

LA RAZA

NEWS & POLITICAL THOUGHT OF THE CHICANO STRUGGLE

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Libertad Para Todos Los Presos Politicos
Free All Political Prisoners
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COVER - The fascist military junta acting as puppets for the twin evils of democracy, the national bourgeoisie and their masters in Washington crucify the Chilean people and murder their president Salvador Allende.

COVER DESIGN

EDDIE GARCIA - young Chicano artist from San Fernando. He is presently an instructor at Cal State University at Northridge. Considered to be foremost political artist in the Chicano movement. His style is certainly in the tradition of the Mexican muralists. Eddie is presently putting together a series of his drawings that will be published and distributed by La Raza.



The struggle for self-determination in the Chicano community has taken on a new dimension in the present attempts to incorporate East Los Angeles (E. L. A.) El Partido de la Raza Unida, City Terrace fully endorses and supports this effort as the only alternative to preserving our culture, gaining political power and improving the living conditions of the people of the barrio.

With a population of over 100,000, 83% of the residents in East Los Angeles are Chicanos - a percentage greater than in any other city outside of Mexico. Our community has a unique history and cultural tradition, and inevitably we have been confronted with problems peculiar to our community. As an unincorporated section of L. A. County, E. L. A. has been governed by one supervisor, an Anglo, who is also responsible for 2 million other people in L. A. County. As a result, E. L. A. has been almost totally ignored by the politicians, the exception being at election time, when the large democratic vote represented in the Chicano barrios motivates politicians to expressing hypocritical indignation over the conditions and making the sweeping campaign promises which we are all familiar with. As a result, we have been confronted with special forms of economic and political exploitation, i.e. absentee landlords, rip-off business establishments, gerrymandering, etc. We have the worst schools, highest unemployment, inadequate medical facilities, bad housing, etc.

Incorporation would 1) allow the people of E. L. A. to determine their own priorities in terms of dealing with basic needs and problems of the barrio, 2) give us complete control over the revenue already being generated by this area, but which has always been used in other parts of L. A. County, 3) allow for long-range planning of E. L. A.'s resources at the local level, 4) give the community control over the public institutions (i.e. schools, libraries, the police, and fire departments, etc.), and 5) solidify E. L. A. as a political bloc, capable of carrying thru much needed reforms. We would have a much better chance of gaining political representation in government because we would be voting for candidates from our community to represent our interests.

E. L. A. today is the largest area in the state of California which remains unincorporated. There is a very real threat that we will lose E. L. A. and the potential political power that the area represents for Chicanos if we do not incorporate. E. L. A. is surrounded by the cities of Los Angeles, Montebello, Monterey Park and the City of Commerce. The City of Commerce was formed from a section of E. L. A., and attempts to dissect and annex other parts of E. L. A. continue to be made. For example, last September, Monterey Park proposed to annex a prime residential and commercial section which included E. L. A. college - an attempt which was defeated by the community's residents; also, the L. A. City Planning proposed in two separate reports to annex the industrial area of E. L. A. north of the San Bernardino Freeway.

Another threat to E. L. A. is the "sphere of influence" division we would be subject to under California State Assembly Bill 2870. Under this bill the Local



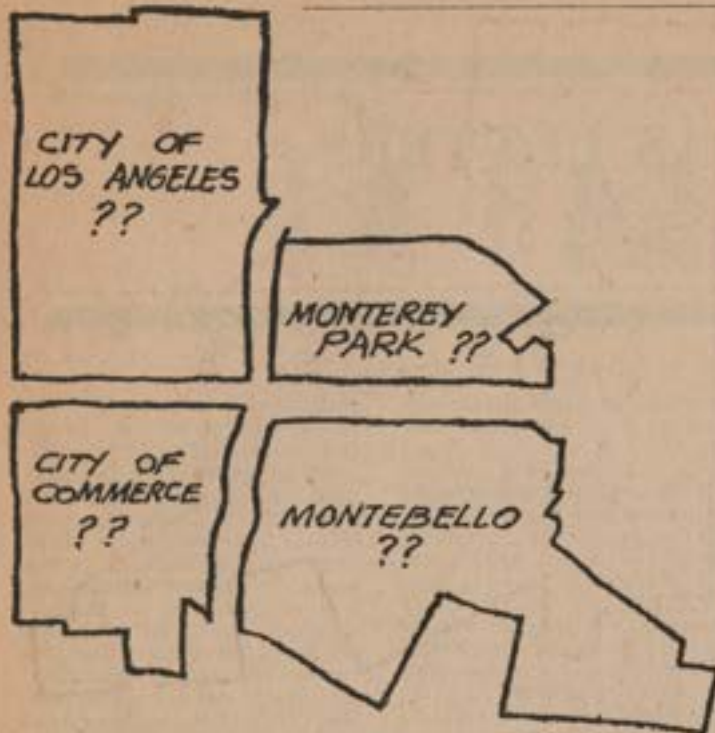
EDITORIAL

Incorporation or Annexation

Agency Formation Commission (LAFCO) of the County is mandated to "plan for the ultimate physical boundaries and service area of existing governments over unincorporated territory" In other words unincorporated E. L. A. would be sectioned off to the four surrounding communities and could be annexed to these cities without an election

E. L. A. is a natural community united culturally, historically and geographically. Furthermore, a study by James F. Hays Associates of Long Beach on the feasibility of incorporating E. L. A. indicates that the area could generate more than adequate revenue thru existing resources to meet the costs of running the city.

The proposal for incorporation was formally presented to LAFCO on April 19, 1973. In order to put the issue on the ballot, 25% of the registered voters of E. L. A. must petition for incorporation. The deadline for getting these signatures is January, 1974. If you would like to help in this initiative, or for information, call (213) 261-0128.



Incorporación o Anexión

La lucha por la auto-determinación en la comunidad Chicana ha tomado nueva dimensión en el presente intento para incorporar al Este de Los Angeles como ciudad independiente.

Nosotros de la revista La Raza estamos de acuerdo y apoyamos fuertemente éste esfuerzo por considerar que es la única alternativa que nos queda para conservar nuestra cultura, demostrar nuestra fuerza política y remediar las condiciones de nuestra gente en este inmenso barrio.

Con una población de más de 100,000, el 83% de los residentes en el Este de Los Angeles (porcentaje más grande de mexicanos en una ciudad fuera de la República Mexicana.) Esta comunidad es unida respecto a la conservación histórica y cultura de México y por lo tanto tiene problemas diferentes a las demás ciudades en Estados Unidos de Norteamérica. Como un segmento incorporado a la ciudad de Los Angeles es gobernado por un supervisor Anglo, el cual es responsable por representar a más de 2 millones de ciudadanos con características diferentes a la de los mexicanos y Chicanos. Lo anterior da como resultado que el Este de Los Angeles que políticamente es democrático, siempre sea ignorado por los políticos que sólo se acuerdan del barrio en tiempo de las elecciones, é hipócritamente expresan su indignación por las condiciones de nuestra comunidad y para acaparar el voto hacen promesas que nunca cumplen.

Como resultado siempre nos vemos confrontados con formas especiales de explotación tanto política como económicamente, como por ejemplo propietarios

de fincas viviendo fuera de nuestra comunidad, comerciantes sinvergüenzas, divisiones irregulares para representación política, etc. etc. En ELA existe la peor educación en las escuelas, existen el porcentaje más alto en la nación de desempleo, condiciones médicas y sanitarias inadecuadas, viviendas viejas y deterioradas etc. etc.

La incorporación de ELA como ciudad dará a nuestra gente: 1) la fuerza necesaria para que ella misma pueda resolver estos problemas primordiales 2) nos dará un completo control de los impuestos de nuestra gente que son usados en otras partes del condado; 3) control de las fuerzas productivas a un nivel local; 4) dará control a la comunidad sobre las instituciones públicas (escuelas, bibliotecas, policía, bomberos, etc.); y 5) unificará ELA en un bloque político capaz de hacer reformas necesarias que nos beneficie. Nosotros tendremos mejores oportunidades para obtener poder político al votar por candidatos de nuestra comunidad que representen nuestros intereses.

ELA es el área más grande en el Estado de Calif. que permanece sin incorporarse como ciudad. Existe una real posibilidad de perder la unidad étnica y al mismo tiempo perder la oportunidad de tener una verdadera fuerza política si ELA no se hace una ciudad independiente. ELA esta circundada por las ciudades de Los Angeles, Montebello, Monterrey Park Ciudad Comercio. Ciudad Comercio fue formada por un segmento de ELA y amenaza con incorporarse otras áreas. Monterrey Park en Septiembre pasado hizo el intento de incorporarse una vasta zona residencial y comercial de ELA, incluyendo también el Colegio ELA, intento que fue repelido por los residentes de esa parte de la comunidad. La Ciudad de Los Angeles por medio de sus oficinas de planeación ha propuesto en dos ocasiones anexarse el área industrial que se encuentra a lo largo y al norte del Freeway (super-carretera) San Bernardino.

Otro intento para disolver la identidad cultural histórica de ELA existe en la Asamblea de Calif. conocido como Ley 2870. Bajo esta propuesta Ley La Comisión Local de Planificación en el condado (LAFCO) le da el derecho de formar nuevas líneas territoriales para beneficio de otras ciudades, es decir será dividida y anexada a la ciudades que la circuncinan sin tomar en cuenta la voluntad de sus residentes.

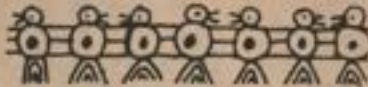
ELA es una comunidad natural, unida por la historia, geográfica y culturalmente y no debe de ser dividida.

Un estudio de posibilidad preparado por James F. Hay y Asociados de Long Beach concluye que el área genera los adecuados recursos para mantener la comunidad.

La proposición para incorporar ELA fue presentada a LAFCO el 19 de Abril de 1973. Para que ésta proposición se ponga a voto en una elección, 25% de los residentes registrados para votar necesitan firmar la petición antes del fin de Enero.

Si usted quisiera ayudar en esta iniciativa o desea más información, llame a las oficinas de la revista La Raza, 261-0128.

LETTERS CARTAS LETTERS



Alfredo Ray Bryan
B-50624
Tama, California 94964

Carnales y Carnales de mi Raza fuerte,

I have finally found these few minutes in which to ask "How are my brothers and sisters out there in the world of shame. As for myself (Bear) I am still trying to get over my second degree conviction of the police officer who died four years ago and left me to blame.

Now I am doing five years to life in prison and who knows how long my life will last. But understand this, I do not lose my faith. I believe that some day I will be once again active in our struggle outside as well as in here in prison.

I have especially written this letter, only to tell all my raza I give my thanks and respects for all they have done for me and I hope that some day soon I can once be again with you. I also hope that all my little brothers and sisters are aware of what is happening with us, and for them to be strong and faithful in what they do.

Well I hope there are some carnalas y carnales interested in keeping me and others here informed on the outside news. Myself and others here in la pinta would like to hear about: "what our raza is progressing in."

Carnalas y carnales until I hear from someone, I rest my pencil but I do not rest my mind. I think 24 hours a day on what the next step in reaching our goal is and how I can give my help.

Hasta la victoria,
Un carnal ea la pinta
"El Bear"

Sr. Director
Revista La Raza

Tengo uno cuantos meses que me encuentro en este pais residiendo legalmente con la ayuda de unos parientes y despues de haber gastado miles de pesos (cerca de 6,000) y de estar dando vueltas al consuado norteamericano por cerca de 30 meses

allá en Guadalajara Jalisco.

Pero mi intencion no es contarle mis penalidades para llegar a este pais donde ya me encuentro trabajando en un restaurant ganando \$1.65 por hora, sino de felicitar a usted y a todos los que colaboran en la revista La Raza por su magnifica presentacion y por los interesantes articulos en ella escritos. Yo estudie comercio y contabilidad y aprendi un poco de ingles lo cual me ha servido para leer el ingles y quisiera en alguna forma colaborar en su revista pues veo que en ella se dice lo que en otras revistas y periodicos ni siquiera en la ultima pagina o como relleno lo hacen. Quiero especialmente referirme al articulo sobre los indios que aparece en el numero 11 de su revista que da una informacion que yo no conocia y que muchos de mis compatriotas ignoran todavia.

Espero tome en cuenta mi opinion y ofrecimiento de colaborar en su revista y estoy a sus ordenes en la direccion que adjunto. Respetuosamente
Jose Hilario Hinojosa
Los Angeles, Calif.

Dear Comrades,

First, let me say that I am writing in behalf of all Chicanos who are similarly situated here at the United States Penitentiary Leavenworth, Kansas, P.O. Box 1000, 66048.

The immediate subject is the oppressive, racist and reactionary efforts of the prison administration here at Leavenworth to completely obliterate all culture groups in the wake of a congressional investigation.

The genocidal machinations within the Leavenworth prison administration are void of anything on paper, they are playing it super-cool with their rumor mongering methods of disruption. There is absolutely nothing on paper, memorandum or policy statement to indicate the dissolution or atterine of in any form all culture groups. Theoretically all culture groups were previously functioning under certain prison criterion referred to by the bureau of prisons as policy statements. Even if there was something on paper it does not alter

the racist, genocidal course pursued by the prison administration.

J.A. McKinley who has the dubious distinction of possessing the title of supervisor of education (in fact a common prison guard) has stated that all culture groups will cease to exist and hereinafter "only" culture classes will be permitted with the following so-called alterations; culture classes will be opened to the general population. All culture classes will be taught in English; any "foreign language" is strictly prohibited. And above all, do not, under any circumstances, bring Marxist-Leninist textbooks to the class, laying bare the essence of this fascist attack.

What prison guard McKinley means by culture classes "only" is complete control by the administration as to the selection of textbooks, festivities and recreational programs pursued by Brown) here at Leavenworth Penitentiary. The gist of the matter is to incorporate a "controlled" Chicano studies class into the main school curriculum, thereby laying the semblance of a culture group as it previously existed (semi-autonomous of the prison administration). We Chicanos didn't wage relentless struggle for years to develop a truly Chicano culture group to have some petty bourgeois prison guard masquerading as a vocational instructor bulldog his fascist interpretation of a culture group into our group. Trying to cloud has racist demagogic methods of disruption by lamenting that culture classes will be open to the general population when in fact the Chicano culture group has always been opened to progressive interested individuals so as stated in our bilaws. Culminating classes will be taught in English ignorant of the fact that we Chicanos didn't come to the United States of North America, on the contrary the United States of North America came to us and as such compromise a national minority group speaking a "foreign" language as this petty bourgeois prison guard calls it. Very well aware of the fact that we Chicanos will never tolerate such lampoonish nonsense. This kind of dema-

gogery is doomed to fail! The Chicano people will not be deceived or cowed.

We arrive at crux of the matter when we are confronted with the prohibition of Marxist-Leninist textbooks in our culture group. Prison guards become hysterical whenever they see Marxist-Leninist textbooks in the hands of prisoners and rightly so because prisoners have found out that through the guiding scientific thoughts of Marxism-Leninism, the real underlying purpose of prisons becomes very clear. Marxism-Leninism explains the class nature of prisons and the whole bourgeois coercive apparatus of the capitalist state.

Lenin rightly said "The Marxist doctrine is omnipotent because it is true." This is the real reason why our culture group is being attacked by uncivilized prison guards. All this smoke of "foreign languages" and "culture classes" coupled with a congressional investigation of so-called subversion in prisons is nothing more than a feeble effort by the federal government and prison guards to lobotomise the progressive elements of the prison movement.

We will wage a relentless struggle against this racist fascist attack, however we appeal to the people to help mobilize the broadest united front. "The people and the people alone are the motive force of all progressive elements." The people must not permit the prison tyrants to isolate us from the outside world. We ask you to help us launch a letter writing campaign to the bureau of prison directors, congressmen, senators, and all people concerned protesting this racist genocidal attack.

We must mount a resolute struggle on all fronts!

All power to the people!
Long live Marxism-Leninism!

Fred Bustillo #83977-132
P.O. BOX 1000
Leavenworth, Kansas
66048

LA RAZA UNIDA

by John Orona

LA RAZA UNIDA by Richard Santillan is a clear, straightforward and informative account of the development and present status of La Raza Unida Party.

Richard Santillan, a young Chicano Studies instructor and long-time organizer of the partido in California, has documented and analyzed the history of participation of the Chicano in politics. It has been said that until recently Chicanos have become involved in politics. On the contrary Santillan proves this to be wrong and documents the political participation of Chicanos in the Southwest as far back as the 1800s.

Before Santillan goes into actual documentation of

the partido, he discusses many of the organizations that gave foundation, direction and historical contribution to the political development of the first Chicano political party, La Raza Unida. He also discusses the goals, philosophies, and accomplishments of La Raza Unida in Texas, Colorado and California.

Santillan also goes into detail giving several reasons why the Chicano community cannot work in the two-party system. There exist several obstacles such as language, citizenship requirements and reapportionment which prevent the Chicano from gaining political equality. Some of these obstacles are analyzed along with available alternatives.

Richard Santillan who is known nationally for his articles on La Raza Unida also goes into local and national campaigns, Chicano political conferences, the national convention of La Raza Unida Party, local Chicano elections and the Chicano labor movement.

LA RAZA UNIDA has received the endorsement of the 1973 California State Convention of La Raza Unida Party. This is a very important document for our people because it documents the past and preserves for the future the proper understanding of our political struggle.

Anyone interested in purchasing the book may do so by mailing a check or money order of \$2.50 (includes postage and handling) payable to Tlacuilo Publications, P.O. Box 7217, Los Angeles, California, 90022, Attn: Kathy.

LA RAZA UNIDA por Ricardo Santillán es un recuento claro, directo e informativo del desarrollo y el estado presente del partido de La Raza Unida.

Ricardo Santillán, un joven instructor de Estudios Chicanos y por largo tiempo organizador del partido en California, ha documentado y analizado la historia y participación del Chicano en política.

Se ha dicho que hasta recientemente los Chicanos han estado participando en política. Al contrario, Santillán prueba que esto no es así y documenta la participación política de los Chicanos en el Suroeste desde 1800.

Antes de ir Santillán a la documentación actual del partido, el discute muchas de las organizaciones que fundaron, dieron dirección y contribución histórica al desarrollo político Chicano, La

Raza Unida. El también discute las aspiraciones, filosofías y realizaciones de La Raza Unida en Tejas, Colorado y California.

Santillán muy detalladamente da muchas razones también, de porque la comunidad Chicana no puede trabajar en el sistema de los dos partidos. Existen muchos obstáculos, como el idioma, la ciudadanía y las divisiones políticas de los distritos por los republicanos y demócratas (reapportionment), los cuales previenen que los Chicanos obtengan igualdad política. Algunos de estos obstáculos están analizados junto con alternativas provechosas.

Ricardo Santillán, quien es conocido nacionalmente por sus artículos en La Raza Unida, también discute en su libro las campañas nacionales y locales, conferencias políticas Chicanas, la Convención Nacional del partido de La Raza Unida, elecciones locales Chicanas y el movimiento obrero Chicano.

LA RAZA UNIDA ha recibido el patrocinio de la Convención Estatal del partido de La Raza Unida de 1973. Este es un documento muy importante para nuestra gente porque documenta el pasado y conserva para el futuro el entendimiento propio de nuestra lucha política.

Cualquiera interesado en la compra de éste libro puede hacerlo enviando un cheque o un giro Bancario de \$2.50 (incluye los gastos de correos) pagables a PUBLICACIONES TLACUILO, P.O. Box 7217, Los Angeles, California 90022, Atención: Kathy



SUCESOS

PROTESTAN LA VENTA DE PANTALONES FARAH:

Dieciséis personas fueron arrestadas en la tienda Macy's en la ciudad de Nueva York durante una manifestación protestando la venta de pantalones Farah. Mas de 100 personas establecieron un "picket" alrededor de la tienda. Otros manifestaron dentro del edificio. Se alega que los manifestantes destruyeron \$20,000 de pantalones Farah.

Cargos contra 10 de los 16 manifestantes se eliminaron pero los seis que quedan, miembros de la Brigada Attica, un grupo anti-imperialista estudiantil, llevan cargos de Felonía y se les enjuiciará. Las organizaciones que llevaron a cabo la manifestación - la Brigada Attica, la Conferencia Negra Anti-imperialista Estudiantil, y la Unión Estudiantil Puerto Riqueña - continuaran el "picket" de Macy's hasta que paren la venta de pantalones Farah.

RENACIMIENTO DEL PROGRAMA BRACERO:

Henry Kissinger, secretario de Estado de esta nación, se involucro' en la conspiración de el liderato de los Teamsters y los granjeros de California contra los trabajadores agrícolas en sus dos viajes a la ciudad de México en las últimas semanas cuando discutió con el presidente Mexicano Luis Echeverría el renacimiento del notado programa de "Braceros".

Bajo el antiguo programa Bracero, el cual comenzó en 1958, los granjeros de California traían cerca de 90,000 Mexicanos nacionales al año a trabajar en sus granjas por salarios pésimos, constituyendo, en efecto, una fuerza para romper la huelga de el antiguo Comité Organizador de Trabajadores Agrícolas.

Aunque el programa fue finalmente aplastado en 1964 por una fuerte coalición de grupos laborales y religiosos, Kissinger y Echeverría discutieron importar a un número de 300,000 Mexicanos nacionales anualmente bajo un programa controlado por el gobierno el cual no considero' la oposición de los sindicatos de Estados Unidos.

Aparentemente la Asociación de Trabajadores Agrícolas Unidos específicamente no fue mencionada durante las conversaciones en la Ciudad de México, pero desde que la fuerza estatal de Labor Agrícola a decaído cerca de 150,000 por año o sea 100,000 menos que la cifra del '60, cualquier discusión sobre el renacimiento del programa Bracero parece ser dirigido la Unión de Trabajadores Agrícolas Unidos.

El director de boicoteo en Los Angeles Jim Drake describio' las discusiones como un "esfuerzo diversionista" para debilitar el boicoteo. "Es parte del programa de Trabajo Agrícola Invernal de Nixon-creo yo - continuo' el Sr. Drake - que cada año inventan algo nuevo para debilitar las energías del boicoteo. Pero nunca trabaja."

ASESINATO DE SANTOS RODRIGUEZ:

El fallo mas vergonzoso de la "Justicia" en Texas ocurrio' el Viernes 16 de Nov. 1973, cuando el cesado policia de Dallas, Darrel L. Cain fue' sentenciado a solamente 5 años de prisión, por el salvaje y brutal asesinato con malicia alevosía y ventaja al niño de 12 años, Santos Rodríguez.

El jurado de Cain era todo Anglo. No había minorías en el, ni Negros ni Chicanos, únicamente gente profesional de la clase media sin ningún sentimiento para la gente pobre e inocente.

Cain de 32 años de edad permanece libre bajo fianza de \$20,000 pendiente a una apelación al veredicto. Un trabajador Negro de Dallas fue' acusado la semana pasada de asesinato y violación de una secretaria Anglo-Sajona y se encuentra en la cárcel todavía porque no pudo presentar una fianza de \$100,000 que fue' impuesta en su caso.

Nótese la actitud de la "Justicia" para blancos negros.

Si se sostiene la sentencia de 5 años de prisión para Cain que le fue' impuesta por un asesinato con malicia, dentro de 13 meses puede salir libre si muestra "buena conducta" en prisión. Pero el obrero negro seguramente nunca será puesto en libertad, ni ningún Chicano que sea acusado de asesinato saldrá en libertad. Así es la "Justicia" en Texas y en toda la "Unión Americana".

LOS INDIOS DE CANADA QUIEREN ARMAS ETC.:

Los indios en Wrigley, un pequeño pueblo en el Río MacKenzie, han ordenado 6,000 paquetes de municiones 30-30.

Wrigley está situada directamente en el camino de la propuesta Carretera MacKenzie; ésta carretera se utilizará para transportar materias mientras construyen la línea de gas.

La gente de Wrigley esta dispuesta a parar la construcción de ésta carretera porque la carretera junto con la línea de gas destruiría su modo de vida.

El gobierno del Territorio del Noroeste está enfurecido porque el Departamento de Asuntos Indios les esta mandando las municiones. Segun el tratado de derechos de los indios de Wrigley, ellos tienen el derecho de escoger entre dinero en efectivo o municiones.

"Solamente hay 185 personas en Wrigley," dijo un oficial de gobierno," pero con 6,000 paquetes de municiones 30-30 pueden parar la carretera, la línea de gas, y el Ejército Americano."

EN "WOUNDED KNEE":

De 600 Indios arrestados como resultado del incidente en Wounded Knee en febrero de 1972 (véase La Raza, Vol. 1, No. 11), 107 de ellos se les hicieron cargos de conspiración, incendio, motín, asalto, robo, traspaso, etc. Cada uno de los acusados recibirá 180 años de prisión si los hayan culpables de todos estos cargos. La fianza de \$95,000 dólares sube aún más cada vez que se les agregan mas cargos.

SANTOS RODRIGUEZ MURDER:

On Nov. 17, 400 people, mostly Chicanos, rallied on the steps of the Texas state capitol in Austin to demand a halt to police terror against the Chicano and Black communities. The protest focused on the trial of a Dallas cop, Darrel Cain, who murdered 12-year-old Santos Rodriguez last July. Among the rally speakers was Jose Angel Gutierrez of the Raza Unida Party.

On July 24, Cain was investigating an \$8 robbery from a service station. At 2:30 a.m., with no search or arrest warrant, he and his partner dragged 12-year-old Santos Rodriguez and his brother David from their home and drove them to a deserted spot. There Cain played "Russian Roulette" with a .357 magnum revolver held to Santos's head.

According to David Rodriguez, Cain first demanded that Santos admit the crime. When he didn't, Cain pulled the trigger again, and this time shot away half of Santos's head.

The trial was moved from Dallas to Austin because of the outrage in the Black and Chicano communities there. The seven man, five woman, all-white, middle class jury found Cain guilty of "murder with malice," but he was given only five years in jail, and will most likely be out in 13 months on good behavior.

Velma Roberts, a speaker at the rally from the Welfare Rights Organization, pointed to the double standard of justice: If a Chicano or Black is convicted of killing a cop, they can count on getting the maximum sentence.

CANADIAN INDIANS WANT GUNS NOT BUTTER:

Indians at Wrigley, a tiny Indian settlement on the Mackenzie River have ordered 6,000 rounds of 30-30 ammunition.

Wrigley is situated at Mile 427 of the proposed Mackenzie Highway, the road that is to be used as a supply line during the construction of the gas pipeline.

The people of Wrigley are determined to stop the highway, because they feel that it and the pipeline will destroy their livelihood.

The Northwest Territories government is infuriated because the ammunition is being shipped by the federal Department of Indian Affairs in accordance with treaty rights given the Wrigley Indians as a choice of receiving cash or ammunition.

"There are only 185 people in Wrigley," said one government official, "but with 6,000 round of 30-30 ammunition they could stop the highway, the pipeline, and the American Sixth Army."

WOUNDED KNEE INDICTMENTS:

Of 600 Indians arrested as a result of the Wounded Knee incident February of last year (See La Raza, Vol. 1, No. 11), 107 have been indicted on charges of conspiracy, arson, rioting, assault, burglary, transporting weapons across State lines, etc. The defendants are each facing 180 years of imprisonment on these combined charges, with a \$95 thousand bail which keeps increasing as new charges are added.

BRIEFS..**FARAH PANTS:**

Sixteen persons were arrested Oct. 18 at Macy's department store in New York City during a demonstration protesting the store's sales of Farah pants. Over 100 people picketed outside the store for three hours and others inside conducted demonstrations, one of which allegedly resulted in the destruction of \$20,000-worth of Farah pants.

Charges against 10 of the 16 demonstrators were dropped but the remaining six, members of the Attica Brigade, an anti-imperialist student group, will stand trial Nov. 7 on felony charges. The organizations that carried out the actions - the Attica Brigade, the Black Anti-imperialist Student Conference and the Puerto Rican Student Union - will continue to picket Macy's until they stop selling Farah pants.

REVIVAL OF THE "BRACERO PROGRAM":

Henry Kissinger, Secretary of State, got into the California grower-Teamster leadership conspiracy against the Farmworkers with two trips to Mexico City in recent weeks to discuss revival of the notorious "bracero" program with Mexican President Luis Echeverria.

Under the old Bracero program, begun in 1958, California growers brought about 90,000 Mexican nationals per year into the fields to work at sub-standard wages, constituting, in effect, a strike-breaking force aimed at the old United Farmworkers Organizing Committee.

Although the program was finally crushed in 1964 by a powerful coalition of labor and church groups, Kissinger and Echeverria reputedly discussed importing as many as 300,000 Mexican nationals yearly under a government-controlled program which would bypass opposition of U.S. unions.

The UFWA was apparently not specifically mentioned during the Mexico City talks, but since the state farm labor force has declined to about 150,000 per year - down 100,000 from the '60 figure - any talk of reviving the Bracero program seems aimed at the UFWA.

LA boycott director Jim Drake described the talks as a "diversionary effort" to weaken the boycott. "It's part of Nixon's 'winter farm labor program,' I guess - every year they come up with something to divert our energy from the boycott. It never works," he said.

**DON'T
BUY
COORS**

LA RAZA UNIDA

LA PUENTE ORGANIZES

by Fred Aguilar

We started organizing in La Puente about December of 1971. In about three months we had developed an organizing committee of ten. We then made contacts with other people registered in the Partido and developed a chapter about April of 72, we then had about 20 active members. The chapter started registration drives to register more people in the partido. (When we first started there were 175 people registered in the partido in the La Puente area) By the end of the year we had doubled our registration in the area. To only double our registration may not sound like alot, but considering the method used we did a lot of listening and talking.

When we first started our registration drives we used the door to door method, which, we still feel is the best method to use to politicize and make people aware of problems in the community, as well as being one of the best means of keeping in constant communication with the community. The first and only problem we ran into was the lack of more active members. The reason we needed more active members was because we found ourselves spending anywhere from 3 to 5 hours talking and listening to people at their homes. We felt this was necessary in order to be able to explain the situation that we found ourselves in, under this system. And also to explain how La Raza Unida could be used as a vehicle to change the system which has not been responsive to the needs of our people and also the needs of other oppressed people.

In December of 1972 we decided to run a candidate for the City Council of La Puente. We opened an of-

fice to run the campaign and have since kept the office, (in keeping with the philosophy of the partido, to serve the people 365 days out of the year and not just open an office for elections, and then close when the election is over). Our candidate Ernie M. Porras came in third in the field of five. Partido members of La Puente were satisfied that a viable political machinery had developed and we were optimistic of growing success in the future. The greatest victory we felt was that many of our people had identified with the partido - a party which had used the electoral process not to win an election, but to bring to surface issues which dealt with our people, which in the past had never been brought up. The party also was able to bring to surface the racist and corrupt system, at a local City Council level. In this area we felt we had done good, because now more people in the community were starting to ask questions about city government and their representations. Our goal was to become progressive enough to understand that only we can change and MUST change the system.

We opened the campaign by distributing small standard flyers made by our own mimeograph machine. This was followed by the door to door precinct walking which we felt got a favorable reaction from the Chicano community. Some of the Anglos believed the partido to be a racist party, but its members explained to them the partido's philosophy and why it was needed to represent the Chicano community. The cost of the Porras campaign was \$400.



**WE IN LA PUENTE BELIEVE
THAT THE ELECTORAL PROCESS
CAN BE USED AS AN EFFECTIVE
MEANS OF BRINGING AWARENESS
AND UNITING OUR PEOPLE
TOWARD A COMMON GOAL
TO CHANGE THE SYSTEM**

LA UNION HACE LA FUERZA



Two months later we found ourselves in another election - the School Board. Our candidate this time was Nellie Bustillos; on April 17 she came in fifth in a field of eight for three at-large seats. Our victory this time was that we had now picked up more experience in campaigning and also had brought them more political awareness to the community. We had brought them grass-roots politics, we had brought up issues dealing with the conditioning process which was used in our so-called educational institutions, a conditioning process which has perpetuated the exploitation of man by man.

After the elections we developed five working committees: education - to deal with the educational system in our area; communications - to develop better communication within the partido as well as better and effective community communication; finance - to develop effective means of financing the operation of our office; political strategy - to develop effective means with which to deal with the whims of powerful Anglo political machines; and registration which is the committee that is in full force at this time.

We at La Puente have been in a massive registration drive to qualify the partido on the ballot for 1974. We feel that we will be short to qualify the partido, but still feel that registration is a must in order to keep our communities united under a common front and what better than LA RAZA UNIDA. La Puente has been very successful in registration. We now have registered a little more than 800 people into the partido in the La Puente area. We have also registered people from El Monte, West Covina, Covina, So. El Monte, Hacienda Heights, Baldwin Park, Rowland Heights, Rosemead, and even Los Angeles. Our registration drive has been a very successful means of bringing awareness to many people who had never had the opportunity to listen or to express their dissatisfaction about the system and its corrupt fat cats.

Many people have said that the electoral process is not the answer to the problem or the means to use, but we in La Puente believe that the electoral process can be used as an effective means of bringing awareness and uniting our people toward a common goal to change the system. We believe you can not change something or build a desire to want to change a system that you know very little or nothing about. So we must first politicize our people and then be ready to offer an alternative; we have used the electoral process to politicize the people to the gross injustices, we have and will continue to suffer under this system.

La Puente, in the east San Gabriel Valley, is awakening to the fact that Chicanos, through La Raza Unida Party, are beginning to make an impact and will no longer be thought of as idle and uninterested people subjected to the whims of powerful Anglo political machines.

We invite anyone who would like more information or like to help or register in the partido to attend our rap sessions we hold every Wednesday at 7:30 at our office at 710 North Glendora in La Puente or call 333-0204. We also ask anybody who is from the El Monte area and would be interested in helping organize a chapter in El Monte to contact Angel Miranda at 443-0733.

COMUNICADO DE LOS TRABAJADORES DEL CAMPO

Debido a que en recientes noticias aparecidas en algunos periódicos, informando sobre un acuerdo entre los Teamsters y los Campesinos, el público ha creído que el boycott a la uva y lechuga ha terminado. Aclaramos que el pacto Teamsters-Campesino solo fue un acuerdo de palabra y hasta la fecha no ha sido firmado y no hay nada que indique que lo sea en un futuro cercano.

Es por eso que la Unión de Campesinos (UFWA) le comunica al público que el boycott continúa y espera que todos los que lo han apoyado lo sigan haciendo.

Si el acuerdo verbal del que se habla anteriormente llega a materializarse oficialmente, los Teamsters se retirarán gradualmente como organizadores en los campos de cultivo. Todos los contratos entre dueños de ranchos (Rancheros) donde se cultiva la uva y los Teamsters serán desconocidos inmediatamente, y los contratos con los Rancheros donde se cultiva la lechuga y que expiran en 1975, no serán renovados y en este lapso de tiempo la UFWA no hará boycott a la lechuga.

Cuando los Teamsters desconozcan los contratos con los Rancheros propietarios de los viñedos el boycott a la uva y vinos (wines) continuará con el fin de poner presión y obligar a los Rancheros que firmen contratos con la UFWA.

Desde hace aproximadamente 6 meses las huelgas en el campo han terminado debido a la violencia desatada en contra del campesino especialmente en el mes de Agosto del 1972. Ahora toda actividad se desarrolla en las ciudades y pueblos y más de 500 familias de campesinos se han desplazado a ciudades claves desde Los Angeles hasta Boston; su misión es comenzar de nuevo el boycott contra la uva, lechuga y vinos (wine) que no tengan contratos con la unión de campesinos.

Como siempre, el boycott es para evitar la violencia y usarlo únicamente como presión a los Rancheros para que reconozcan el derecho de los campesinos de tener su propio sindicato y bajo su protección firmar contratos.

En Los Angeles, Calif., hay más de 50 campesinos huelguistas procedentes del Valle de San Joaquín para trabajar en el boycott de uva, lechuga, y vinos. Estos campesinos y sus familias solo reciben comida, y casa, así como 5 dólares a la semana, por lo tanto necesitan de toda clase de ayuda y asistencia.

Para aquellos que estén interesados en ayudar en cualquier forma a estos campesinos, por favor pidan información a las oficinas de los campesinos en L.A. ubicada en el 1411 Olympic Blvd. - Los Angeles 90015, o llame al teléfono 381-1136. Si su intención es ayudar monetariamente envíe cheques a nombre de Union de Campesinos UFWA.



Cesar Chavez addressing Farm Workers convention

List of Scab Wines

Lista de Vinos en Boycot

WHITE RIVER FARMS LABELS:

Travola Red	Tres Grand
Winemaster's Guild	Ceremony
Roma	Cook's Imperial
Familia Cribari	Roma Reserve
J. Pierrot	Versailles
La Boheme	Saratoga
Cresta Blanca	Guild Blue Ribbon Brandy
Mendocino	St. Mark
Garrett	Citation
Alta	Old San Francisco
C.V.C.	Parrot V.S.
Virginia Dare	Ocean Spran Cranberry Rose
Lodi	Vin Gloss (Parrot & Co.)
La Mesa	



Militant/Howard Petrick

FARM WORKERS COMMUNIQUE

Due to recent newspaper headlines, proclaiming a Teamster-United Farmworker agreement, many people have been led to believe that the UFW grape-lettuce boycott is over. While the Teamster-UFW pact had been agreed upon verbally, as yet it has not been signed by the Teamsters Union. So far there has been nothing to indicate that it will be signed in the near future. Thus, the UFW is assuring the public that the boycott is not over and is asking for continued public support.

The result of the agreement, should the Teamsters sign it, would be the gradual withdrawal of the Teamsters from farm labor organizing. All of the Teamster-grower grape contracts would be immediately dissolved and Teamster lettuce contracts, expiring in 1975, would not be renewed by the Teamsters. For its part, UFW would agree not to boycott lettuce picked under the Teamster-grower contracts. With the Teamsters out of the picture, UFW would continue to boycott all table grapes and non-union wines in order to keep economic pressure on grape growers to sign UFW contracts.

Over the last six months, the direction of the UFW activities has shifted from the strike to the boycott. Because of the violence against UFW pickets this summer, all strike activity was halted in mid-August and over 500 striking families left their homes for cities all over the U.S., from Los Angeles to Boston. Their mission is to begin, once again, the massive consumer boycott of all table grapes, iceberg lettuce and non-union wines. As before, the purpose of the boycott is to put non-violent, economic pressure on the growers to recognize the right of farmworkers to have their own union and to be covered by a UFW contract.

In Los Angeles, there are over 50 strikers that have come from the San Joaquin Valley to work on the grape-lettuce-wine boycott. These workers and their families are living on room and board, and \$5 per week and are in need of every kind of assistance. For those interested in finding out how you can help these workers, please contact the United Farm Workers Office, 1411 W. Olympic Blvd., L.A., 90015 or call 381-1136. Please make all checks payable to the United Farm Workers.

GALLO

Paisano	Boone's Farm
Thunderbird	Spanada
Carlo Rossi	Tyrolia
Eden Roc	Ripple
Red Mountain	Gallo Vermouth
Tripple Jack	Cold Duck
Andre Champagne	

Any wine coming from "Modesto Calif." is Gallo, even if it doesn't say Gallo.

FRANZIA:

Louis the Fifth Brandy

Any wine with the Franzia name on the label or which says "made and bottled in Rippon, Calif." Franzia products have # "BW3654" on the case. Many Franzia wines are bottled under private labels, including Lucky Stores, Long Drugs and Safeway.

TEATRO CAMPESINO :

A Critical Analysis

by Raul Ruiz

Chicano revolutionary theatre or at least socially relevant theatre for Chicanos should express the popular aspirations and desires of the actual people (the Chicanos) that it characterizes on stage. It should attempt to expose and bring out the socio-economic conditions that most adversely affects or oppresses the Chicanos and finally, it should present the characters in conscious struggle to understand their conditions and to overcome them. Of course it is very important that the presentation be easily understood by the greater number of the people. It should be popular and democratic and should not attempt to appeal to any group or sector outside and different from the norm of the people, such as the intellectual elite or the materially rich. For example, it is of no value at all to see the soap-box operas that appear on Spanish-speaking t.v. They usually portray the lives of rich people caught up in romanticized plots that actually distort the reality of even bourgeois life and cause the viewer, who is usually poor to admire the rich without even understanding why he is poor.

It would also be wrong to attempt to portray the lives of our people in realistic conflict such as those problems caused by poverty but at the same time give solutions that have very little or no relevance to the problems or that do not directly arise out of those problems. For example, the people are portrayed poor on stage but are rewarded for their suffering by some supernatural force of God. God is not the answer or the natural result of the conflict but rather is the arbitrary decision of the playwright that a God is the answer to the people's problems. The God solution is formed outside and does not result from the material conflict of the plot itself. Ultimately the playwright does not have confidence on his own plot and if the plot is based on the people then the playwright does not have the confidence that the people can solve their problems or for that matter that they can even struggle.

The God solution does not resolve problems of poverty and as a matter of fact actually serves the interest of poverty by confusing

the people as to the cause of their poverty. The people are not poor because of their sins or because they have not followed some divine light or path of righteousness but because other human beings that are materially more powerful exploit them for the purpose of profit.

The Teatro Campesino is a teatro group that arose directly from the problems and conditions of people. There was a need to interpret for people, especially the campesinos, in terms that they could understand, the conditions of poverty that surrounded them and their cause. The need for communication was very important. Cesar Chavez and the union needed support, the struggle had to be developed and the campesinos participation and cooperation was needed. Thus, the early acts exaggerated so that the conditions could be better seen. The Teatro went to the extent of tagging each actor with a name plate to easily identify him as a foe or friend. For example, in the "Quinta Temporada", the characters were clearly identified as a grower or patron, the strikers as huelguistas, and the strike breakers as esquirolas.

Now if it served the interest of the strike, and apparently it did, to be so brutally clear as to what is being presented to people to understand, then it was correct esthetically and politically.

The people saw the acts, they laughed and gained strength from the satire of their enemies and it gained allies for the Huelga.

Now the Teatro Campesino has expanded their base of reference and has attempted to reach all Chicanos, not just the rural. This is good because most of our people live in the cities and suffer from poverty the same as the campesinos but their circumstances and conditions are appreciably different.

The Teatro Campesino had adjusted quite well to this reality and has presented some very strong and powerful acts that accurately portrayed conditions that cause our people to suffer such as the "Soldado Razo."

Let me state that the Teatro has developed its acting expertise to a very professional



degree. They have become disciplined and knowledgeable actors and as a group are possibly second to none. They have displayed tremendous originality in the material and a boundless energy and dynamism that infects the stage when they present themselves. There are very few slow parts when the Teatro takes over a stage and their seems to build an immediate communication between audience and actors. The singing of corridos that usually accompany actos and the beating of drums and the blowing of horns seems to draw the audience into the acto and it becomes difficult to extricate oneself if only to maintain a more objective viewpoint if not one with greater scope and perspective that reaches from the audience to the stage.

When the Teatro Campesino appeared in L.A. on September 27 and October 1 and 2 it was the pleasure and honor of El Partido de la Raza Unida - City Terrace chapter to sponsor them in the community parks of Lincoln Heights, City Terrace and Roosevelt Park in Florence with no admission for the community. The presentations were a tremendous success because over 400 to 500 community people were present in each case. This was important because in the past the Teatro had primarily presented itself, at least in L.A. anyway, to Anglo and professional audiences or to Chicano movement people or students. The great bulk of our

people had never seen them. This was a small opportunity that presented itself and the community responded with enthusiasm.

There was very little or no difference in the presentation because the material, "La Carpa de la Familia Rasquache", was presented on all three occasions.

The acto or more accurately, a one act play in three scenes was very well presented with the usual amount of enthusiasm and laughter and songs. As I said before, the acting was of superior caliber, the best, but the material was at the same time tremendously realistic and in line with the peoples conditions but also romanticized and totally unrealistic and politically absurd in its resolution.

How could this be?

Remember that I said that it was a one act play in three scenes. The middle and largest segment was tremendous in its grasp of the Chicano's plight in this society. It showed very graphically how our people are exploited, overworked, robbed and abused simply because we want and expect a better life. It also showed the gradual alienation of the familia, with the two sons finally killing each other after one had become a crooked politician and the other a drug pusher.

This portion of the acto was very good, people could relate to this. Even the part where the "Virgin Mary" appears and seems to recriminate the characters when they are

obviously committing a wrong. This doesn't mean that a "Virgin Mary" actually exists but it does show the tremendous impact which religion has on the Chicano psyche. It was also very good the way the Christian church was depicted by the character of the bishop with the name "St. Boss Church" on his vestment and the symbol of the \$ sign instead of a cross. It is very important for people to understand the correct perspective of the Church in relation to their circumstances. This middle segment was very, very good, very real, and political and at the same time entertaining and educational and the Teatro Campesino should be praised and commended for this.

The first and third scene were extraneous and could and should have been left out. They seem to have more relationship to themselves than to the middle part of the act which was the essence of the play.

Here is where imposition of the mind of the playwright imposes itself arbitrarily and erroneously on the created material and audience. There is absolutely no rationale for these scenes of religious psycho-therapy for the resolution of the problems so excellently and realistically brought out in the middle part.

The figure of the god Quetzalcoatl is totally out of place in the play and is actually absurd, ridiculous, and comical. The implication that is being made by introducing this God is that there is some sugar-daddy in the sky that will slay our problems just as St. George slew the dragon. The only difference between these two is that Quetzalcoatl wears feathers and uses an obsidian sword. St. George was apparently of old English stock and his sword was apparently of wrought iron. How absurd! Ridiculous!

The Teatro has no business presenting Jesus Christ Superstar or Quetzalcoatl Superstar. Both are absurd! Both say nothing are nothing, change nothing.

Actually the God figure of Quetzalcoatl reflects more the unrestrained fancies and imagination of the playwright caught up in some pseudo-Indo religious trip. We should not question the ethnic origin of the Gods but rather the concept of God. Indian or Christian, the Gods get in our way and actually add to the people's oppression whether as sacrifice or as welfare recipient.

Some people might think the character of Quetzalcoatl does not represent an actual God but a state of being - a state of metaphysical consciousness that precludes the consciousness that precludes the possibility of hurting ourselves much less others. These critics maintain that this pantheistic love affair with life will suffice to rid ourselves of our oppression. Very similar to what the Beatles used

to sing, "Love, love, love, that's all there is, that's all you need to know."

Well unless you happen to be an aging fan of the Beatles or a Krishna disciple on Sunday afternoon in downtown L. A., then you can not possibly accept this nonsense. All the love in the world is not going to raise your salary, create unions, and protect your rights unless you struggle even to the extent of losing one's life. We must realize that only the people can solve the problems that are caused by the material conditions that suppress them.



I believe the Teatro Campesino is singly the most important, the most creative and original Chicano artistic expression but they must draw their ideas, their art from the lessons which arise out of the people's experiences and struggle. Sometimes we imagine that we need more fertile ground than that which is provided by our people's lives but this is only because we have not yet ultimately accepted the reality of our peoples oppression and our responsibility to struggle against it whether on the streets or on the stage.

a real means of
communication

Political Theater

by Charon D' Aiello

Communication--one of the most necessary tools man can ever hope to develop. Whatever our message, without the ability to express it well, we are lost. I recently had the fortune to spend some time with people who have developed a tremendously communicative and effective way of getting their message across. The method I am referring to is theater, but particularly that known as political or guerilla theater. The name of the political theater group is the Mascarones, from Mexico City.

The Mascarones are one of several political theater groups that operate in Mexico City. About 30 of these groups work through an organization called Centro Libre de Experimentacion Teatral Artistica, more commonly known as CLETA. Their central meeting and study place is in a theater in Mexico City called the Foro y Isabelino. The Foro is the property of the University of Mexico and had, until the beginning of this year, been a traditional theater used by the University. CLETA was able to acquire the Foro at the beginning of this year and they began their work. The primary purpose of CLETA is to politically educate the people of Mexico through the use of different "obras" and "actos," which are entertaining as well. There are several other activities as well for the members of the different political theater groups. Members who are on the Communications Committee spend long and hard hours preparing information brochures, pamphlets, etc. not on just what is going to be presented at the Foro but on the political implications of things that are happening all over Latin America. Continuously there are classes or seminar groups being held for the different CLETA members on Marxist theory. There are always several people working on political posters, scenery, etc. for whatever is about to be presented. The total commitment and the incredible amount of energy that each person in CLETA has is always clear.

Several presentations were made by CLETA during my stay in Mexico. During the week of the anniversary of the Cuban revolution CLETA donated the entire week to representing Cuba as it exists today. Members of the different groups performed songs, corridos and actos around Cuba. The walls of the Foro were covered with posters of Fidel and other relevant materials relating to Cuba. During this week it became clear to me that the masses of

people in Mexico have tremendous respect for Castro and Cuba.

Another week was devoted to educating the people of Mexico to the problems of Bolivia today. The week consisted of political films showing the atrocities committed by the fascist government in power as well as a new presentation prepared by the Mascarones around the problems of Bolivia and the political climate there.

A two-week period was devoted to the problems of the Chicano in the United States. Two Chicanos from Teatro Aztlan of San Fernando, California were staying with the Mascarones at the time and they rewrote their play in Spanish so that CLETA could perform it with them. It was very effective and educational. Two other actos were performed during Chicano Week showing most vividly the problems of the Chicano in this country today. Again, the Foro was filled with just about every poster regarding the Chicano I have ever seen here in the U.S.

The last presentation made at the Foro before I returned home was performed by the Mascarones. It is a play called "Masquinas y Burguesia". This play is a historical rundown of the factory worker in society and points out his exploitation - again, tremendously effective and very educational.

The Mascarones are the only political theater group in CLETA certainly, and I would imagine in all of Mexico, that live in a total collective situation. They are a group that consist of approximately 15 people. Of these 15 people all but four of them live together in one house. They actually practice a consciousness of the kind we would someday hope all would have. All duties in the house, from preparing the meals to cleaning the bathroom, are shared equally by the group. (By the way, the group has both men and women). There is very little money but what is available is used in a collective manner for food and other basic needs. The house they live in is quite small for their number and most of them sleep on the floor. In a society such as ours where many think in terms of having their own bedroom this seems like an impossible situation. For the Mascarones it is quite effective. The rapport and the brotherhood among these companeros is incredible. Every waking moment is devoted to ways of helping people in the struggle toward liberation.

I am convinced that one of the most effective ways to reach the masses of people is through action drama. The old adage that a picture is worth a thousand words still holds. One can sit down and spend an entire evening talking to someone trying to explain, for example, the implications of capitalism and its effects on the masses of people and still not really enlighten the person to whom he is speaking. Through theater, carefully presented, one can accomplish this goal in a much shorter time and perhaps more importantly not have the other person feel intimidated by what has been exposed.

The position of CLETA and the Mascarones is clearly to politicize and educate the people. Without political consciousness, we cannot be expected to act effectively or even totally understand our struggle. The raising of consciousness through theatre is one of the most important contributions to the movement being made today.

We write this open letter to all the people for their solidarity and support of Los Tres. You who worked directly with the Committee to Free Los Tres, you who signed petitions demanding our freedom and you who spoke to your friends, families and fellow workers, we thank you for your concern. You have made the freedom of three movement workers possible.

The freedom of Los Tres is a victory of a united people. It is a victory against oppression, racism and exploitation. A victory made possible by all people who demanded justice. You have shown the world how united people can bring forth victories. Victories that can and will pave the way for the emancipation of all working and oppressed peoples.

The people have a victory. Should we sit back and enjoy our victory, or should we unite for more victories? We now have learned what unity brings to our class of people. Together let us create a society free of exploitation. A society that can and will embrace all people. What is to be done now to begin the struggle to end exploitation? We must put an end to the policies of support to big business by those who are supposed to be serving the majority, the working people, but instead use their position and influence to serve the rich class of our nation.

We must unite to combat the policies of high prices and low wages, by supporting the strikes and boycotts of our fellow workers. We must unite and force congress to override Nixon's veto of the bill setting higher minimum wages. We must combat the use of racist and repressive laws. Such laws as the Rodino-Kennedy Bill attempts to place the blame of low wages and unemployment of 20 million workers in our nation on the 1,000,000 Latinos without documents.

These laws have opened the way for the Immigration and Naturalization to carry out brutal mass arrests and deportations of our people. The Rodino-Kennedy Bill not only affects the undocumented Latino worker. It created mass racist hysteria against Latinos in general. Latinos are subject to police and the immigration service's harassment.

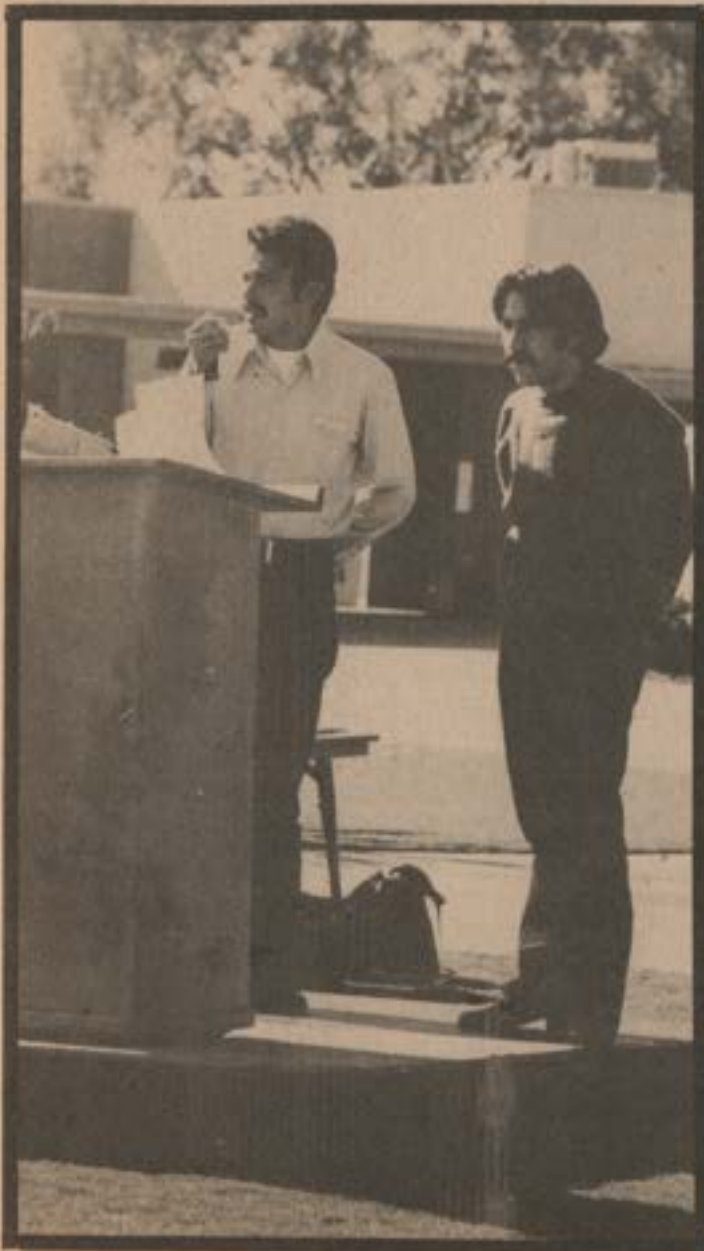
It becomes difficult for Latinos to find jobs; employers are unofficially acting as immigration agents by demanding proof of citizenship or residency from anyone who has a Spanish surname.

The Rodino-Kennedy Bill has also opened the way for bills such as H.R.I., which calls for hospitals and other social and health agencies to report Latinos to the Immigration authorities whenever they seek medical attention. Its effect is to create so much fear upon our people's mind that many go without medical treatment even when absolutely necessary. This is a clear denial of a basic human right. We must combat repression by brutal, racist police upon Latinos, Blacks, Asians, Indians and poor Whites. We call special attention to the racist Bureau of Indian Affairs Police, responsible for the treacherous killing of AIM member Pedro Bissonnet. We must struggle to stop the sterilization of Black and Latino women by racist and fascist doctors. We must stop the enforcement of the Talmadge Welfare Act, designed to make slaves of welfare mothers. We must combat the inhuman conditions of prisons where generally poor brothers and sisters are victims of brutal-racist guards and prison officials who use physical burlalist and forment racism to keep prisoners from

LOS TRES DEL



BARRIO



Escribimos ésta carta abierta a toda la gente por su solaridad y apoyo para liberar a Los Tres Ustedes que trabajan directamente con "El Comité Para Liberar a Los Tres", ustedes que firmaron peticiones demandando nuestra libertad y ustedes que hablaron con sus amigos, familias y compañeros de trabajo, les damos las gracias por su interés. Han hecho posible la liberación de tres trabajadores del movimiento.

La victoria de Los Tres es victoria de un pueblo unido. Es una victoria contra opresión, racismo y explotación. Una victoria hecha posible por toda la gente que demanda justicia. Le han demostrado al mundo como una gente unida puede atraer victorias. Victorias que pueden y harán posible la emancipación de todo el pueblo obrero y oprimido.

El pueblo tiene una victoria. Nos complacemos solamente con una victoria o nos uniremos para más victorias? Ya hemos aprendido lo que puede traer la unidad para nuestra clase de gente. Juntos podremos crear una clase de sociedad libre de explotación. Una sociedad que puede y podrá abrazar todo el pueblo. Que se tiene que hacer para comenzar la lucha para acabar con la explotación? Tenemos que poner un fin con las pólizas de apoyo a los monopolios por aquellos que se supone deben trabajar para servir la mayoría, la gente obrera; pero sin embargo usan su posición e influencia para servir la clase rica de nuestra nación.

Nos tenemos que unir para combatir las pólizas de altos precios y bajos sueldos, dando nuestro apoyo a huelgas y boicoteos de nuestros compañeros trabajadores. Tenemos que unirnos y forzar el Congreso para derrotar el veto de Nixon de propuestos de ley para subir el sueldo mínimo. Tenemos que combatir el uso de leyes racistas y represivas. Leyes como la "Rodino-Kennedy Bill" que tratan de dividir al trabajador de éste país con el de otros. Este propuesto de ley trata de culpar los sueldos bajos y el desempleo de 20 millones de obreros en nuestra nación en un millón de Latinos sin documentos.

Estas leyes han facilitado al departamento de Inmigración y Naturalización que lleve a cabo el brutal arresto y deportaciones de masas de nuestra gente. El "Rodino Kennedy Bill" no solo afecta al obrero sin documentos sino que a todo Latino en general. Los Latinos están sometidos a la persecución de la policía y del servicio de inmigración.

Se hace muy difícil para los Latinos encontrar empleo; los patrones están actuando como si fueran agentes de inmigración demandando pruebas de ciudadanía o residencia de cualquiera que tiene apellido Latino.

El propuesto de ley Rodino-Kennedy ha hecho posible otros propuestos de ley como H.R.I., que proponen que hospitales y otras agencias sociales y de salud reporten Latinos a las autoridades cuando estos busquen atención médica. El efecto es crear tanto miedo en la mente de nuestra gente que muchos no tienen atención médica aún cuando es absolutamente necesaria. Esto es negar un derecho básico humano. Tenemos que combatir represión

The freedom of Los Tres is a victory of a united people. It is a victory against oppression, racism and exploitation. A victory made possible by all people who demand justice.

uniting to struggle for a better society.

We must struggle for the freedom of all political prisoners, victims of the worst of the prison system. We must liberate Ricardo Chavez-Ortiz, the San Quentin Six, Carter Camp, and other AIM political prisoners, the Puerto Rican Nationalist political prisoners, who have been in jail over 20 years, because they chose to struggle for a free Puerto Rico and countless other political prisoners.

We must combat the use of the legal system as a tool of racist and political repression. We must stop living in the dream that justice can be found in the judicial system of a society where the quality of legal aid and justice depends upon the amount of money one has. There can be no justice when exploitation and racism exists. How can the brothers and sisters from the American Indian Movement, charges with political crimes because of their participation in Wounded Knee, get a fair trial from a legal system that refuses to rule on the legality of the treaties its government signed? How can the brothers and sisters from the Denver Crusade for Justice, Carlos Feliciano, the San Quentin Six and others find justice in a legal system used by the enemies of the people to smash all efforts to create a better society?

We must combat drug traffic. It is intended to deceive the people and to take them away from their reality of exploitation, racism and unemployment.

We must fight corruption. We must demand a senatorial investigation into the involvement of local and federal officials in national and international heroin traffic.

We must support all anti-imperialist movements in the world. Anti-imperialist movements are only meant to liberate underdeveloped nations from exploitation and domination by foreign powers. We cannot allow the armed invasion of sister nations in the name of the American people. American people are not the owners of American industrial and agricultural interests in Latin America. The owners are the same small bunch of exploiters who own the giant monopolies within the United States. The common enemy is the exploiter. Nixon must be impeached. But let us not make a hero of Rodino. Let us not forget that he is the author of the Rodino-Kennedy Bill. He is a racist enemy of all Latinos.

Dump Nixon, Stop Rodino, End Exploitation.

"TODO PODER AL PUEBLO"

VENCEREMOS

por policías brutales y racistas sobre Latinos, Negros, Asiáticos, Indios y Blancos pobres. Pedimos atención especial al racista cuerpo de Policía del Buró de Asuntos Indios, responsables por el traicionero homicidio de Pedro Bissonnet, miembro de AIM. Tenemos que luchar para poner fin a la esterilización de mujeres Negras y Latinas por médicos racistas y fascistas. Tenemos que parar la imposición del "Talmadge Welfare Act" diseñado para hacer esclavas a las madres en asistencia pública. Debemos de combatir las condiciones inhumanas de las prisiones donde generalmente pobres hermanos y hermanas son víctimas de guardias brutales y racistas y oficiales de prisión que usan brutalidad física y fomentan racismo para evitar que los prisioneros se unan en la lucha para una mejor sociedad.

Debemos de luchar por la libertad de todos los prisioneros políticos, víctimas del peor sistema penal. Tenemos que liberar a Ricardo Chavez Ortiz, Los Seis de San Quentin, Carter Camp y otros prisioneros políticos de AIM, los prisioneros políticos Nacionalistas de Puerto Rico, que ha estado en la cárcel por más de veinte años porque ellos escogieron por luchar por un Puerto Rico libre y tantos muchos más prisioneros políticos que no se pueden contar.

Tenemos que combatir el uso del sistema legal como un instrumento racista y político de represión. Tenemos que parar de soñar que la justicia se puede encontrar en un sistema judicial de una sociedad donde la calidad de ayuda legal y justicia depende del dinero que traiga uno. No puede haber justicia cuando explotación y racismo existen. Como pueden nuestros compañeros de AIM, culpados de crímenes políticos por su participación en Wounded Knee, recibir un jurado justo de un sistema legal que rehusa deliberar en la legalidad de los tratados que su gobierno firmó? Como pueden nuestros hermanos de la Crusada por la Justicia de Denver, Carlos Feliciano, los Seis de San Quentin y muchos otros encontrar justicia en un sistema legal usado por nuestros enemigos para acabar con todo esfuerzo para crear una mejor sociedad?

Tenemos que combatir el tráfico de las drogas. Intenta engañar a las gentes y llevarlas afuera de la realidad de explotación, racismo y desempleo.

Tenemos que luchar contra la corrupción. Tenemos que demandar una investigación del Senado en el involucramiento de oficiales locales y federales en tráfico nacional e internacional de heroína.

Tenemos que apoyar cualquier movimiento anti-imperialista en el mundo. Movimientos anti-imperialistas se están llevando a cabo para llevar las naciones sub-desarrolladas de la explotación y dominio por fuerzas extranjeras. No podemos permitir la invasión armada de nuestras hermanas naciones en el nombre del pueblo Americano. El pueblo Americano no es el dueño de intereses industriales y agrarios en Latino-América. Los dueños son el mismo grupo pequeño de explotadores que son los dueños de las gigantes monopolios dentro de los Estados Unidos. El enemigo común es el explotador. Nixon debe de ser eliminado de su puesto. Pero no debemos hacer un héroe de Rodino. No podemos olvidar que es el mismo autor del "Rodino-Kennedy Bill". Es un enemigo racista de todos los Latinos.

EL CALENDARIO CHICANO -1974

Published by La Causa Publications

EL CALENDARIO CHICANO is an attempt to place the contemporary Chicano movement in its proper historical context. It is the primary purpose of this calendar to show on a day-by-day basis that the Chicano struggle for liberation and justice is not a recent phenomenon. Instead, it is a struggle deeply rooted in the historical experiences of our people in this nation. Our people are not a "suddenly awakening minority" who have been taking siestas for the past 200 years, as some authors have recently written. We are and have always been a proud and fighting people who have daily struggled to maintain our dignity in a nation that has exploited and abused us.

EL CALENDARIO CHICANO includes events selected on the basis of either of two criteria: 1) they are important events which led to the development of significant ideas and actions, or 2) they depict the context of the times in which these ideas and actions took place.

EL CALENDARIO CHICANO was prepared with the help of over 40 books on Chicanos and the Southwest, hundreds of news articles from the Chicano Press Association and non-Chicano publications, and numerous documents that have come into our possession over the years.

EL CALENDARIO CHICANO invites all of its readers to accept the responsibility and join in researching important dates and events in the Chicano struggle. Much of our history has not been written, but it has been kept alive in the memories of our parents and grandparents. We encourage all of you to send us dates and events for next year's Calendario.

El Calendario Chicano 1974

Martes	Miercoles	Jueves
<p>1</p> <p>El Año Nuevo</p> <p>1948: Mexico City Mexican government ends agreement sending Mexican farmworkers to the U.S. for "lack of cooperation" by U.S. immigration officials</p>	<p>2</p> <p>1847: Santa Clara, California "Battle of the Mustard Stalks" was the last northern resistance to American occupation by Sanchez and patriots.</p>	<p>3</p> <p>1868: Trinidad, Colo. A newspaper reports 300 Chicanos, led by a Chicano sheriff, have surrounded Trinidad, blocking all passageways in retaliation of Chicanos being shot by an Anglo mob on New Years.</p>
<p>8</p> <p>1847: Alta California Californios battle invading U.S. forces marching from San Diego to Los Angeles at the San Gabriel River in the Battle of San Gabriel.</p>	<p>9</p> <p>1928: Los Angeles Central Committee of the Confederación de Uniones Obreras Mexicanas (CUOM) issues Manifiesto for convention to unite Chicano workers.</p>	<p>10</p> <p>1847: Los Angeles U.S. forces recapture Los Angeles from the insurgent Californios who had earlier expelled the occupying forces and are greeted with hostility by the people.</p>
<p>15</p>	<p>16</p> <p>1922: Pearsall, Texas. Manuel Zapata, a commoner, is fatally shot three times by Frank A. Rhodes, a well to do resident of Pearsall, because on the previous night, Zapata would not give up his bed to Rhodes.</p>	<p>17</p> <p>1848: Pachuca, Mexico U.S. forces begin a secret expedition to capture the Mexican guerrilla leader, Pedro Jarauro, who effectively resisted and battled the Yankee invaders. He was captured and shot.</p>
<p>22</p> <p>1811: Texas The short lived Bexar revolution occurs in Texas under Juan Batista de las Casas. It is similar to Mexico's discard of European oppression.</p>	<p>23</p> <p>1947: Sacramento State Attorney General orders removal of two police officers for brutally beating two Mexican campesinos in Oxnard.</p>	<p>24</p> <p>1874: California A price of \$3,000 alive or \$2,000 dead, which later is raised to \$8,000 alive or \$6,000 dead, is placed on Tiburcio Vasquez, legendary Chicano guerrillero.</p>
<p>29</p> <p>1970: Milwaukee Jose Puente and Ernesto Chacon are arrested when police break up a rally for winter clothing, causing more protests.</p>	<p>30</p> <p>1919: Denver Denver Catholic Register quotes a "Spanish priest," "I believe the quicker we can Americanize them the better. Most of them are indifferent."</p>	<p>31</p> <p>1919: Brownsville State representative J.T. Canales of Brownsville initiates an inquiry into numerous killings of Chicanos by Texas Rangers.</p>

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This is in reply to Sra. Francisca Flores's article in *Regeneracion*, Vol. II, No. 3, page 16, titled "A Reaction to Discussions on the Talmadge Amendment to the Social Security Act."

Such an article leaves us no choice but to rebuttal, taking into full consideration the Sra. Flores's prerogative in writing her opinion, and being fully aware that as a Chicana Welfare Rights Organization we are wide open for criticism, and unfortunately, most often than not, by our own people (*gente*)! But la Sra.'s statements in her article are not constructive criticism. On the contrary, we feel it is unjust and destructive to all the efforts we have put forth in opposing the Talmadge and all the efforts we will continue to enforce on the Talmadge. Let us point out specifically where we feel la Sra. is either misinformed, mis-read, inexperienced or just plain prejudicial, as it reflected in her writing.

In one of her statements, la Sra. claims that we have made the right of women to stay home if we have children, the main issue. She has erred. It is not the main issue but most certainly a fundamental one, as is the issue of forced work. If the Sra. had bothered to find out what grass roots women are all about, she would know what we are really saying. At least the news media gave us a chance to express

In another statement the Sra. points out, and we quote, "And I am sure that the Chicana Welfare Rights Organization is not suggesting that going to school is unconstitutional because the children are 'forced' to leave their mothers." No, but we feel we should have the right to be there waiting for our children if we desire and if we feel it is to the best interest of our families. We therefore maintain that the forced work law is unconstitutional because a person falls into an economic level many times beyond individual control. Therefore, a person is mandated (forced) to comply with regulations at the departments discretion and not necessarily by law, which in our view is similar to indentured servants.

But what if a woman decides of her own free choice to work? It's doubtful she could earn much more than she gets from welfare. That's another issue we are pointing out. These women's incomes have to be subsidized because their employment is marginal. Women earn less in the same jobs as men as they are still concentrated in lower skilled, lower paying jobs. Also, many of these women's low wages must pay for child care which is often unavailable and of inadequate quality. The Sra. seems to be primarily interested in the child care issue.

Now on to another statement of the Sra. "How-

Chicana Welfare Rights V.S. The Talmadge Amendment

ourselves before passing judgment. La Sra. did not extend us this opportunity. She has attempted to discredit us before understanding the issue.

We are firm in our position that women should have the right to choose to stay home if they so desire. We don't know how many children the Sra. has had, or if any, but we as mothers (*madres*) do know that is a job in itself to raise and take care of our children. We refuse to continue raising juvenile delinquents for this society just because we are poor. To quote a Times article, Dec. 31, 1972, by James O'Toole and Elliot Liebow "To force all AFDC mothers to do one (take outside jobs) or the other (keep house and raise children) is to do violence to what we know about human development and family relationships." Our position has also been supported by the following:

National Women's Political Caucus
Willie L. Brown, Calif. State Assemblyman
Mervyn M. Dymally, California State Senator
John Vasconcellos, Calif. State Assemblyman
Bob Moretti, California State Assemblyman
Alfred H. Song, Calif. State Senator
Edward R. Roybal, U.S. Congressman, Calif.
3rd World Women's Group
National Council of Churches
National Welfare Rights Organization

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ever," she points out, "it is one thing to oppose Congressional and/or administrative repudiation of social legislation and quite another to call on the community to oppose a piece of legislation such as the Talmadge Amendment solely on the basis and interest of one group affected by it." It is surprising to have read that the Sra. really believes that. It is because of East Los Angeles Welfare Rights' efforts that there are now Chicanas and Chicanos at all levels of County administration, including the eligibility worker and clerical who are subsidized on welfare. The comfortable coyote (*vendidos*) sitting in their big offices are the results of our demands, our sweat, our tears.

So surely it is obvious we have not fought for just the welfare mother on welfare, but all mothers who receive her income only from her working wages, not from welfare benefits or a subsidized income, who will also benefit from our efforts. And let us point why. Forced work is more than just a part of our disastrous system of welfare. Forced work is more than just a bureaucratic nightmare and a massive squandering of tax money. Forced work is not just a bad joke. It is a real threat to all working people. It is the means by which the welfare system is used to manipulate the labor market to the advantage of only



the employers, the owners of industry, business and finance. It is to the clear disadvantage of all workers not only those out of work, on relief, and unprotected by unions, but also those employed and organized. Forced work does not create jobs nor enable people to become self-supporting. On the contrary, forced work has the effect, the intentional effect, of driving wages down, of increasing the competition for already scarce jobs. In short, the purpose of forced work is to undercut the bargaining power of labor. And of course, it does not even begin to resolve the welfare mess or the problems of mass unemployment and poverty! We agree with the Sra.'s three points to alternatives:

1. A comprehensive child care and development program which would include a bi-lingual and bi-cultural approach. (We have been strong advocates of this.)
2. Raise the minimum wage scale to not less than \$3.00 an hour.
3. Increase of job openings and opportunities. Meaningful training for people who want to work in para-professional occupations.

WE OFFER SOME ALTERNATIVES OF OUR OWN:

- A. Meaningful training: This can't be overemphasized. People should be offered training in secretarial skills, dental assistants, etc., jobs that will gear them towards full employment, away from dead-end jobs and off welfare/
- B. Civil Service Requirements should be more flexible to allow welfare recipients to become county employees, beyond the case aid capacity.
- C. In the labor field, recipients should be offered some type of bonus. Example: bilingual workers get fifteen dollars (\$15.00) with all benefits, health insurance, etc.

- D. Scholarships: Scholarships should be available for the college potential recipient to take a major course.
- E. For the woman that has to stay home, transportation and baby sitting services should be available so that she can participate in community involvement at her own time and pace, and voluntarily, therefore giving her a sense of involvement, dignity and community experience.
- F. Community Children's Center: These centers would be bi-lingual and bi-cultural. They could also be contracted by the County or State and community organizations. Community Children's Centers would also gear our children towards a meaningful education, thus forming a foundation for their future, hopefully not welfare. Day Care would be offered according to income. Bi-lingual bi-cultural services staffed by community people, thus offering employment.
- G. Welfare recipients should be allowed participation in the State Social Welfare Board, in the legislation process in HEW, in all boards, locally, State and Nationwide, that deal with recipients' needs. Recipients would function in an advisory capacity.

Arguments will be that it will cost too much money for training, bonuses, scholarships, services, etc., but negotiations should point out that monies are already being spent in terms of the administration of Talmadge, hiring of new staff (SAU) etc., and for the huge amount of paper work, etc. Monies will also be coming in large amounts in revenue sharing to the city and the county. Perhaps, some of this money could be used (county money) in setting up programs within the above stated guidelines. Model Cities services and SER are also being given huge amounts of money. The type of training these programs are offering should be looked at.

La senora's lack of objectivity as a journalist was demonstrated by showing her obvious (personal) feelings in her article and by using her position as the issue editor on the Regeneracion staff to 'react' to the original article by Anna Nieto-Gomez. This is destructive, especially since we don't know hereher next issue will be and whether the same people that read her article will read our rebuttal. And in closing, we would like to strongly suggest to the Sra. that she first get herself informed about what East Los Angeles Chicana Welfare Rights is all about and what it is really doing before she starts forming or giving her own opinions. Constructive criticism, yes; destructive, no. We are not playing politics with each other. We are not competing. We don't need to.

Sin mas,
Sr. Alicia Escalante, Director

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PABLO NERUDA



El 23 de Septiembre, doce días después de la toma fascista en Chile, Pablo Neruda muere a la edad de 69 años, de un "ataque al corazón". Anteriormente fue reportado por el periódico Mexicano Últimas Noticias que Neruda fue arrestado por la junta.

Neruda, a quien le fue dado el Premio Nobel en Literatura en 1971, siempre combinó sus actividades políticas como Comunista con sus trabajos como poeta. El fue un diplomático Chileno en 1936 durante el comienzo de la Guerra Civil en España, cuando el gobierno electo en ese país fue tomado por una junta fascista del Generalísimo Francisco Franco con la ayuda de los fascistas Alemanes e Italianos. Esta experiencia lo indujo a unirse al Partido Comunista de Chile, en el cual él era un miembro activo hasta el día de su muerte.

En 1944, Neruda fue electo para Senador, y cuando Gonzales Videla deshizo el Partido Comunista en 1948, Neruda denunció esta acción en un discurso en el Senado. El fue obligado a trabajar clandestinamente y eventualmente tuvo que salir exilado.

En 1970 él corrió como candidato comunista para Presidente, pero resignó para así dar ayuda al partido de la Unidad Popular que indujo la victoria de Salvador Allende.

La poesía de Neruda corrientemente trata con las luchas de la clase trabajadora, y siempre estaba llena de un inmenso humanismo. El fue un gran partidario de los países socialistas y viajó extensivamente en la Unión Soviética. ■

Los MUERTOS De La PLAZA

(28 de enero de 1946, Santiago de Chile)

Yo no vengo a llorar aquí donde cayeron:
vengo a vosotros, acudo a los que viven.
Acudo a ti y a mí y en tu pecho golpeo.
Cayeron otros antes. Recuerdas? Si, recuerdas
Otros que el mismo nombre y apellido tuvieron.
En San Gregorio, en Lonquimay lluvioso,
en Ranquíl, derramados por el viento,
en Iquique, enterrados en la arena,
a lo largo del mar y del desierto,
a lo largo del humo y de la lluvia,
desde las pampas a los archipiélagos
fueron asesinados otros hombres,
otros que como tu se llamaban Antonio
y que eran como tu pescadores o herreros:
carne de Chile, rostros
cicatrizados por el viento,
martirizados por la pampa,
firmados por el sufrimiento.

Yo encontré por los muros de la patria,
junto a la nieve y su cristalería,
detrás del río de ramaje verde,
debajo del nitrato y de la espiga,
una gota de sangre de mi pueblo
y cada gota, como el fuego, ardía...

La UNITED FRUIT

Cuando sonó la trompeta, estuvo
todo preparado en la tierra,
y Jehová repartió el mundo
a Coca-Cola Inc., Anaconda,
Ford Motors, y otras entidades:
la Compañía Frutera Inc.
se reservó lo mas jugoso,
la costa central de mi tierra,
la dulce cintura de América.
Bautizó de nuevo sus tierras
como 'Repúblicas Bananas',
y sobre los muertos dormidos
sobre los héroes inquietos
que conquistaron la grandeza,
la libertad y las banderas,
estableció la ópera bufa:
enajenó los albedríos,
regaló coronas de Cesar,
desenvainó la envidia, atrajo
la dictadura de las moscas,
moscas Trujillos, moscas Tachos
moscas Carías, moscas Martínez,
moscas Ubico, moscas humedas de
sangre humilde y mermelada,
moscas borrachas que zumban
sobre las tumbas populares,
moscas de circo, sabias moscas
entendidas en tiranía.

POESIA De NERUDA

THEY RECEIVE INSTRUCTIONS AGAINST CHILE

But we have to see behind all them, there
is something behind the traitors and the
gnawing rats,
an empire which sets the table,
and serves up the nourishment and the
bullets.

They want to repeat in you
their great success in Greece,
Greek playboys at the banquet, and bullets
for the people in the mountains:

We'll have to destroy the flight
of the new Victory of Samothrace, we'll
have to hand, kill, lose men sink the
murderous knife held to us from New York
We'll have to use fire to break the spirit
of the man who was emerging in all countries
as if born from the earth that had been splashed with blood
We have to help Chiang and the vicious Videla
give them money for prisons, wings
so they can bomb their own populations,
give them a hand out, a few dollars, and
they do the rest; they lie, bribe, dance on
the dead bodies and their first ladies
wear the most expensive minks.
The suffering of the people does not matter:
copper executives need this sacrifice:
facts are facts: the generals retire from
the army and serve as vice-presidents
of the Chuquicamata Copper Firm,
and in the nitrate works the 'Chilean'
general decides with his talling sword
how much the natives may mention when they
ask for a raise in wages.
In this way they decide from above, from
the roll of dollars,
in this way the dwarf traitor receives
his instructions,
and the generals act as the police force,
and the trunk of the tree of the country rots.

Translated by Robert Bly and
James Wright

LA RAZA MAGAZINE CANCION

Los ojos que se murieron,
no murieron, los mataron,
los mataran.
Todos los ojos del mundo
moriran,
porque el mundo está muriendo
en Vietnam.
Porque manejan la historia
los crueles y los ariscos
y ustedes ven la victoria
de la muerte en San Francisco.
Pregunta el hombre:
Algún día
terminará la agonía?
Maldición!
Terminará la crueldad
y reinará la alegría?
Maldición!
Los nazis con su guadaña
cortaron el corazón
de España!
Maldición!
Y ladra el perro a la luna
y el niño desde la cuna
crece sin duda ninguna
en la opresión.
Maldición!
Proclamamos la alegría!
Reclamamos rebeldía!
Bendición!
Para que el hombre algún día
se case con la alegría!
Bendición!
Si la vida es buena o mala
ustedes lo diran:
esta es una suave sala,
pero matan en Vietnam.
Sigamos viendo ésta farsa
del dolor
para continuar la vida
y el amor.
Porque si muere la muerte
no la mataran los otros:
la lucha la matara
antes
de que nos mate a nosotros.

MASACRES

Pero entonces la sangre fue escondida
detrás de las raíces, fue lavada
y negada
(fue tan lejos), la lluvia del Sur la borro de la tierra
(tan lejos fue), el salitre la devoró en la pampa:
y la muerte del pueblo fue como siempre ha sido:
COMO SI NO MURIERA NADIE, NADA,
COMO SI FUERAN PIEDRAS LAS QUE CAEN
SOBRE LA TIERRA, O AGUA SOBRE EL AGUA.

De Norte a Sur, adonde trituraron
o quemaron los muertos,
fueron en las tinieblas sepultados,
o en la noche quemados en silencio,
acumulados en un pique

o escupidos al mar sus huesos:
nadie sabe donde están ahora,
no tienen tumba, están dispersos
en las raíces de la patria
sus martirizados dedos:
sus fusilados corazones:
la sonrisa de los chilenos:
los valerosos de la pampa:
los capitanes del silencio.
Nadie sabe donde enterraron
los asesinos estos cuerpos,
pero ellos saldrán de la tierra
a cobrar la sangre caída
en la resurrección del pueblo.

EDUCACION

UNA VIVA IGNOMINIA.

SE GRADUAN DE ESCUELA SECUNDARIA SIN SABER LEER NI ESCRIBIR

por Arturo Sanchez



Dr. Chambers, el miembro más racista que ha tenido la Junta de Educación en L. A. Calif. que se ha destacado por sus acciones en contra la educación para los chicanos.

Después de las huelgas de estudiantes en el año 1968, en que miles de jóvenes, en Los Angeles Calif., se salieron de sus escuelas, en protesta por la inferior y deficiente calidad de educación, estas protestas continuaron en el estado de Colorado, Texas, Nuevo México, y Arizona.

Durante las protestas, el sistema educativo se estremecía y los padres nos alarmamos de la verdad cruda, que salió a flote como asesinan las horas más importantes de la vida de nuestra juventud, para dejarlos listados de sus mentes con un coeficiente mental bajísimo.

Los padres reconocimos las razones de nuestra juventud y los administradores reconocieron sus fallas tan notorias, en el sistema educativo, para las minorías en los barrios de pobres; pero que ha pasado después de las huelgas de esos heroicos estudiantes, muchos fueron a la prisión junto al honorable maestro Salvador Castro y varios líderes de nuestra comunidad, sacrificios que nos abrieron los ojos, durante nuestra modorra existencia... Pero que ha pasado... Nada, admitámoslo... Que puede asombrarnos, la historia no deja nunca de repetirse.

Algunos lectores dirán; Si han cambiado cosas, por ejemplo, algunas clases bilingües, dineros del Título I, programas y dinero para las miles de madres de ayudantes y mandaderas, la Comisión de Educación Mexicana, la de los negros, y la de los asiáticos, PICA, El Centro Urbano Hispánico, administradores hispanos, los programas de las ciudades modelos y sus millones, las escuelas pre-escolares, la Junta de Educación que tenía 4 Distritos y ahora tiene 12 distritos etc. etc.,LectorNo estoy interesado en saber cuantos líderes farsantes negocian con la tragedia de nuestro pueblo y se enriquecen con ella, y con el trafique de los niños que no se les enseñó a leer ni a escribir y con los jóvenes que se ausentan de las escuelas sin graduarse (drop outs), que es la viva ignominia.

BOMBARDEADOS CON MILLONES DE DOLAROTES

Se puede comprobar que el movimiento Chicano, en el ramo educativo, fue completamente derrotado y destruido con los continuos bombardeos de millones de dólares y si fuimos vendidos, conquistados o rendidos a los dineros del Título I, y otros programas que son las ubres de loba y se les llama, programas de la guerra contra la pobreza.

Antes de cerrar los ojos y dejarnos llevar al matadero, a nuestra raza confiada, indolente y presuntuosa, en la marcha a la esclavitud y la felicidad de su ignominia, hay que interrumpirla, pues es preferible saber la verdad y morir aplastados por ella y mil veces mas glorioso que morir combatiendo contra la verdad.

Aquí, sin tapujos les diré lo que no ha cambiado, son los vergonzosos grados de lectura registrados por los niños de los barrios pobres, en escuelas segregadas y la peor víctima de este perpetuo racismo, son los estudiantes en los barrios; La única excepción fue la escuela primaria Robert Hill Lane que administra la Directora Joyce D. Zikas, dicha escuela tiene el 98% de minorías y es la única que tradicionalmente registra grados arriba de lo normal y con las estadísticas en la mano se puede comprobar, que es la única escuela en norteamérica con tan alto número de minorías, que aun es centro educativo y compararla con las demás escuelas en el barrio, es como comparar la noche y el día. Pruebas... Pruebas... Si lector, como no... En el último reporte de las escuelas de Los Angeles en la página 12 y 13 del reporte #328, en la area G que es el Este de Los Angeles, registró como en años anteriores, el nivel mas bajo en todas las materias y como contraste en el distrito mas afluente, que es la area L, volvió a obtener el máximo en todas las materias.

En dicho reporte se reconoce la desgracia en que está marginada nuestra juventud estudiantil, en unas instituciones que podría llamarseles prisiones pero menos, centros educativos.

LOS RICOS DE SUBIDA, LOS POBRES DE PICADA

En la Area G, en donde se registró el índice más bajo, los alumnos de sexto, la proporción de niños que acumularon grados normales o que estan bien en habilidad escolástica academicamente; En lectura solo el 12% están bien, en aritmética 15%, en lenguas 14%, deletreo 21%, coeficiente mental (IQ) 14%, y el contraste lo registro la área L, en lectura 57% que están bien, en aritmética 54%, lenguas 50%, deletreo 51%, y en IQ 58%; Esta marcada diferencia fue en el grado sexto y en el grado 12 de la área G, en lectura solamente el 19% están bien, en aritmética el 15%, lenguas 9%, deletreo 15%, IQ 13% y en la área L, el mismo contraste de las primarias, en el grado 12 el porcentaje de estudiantes que estan bien en lecturas el 64%, en aritmética 58%, lenguas 44%, deletreo 37% y en IQ 59%.

En éste reporte con un índice tan bajo, es de niños normales porque en este estudio quedan excluidos los miles de niños que solo atienden medio día de clases, los cientos en clases de retardados mentales, los físicos o educacionalmente lisiados, los cientos en clases de continuación, que solo requiere que atiendan solo dos horas de estudio al día, las clases bilingües, las clases sin grados de inglés como segundo idioma, o sea que a los bien fregados ni los toman en cuenta, los que están en el reporte no tienen excusa ni pretexto de justificar la razón de porque no aprenden, su único defecto es ser hijos de pobres y vivir en barrios con el peor sistema y el peor profesorado, o sea la vil basura que continúa siendo el único país en el mundo, que a su juventud la gradúa de escuela secundaria sin saber leer ni escribir; Pero este fenómeno planeado, solo ocurre a los hijos de pobres en barrios de pobres, en donde la divina providencia es la administradora de nuestras escuelas.

DEEP THROAT ... EL PODER VERDE

Con éstas estadísticas oficiales, son los medios con que se trafica para sacar dinero del gobierno federal para programas del Título I, VII, Ciudades Modelo, programas de la guerra contra la pobreza en que quieren que sea eterna, por que en realidad es una cueva de 'Ali-Baba' y para callar gran parte de nuestra comunidad, la han hecho cómplice de éste crimen al perder conciencia y pegarse a las ubres de los tentáculos del mismo pulpo que nos extrangua, para adormecerse en sus brazos con una tetera, que más bien parecen el doble de Linda Lovelace, la figura estrella de la película DEEP THROAT, en su famoso acto oral.

Las marchas de protesta con pancartas, se cambiaron por líneas a recibir su pago, de ayudantas y socias del sistema destructivo y cruel.

Ya no hay huelgas de sentados en protesta, hoy muy comodamente son presidentes o representantes de la comunidad y tienen su parte en el presupuesto.

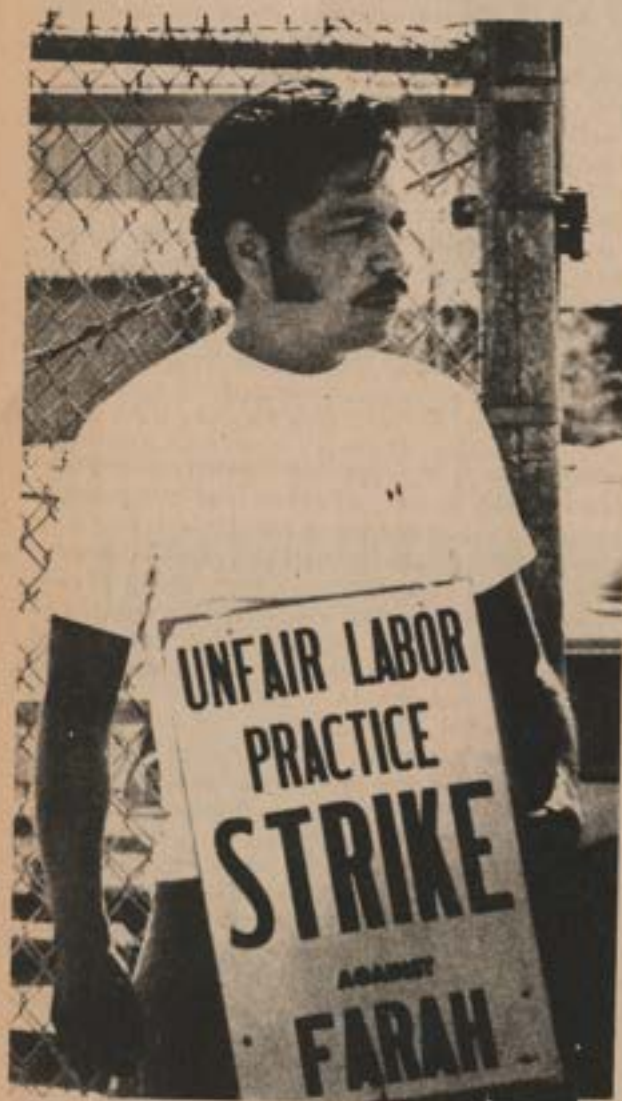
Ya no hay demostraciones solo confirmaciones, nadie dice no... Solo y al unísono, si... Si...

Los intereses, ya no es la calidad de educación, sino las migajas con que nos conforman y cambian la conciencia, los malos gestos se tornaron en sonrisas, desde que se dejó de pensar en los nobles ideales de lucha por una mejor educación, para pensar con la cartera.

Estimado lector... Pueblo en general, me dá una pena profunda escribir esta verdad y no decirlo es traicionarnos la vida y la verdad, por que el silencio, no es la vida; El silencio es el beso y el sello de la muerte y negar la verdad es añadir la maldad a la ceguera; Señor Moraga y compañía de Canal 34... Silenciarlo, es añadir la impotencia a la inconciencia, decir lo contrario es añadir la imbecilidad a la debilidad y este final lo digo con pasión y amargura... El poder negro... El poder moreno y el blanco... Se encuentran incados ante el poder verde del dólar... En nombre del Dólar... El tostón... y la peseta... Amén...

EARNING A LIVING: BORDER TOWN STRUGGLE

by Tony Castro



Poverty in the south side of El Paso, Tex., ranks alongside that of Mississippi and Appalachia. South El Paso is known as El Segundo, after its designation as the city's Second Ward, and it has been both a haven and a trap for generations of Mexicans moving across the border.

El Segundo is a pocket of abject poverty, with 16,000 residents, virtually all of them Mexican-Americans, jammed against the Rio Grande with a population density of 145 per acre, mostly housed in two-story, two-room tenement units. In the city's newer subdivisions, the density averages 14 persons per acre. An estimated 85 per cent of the inhabitants in El Segundo are renters, living in 226 tenement structures with 3,500 dwelling units, most of them constructed before the turn of the century.

The majority of the units are without modern conveniences, with one or possibly two cold water taps located in a central courtyard, where on any hot, still day, the stench of urine and human wastes becomes nauseating. Electrical wiring is primitive, and none of the units have central heating. Bathing facilities are non-existent, and the families are forced to use large tubs that they hang against the walls just outside their doors. Although local housing codes require a minimum of one toilet for every eight families, few toilets are in constant working order, and it is common to find one or two outside toilets serving two dozen or more persons.

Economically and educationally, the conditions are not much better. The average family income is two-thirds below the nationally established average, and almost a third of the heads of households are women. Less than a fifth of the family heads have a high school education, and more than a fourth of them are functionally illiterate.

The largest employer in El Paso is the Farah Manufacturing Co. Inc., one of the country's largest producers of men's pants, which employs about 14 per cent of the city's work force in four factories.

Because more than 90 per cent of the workers in the four plants are Mexican-Americans, Farah in the last year has come to be looked upon by many of the Mexican-Americans in the city and in the Southwest as representative of the established forces that have contributed to the plight of Mexican-Americans and resulted in the likes of El Segundo.

Since May 1972, Farah has been the site of a classic labor-organizing struggle in which one-fourth of the plants' 9,500 employes have gone on strike while the company, despite heavy financial losses, continues to adamantly resist unionization of its work force by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. It is a struggle that has gone into the courts, attracted presidential politics, divided the city, drawn the Catholic Church into the fray and stirred the sympathy and support of organized labor in America. In some parts of the country, the Farah fight already is rivaling the California grape and lettuce workers' strikes.

And, as in the farm workers' struggle, the biggest impact appears to be public opinion. Last July, organized labor unleashed its clout behind the striking Farah workers when the AFL-CIO called for a nationwide consumer boycott of all Farah products. The only two other times the AFL-CIO has initiated such efforts were during the California grape boycott backing the United Farm Workers and the 1969 General Electric boycott to help a group of striking unions.

In 1971, Farah made a profit of \$6 million on sales of \$164 million. Last year, stung by the boycott and strike, however, the company lost \$8 million, and the price of its stock fell to about \$10 a share after a 1971 high of more than \$49 a share. And for the first quarter of 1973, Farah reported a 17 per cent decrease in sales.

At the heart of the struggle are a list of issues, not the least of which is a demand for higher wages and the workers' charge that the company practices "plantation paternalism" that they say is humiliating and insults their dignity.

Starting pay at the Farah plants is \$1.70 an hour, 10 cents above the federal minimum wage, but workers complain they face an uphill fight against unfairly high production quotas to earn a raise. The Most Rev. Sidney M. Metzger, the bishop of El Paso who has called on all U.S. Catholic bishops to support the boycott, estimates that Farah employees take home an average of \$69 a week, while clothing workers at the unionized Levi-Strauss and Tex-Togs plants in El Paso net \$102.

Last August, the NLRB also issued a complaint charging Farah with unfair labor practices, including the use of guard dogs to threaten pickets, the firing of workers who support union organizing efforts and the tight surveillance of employees suspected of being union sympathizers.

Also last August, U.S. Supreme Court Justice Lewis Powell affirmed a lower court ruling declaring the Texas mass picketing laws unconstitutional and enjoining Farah and its agents and subordinates from interfering with the right of striking workers to "peacefully picket and protest against the defendant Farah."

While wages are among the issues, the conflict over money matters has been overshadowed by complaints over company benefits and by what has been described as "Dixie paternalism" on the part of Farah.

In March, the NLRB found that Farah violated federal law by discharging employees and changing work rules at its El Paso plant so as to interfere with its employees joining the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. The company was ordered to reinstate 19 Mexican-American employees and pay them back earnings from the time of their discharge plus six per cent interest. Farah was further directed to comply with other orders, including not to fire or discriminate against union members or supporters, not to prohibit employees from engaging in union solicitation in departments other than their own, not to restrict personal conversations during work time, not to interfere unlawfully with employees' union activities and not to interrogate employees about union activities or membership.

The company operates buses to transport workers to the plants, and it offers hot lunches to employees who need them. Within the plants, the company has medical and dental clinics and a pharmacy for employees' use.

But Farah also has a personnel policy that allows it to dismiss any worker it judges to be an undesirable influence on other employees. An estimated 85 per cent of the company work force is made up of women, and the union points out that the company offers no maternity insurance. The union says the company's hospitalization policy, available to employees who have been with Farah five years, pays \$14-a-day for hospital costs and has a \$300 maximum on surgery expenses. Farah employees are not eligible for three weeks of vacation until after their 10th year with the company, and union officials say the retirement benefits are so low, about \$20 a month, that they know of no worker who has ever retired.

Farah officials are ultra-sensitive about the strike. They gloss over the sales losses and dwell on what they show off as the contentment of the majority of workers who chose to remain on the job. Company officials have criticized much of what has been written about the labor struggle, complaining that the stories are heavily biased in the union's favor or that the reporters have "taken the union line."

"It does smack a bit of the Old South paternalism," said State Sen. H. Tati Santiesteban of El Paso, who has been a close observer of the union organizing battle. "But I don't think Willie Farah (the company's chief executive) is consciously trying to be some kind of Old Dixie paternalist."

"Economically speaking, Willie Farah would be better off if he'd rid himself of the pharmacy, the clinics and the buses and let the union and workers fend for themselves. But he's that much opposed to a union in his plant."

Antonio Sanchez, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America El Paso Joint Board manager, has indicated the union and the strikers are willing to accept the responsibility of taking care of their own medical and transportation expenses.

"The workers have been deprived socially and educationally as well as economically," he said. "They're saying, 'Give us the extra money, and we'll find our own doctors and dentists, and we'll pay them out of our own pockets.' So long as you keep workers dependent on any company for their basic needs, you're going to keep them pent up politically and socially. You'll keep them in line, causing no trouble or what they would construe as trouble in the community. And you'll keep them in place."

It is in that sense, that the strike against Farah could have far-reaching effects on labor in the city and along the border. Unionization of Farah and the accompanying higher wages could ultimately result in the same for other large companies and employers who rely heavily on low-paid Mexican-American workers.

Photography & Text: Maria Marquez



On July 26, 1953 Fidel Castro and 167 fellow Cubans attacked the second largest and strongest fortification in Cuba. Cuba was under the stronghold of the dictatorship of Fulgencio Bautista and there was much suffering and exploitation of the Cuban people. For example, 700,000 Cubans were without employment, 500,000 lived in poor and inadequate rural housing, 200,000 peasant families were without land, 85% of all small farmers did not own their land, but instead paid rent to foreigners who owned over half the best cultivated land in Cuba. In the urban slum dwellings the people lived in shacks made of cardboard or anything else they could shelter themselves with and were still forced to pay high rents to rich landlords. Almost half of the population was illiterate.

Thus there were many reasons for the attack on Moncada. Moncada was the symbol of repression. Moncada represented the beginning of the armed conflict which Fidel

XX
ANIVERSARIO

MONCADA



This was the second largest military fortress of the Bautista Regime - the Moncada. It is now the July 26th combination school and museum, named after the historical day in 1953 that marked the beginning of the revolution.



Unemployment is non-existent in Cuba. Over half the female population has jobs. Basic necessities such as rent, food, and clothing are provided free, with the lowest possible price - but to do the work. Men and women alike receive equal salaries.

Castro, his brother Raul, the legendary Ernesto "Che" Guevara, Camilo Cienfuegos, Abel Santemaria and many others would in 1959 bring to a glorious and victorious end.

On that day on April 26, over half of Fidel's followers were killed outright. The rest were captured within one week and tortured and killed. Fidel and ten of his followers escaped this fate because they managed to remain free till the Moncada attack had become public and the torture and killing had caused much public protest.

Fidel was captured and he spent the next two years in jail. During this incarceration he wrote the now famous "History Will Absolve Me," where he explains the reasons for the attack on Moncada.

After two years in jail, he was released in a general amnesty. He left for Mexico and there he prepared for two more years and then returned to fight and win the first socialist revolution in the Western Hemisphere.

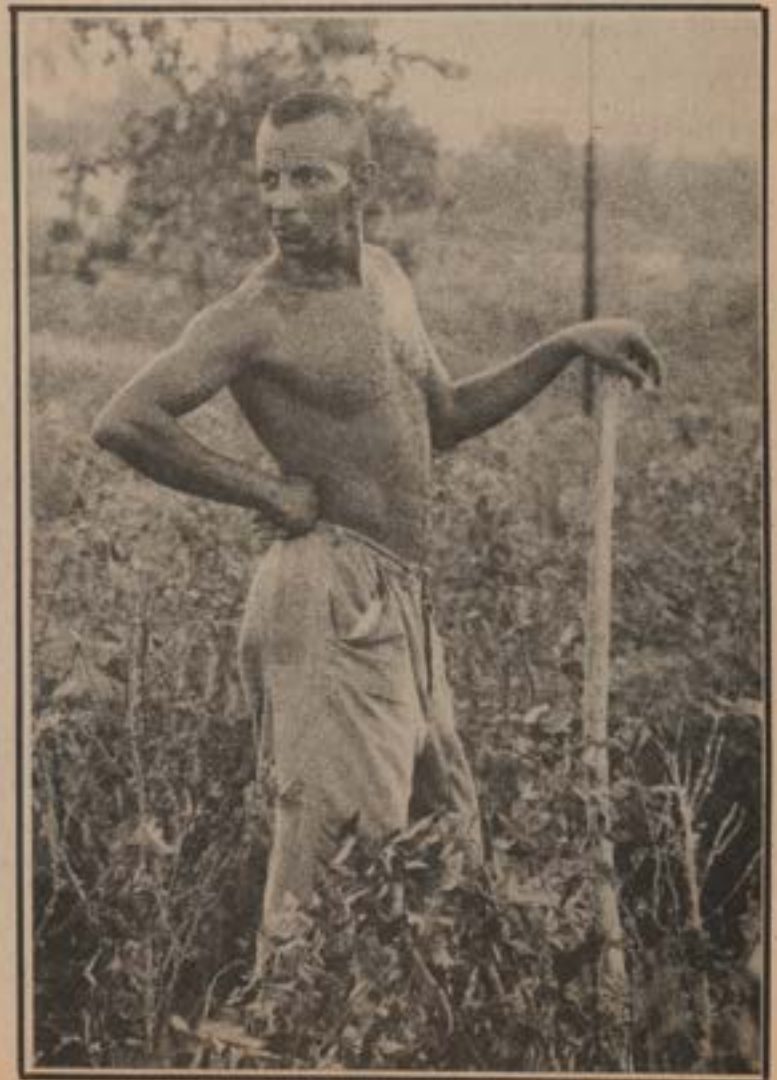
MONCADA



existent in revolutionary Cuba. All the male and population are working together - not to provide for as rent, food, education and medical care since he, with the exception of food which is sold at the but to develop their country and make the revolution alike have equal positions at every level of la-



One of the greatest problems that the revolution was confronted with was the tremendous deficiency of adequate housing. Thousands of rent-free housing projects like this one are built every year by brigades of workers to eventually overcome the poor and slum housing the people were once forced to live in.





The Circulo Infantil Olivio Raul Perez, in the Province of Habana, is one of over 600 free day care centers that have been built for working mothers since the revolution. The free day care centers are administered and staffed by women of the Federacion de Mujeres Cubanas. (the FMC was organized with the purposes of incorporating women into the work force, raising the consciousness of women, and dealing with problems pertaining to women, such as child care) Food, clothing, dental and medical care are provided free for the children and children can enter at 45 days.



The children above are studying Cuban history. They are students of the July 26th School. Education is no longer restricted to those who can afford it. All education from day care centers to universities is provided free. Pre-revolutionary Cuba had a very high illiteracy rate. Among the campesinos alone the illiteracy rate was 30%, and 99% of all Cubanos knew nothing of Cuban history. Post-revolutionary Cuba has rural and urban schools in every corner of the island and has no illiteracy (since the 1961 illiteracy campaign when, after one year of incredible and courageous work and commitment by hundreds of thousands of Cuba's youth, every Cubano could read and write).



These are three educators and the doctor from the Circulo Infantil Olivio Raul Perez. Before the revolution, the majority of the female working class were forced to take very low paying jobs as domestic help. Cuba has no domestic labor today. The greatest concentration of female labor is now in education and public health. For example, over 50% of the doctors graduating from the medical school in the Province of Oriente will be women.

Berlin, capital of the German Democratic Republic, was the stage for what will undoubtedly be called one of the most dynamic meetings of solidarity against imperialism ever witnessed: the 10th World Festival of Youth and Students. From July 28th to August 5th, 1973, a congregation of over a quarter of a million youth (workers, students and unemployed) met to discuss, learn and celebrate the great popular struggles that are taking place, and in which young people are particularly active.

The delegation from the United States consisted of 300 youth representing many organizations and political involvements such as: the American Indian Movement, La Raza Unida Party, Vietnam Veterans Against the War, the United Farmworkers Union, the Teamsters Union, the Communist Party, various grassroots teatros and ensembles, the Young Workers Liberation League and members of defense committees throughout the nation. It is important to recognize however, that many delegates were not members of particular organizations or committees and attended the festival with no concern other than to learn and express their solidarity with other progressive youth. This was possibly one of the greatest accomplishments of the festival selection committees in terms of recognizing the need to select youth which would truly reflect the political nature of this country. As a result, over 50% of the U.S. delegates were non-white (including Blacks, Latinos, Native Americans and Asians) and 50% of the delegation was composed of women and workers varying in age from teens to thirties.

The World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY) was the organizing body for the festival. It has become the largest and most representative international political youth organization, uniting youth of all continents and political systems. WFDY works against the revival of fascism and militarism, and plays an active role supporting the struggles of the people and youth of Indo-China, the Arab countries, the Portuguese colonies and Latin America.

In the US, the Young Workers Liberation League is the affiliate member of WFDY, and it was through the League that the delegation was organized and selected.

In choosing a delegation of 13 people, the local So. California selection committee decided that a large percentage of the delegation should be composed of Chicanos to insure that the delegation as a whole would be representative. All delegates participated in fundraising activities to meet the \$300 fee. Some received scholarships where money was an obstacle. Picnics, dinners, art exhibits, book sales and dances all became projects of the delegation. Some of our projects bombed out and others were tremendously successful as we worked our way closer to the day of opening ceremonies.

On July 26, 300 youth assembled in a New York City church for the first meeting. Hours later we were on a chartered flight to west Berlin.

Arrival into West Berlin was almost like a visit to Anytown USA only in German. We were greeted by Coca-cola, Marlboro and Kodac ads. We saw Shell gasoline stations and Woolworth stores. And the last thing to cross our vision before entering East Berlin was the US flag (on German soil).

After tired and excited hours of travel, the US delegation arrived at Humboldt University, located in the outskirts of East Berlin. This was to be our home

by Maria Gaitan, Robert Diaz and Kathy Borunda, Chicano delegates to the 10th World Youth Festival

WORLD YOUTH

for the next week and a half. The delegates attending the festival were housed in various facilities including universities, workers quarters, hotels and newly built housing units. All housing, food, transportation and medical care were FREE to us.

The central theme of the festival was Youth Accuses Imperialism. And from the day of opening ceremonies when the German children staged a gymnastics ballet with the participation of over 300 young Pioneers, the proclamation of anti-imperialist solidarity was made.



More than 300 delegations marched into the Youth Stadium carrying the flags of their respective countries. The US delegation, however, refused to march behind the 'stars and stripes' because it was generally felt that the flag was not the symbol of the people of the US, but rather a symbol of oppression. In its place, the elected banner became the flags of the United Farmworkers Union and La Raza Unida Party.

Every day from dawn until midnight, programs were run on 22 open-air stages, in theatres and houses of culture throughout the city such as: seminars, conferences, concerts, forums, symposiums, exhibits, sport events, bi-lateral meetings and meetings of solidarity. The themes and subjects of these were incredibly varied. They ranged from artistic and cultural exhibits to informative bi-lateral meetings where many questions and answers were posed.

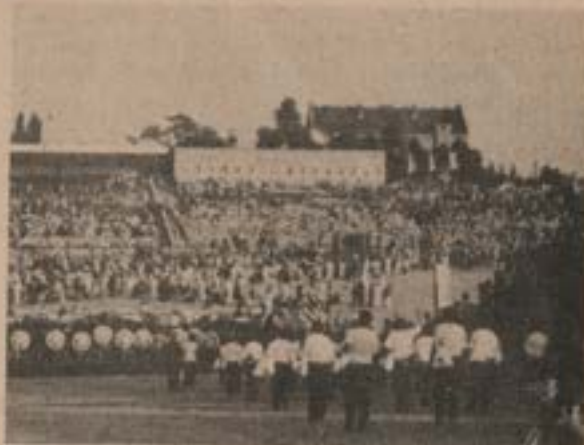
The festival also gave us an opportunity to make presentations of the struggles that are taking place here. This was especially important to the Chicano delegates since this was the first US delegation where a representative group of Chicanos participated. In the US national show, the film I Am Joaquin was shown and the songs of our culture were sung. El Teatro de los Barrios from Chicago presented the skit Juan Raza and the collective efforts and talents of many Chicanos were witnessed by more than 100,000 people via satellite television and stage presentations. Among the literature

Chicano Delegates YOUTH FESTIVAL

and buttons distributed and exchanged was material of La Raza Magazine, M.E.Ch.A., United Farmworkers Union, on the plight of workers without visas and political prisoners such as Ricardo Chavez-Ortiz, Los Tres del Barrio and Juan Corona.

Among the many presentations made, the Native Americans from both the US and Canada gave a slide show on the recent struggle at Wounded Knee.

Perhaps one of the more disappointing aspects of the Youth Festival was the way in which the US estab-



lishment press and news services altogether boycotted this tremendous event, although many American newspaper, magazine and television crews were present (including NBC and Time magazine). US coverage was limited to a brief and cynical portrayal of the festival as a sort of communist Woodstock "Happening".

This was particularly significant to us because we realized first hand how the US press and news service grossly distorts what takes place when not favorable.

We also came to the realizations that although we as US delegates received no support from the government in attending this festival, there were delegates (such as those from Portugal) who faced certain death or exile upon return to their homelands. In the last festival in 1968 held in Sofia, Bulgaria, the Portuguese delegates were publically beheaded by the fascist US supported government of Portugal. Others (such as the delegates from Sudan) were permanently exiled and their families tortured.

Some of the things that we had to deal with were the attitudes we took with us from the USA. In the German Democratic Republic it was difficult, for instance not to refer to the policemen as pigs, or to stop fearing them. One night during the Festival, two of us had gotten off at the wrong train station, and ended up in an unfamiliar part of the city. We got on a bus and told the bus driver that we were lost festival delegates. The driver took the bus five blocks out of

his route to find some policemen (who are called the Volkspolizei meaning Peoples' Police). After a brief exchange with the policemen we were on our way back to the dorm at Humboldt University. When they dropped us off, we couldn't believe what had happened to us.

Another problem was in not being able to see ourselves in perspective. We were Chicanos. An oppressed minority living in the belly of the monster. But when we met Viet-namense youth... the fifteen year old woman-child sole survivor of one of the most horrible massacres... My Lai. When we met Cuban youth ...twenty year old seasoned veteran revolutionaries from literacy campaigns to Bay of Pigs. When we met Lucelte Cabral (sister-in-law of Amilcar Cabral, heroic leader of the struggle in Guinea-Bissau)... who told us that the women's struggle in Guinea-Bissau was the full struggle of all colonized women, and that the women in her country were no longer 'the slave of the slave'. When we met the Laotians who danced with us, as Uncle Sam bombs their sisters and brothers. When we met Chilean youth...companeros who through the strength of their daily labor were fighting off the North American corporate monster, ITT. When we met and understood what other youth were struggling for, we suddenly understood quite clearly what our struggle is. We no longer feel alone or persecuted because now we KNOW first hand, from our own senses, that MILLIONS of people, many of them young, full of strength and commitment, are fighting daily to defeat imperialism.

Wholesale killing: a lucrative deal

Wars have never been something in the nature of things. They were waged by slave-holders to capture slaves and land and by feudal lords to take away other people's estates and riches. Religious hymns and patriotic standards were only used to conceal these intentions. But all these wars appear to be little more than skirmishes if compared with the holocausts provoked by imperialism.

Century	War casualties
17th	3 million
18th	5.2 million
19th	5.5 million
20th	65 million

Imperialism as the final stage of capitalism has given rise to the first world wars in human history. Unable to exploit their immense production capacity and anxious to oust their rivals, the monopolies are relentlessly pressing for expansionism to an extent never seen before. What they have in mind is raw materials, markets, cheap labour, new fields of investment. Some of the bigger trusts have in fact specialized in the arms and war business. Armament and war ensure soaring profits and dividends for the shareholders. The end-maximum profit that is-justifies the means employed to attain it.

What was involved in Vietnam

The ruling quarters in the USA insisted that they had been under the obligation to aid an "ally" and a "free country" at that. But the world knew only too well that Saigon had never seen anything else but rotten, corrupt and dictatorial regimes, relying on foreign support to keep them in the saddle. As US Senator Adlai Stevenson Jr. III (Dem., Illinois) said in September 1972 commenting on the Saigon government: "The Thieu regime is corrupt and tyrannical. It allows political opponents to be arrested and tortured. It has set up a military dictatorship."

The battle is being waged "against communism", say the ruling quarters in the United States. But who gives the USA the right to wage war against another people seeking to build its life along its own lines?

The great poet Bertolt Brecht said about communism: "It is reasonable; every man understands it. It is simple... The stupid call it stupid, and the dirty call it dirty." To wage war against communism is a crime. The monopolies talk about the "battle against communism", but what they mean is the preservation and expansion of their neo-colonialist positions.

The key factor behind the US war against Vietnam was the urge of monopoly capital for expansion and maximum profits.

How the war sent profits up

Here is how the arms trusts in the USA saw their turnover increase from 1964 to 1968 when the Vietnam war was being escalated:

General Motors	by 5.77 billion to reach 22.76 billion \$
Ford	by 4.41 billion to reach 14.08 billion \$
General Electric	by 3.44 billion to reach 8.38 billion \$
Boeing	by 1.30 billion to reach 3.27 billion \$
United Aircraft	by 1.17 billion to reach 2.41 billion \$
General Dynamics	by 1.08 billion to reach 2.66 billion \$
Dow Chemical	by 64 million to reach 1.65 billion \$

Prof. D. Suits of Michigan University estimates that the arms trusts can make 60 per cent profit out of one dollar when supplying military hardware to the state.

A forecast by 'Business Week'

The escalation of the American bombing war in Vietnam and the ensuing prolongation of the conflict in the second half of 1972 brought the arms trusts 5,000 million dollars worth of additional contracts. *Business Week* accurately predicted this in June 1972: "Laird estimates the additional costs of the war at three billion dollars if fighting continues at the present level until 30 September and at five billion dollars if the same level is maintained until 31 December." It all lasted even until 28 January 1973!

A roaring trade with roaring guns!




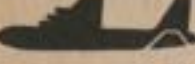


The crippling arms burden: an imperialist folly

1,721,000,000,000 dollars have so far been spent on armament and war by the NATO countries. There could now be a world without poverty if this astronomical sum had been used for peaceful purposes.

None of the 375 million people still vegetating on the brink of starvation would have to suffer want. Millions of illiterates would be able to read and write and would be cultured human beings. Epidemics and diseases would have been stamped out and deserts transformed into fertile land. American scientists have calculated that the sum spent by the USA to kill a Vietnamese would be sufficient to build a house for him and pay him a handsome pension for the rest of his life.



The cost of the means of destruction (in dollars)

Type of weapon		Cost in World War II	Cost today
 1 aircraft carrier		55 mill.	545 mill.
 1 destroyer		8.7 mill.	200 mill.
 1 submarine		4.7 mill.	200 mill.
 1 bomber		218,000	35 mill.
 1 fighter plane		54,000	15 mill.
 1 rifle		31	150

"Rather war than no contracts"

Mr. Fitzgerald, weapons systems manager of the USAF in the Pentagon: "I've seen that the arms industrialists rather want a war than no defence contracts."

The **United States** has passed its biggest-ever arms bill for 1973. It went up from 76,400 million dollars in 1972 to 81,100 million.

The **Federal Republic of Germany** has also adopted its highest-ever arms budget in 1973: 26,500 million marks. Those deriving profit from it are the same companies that armed Hitler's **Wehrmacht** and feathered their nest while millions of young people died on the battlefield: Siemens and AEG, the Flick group whose subsidiary Krauss-Maffei in Munich has turned out thousands of Leopard-type tanks, and Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm, a supplier of military aircraft and rockets.

Japan increased her arms spending by an average of 13.3 per cent between 1960 and 1969. Since 1970 the growth rate has been much higher still. Plans are for the 1972-6 defence expenditure to be twice as high as for the 1967-71 period.

It should be remembered that 100 billion dollars are enough to build 100 iron and steel works as large as that of Bhilai in India, 100 giant reservoirs as vast as the Aswan Dam, 30 million modern flats or 450,000 schools!

It is the international arms trusts that are bitterly opposed to disarmament, detente and peaceful coexistence!

PARADOX IN THE MIDDLE EAST

By David Gonzalez

Currently studying political psychology at the American University of Beirut in Lebanon.



Bethlehem
Even in places of Christian worship Israeli soldiers are there overlooking religious processions.

La Raza in the United States must realize the reality of the war between the Arab world and Israel. The Arab population and Palestinians are fighting a war of liberation against the Zionist Jewish settlers in Palestine. In order to analyze the situation the Middle East, a brief history of the conflict is in order.

In 1917, the British government allowed the establishment of a Jewish State in the heartland of the Palestinian people. The country was Palestine. The British mandate (legal document) specifically stated that the non-Jewish people (native Palestinians) would reside alongside the Jewish population, similar to the treaties made between the Indian people in North America and the Europeans in the early centuries. The outcome of the document was what political experts term colonialism. One aspect of the phenomenon of colonialism is the settlement of foreigners on the land resulting in uprooting the indigenous inhabitants. The methods of occupying land throughout history in the colonial context is through force and aggression. The example of the Indian people in America will testify to this factor.

Once the structure of colonialism is understood in the Middle East, the condition of the Palestinian people becomes clear. In order to combat this political reality, the people must organize. This has taken many forms but whatever form it takes, the violent justification to get the land back is embedded in the natural laws of mankind. At the present moment the Palestinian struggle is taking the shape of out and out war, and in war the moral aspect of a group's political thought is im-



portant. The Palestinian commandos realize the human right to die for their land, much as the ancestors of the Indian people had throughout the American continent in the early centuries and in the recent takeover of Wounded Knee in 1973.

One must understand the strength of the American and Zionist propaganda in the news media. The recent CBS television program in which the Israeli Foreign Minister, Abba Eban, was interviewed is an example. According to Eban, in speaking on the new war, he said, "the only answer is to restore the legal system of the ceasefire that existed before October 6th and from then to proceed with negotiation for peace." (The Daily Star, Beirut, Lebanon, Oct. 11, 1973). The paradox in this statement is best understood in the words 'legal system'. On August 10, 1973, a highjacking of a Lebanese airliner by the Israeli military (air force) in search of Palestinian commandos was a lawless act condoned by the official state of Israel. The French Pilots Association said the act was "state sponsored piracy". The London Times pointed out that "defiance of international law seems to have become a habit with Israel". Also, in terms of legality, the World Zionist Organization established in 1897 and recognized by the League of Nations can certainly be called into question with the well defined limitations in law. The

The Arab People and the Palestinians Are Fighting a War of Liberation Against the Zionist Jewish Settlers in Palestine

Balfour Declaration (1917) establishing the state of Israel reads: "The creation of a home for the Zionist in Palestine had conditions that no prejudice against the rights of natives (non-Jewish) in that country should materialize." And the violations of all legal and natural laws against the Palestinian people occurred in the forms of mass murder, deportation and plundering. The land was taken by theft and fraud with the intention of colonizing the area, the same experience of the Indian people on the American continent. The outcome of invasion in the Americas resulted in occupation of indigenous land and corralling human beings on reservations. The parallel in the Middle East is the Palestinian refugee camps where they have been forced to live by the Zionist colonialist.

The paradox of the whole situation is that the very same government which committed the atrocities against the Indian people is the power behind the Zionist movement against the Palestinians. The imperialistic plan of the United States then becomes the real enemy of indigenous people throughout the world.

In context, the state visit by Israeli Foreign Minister, Eban,

and his appearance in the American network is understood. The combination of interest, colonialism and imperialism is serviced through perpetuating propaganda to the American audience. And, if according to Eban, "the first lesson (from the new war) is the total fragility of the written undertakings and of guarantees and signatures of our neighbors," (The Daily Star, Oct. 11, 1973, Beirut, Lebanon), then the Indian people who signed treaties with the United States government and the Mexican people who signed the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, along with the Palestinian people, must also learn about the 'fragility of written undertakings' because the confrontations with the power that is backing the Zionist colonialist state, the United States, are the result of fraudulency in the treaties they signed with the indigenous populations. The takeover of Alcatraz Island in California by Indians in 1969-71, the brief takeover of the Bureau of Indian Affairs building in Washington, D.C. in November, 1972, and the armed siege by activists at Wounded Knee, South Dakota in early 1973, all illustrates the lack of integrity on the part of the imperialist United States of America.

THE STRUGGLE OF THE MAPUCHE INDIANS IN CHILE

by David Gonzalez

(The author travelled throughout Chile and is currently studying political and social psychology at the American University of Beirut in Lebanon.)

Around 11 a. m. on September 11, 1973, the military junta representing 35,000 members of the army, navy and air force overthrew the first freely elected Marxist government in the western hemisphere. The first attempt to overthrow the government was initiated on June 29, 1973 but failed indicating the determination of the right-wing elements and the CIA to liquidate the progressive government. The counter-revolutionary coup violently overthrew the leader, Salvador Allende, who was elected by 36.3% of the popular vote. The 65 year old politician out-pollled every other hopeful and was elected in the final decision by congress according to Chilean law. It was the popular unity coalition which put him in power in 1970.

Salvador Allende, born in Valparaiso, Chile, was a Third World doctor, he related to the dehumanization of people.

In Regis Debray's interview with Allende (refer to Debray's book *The Chilean Revolution*), the plight of the indigenous people had a primary importance in the mind of this political leader. The role that native people were to play in the new socialist state was revolutionary. The participation of the wretched of the earth was a historical role in Chilean society in which the new man was building.

I travelled thousands of miles to witness the transformation of Chile's society and the participation of the Mapuche Indian in that process. The Mapuche have lived on the land as long as recorded time. (Mapu means soil and che means man, man of the soil) The indigenous population has experienced the europeanization and colonizing by the western foreigner parallel to the other South American and North American native people.



FOLLOWING THE military junta's overthrow of the Popular Unity government Sept. 11, these soldiers guarded the ruins of La Moneda, the presidential palace where Salvador Allende was murdered.

THREE YEARS WASN'T ENOUGH TO REPAIR THE HUNDREDS OF YEARS OF EXPLOITATION OF THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLE. THE GOVERNMENTS INTENTIONS WERE CUT SHORT BY ASSASSINATION OF ALLENDE ON THAT BLACK SEPTEMBER MORNING BY THE MILITARY COUP

The largest number live in Temuco, Chile, and the only politically organized Mapuche group is the "Confederacion Nacional de Asociaciones Mapuches de Chile". Their president, Antonio Millape Caniqueno, believed the Allende government was serious in its relationship with the Indians. It was early and time would expose the true nature of the socialist government. He believed the people should wait and see what the government was going to do in the future for the people. The mistrust of any government is the result of past experiences with discriminations and land occupation. The Mapuches fought many battles with the colonialist in the early centuries, and this experience is embedded in the minds of these people.

Yet, there was hope under the Allende government. The Mapuche had taken land back dating back 20 years. The 'tomás' (the term for takeovers) were always at the risk of physical violence with the regimes, thus many Mapuches were killed. The response of Allende's government to the 'tomás' was a great improvement as no Indians were harmed during their takeover as compared to the fascist tactics of prior capitalist regimes. In contrast, the Allende government encouraged the aggressive participation of the Mapuche in the socialist plan to give the country back to the poor element in society. The role for the revolutionary among the Indian was the identical part any Chilean played in shaping the new state. In fact, the leftist people in Santiago were encouraged to take over factories around the city.

On a visit to the mountains in Temuco, I spoke with members of an Indian family. Their expressions of the Allende government were positive and encouraging. The government had sent workers (collective aid) with tractors to help cultivate their land. Although the government had only sixteen tractors in operation, the Indians realized the intentions of the new government. According to the head of this family, the government recognized the fact that "Indians feel the cold too."

According to Antonio Caniqueno, the politicization of the Mapuche people was taking place with every act of the Allende government. The deeds were the instruments of indoctrination, therefore, the support for the humanitarian government in power was increasing among the population. The bad experiences with other governments created a wall which only authentic action on the part of any government could penetrate. Convinced that socialism was good for the Cubans, Caniqueno believed it was the only type

of socio-economic system at this time in history for the Mapuche. He had visited the island of Cuba and returned a believer in the political reality of socialism. There he didn't witness any people begging in the streets. Nevertheless, he didn't impose those ideas on the Indians but truly believed the Allende government would provide the necessary tools to create socialism in Chile. It was the opportunity to experiment with a freely elected social system based on humanitarian ideals. The system offered the collectiveness associated with indigenous communities and therefore attracted the Mapuche.

But three years wasn't time enough to repair the hundreds of years of exploitation of the indigenous people. The government's intentions were cut short by the assassination of Allende on that black September morning by the military coup. Dark days are ahead for the Mapuche under the fascist government of General Augusto Pinochet. No right-wing fascist government in the history of mankind identified with the people.

An example of fascist support for the military coup is the Brazilian government's immediate recognition of the junta. "The Brazilian government... became the first to recognize the new Chilean military government..." (L.A. Times, 9-14-73). But, the freely elected government of Allende in 1970 received negative reaction. "Brazil would not immediately recognize the new Chilean government (of Allende)... traditionally Brazil only recognizes a new government after the situation is clearly and unequivocally defined." (L.A. Times, 9-12-73) The contradiction in their foreign policy clearly illustrates the strong ties between the fascist states.

The treatment of the Brazilian natives by the government of Brazil may show the characteristics of all oppressive regimes. The 20th century genocide currently manifesting in many parts of South America is the fate of the Mapuche. According to Newsweek magazine, "Correspondent John Barnes said he sneaked into the city morgue, where he said he saw bodies of 270 young persons, mostly of whom had been shot at close range beneath the chin... By the 14th day following the coup, the morgue had received and processed 2,796 corpses... The presumption is that the executions (in Santiago) have followed a similar pattern in other cities." (Newsweek, 10-73) It only stands to reason that all political opposition in Chile, including the Mapuche, will face the death sentence given to non-rightist people.

NO TO FASCISM!

*History is ours, the people make
history! Long live the heroic
resistance of the Chilean people
and the international solidarity
to defeat fascism in our country!*

Sra. Hortencia Bussi de Allende

**SPEECH BY MRS. ALLENDE DECEMBER 9,
1973 AT LOS ANGELES CONVENTION CENTER**

I want to thank the Coalition for the Restoration of Democracy in Chile for this opportunity to tell the truth about what has happened and is happening in Chile. I speak as the wife and companera of Salvador Allende and as a Chilean woman moved by the tragic state of my country.

I haven't come to speak to you about my personal tragedy or about how my daughters and I escaped the bombing of La Moneda Palace and from our residence and how we found asylum in the Mexican Embassy. You are all familiar with the tragic events in Chile which culminated on September 11 with the seizure of power by the enemies of democracy.

This is the first chance I have had to speak personally to the North American people and I want to begin with a historical aside which is a happy coincidence. I arrived in this country through San Francisco's Golden Gate just as Chilean miners led by Benjamin de Acuna Maquena did 100 years ago. These fine years contributed a great deal to the development of California, to its commerce, agriculture, and institutions.

This past which unites us, California with its lovely Spanish place names, some of which refer to legendary Chileans, this history of fraternity which has united our peoples, for such a long time and which our great poet Pablo Neruda celebrated in his dramatic work "The Splendor and Death of



Workers of my homeland, I have faith in Chile and its future. Other men will overcome this dark and bitter moment when treason seems dominant. You must never forget that, sooner rather than later, the grand avenue will be opened where free men will march on to build a better society. Long live Chile; long live the people; long live the workers!

These are my last words, certain that my sacrifice will not be in vain. I am sure that there will be at least a moral sanction that will punish the felony, cowardice, and treason.

Salvador Allende
September 11, 1973

Joaquin Murieta," is going to be renewed in another important and decisive pact - the uniting of all our efforts and resources in the course of the liberation of Chile, of solidarity among workers, teachers, students, men, and women so as to save our small and struggling Chile from the clutches of fascism and multi-national imperialism.

This is the task I have come to speak of. This is why I am here in the United States on a mission which is both one of struggle and one of peace; a humanitarian and patriotic mission in solidarity with the North American people who have supported us so generously in this time of suffering and heroic battle.

All his life Salvador Allende was a democrat. His weapons were his ideas, his words, and open political action. His greatest achievements were laws for the well-being of the people, the working mothers, miners with silicosis, poor children. He was a social reformer before he was a politician. A spokesman for the needs and aspirations of his people. He was a nationalist and a patriot who was concerned with the people's welfare. He was the first among equals. He was not a messiah or an apostle, he was simply a disciplined militant of the Socialist Party.

He was patient and tolerant in defeat, unwavering and decisive in carrying out the people's mandate. His public life was without secrets. He didn't hide his human weaknesses. The people were right when they called him *companero* because he really did speak for them.

Senator Edward Kennedy recently said of President Allende, "At this moment whether he was a Marxist or not makes little difference. He believed passionately in his own philosophy and he worked within the Democratic system to try to effect programs to carry out that philosophy. His death during this violence cannot be seen with anything but sorrow by any man who treasures the principle that political divisions should be made through the use of ballots rather than bullets."

With Salvador Allende, our people, vote, after vote, year after year of accumulated hopes, after 163 years of waiting finally achieved Jefferson's dream and became the government. As Head of State, Allende never betrayed his oath of office. He maintained peace, justice, law and respect for the dignity of man, achieving Lincoln's dream of a government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

It is painful to dwell on how the fascist military junta has painted Chile in an atmosphere of blood, terror, and violence, shielding itself behind a curtain of lies, slanders, distortions and infamous crimes. This has also been the sinister role of the Chilean right, of the fascist group *Patria y Libertad* and of the Christian Democrats.

Today we may ask ourselves what incited such hatred, such attacks. Let's speak a little about the past. President Allende began the democratic experiment convinced that he was laying the foundations of a more just and humane society. His goal was to pave the way for a peaceful transition to socialism.



Junta soldiers round up workers in Santiago near Moneda Palace.

Soldados de la junta arrendando obreros en Santiago cerca de el Palacio de la Moneda

The election of a Marxist president in a bourgeois republic, a dependent and under-developed country, was an exceptional, historical event. President Allende recognized the difficulties and firmly defined his government's program.

President Allende said, if the victory wasn't easy, it will be even more difficult to consolidate our triumphs and construct a new society, a new morality, and a new country. We triumphed in order to defeat once and for all imperialist exploitation, to put an end to the monopolies and to implement a thorough agrarian reform, to nationalize credit in order to create the social capital necessary to promote our development, because the day has come to say "Enough -- enough to economic exploitation; enough to social inequalities; enough to political oppression."

Faced with incredible difficulties and machinations Allende used all the legal and constitutional means available to carry on the program of the Popular Unity. It was an extremely important experiment for all oppressed people and from the start this attempt drew the sympathy and support of all the progressive, anti-imperialist and revolutionary forces in the world.

The legacy which the previous government left us was that of a debtor nation with deficits in food stuff, health, housing, education, and with a foreign debt of \$4 billion, a country with high and ever-increasing inflation and unemployment; a country plagued with class inequities and with a ruling class that staunchly defended its own interests and privileges; a parliament controlled by the opposition; a judiciary at the service of the ruling class; and a military which called itself "constitutionalist."

It was imperative to meet the basic needs of our people, to begin the most urgent changes, but hardly had the agrarian reform been started when hoarding of goods and sabotages of agricultural

production began with strikes initiated to block the distribution of seed fertilizers, and tractors, forest fires, etc.

As soon as the nationalization of the U.S.-controlled copper mines began, the U.S. government froze the international credit to which Chile had a right, and organized a campaign to provoke chaos and ruin in our economy.

It is timely to point out in this regard the change in U.S. economic policy toward the military junta. Orlando Saenz, economic advisor to the junta, has publicly announced that the Manufacturers Hanover Trust Co. will grant Chile a \$24 million loan and an additional \$20 million to the Central Bank of Chile. He also announced that a group of ten U.S. private banks and eight Canadian banks have also offered commercial credits for approximately \$150 million.

By contrast, our government didn't receive anything but systematic aggression on the part of the multi-national corporations -- such as ITT, which used its money and influence to try to stand in the way of Allende's confirmation as President, and afterwards organized a seditious campaign in concert with Chilean reactionaries to overthrow our government, which had been Democratically elected.

And we shouldn't forget that Anaconda and Kennecott Copper contributed to this effort by driving down the international price of copper and forcing an embargo on our copper in various European countries. In the last few months before the coup, the Right, having played its last legal card in the March Parliamentary elections in which the Popular Unity increased its percentage from 36% to 44%, intensified its seditious activity to a dangerous level, provoking and bankrolling strikes in transport and commerce and work stoppages by doctors and lawyers.

Apart from provoking shortage, black market, they tried to worsen the situation through terroristic acts, bombings on houses of leaders to create an atmosphere of insecurity and panic. This is the situation which Pablo Neruda referred to when he said that Chile was a Silent Vietnam.

Today we can say that this Silent Vietnam has turned into a nightmare of violence, persecution, torture, and death. Here is a partial synthesis of the destruction wrought by the Fascists in the three months they have been in power:

Congress has been dissolved and Congressmen have been arrested and persecuted. Cabinet members, sub-secretaries, and close supporters to the Popular Unity government sent to Dozen Island, Santa Maria, and concentration camps in Tisagua, Chacabuco, and other places; municipal governments dissolved; popularly-elected representatives thrown out; and, new mayors arbitrarily appointed by the Junta; the outlawing of any kind of elections -- the popular political parties have been outlawed and all the other parties have been suspended; the banning of the Central Federation of Workers, of the Joint Commission on Price Control and Distribution, and of the Centers for Mothers; an end to the right to petition and to strike; inflation: prices have gone up from 200% to 1,800%, thus wiping out the buying power of the poorest sectors of the population.

The word "Companero" has been banned; and the word of "Obrero" (exploited worker) has been

banned too. The only word permitted is "manual worker." The workers are forced to work four hours extra on Saturdays without pay for the benefit of the employers. There is hunger and unemployment, which is rising everyday. There are daily firings of miners, workers, teachers, and so on.

Suspension of the constitution and all existing legislation -- the only law that presently applies in Chile is the wartime military code of justice; end of University autonomy -- the Junta dismissed eight university deans replacing them with a semi-literate military men; University campuses were bombed, murdering hundreds of students and professors; there is no freedom of speech or press; journalists and technicians in the communications media who are leftists cannot work - the media is



Coal miners and other Chilean workers in Santiago May
Mineros y otros obreros Chilenos en Santiago el Día del

in the hands of the military and the employers associations. Journalists are persecuted and many are in concentration camps. There has been an offensive against culture, in general. The sacking of private libraries, bookstores, and the Ke Man Tu Publishing House. The burning of books, for example, Neruda's works as well as Shakespears. All scientific thoughts expressed in the works of Marx, Engles, and Lenin, and even books on cubism, because the military is so ignorant they think it refers to Cuba.

In the face of my country's present tragedy, I call upon the North American people, upon your conscience, upon the maternal feelings of the North American women, to unite your efforts with ours -- casting aside all barriers and ideological differences to achieve the liberation of the Chilean people.

I submit to you the following proposals for immediate and practical action:

To create and multiply committees of solidarity with Chile, and to press your government to put an end to the military and economic aid to the Junta; to open the doors to Latin American and European Embassies; to give asylum and work to the refugees; to publicize and analyze the true situation in our country; to denounce the Juntas' violation of human rights;

To give you an idea of the strength of the solidarity groups with Chile, I will tell you about our experience in Canada where the solidarity committees, and the public opinion, in general, pressed the Canadian government so that it opened its embassy doors and they were successful. Canada will receive hundreds and hundreds of refugees without any quota or differences.

and leaders, and until the Junta permits a delegation of trade unionists from the U.S. to visit Chile and determine for themselves the status of the unions and their members in Chile.

Keep in mind that all the taxes that you pay, all the dollars are being used to oppress and carry on dictatorships abroad -- especially in Latin America. Reject all economic and military aid to the Fascist Junta.

We know what your solidarity with Vietnam means and we ask the same for Chile. I want to thank the progressive people of North America for their support for what they have done and will continue to do, and I would like to give special thanks to our Chicano brothers, our Latino brothers and sisters, and the other minority groups in this country.



Day 1972

Trabajo, 1972.



Under Junta orders, worker erases slogan, "Long Live Liberty," from Santiago wall.

Bajo ordenes de la Junta, obreros borran consignias revolucionarias.

To expose and denounce the incidious activities of the multi-national corporations; to support our international campaign for safe conduct passes for the hundreds of people who are stranded in foreign embassies in Santiago; to ask for identification papers for those refugees who can leave the country; to make sure that the news of Chile doesn't get buried on the back page because of the tense international situation; to combat the conspiracy of silence because very little has been published in the U.S. press on Chile.

We ask that a boycott of all goods coming or going to Chile be instituted, for example: copper, fruit, wines, etc., and also from the U.S. to Chile as resolved by the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen Unions of San Francisco in their resolution that Local 10 goes on record to boycott all goods and cargo to and from Chile until such a time that the Junta or government in Chile restores full rights to the trade unions, their membership,

We have deep faith in the resistance of our country which has at other times shown its heroic belief in freedom and democracy.

Help us fight against Fascism in Chile. I would like to end my speech with these last words of Salvador Allende before his voice was silenced by the Fascists: "I will not retire before the alternative history. I desire to sacrifice my life to be loyal to my country."

I assure you that no one will be in a position to impede the bloom of the seeds planted by us in the noble consciousness of thousands and thousands of Chileans. The enemy is strong, it can slave the people, but not with crimes nor by force can it contain the social ideals. History is ours, the people make history! Long live the heroic resistance of the Chilean people and the international solidarity to defeat fascism in our country!



¡ NO AL FACISMO !

DISCURSO PRONUNCIADO EL 9 DE DICIEMBRE 1973, POR LA SEÑORA HORTENCIA BUSSI DE ALLENDE, EN EL CONVENTION CENTER DE LOS ANGELES, CA.

Quiero agradecer a la Coalición por la Restauración de la Democracia en Chile por la oportunidad que me brinda para decir la verdad de lo ocurrido y lo que está ocurriendo en Chile.

Es una tarea que cumplo como esposa y compañera del Presidente Allende y como Chilena, porque me duele la tragedia de mi patria.

Me dirijo a ustedes no para hablarles de mi tragedia personal, ni de mi familia ni de como escapamos de los bombardeos de la Moneda y de la Residencia Presidencial hasta refugiarnos en el asilo generoso de la embajada de México. Ustedes conocen de manera suficiente los trágicos episodios que en mi patria culminaron el 11 de Sep. con la toma del poder por los enemigos de la Democracia.

Es ésta la primera oportunidad que tengo de dirigirme personalmente al pueblo norteamericano. Quisiera empezar con un recuerdo histórico que es una feliz coincidencia, y es el hecho que llego a éste gran país por la Puerta de Oro de California, (Golden Gate) la misma puerta que se abrió hace más de 100 años a nuestros mineros Chilenos, a los pioneros que como Benjamín de Acuña Maquena a la cabeza en 1849 contribuyeron esplendidamente al cre-

cimiento de Calif. de su comercio, de su agricultura, y de sus instituciones.

Este pasado que nos une, ésta geografía de Calif. con sus bellos nombres hispanos entre los cuales resuenan legendariamente nombres Chilenos, ésta historia de fraternidad popular que unió a nuestros pueblos por tantos años; y que exaltó nuestro gran poeta Pablo Neruda en su obra teatral "Vida, Fulgor y Muerte de Joaquín Murrieta" va a renovarse ahora en otra empresa tan importante como aquella, tan importante y decisiva, la unión de todos nuestros recursos y esfuerzos para contribuir a la liberación de Chile, a la solidaridad de trabajadores, profesores, artistas, estudiantes, campesinos, hombres y mujeres; con el fin de rescatar a la pequeña y pujante nación Chilena de las garras del facismo, y del imperialismo multi-nacional.

De esta empresa vengo hablarles, esta es mi misión en EEUU, misión de lucha y de paz al mismo tiempo, misión humanitaria y patriótica solidaria con el pueblo norteamericano y con sus líderes que nos extienden su generosa mano en estas horas de sufrimiento y heroicos combates.

Salvador Allende fué toda su vida un demócrata, sus armas fueron sus ideas, sus palabras, la acción política abierta, sus mejores éxitos fueron proyectos de ley en favor de la salud del pueblo, de la madre trabajadora, del minero silicoso, del desvalído. Antes que un político, fue un luchador social, intérprete de las necesidades e inspiraciones de su pueblo, fué un nacionalista y un patriota que deseaba bienestar para los trabajadores. Fué el primero entre

sus iguales, no fué un Mesías, ni un apóstol, solo un disciplinado militante del Partido Socialista. Fué paciente y tolerante en la derrota, firme y decidido en el cumplimiento en el mandato a su pueblo. En su vida pública vivió siempre sin secretos y sin ocultar sus humanos defectos. El pueblo que no se equivocó lo nombro su compañero, su conductor, por que realmente interpretada sus anhelos.

Del presidente Allende dijo recientemente el Senador Edward Kennedy: "En estos momentos si fué o no un marxista no es lo importante, creyó apasionadamente en su propia filosofía y trabajó dentro del sistema democrático para llevar a cabo el programa que hicieran una realidad esa filosofía. Su muerte en medio de ésta violencia, no puede sino contemplarse con tristeza por todos aquellos que sustentan el principio de que las decisiones políticas deben de realizarse por medio de los votos y no por medio de las balas."

Con Salvador Allende nuestro pueblo voto a voto y año tras año, acumulando sus nobles esperanzas, tras 163 años de espera hizo realidad el sueño de Jefferson. Como jefe de Estado, Allende no traicionó sus juramentos, mantuvo la paz, la justicia, el derecho, el respecto a la dignidad del hombre; cumpliendo así el principio de Lincoln de establecer un gobierno del pueblo, para el pueblo y por el pueblo.

Doloroso es contarles como los miembros de la junta militar facista han sometido al país en una atmosfera de sangre y violencia, han pretendido crear una cortina de mentiras, calumbrias, adulteraciones infames y crimes. Esa ha sido tambien las intenciones malévolas de la derecha Chilena del movimiento facista Patria y Libertad y la Democracia Cristiana.

Y uno se pregunta que sucisto estos odios y estos ataques, hagámos un poco de historia. El presidente Allende comenzó su gestión democrática convencido de que echaba los cimientos de una sociedad más justa, más humana. Su meta fué la de preparar la transición pacífica hacia el socialismo. La elección de un presidente marxista a la presidencia en una república burguesa, en un país dependiente y subdesarrollado era un hecho histórico excepcional. El presidente Allende reconoció las dificultades y con firmeza definió su gobierno.

Salvador Allende dijo: "Si la victoria no era fácil, difícil sera consolidar nuestro triunfo y construir la nueva sociedad, la nueva moral y la nueva patria. Triunfamos para derrotar definitivamente la explotación imperialista, para terminar con los monopolios, para hacer una profunda reforma agraria, para nacionalizar el crédito, creando el capital social destinado a empulsar nuestro desarrollo por que ha llegado el día de decir Basta! ¡Basta a la explotación económica! Basta a la desigualdad social! Basta a la opresión política!"

Frente a las dificultades y tropiezos agudó a todos los recursos legales y medios constitucionales para realizar el programa que se había propuesto. Era una experiencia de extraordinaria importancia para los pueblos oprimidos y desde el primer instante ese empeño se grangeó la simpatía y el apoyo de todas las fuerzas progresistas anti-imperialistas y revolucionarias del mundo.



Chileans soldiers destroying literature and works of art.
Soldados Chilenos quemando literatura y obras de arte.

La herencia que recibimos era la de un país endeudado con défices en la alimentación, salud, habitación, educación, y con una deuda externa de \$4 millones de dolares. Un país con una alta inflación y cesantía, una sociedad con profunda desigualdad de clases, y una clase dominante que defendió sus intereses y privilegios; un parlamento con mayoría opositoria; un poder judicial entregado a los servicios de los intereses de la clase privilegiada y unas fuerzas armadas que se autotitulaban constitucionales.

Era urgente satisfacer las necesidades mas apremiantes de nuestro pueblo. Empezar las transformaciones mas necesarias pero apenas se puso en ejecución la reforma agraria surgio la acaparación de alimentos y el sabotaje a la producción agrícola con huelgas provocadas para impedir la llegada oportuna de semillas, abonos, tractores, incendios forestales, etc.

Tan pronto se aprobó la nacionalización de la gran minería del cobre que estaban en poder de empresas norteamericanas, el gobierno de los E.U. congeló los créditos internacionales a que Chile tenía derecho y organizó una campaña destinada a provocar el desquiciamiento y la ruina de nuestra economía.

sigue a la vuelta

Oportuno es citar éste propósito del cambio de política económica de los E.U. hacia la junta militar. El financiero económico de la junta militar Orlando Saenz, Demócrata Cristiano, ha anunciado publicamente que el "Manufacturers Hannover Trust Co. otorgó al gobierno de la junta un préstamo de 24 millones de dólares y un préstamo adicional de 20 millones de dólares al Banco Central de Chile. También anunció que un grupo de 10 bancos norteamericanos y 8 bancos Canadienses han ofrecido ya crédito comercial que asciende a más de 150 millones de dólares.

En cambio nuestro gobierno, lo único que recibió fué la agresión -- agresión sistemática de empresas internacionales como la International Telephone and Telegraph Co. (ITT) que utilizó su influencia y su dinero para tratar de impedir que Salvador Allende asumiera la presidencia y después creando dificultades insalvables organizó una campaña sediciosa en convivencia con la reacción Chilena, con el fin de derrocar al gobierno legítimamente elegido.

se ha convertido en una pesadilla de violencia, de persecución, tortura y muerte. He aquí una síntesis parcial de la obra de destrucción realizada por los facistas en los escasos 3 meses que llevan en el poder:

Disolución del Congreso con detención y relegación de parlamentarios de la unidad popular; Prisión y tortura a los ministros de Estado, su Secretario y colaboradores más próximos al gobierno presos en las diferentes islas frías y inhóspitas, Campos de concentración en Tisagua, Chacabuco y otros lugares del país.; disolución de municipalidades, eliminando a los Regidores elegidos legalmente y poniendo arbitrariamente a quien se le dá la gana.

Han sido suspendidas cualquier clase de elecciones y los partidos políticos disueltos y puestos fuera de la "ley". La disolución de la Federación Central de Trabajadores y la Comisión de Control de precios y los centros de madres y un alto al derecho de huelga. Los precios han aumentado de



Hundreds march in San Francisco, Calif. for Chile.
Marcha en S. Francisco, en solidaridad con Chile.

Y no olvidemos tampoco que la Anaconda y Kennecott Copper contribuyeron a ésta campaña influyendo la baja del precio internacional del cobre y embargando nuestro cobre en diversos países europeos. En los últimos meses, después de haberse jugado la última carta legal en la elecciones parlamentarias de Marzo, y frente al hecho de que el gobierno de la Unidad Popular aumentó su porcentaje electoral del 36 al 44 por ciento, la sedición derechista se intensificó peligrosamente, iniciando y financiando huelgas empresariales en el transporte, locomoción, comercio, y paros profesionales de médicos y abogados.

Además de escasés y el establecimiento del mercado negro, se trataba de empeorar la situación creando malestar general, actos terroristas, bombas en casas de dirigentes, inseguridad desaliento y pánico. Fue a esta condición que se refirió Pablo Neruda, cuando dijo que Chile era un Vietnam silencioso.

Hoy podemos decir que este Vietnam silencioso

200 al 1,800 por ciento que aniquila a los pobres de poder comprar mercancía.

Se ha prohibido la palabra "Compañero" y la palabra "obrero". Se usa la de trabajador manual. Obligación de los trabajadores a trabajar 4 horas extras los sábados sin paga, es decir para los empresarios. Hay hambre y cesantía y ha aumentado, diariamente se despiden a mineros, obreros, profesores, estudiantes, etc.

Suspensión de la Constitución política del Estado, y de toda legislación vigente. La única ley que rige en estos momentos en Chile, es el Código de justicia militar para tiempos de guerra. Fin de la autonomía universitaria, la junta destituyó a los 8 rectores de la universidad reemplazándoles por militares semi-analfabetos. Los centros universitarios fueron bombardeados asesinando a cientos de estudiantes y profesores. No existe la libertad de expresión, ni de prensa, radio y televisión, periodistas y personal técnicos de los medios de comunicación de izquierda no pueden trabajar;

estos medios de comunicación han pasado a poder de las fuerzas armadas y de las organizaciones patronales. Los periodistas de izquierda son perseguidos, y muchos están en campos de concentración. Ofensiva contra la cultura, allanamiento de bibliotecas particulares, destrucción de librerías y de la editorial Nacional Ivantú. Quemazón de libros, por ejemplo de Neruda y Shakespeare, del pensamiento científico como obras de Marx, Engels, Lenin y hasta obras sobre el cubismo por creer que se refieren a Cuba.

Ante esta trágica situación que vive mi país, me dirijo al pueblo norteamericano, a su conciencia humana, a la sensibilidad de madres y esposas de las mujeres de este país, para que unan sus esfuerzos a los nuestros, sin distinción de fronteras ni ideologías para lograr la liberación del pueblo de Chile.

Con este fin someto a la consideración de ustedes las siguientes sugerencias de acción inmediata: Multiplicar los comités de Solidaridad con Chile para presionar así al gobierno y ponga fin a la

La historia es nuestra, el pueblo hace la historia! Viva la heroica resistencia del pueblo de Chile y la solidaridad internacional para derrotar al facismo de nuestra patria!

SRA. HORTENCIA BUSSI DE ALLENDE

ficación a los asilados que salen del país. Contrarrestar la conspiración del silencio, que las noticias sobre Chile no pasen a segundo plano por la tensa situación internacional; poco se publica en la prensa de los EEUU sobre los atropellos de los facistas. Pedimos el boicot a todos los productos que vengan o se dirijan a Chile desde los puertos norteamericanos - cobre, vinos, frutas, etc. Así como lo han acordado los estibadores de San Francisco, en su resolución del 25 de oct. de este año. No recibir a las delegaciones que envía la junta para justificar el golpe facista. Cooperar a la organización de un Tribunal Internacional que juzgue los crímenes cometidos por la junta militar en Chile, y la responsabilidad del imperialismo.

Piensen ustedes que los impuestos, los dólares de ustedes están siendo usados para llevar a sangrientas dictaduras en el extranjero. No solamente se ha reconocido a la junta, sino que se ha extendido ayuda económica que asciende a los 150 millones de dólares.

Nos oponemos a toda ayuda económica y militar a la junta facista. Sabemos lo que ha significado su solidaridad para Vietnam, y lo mismo pedimos para Chile.

Deseo agradecer el apoyo solidario del pueblo progresista de los EEUU como la de nuestros compañeros Chicanos por lo que han hecho y seguirán haciendo, y en forma muy particular a nuestros hermanos Chicanos y latino-americanos así como a otros grupos minoritarios de este país.

Tenemos plena confianza en la heroica resistencia de nuestro pueblo, que sobrepuesto a los días difíciles y amargos que vive como hoy

Apoyemos la lucha de Chile contra el facismo; y deseo terminar estas palabras citando las últimas palabras de Salvador Allende, antes que su voz fuera silenciada por las balas de los facistas: "No me rendiré. Ante la alternativa histórica decido sacrificar mi vida para ser fiel a mi pueblo."

Yo les aseguro que estoy convencida que la semilla sembrada por nosotros en la noble conciencia de miles y miles de Chilenos, nadie estará en condiciones de impedir que germine.

El enemigo es fuerte, puede esclavizar al pueblo, pero ni con crímenes ni por la fuerza podrán ser contenidos los preceptos sociales! La historia es nuestra, el pueblo hace la historia! Viva la Heroica resistencia del pueblo de Chile y la solidaridad internacional, para derrotar juntos al facismo de nuestra patria!



Thousands of Mexicans march in Mexico City for Chile. Millares de Mexicanos marchan en Mexico por Chile.

ayuda económica y militar a nuestro país. Abrir las puertas de las embajadas de América y Europa, para dar asilo y trabajo a los refugiados. Informar a la opinión pública sobre la verdadera situación de nuestro país y denunciar las violaciones de los derechos humanos perpetrados por la junta, por ejemplo: las violaciones de domicilio, ejecuciones sin juicio ni abogados defensores.

Y para que puedan ver la fuerza de la opinión pública, puedo decirles por que yo vengo del Canadá en que ha habido un movimiento para presionar a este país, para que abra las puertas de las Embajadas para recibir sin límite a los refugiados Chilenos y se ha obtenido esa victoria.

Contribuir a denunciar la actuación perniciosa de las empresas trans-nacionales; apoyar nuestra campaña internacional para la obtención de salvoconductos de centenares de personas asiladas en las embajadas de la ciudad de Santiago (Chile) que es muy difícil obtener trabajo en el extranjero. Exigir que se les dé documentación y papeles de identi

HISTORY OF THE CHICANO LABOR MOVEMENT 1890-1910

"...solo les cuento los hechos y bases con los que iniciaron los viejos obreros su lucha de clases."

CORRIDO POPULAR

LABOR IN THE U.S.

The Chicano worker was a part of the working class and the poor of the United States during the period 1900-1920. At the turn of the century, most people in the United States were native born. By 1910, 46% lived in cities and in towns. Already by 1900, the mass labor, dependent for its wages, tenure, equipment and working environment on large scale capital. The average income of workers in 1900 was small, about \$400-500 a year, at a time when \$600 was considered the minimum for bare comfort. The average work schedule was ten hours per day, six days a week. Working conditions, health and nutrition, as is known, were appalling. Work was often hazardous and the worker bore the consequences; one in every 26 railroad workers was injured, one in every 399 was killed. Over ten million lived in poverty. In contrast, wealth and power became progressively concentrated; 1% of the families owned seven-eighths of the wealth. Generally, employers and government authorities were overtly hostile to labor and unions. Unionism was seen as "un-American"

and the "independent" worker, the strike breaker, was the "American hero."

Not surprisingly, the unions and radical movements increased greatly between 1900 and the First World War. The Socialist Party at its peak had 126,000 members, won municipal elections in Milwaukee, Schenectady, and Berkeley, and garnered nearly a million votes in the 1912 election. Strikes were common and over the years the number of workers participating in strikes grew; 1894, a depression year witnessed over 700,000 on strike; in 1919 a wave of strikes swept the country involving 4 million workers. The major strike issue was union recognition followed by disputes involving wages, hours and conditions. The frequency rate of strikes from 1881 to 1935 paralleled the business cycle. Union membership rose from 868,500 in 1900 to five million in 1919. Despite this union growth, in 1900 only 4% of the work force outside agriculture was organized, and in 1920 the mass of labor was still unorganized.

The major labor organizations which affected Chicanos were the American Federation of Labor (A.F. of L.) its affiliates, and the International Workers of the World (I.W.W.)

The national labor organization which had major impact upon the Chicano was the I.W.W., known as the Wobblies. The I.W.W. was naturally, concerned with bread and butter issues, but its major objectives were the politicization of all workers and the formation of "one big union" including all labor, in order to be able to call a general strike, take over the government and initiate a social revolution. It depended on spirit and commitment; membership and structure was loose, but not uncoordinated. Chicanos often came into contact with the I.W.W. as a result of its organizing activities in mining, agricultural and urban areas. The Western Federation of Miners (W.F.M.) active in mining camps of the Southwest, was associated with the I.W.W. from 1905-1908. As a whole, the W.F.M. was less progressive than the I.W.W., but more militant than the A.F. of L. After 1908 it moved toward a moderate position. In the West, the W.F.M. was of more influence than the United Mine Workers of America. Importantly, the I.W.W. also tried to organize agricultural workers. In 1915 it set up the Agricultural Workers Organization (A.W.O.). Often Wobblies worked with Chicano-Mexicano radical organizations such as the Partido Liberal Mexicano. It can be argued that the net effect of the I.W.W.'s rejection of bourgeois politics was to de-politicize workers and to reinforce the focus on the bread and butter issues, though with a more intense militancy. By 1920, the I.W.W. had collapsed. This was due, in part, to management's decision to deal with more conservative unions, such as the A.F. of L., thus determining for the workers their organization. Looking at the two major unions, one can speculate that if forced to choose among labor organizations, a realistic government or business would choose the A.F. of L., which was hostile to Mexican migration and the Chicano community.

"y el que niega su raza ni madre tiene."

CORRIDO POPULAR

MEXICAN FACTORS

POPULATION

The Chicano community during the period 1900-1920, though seen as alien by most "Americans," was composed of both recent immigrants and native born. Deplorably, precise census data on numbers is lacking. A rough estimate of the native born of native parents in the Southwest is 200,000 in 1900. These were concentrated in Nuevo Mexico, Texas and California, respectively. The recorded immigrant population in 1900 is estimated at 103,393. By 1920 the native born and immigrant Chicanos had grown to 486,418. Recorded immigration from Mexico for the years 1900-1909 is 24,000 and for 1910-19, 174,000. However, the U.S. census in 1910 reported 162,959 citizens whose parents had been born in Mexico and for 1920, 253,176 citizens.

Mexican northward expansion, never still, and in 1900 was on the increase again. The assumption that prior to 1915 Mexican migration was slight must be questioned as well as the assumption that Mexican society was static prior to the Revolution. Within Mexico, the trend of migration to the northern states and to the towns is noticeable in the Mexican censuses of 1900 and 1910. At the border, observers noted the increase in crossings. In 1907, a U.S. Deputy Collector of Customs reported to Captain W.S. Scott that an "Unusual number of Mexicans" were crossing around the Del Rio area of Texas enroute to cotton districts in the interior." The 1911 annual Report of the U.S. Commissioner General of Immigration noted at least 50,000 "non-statistical" aliens annually for "normal years." Several articles appeared in the Mexico City press between 1900 and 1912 on the problem of immigrants in the United States indicating concern for the consequences. Clearly, immigration was hardly slight before the Revolution.

A review of some facts concerning Mexico and Mexican labor provides a basis for understanding the migrant, his motives and his labor relations in the United States. Mexico in 1900 was undergoing modernization and strain; it was also a society of limited opportunity, high cost of living, low wages, and political repression. Population increased from 10 million to 15 million between 1885 and 1910. Agricultural production, especially export crops, increased by 100 million pesos between 1877 and 1907. However, bean production dropped 50,000 tons and corn dropped 603,000 tons. In effect, in a time of increasing population and agricultural production, food-stuffs declined.

In addition to economic facts there are social ones which are important. Between 1890-1910, 70% of the population was between 0-30 years of age. National literacy only increased from 14% to 20%, but there was wide regional variation. For example, in Mexico City full literacy was 50%, and in the states of Chihuahua, Nuevo Leon, Sonora, Coahuila, Zacatecas and Jalisco, 50% at least knew how to read. Thus, newspapers increased in number from 310 in 1893 to 1,571

in 1907, and circulation rose 400%. Students enrolled at all levels of schooling numbered 246,267 in 1878, and 848,487 in 1907. Thus, between 1890 and 1910, greater numbers of Mexicans were working in industrial tasks and were receiving education.

FORMING IDEOLOGY

As the situation was one of social and economic change, so it was intellectually. There was a body of ideas and an organizational heritage pertinent to labor. Liberalism, as developed in Mexico, though critically questioned from a variety of viewpoints, was the strongest thread in popular political thought. Liberal oriented newspaper in Mexico City such as "Diario del Hogar," "El Monitor Republicano" and "El Hijo del Ahuizote" noticeably increased their concern for labor's rights between 1890-1910 and supported the right to unionize, to better pay and working conditions, to accident compensation, and so forth. Often the arguments had a nationalist overtone because in many situations labor was national and management foreign.



A minority element in the Church also took up problems of the workingman. Catholic clergy and laity between 1902 and 1909 organized four congresses which debated such topics as education, alcoholism, land reform, conditions on the haciendas, a living wage, and labor protection of women and children. The impetus for the congresses was in large part due to the impact of the encyclical *Rerum Novarum* (1891). The first congress, held in Puebla in 1903, was important because it committed laity and clergy to undertake action on the social incorporation of the Indian, to increase and improve Catholic education and to organize workers' clubs that would provide aid and support in securing material welfare as well as spiritual enrichment.

Mutualism, cooperativism, anarchism and socialism, often in their most utopian forms, had their adherents and propagandists in Mexico from at least 1870, when the first workingman's "central" was founded, the *Gran Circulo de Obreros*. In 1876, the *Congreso Nacional de Obreros Mexicanos* had 50,000 members and it affiliated with the anarchist international in 1880. Marx, Bakunin and Kropotkin, in low cost editions, were circulating in 1900.

Given these conditions, and the ideas available, as it is to be expected, Mexican labor was in turmoil; it is important to remember that this organizational heritage was part of the baggage carried by the emigrants to the U.S. From 1890 to 1910 various labor associations were formed, such as the *Liga Obrera*, *Union de Obreros*, *Union de Mineros*, *La Confederacion del Trabajo*, *Gran Liga Mexicana de Ferrocarrileros*, and the largest, with eighty branches, *Gran Circulo de Obreros Libres*. The number of workers involved is difficult to calculate but these figures provide perspective: in 1907, of 21,000 Mexican railroad workers 11,500 were members of labor associations; the mutual aid societies in 1906 numbered 426 and had 80,000 members. From 1877 to 1910 there were 250 strikes



APATHY MYTH DISPELLED

Between 1906 and 1907, 128 strikes occurred. The best known ones were those at Cananea, Sonora and Orizaba, Veracruz. At Cananea on June 1, 1906, several hundred workers struck; marching with the Mexican and Red Flags, they attacked the lumber store and killed two managers. The government used national armed contingents and armed U.S. irregular volunteers to end the strike. In the South, a series of strikes occurred spreading principally over the states of Tlaxcala, Puebla and Veracruz, involving over 6,000 workers in some ninety textile mills. Rejecting a one-sided compromise, the Orizaba workers, led by Lucrecia Toriz and other women, rioted and attacked a foreign-owned store, tried to burn the factory, set prisoners free from jails, distributed foodstuff, and armed themselves. Some of the militia

Strike activity was particularly intense in 1881, 1884, 1889, 1890, 1891 and 1895; the peak of strike activity occurred between 1905 and 1907, thereafter declining up to the Revolution. The conflict is even more impressive when one considers that to agitate for better wages, and to unionize was against the law, punishable by fines and imprisonment. Repression by the army and the police was brutal, and as a matter of course, workers involved were imprisoned and blackballed. The usual causes for strikes were wage cuts, speed-up practices, increase in hours, ill treatment of workers, demands for salary increase, special privileges of foreign technicians, and resentment of foreign ownership.

sent to restore order went over to the workers side. Eventually, order was imposed after 200 workers were killed. Mexican labor was not apathetic, unorganized or unpoliticized.

Recognition of this widespread strike activity forces us to change our view of Mexican workers in the U.S. The standard assumption is that the Mexican migrant of the period 1900-1920 was drawn from agriculture, thus rural, unskilled, illiterate and was politicized, if at all, only through the beneficial contact with Anglos. This characterization makes gratuitously superfluous questions concerning social or political attitudes of the migrants. Though it has been observed that the migrants of the period 1915-1918 were varied due to the pressures of the Revolution, diversity in social categories, motivation, or political experience has not been recognized for migrants of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Recognizing these factors in a step toward better understanding the events in the Chicano community during 1900-1920. Agricultural production in Mexico was undergoing modernization. The mobility from this sector was limited, however, because of the harshness and degree of control in this area. Industrialization and the economic policy of the Porfiriato resulted in greater fluidity as well as economic frustration for the lower middle class and the industrial labor sector. It was these two elements which had the economic means and the consciousness to entertain exit across the border for the sake of economic improvement. Political harassment existent in Mexico prior to 1911, must be considered as a stimulus to emigration. The Diaz regime, though not possessing the control of modern totalitarian regimes, was a dictatorship zealous in maintaining power. Generally, citizens then as now, were secure in their person or property provided their behavior stayed within the boundaries of what was politically acceptable to the regime and they avoided clashes with persons or interests of greater import to the regime; if not, they faced harassment, loss

of employment, imprisonment or worse. After 1899 there was a gradual increase in political dissent and labor unrest and concomitantly the regime responded. Thus there was a push operating selectively on persons active in politics and labor organizations to migrate north.

*"ya nos vamos reenganchados
a trabajar al contado."*

CORRIDO POPULAR

LABOR DISTRIBUTION

For Mexican migrants, El Paso, Laredo and Eagle Pass, Texas were the major crossing places, although crossings occurred at numerous other points. Migrants were drawn principally from the northern states of Mexico: Sonora, Chihuahua, Coahuila, Nuevo Leon and from the states of the central plateau such as Zacatecas, Aguas Calientes, Guanajuato, Jalisco and Michoacan. The Chicano at this time was employed in a wide variety of activities---railroads; mining, industry, construction and agriculture. Changes in production and technology, it should be observed, affected Chicano labor and its patterns.

During 1900-1920, railroads were the major employers of Chicano labor. Within the industry Chicanos were spread from the West Coast to the Midwest. Most of the Chicano laborers worked at one time for the railroads. They substituted, not displaced, Italians, Greeks, Chinese, Japanese and so forth. Chicano laborers worked as track men, in maintenance, construction and yard gangs, cleaned cinder pits, iced cars, loaded stock, cleaned cars and occasionally worked as boilermakers, machinists and section bosses. Chicanos comprised from 70% to 90% of the work force and were concentrated in low status jobs. Although

many Chicanos had experience and high level skills from working in the Mexican railroad system, they generally were relegated to lower level jobs in the U.S. railroads, directly recruited workers at major border towns like El Paso. They were usually hired on a six month contract. In 1906-1907 wages were 75¢ to \$1 a day including living huts or bunk cars, but wages were not standard and tended to be higher as the worker went northward. Railroads served as a dispersal vehicle for the Chicano because of the network organization and the mobility of much of the work, and also because once a particular construction was completed, crews were released on the spot. For instance, many barrios date their beginnings from these railroad camps. Chicano labor in the Chicago and Calumet Region was at first introduced by the railroads.

Chicano labor was a major component in the extractive industries, principally mining, but also lumber and oil. Chicanos who came to the U.S. fields most likely had experience in mining in Mexico. Chicanos were employed in the Arizona copper and smelting operations where they had been the original work force. Chicano labor was also present in the coal mines of Colorado and Nuevo Mexico and in the coke and ore production areas of northern Nuevo Mexico. In Texas, Chicano miners worked in the coal mines at Thurber and the soft coal and lignite mines of Laredo and Eagle Pass. Chicanos were more numerous in areas where the quality of the coal was poor, veins thin and the climate arid and hot. Chicano labor was widespread in the silver and copper mines of Nuevo Mexico and Arizona. For the most part, they had opened the mines, worked underground, did the surface work and operated the smelters. In some instances they remained a majority of the work force, but often they were gradually displaced by Anglos, especially at the more skilled higher paid positions. In Colorado, the best jobs went to Anglos while Chicanos



were used for dangerous assignments, in odd jobs and as reserve labor force.

Chicano laborers worked in a variety of heavy and light industries during 1900-1920: iron and auto works in the Midwest, building trades in Arizona, rail buildings in Southern California and parts of Texas and slaughterhouse work in Kansas and Chicago. In regard to the latter, Chicano labor moved from rail work in the Chicago and Calumet areas to the slaughterhouses in noticeable numbers around 1916. This was not only a result of the general need for more labor at the time, but also was promoted by companies seeking to hamper union efforts.

Of all the industries, agriculture is the one most indelibly stamped by Chicano workers. In the period 1900-1920, they were one of several ethnic and social

groups consigned to the fields. Only gradually did they gain predominance. With the construction of the Spreckles sugar beet operation in Watsonville, Monterey County, California, in 1899, and the organizing of the Sugar Trust in 1902, the sugar beet increased in importance, and with it Chicano labor. For the sugar beet crop, labor was seasonal, employment was on a contract basis and mostly migratory. The labor force was approximately one-fifth (1/5) Japanese, four-fifths (4/5) Chicano. Cantaloupe, melon, cotton, pea, peach, tomato, asparagus, and lima bean workers in California were Chicanos. Citrus work for the Chicano, also increased over the years. In Texas, Chicano labor was in the majority in the Bermuda onion, spinach and cotton crops. Here was both a stable labor force as a result of share cropping and construction work, as well as transient imported labor. Chicanos were also active in Arizona and Nuevo Mexico agriculture, picking cotton and raising vegetables, alfalfa and other forage crops. In Colorado, Chi-

canos competed with Russians and Japanese in the locally important sugar beet and melon crops. Here was both a stable labor force as a result of share cropping and construction work, as well as transient imported labor. Chicanos were also active in Arizona and Nuevo Mexico agriculture, picking cotton and crops. Agricultural work was seasonal, migratory and on a contract basis apparently from the beginning. Agriculture was a late development compared to railroads or mining, and agricultural labor reflected the changes effected by intensification of irrigation and the change over in crops. In nearly all sectors where Chicanos worked, there were attempts at labor organization.

Mass unemployment as a permanent feature of life

The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) estimates that 100 million people are out of work in the underdeveloped nations, i.e. about 10 per cent of all those capable of gainful employment. However, this figure covers only visible unemployment. Its concealed forms, notably seasonal work, hit another 20 per cent.

The International Labour Organization (ILO) in Geneva expects unemployment in the developing countries to affect 300 million people in 1980 and 800 million in 2,000 unless a halt is called to the imperialist practice of stripping the emergent nations of all their wealth.



Organized death from starvation

375 million people all around the world are reduced to starvation. Approximately 80,000 people die from malnutrition each day.

In Africa, one-third of all children die before they are five. With about 27,000 children born each day, 7,000 do not live to see their first birthday.

In 40 per cent of all Brazilian children (8 million) hunger causes cerebral disease. In Argentina, 30,000 children die from undernourishment and hunger each year.

Destruction of food

At the same time, large amounts of food are systematically being destroyed in the imperialist nations to keep prices up.

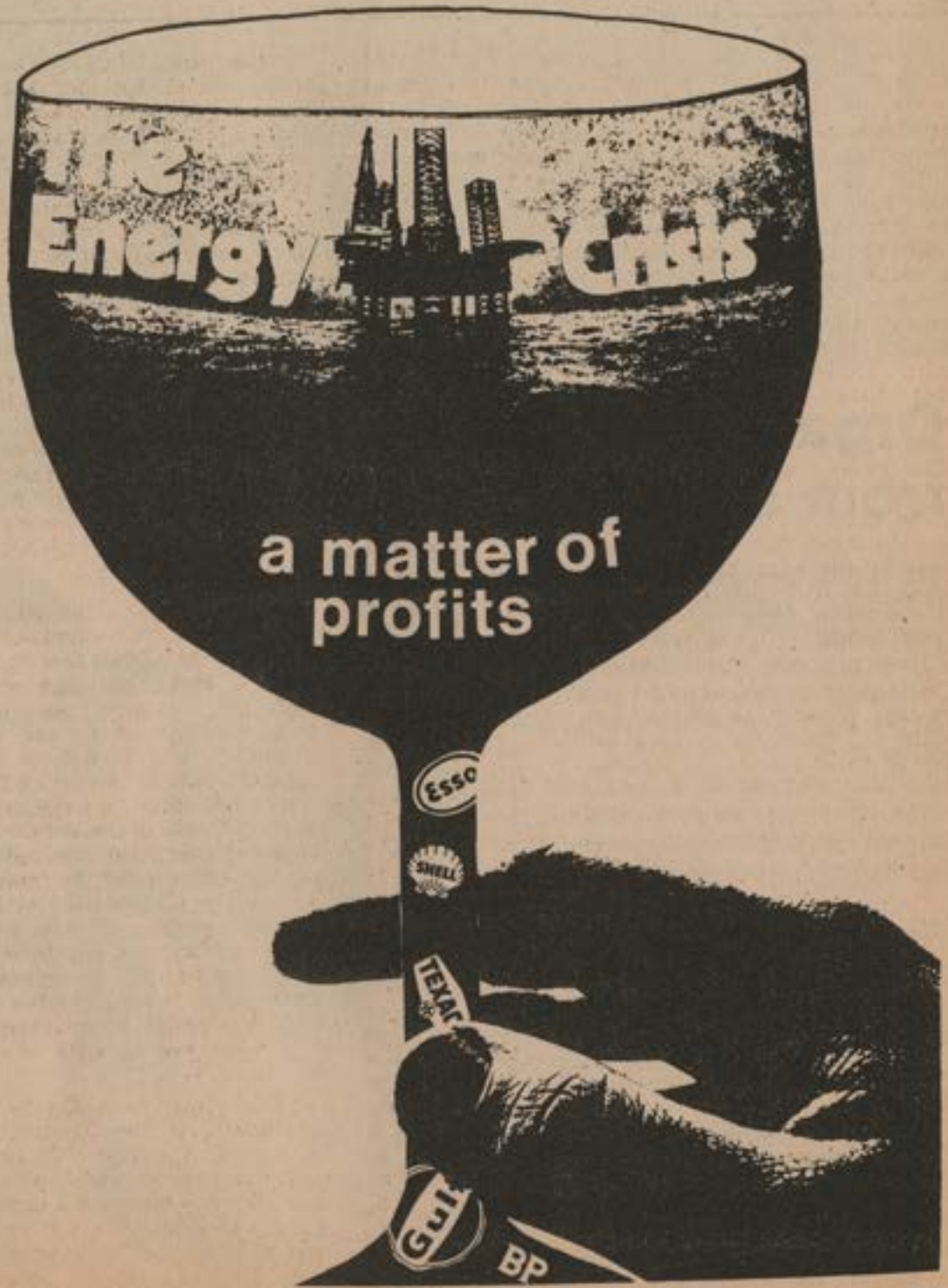
In the past five years 2,674,887 tons of vegetables and fruits have been destroyed in the Common Market countries.

In the 1969-70 business year 1.4 million tons of wheat were rendered unfit for human consumption in the Federal Republic.

Again, roughly three million hectares of farmland have been left uncultivated in the EEC countries since 1961. Plans are for another three or four million to be treated in the same way until 1980.

In the United States about 30 million hectares have been withdrawn from cultivation since 1932. This is an area equivalent to France's farming area.





by Sandra Ugarte

President Nixon's call to the people of the United States to "sacrifice" in this period of the "energy crisis" is an irony to Chicanos and other oppressed minorities, in view of the fact that the barrios and ghettos have experienced and known little else outside of crisis, sacrifice, and suffering. Nevertheless, this latest so-called "crisis" continues to lower the standard of living for the entire working class, with those who use the least amount of fuel being forced to make the biggest cutbacks and pay the highest prices. For example, the L.A. City Council has adopted a plan that calls for a mandatory 10% cutback in each family's energy consumption (enforcement entails a discontinuation of services). Thus the poor--who utilize energy for their most basic needs, who don't own 2 cars, 3 color TV sets, dishwashers, washer and dryers, etc.--are forced to make the same cutbacks as the middle-class family who has all this and more.

The credibility of the energy crisis comes under serious question when we consider that it is brought to us by the same people who gave us the Plumbers squad, the Watergate tapes, the Agnew scandal, lies on everything from the bombing of Cambodia to "national security" as well as the false nuclear alert to divert attention from Watergate, etc.

Still more doubts are raised when we see that the "energy crisis" has generated record profits for the major oil companies. For example: Exxon Corp. showed an 80% jump in third quarter profits, while Occidental Petroleum's profits rose by 7,153% over 1972. The seven major oil companies (Exxon, Shell, Gulf, Chevron, British Petroleum, and Texaco) now control 48% of all U.S. refining capacity, 20% of our coal, and over 50% of our uranium. Additionally, the oil companies have won major victories against mass people's movements, such as the ecology movement, as Congress rushed to confirm the Alaskan pipeline, the resumption of off-shore drilling and the increase of strip-mining.

Still another point to consider is the suddenness with which we were hit with the shortages. Just a little over a year ago, and three months before the beginning of the "crisis", the Office of Emergency Preparedness told the Senate, "We don't see a shortage in fuel oil, and we don't see a shortage in other products either." And although geologists disagree as to how much oil can be recovered from U.S. soil, a figure of 100 billion barrels is considered conservative, and some studies estimate several hundred billion barrels, excluding shale oil. Thus, the shortages obviously are not in the area of supply.

What then, is behind the energy crisis? Ralph Nader stated that the shortages were "orchestrated for political and economic benefit by the oil industry and . . . it chose to place the country in a short-term energy scare to gain dividends." -- and the facts bear this out.

While the oil companies and the Nixon Administration are "asking" the people to freeze in the dark in the name of patriotism, they encouraged increased consumption in Western Europe and Japan. For every barrel (42 gallons) of oil products sold in the U.S., nearly two barrels are sold in other countries. Why is this happening? Because while the demand for crude oil increased only 110% in the U.S. over the last 20 years, the demand in Japan increased 2,576%, in West Germany 1,597%, and in Italy 1,079%. The madness of the corporations in their quest for greater profits knows no bounds, and patriotism has no meaning other than how it can be utilized to twist public sentiment for their benefit. And a fuel shortage at home, of course, opened the door to even greater price increases in fuel.

As a cover-up, the oil companies and the Nixon Administration have concocted the Arab boycott theory, much as the wheat shortage was blamed on Russia, and the paper shortage was blamed on Japan. In truth, this country uses only 6% of Arab oil and petroleum products, and even the San Francisco Examiner was forced to admit that the Arab oil cut-off had little impact on the energy crisis.

The so-called "energy crisis" has been fabricated at the expense of the workers, in the form of lay-offs, higher prices, and reduced living standards. A concerted effort must be made to put a stop to these attacks on our national economy, beginning with an immediate price freeze on all oil and petroleum products, and an end to the special fuel allocation to the military. Additionally, we should block all attempts to bypass the few environmental measures that the people have struggled so hard to achieve. Any attempted lay-offs of workers must, of course be fought.

These unpatriotic attacks on the people on the part of Nixon and the oil corporations are but another extension of what we've seen uncovered by Watergate--a government-corporate alliance which threatens the very fabric of a democracy. It's time for the people to gain control over their national resources and to make the government reflect the needs of the vast majority of the people, and not the special interests of big business.



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