cause divisions within the movement. The fact is that divisions already exist, and can't be ignored at the risk of letting them deepen. The Chicana is not active politically in proportion to her population. Of the Chicanas that are involved, only a very few are recognized leaders. A great number of Chicanas, becoming increasingly frustrated at not being accepted as equals by the Chicanos, are leaving organizations, forming their own caucuses, and even giving up the movimiento.

It can't be denied that a good part of this Regional Conference remained at the level of bitching about male oppression, without taking into account that the Chicano is equally enslaved to cultural indoctrination. He too is victim of the constant reinforcement of sexual stereotypes which are perpetuated by the educational system, the media, and even la cultura mexicana. All stereotypes are perpetuated to keep the movement divided against this racist and oppressive system.

Because it is the Chicanas who feels the immediate oppression, it is understandable that her first reaction would be to blame the visible object of her oppression--the Chicano. However, after this initial reaction of frustration, the next step is to carefully analyze the situation. We cannot remain at this level nor form spontaneous resolutions based on the initial conclusions.

The philosophy of the Chicana has to be one of uniting the Chicano movement, to realize that our enemy is not the Chicano, but the system which keeps us divided.

The burden of unity should not be on the Chicana alone. The Chicano should also become aware of his own oppressed state and take care not to alienate a valuable political ally. La Mexicana has been an active revolutionary throughout history, and she will continue to be active in the future--but only through a united struggle, the Chicana and Chicano side by side, will we be able to make a meaningful contribution to la revolucion.



LA CONFERENCIA



CHICANO PARTICIPATION IN CALIFORNIA GOVERNMENT

In 1960 the U.S. Census reported that of California's total population of 15,717,204, the Spanish surnamed population was 1,426,583 or 9%. In July, 1967 the California State Department of Finance estimated that of a total 1967 population of 19,478,000, the Spanish surnamed population was 2,162,100 or 10.9%. Since the Spanish surnamed population increased 1.9% in the seven years 1960-1967, projected growth for the years 1968-1970 would be .8%. In other words, we can estimate that for 1970, Spanish surnamed people comprise 11.7% of the state's population.

Also in 1967 the State Department of Education issued by counties the percent of Spanish surnamed enrollment in the public schools. By correlating this data with the state's estimates of each county's population in 1970, it can be estimated that over 80% of the Spanish surnamed population is concentrated in twelve of the 58 counties. These counties, each of which has total populations of over 100,000 persons, are Fresno, Kern, Los Angeles, Merced, Monterey, Riverside, San Bernardino, San Joaquin, Santa Barbara, Santa Clara, Tulare, and Ventura.

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights report adds that six additional counties (Colusa, Imperial, Kings, Madera, San Benito and Yolo) although relatively low in population, have high percentages of Spanish surname public school populations. By estimating the 1970 Spanish surnamed population of these counties

and adding them to the above twelve counties, we can account for over 90% of the Spanish surnamed population.

Three additional counties should be noted. In 1967 San Francisco, Santa Cruz, and San Diego Counties Spanish surnamed school populations were 14%, 13% and 11% respectively; the 1960 U.S. Census Report suggests that many of the remaining Spanish surnamed population, as estimated by the state, can be accounted for in these counties.

FEDERAL, STATE AND LOCAL ELECTED AND APPOINTED OFFICES

Each year the Secretary of State of California issues a book entitled California Roster of Federal, State, County and City Officials. This book includes the names and locations of every major elected and appointed official of the state at all levels of government; it is compiled with the "cooperation of Federal, State, County, and City and other agencies." State civil service employees are included only when their positions rely directly or indirectly on appointment by Governor's office, other executive office officials and/or the State Legislature; city and county officials are included only when their positions rely directly or indirectly on appointments by elected officials.

SELECTED 12 COUNTIES WITH CHICANO POPULATION

County	State Dept. of Finance Total 1970 pop. estimates	1967 Public School Spanish Surnames
Colusa	12,200	15.42
Fresno	470,500	28.18
Imperial	53,300	44.54
Kern	343,700	16.35
Kings	68,900	22.25
Los Angeles	7,081,700	15.82
Madera	45,000	27.98
Merced	105,400	18.28
Monterey	247,700	18.48
Riverside	451,500	17.51
San Benito	19,100	51.38
San Bernardino	703,600	15.39
San Joaquin	298,200	16.45
Santa Barbara	264,100	16.46
Santa Clara	1,065,600	15.04
Tulare	196,100	27.79
Ventura	387,500	17.71
Yolo	55,400	15.21



Shaded Area--Counties with high concentration of Chicano population.

The 1970 Roster lists 15,650 positions at all government levels; only 310 or 1.98% were held by Chicanos. The majority of these (241) were officials in city and county offices; 1.2% of California's Fed-

eral and State offices were held by Chicanos, although they comprise nearly 12% of the state population.

1970 California Roster of Federal, State, County and City Officials

Category of Office	Total # in Office	Total # Mexican American
Federal Elected and Appointed	525	7 (1.3%)
State Legislators and Advisors	195	2 (1%)
Executive Offices of State	2,291	13 (Less than 1%)
State Boards, Commissions and Advisories	1,732	47 (2.7%)
City and County Government Officials	10,907	241 (2.2%)
TOTALS - Gov't all levels	15,650	310 (1.98%)

In the Roster, there is a listing of the top officials for each state in the Union. California's list includes 40 top state offices: Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Secretary of State, Treasurer, Controller, Attorney General, Superintendent of Public Instruction, Chief Justice of Supreme Court, Director of Finance, Director of Public Works, Director of Water Resources, Director of Motor Vehicles, Director of Public Health, Director of Mental Hygiene, Director of Agriculture, Director of Industrial Relations, Director of Social Welfare, Director of Conservation, Director of Professional and Vocational Standards, Director of Veterans Affairs, Director of Corrections, Director of Human Resources Development, Director of Youth Authority, Director of General Services, Director of Rehabilitation, Director of Disaster Office, Director of Fish and Game, Director of Alcoholic Beverage Control, Director of Parks and Recreation, Director of Housing and Community Development, Director of Commerce, Director of Health Care Services, Commissioner of Savings and Loan, Commissioner of Corporations, Commissioner of Real Estate, Commissioner of Insurance, Commissioner of Highway Patrol, Superintendent of Banks, State Fire Marshal, Commanding General of the State Military Forces. None of these offices are filled by Chicanos.

U.S. District Courts (which include U.S. judges, referees, probation officers, commissioners and marshals) there are 262 positions; only six are Chicanos (2%). None of these six are judges or referees. In California there are four U.S. Attorneys and 87 Assistant U.S. Attorneys; none of these are Chicanos.

OFFICES OF STATE GOVERNMENT

In the California State Legislature there are 120 seats, and one of these is held by a Chicano. When combined legislative staff is examined (including the Senate and Assembly Attaches, the Office of the Auditor General, the Joint Legislative Budget Committee technical staff and the Legislative Counsel) out of nearly 75 staff advisors, only one is Mexican American (1.3%).

At the state level in the courts there are 132 positions including the seven Supreme Court Justices, the Judicial Council, the Administrative Office of the Courts, the Commission on Judicial Qualifications and the State Court of Appeals. No Chicanos hold any of these high offices.

In California there are seven elected officials responsible for the administration and enforcement of state laws and regulations: the Governor, the Lt. Governor, the Secretary of State, and the State Controller, the State Treasurer, the Attorney General, and the State Superintendent of Instruction. These seven officials, none of whom are Chicano, and the State Legislature, select and appoint all State Boards, Advisors, and Commissions.

The Roster lists 28 advisors in the Governor's office none of whom are Chicano. One hundred officials are listed in the Lt. Governor's office; two

OFFICES OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

Few Chicanos are found in elected and appointed positions of the Federal Government specifically serving Californians. In the National legislature (Senate and House of Representatives) there is only one Chicano. In the U.S. Court of Appeals and the

are Chicano. In the Secretary of State's, Treasurer's, and Superintendent of Instruction's offices there are 31 staff advisors; none of whom are Chicano. There are no Chicanos among the State Controller's 12 assistants, although there are three Chicanos who are among the 144 Tax Appraisers, a position appointed by the Controller. In the Attorney General's office there are 283 deputies, representatives and assistant attorney generals; one assistant attorney general is Chicano.

The 135 boards, commissions and advisories at the state level in California provide a continuous feedback to the state officials on the needs and concerns of the population. Some of these boards set policy and make budget decisions which broadly affect the entire state. These include the State Board of Education, State Board of Equalization, Public Employment Retirement System, Regents of the University of California, Commission on Housing and Community Development, and the Governor's Cabinet. Of the 69 persons on these boards, only two (2.8%) are Chicano.

Other boards and commissions advise and regulate specific aspects of life and culture in the state. These include the Highway Commission, Pacific Marine Fisheries Commission, Heritage Preservation Commission, Youth Authority Board, and Air Resources Board. Of the 59 persons on these boards and commissions, only one (1.7%) is Chicano. Throughout the state there are 1,732 persons who serve full time or in an advisory capacity on the state's 135 boards, commissions and advisories; according to the Roster, 47 (2.7%) of these persons are Chicanos.

Finally, the Roster itemizes high level civil service staff which provide advisory assistance to the elected officials and to the appointed boards and commissions. Many of these positions are personally selected by elected officials and are responsible for day to day policy and planning. There are 1686 offices in the Roster, eleven of which are occupied by Chicanos or less than one percent.

OFFICES OF COUNTY AND CITY GOVERNMENT

The Roster lists a total of 10,907 officials in the county and city governments; 241 (2.2%) of these are Chicanos.

Governing the 58 counties in California are 296 County supervisors and 1402 other elected and appointed officials. There are nine Chicano supervisors (3.4%) and 13 Chicanos who occupy other of-

ficial offices (less than one percent). Not included in the above tabulation are the superior court judges, municipal court judges, justice court judges, and county constables. There are 1179 such offices in the state, 21 of which are Chicano. Specifically, there are 407 Superior Judges in California, three of whom are Chicano and all of whom work in Los Angeles County. There are 315 Municipal judges and 240 justice court judges; nine of these are Chicanos. Finally, there are 218 constables; nine of these are Chicanos. In other words, Chicanos represent about 1.7% of the county and city judiciary process.

In 1970 there were 403 incorporated cities in the state. There were 181 cities with populations under 10,000; 155 cities with populations from 10,000 to 50,000; 64 cities with populations from 50,000 to 500,000; and three cities with populations over 500,000 (Los Angeles, San Diego, and San Francisco).

In cities with under 10,000 population, there are 181 mayors, six (3%) of whom are Chicano; 724 councilmen, 44 (6%) of whom are Chicano; and 3098 other officials, 39 (1%) of whom are Chicano. In summary, Chicanos are in 2% of the county and city governments' decision making positions in cities of this size.

In cities with 10,000 to 50,000 population, there are 155 mayors, four (3%) of whom are Chicanos; 633 councilmen, 33 (5%) of whom are Chicano; and 1815 other officials, 42 (2%) of whom are Chicano. Chicanos occupy 3% of the decision making positions in these cities.

In cities with 50,000 to 500,000 population, there are 64 mayors, one (1%) of whom is Chicano; 332 councilmen, 20 (6%) of whom are Chicano; and 926 other officials, 15 (1%) of whom are Chicano. Within these city governments, Chicanos represent 2.7% of the officials.

Finally, in California's three largest cities, there are 99 mayors, councilmen and other officials, only one of whom is Chicano.

18 SELECTED COUNTIES

As mentioned above, most of the Chicano population reside in 18 of California's 58 counties. A review of the participation of Chicanos in local government, specifically in these counties and cities, will perhaps give a more realistic assessment of the Chicano representation at the local level.

Participation of Chicanos in Local Government - By Size of City

Population	Mayors Non MA/MA	Councilmen Non MA/MA	Others* Non MA/MA
0-10,000	175/6	680/44	3059/39
10,000 to 50,000	151/4	600/33	1772/42
50,000 to 500,000	63/1	312/20	911/15
Over 500,000	3/0	32/1	66/0

*First number is total non-Chicano; 2nd number is Chicano

In 16 of the 18 counties, less than 5% of the city and county officials are Chicano; four of the counties have less than 1% or zero percent participation of Chicanos (Kern, San Joaquin, Colusa, and Madera Counties). Five additional counties have less than 3% participation of Chicanos in local government (Monterey, Santa Barbara, Tulare, San Benito and Yolo Counties). The largest number of Chicanos in the state reside in Los Angeles County; yet there are no Chicanos in county government decision making positions. In the 78 cities within L.A. County, there are only 41 (3%) Chicano officials out of 1247 offices.

In two of the 18 counties, Fresno and Imperial, 7% of the city and county officials are Chicano. Although these counties have the highest percentage of participation in the state, they also have very high percentages of Chicanos in their populations. Fresno's Spanish surnamed school population is 29% and Imperial's is 45%.

In conclusion, the majority of Chicanos reside in 18 counties; yet, out of 3804 offices in these county and city governments, Chicanos occupy only 125 or 3%.

Participation of Chicanos in 18 Selected Counties

(City and County Government Officials)

County	Total # Officials	Total # MA	% MA
Fresno	256	17	7
Kern	181	1	-
Los Angeles	1247	41	3
Merced	140	6	4
Monterey	205	3	1
Riverside	295	13	4
San Bernardino	254	7	3
San Joaquin	75	-	-
Santa Barbara	124	3	2
Santa Clara	271	11	4
Tulare	144	3	2
Ventura	192	6	3
Colusa	32	-	-
Imperial	118	9	7
Kings	79	3	4
Madera	60	-	-
San Benito	51	1	2
Yolo	80	1	1
TOTAL	3,806	125	3.2%

NO MORE "MORDIDA"-REGISTER LA RAZA UNIDA PARTY

Throughout the state of California, public meetings of the California State Advisory Committee, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights have been held to determine the question of Chicano representation in California. Numerous persons have been called to testify. Among them was Mervyn Dymally, State Senator from the 29th District, who also presides as Chairman of the Senate Committee on Election Reapportionment, the committee whose responsibility it will be to determine reapportionment boundaries for the 70's.

Reapportionment boundaries are determined by census figures every ten years. Thus, senatorial and assembly districts for California will be determined late this year.

In the past, reapportionment has worked against the Chicano population. Our barrios have been gerrymandered in such a manner that no district has more than 31 or 35 percent of the total population comprised of Chicanos. Thus, when it's voting time, we are easily outvoted and continually unrepresented.

Senator Dymally and other witnesses, notably Dr. David Lopez Lee and Professor Henry Lopez from California State College at Los Angeles, pointed out the current lack of representation of the Chicano community. We have no members sitting on the city council of Los Angeles, no Chicano on the L.A. County Board of Supervisors, two assemblymen out of a total of 40 in the state of California and no state senators. Lee and Lopez pointed out that since we represent 16 percent of the population, we should have 16 percent of the representatives in Sacramento. That would figure to twelve assemblymen, six senators, and six congressmen.

Senator H.L. Richardson, 19th District, Los Angeles and chairman of the Senate Republican Caucus testified. In essence, he stated that Chicanos have literally put all their eggs in one basket. For years they have joined one party (Democratic Party), and for years have been systematically taken advantage of. They have lost their leverage.

The Chicano is a hip-pocket vote that traditionally votes Democratic and thus can the Chicano vote be divided anyway the Democrats want to. He predicts that after reapportionment, the Chicano will be a little better off than he is right now. As long as he puts his eggs in one basket, he shouldn't be surprised when they get crushed.

As a result of the hearings and other factors, Chicanos have begun to organize a third party called La Raza Unida. The intent is to reverse the traditional political machine that election after election, takes the Chicano vote and then produces nothing for our people. Democrats and Republicans have demonstrated to our people that they are one and the same; these parties after being in power for all these years, still leave us with backward education, lack of jobs, poor housing and health conditions and poverty in general.

El Partido de la Raza Unida, La Raza Unida Party, is the party of the poor and working Chicano. It will represent the needs of the people. El Partido is more than just a political party—it is LA FAMILIA, a way to change, to give the barrios the power to determine what they need for their families and communities. El Partido de la Raza Unida needs your support. The first step is to secure over sixty thousand voter signatures in order to qualify as a political party. We ask you to register

CENSUS REPORT

The Mexican American Population Commission of California today, April 20, 1971, issued its official Census Report on the Mexican American population of California. This Census Report is the first on Mexican Americans since the 1960 Census Bureau Report. Mexican-Americans were not specifically identified in the 1970 Census. (Blacks and American Indians were identified.)

The Commission Census Report shows:

- A. More than one in every seven Californians is Mexican American (14.9% or 2,980,000 as of 1970).
- B. California's Mexican American population constitutes the largest ethnic or racial minority in any state. (2.9 million Mexican American in California

versus 2.1 million blacks in New York State, the state with the largest number of blacks.)

C. One in every six new voters and new workers will be Mexican American by 1976 (16.9%).

D. The projected Mexican American population, based on past growth rates, will be 18.7% by 1980 or almost one in every five Californians.

E. Mexican Americans presently constitute almost one in every five residents of Los Angeles County (18.2%) and by 1980 could rise to almost one in every four Los Angeles County residents (23.9%). For example, as of the Fall of 1970, 23.7% of all kindergarten children in Los Angeles County public schools were Spanish-surnamed.

BARRIO FREE CLINIC

The Barrio Free Clinic at 5016 Whittier Blvd. opened March 15, after months of recruiting professionals and obtaining a \$7,000 United Crusade grant.

The clinic is open six days a week, from 11 a.m. to 9 p.m. It offers medical treatment three times a week, and counseling on all six days. Soon, according to Gloria Arrellano, director, a dental mobile unit will provide free dental care twice weekly.

The current clinic staff include 10 doctors, 12 registered nurses, two pharmacy students, 12 professional counselors and more than 50 community helpers—all without salary.

Brian McMillan, 27, is the clinic's medical coordinator. A pediatrician at USC-County Medical Center, says, "Our biggest problem is money."

The United Crusade grant provides for the clinic's spending. It also gives Miss Arellano a \$350 monthly salary, but the grant will expire July 15.

The clinic has refused to apply for federal funds, saying, "The government demands too much information from patients." A spokesman for the So. California Council of Free Clinics, which coordinates 32, said:

"When a free clinic operates on federal money, it must supply names of people, their jobs and their income. The clinic also has to worry about government people coming in, telling them how to run things. It's more comfortable, for the patient to know he's being treated confidentially."

Doctors who are willing to volunteer their time are difficult to recruit, and, although the clinic has 9 Mexican nurses, it has no Mexican doctors. All 10 are Anglo. "There just aren't many Mexican doctors around."

A group of pre-medical students (Chicanos for Creative Medicine) are working as volunteers, but until "they become doctors we can't let them treat our patients."



UPON SUBMITTING PROPOSALS FOR FEDERALLY FUNDED SUMMER PROGRAMS



You and I, We know
Each other well.
We are dealers
In important words.
Dabblers in heavy concepts.
We meet to flick
Our tongues deliciously
Across profound ideas.
We nod and smile,
We understand.

So spring comes again
And like a lover gone
Mad with meaning,
I send you solemnly
This year's ponderous supply
Of words,
Neatly typed
And double spaced
That you asked me for,
And couched in poetry.

I send you a poem of poverty's wars.
I sing of jobs and work experiences
And training for disadvantaged
And deprived and disenfranchised youth
With grass or other kinds of roots
From impacted areas of inner cities
And ghettos and barrios
To help their self-images and self-concepts
And give them growth experiences
That are meaningful and creative
And life-changing.
WOWIE -- ZOWIE -- ZAP!!!

You respond pleasantly enough
In triplicate. Asking only
That I fill out
One million count them
Important forms in quadruplicate
Mailing each one to fifteen different
Important persons, sitting in 63 different
Offices, taking hundreds of days
Calling themselves bureaucrats.
Who as we all know
Are the keepers of the red tape.
And you will send me post haste
By return mail, if not sooner,
The bread.

But I know
A sweet-faced young dude
In blue knit cap
With paint on his nostrils from
Sniffing and on his jacket
Who writes his name on
My house and still high
Steals the battery out of my car
Because mistakenly he thinks
It will run his stolen tape deck,
Who does not ever go to school
And thus cannot achieve the lofty
Rank of dropout.
The invisible man all too visible
By his acts
Known mostly to the guys at juvie and camp
But not to his own mother.

And one thing bothers me:
What does that young dude know
Of our important words? What does he
Care for our heavy concepts? What can even
Our bread do for the
Already too enduringly human quality
Of his all too personal
And almost-over life? M. Junge

BARRIO MENTAL AND PUBLIC HEALTH

IGNORED

It is a popular belief that Chicanos do not need mental health facilities because they belong to a culture which views mental health problems negatively and, as such, tend to tolerate them rather than seek assistance. Consequently, the issue of mental and public health in the barrio has been ignored to the extent that there were no mental health service in East L.A. up until 1967, when the first mental health service with bi-lingual staff was established.

The notion that Chicanos view mental health negatively has now been disproved by the East Los Angeles Mental Health Service Center. According to their statistics, while Anglos had 23% self and family referrals and Blacks 30%, Chicanos accounted for 50%. If Chicanos have not been referred to mental health services it has not been because the extended family helps prevent mental illness or because Chicanos prefer "curanderos". The reason is simply a lack of mental health facilities in the barrio.

Mental health services in the barrio are staffed mostly by paraprofessionals and mental health aides instead of psychiatrists, psychologists and psychiatric social workers. The reason for this is not a shortage of mental health professionals in the barrio, but a maldistribution of these professionals. For example, in the greater E.L.A. area which numbers close to one-half million people in population, there are only three psychiatrists in private practice. In the Westwood Village-Beverly Hills areas with half the population of E.L.A., there are 275 psychiatrists in private practice. Psychiatrists and psychotherapists practice wherever it is profitable, and since Chicanos cannot afford to pay for adequate mental care, they would rather not practice in the barrio.

MENTAL ILLNESS

Chicanos seeking diagnosis or treatment are faced with a variety of obstacles. The mere process of getting a diagnosis in order to be referred to a mental hospital is a task for most Chicanos.

To be diagnosed, Chicanos must call one of the few psychiatrists in East L.A. who will charge as much as \$50 a consultation. If the family does not have the money, the person must be diagnosed at the U.S.C. County Medical Center. If the psychiatrists know that there is no room in the hospital and that the person is not so violent as to be an immediate threat to the lives of those around him, then he is diagnosed a personality disorder case. Thus, this is the first obstacles in the process of receiving mental health treatment.

If the person is considered sufficiently ill to be admitted, he is asked to admit himself voluntarily. The person will then go to either the U.S.C. County Medical Center, Camarillo State Hospital, or Metropolitan State Hospital, depending on the degree of his illness. If the person is a suicidal or a homicidal case, he will go to either of the two state hospitals where he is under observation from 72 hours to 90 hours. However, patients have been known to walk out of these hospitals because of a lack of personnel and over-crowded conditions.

Another problem a Chicano mental health patient faces is the practice of a dual standard psychoanalysis--one for the poor and one for the affluent. The present psychoanalytic practices are not geared for the Chicano. The difference is that the Anglo community receives prolonged psychotherapy while the Chicano community receives shock treatment, which leaves the patient with a loss of memory. Due to a lack of facilities this common use of treatment is utilized to make room for other patients in the barrio. Yet the middle-class neurotic from Westwood or Beverly Hills who is afraid of hating his mother can go to his friendly neighborhood psychiatrist twice a week, while the Chicano is lucky if he ever sees one in his entire life.

ALCOHOLISM

A symptom of mental illness, or rather of a sick society, is alcoholism. Even though alcoholism is a psychological illness, it is regarded as a criminal offense and treated as such. The only treatment most Chicanos receive is a jail sentence and the only diagnosis that is done is by the L.A.P.D. and the Sheriff's. For example, drunk and drunk driving arrests account for a little over 50% of all offenses in E.L.A.--a significantly higher ratio than other communities. Statistics from the L.A.P.D. Hollenbeck Police Station and the E.L.A. Sheriff's Station show that 800 drunk and drunk driving arrests are made in E.L.A. per month, while in the West Valley area which is also an L.A.P.D. area, only 125 drunk and drunk driving arrests are made monthly. Anyone would conclude that there are more drunks in East L.A. than in other communities. However, the only reason that there are more drunk and drunk driving arrests in E.L.A. is simply because there are more patrol cars per square mile in the barrio than in the Anglo community. Alcoholism is only one abnormal way of Chicanos reacting to Anglo pressures. It will not diminish by

ALCOHOLISM IS ONLY ONE WAY OF CHICANOS REACTION TO ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, AND IDEALOGICAL REPRESSION

constructing more jails or police stations, but by establishing more relevant Alcoholic Anonymous groups and effective mental health services in the barrio.

According to Roche Laboratories, California leads all states in the number of alcoholics. They also point out that alcoholics are found in all socio-economic levels. Yet it is of no coincidence that the affluent users of alcohol seem to be greatly underrepresented in criminal statistics. Anglos are able to buy their way out of a jail sentence by hiring an attorney, while Chicanos cannot afford such a luxury.

Jack W. Bishop, Director of the Drinking Driver and Traffic Safety, found that most convicted drunken drivers are between 31 and 40 years of age, of minority groups status, and that most of those convicted are laborers or unskilled workers.

FUNDING

The Federal government has done little to provide for the establishment of mental health services in the barrio, even though the National Institute of Mental Health is authorized by the Community Mental Health Centers Act to provide federal funds for the establishment of community mental health centers in the barrios.

However, under this act, grants only cover up to 75% of eligible staff costs the first fifteen months, decreasing to 0% by the 31st month. A poor community such as E.L.A. with no financial resources cannot raise the needed 25% cost. Affluent areas have been able to establish 16 of these related mental health centers throughout L.A. while the barrio has only one mental health center.

New Federal legislation has provided for ten year funding grants for problems of drug addiction and alcoholism. The catch to this is that these programs have to be attached to existing federal community mental health centers. Since the barrio has only one health center these grants in essence exclude the barrio.

THE ONLY TREATMENT CHICANOS RECEIVE IS A JAIL SENTENCE

NOTICIAS DE LA PINTA

PRISON CULTURE AND THE CHICANO



Por Francisco "Guero" Estrada

LOS CHICANOS Y CARNALISMO

I cannot recall a time when I, or any person of Mexican origin that I ever met in any place of incarceration, juvenile or adult, was not proud of being called a Chicano. It created an instant bond between us. It was the beginning link in a chain of friendship and brotherhood that has survived and grown for over two decades. It was the first thing we would always ask of any newcomer, "Eres Chicano?" If his answer was in the affirmative, he was instantly accepted and looked out for. He was one of us and was expected to act accordingly. The essence of being a Chicano as we saw it was: "Be proud of your Mexican heritage and defend it against anything or anybody---we will help you if you need, because that is how we feel." The first words I remember hearing (and subsequently using) when I entered any detention facility were; "eso carnal" (Hey-brother!). The concept of brotherhood in the face of being the "slave" in a slave-master relationship placed a heavy burden on us. It meant that we were to act toward all Chicanos as we would toward our blood brothers. It meant that we were never to bring harm to them, and that we must protect them and join them against all outsiders. It mean that in any conflict we were obliged to take the side of the Chicano(s) in any and all situations. If we felt that our carnal was wrong, we would settle that amongst ourselves--away from all outsiders (i.e. non-Chicanos). Above all it meant "Unite in the face of adversity and act as brothers."

RELAJES, RATAS, DEDOS Y BALCONES

The only exception to being accepted as a brother was (and is) in the matter of being a proven "stool pigeon." We had, and still have, an extremely large tolerance for understanding and forgiving against every crime that can be committed. With few exceptions we were disposed to accept any Chicano who landed in jail with us as an instant member of our peer group. We did not feel it necessary to remind each other of our past misdeeds. It was how you carried yourself from the moment you landed "inside" that determined for us the manner in which we related to each other. If only for survival, it was imperative that we deal with each other in a forthright and open manner. We were experts at running games on people---when there was something to be gained. But here in prison, everybody is "hip" to everybody else's game and besides, you would have to face up to your victim for 365 days out of the year. In prison, a man is judged by how much he contributes to the alleviation of everyone's misery. Whether it be that he tells funny and time consuming stories, plays music, teaches something, or whatever, he is not viewed as a "bad person", unless he has informed to the authorities, and unless this can be substantiated beyond any shadow of a doubt and the proof of any such allegation is open to the scrutiny of the general prison population. Unfortunately, this happens many times. A person will be broken---he informs---he is in effect "used" and then discarded by the authorities. This person becomes a "Pariah" in the fullest sense of the word. I have seen this done and done it myself. I have disassociated myself from friends that have been like brothers to me for upwards of 15 years, upon confirmation of a "stool-pigcon jacker" being hung on them. I have seen men killed two feet away from me. I have seen men commit suicide. I have seen all kinds of retribution catch up with informers and I didn't and (would not now) lift a finger in their defense. I believe that this is as it should be. What more insidious form of betrayal could befall you than to be "snitched on" by one of your "brothers?" Is it not bad enough that we are oppressed by everything that the C.D.C. can throw at us, with nothing to look forward to, then to have someone whose life you have saved, who you have fed, turn on you and cause you to spend more time in prison? The whole focus of the so-called rehabilitation that is aimed at you by the guards in prison, from captain on down, can be expressed in one sentence: Prove to us that you are worthy to be released from prison by informing to everyone that you can, and we will see what we can do for you.

LA RAZA UNIDA

The ideology inherent in Chicanismo, Carnalismo, and La Raza Unida are the basic motivating fac-

tors that the Chicano Movement has used toward achieving social, economic, and political equity in the U.S.A. anglo dominate d society that we, the Chicanos live in. The vehicles of "Calo" (vato loco slang) and the Chicano interpretation of the "Convict Code" are but means of articulation and a structured level of moral behaviour. The problems of the Chicanos had been well defined by the junkies, ex-cons, prostitutes, winos, pimps, thieves, and hustlers long before the community was aware that there was a problem.

Not because we are more talented, but rather because we were so ill-equipped to deal with our situation, we were forced to think our way out of it by whatever means were at our order. We paid a heavy price with many years out of our lives, but we learned...slowly and painfully...we endured...in the face of tremendous odds, and what's more important, we survived. Just as studies of "Inmate Culture" are funnelled through police science courses at all the California colleges and universities, so should the "Pinto" side of the inmate culture be taught (by Pintos). The police agencies in collusion with the so-called institutions of higher learning use the information that they glean from studies and surveys of convicts to make more convicts. They are not interested in the betterment of the convict, much less any minority person and specifically the Chicano who has been maligned to the extent that the present cruel, inhumane, and thoroughly unjust drug laws were enacted as the result of a vicious publicity campaign, instigated by the John Bircher type WASP that depict the Chicano as the main trafficker in narcotics and stigmatized him via the "media" mostly the press and specifically the L.A. Times, who at the time (the early 1950's) were primarily motivated by their desire to raise the circulation of a new "tabloid" type newspaper called the Mirror.

As a result of these "yellow-journalism" tactics, the Chicano was given the image of being a beast---we were made war upon by the Captain "Mad Dog" Madden of the L.A.P.D. Narcotics Bureau in a manner that would make Lester Maddux of Georgia look like Dr. Albert Schweitzer. At that time I was a teenager, and I was dealt with as someone who is young, pliable, and can possibly be used by us." The overall philosophy of the L.A.P.D. Narcotics Division was expressed to me by one detective who said to me "Listen Frank, we're going to get all of you one way or the other. We don't care how. If we have to plant some drugs on you we'll do it 'cause you people are the scum of the earth and you deserve all the time we can throw at you." The Pinto is the only person who has the knowledge of all that we went through (and are still suffering) at that time. It must be given to the students. It should be taught by Pintos, not only at colleges and universities but also in the community. It is the students at the schools now, and those who will follow them in the years to come, that will have a large part in changing things that are oppressing us. The students and the community are the highest hope of those in our society that are the lowest---los Pintos.

The Pinto's delinquent life-style is created for him even before he is born. He starts off with two strikes against him from birth. Poverty and racial discrimination lead him into conflict with the police at a very

early age. By age 17 he has been in juvenile hall and/or forestry camps, foster homes, reform schools, etc. By this time he has escalated his law-breaking activities and formed a definite pattern known in the barrio as a "vato loco." At age 18 he starts going to the County jail and reform schools that are run by the Adult Division of the infamous California Department of Corrections, which are in effect prisons (e.g. D.V.I., Tracy, C.T.I., Soledad). The next step is prison. By this time he is usually in his early 20's and is now a full-fledged "Pinto." He will probably remain in the prison system for the rest of his life. Most of it will be in at a ratio of roughly between 6 to 9 years in, as opposed to 1 to 4 years out. The Pinto is now into what has become "his thing" --- doing time. He sees himself for the most part as a "Hard-core offender." The penal system has taught him by its dooms that he is a "second-class citizen" that he is worthless; and that he deserves to be where he is. Consequently, in retaliation, the Pinto acts out his "vato loco" philosophy. He is keen, wily, sharp, no stool pigeon or cop-out. He is game for anything that is anti-establishment. He is a hope-to-die "macho," hustler, pimp, thief, drug addict. His personality and character revolve around one central idea --- "todo se vale" (anything goes!). He rips off anything he pleases or anybody that gets in his way. In the barrio he is known amongst his peer group as being an "alright vato," in the prison he is known as a "Regular." Elsewhere he is whatever he has to be to make money. He plays all games and because he has been programmed to fail, he gets arrested, convicted, and winds up back in prison. He has come full-circle in the unbroken cycle of failure that is designed to keep him in this constant state of traumatic existence for the rest of his life.

Having suffered through the depths of the worst possible position that a human being can find himself in, having gone through most of life without any hope that things might get any better, creates pressures that break many people in prison. It has also strengthened many others. So much so that they decide, for better or worse, that they are never going to return to prison. Even at the cost of their lives! I will now give my interpretation of what I consider the three main directions that the Pinto opens up to himself upon making this commitment. The first direction seems to me to be the most logical toward which the Pinto would incline. I shall designate this direction as MAINSTREAM AMERICAN and/or ASIMILATE CONSUMER-CAPITALIST.

YA STUVO

NO QUIERO NADA

I feel that the first thing that the Pinto does on his path to becoming a Mainstream American is to take the view that the penal system has defected him. His misdirected rebellion becomes co-opted

through age, constant return, and a whole series and combinations of psychological and emotional attrition. In his brief sojourns to the "outside" he has seen many of his high school friends with families, cars, many of them are buying houses and well on their way to retirement. He adopts the attitude that is commonly expressed in the well known saying "if you can't whip them, join them." He joins "them." He becomes a steady worker. Since he has spent so many years in the "Joint" he probably has a trade. Because of his background, he has to settle for a wage scale that is far below what he is actually worth, but no matter to him. He is bound and determined to "make it on the outside." He begins to realize all the benefits of the working man. Exploited through he is, he feels that this is much better than "walking the big yard." He becomes very cynical in terms of practicing "Carnalismo." He sees his former prison friends go back, die of overdoses, or wind up on "Skid Row." This further reinforces his growing concept that I did it, why can't they? What really hooks him is that he begins to experience a false sense of wealth. Since he has never had anything, he now feels that 10% of something is far better than 100% of nothing. He is still playing same games as when he was a "LOSER" BUT HE HAS NOW SWITCHED ROLES. As his material gains increase, so does his "ego-trip." He cuts off almost all communication with his former peer group and starts behaving as if he were always successful. He closes his mind to all ideas that he has now become a member of another exploited class, he sees this as a bunch of "Communist propaganda," which he is thoroughly against. Although he is disenfranchised, his politics start slanting more and more to the "conservative" line. He has progressed in the line of least resistance to the position that the C.D.C. has been trying to mold him into for all these many years. From an "indentured servant" mentality, to a "house greaser (who is thankful to the penal system)" to what is known amongst Chicanos as a "Coconut." The biggest tragedy is that all that he suffered has gone for naught. He is lost to the Movement and countless Chicanos that he might have helped. He is in the exact position that will serve the "Establishment" best. He is the exploited, believing that he is the exploiter. He has become a part of the problem.

EL SUPER CHICANO

Another main avenue open to the Pinto is Nationalism. Of all the political theories that I have been exposed to, I think that Nationalism best expresses my concept of what is good and bad for all oppressed people. As I understand it, there are basically two kinds of Nationalism; revolutionary and reactionary. The Pinto who becomes what I define as a "Reactionary Nationalist" does so principally because the only positive response that he has received from people that he attempted to relate to was from other Chicanos-exclusively! Consequently, the only people that have molded his life, in terms of ever having done anything to help him, were all

Chicanos---his family, friends, and loved ones. He does not care what the troubles of other peoples may or may not be. All he is interested in is doing something for the only people that have ever done something for him---la raza nosotro los Chicanos. He makes his commitment, goes to the streets and becomes a "Super-Chicano!" He has a strong tendency to equate everything in life in its abundance, or lack of Chicanoism. His basic philosophy (political, economical, and cultural) is that within la Raza he will do anything to help---outside of la Raza he wants nothing to do with. Since my political awakening was realized because of the fact that I have always been some kind of a "cultural nationalist," I cannot thoroughly condemn this attitude. In and of itself, it is not a bad thing. The fact remains, though, that no political ideology is self-contained. It is relevant to the degree that it "serves the people." This particular ideology serves the people, but I believe that it does us (la Chicanada del Movimiento A GREATER DISERVICE. I will state my reasons for this belief.

1. It puts the adherent of this ideology in the hands of that element in Chicano politics that sees nothing wrong with exploitation, oppression, racism, and general abuse of any other people, as long as it is not directed toward la raza. 2. This ideology espouses the idea that the "sell-ours", "Tio Tacos", and other kinds of "Coconuts" amongst us should be given consideration because they are, despite their faults Chicanos. 3. This ideology has to have an exploited, oppressed class of people to function. It eventually leads to racism, imperialism, fascism, and subsequent self-destruction. This is not what I want for my people. A final comment. I am reminded, as I think of this ideology, of the fall of the great city of Tenochtitlan. As beautiful as it was, and as mighty as it was, I believe that it was doomed as soon as somebody came along who could exploit its weaknesses. With all of its splendor, knowledge, and civilization beyond the white man's wildest dreams, I fell (I believe) because of the very reasoning that I attribute to that ideology known as "Reactionary Nationalism." I would not like to see that happen to "La Nacion de Aztlan."

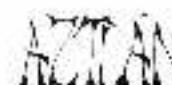
REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALISM

In my previous dissertation on Nationalism, I tried to think of the main points that I see as flaws in the political ideology known to me as "Reactionary Nationalism." I will now attempt to expound on what I think is the best political, economical, and cultural goals of my people---la Raza de Bronco. It is this ideology that I see as the best vehicle for the Pinto to adhere to. It is this ideology that says to me: La Nacion de Aztlan is a sovereign and free land---Los Chicanos---the people of Aztlan are a free people---the right of self-determination, that goal for which all the people of Aztlan are now struggling for is a just and noble cause---all the noble and heroic names that head this list were "Revolutionary Nationalists." They believed in such ideas as: "The land belongs to those who work it"..."Respect for the rights of others is peace"..."The natural resources

of the Mexican Nation belong to the Mexican people"..."Long live Mexico"..."Death to the Spanish exploitation." They came from all levels of Mexican social and economic classes. They all fought for the liberation of oppressed people. They all renounced any form of personal enrichment and because of this they were all murdered. Not just killed, but murdered. Murdered because they dared to say what they believed, murdered because they devoted their entire lives to the destruction of dictatorship and tyranny, murdered because they knew the bitterness of complete oppression, and they chose to rise up in arms against it. They are only a few of the many heroes that the Mexican people have produced. They taught us that there is no "just cause" that is worth fighting for, that is worth dying for. They taught us that it is better to die on your feet like a free man, than to live on your knees like an enslaved wretch. These are only a few of the men that I admire, respect, and hope to emulate in a manner that would make them proud that I saw them as my examples of what a person who truly loves and believes in his people should strive for. They were all revolutionary nationalists. In my concept of this particular ideology, I have become aware of various tenets that this school advocates. I will try to explain them as I understand them:

1. I feel that a belief in the precepts of Revolutionary Nationalism leads to an awareness of politics, economics, class structure, and the various devices that are used in keeping us divided.
2. I further believe that it is an ideology that allows for the growth of better ideas, in terms of what it means to "serve the people."
3. Most important of all, this ideology teaches (by its adherents) that those who have fought under its precepts were some of the most "dedicated to freedom" people that the world has ever known.

SUBSCRIBE TO AZTLAN
FROM THE PINTOS OF LEAVENWORTH
A BEAUTIFUL AND VALUABLE NEWSPAPER



c/o J.S. Palmquist
P.O. Box 1000
Leavenworth, Kansas 66048

RICHARD HOLQUIN
Folsom State Prison
November 1970

TERMINAL ISLAND

FOLSOM

minute cubicle caverns
of rejection
abode of slime
secreting thoughts
voicing feces
yell
LA TU YA mundo
seeing thru pig webs
a distant luminous speck
i yell
QUE VIVA LA RAZA NUEVA.

" LA RAZA DE BRONCE "

A MI RAZA DE BRONCE QUEMADA DEL SOL
NOS HAN OFENDIDO Y NO TIENEN RAZON
QUEREMOS JUSTICIA Y TAMBIEN IGUALDAD
PELEAR EL DERECHO Y LA DISCRIMINACION
NACI EN CALIFORNIA ES CIERTO Y VERDAD
CIUDADANO NO SOY DE SEGUNDA
ESTOY AL NIVEL DE CUALQUIERA
NO SIEMPRE SE PUEDE AGUANTAR
MI RAZA ES VALIENTE Y FECUNDA
MAS UN DIA VERAN LAMENTAR
EL REVES QUE LES DE CON DERECHO
SOBRE LEY IMPONERSE DEBEMOS
HERMANOS EN UNION VENCEREMOS
Y EL TIRANO QUEDARA SATISFECHO
YA BASTA DE SER HUMILLADOS
NO CONFORMES NOS LLAMAN MOJADOS
EN LAS GUERRAS SALIMOS AL FRENTE
COMO ANIMALES NOS TRATAN NO COMO GENTE
PALABRAS DE UN JUEZ SUCIO E INEPTO
QUE LA HISTORIA COMPARE NO ES CIERTO
RECLAMO EL LUGAR PORQUE AQUI PERTENEZCO
SOY DECENDIENTE DE TIERRAS DE ANAHUAC
SOMOS LOS NIETOS DE AQUEL GRAN CUAHUTEMOC
ORGULLO SENTIMOS TENEMOS DOS PATRIAS
HAMBRIENTOS NO ESTAMOS NO SOMOS PARIAS
MAS UN DIA VERAN LAMENTAR
EL REVES QUE LES DE CON DERECHO
SOBRE LEY IMPONERSE DEBEMOS
HERMANOS EN UNION VENCEREMOS
ADELANTE ARRIBA TENAZ LUCHAREMOS
TRIUNFAR CON TRABAJO GANAR ES UN HECHO
CARNALES ALIVIANEN LA CAUSA
SI ASI LO HAREMOS ARRIBA LA RAZA !

LA SEMILLA MORENA

volando
espiralando
por tuneles de aire
alojandose
en
riqueza
aceptando
caluroso abrazo
de la tierra
recibiendo nutrimiento
con
las lagrimas de nuestra madre
banada en esplendor cristal
SOL acariciando
empunando
boton magico
titilando para frente
chispiando en flor
otra vez
a volar.

COMPOSICION DE
DOS PINTOS

SHROUDED

penitentiary fog
shrouds
the huge eye
of sunrise
curls/rolls itself
down neighborin hills
over granite walls

towers/deserted sentinels
peck
thru
shiftin screens
across
granite city

another dawn
in
abeyance
I put away
nately dreams
start to exit
my cell again
a foggyday lockup.

Joseph Arcellano
Folsom State Prison 1971

EN CUILMAS

...UP TO THE BARS FOR COUNT!
la pinchi cuental
...TURN YOUR CELL LIGHTS ON!
rale compa, parate ay biene el marrano
...CELL 113... YOU GOT MAIL!
ese poncho, agarates carta de la championa
...5 MINUTES FOR CHOW!
vas ir a refinar - andas muy loco
...FIRST TIER YARDSIDE!
chale ese, quedate en la celda
...LOCK UP! LOCK UP!
ese wardean, chinga tu perra madre!
...GENERAL LOCK UP!
un chingal de canciones...
carcajadas...
y corajeas...
un grito 'pero que viva la RAZA!'

pacheflata
o
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u
m

SEE DEE SEA, THE OLD GREYGOOSE

you huff and puff
fart and cusa
down endless highways
curtin corners
pullin deadends
up endless byways
not heedin alleys
didn't give afuck who you haul
sneakin in the barrios
Yeah!
pushin your fat ass weight around
courthouses
city jails
county jails
.....parking lots
what makes you go, only we know
you live on captivities
in your cruise you think your cool
but your afool, you and your hew-haw driver
even thou we bruise we're no fools
our destination is known
STOP, LOOK 'N LISTEN!
you stopped at all r/r signs
but never saw a train
because receiving and release
has nothing but chains
you scared us once
as we stared at your yellow eyes
you puffed 'n' puffed
you sweated like a sucklin pig
in the mist of chilling mornings
you know SEE DEE SEA, your goose is cooked
and you won't make good soup
who ever heard of
nut 'n' bolt soup!
your life is going to be remembered
only by kidz
playing on you
driving wreckless
grinding gears
pulling your switches off 'n' on on 'n' off
cuttin your wiring
rip and tearing your funky seats
and, till all your wheels fall off
and, some kid will bust you right
In your TAILlight
your graveyard will be
people's playground folsom prison
yardpinchi vasilon

FOLSON
pache de flats
PRISON

"I Must Refuse"

Today, April 3, 1971, I must refuse induction to the armed services of the United States. Please understand it is difficult for me to communicate my feelings through writing, but nevertheless, I will try to let you see through my window.

In my veins runs the blood of all the people of the world. I am a son of "la raza", the universal children, and cannot be trained and ordered to kill my brother. When the first man was killed, so many had died. For my people, I must refuse to respect your induction papers.

It is well known that Mexicans were among the first victims of your empire. The memory of the United States-Mexican War is still an open wound in the souls of my people. The Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo is a lie, similar to all the treaties signed with our Indian brothers. The war did not end. It has continued in the minds and hearts of the people of the southwest. Strife and bloodshed has never allowed our people to live in peace. The blood is still moist on the land. Too many of my brothers have been killed fighting for a lie called "American Freedom" both in our streets and in foreign lands.

My people have known nothing but racist tyranny and brutal oppression from this society. Your educational system has butchered our minds, stung our hearts, and poisoned our souls. You bit our tongue, and castrated our culture making us strangers in our own land. The sweat of my people watered the fields, and their aching bones harvested your food. Today we continue to do your sweatwork, with our hands and backs. Though you occupy the land, you have not conquered us. I am a free man. I choose my own battles. My flight is here.

In the short day that you've held the land, we have felt the pain of seeing beautiful lands turn into parking lots and freeways, of seeing the birds disappear, die, and the water become undrinkable. Seeing the sign "private property" hung on a fence surrounding lands once held in common, and having our mountains become but vague shadows behind a veil of choking smog.

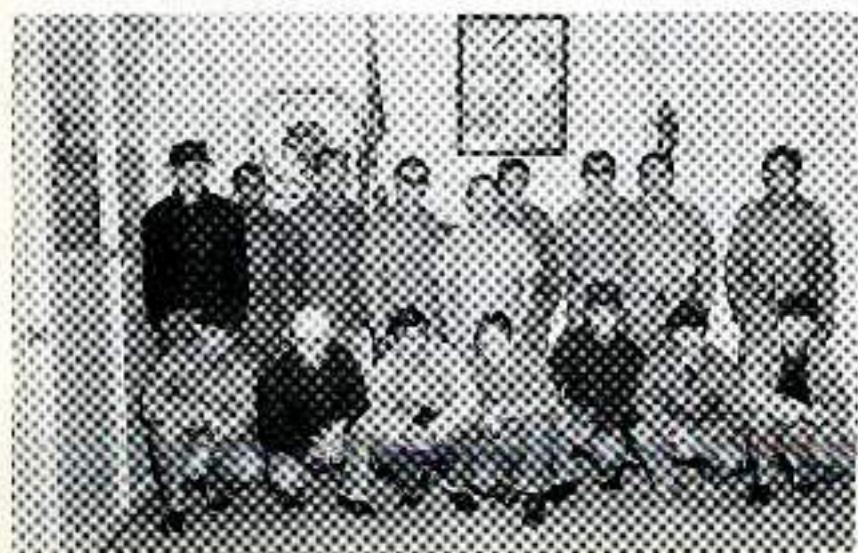
Your judges armed with a cold sword called Law held in the diseased arm of justice, have frozen the lives of my brothers in your barbaric prisons, scaring them deeply. A man steals to live and you call him a criminal and lock him up worse than an animal. A soldier massacres and pillages a village and he is made a hero, awarded a medal. I believe that it is wrong to kill within society, then it must also be wrong to kill outside of that society. I am a peace-loving people.

I see racist leaders of this land live in luxury and comfort while they send my poor brothers to kill in a war no one wants or understands. The helpless and the innocent have lost on both sides as has been the case in all wars. My ears hear the screams of the fatherless children; my heart hurts with the tears of mothers moaning for their sons, my soul shrinks from the knowledge of the unspeakable horror of Song My and the rest to come. For the Vietnamese people, I refuse to respect your induction paper.

I cannot betray the blood of my brothers, we are all branches of the same tree, flowers of the same garden, waves of the same sea. The Vietnamese people are not my enemy, but brothers involved in the same struggle for justice against a common enemy. We are all under the same sky. East and West are one.

My heart is dedicated to seeking justice and peace in this world. My eyes see a new sun, with a far more beautiful horizon, where all the trees can see the sky and share the same water from one river. I cannot fight the enemy of the spirit of life, for the soul, I refuse to obey your induction orders. Peace and Justice.

Un carnal y soldado,
Francisco (Chito) Chacon
Brown Beret Unit Leader, San Quentin



Editor's Note:

Incredible as it seems, this pinto was inducted---from his jail cell.

These are some of the soldados with Chito from Maravilla, East Los, Aztlán.

SUSANVILLE ERUPTS

The Kent State-Calley phenomenon of American Fascism, characterized by brutal indifference to human life struck again on Wednesday, April 14, at Susanville, California.

On that date representatives of the State of California fired repeatedly into a group of peacefully protesting inmates at the Lassen Conservation Center, a training depot for the replenishment of the numerous convict labor camps spread throughout Northern California.

Repeated rounds of heavy tear gas projectiles were fired directly into the huddled mass of men sitting silently on the grass, driving them into the only refuge available to them, the nearby dormitories.

Once inside the dormitories the men were approached by a squad of club carrying state employees rifles were still trained on them, so the men barricaded the doors to protect themselves from further assault. A state employee gave orders to the threatening "Militia" to stand aside, and he then directed that rifle fire be commenced against the beleaguered men. It is important to realize here that these men had hurled no objects at the guards, had not taunted them, had used profanity only in rebuttal to the crickery of officials, had no weapons whatsoever, and had created absolutely no property damage.

As directed, the armed guards opened fire into the dormitories. These open bay housing units are faced with a three foot high brick wall, with windows running almost continuously along the top of the walls.

Repeated rounds spattered off the brick walls (behind which the terrorized men crouched) rifle fire against the farther wall and then ricocheting out the dormitories. Lockers were riddled with gunfire, lighting fixtures were destroyed, and the lives of all these defenseless men were placed in extreme jeopardy.

That nobody was killed can only be attributed to chance. The intent was clear, as established by the sustained barrage and the property destruction inflicted by the state.

With such slight provocation, if asking for more humane treatment can be called a provocation, coupled with such a murderous response by the forces of law and order, it seems to us the imprisoned that we have reached a point of administrative savagery where a man can be shot down for refusing to work. That was the substance of what happened here at Susanville.

It is interesting to the writer, a newcomer to the realities of California penology (or any other penology) that the firmly established folklore of convict violence and treachery seems most suited to describe the actions of the officials ruling this prison empire. To give you an example:

During the three day work strike, during which the convicts spurned five consecutive meals, the warden, Mr. Black, repeatedly asked for a handful of representatives to step forward and present their demands. Demands is really too strong a word as it implies an alternative of force. There was at no point any display of force, or threat of force, made by the inmates. There is indeed a new breed of inmate in today's prisons. They are better educated, better informed, and traumatically aware of the double standard of justice that prevails throughout this harsh and hypocritical land. They are, predictably uniformly poor.

The convicts were justifiably, as it turned out, apprehensive about identifying themselves as individuals to this free and honorable man, Mr. Black. They asked that he meet with them, as an anonymous group in the gymnasium to hear their complaints of bad food, microscopic pay (for the very few pay numbers available), and canteen prices that far exceed those advertised in local newspapers. Warden Black refused this request and insisted upon an inmate delegation.

Eventually, representatives from the white, black and Chicano groups did meet with him on behalf of all of us. These men, responding to official request and trying sincerely to be of constructive assistance were seized immediately after the fusillade ceased and were shipped off in chains to San Quentin. The moral conclusion to be drawn is obvious, although I would caution the reader that we the oppressed do not have access to the media as does the administration, our only weapon is truth. Remember the credibility gap.

One question persists in the mind of the writer. Is penal servitude, with compulsory convict labor under the threat of death, consistent with the wishes of our society? Is it even legal? I do not know the answers, but the harsh reality does not exist comfortably with such concepts as civilization, enlightenment, and humanitarianism. It does invoke other times and other places-Devil's Island, the Inquisition, and the Siberian Salt Mines.

The standard institutional device of blaming "racial unrest" for its justly deserved problems (I refer you to the March issue of the Atlantic Monthly) was not even attempted this time. There was complete solidarity among all ethnic groups, and a single photograph made available to the people who pay for these incompetent institutions, the PUBLIC.

This writer, a combat veteran, is angrily aware that his country can no longer be rationalized into acceptance. If what he saw through the clouds of teargas wasn't fascism in action, it was one hell of a deadly imitation...

**CAMILO
TORRES
PROFETA
DE
NUESTRO
TIEMPO**



CAMILO TORRES

Salió de la iglesia
y no pudo resistir
las lágrimas del pueblo,
y mirando el camino, apretó
el fusil fuertemente
como quien va a pedirle
cuentas a Dios.

JESUS COS CAUSSE

Al cumplirse el quinto aniversario de la caída en Petró de Cemento, montañas de Santander, Colombia, del sacerdote-guerrillero colombiano Camilo Torres Restrepo, su ejemplo y pensamiento mantienen un frescor y una trascendencia que han roto los marcos continentales y se proyectan luminosos para esclarecer la lucha por la transformación revolucionaria de los pueblos oprimidos. Cada día que pasa los planteamientos de Camilo Torres adquieren una mayor vigencia y su actuación un significado más trascendente.

"Camilo no ha muerto. Vive en el corazón de los pobres y oprimidos, en el interior de todo hombre que lucha por la justicia y la fraternidad humana. Las oligarquías colombianas se equivocaron una vez más cuando, al ocultar el cadáver de Camilo, pretendían sacarlo del pueblo; Camilo pertenece al pueblo, vivo o muerto, y nadie podrá arrebatarlo, reemplazarlo, ni siquiera cambiárselo de sitio. Se enfrió a él con toda su dimensión humana y el pueblo lo aceptó como suyo para siempre. Profeta de nuestro tiempo, revolucionario íntegro, hombre nuevo de la sociedad futura en gestación, Camilo y su ejemplo marcan con sello especial el camino del compromiso de muchos revolucionarios", escribió en una proclama el incorporarse a las guerrillas colombianas el año pasado, precisamente cuando se conmemoró el cuarto aniversario de la muerte de Camilo, el también sacerdote Domingo León, quien fuera meses antes uno de los firmantes del Manifiesto de Golconde.

El hecho Camilo Torres es sin dudas un hito importante en la historia del proceso revolucionario actual del continente latinoamericano porque constituye un rompimiento con todo un pasado arraigado por la traición, con una concepción ideológica fósilizada, y una incorporación militante sin condiciones de afán de poder y mucho menos de lucro de cualquier tipo; su acción fue una forma viva de testimoniar el amor al prójimo y un cuestionamiento público a quienes todavía intentan utilizar la fe religiosa como método adarmecedor de las masas que claman justicia.

Hoy, después de Camilo, muchos cristianos se plantean, no sólo en América Latina, la necesidad de desalienar la fe religiosa, de asimilar muchas de las críticas hechas por Marx a la religión. El catolicismo, especialmente en nuestro continente, a consecuencia del hecho Camilo Torres y a la politización creciente de las masas, gran parte creyentes, ha entrado en crisis como soporte ideológico de los factores de poder. A un lado se van quedando las momias con sus instituciones carcomidas, que

algunos tratan de apuntalar con parches de última hora, y al otro la vida y la renovación. El evangelio cristiano ha pasado a convertirse en alegato escudor para los fariseos del presente.

La presencia del sacerdote católico Camilo Torres en el panorama revolucionario latinoamericano, que entró en una nueva etapa con la Revolución Cubana, puso en tela de juicio viejas concepciones sobre la integración de las fuerzas revolucionarias y abrió una perspectiva de unidad revolucionaria, que pasó a partir de ese momento a plantearse en nuevos términos, que hoy vamos desarrollarse en distintos países, con diferentes características.

Como recordaremos, Camilo Torres planteó claramente una unidad revolucionaria sin exclusiones, ni condiciones; la vía armada como método fundamental de lucha, la presencia de los jefes en la primera línea de combate, la realización de una revolución integral, que libere al hombre de toda opresión. Estos planteamientos los suscribió con sangre propia.

Aj contrario de lo que han intentado hacer ver algunos, interesados tanto en tratar de restringir la significación de Camilo, como de evitar por diversos medios la explosión revolucionaria, Camilo Torres está lejos de ser un hecho aislado y la prueba más evidente se manifiesta en la vigencia de su pensamiento, hoy enriquecido por otros que lo han desarrollado con nuevos aportes, y en la fuerza de su ejemplo, estímulo de muchas actuaciones presentes. Su nombre es hoy bandera de lucha para muchos revolucionarios del continente, cristianos o no, porque Camilo Torres superó en los hechos las otras diferencias insalvables de sesudos teóricos.

Su muerte acaecida en las montañas colombianas a los dos meses y medio de haberse clausurado el Concilio Vaticano Segundo —cuyos acuerdos, según algunos han denunciado, han sido traicionados en la práctica, sobre todo en lo referente al plano social— posee para los pueblos latinoamericanos una significación mayor que las largas discusiones ocurridas entre los jerarcas de la Iglesia Católica en la distante Roma, aunque Pablo VI durante su infeliz visita a Bogotá tratara de ignorarlo, estrechara las manos de quienes repudiaron y ordenaron la muerte de Camilo, condenara la violencia de los pueblos como método de lucha contra la violencia institucionalizada y no se afreviera siquiera a escuchar el pedido de una madre desolada que quería poder dar cristiana sepultura a su hijo muerto por amor al prójimo, por seguir hasta sus últimas consecuencias lo que entendía enseñaba el evangelio.

Al despedirse de sus amigos para incorporarse al comando guerrillero "Camilo Torres" del Ejército de Liberación Nacional de Bolivia, el ex seminarista Néstor Paz (muerto de hambre, a principios de septiembre de 1970, al repartir su ración entre los demás compañeros que podían seguir combatiendo, por encontrarse él imposibilitado de hacerlo) encabezó su carta póstuma con una cita de Camilo y expresó sobre él:

"Basta recordar al cura Camilo Torres silenciado por el gobierno y por la Iglesia servil. Su sangre ha ratificado con los hechos lo que decía sobre el cristianismo".

El grupo Goleonda, surgido en la patria del sacerdote-guerrillero a consecuencias del proceso generado por éste y que en un comienzo fuera estrictamente sacerdotal, se abre hoy a otros sectores sociales, incorpora intelectuales, obreros, estudiantes y campesinos, reedita el periódico Frente Unido, que fundara Camilo Torres, desarrolla la unidad revolucionaria y aboga abiertamente por soluciones socialistas para los problemas del país.

Al sur del continente, en Argentina, los sacerdotes del Movimiento Tercer Mundo son objeto de persecución por la alta jerarquía y las autoridades militares por seguir los planteamientos de Camilo e identificarse en los hechos con los hombres que tienen hambre y sed de justicia".

Nuevas corrientes revolucionarias se incorporan cada día con más fuerza a la lucha en Latinoamérica, entre ellas el movimiento "camilista" muchas de cuyas organizaciones llevan el nombre del combatiente colombiano, y aparecen también movimientos identificados como Iglesia Joven o Popular, que toman a Camilo Torres como ejemplo de un verdadero compromiso cristiano y patriótico y enfrentan en distintos planos a quienes siguen amparados en utilizar a las iglesias como baluartes de sus privilegios e intereses egoístas. Esta incorporación, que se expresa de diferentes formas, no sólo nutre las filas revolucionarias, sino que enriquece con sus aportes culturales el pensamiento revolucionario.

El heroico comandante Ernesto Che Guevara y Camilo Torres constituyen hoy en América Latina símbolos del Hombre Nuevo de la futura sociedad latinoamericana y arquetipos del revolucionario integral. En el pensamiento y el ejemplo de ambos encuentran hoy muchos hombres del continente elementos fundamentales para interpretar la realidad presente y proyectarse socialmente.

Hasta la emparrada teología ha entrado en crisis en América Latina e incluso en Europa, tradicionalmente receptiva de lo que viene del exterior, especialmente del Tercer Mundo. Hoy, gracias en gran parte a Camilo Torres, se habla y se discute en París y Madrid —en el continente latinoamericano este análisis adquiere, a consecuencias del ambiente, características más pragmáticas— sobre la elaboración de una Teología de la Violencia, del Desarrollo o de la Liberación, que busca relacionar el proceso de liberación del hombre con la doctrina cristiana.

No sin sorpresa vemos cómo algunos teólogos plantean hoy una nueva definición de esta ciencia religiosa y llegan hasta sostener que "la caridad —el compromiso con el hombre— viene primero y la teología —el compromiso con Dios— viene después". Las ideas de Camilo Torres aparecen entre líneas en muchos de estos estudios, aunque todavía no se atrevan algunos a reconocerlo por temor a censuras de las altas jerarquías, las cuales siguen en su mayoría vinculadas al poder y digieren perdiendo con bastante reserva estos esfuerzos de renovación teológica.

La lucha por la transformación revolucionaria de los pueblos obliga a los hombres de buena fe, independientemente de sus posiciones filosóficas e ideológicas, a tomar una actitud de compromiso con el proceso de liberación.

Marxistas y cristianos y de cualquier otra filosofía, que comprenden y son sensibles a la realidad presente, se unen hoy en la lucha por una sociedad más justa.

"Lo que en un proceso difícil y lento realizan teólogos y teóricos marxistas a nivel académico, los jóvenes colombianos lo están adelantando en las montañas. Allí la base para el diálogo no son las abstracciones teóricas sino la acción inmediata dentro de los grupos armados integrados por marxistas y jóvenes cristianos que, en gran parte, han rechazado el catolicismo por considerarlo infiel al cristianismo", escribe el sacerdote Javier Darío Restrepo en un artículo titulado ¿Por qué los jóvenes van a la guerrilla?, publicado en la revista La Hora, n.º 61 órgano oficial de Caritas de Colombia y que fue reproducido en el Boletín de Iglesia y Sociedad de América Latina, de mayo de 1970, en su edición de Bogotá.

A unos combatientes los impulsa su análisis marxista, a otros, su interpretación evangélica, a muchos el pasado heroico de nuestros pueblos ilumina el camino presente. No es simple retórica que Néstor Paz en su carta póstuma lo señalará:

"Siguiendo el camino luminoso de nuestros héroes, los guerrilleros altoperuanos y de los héroes continentales Bolívar y Sucre; la actitud heroica de los guerrilleros Ernesto Guevara, los hermanos Peredo, Darío y tantos otros que encabezan la marcha de liberación del pueblo, nos ubicamos en la larga fila guerrillera, fusil en mano para combatir contra el signo y el vehículo de opresión, el ejército gorila. Creemos en un hombre nuevo, liberado por la sangre y resurrección de Jesús, creemos en una tierra nueva donde el amor sea la ley fundamental. Eso sólo se consigue rompiendo viejos moldes basados en el egoísmo. No queremos parches. No se puede poner remedio nuevo en tela gastada, ni se echa vino nuevo en odres viejos. La conversión implica violencia interior primero y violencia sobre la explotación después. Que el Señor y los hombres jueguen la rectitud de nuestro paso".

Néstor entregó su vida como Camilo Torres para radimir a los hombres oprimidos.

Porque hoy una serie de corrientes revolucionarias convergen en el momento actual latinoamericano y es precisamente su amplitud y desarrollo un índice más del auge de las ideas de la Revolución, de su profundización y perspectivas. Hombres surgidos de diferentes estratos sociales, con formaciones culturales e ideológicas disímiles y complejos bagajes históricos se dan cita para liberar a sus pueblos. Y es que la Revolución arrastra en fuerte corriente a lo mejor del continente, lo integra y proyecta hacia la construcción del futuro.

"Durante muchos años —como recordó Camilo

en su Mensaje desde las montañas— los pobres de nuestra patria han esperado la voz de combate para lanzarse a la lucha final contra la oligarquía. Esta voz ha sido ya lanzada, los pueblos se aprestan al combate.

La amplitud del frente de Unidad Popular en Chile, acciones como la de Néstor Paz y otros combatientes caídos en Bolivia, gestos como la incorporación a las guerrillas colombianas del sacerdote de origen español (las fronteras son rotas por la dimensión de los hombres) Domingo León, el enfrentamiento con los regímenes militares de Argentina y Brasil por sacerdotes y laicos comprometidos..., son hechos que configuran el presente de combate latinoamericano.

En todo esto preocupa el pensamiento y el ejemplo de Camilo Torres desempeñan un importante escalamiento, la acción de Camilo rompió con esquemas que no pueden reconstruirse y dio un importante aporte en el combate ideológico contra el sectarismo y la ortodoxia de diverso tipo.

Camilo Torres ha desempeñado en el presente latinoamericano un papel similar al de aquellos sacerdotes, también censurados por sus jerarquías, que desafilaron el poder español en las luchas por la primera independencia, como Hidalgo y Morelos, en México; Camilo Henríquez y Antonio Orihuela, en Chile; Antonio Muñoz, en Perú; etc., precursores de un nuevo momento político, de una nueva etapa histórica.

Otros camilos hablan hoy en las montañas o en las cárceles. Los sacerdotes dominicos brasileños presos desde noviembre de 1969, a raíz de la muerte del combatiente marxista Carlos Marighella, en un mensaje sacado clandestinamente del presidio Tiradentes, en São Paulo, expresaron con coraje, a pesar de las torturas que les han infligido y con la amenaza de ser repetidas hasta la muerte, que "ante la realidad brasileña los cristianos deben manifestar su energética protesta, es un mandato de su conciencia cristiana. Un pueblo está siendo diezmado, lo que significa que Jesucristo está siendo diezmado. El amor que nos impuso nos obliga a denunciar toda injusticia. La ley injusta no debe ser obedecida... Asumimos la exigencia de participar junto al pueblo en su liberación corriendo los riesgos que esto trae dentro del clima de terrorismo creado por la violenta dictadura militar..."

Muchos cristianos hoy siguen el ejemplo de Camilo Torres y se produce en la práctica de la lucha revolucionaria un diálogo verdaderamente ecuménico entre hombres de buena voluntad que impulsados por amor al prójimo, son capaces de llegar a los sacrificios más extremos, entre ellos el de entregar la propia vida por los demás, por la causa liberadora.

Recordamos la famosa frase del Che: "...déjese decir, a riesgo de parecer ridículo, que el verdadero revolucionario está impulsado por grandes sentimientos de amor, es imposible pensar en un

revolucionario auténtico sin esta virtud" (de *El Hombre y el Socialismo en Cuba*) y aquella otra de Camilo Torres: "Creo que me ha entregado a la revolución por amor al prójimo" [del Mensaje a los Cristianos].

En Brasil los torturadores no hacen distingos en las creencias religiosas de los combatientes revolucionarios que caen en sus manos, en Bolivia tampoco lo hizo la soldadesca para asesinar a guerrilleros presos. En la senda de la lucha se forja un nuevo hombre, al tiempo que el sueño de una esperanza se aproxima a convertirse en realidad.

Camilo Torres en el quinto aniversario de su muerte continúa, como viejas romances castellanos decían del Cid Campeador, ganando batallas después de muerto y es que muertes como las de Camilo y el Che inmortalizan la vida, su sangre nutre a las nuevas generaciones y en cada nuevo combatiente, joven o viejo, que se incorpora a la lucha y combate contra el imperialismo y el subdesarrollo, viven de nuevo Ernesto Guevara y Camilo Torres. Sus mensajes no se han perdido en el vacío, sus fusiles no han quedado en el campo.



Julio Huesi

HABU DE U

Entrevista de Prensa Latina a seis jóvenes uruguayos que, acusados en su país de pertenecer al movimiento TUPAMAROS, llegaron a Chile hace algunas semanas por un exilio virtual

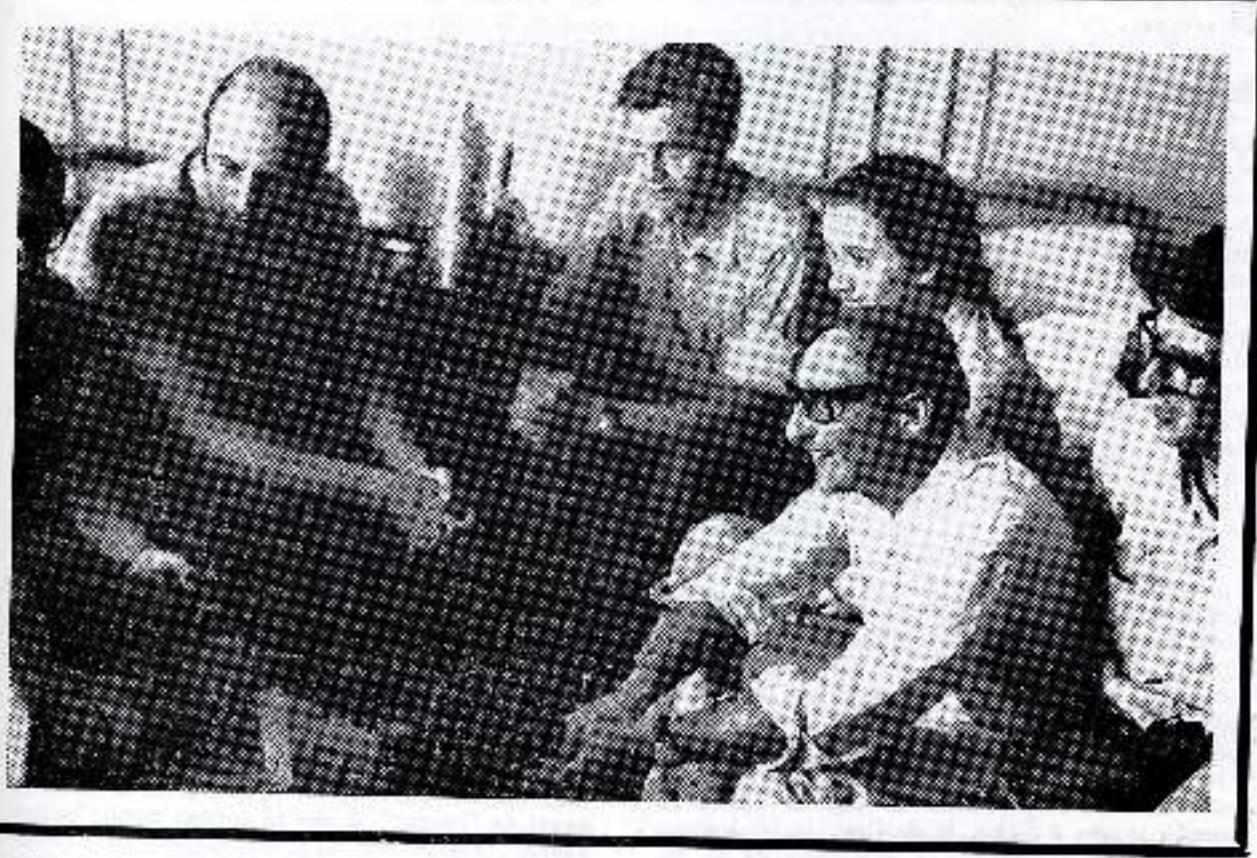
El pasado mes de diciembre seis jóvenes fueron depositados en la losa del aeropuerto de Pudahuel y puede decirse que recién a partir de ese momento se encontraron en libertad y una libertad por supuesto seccionada en lo más íntimo ya que estaba condicionada a la salida obligatoria de su patria, Uruguay.

Los seis jóvenes, acusados de pertenecer al Movimiento de Liberación (Tupamaros), se acogieron a una cláusula constitucional que rige para el caso en que se encontraban: fueron procesados en distintas fechas y al ser decretadas sus libertades por el Poder Judicial, en un lapso que va de octubre a noviembre de 1970, el Poder Ejecutivo desacata

la decisión judicial y los vuelve a detener bajo pretexto de las "Medidas Prontas de Seguridad", un virtual estado de sitio que sirve para cualquier atropello, y los confina en cuarteles militares. El artículo 17 de la constitución uruguaya establece para estos casos la opción entre el confinamiento y la salida del país. De este modo, los seis jóvenes uruguayos arriban a Chile.

Arrestados por diversas razones y en distintas circunstancias, que van desde llegar de visita a un lugar donde la policía montó una "ratonera", pasando por tener vinculación aunque sea lejana con algún miembro del MLN, o ser hallado en un "local" donde funcionaba un laboratorio de ex-

EMOS RUGUAY



plosivos, las seis jóvenes ostentan una moral clavada y una conducta inmejorable, aún a pesar de salir directamente de un periodo de prisión. Pedro Blanco, 33 años, estudiante de Medicina, detenido en julio de 1969. Preso en el Penal de Punta Carretas es trasladado, cuando se produce su libertad ordenada por el juez, al Centro de Instrucción de la Armada [CIA].

William Allen Whitlow, 23 años, estudiante de Medicina, detenido en julio de 1969. Preso en Punta Carretas, confinado en el CIA. Jorge Boca, 33 años, odontólogo, detenido en agosto de 1970. Preso en Punta Carretas, es confinado en el CIA.

José Ernesto Surra, de 25 años, estudiante de Ciencias Económicas. Detenido en marzo de 1969. Preso en Punta Carretas, llega a estar unos días en libertad y es confinado en el CIA.

Jesús Manuel Rodríguez, 29 años, profesor secundario. Detenido en diciembre de 1968. Preso en Punta Carretas. Unos días en libertad y confinamiento en el CIA.

Nilda Sarachaga, 24 años, estudiante de Medicina. Detenida en diciembre de 1969. Presa en la Cárcel de Mujeres. Confinada en el Instituto "Carlos Nery", una escuela de enfermeras utilizada por Pacheco Areco como cárcel femenina.

Los varones debieron alojarse a dos, en las celdas del CIA, de dos metros de largo por un metro y medio de ancho, por dos metros y algo de alto. La mujer compartió en el "Carlos Nery" dos pequeños dormitorios junto a otras nueve detenidas. Las circunstancias de su libertad fueron fulminantes, porque casi no se vieron con sus abogados. El 16 de diciembre fueron trasladadas desde sus respectivos lugares de confinamiento a las dependencias de la Dirección de Información e Inteligencia, organismo que centraliza la represión. Al día siguiente fueron embarcados rumbo a Chile.

En el aeropuerto de Carrasco, los familiares pudieron apenas alcanzarles alguna ropa y algún dinero. En el aeropuerto de Pudahuel, por donde ingresaron con visas de turistas, fueron invitados por efectivos del Departamento de Extranjería de la Policía Internacional, que funciona en la Dirección de Investigaciones, a concurrir la mañana siguiente a esa oficina, trámite que cumplieron sin dificultades.

Bueno, hablemos de Uruguay" . . .

Los seis acusados de Tupamaros se alojaron en Santiago en una especie de pensión. Prensa Latina tomó contacto con ellos y surgió esta entrevista. En distintos tramos de la conversación se arribaron a las siguientes conclusiones, alrededor de un mate que giraba con su solapada nostalgia del encrespado Río de la Plata, cuyas dos capitales, Montevideo para ellos y Buenos Aires al frente elevan los fuegos de una creciente lucha armada revolucionaria:

"Toda la segunda década del siglo XIX en Uruguay tiene el signo de Artigas. Encabeza la lucha de liberación contra la corona española y no sólo eso: quizás su mayor pecado consistió en haber repartido tierras. Lógicamente, los títulos que otorgó Artigas en su distribución fueron luego desconocidos por la oligarquía. El imperialismo más poderoso de la época, el inglés, en su esquema de dominio del mundo, le asigna a Uruguay la función de pradera. Muchas condiciones ofrecía Uruguay para eso: grandes extensiones de tierra sin mayores interrupciones, posturas naturales y un clima templado propicio para la ganadería. Se pasa así del solo aprovechamiento del cuero de vacunos y lanares a los saladeros de carne, produciendo lo que se llama tasaí, que en aquella época se vendía mucho a Cuba. El dominio de los ingleses se estrechó más aún con la instalación de los frigoríficos, a principios de este siglo. Todo este tráfico ganadero desarrolla a la oligarquía como clase. En el siglo pasado la oligarquía va expulsando de sus tierras a los gauchos, tierras todavía sin alambrar. Se delimitan las propiedades. El criollo humilde con vestigios indudables de sangre charrúa (los aborigenes de Uruguay) no está acostumbrado al sometimiento. Le queda una sola opción, el monte, si no quiere transformarse en peón, con las imaginables condiciones feudales de trabajo de la época. Se transforma así en el primer "clandestino" de la historia uruguaya. A caballo por el campo, el "matrero" forma verdaderas misioneras. Desde siempre se llamó "tupamaro" en Uruguay al rebel-

de, al que no aceptaba injusticias, por el inca Tupac Amaru, que luchó contra los españoles en Perú. Estos "tupamaros" intervienen en la historia como resistentes al poder central de la oligarquía. "La instalación del ferrocarril refuerza el dominio británico y el dominio oligárquico. Montevideo es exclusivamente un puerto por donde salen los reses. Los "tupamaros" del siglo pasado solían ocupar un monte (zona boscosa), instalar campamentos, dejar guardias a la entrada y salida de las picadas y alimentarse del asado del ganado cimarrón o de marca, el que viniera. "Aire puro y carne gorda", se decía entonces. Esto está muy bien reflejado en una novela de Eduardo Acevedo Díaz, "Ismael", éste llega a caballo y lo ataca un guardia. Ismael dice su contraseña: "Tupamaro". Sólo entonces lo dejan pasar. Eso siempre en el siglo pasado.

"En la actualidad la economía uruguaya está bajo la dependencia de los intereses norteamericanos.

"La sujeción al Fondo Monetario Internacional agudizó la crisis económica por la que atraviesa el país. Aumentó la desocupación, disminuyó el poder adquisitivo del pueblo con tantas devaluaciones e inflación, la gente debe reducir su alimentación, su vestuario, su recreación, su vivienda, su salud. El mercado de mano de obra cesante aumenta, las capas medias se pauperizan, el hombre que puede, trabaja en dos empleos. El salario disminuye, porque en esas condiciones las leyes sociales y los convenios colectivos de trabajopesan a ser una mentira. El esquema se puede trazar de un modo bastante simple: a más sometimiento al FMI, mayor empobrecimiento nacional, mayor descontento popular, mayor proletarización de las capas medias, mayor oposición a la política entregadora del régimen, mayor represión.

"No es casual que lo único que escapa a esa imagen de estancamiento y deterioro del aparato estatal sean precisamente las fuerzas represivas, que en los últimos tiempos perfeccionan su armamento y su entrenamiento. La policía y el ejército son cuidados por el régimen en su financiamiento, porque si no no se sabe cómo podría sostenerse. Tradicionalmente siempre fue un civil el Ministro del Interior. Con Pacheco Areco ya es un militar. Los planes de adecuación a la instrucción y el esquema norteamericano de "guerra de contrainsurgencia", copan el sistema uruguayo. Dentro del esquema norteamericano, a la marina le toca el papel de "ranger", lo que se conoce como "boinas verdes". Por eso, la toma del Centro de Instrucción de la Marina por el MLN (Tupamaros) significó para la represión no solamente el golpe de la expropiación de tantas armas modernas. Va más allá que eso. Ese Centro estaba en el tercer año del plan de cinco que los norteamericanos consideraron necesario para convertir a la marina uruguaya en una fuerza de "boinas verdes". El golpe sicológico fue demoledor. Tuvieron que empezar de nuevo, desde cero.

"Por otra parte, es notoria la acentuación de la brutalidad represiva de la Guardia Metropolitana, una especie de "boinas verdes" urbanas. Se nota en las represiones callejeras contra estudiantes y gremios en huelga, en las que se producen muertos,

como los estudiantes Líber Arce, Susana Pintos y Hugo de los Santos. Los efectivos de tropa hacen más entrenamiento de tiro y un estricto régimen cuartelario. Muchos provienen del interior del país y de la periferia de Montevideo. Casi todo el parque automotor de la Guardia es de la General Motors y la policía civil —la que se especializa más en investigación y pesquisa— emplea equipos "especializados" de fabricación norteamericana.

"Fue la Guardia Metropolitana la que asesinó a Hernán Pucurull, un Tupamaro que estaba desarmado en ese momento. El salvajismo de la Guardia es sentido por toda la población en los allanamientos, en los choques callejeros. El MLN respondió con acciones de arremetimiento y de desarme de efectivos de gendarmes. En cuanto a las torturas de los presos políticos, llegó a producir una crisis dentro de la misma Dirección de Inteligencia y En-

El mate

Las horas de entrevista cruzan veloces por el balcón, que va marcando el tiempo con sombras cambiantes, como un reloj en claro-oscuro. La aguja central del mate, sin embargo, gira su bombilla como un minutero imparable. El verde brebaje se pierde en el espíritu de los rioplatenses congregados de un modo así singular en Santiago de Chile. Su interés por las noticias de la patria, el trato entre sí, los "racontos", cada detalle: desde el modo como evitan que la ceniza de los cigarrillos caiga al suelo, hasta la sobriedad al hablar, denotan que se trata de personas de una madera especial trabajada por la vida. Una vida que eligieron. El mate cumple su vuelta despacio, como una noria subjetiva. Circularon las hojillas, el popular paquete de tabaco para armar, la pena de "que no haya una



lace, cuando era dirigida por el comisario Alejandro Otero, que renunció. Otero —que además es árbitro de fútbol— sufrió un cambio cuando, torturando con la picana eléctrica al Tupamaro Marenales Sanz, en un momento éste le enrostro que el MLN le había perdonado la vida en una ocasión determinada. Se puede decir que después de la ejecución del comisario Morán Cherquero y del "asesor" norteamericano de la AID para "asuntos de seguridad", Dan Mitrione, cesaron las torturas tradicionales a los prisioneros políticos, aunque emplean la tortura psicológica. El miedo a los revolucionarios ha entrado de algún modo a las propias filas de la represión. Jamás los efectivos de la Guardia, cuando terminan su turno, se retiran del cuartel con uniforme. Lo hacen vestidos de civil y a la desparada".

guitarra porque lo haríamos cantar a Jesús". Jesús sonríe severamente, humildemente, y pasa la lengua al borde de la hojilla para terminar su cigarrillo, pero no dice una palabra. Para colmo, es del departamento de Treinta y Tres, donde para atrancar una palabra a quien no lo quiera hay que esperar que cante. Una milonga, preferiblemente.

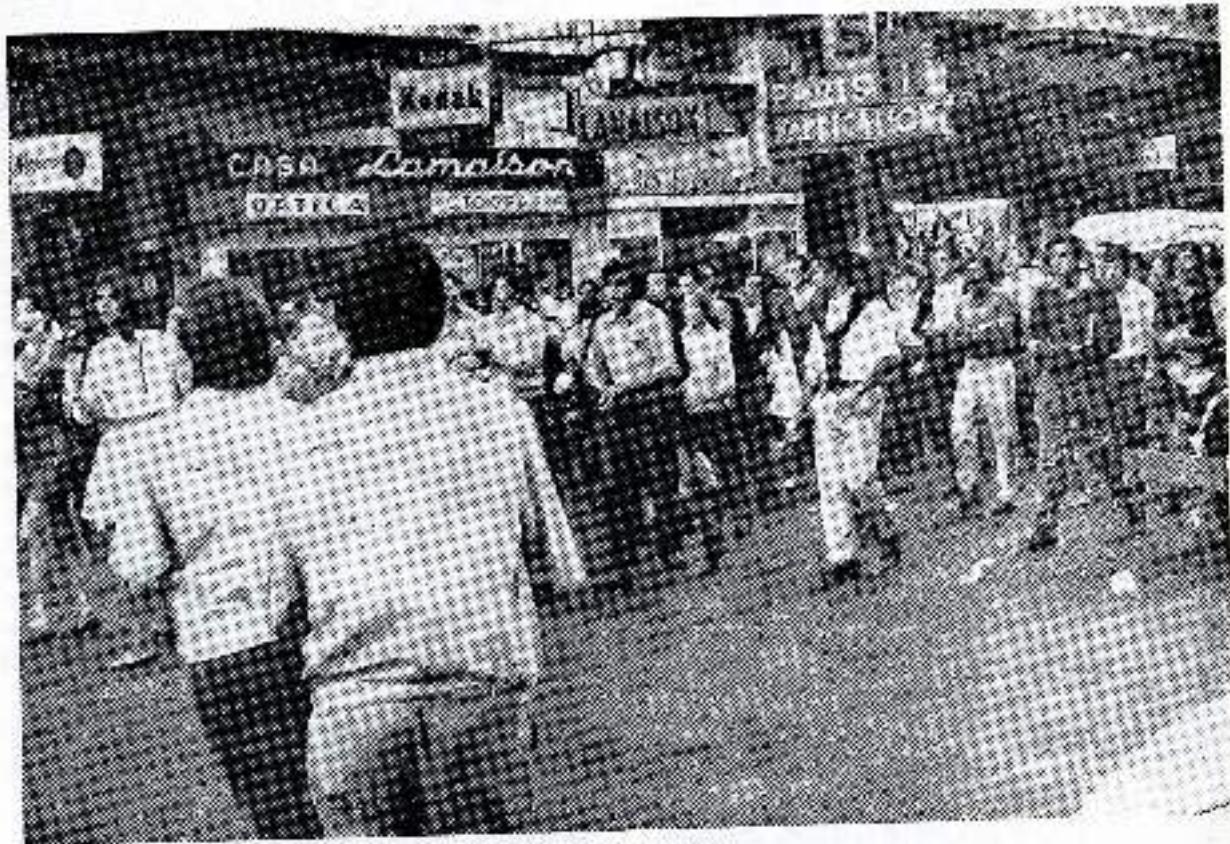
"Hablemos de Uruguay" . . .

"Si vos querés, hasta el momento de la Revolución cubana, más o menos, en Uruguay existía una izquierda poco arraigada y poco potencial. Los partidos tradicionales de la burguesía, el Blanco y el Colorado, se repartían la inmensa mayoría de la clientela electoral. En este cuadro, el MLN (Tupa-

maros) no surge por decreto. Puede ubicarse su comienzo en el trabajo iniciado desde la nada prácticamente por Raúl Sendic entre los trabajadores cañeros del norte cuando era miembro del Comité Central del Partido Socialista. Nace la UTAA (Unión de Trabajadores Azucareros de Artigas) y el movimiento de Beira Unión. Y un hecho nuevo, entre otros, de esta experiencia: las marchas de los cañeros a Montevideo, que conviven el panorama político del país. La UTAA demuestra que se podía y debía adoptar medidas de lucha más radicales. Para que se tenga una idea de ese movimiento, baste decir que los cañeros reclamaban la jornada de ocho horas (en la década del 60!) y que les pagaran en dinero y no en vales de la compañía. Eso reclaman en la primera marcha. Después la conciencia se radicaliza y las columnas de cañeros, con sus mujeres y niños desnutridos llegan a la

ciudad. El bautismo de fuego fue el asalto al Tiro Suizo y la expropiación de sus armas. Ya hay un clandestino, Raúl Sendic. Mucho después cuando el 22 de diciembre de 1966 cae acorralado el Tupamaro Carlos Flores al proteger a balazos la fuga de sus compañeros, los militantes clandestinos serán como veinte. Quizá la primera vez que aparece la firma "Tupamaros" en una acción directa, fue en la huelga contra el aumento de los pasajes de la locomoción colectiva, el 24 de diciembre de 1964, cuando se queman ómnibus manejados por rompehuelgas.

"Otro hecho que es muy importante y va dejando rastros en las conciencias es el paso por Uruguay de los líderes de la Revolución cubana, a los que todo el pueblo escucha y ve en persona. En distintas épocas llegan Fidel, el Che, Raúl Roa, Dorticos. Para mucha gente de izquierda —y aún para muchos que no pertenecían formalmente a la izquier-



capital con el lema "Por la tierra y con Sendic", es decir, se supera el movimiento a un nivel político y no puramente económico. Causó asombro entre los obreros y empleados de Montevideo cuando se enteraron cómo ganaron la primera batalla los cañeros: coparon al empresario norteamericano en su propia oficina en el central azucarero, iban armados —eso es muy importante para el triunfo— y hasta que no les pagaron no lo dejaron salir. Estaban dispuestos a todo.

"El MLN fue creciendo, desde el principio como una organización armada clandestina. Militantes de distintos sectores de la izquierda nacional que sostenían que había que dejar atrás el verbalismo y hacer la revolución, fueron sus primeros miem-

bro. El bautismo de fuego fue el asalto al Tiro Suizo y la expropiación de sus armas. Ya hay un clandestino, Raúl Sendic. Mucho después cuando el 22 de diciembre de 1966 cae acorralado el Tupamaro Carlos Flores al proteger a balazos la fuga de sus compañeros, los militantes clandestinos serán como veinte. Quizá la primera vez que aparece la firma "Tupamaros" en una acción directa, fue en la huelga contra el aumento de los pasajes de la locomoción colectiva, el 24 de diciembre de 1964, cuando se queman ómnibus manejados por rompehuelgas.

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un justo inconformismo, da la idea de que había que tomar una actitud creadora, convertirse en protagonistas de la historia, disputándole mano a mano el poder a la burguesía.

"Otra imagen que utiliza Fidel Castro ese día es más o menos ésto: "Para hacer la revolución no hacen falta ni cien hombres, ni diez, ni cinco, ni tres ni dos. Para hacer la revolución basta con uno". Allí da la idea del compromiso, de la entrega, del deseo personal de la revolución. El caldo de cultivo revolucionario existía en Uruguay; existía un clima emocionalmente importante en ese sentido.

"El discurso del Che en el paraninfo de la Universidad será inolvidable. Allí provocan los fascistas y la policía y cae asesinado el profesor Arbelio Ramírez. En esa época se producen nuevas provocaciones de grupos fascistas para-policiales, gemelos de los "fácuara" de Argentina, que provocan indignación cuando reaccionan a la muchacha Soledad Barret lo tatúan a cuchillo la cruz svástica. Son muchos entonces los que comprenden desde la izquierda la necesidad impostergable de armarse.

"A todo ésto viene la nueva farsa de las elecciones de 1962. Los partidos de izquierda se dividen en dos posturas de unidad con exclusiones y sin. El Partido Comunista sostiene esta última tesis y organiza el FIDEL (Frente Izquierda de Liberación) y el partido Socialista, que no quiere aliarse a los comunistas, forma la Unión Popular junto con un sector disidente del Partido Nacional, ambos frentes con fines electorales. Vienen las elecciones y el FIDEL obtiene la misma cantidad de votos que sumaban anteriormente sus componentes y la Unión Popular es un fracaso total. Ante esta energía electoralista, que no altera el panorama, mucha gente piensa por dónde puede aparecer otra salida. Se vio claro que la burguesía controlaba a placer todos los medios de difusión, sostenía financieramente las campañas de los dos partidos burgueses. El aparato publicitario anticomunista repiqueteaba sobre el anticomunismo acumulado durante años de propaganda. Los métodos de lucha contra la burguesía se repiten en las mismas recetas.

"Entonces surge claramente la opción de la lucha armada. Para eso había que estructurar un aparato armado, la conciencia de que sólo la práctica revolucionaria podía alterar el cuadro, porque mucha gente estaba superideologizada, se hablaba mucho, se viajaba mucho, pero no se hacía nada. En reacción contra el verbalismo —tanto de la vía pacífica como de la vía armada— surge una necesidad de parquedad de palabras y riqueza de hechos revolucionarios. La gente más honesta ya ni habla. Tiene vergüenza, asco de hablar y hablar. Había que hacer. Vino la polémica chino-soviética que saturó a todo el mundo. Se advierte la necesidad de mirar hacia adentro del país contra la evasión que significa balonear las polémicas ideológicas internacionales y luego enfascarse en discusiones interminables e inservibles. Se palpa la necesidad de una organización revolucionaria concreta. Surge entonces el MLN como una necesidad histórica y no como un decreto de nadie, no como una nueva receta.

"Esta primera etapa del MLN, la más dura y difícil, es básicamente una etapa de consolidación, de ci-

miento. Una etapa cerrada. El reglamento interno del MLN protege esa política. No se parte de abstracciones ideológicas en el vacío, sino de hipótesis de trabajo revolucionario, en los que obligatoriamente se debían confrontar los elementos teóricos con la práctica. Ya no se trataba del viejo estilo unilateral y enajenado de jerarquizar sólo los hechos del exterior para discutir hasta el día del juicio final si convenía o no aplicarlos al Uruguay, y que además ni se hacían intentos de aplicarlos. Ya no se trataba de competir vana y vanidiosamente por matices intelectuales, abstractos, de estar con la trompa metida en la última palebrilla de las polémicas internacionales, mientras el imperialismo se devoraba al Uruguay y la oligarquía financiera y ganadera le ponía bandera de remate a la patria. Hasta ese entonces los análisis más completos, con más datos, información y ¿por qué no? a veces con más pedantería, se hacían sobre la situación mundial, postergando un análisis serio de la realidad uruguaya, sin lo cual la revolución uruguaya sonaba como un cuento para ilusos. Claro que no se trató de taparse los ojos a la realidad exterior y abrazar la guitarrita del chovinismo. No, eso jamás. Lo que estaba claro era que había que hacer la revolución en Uruguay. Hacerla, dejar las palabras y hacerla con hechos y no con la boca ni con lindas tesis para las libertades.

"Uno de los grandes valores históricos del MLN (Tupamaros) es que aporta con hechos a la búsqueda de la identidad revolucionaria de nuestro pueblo, su perfil, su personalidad para la lucha real por la liberación. Así por ejemplo, el nombre de "Tupamaros" surge solo, de la propia historia, no hay que inventarlo. El Artigas amputado y castrado de la historia oficial se vuelve real, se hace presente, es rescatado en la lucha que él no pudo terminar. Es el mismo caso de Martí en Cuba. Esta aclaración, esta catálisis, por decirlo así, destroza los mitos y las represiones de una sociedad cargada de alienaciones y cequeras más que mil discursos bonitos. La búsqueda de la propia identidad nacional se torna constante a través de cada acción revolucionaria, cada acción ayuda a ver mejor el horizonte. El MLN no dice "somos marxistas-leninistas", sino que incorpora el materialismo histórico, el marxismo leninismo, a la práctica, con su aplicación concreta. De otro modo, el marxismo-leninismo no existe, es un papel.

"Mucha gente regresaba del exterior aparentemente muy emocionada y se ponía a discutir con fruición, como si el tiempo no existiera. Tenían ideas muy lindas, pero no hacían nada, no movían un solo dedo por realizarlas. Entonces la teoría se volvía una alienación más, y lo más cómico, estábamos ante una alienación de izquierda con ni más ni menos que elementos teóricos marxistas. Era demasiado. El fenómeno esencial que resultaba de eso no era otro que el verbalismo. Y la alienación en la teoría y el verbalismo no implican otra cosa que lo siguiente: que no hay una organización revolucionaria que piense seriamente en el hacer. El tiempo cotidiano que practica el MLN produce desalienación en sus propios combatientes. Se produce una identificación en el propio militante dentro de la

organización revolucionaria. Todos se ven obligados a mirar su país, ya están en guerra. Ya no hay discusiones bizantinas por dos razones: porque se combate y los problemas teóricos son otros, íntimamente vinculados a la realidad de la guerra revolucionaria y porque no hay tiempo. Uno se acuerda ahora —de memoria quizás no sea con las mismas palabras— de una frase de Lenin en "¿Qué hacer?" que decía que "El Partido que defiende a la clase trabajadora debe ser clandestino porque es la mejor garantía de que sea insobornable".

"La misma práctica, la metodología de acción del MLN fue también una superación de las viejas tesis "del brazo armado del partido revolucionario", por las cuales se veía a unos "dando la línea" y a los demás muriendo, unos aportando la hemoglobina y otros "la sustancia gris". Nada de eso en el MLN: la organización revolucionaria por sí es político-militar en todos sus niveles y todos sus combatientes. Cuando prendió la teoría del foco en Uruguay, bueno, se hizo un estudio total del interior del país, monte por monte, para estudiar las posibilidades reales de la guerrilla rural, a fin de iniciar el proceso. El asunto fue así: regresaron los Tupamaros que habían recorrido palmo a palmo toda la geografía uruguaya y empezaron su informe con estas palabras: "Caminamos inútilmente. Si la realidad demostraba que no era lo más conveniente comenzar por ahí ¿por qué alienarse en la teoría? Si una realidad topográfica y demográfica se enseñaba en indicar la necesidad de la guerrilla urbana para que la organización revolucionaria se consolidara, ¿por qué cerrar los ojos a la realidad? La práctica demostró que se había estudiado y elegido bien. Por lo dicho hasta aquí queda claro que todas las condiciones objetivas y subjetivas hacían presión para que apareciera la organización revolucionaria. Esta aparece y echa raíces inmediatamente a pesar de todas las dificultades.

"Y eso es posible, esencialmente, por dos grandes factores: la calidad humana y el nivel técnico de los combatientes, dos elementos que se cuidan y se trata de desarrollar incessantemente. Ese es uno de los primeros descubrimientos hechos en la práctica. Otro es la necesidad de una dirección única y una disciplina única. Proceda de donde proceda, el combatiente, se entiende que al ingreso a la organización armada revolucionaria, da un salto, supera y deja muy atrás todo un pasado y una práctica política. Se podría decir que adquiere espíritu, mentalidad, sentimiento y, sobre todo, responsabilidad de vanguardia. Hay una nueva conducta política y, por ende, hay un nuevo código moral, el más elevado que pueda existir en toda la sociedad. Cuando el enemigo asesina a Carlos Flores a fines de 1966, el MLN atraviesa por una etapa muy difícil. A los pocos días matan también a Mario Robaina. Se advierte que el enemigo puede dar ciertos golpes en razón de errores cometidos por la organización. La convicción de que no había que confiarse en absoluto en las propias virtudes, de verificar a cada instante, en movilidad permanente, la seguridad revolucionaria, se hace realidad en el MLN, que prueba saber aprender inmediatamente de sus propios errores. Se hace evidente la necesidad de la compartmentación implacable, de

un trabajo más prolífico y más riguroso en la clandestinidad. El MLN atraviesa entonces por esa etapa que el Che define como de sobrevivencia. Antes que nada había que durar, apretar los dientes y ser fuertes.

"El MLN pasa por etapas de no crecimiento, que son empleadas en fortalecer la infra-estructura, en perfeccionar los cuadros. Luego pasa por períodos de crecimiento en oleadas. Luego de las caídas en combate de Flores y Robaina la organización perfecciona su esquema organizativo. Las convenciones, algunas de las cuales se efectúan en momentos muy difíciles, sirven para perfeccionar las métodos, adecuar la organización a su desarrollo. En 1966 se produce el triunfo electoral del General Gestido. Arrasa en las urnas porque tenía imagen de persona honesta y porque ya la gran masa votante identificaba al político tradicional con la venalidad. Gestido se plantea de alguna manera sacarse de encima la voracidad del Fondo Monetario Internacional, que todo el pueblo ve como deja al país en harapos. Pero lo intentó con métodos lamentablemente burgueses. Su ministro de Hacienda, Vasconcellos, lanza una "empresa patriótica" que consiste en abrir una cuenta en el Banco de la República donde se depositaría la recaudación de una colecta nacional de dólares. El fracaso es estrepitoso.

"Muere Gestido en diciembre de 1967 y asume el entonces Vicepresidente, Jorge Pacheco Areco. A partir de ese instante comienza en Uruguay un período ininterrumpido de represión, de sometimiento más atorillado al FMI y del incremento de las acciones del MLN (Tupamaros), que cada día aumentan su prestigio y simpatía en el seno de la población. La organización crece y a fines de 1968, el Documento No. 4 del MLN fija la descentralización, la organización en columnas compartimentadas con direcciones colectivas, contando cada columna con tres sectores: político, militar y de servicios, una simple división de funciones que no tiene nada que ver con lo del "brazo armado". Se pone más que nunca el énfasis en que el cuadro militar debe ser necesariamente un cuadro político lo que evita, entre otras cosas, una desviación natural y posible en estos casos, que es el militarismo equivalente al "izquierdismo" en lo exclusivamente político. Ya en el año 1969, con todas las precauciones tomadas, con las que nunca hay que conformarse en una guerra revolucionaria, sino revisarlas y renovarlas minuto a minuto, y a pesar que la represión se ha perfeccionado con el apoyo logístico y el "asesoramiento" norteamericano, se puede decir ya que la organización es indestructible.

"Con Pacheco Areco se caen todas las máscaras: ya no entran al gabinete los políticos tradicionales sino los elementos directamente interesados de los monopolios y de los prestamistas norteamericanos. El imperialismo y la oligarquía ya no usan "representantes" sino personeros comprometidos hasta en sus propios bolsillos. Creció el aparato represivo, se militariza a los funcionarios públicos, los empleados bancarios, los obreros de UTE (Usinas y Teléfonos del Estado). Las respuestas del MLN a esta política prende en vastas capas de la juventud, los

trabajadores y las capas medias de la ciudad y el campo. Aumenta la cantidad de miembros clandestinos de la organización, son más las tareas, la guerra se vuelve más compleja, los cuadros deben seguir desarrollándose más aún. En el aspecto técnico, en el aspecto político, en el aspecto humano. ¿Polémica con otros sectores de la izquierda? Los Tupamaros la han evitado minuciosamente: se considera que la mejor crítica es la acción misma, la única que puede probar una verdad. Palabras contra palabras es un gasto peligroso de energía y, tal como está al nivel de la lucha, puede ser hasta un elemento corrosivo. Y además no está en el estilo, en la ética que se fue configurando en el MLN, en la nueva moral y los nuevos sentimientos que se fueron fundiendo en el fuego de la acción. El MLN (Tupamaros) no tiene solamente sus propios muertos, hace suyos a los estudiantes comunistas asesinados por la Guardia Metropolitana en las calles, indefensos: Liber Arce, Susana Pintos, Hirgo de los Santos. Eso sí, los hace suyos prosiguiendo e incrementando la lucha de liberación.

"Llegamos entonces a los sucesos recientes, en que la guerra se ha agudizado y a pesar de más de cuarenta mil rasas allanadas en Montevideo por efectivos de todas las fuerzas armadas, el MLN no pudo ser tocado en su estructura. Pacheco Areco hace que se delimiten más claramente los campos. Se produce una crisis de confianza de la masa de electores de los partidos burgueses tradicionales. Muchas descubren que sus votos, toda la trama de la famosa Ley de Lemas, sirven nada más que para encumbrar y enriquecer a políticos venales. Se producen contradicciones dentro de esos partidos.

"En el Partido Colorado se desprende el sector de Zelmer Michelini y en el Partido Nacional (Blanco) el sector de Francisco Rodríguez Camusso que pasan a integrar la coalición electoral del Frente Amplio, junto al Partido Comunista, la Democracia Cristiana y otros sectores. En el Uruguay se está configurando una fuerza antíperialista y antioli-

gárquica, con discrepancias tácticas y estratégicas. Dentro de este cuadro de unificación global, el MLN seguirá luchando con sus métodos y por sus objetivos de liberación más que nunca. Uno de los últimos comunicados del MLN (Tupamaros) difundido en la prensa chilena es clarísimo al respecto. Se dice: "Los oprimidos conquistarán el poder sólo a través de la lucha armada. Por lo tanto, no creemos, honestamente, que en Uruguay, hoy pueda llegar a la revolución por las elecciones". Y después dice que "el Frente (Amplic) puede constituir una corriente popular capaz de movilizar un importante sector de los trabajadores". Al apoyar el Frente Amplio, entonces, lo hacemos en el entendido de que su tarea principal debe ser la movilización de las masas trabajadoras, y su labor dentro de las mismas no empieza ni termina con las elecciones". Esa está clara. Y al final se aclara de nuevo: "La lucha armada clandestina de los Tupamaros no se detiene".

El MLN fue dando sus muertos en combate por la libertad de Uruguay: Carlos Flores, Mario Robaina Méndez, Hernán Pucurull, Ricardo Zabalza, Jorge Salerno, Cultelli, Indalicio Olivera Da Rosa, que fue un sacerdote católico, Roberto Rohr, López Rodríguez, Larrosa. Casi doscientos presos acusados de ser Tupamaros están en la cárcel de Punta Carretas y en la Cárcel de Mujeres. El MLN está llevando la guerra a todos los terrenos donde la lleva el enemigo, a sus hogares, a sus lugares de diversión. El MLN resalta como una bandera aquel grito de los gauchos pobres: "Si no hay patria para todos no hay patria para nadie". El pueblo sabe muy bien por qué Raúl Sendic declaró cuando es detenido: "Soy un prisionero de guerra". El pueblo sabe. Y eso es muy importante".

El mate continúa sus circunvoluciones de nostalgia alrededor de esta historia, como un amargo y entrañable incitador al retorno. Sólo una palabra queda fuera de los apuntes como un pájaro vivo: Tupamaros.



SE CELEBRARA “EL DIA DEL CHICANO” CON UNA HUELGA GENERAL

El europeo blanco encabezado por el español Cortés conquistaron nuestra gente, La Raza, en el valle de México el 13 de agosto del 1521. Estos invasores extranjeros nos robaron nuestro nombre, nuestra lengua, nuestros dioses y tierras. Hicieron esclavos nuestros padres y raptaron nuestras madres... todo bajo el nombre del Rey y Dios. Los gachupines todavía reinan sobre nuestras tierras hacia el Sur.

El 1848 a.d. el yanqui conquistó nuestras tierras hacia el norte, “Aztlán.” El gobierno gachupín nos vendió o hizo esclavos sin nuestro consentimiento! Ironicamente, nos declararon instantáneamente americanos; ¡Está escrito que el gabacho nos hizo hombres libres, nos da protección bajo la ley e igualdad bajo el Tratado de Guadalupe-Hidalgo y la constitución de U.S.A... Pero sabemos que es una mentira! El 29 de Agosto del 1970, el gabacho armado de nuevo invadió nuestros barrios en la capital de Aztlán el Este de Los Angeles, matando jóvenes, echando gas lacrimógeno a nuestros niños y brutalizando tu Jefita y la mia... con sus leyes de su parte y bajo el nombre de la cruz y de su Dios!

450 años de dominio, 450 años de su gobierno también son 450 años de opresión y esfuerzos tratando que olvidemos quiénes somos, el espíritu de La Raza Cósmica. La sangre de nuestros padres está en nuestras venas, y ahora exige la historia nuestra LIBERACION.

Nuestra historia durante este período de colonización y opresión nos obliga fuertemente para que públicamente proclamemos nuestra existencia de un hombre nuevo, con nombre único y político y además histórico.

Desde hoy en adelante y para siempre seremos conocidos como CHICANOS. Un nombre que hemos escogido sin el consentimiento y aprobación del yanqui.

Una nueva organización de la comunidad fue formada el sábado pasado en el departamento de recreación del parque Salazar (Laguna) que se reunirá regularmente todos los sábados a las 2:00 p.m. comenzando el primero de Mayo de 1971, con el nombre de “El Pueblo.”

Los propósitos de este grupo fueron descritos por el presidente Jacobo Rodríguez que dijo: “Nosotros deseamos establecer un día en memoria de la batalla ocurrida en el Este de Los Angeles el 29 de Agosto de 1970 y que resultó con el saldo de 3 muertos, hermanos Chicanos a manos de oficiales de la policía.



El grupo que asistió votó para designar el día 29 de Agosto de 1971 como el día en que todos los Chicanos pagaran sus respectos a sus obligaciones hacia el movimiento Chicano por medio de una huelga general contra TODO EL SISTEMA ANGLO que de acuerdo a Benjamin Luna “Ha robado nuestras tierras, nuestro lenguaje, y nuestros dioses, y nos ha reemplazado con una colección de valores morales ajenos a nuestra gente.

El grupo votó también para requerir que todos los Chicanos se queden en sus casas por 24 horas comenzando a las 12:00 en la medianoche de 28 de Agosto de 1971 y continuando hasta la medianoche del 29 de Agosto de 1971.

Durante este período de tiempo, la gente en huelga se reunirá privadamente en sus casas con sus familias, se enseñarán uno al otro la historia de la raza, recitarán poesías de nuestros poetas, cantarán y bailarán la tradicional música chicana.

Antes de terminar, los miembros de “El Pueblo” acordaron nombrar el primer día de fiesta chicano “El Día del Chicano.” El trabajo hacia esta meta ha comenzado y la comunidad chicana completa está invitada a unirse y participar atendiendo a nuestra próxima reunión programada para el primero de Mayo en el parque Salazar (Laguna) en la calle Whittier, cerca de la calle Indiana a las 2:00 p.m.

Para más información llame por favor al teléfono 268-2182 o 262-7735 y pregunte por Delia o Jacobo Rodriguez.

AUGUST 29, DESIGNATED “CHICANO DAY”

On August 13, 1521, the white-european, led by the Spanish Cortes conquered our peoples de la raza in the valle de Mexico. The foreign invader took away our name, our language, our gods and our lands. He made slaves of our fathers and raped all our mothers...in the name of his king and his gods. The bastard gachupines still reign supreme in our lands to the south.

In 1848, a.d., the white-european, the gringo yanquis conquered our lands to the north, Aztlán. The government of the gachupines sold us into slavery without our consent made us instant americans. It is written that the gabacho gave us our freedom, due process of law and equality by the Treaty de Guadalupe-Hidalgo and the U.S. Constitution...pero sabemos nosotros que es una mentira de mierda!

On August 29, 1970, the gabacho and his firepower again invaded our barrios en la capital de Aztlán, East Los and killed our young men, gassed our young children and brutalized your jefitas and mine...with his laws in his hands, and under the cross of his gods!

450 years of his domination, 450 years of his governments of lies, 450 years of his attempts to make us forget who we are have not stillled el espíritu de la raza cosmolíca. La sangre de nuestros padres is still within us and now demands our liberation. Our history during this period of colonization and oppression has now compelled us to publicly and loudly proclaim the existence of un hombre nuevo, con nombre político y histórico,

We are now and forever will be known as CHICANOS. A time that we have chosen for ourselves, without their knowledge and without their approval.

EL DÍA DEL CHICANO

A new community organization was formed one Saturday in April at the recreation department of Salazar (Laguna) Park, where it will be meeting regularly every Saturday at 2:00 p.m. commencing May 1, 1971, under the name of EL PUEBLO. The purposes of the group were outlined by the elected co-chairman, Jacobo Rodriguez, who stated: "We desire to establish a day in memory of the battle which occurred in East L.A. on August 29, 1970, resulting in the death of three Chicano brothers at the hands of no law enforcement officers of this country."

The group in attendance voted to set aside August 29th as the day in which all Chicanos would pay their respects and their commitment to the Chicano Movement by a GENERAL STRIKE against the entireando system which according to co-chairman Benjamin Luria, "Has taken our lands, our language and our gods and replaced them with a set of values foreign to our people."



The group further voted to request of all Chicanos to stay at home for twenty-four hours commencing at 12 midnight on August 28th and continuing until midnight on August 29th. During this period of time, the people on strike would meet in the privacy of their homes and with their families, they would teach one another the history of LA RAZA, recite poetry of their poets, sing and dance to their traditional Chicano music.

Prior to adjournment, the members of EL PUEBLO voted to name the first Chicano holiday, EL DÍA DEL CHICANO, or, the Day of the Chicano. Work towards this goal has commenced and the entire Chicano community has been invited to join and participate by attending the next scheduled meeting to be held on May 1st at Salazar (Laguna) Park on Whittier Blvd., near Indiana Street at 2:00 p.m. For further information contact:

EL PUEBLO
5228 E. Whittier Blvd.
East L.A., Califas
ask for Delia or Jacobo Rodriguez
268-2082 or 262-7735

CHICANO ART

By Edward E. Garcia

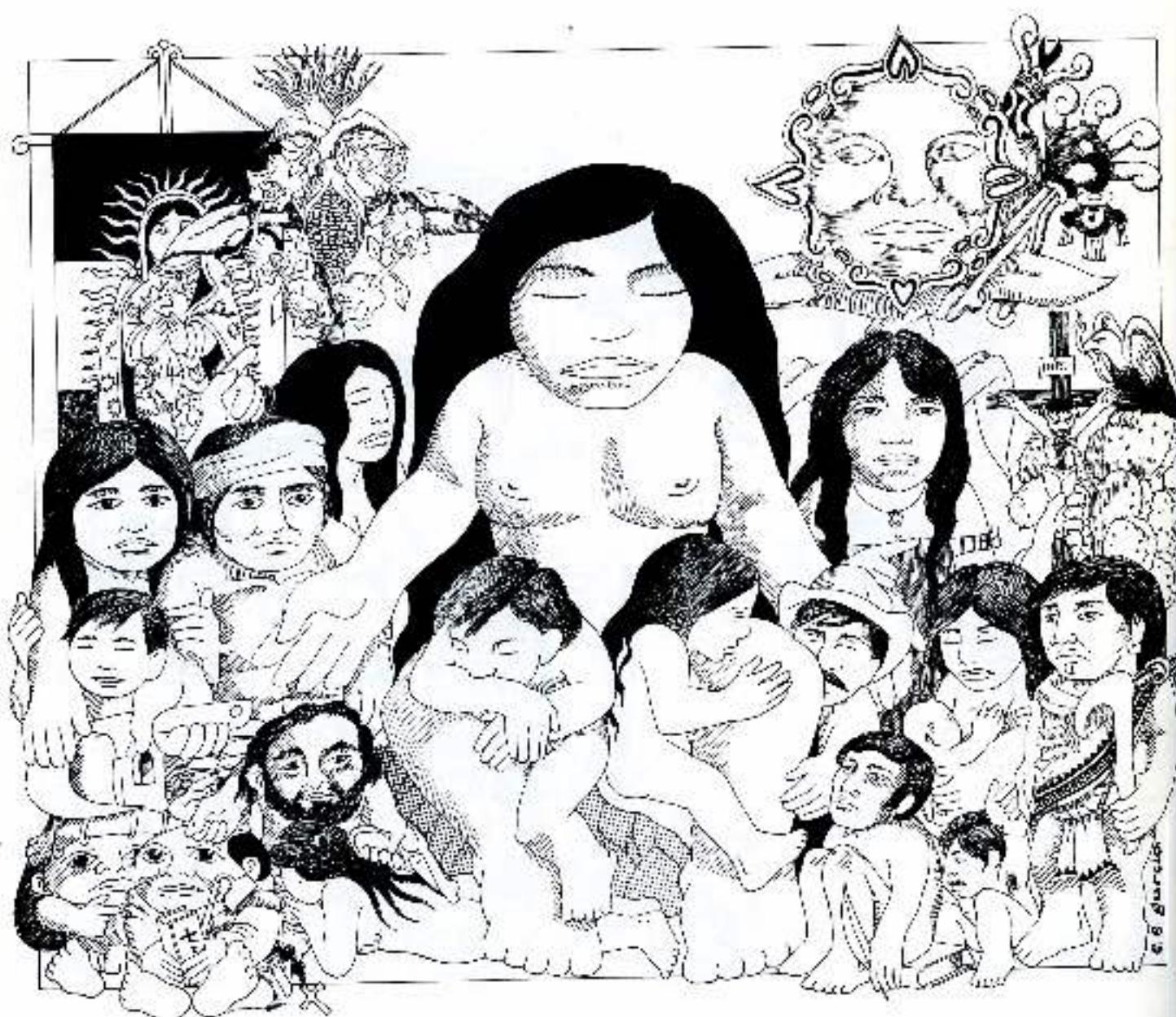
It seems disturbing to me that some Chicano artists are continuing to use Anglo-European styles in their art work and labelling it "Chicano Art." The mere fact that a painting is done by a Chicano artist does not automatically categorize it as Chicano Art.

Today there is much discussion concerning the question; What is Chicano Art? First of all, by saying CHICANO ART we are immediately limiting the art to a specific form distinguishable from others. When a person approaches Chicano Art his first reaction must be Chicano! Our art must convey the unique experience the Chicano feels and creates as an artist. Only a Chicano artist can readily convey this message.

Unless they follow Anglo-European styles, Chicano artists can not "Make it" in today's art world. Attempts to become recognized in this art world have been slowly met with patronization by the world's "liberal element." Programs to introduce Chicano art are usually culture programs such as "Mexican American" Culture Week. The reason the Chicano artist has not developed is because he is trying to play the Anglo's game for success---without succeeding!!!

Chicano artists must begin to realize that true Chicano Art has no place in today's art world. In order to realize this, we must divorce ourselves completely from Anglo-European patterns and establish our own. The Chicano artist must stop trying to please the Anglo audience and concentrate on developing his own style. The art we develop must be as unique as our people.







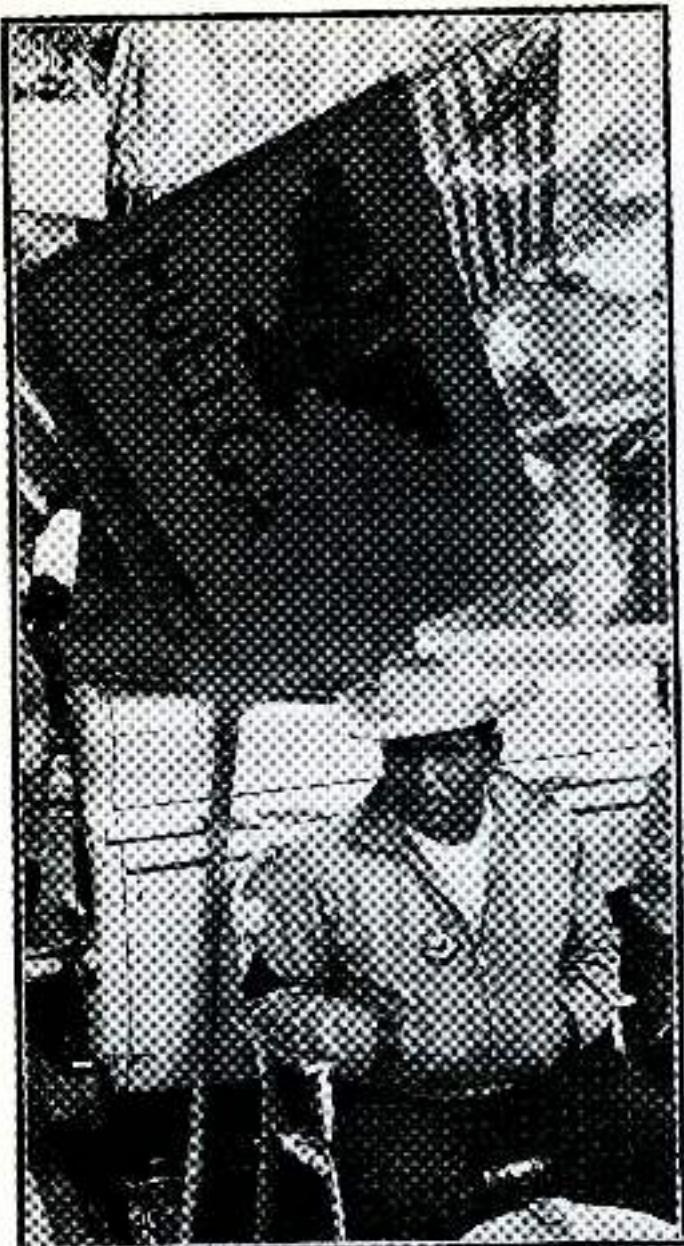


BARRIO LIFE AND FACES

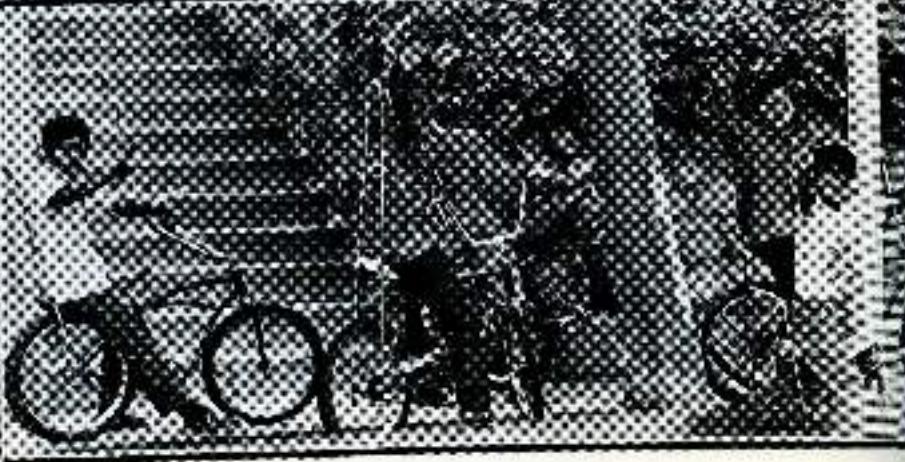
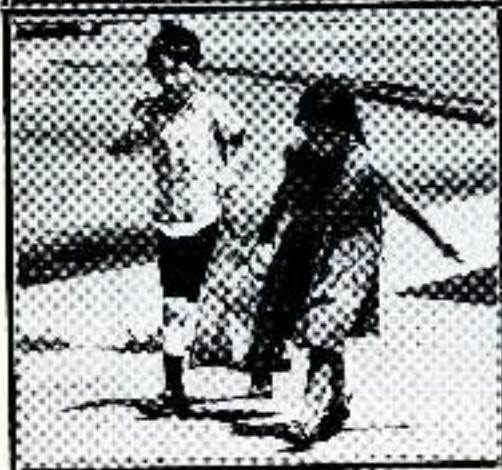


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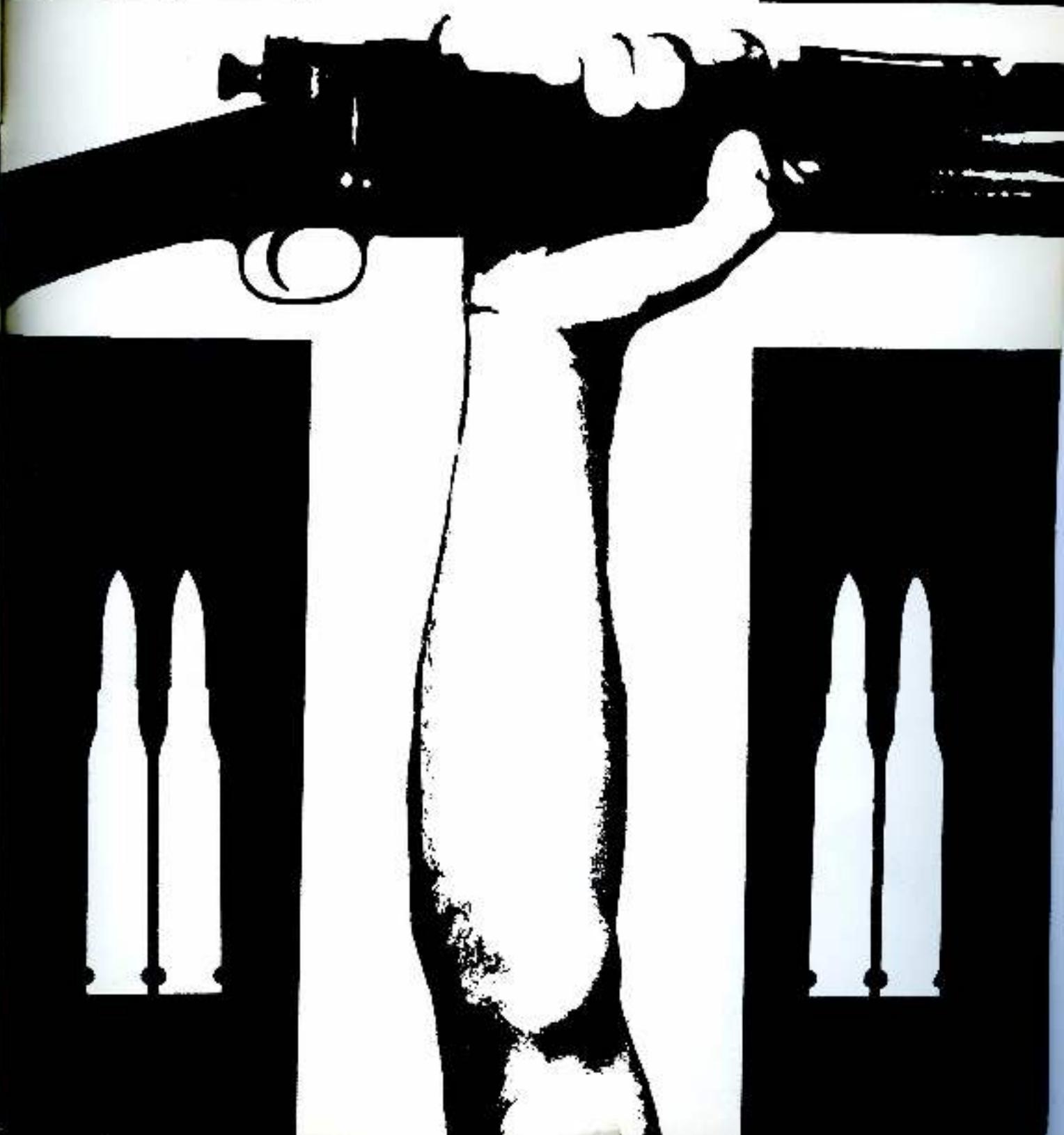
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UNASE-JOIN LA MARCHA DE LA



June 2---Riverside
5---Casa Blanca Barrio (across the tracks
from Riverside)
7---Corona
8---Chino
11---La Puente
12---San Gabriel
14---East L. A. (Maravilla)
15---Boyle Heights
16---Lincoln Heights
19---San Fernando (rally Saturday morning)

LOS ANGELES

RECONQUISTA

CALEXICO