

LA RAZA

NEWS & POLITICAL THOUGHT OF THE CHICANO STRUGGLE
1975 VOL. 2, NO.6 Spanish/English 75¢

1975 INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S YEAR
AÑO INTERNACIONAL DE LA MUJER



CHILE!

The people will not forget ...

Sept. 11, 1973



José Venturelli

STOP US AID TO THE JUNTA!

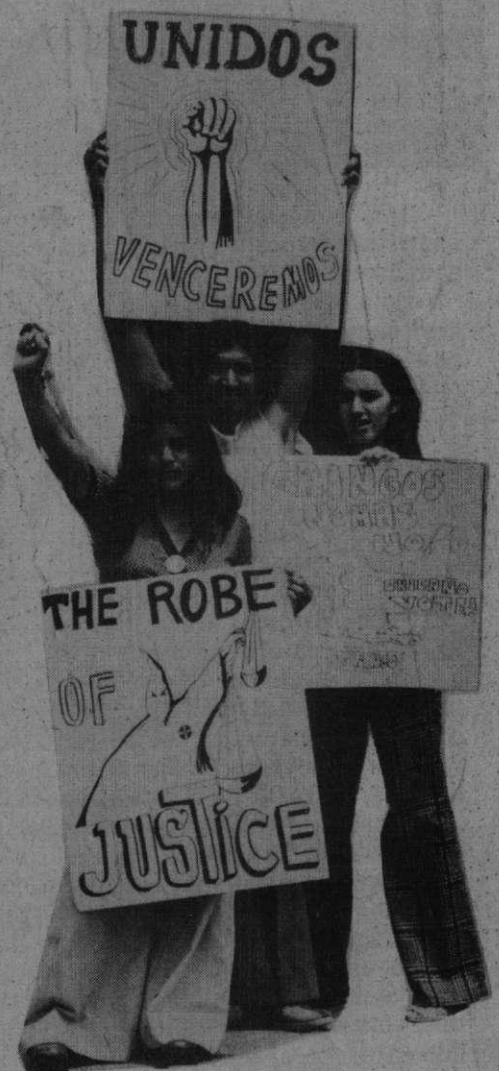
VICTORY TO THE CHILEAN RESISTANCE!

9/11/75

EN ESTE NUMERO ...

CONTENTS.

EDITORIAL	2
ESCUELA MAGNOLIA	3
OPEN LETTER TO THE GANGS ..	4
MESSAGE TO AZTLAN	6
NO TO RODINO BILL	10
GARMENT WORKERS	12
LA RAZA UNIDA PARTY LAMONT	15
LA RAZA UNIDA PARTY INCORPORATION E.L.A. STYLE	16
TEAMSTERS AND GROWERS UNITE AGAINST UFW	18
THE WORKERS VS MANUEL RENTERIA	20
INTERNATIONAL WOMANS CONFERENCE	22
WHY OLGA STILL A PRISONER	31
PEOPLE'S ATTORNEY	32
WOMEN IN CUBA	36
LOS PARRA	38
DICTATORSHIP IN CHILE	39
PUERTO RICO	42



EDITORIAL

This editorial reflects an attempt to develop an analysis of forces—political and economic—that may dominate the 1976 national elections.

Both these forces are combining to create an environment that is conducive for racism, scapegoating, legal and illegal repression, and further apathy among the people.

One wonders with the problems New York City is facing are they potential contradictions that may affect most cities, as well as Chicanos. With inflation (12 percent) and unemployment (12 million workers) on the rise and disproportionately affecting Chicanos, will most cities be in the same boat as New York City?

In the political arena most politicians are gearing up their rhetoric, conservative in nature, to the upcoming elections. Even Governor Brown, has been associated with Ronald Reagan in reflecting the voter's conservative nature (L.A. Times, Oct. 19, 1975).

Since the end of the Vietnam War which also brought the end to U.S. hegemony, the inverse relationship of inflation being exported, is now being imported into the U.S.

Also, this inflationary impact is complemented by a shrinking tax base for vital social services. Both these factors have been utilized by most politicians as a sign of the times. In other words, most political slogans may reflect a bias against increase taxes among the working class, multinational corporation, and a decrease federal and state budget for social services.

As the economic slumps intensifies, as all economic indicator seem to agree on, the process for reaction and repression seems to intensify as well.

Simultaneously, these reasons are being exposed as the rationale to legalize fascist deportations. Various politicians (Sen. Tunney, etc.) have indicated that "illegal aliens" are the cause for unemployment and



are taking up most welfare benefits.

This rationale reinforces racism among Anglos and creates the necessary mystification to justify legislation like the Rodino Bill, now before Congress.

In this light we may see Ronald Reagan running against President Ford for the Presidency.

Both these politicians in their rhetoric have reacted to the victims, than the cause of our present economic programs. For example, Reagan has publicly stated that welfare recipients are the cause for the increasing debts now reaching \$100 billion. Ford has indicated his support for the passage of the Rodino Bill.

Both never mention the role of multinational corporations in exporting over 900,000 jobs to other countries; and how inflation is an integral part of monopoly capitalism (Reagan's political platform is based on a tax cut of 23 percent and elimination of the national debt).

With this in mind, and given the literature (Acuna) on the manipulations of Gavacho's inner fears, we may see a recurrence of the 1950's when Chicanos were deported in large numbers (1,200,000) and the dismantling of a rising consciousness among Chicanos in exerting their rights.

In conclusion, the forces both political and economic have been developing and intensifying contradictions. As the national elections get under way, we should be aware of politicians rhetoric and how it reflects a conservative trend within Gavacho politics. Also, Chicanos once again, are going to be brought into the world of scapegoating politics as this society looks for the culprits.

In this light, Chicanos should reflect an analysis and strategy for political coalitions, that will expose the real perpetuators of most of our problems—the multinational corporations and its system of monopoly capitalism.

ESCUELA MAGNOLIA

POR: J. Luis Cervantes R

Ha comenzado un nuevo año escolar pero aún siguen los problemas en la escuela "Magnolia." Tal parece que a los padres de familia que tienen a sus hijos en ese plantel no se les escucha.

Los padres de familia de dicho plantel educativo, se quejan de la mala educación, mal trato y el exceso de alumnos en las aulas, y por lo tanto es mucho mas difícil el aprendizaje.

Y tal parece que la directora de dicho plantel educativo ("Conchita Puncel") no hace nada al respecto, y los padres de familia están completamente desmoralizados, con la educación que se imparte en dicho plantel.

También la mesa directiva contaba con la colaboración de: 45 padres de familia, y ahora en la actualidad solo cuenta con el auge de 7 personas.

Mientras que los niños sufren por falta de espacio en las aulas, la escuela "Magnolia" cuenta con un amplio estacionamiento para los automoviles de los maestros. Y porque la directora "Conchita Puncel" no hace peticiones para que el gobierno federal haga gestiones para que reduzca el estacionamiento y amplíe las aulas. Esa es la pregunta que le dejamos a "Conchita Puncel" directora de dicha escuela (Magnolia).

Y en una entrevista personal que tuve con el Sr. Rubén Serna, nos dice que de acuerdo con la asociación de padres de familia, se puede contar con un fondo federal de hasta \$25,000.00 dls. Y lo unico que se necesita para que el gobierno federal aporte dicha suma, es que por lo menos 50 padres de familia se unan y los pidan, y además que el gobierno federal vea dichas peticiones, y por ley aportará dicha suma.

El Sr. Rubén Serna nos dice que también cuando los niños de kinder están en la hora de almuerzo, y que los padres de dichos niños están por ahí cerca, para ayudarles a comer, no se les permite acercarse, y se les arrincona. Y si los padres no obedecen la orden de atención "No Acercarse" inmediatamente la directora de la escuela "Magnolia" Conchita Puncel llama a la policía, para que sean arrestados dichos padres.

Además la directora "Conchita Puncel" no permite a las personas hablar, cuando se esta en una junta, y si por alguna razón un padre de familia tiene algun problema que decir, tocante a su hijo, la escuela, etc. y hace incapie a dicho problema, la directora "Conchita Puncel" (Escuela Magnolia) para inmediatamente dicha junta, y les dice a los padres que se encuentran ahí presentes, que si tien—

en algún problema, ella lo resolverá en su oficina, y no en dicha reunión.

Es por eso que hago un llamado de "Alerta" a todos los padres de familia, para que cooperen, y al mismo tiempo acabar con todas las arbitrariedades que existen en dicho plantel educativo, y recordemos siempre esta frase queridos lectores de la revista "La Raza," "Hoy por ellos y quizá mañana por nosotros" y recuerden siempre, La Unión Hace La Fuerza, Y Unidos Venceremos.



!!! NOTICIA DE ULTIMA HORA!!!

Al llevar esta revista a la imprenta se nos informo que la directora de la Escuela Elemental Magnolia de Los Angeles, California ha acusado judicialmente a 60 Padres de Familia cuyos hijos asisten a dicha escuela, pidiendo una recompensa de \$650,000 por llamarla carcelera, principal sin principios, dictadora, etc., etc.

La cantidad de dinero que pide sera como castigo a los padres y por recompensa a la salud que ha perdido y sufrimientos consecuentes. La presente fotografía fue tomada hace un año aproximadamente en una reunión de padres legalmente llevada a cabo donde Conchita con tres policías a su lado amenazó con enviar a todos a prisión (inclusive al reportero de esta revista que cubria el evento) si no suspendían dicha reunión.

Como se ve la Principal si tiene principio y su salud desmejorada.

OPEN LETTER TO THE GANGS

Dear Sir:

The following article was written in September of 1974. I never had it printed because I thought it was no use at the time. I was beginning to lose faith. Then, I realized I would be giving up on my people. I am hoping I can reach some of them out there, so here goes:

CHICANOS Y CHICANAS— WHERE ARE YOU FROM?

Last weekend, I said goodbye to another one of my homeboys. I talked to him, touched his hand, and said so long, "homes". He didn't wave back at me. He didn't even hear me. Neither did the rest of my homeboys. The homeboys I talk about are gone forever. They were killed. Why? Why did somebody kill my friend?

Well, I'd like to tell you his name and what happened. But, first of all, his name shouldn't matter to you. It could have been Huero, Chuco, Smiley, Negro, Lefty, Loco, etc. I'll bet you have at least one homeboy with one of those nickname in your barrio. As far as what happened? He walked across a street in his neighborhood and a car full of Chicanos yelled at him "Hey homes". He walked up to the car to see what was up, and got a bullet shot in him. The guys in that car were from a different barrio. So they shot him. Little did those guys realize when they did that, they did shoot their homeboy. Regardless what barrio he was from. Because he was even more than a "homeboy," he was their brother. We as Chicanos y Chicanas are brothers and sisters. Barrios are alright with me, but a carnal or a carnala is worth more to me than my barrio or yours.

Too many times in the past, we have killed because of a gang. This shit is dead, as far as I'm concerned. Deader than my homeboys 6 feet under. They were "firme" dudes. And I guess the dudes who killed my homeboys have friends who also think they're also "firme".

Anyway, I don't hate those guys. I don't blame them for this. We are all at fault. No way will it satisfy me to kill somebody else to get even. Because my homeboys will still be missed by me. "no way will it bring them back," they are dead.

Now, I know there are alot of us who feel that they're never gonna change their minds. They feel like this: "Hell no, man, I'm not gonna let this ride." they shot my carnal and somebody's gonna pay for it." Let's go get one of their homeboys. Well, I know how that feels, I felt that way once before. I wanted to get a gun and shoot the first sucker who came messing with my barrio. Big deal. I said. I'll get a little stoned, get a gun and be "King Kong from So and So for awhile. There will be somebody coming right back into my barrio looking for one of us and they'll kill another Chicano



It's a big circle. Going around and around. Killing each other slowly, but surely. Damn, maybe we should go out in the middle of the street and have a big shoot-out so we can kill each other at the same time.

Maybe alot of you out there are sick and tired of this shit as much as I am, but don't let your feelings out. Well, why hide? If you start something good, you can't stop. It's not hard to make "friendship" a habit. Instead, we all have too many bad habits. You know, when I think about it, I realize that if I lived in your neighborhood all my life, that's where I would be from and the same goes for you. So your barrio is no different than mine. I have alot of friends who moved out of my neighborhood and got into another one where they moved. And they are still my friends. No way do I call that "ranking out."

"CHICANOS FIGHTING CHICANOS"

We have been doing it for years, and what has it gotten us?? More Prison Terms& More Chicanos being sent to their grave at an early age. More heads getting bashed against barrio sidewalks. Get your shit together Carnales y Carnalas&& If we must shed our blood on this earth, let it be for the betterment of our People and not for our own self destruction.

ORGANIZATE RAZA.



So we're from different barrios? So what, man? We can still be friends. It's all up to us. I'm game to give it a try, aren't you? No way will I kill you or bring you down, you're a part of me. For all we know, we might even be related. We all have the same last names, que no? I might even be from your neighborhood. Imagine if all the barrios could get along? If we could go to the same gigs without putting each other down? If, when we felt like it, we could cruise through another barrio to find all the happenings without being shot at? If we could forget where we're from long enough to shake hands first? So many if's. Why don't we try and do something together for once? Say a big picnic. All the rucas cooking all the food, all the vatos pitching in to buy the food and booze. We can do it. How do I sound to you? Don't you think we could get along? But we got to UNITE. If we keep going the same way as we are going now, soon we'll all be living 'together' as 'friends.' (In HELL, that is).

Can you imagine what we're putting our parents through? Always yelling at us, que no? We say they bug the shit out of us, but have you really listened to what they say? Be Careful. "Stay in the neighborhood." "Don't drink too much." Not cuz they bug, cuz they are worried. Because we act like a bunch of stupid kinds. Going out in the streets to show the world how bad we are. You know, they're right. But we're not really stupid, we just made ourselves look like that. A lot of us had better things to do, than to go to school, like stand in the corners hitting up. Now we're left with no experience for a good job. But it's not too late. We can still prove to our parents that we are gonna change and make them proud of us. But we have to do this before it is too late. I mean that. You have to face the fact that "Mom and Dad" are going to die sooner or later; and with a lot of worries, I hate to say this, but it might be sooner. They have suffered enough, do they have to die worrying about us? At least when they leave us, knowing we're trying to take care of business, and taking care of ourselves, they may rest in peace. A lot of us already have lost our parents and a lot of us feel it's too late to prove anything to anybody. We didn't get to tell "Mom" how much we loved her and we're sorry for all the trouble we put her through and we were going to change. But you have yourself to prove it to and your future children.

You know, it's our baby brothers and sisters who are going to be our next generation. You never know what's going through a kid's mind. But they always want to be like their big brother. Your little brother probably wants to be from a barrio. What if he gets killed trying to back up his barrio? You might not be there to back him up. (Guess where you might be

if you're guilty of killing any of my homeboys, don't feel alone. Too many of us are in the same boat. I forgive you because I know that you didn't mean to do it. You did it for your "barrio."

So I'll leave you asking you one question. Would you shoot me if I walked up to you and asked you where you were from, and then told you I was from somewhere else? Well, I guess you would if I was just like any other "cholo" from a different barrio. But I don't think you would. I am a girl. A "home-girl." But I can see what's happening.

Our men are killing each other. My "Homes," my "Carnales," and sometimes even my "Homegirls," my "Carnalas." The Chicanas even have a lot to do with this mess, not just the dudes. If you're a Chicana, think about it. Could you have done something in the past to start something between two barrios without realizing it? Or maybe you backed up your "Vato-loco" because you didn't want anything to happen to him.

All I know is that I'm a Chicana who is deeply hurt. And tired of all this shit and ready to do anything to try and make things work out. Hey, man, I'm from your Barrio, don't you recognize me?

There's one more question I've just got to ask you. Wouldn't you rather want to hear our Mom's bugging the shit out of us than to hear the agony again that our homeboy's mother was yelling? Mijo, Mijo, Mi hijo...Why?...What did you do to make them kill you?...Why did they kill you, Mijo?...Get out of that coffin, Mijo. Oh, why, why, why??

And do you have the heart to tell that mother why? Would you tell her why for me? I can't. How can I tell her "Mijo" didn't really do anything. He just happened to be from a different barrio...

ALL GANGS ARE COOL! BUT NO ONE RULES



Message to Aztlan ©

Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales

I want to thank you for being here today to prove to the world that the Chicano Movement is alive and growing. That while other people are taking abuse and misuse without taking a stand; without voicing their opinions or facing the raw truth; the Chicano still marches, sings and carries on the struggle for justice and liberation.

Today I have a message for all the people of Aztlan; to the children, the students, the pintos, the workers, the professionals, the critics, the politicians, the educators, the police, the campesinos, the masses of our people and to the blood-suckers, the parasites, the vampires who are the capitalists of the world.

THE CRITICS

First I want to address myself to the critics; whether they be Right Wing, Left, radical, moderate or conservative. What we express in the form of demonstration has made changes. We know that the conservative element want the handcuffs of the laws and justice taken from their hands so they can play "Cowboy and Indian," "slave and master," "greaser and Texas Ranger," vigilante and victim with all those who disagree with their violence, their repression, their jails, their prisons, their courts, their colonies, their wars and their murders. The moderate who says, "I agree with your goals but I disagree with your methods," is like an anchor holding us back rather than an ally pushing us forward. The coffee shop and cocktail leftists spout all the fine phrases and quotes of truly great leaders and con-

tinually remind us of our faults and errors, but take the easy way out when confronted with real revolution. And then there are those who could truly be our allies, but they spend more time using poison tongues against their own than they do against the Power Structure, the real ENEMY. Remember that only those who do not take an action or get involved are the ones who never make a mistake.

THE POLITICOS

I want to say to the politicians, remember that we pointed at the establishment together and we said "they are corrupt, they are two-faced hypocrites, they are liars, they are bought and sold political prostitutes." Then as the pressures of the truth became fully known to all people the power structure opens their arms, embraces you and infects you with their political disease. Then you pronounce the same corrupt structure healthy, generous, democratic and pure, because you are now part of it. We urge you to speak out, don't be afraid to lose false friends, one action is worth a thousand meaningless, compromised bills. Because one work, one courageous stand based on principle will set the example for all of our people. If you are weak and compromising, your children will compromise twice as much and be twice as weak. If you are strong and uncompromising, your children will be even stronger and never compromise to false rulers and false ideals. Don't perpetuate the same system that has enslaved the minds and bodies of those who are confused enough to believe it (the system).





THE CAMPESINOS

We are all children of the same parents and the same tree, our hearts and support has always been yours. As the farmworker wins victories in the fields and works towards politizing to a true liberation and not fall habit to the fate of other unions who are more concerned with their pocket books than they are with humanity. Unions who practice exclusion of minorities, the inclusion of criminals and who create an appetite for power at any cost. We hope to see the farmworker win their great battle over the tremendous obstacles of the growers and the teamsters and in the process recognize that the reality of liberation is not being part of the system which tried to destroy them and that they use their organizing talents to change every facet of this society. Their victory is our victory and a victory for all humanity.

THE POLICE

Let all police in this city, this state, this country and around the world where the same mentality persists, understand that the real responsibility is to serve the people and not the Profit Corporations and their political puppets. Their role is not to defend the privileges of the Power Structure, but to protect the rights of the people. For those of our own groups and our name, I say remember that you have a position, a job and a place in this society because of our resistance to injustice and not because of any great qualification of

your own. Wear your identity as a Chicano as a badge of pride and not one of shame.

Serve, protect and love and it can be reciprocated. Destroy, kill and treat our people with injustice and you might only receive the same in return. Recognize that we, too, have families, we too, want respect and that we too, realize the same about you. Take your place with us-not against us. The Viet Cong forgave their brothers the South Vietnamese. It is not impossible that we might become brothers again as it was when you too, were a spic, before our criticism our marches, our demonstrations gave you a job.

THE EDUCATORS

Your responsibility is one of the most important in the movement. To you lies, the great task of teaching the truth about our history, our culture, our values and our contributions to mankind. You, the Chicano educators, must encourage and develop confidence in our children and our people the true story of our colonization and oppression and you must in all honesty instruct our children of the past social struggles and direct them to a sound political direction that inspires them to commit themselves to the progress of our people and all humanity. The schools are a tool of the power structure that blinds and leads our youth to a life of confusion and hypocrisy, one that preaches assimilation and practices institutional racism. You the educators, have to rise above the nine to three urban missionary to be a true believer in the advancement of our youth to a new and progressive society, and totally dedicated molder of minds who learn to know their future role as builders, teachers and leaders. The progress of a people is judged by their educational attainment, yours is the responsibility of truly educating our youth to the ideals of character, principal and complete liberation. A teacher who loves to teach loves people and a person who loves, teaches the truth and stands by their students.

ARTISTS AND WRITERS

To our artists and our writers we say paint no murals of disgust and commercial garbage, write of inspiration to all mankind. Influence for progress and truth



and not for money and perversion. Your paintings, your words will influence for better or for worse. We urge you to choose for better, speak of growth, of success, tell of tragedy and relate a social message. Its better to say nothing than to misdirect and confuse our youth who rely on you to interpret life and its true meaning. We urge you to write and paint what we in turn will use as tools to teach our people.

THE WORKERS

In every factory, office, packing house, laundry, business, relate to your group with pride, share your talents and your work with your fellow workers, stand behind them and with them in the defense of their rights and yours. Organize yourselves as brothers instead of dividing yourselves as competing individuals. Recognize that our social problems are not created by the poor and disadvantaged but by the rich and powerful who take advantage of disorganization and division and use it for their Empire building at the expense of the weak, confused and mislead. We are all part of the same struggle for survival don't let a few luxuries separate you from the reality that we are all economic slaves if we never share totally in the profits of their labor.



We are all heirs to the land. We are Mestizo, Indian and Spanish by birth. Owners of the Southwest by precedence and by legal title. The struggle for the land cannot be based on a pot of gold at the end of the rainbow and a quest for riches. It has to be based on a peoples struggle to regain land for all and not the privileged few. Our goal should be not make new Dons, Haciendados and Hidalgos, but a new order based on love and community ownership, shared by all of the people of Aztlan. The land belongs to those who work it and those who seek their proper heritage of the earth.

THE STUDENTS

All of our dreams and hopes are placed on the shoulders of our youth. They must think as we have that we must plan changes not in terms of minutes, hours, weeks or years but by generations. Each generation takes one more step up the ladder to liberation and humanism. WE made some changes to open up those doors, now its your turn to keep them open. To study what has happened in history and what is taking place in the world today. Evaluate, figure out what is noble, what is truth, what has meaning? And then take your position as the vanguard, the leaders, to use your professional skills and knowledge to change this society for the better. Never let the world change you. Change the world, its yours.



THE GUERRILLAS

Yes, there are Guerrillas not only in South America, Mexico, Africa, Asia, there are also Guerrillas in North America who truly believe in their efforts and that armed repression and violence can only be met with armed resistance. Never commit an act of criminality against those who struggle for Justice, never confuse violence for violence's sake. Make sure that all acts have political intent and one understood by the people who you struggle for. Don't criticize those who are not on your political level or battlefield. Seek respect and give love and the same might be returned.

THE PEOPLE

Everyone says "I'm doing it for the people." We say to the people compare the results and tell us who has done it for the people and you will find those who truly committed themselves to the people and those who did it to the people. Real changes that have come about, have never come by way of the Politicos, they have come about by the resistence of movement people to all the injustices heaped on us from the days of conquest to the present days of exploitation. I tell you this because we are watching the world change and how it changes will affect all of us. In the past ten years we have witnessed the assassination of national leaders and in the past we said the government was involved. Today we know that the C.I.A. is involved with the approval of the past four Presidents. We have seen men reach the moon. We have watched half a country defeat the most powerful industrial war machine in the history of mankind. We witnessed the expose of a total administration as a gang of thieves and criminals including the President. And now you have a puppet who was never elected serving the Corporate Structure as president and the God-Father of the Corporate world, the butcher of Attica, Nelson Rockefeller serving as Vice-President while he openly runs the country. All this and many more times we have been part of and in the next ten years we will no doubt witness the rise and fall of the total, Capitalistic, bureaucratic, Corporate owned Empire. Chicanos cannot sit at the same table with those parties that exploit, corrupt and rape the rest of the world.

Chicanos must take their place in the new world as liberators of the people not as the exploiters of the people.

NO ONE HAS THE RIGHT TO OPPRESS THE PEOPLE AND ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE HAVE THE RIGHT TO REVOLUTION.

NO TO RODINO BILL



The government, joined by big business and the mass media, is presently making a concerted effort to deflect the rising anger over the country's economic troubles—unemployment in particular—onto a scapegoat: so called "illegal aliens."

Late in 1974, then U. S. Attorney General William B. Saxbe blamed rising unemployment on undocumented workers of foreign birth ("illegal aliens"). He said the estimated four to seven million undocumented workers constituted "a severe national crisis."

DEPORT ONE MILLION

Speaking in Brownsville, Texas, Saxbe called for the expansion of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) to deport "one million persons now holding jobs—and then find those who have burrowed more deeply into our society." He said undocumented workers drain resources from the economy, contribute to the crime rate, and deplete social services.

Saxbe's allegations went unsubstantiated as he failed to offer any real facts or figures to support his claims. Nevertheless, other government spokespersons, primarily INS officials, have continued to disseminate these "facts."

What many have called "Saxbe's hysterical remarks," have also been echoed by the media. For example, the New York Times recently ran three front-page articles on the "illegal alien problem."

Ira Gollobin, general counsel for the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born,

referring to the articles said, "The paper's contention that thousands get school, hospital, and welfare benefits while often paying minimal taxes and sending large amounts of money abroad is a sheer concoction, resting chiefly on speculation of INS officials."

Also, in January, ABC broadcast a nationally-aired "documentary," blaming undocumented workers for the country's ills. The hour-length program even contended that "illegal aliens" were responsible for bringing dangerous diseases into the country.

LEGISLATIVE ACTION

In his speech before two county bar associations, Saxbe also said it was essential that Congress pass the Rodino Bill—legislation which would make it a federal offense to knowingly hire undocumented workers.

The Rodino Bill, House bill 982, was re-introduced in Congress in January. The bill provides that an employer would be given a warning ticket first, and if found guilty of knowingly hiring undocumented workers again, would be subject to a 500 dollar fine. A third offense would cost 1,000 dollars.

By most critical observers' account, the Rodino bill would be totally ineffective in dealing with the "problem."

Gollobin recently said, "Instead of pressing Congress for constructive proposals to deal with the situation, the Rodino bill is designed to hoodwink U. S. workers, especially the unemployed, and to pit them against 'illegal' workers."

"ALIENS" AS SCAPEGOATS

Attacks on all workers, particularly immigrant and foreign-born workers, are increasing as the nation's economy worsens. With unemployment nearing depression levels, and wages remaining the same as prices spiral upwards, the government and its apologists have found a scapegoat. Accusing them of "stealing jobs," the government is attempting to shift the blame from the capitalist system onto undocumented workers.

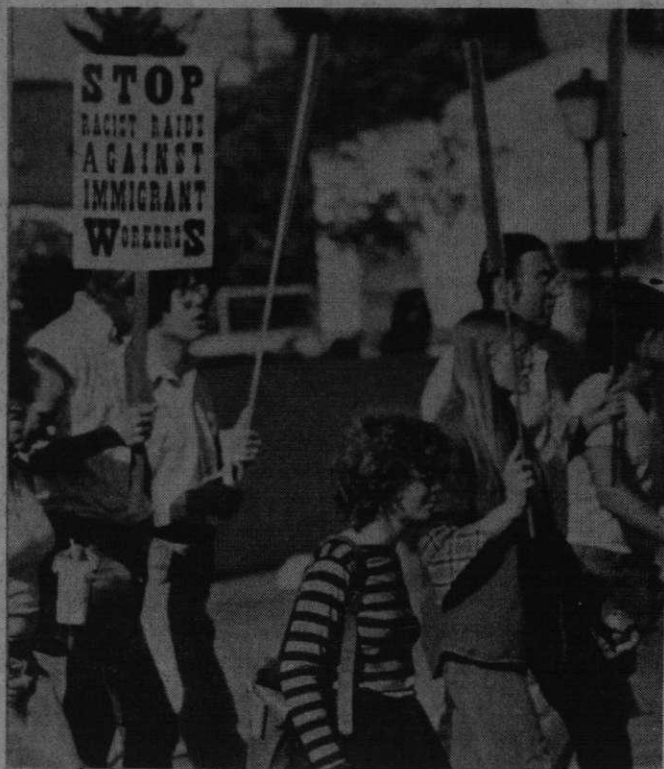
The proposed "solution" to the deteriorating economic situation is no solution at all. It is an attempt to divide workers, pit them against one another, and tries to confuse them as to the true cause of unemployment—capitalism. It is a vicious tactic that has been used throughout American history when the economy is in a depressed state, and the need for immigrant workers as a source of cheap labor vanishes.

HISTORICALLY EXPLOITED

For example, in the late 1870's, the entire country was in a great industrial depression. Dennis Kearny, a labor mis-leader at the time, stated that the problems of unemployment and low wages were caused by Chinese workers. His solution was simply that "the Chinese must go." By the mid-1880's, the Chinese were driven from the major industries of California, but unemployment and wage cuts continued.

During the "Great Depression" of the 1930's, three million Mexicans were deported in the "Repatriation movement." Again, the rationale for this action was that they were taking jobs, drawing on social services, and draining the economy, by sending large amounts of money out of the country. The "Repatriation movement" created a reign of terror in the barrios (neighborhoods). Mexicans, born both in the U. S. and Mexico, were herded into boxcars and sent across the border.

Again, during the economic recession of the early 1950's, "Operation Wetback" created the assumption that Mexicans were the cause of the economic and social problems existent at the time. Over half a million people were deported.



VICTIMS! NOT CAUSE

Immigrant workers are not the cause of unemployment. They, like all other workers, are the victims of it. But unemployment and wage cuts hit undocumented workers the hardest, because they are almost totally confined to sweatshops and agricultural trades, and most are unorganized.

Also, undocumented workers are direct victims of American imperialism. In developing countries where U. S. factories and banks have penetrated the native economy has been thrown into confusion, causing poverty, unemployment, and inflation. Because of these extremely difficult conditions, many immigrants are forced to uproot their lifetime associations and make every sacrifice to come here.

Once here, immigrant workers must labor under horrendous conditions, and are subject to deportation at any time. They are not eligible for unemployment insurance, social security, welfare, or pensions, even though they pay taxes and social security payments. Complaining about mistreatment, joining a union, or going on strike can lead to immediate arrest and deportation, without a trial of any kind.

MASS DEPORTATIONS

In 1974, 800,000 people were deported. This year, the INS has plans to increase this figure.

Their job will be made considerably easier if American workers allow themselves to be deceived by the government's smokescreen. Mass deportations will not create jobs, lower prices, or increase wages, so it is clearly not the answer to the country's deep economic problems.

Are home workers, "illegal aliens," foreign workers to blame?

Garment workers must unite internationally!

Modern Sweatshops?

Weak Union Foothold

By Christi diSanto

A Los Angeles garment worker

Right here in Los Angeles today, perhaps as many as fifty thousand garment workers put in sixty- to seventy-hour weeks for wages as low as sixteen dollars a day. Even in "good times," during the post-World War II boom, a garment worker couldn't expect to make much more than two dollars an hour for strenuous, eye-straining work at the exhausting pace that piecework demands.

In the factories where this reporter worked, as recently as two months ago, most of the employees were older women who had already given the better part of their lives to provide the clothing all of us need. They had a hard time keeping up with the gruelling pace because of the many health problems garment work creates, such as arthritis, eye and back trouble.

These ailments, in turn, made them more susceptible to further injuries because of the loss of dexterity and good vision. Because of the speed that is required to "make rate," it is easy to get too close to the needle and run your fingers through the sewing machine. This is a very common and extremely painful occurrence in the shop, and almost all of the older workers have "sewn their fingers" at least once.

In one factory in West Los Angeles where this reporter worked, there was no overhead electrical lighting at all. The windows and a small light on the machine were the only sources of illumination in the room. There was also no cooling system in a room where more than fifty of us worked together. By industry "standards," this may have been a fairly "modern" factory, but those of us who had to spend forty hours a week there know where the word "sweatshop" comes from!

Garment workers have always faced horrible working conditions. In the early days of the industry, the normal working hours were from dawn until nine or ten o'clock at night with wages of about thirty cents a day. Not only adults, but eight-year old children sometimes even younger, worked these hours. Children usually were paid considerably less than adult workers. Smaller children were also used in the textile factories to crawl under the looms to gather the yarn that collected there. The huge moving parts smashed many young limbs.

Contagious diseases, such as tuberculosis, were easily carried among workers through the cloth fibers and the mortality rate from these diseases on the job was very high in the sweatshops. Fire also claimed many lives because the material used is so flammable and where there was so much, often shoddy, electrical equipment.

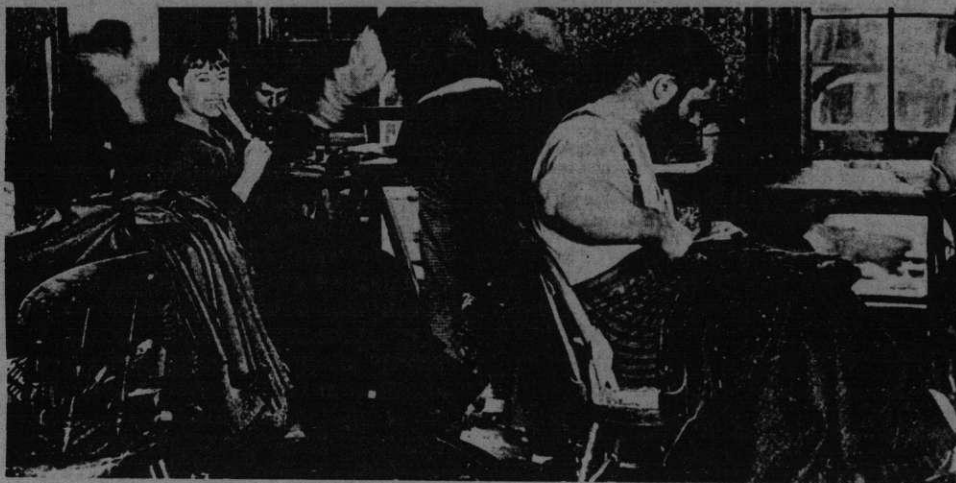
Probably one of the best known industrial disasters was the fire at the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory in the 1890s in which dozens of young girls were trapped in the upper stories because the doors were locked from the outside and the fire escape was suspended several stories above the ground. Many young bodies were found still at the sewing machines.

The unions, built only through bitter struggles and loss of life, made tremendous gains in improving these conditions by cutting down the long working hours and setting up some health and safety standards. However, the unions have still not been able to establish a firm foothold in the garment industry in this country because it is so easy for the factory owners to relocate their shops in order to avoid unionization.

Unlike automobile and steel factories that require huge, permanent structures, sewing machines can be easily transported. This was one of the major forces behind the wholesale movement of the garment industry from the East Coast to the South and then to California. In Southern California, the unions have been kept out through the extensive use of undocumented workers, or "illegal aliens."

Now, in places like Los Angeles, where most of the shops are non-union, and in union shops as well, any improvement in wages and working conditions has stopped completely, and workers are rapidly being driven back to the grim realities of the sweatshops of fifty and a hundred years ago. Why is this happening?

The production of clothing is international big business, and the capitalists who dominate the industry have widespread connections throughout the entire capitalist world. This whole system of clothing production is collapsing because of the increased costs of raw materials, especially petroleum-based synthetics, and energy especially electricity. At the same time, workers and the increasing number of unemployed cannot afford the exorbitant prices for clothing that the capitalists are demanding to make the profits they need to keep up with inflation.



Homeworkers in the 1890s sewing "kneepants" at 45¢ a dozen.

The big factory owners have to find a way to cut the costs of producing their goods because competition is increasing as the number of purchasers decreases. Cutting wages is the only way a capitalist can cut his production costs to insure that he can drive his competitor out of the shrinking market before he is driven out himself. One of the most common ways to do this is to move the factories overseas to countries under dictatorships where the police and army force workers to slave for very low wages and where all labor organizations are illegal.

Because of the deepening economic crisis, the "export" of factories is increasing rapidly.

Destruction of Unions

The membership of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union has dropped from 128,000 to 78,000 because of the massive layoffs. Almost half! We have not yet obtained comparable statistics from the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, but the same process must also be at work there. The strength of the union determines wage rates throughout the industry either directly or indirectly. So the destruction of the garment unions in the United States, where they were among the strongest, must be of profound concern for every union and non-union garment worker!

In America, the factory owners also use undocumented workers in their factories to cut production costs because they can take advantage of their precarious legal position in this country by paying them very low wages. Undocumented workers are forced to accept low wages and poor working conditions

because the union won't accept them and the constant threat of deportation make them reluctant to organize.

Another way that factory owners cut the cost of production is through the use of the "homeworker," a mainstay in the garment industry since it began. When workers do their work at home, the employer avoids the rent, cost of machinery, electricity and all of the other expenses that go along with factory maintainance.

Like the factory and foreign workers, homeworkers also face the same rapidly deteriorating conditions: long hours and incredibly low pay for tedious and tiring work. They face other problems besides. Garment industry homeworking in California is illegal and most of the more than fifty thousand homeworkers in Southern California are undocumented workers.

Once again, undocumented workers are forced into doing homework because the danger of being deported makes it more difficult to get a factory job. It is very hard for the "illegal alien" to do anything about the deteriorating conditions that the homeworkers face, as part of the industry as a whole, because they don't have a union.

Some union officials and politicians encourage us to believe that the homeworkers, the undocumented workers and the foreign workers are the ones responsible for worsening conditions and wages in the factories, because these other workers will "accept" less money. But the competition between workers over jobs is not the cause, but rather the symptom of the larger problem: fewer jobs everywhere because of the collapse of the demand for world garment industry's products.

Shouldn't the union leaders right now be uniting and preparing workers to defend what gains they have already made, to fight for better wages and working conditions? Shouldn't they be aggressively organizing all of the unorganized? When the union leadership blames other workers for the problems in the garment industry, they just help the owners, whose main strategy is to pit one category of garment workers against all of the others.

The most important thing for factory workers and homeworkers, undocumented and native workers to do is to form committees in their factories and neighborhoods to prepare ourselves to solve our problems together. Who is to blame: our fellow seamstresses in Hong Kong, Mexico and South Korea or the international capitalists who are driving us all back to the horrible conditions of the past?

Until recently, homeworking was legal in certain sections of the garment industry in California, but State Assembly Bill AB353, supported by the ILGWU officials, made it completely illegal and imposed much stiffer penalties on the employer and homeworker alike. The latter can be fined up to \$50 for the first, and \$100 for the second offense, although the fines can be waived if the homeworker testifies against her employer!

Forced into an illegal occupation by the economic crisis, the homeworker is thus caught in a double bind. If fined she loses a huge chunk of her already meager earnings, if she cooperates with the government to avoid the fine, she will lose her employer and be blacklisted by all the others. And if she is an illegal alien she will also be deported!

If the bill is enforced it will not only deprive several thousand homeworkers of their jobs but will also make conditions worse in the factories. If the capitalists are deprived of the homeworkers they will just lower the wages and speed up the work through piece rates in the factories if they don't just pack up and go abroad. This will just accelerate the destruction of the garment industry in the United States.

Some American capitalists, their politicians, and the union officials, are sponsoring even more so-called "protective"

legislation. This would increase the taxes, or tariffs, on goods coming from other countries. This is supposed to discourage us from buying foreign products and to force us to buy higher-priced American products. Then, so they think, sales will go up and production in the American garment industry will increase. Those who are trying to sell us this bill of goods refuse to look at the broader picture.

The question is not one of imports and exports, but whether inflation-plagued workers and the swelling ranks of the unemployed in all capitalist countries can continue to buy any new clothing at all; whether all of the factories that are now sitting idle will continue to remain so while millions of people throughout the world, including unemployed garment workers, will be reduced to wearing rags.

Despite appearances, and all the propaganda to the contrary, workers all over the world cooperate right now in producing all of the goods and services all of us need. The main obstacle that is keeping us from cooperating with each other completely, to insure that the production of clothing not only continues but also expands, is the capitalist system itself.

The banks and a few capitalists own all of the clothing factories. They must make ever increasing profits off the labor of those of us whom they are now pitting against each other. The trade competition between the capitalists in control of different countries is growing increasingly more intense because of their need for greater profits, cheaper sources of labor and raw materials in a steadily declining market of consumers. If this international competition is not checked by us, by working people, we will be pitted against each other in another world war. Then the garment workers in all of the capitalist countries will be making uniforms for their sons to die in and the lining of the coffins in which they will be buried.

This is where the capitalists' "patriotism" and the union leaders' nationalism is leading us.

What must be done? First of all, union workers must insist that their leaders launch immediately a nationwide campaign to organize the unorganized, including homeworkers and undocumented workers. Second, through the enthusiasm and strength this cam-

paign creates, the union should begin to fight for legal status for all of the workers who are presently classified as "illegal aliens." The most serious and militant of these foreign garment workers should be sent, with the financial support of their brothers and sisters, to begin to unionize workers in other countries, especially in Mexico.

The piece rate system should be abolished entirely and a nationwide contract must be negotiated which would include all of the appropriate points of the Labor Party League's program for the unemployed (see page 14) and the retail clerks (see page 8). This contract must guarantee productive jobs for all garment workers in neighborhood factories where health and safety regulations are

The union halls should all begin to be converted into educational centers where employed and retired working people in the garment trades can meet together with other workers to discuss the way in which the international economic crisis is affecting our trade and other, related industries. Why are prices rising like never before in history? What can we do to get production started again? How are workers organized in other countries? How can we begin to work closely with all of them? What lessons can we learn from the great struggle of working people in all trades now taking place in Portugal?

The Worker is already attempting to answer these questions and all of the others we must confront in the face of this great economic



CHILD LABOR -- Children were used to cut the cost of wages like homeworkers and undocumented foreign workers

are today. Whole families will again be forced to work in order to survive as the economic crisis gets worse.

enforced by shop committees of garment workers elected by the employees themselves.

If production declines, the hours per week should be shortened with no cut in pay. If factories are threatened with closure, the unions must take over production and set up cooperative stores to exchange clothing and other garments for food and other necessities with cooperatives established by workers and their unions in other areas of production in which the capitalists can no longer guarantee continued production.

crisis. We must begin immediately to build a rank and file committee to organize garment workers around an international program appropriate to the crisis and the many lands from which American garment workers originally came. If we cannot work with the present union leadership, which would be a great tragedy, we must begin to prepare an alternative leadership. Garment workers who would like to join this committee should contact this reporter at 213 223-4802 or 714 626-6109

LA RAZA UNIDA PARTY-- LAMONT

6 months in jail

Calban, Flores found guilty

OPEN LETTER

I am impelled to give clarification to the much distorted and red-baiting that characterizes the event involving a recall petition of two Lamont school board members and the subsequent charges leading to our six-month imprisonment. The Lamont reporter together with the persuasion of the people that control Lamont have played a major role in this event. The newspaper printed false (BLOWN-UP) information and had us convicted before we ever went to court.

President Ford visited Bakersfield and people were getting killed in the Lamont bars, yet we occupied the front page of the Lamont Reporter 5 weeks in a row. The killing of two U.F.W. members, Alvarez from Arvin stabbed to death by an Anglo in the Edison truck stop and the recent killing of a Mexicano by an Anglo at the Tropicana bar didn't get half as much coverage as we did.

Our case was used for two reasons (1) to ruin and destroy our credibility and influence over the community, and (2) to brainwash the community into submission of the deplorable conditions in the school and society under anglo control.

The whole event, trial and sentence is a political maneuver perpetrated by the Lamont Reporter, School Board, and the Judicial system. The prosecutor presented no facts or evidence connecting to the purported false signatures that were picked from the petition by part-time workers at the Election Dept. Also a week after the filing of the petition we received a letter from the Election Dept. stating that the petition was invalid because it didn't contain the Board members answers to the petition charges.

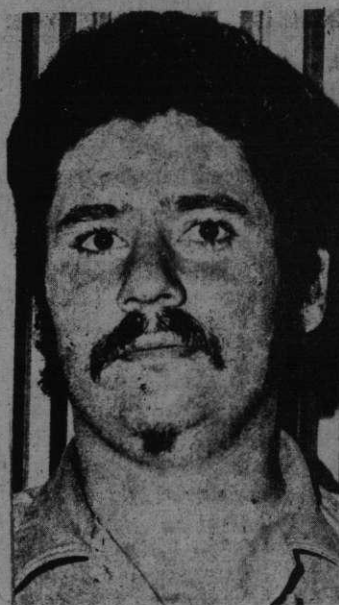
Their whole case was based around suspicion and probable cause in a felony case where they have the burden of proof beyond a benefit of a doubt. The jury of 10 Anglos and 2 Spanish—surname after 6 hours of a deliberation delivered the verdict of guilty as charged.

My question to you the reader is: When has a Mexicano ever received a fair trial, justice or equality from the Anglos.

I am asking you to be the judges of our offense, trial and sentence. Also judge the actions of the Lamont Reporter, Lamont School Board and the judicial system.

Two previous candidates for the Lamont School Board of Trustees were given six months in jail and five years probation terms last Tuesday in Superior Court of Kern County. William Calban and Richardo Flores were sentenced by Judge P. R. Borton. The two were charged with falsifying a recall petition against members of the Lamont School Board.

Both men had circulated recall petitions on Bobbie Work, Lou Ann Thurston, Mel Sabovich, Bob Harris and Frank Arambula.



William Calban



Richardo Flores

Ha sta la victoria siempre

Ricardo Flores
La Unidad Hase La Fuerza

LOS ANGELES PARTIDO DE LA RAZA UNIDA 1975

Jorge Garcia

It is a sad commentary on our particular forms of political participation that on any given election day enough of the eligible voters to change the outcome of an election will sit at home and not vote. As we examine other forms of participation, be it formal opinion expression, campaign activity or taking a problem to government we also find a disturbingly high proportion of the population not involved. These clusters of non-participants are of additional concern to us since they tend to be composed of individuals from the lower socio-economic sectors of the population. Furthermore, people of Mexican descent comprise an inordinate percentage of these clusters. Unfortunately, social scientists often view such information as if it were a necessary state of affairs. Some have even found virtue in nonparticipation seeing it as a source of stability. We are often so overwhelmed and blinded by what is that our attempts at proposing amelioration or change are severely limited. Our discription of objective conditions function as blinders which direct our prescriptions in a most peculiar fashion. For too often, even Chicano social scientists have predicated increased political participation by Chicanos upon the achievement of middle class status and resources.

This has not been the case with Partido La Raza Unida. From the beginning we have operated on the principle that power is to be shared by all residents of our community. Everyone has the right to participate in the decisions that affect our daily affairs. We have struggled to bring about improvements in la vida cotidiana of our people. Yet PLRU has become a severely atrophied organization here in California. We can recite the entire litany of external reasons for lack of success. The familiar cant of gerrymandering, discriminatory electoral code, exclusionary filing fees, etc. is always recited. We do not mean to minimize in any way the impact of these externally imposed barriers to success for La Raza Unida in California, but our point in these few short sentences is to examine internal conditions of el Partido.

In the last two years Partido La Raza Unida has stagnated here in Los Angeles County. While it may be true that the initial flourishing of many local chapters of La Raza Unida four years ago can be partly attributed to the bandwagon efforts of the many parasites and sychophants of the Chicano movement who jump from organization to organization without resolving any issues other than how best to incorporate their pesonal movidas into the movimiento, we cannot lay the blame for the tupor and lethargy of the past two years on those who have gone on to what they see as greener pastures. We have been plagued by political myopia as a result of the petty parochialism and factionalism of PLRU in the last two years. Areas of control have been staked out without any corresponding acceptance of responsibilities for the events in said geographical region. Joint efforts on issues and cooperative work in campaigns have been minimal or nonexistent due to past personal slights real or imaginary. The central committee of PLRU rather than coordinating and directing the struggle of the partidarios has often degenerated into a council of recriminations and self-flagellations.

Hopefully all this has changed. The current attempt at correcting our political myopia began as an offshoot of some interchapter cooperative work in the November 5, 1974 incorporation election here in East Los Angeles. Then the four remaining chapters of Los Angeles county—San Fernando, La Puente, Norwalk, and City Terrace—gathered in organizational session last January 25th in a spirit of renewal and rededication to the political empowerment of our people. Gathering on a Saturday morning in San Fernando, representative members of the four functioning chapters engaged in debate over the goals, methods and philosophy of PLRU of Los Angeles county. But the main thrust of the general session was organizational. The L.A. County Central Committee was resurrected and given the charge of functioning as the central organ which by coordination policy stands, candidate selections and



campaigns will hopefully develop an internal cohesion and discipline within the partido. For it is only a dynamic, united and responsible party which will be able to offer our people the political alternative about which we so often speak.

In the spirit of the San Fernando conference we must build the party at all levels. The party in the electorate must be expanded. We must not only seek to win over those who are now members of other parties but more importantly we must work with those who are not now affiliated with any other political party. This is a long and arduous task, for people are not uninvolved by chance. We have to counter the current socialization process now at work in our society. Rejecting the slanderous label of apathetic which is applied to the non-participants in the Chicano community, we know that we must offer something concrete to offset the insidious pattern of training Chicanos not to participate. The schools, churches, and voluntary associations and so called political groups all work to inculcate an attitude of subject rather than one of citizen participant. Our people have rejected political activity because such activity has offered us little return for our investment of scarce time, energy and resources. We do not waste our time on such meaningless activity. Only politics based on the needs and wishes of our community as expressed by that community will bring about increased participation.

To bring about an expanded and active party in the electorate, we have to build a strong party organization. This is the essential field of activity of the Central Committee. The Central Committee must claim and exercise the authority to take up party problems, policies and strategy. It must guide and direct the activities of the party in the electorate. Yet if we are to avoid the path of political arrogance trod by the other parties, our central committee must always remain responsive and responsible to the party in the electorate. Unity will prevail as long as we have this two way street arrangement. We all accept and work for goals and objectives which we have had a share in formulating. In this same spirit we all recognize that those who dedicate more of their time, energy and personal

resources to the activities of PLRU will no doubt form part of the party organization. As these individuals are accountable to the party in the electorate so too we must give them their due according to their contributions to the struggle to empower our people.

The basic field of operation in which the party in the electorate and the party organization come together is the campaign. Here is the attempt to put the party into government. Yet this is but a proximate goal. We seek office to use those offices to bring about fundamental change in the daily lives of our people. The ultimate goal is to create change via the interaction of these three levels or sectors of the partido. The struggle is to bring about policy and resource utilization decisions that are the result of the collective interaction of all of us who are so callously labeled apathetic. Who among us does not care if we do not have enough to eat, are poorly clothed, living in substandard housing and are essentially illiterate? Only those who are dead do not care about such matters. The Partido must work to resolve these issues and more. When offered some realistic opportunities to meet these basic needs in a manner consonant with human dignity, the political non-participants will respond.

Furthermore, we must move in this direction immediately and seize the opportunity at hand. The Republicans are feuding among themselves and if Ford's southern strategy of appointments and funds does not work then we will see a rump party split off in the next year. The Democrats fare no better for while some Democrats court George Wallace others denounce him. Yet these latter always caution their party not to ignore the forces represented by the man from Alabama. The Democrats too may well face a faction bolting their party in the near future. In the next few months, the Chicano community will face even a lesser choice between two greater evils. El Partido must come forward with a strong party organization offering alternatives that form the basis of the creation of el partido among the electorate. We must start to rebuild at the local level aiming at larger coalitions thereby empowering our community at all levels.



|| TEAMSTERS AND GROWERS UNITE AGAINST UFW ||

UNITED FARM WORKERS

Growers Fight Back

When Gov. Brown signed the Agricultural Labor Relations Act on June 6th of this year, farmworkers across the State of California were elated and hopeful that their newly-won right to the secret ballot would be implemented in a free, democratic process. Because agribusiness and the giant supermarket chains had been conferred with and had acknowledged a compromise bill, farmworkers, along with thousands of friends in the cities, assumed that the chaos which has occurred over the past century of farm labor organizing, would stop. In fact, as the bill was signed, all parties, including the United Farmworkers, Teamsters and grower organizations, agreed to live up "to the letter of the law" in "good faith" until the bill actually took affect on August 28th.

GROWER/TEAMO "GOOD FAITH"

How did the growers and Teamsters show their good faith? Here are a few examples:

Bud Antle Co.: Firing of a worker because he was a "Chavista" and threat that he would be black listed from any other Bud Antle crew because of his sympathy with the UFW.

Hansen Lettuce Co.: Worker who was chosen UFW representative on his crew laidoff two days later, although workers with less seniority were not laid off.

D'Arrigo: A dozen UFW supporters laid off and told there was not enough work. Six new workers hired on the stipulation that they sign Teamo authorization cards.

Bruce Church: Worker laid off five days after appearing on stage as volunteer organizer at UFW meeting. Workers with less seniority not laid off.

These kind of abuses might have been expected before the law went into effect. However, these acts continued and have intensified since the bill has been implemented. Examples of these acts and specific incidents are documented here:

Violent acts against UFW organizers and farmworkers—**STOCKTON:** "Posse Comitatus" (a vigilante group) holding rifles against workers at Perry Ranch and Western Tomatoes

Discharges of workers sympathetic to the UFW—**SALINAS:** At Kyotoku Farms, 11 farmworkers who voted for UFW in an ALRB election were fired the day after the election

Manipulation of work crews for voting—**SALINAS:** At West Coast Farms, 4 crews were laid off day before an election; **LIVINGSTON:** At Gallo, 1973 workers were hired instead of 1974 pickers

Growers campaigning for Teamsters—**DELANO:** Louie Ceric writes letter to workers on his stationary telling workers to vote for Teamsters; **LIVINGSTON:** At Gallo, Teamos and Co. supervisors campaigned until the last minute together. Gallo machinery and equipment had "Vote TEAMSTERS" bumper stickers

Election lists—**SALINAS:** At Bud Antle Co., the eligibility list presented by the Co. included small businessmen in Salinas and workers from other companies; **SALINAS:** At Growers' Exchange, the Teamsters petitioned. They received lists within one hour (the minimum is about a day). After UFW qualified, we are told the list was "erroneous." Given another list, again told list was wrong. Final list omitted one crew of workers.

Election dates—**DELANO:** At the Luccas Ranch, the UFW received a call at 1 a.m. setting election for the next day; **HEMET:** At McSweeney Farms, the election was postponed at the Co. request. Co. begins intensive anti-UFW campaign

Election site and other irregularities during voting—**OXNARD:** In Egg City, supervisors turned strikers away from voting. Did not notify all present work force about election; **LIVINGSTON:** Gallo supervisors and payroll clerks allowed as observers *

THE GOVERNOR AND MR. KINTZ

Because of the continuous intimidation and harassment of UFW organizers and supporters by the companies and the Teamsters without prompt effective action to pro-farmworkers' rights by the ALRB! UFW sympathizers everywhere mounted a campaign to oust from office Walter Kintz, the ALRB general counsel. This pressure has helped the Governor and the ALRB to see the inadequate job that Mr. Kintz has done to implement the new law. Although not completely responsive, the effort has gained some definite results:

- incompetent ALRB regional directors and agents fired or transferred
- over 40 new lawyers hired as board agents
- a special commission, appointed by Kintz himself, to investigate unfair labor charges
- ALRB ordered elections where co. has manipulated lists
- allowed election to be held where UFW was totally denied access
- respond quicker to UFW requests for unfair labor practices investigations; document incidents regularly—take our demands seriously
- ALRB help eliminate some of the fear workers have by reprimanding co. foremen and supervisors and Teamo organizers in front of workers

THE STALL: THE GROWERS! THE ALRB—AND CERTIFICATION



\$\$\$A revolution is brewing at ranches where the UFW has been victorious. The reason: at the 119 elections the UFW has won, only 20 have been certified to begin "good faith" collective bargaining with the employer. Because the ALRB is "unable" to certify UFW victories, workers are coming under attack of grower reprisals, firings, intimidation, and use of the Border Patrol to scare workers from testifying in certification hearings. Some blatant examples:

—at Sam Vener Ranch in San Diego County, the UFW won, 202—19 vs. no—union. But because the ALRB has accepted company charges that we "forced" workers to sign UFW authorization cards when we signed them up for unemployment insurance and that we are misrepresenting the initiation fee to the union, over 100 workers have been fired because the ranch has not been certified. Not until a recent 24 hr per day, 7 day vigil took place in Chula Vista (at Verner) were the workers reinstated—

—in Oxnard, many workers at Tanaka, Watanabe, and Akitomo have been "laid-off" —even though there is plenty of work; workers with much seniority are laid-off while others with less continue to work; although there is no work, others are hired to take the place of those fired; Chavistas who do work do not get the best paying jobs; one family has medical benefits from the company cut-off because "Chavez has a medical plan"; workers constantly come under verbal abuse and threats of closing down the ranch if Chavez negotiates a contract; the UFW won overwhelming majorities at these ranches...

—Salinas: in the past week, chaos has reigned—the dreaded "migra" (Border patrol) has "swept-up": key witnesses and strong Chavistas were picked-up at D'Arrigo, Meyer's Tomatoes (where the UFW awaits certifications), Hansen, and Bud Antle (where workers can testify to the Teamo co. misbehavior); at Inter-Harvest, Associated, and other ranches, speed-ups occur and protesting Chavistas are fired; although we have been certified at only 5 ranches in Salinas, the Teamos haven't been certified at all; they would really like a Bud Antle certification—they have begun to play radio spots explaining how "free" and "fair" that election was:

ELECTION TALLY

- 1) There have been 235 elections representing 39,718 workers
- 2) UFW: 118 wins representing 18,396 workers (46.3)
- 3) Teamsters: 83 wins representing 10,516 workers (26.5 percent)
- 4) No—Union: 13 elections representing 1798 workers (4.5 percent)
- 5) undecided: 21 elections which involve 9008 workers (22.7 percent)
- 6) 138 elections held at Teamo Ranches:
 - a. 77 ranches, with 9822 workers remained T.
 - b. 43 ranches, with 6479 workers switched to UFW
 - c. 6 ranches, with 938 workers, went no—union
 - d. 12 ranches, 5528 workers, undecided

THE WORKERS VS. MANUEL RENTERIA

RANK AND FILE VS GOONS

by Dolores Baca

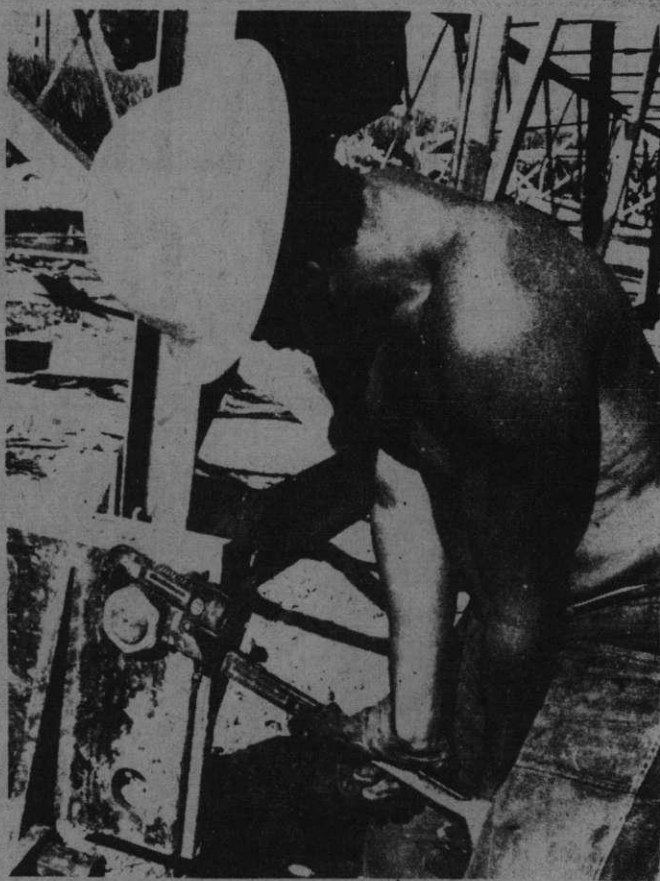
Movement people often romanticize the trade union movement. Rightfully they support the progressive efforts of workingmen to struggle together and bargain collectively. However, just like in anything else, unions are not always progressive, and the leadership often sells out its members for its own personal gains. The case of Local 300, Hodcarriers Union, is an example of corrupt union practices. It is one of the largest construction workers' unions in the United States with over 10,000 members. However, it is charged that it is run by a few men who manipulate it for their own purposes: They divide the workers, Black, Chicano and undocumented Mexican; they use goons; and they give job preference to favorites who kick back money to those in control.

As a member of several unions and from a trade union family background, I followed the trial brought by dissident workers against the union leadership with INTEREST. Three workers Ponce, Esquivel, and Pesqueira brought a civil suit against Manuel Renteria, Local 300 General Manager and the union for injuries sustained in May 1971 when they were attacked and beaten by goons led by Rosario Burgos while they were picketing their own union. They charged that union leaders discriminated against them in assignment of jobs. They further charged that union representatives gave preference to undocumented workers because they were vulnerable and would do their bidding.

This conflict proved to be the tip of the iceberg. It brought to light the struggle of a large sector of the union to democratize the union. Traditionally leadership posts wield tremendous power. The leadership controls the hiring halls and the dispatchers are almost entirely free to ignore seniority rules. It is alleged that many have gotten fat by a system of kickbacks and that the leadership insures its re-election by using the 3000 undocumented worker bloc vote. Moreover, the leadership runs black and Mexican American candidates who splinter the votes of those members.

The civil trial against Renteria et al brought further interesting facts to light. First, it pitted Ricardo Cruz, attorney and CATOLICOS POR LA RAZA fame, against Local 300's well financed lawyers. Cruz slowly overcame tremendous odds and intimidation. He consistently exposed the contradictions in the witnesses for the union. The President of the Local, although he had attended a labor seminar at Harvard, could not identify labor groups and events such as Wobbly (I.W.W.) or Haymarket Riot. He displayed a total lack of political consciousness.

When Cruz questioned Renteria, the latter could not define CIO-AFL nor what rank and file



meant. It was also interesting that Renteria earns \$2,100 a month and owns three homes in the \$30 to \$40 thousand range. It was evident that this leadership was not in the mold of progressive union leaders such as Eugene Debs or Ricardo Flores Magon.

The most sickening part of the trial was the narration of the bloody beatings of May 12, 1971. Ex-Palmdale dispatcher Clarence Buckner testified that on the day of the beating he had come to the Los Angeles Office. He had asked what the pickets were about. One of the goons told him not to worry about it that they would be taken care of. The following week he returned and someone told him: "I told you they would be taken care of. You should have seen Mexicans kicking Mexicans' asses." Buckner was fired soon afterwards.

The goons beat the picketers with knives and battery cables. The ambulance carried three picketers away. The goons were not apprehended since they ran off before the police arrived. Now after four years, the three injured men have received a measure of justice. The court found in their favor and awarded them \$42,000.

The problem however still remains. Local 300 has collected over \$597,000 in dues alone in the past fourteen months. Renteria still controls the union. He has been in power since 1966; he was re-elected in 1969 and, although his 1973 re-election was declared fraudulent by the courts, he won again in 1974. Renteria continues to pit races and national groups against each other. Men hungry for diminishing jobs, desperately obey him in hope of just eating. Local 300 no longer represents the interests of the workers but has become an instrument of oppression. When

STERILIZATION SUIT BY CHICANAS

By Carlos Calderon



Los Angeles, California—State health officials have been enjoined from using federal funds for "voluntary" sterilizations of women between 18 and 21 years of age, in a suit filed by 11 Chicanas in U.S. district court.

Ten of the women are also seeking financial damages in their class action suit which charges that they were deceived and coerced into being sterilized at the Los Angeles County USC Medical Center.

Federal Judge E. Avery Crary also ordered California state officials to re-translate the current Spanish versions of the sterilization consent forms from and 11th-grade level to a 6th-grade level.

The court ordered officials to rewrite the forms after hearing testimony that most of the Chicana patients could not read or understand the current FORMS WRITTEN IN 11TH-grade level Spanish.

Charles Nabarett, one of the attorneys for the women, said that it was "pretty well documented that some doctors were using high pressure tactics" to get women to consent to the operation.

The case, which will continue on May 3, 1976 to resolve financial damages, represents a milestone in the fight against such sterilizations, according to observers here. The Chicano community has been waging a fight over the past 18 months to halt the use of the operations after it was discovered that Chicanas were being sterilized without their knowledge.

The judge, however, made it clear he was not banning the use of voluntary sterilizations of women between 18 and 21 years old, but only the use of federal funds for such operations in California. California law permits voluntary sterilizations of anyone over 18 years of age while Federal law permits the same operation only if the person is 21 years or older.

In a related action, the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors approved an \$846,146 contract with the local Regional Family Planning Council for a new demonstration sterilization program and continuation of current family planning services.

Board approval, however, came only when Liston Witherill, Director of County Health Services, promised that there would be no improper pressure tactics or deceit on the part of County Hospital officials.

Supervisors Edmund Edelman and Kenneth Hahn refused to vote for the program until Witherill pledged that men and women patients would be completely protected from coercion or deceit.

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S CONFERENCE MEXICO CITY JUNE 19, 1975

UNITED NATIONS INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S
YEAR CONFERENCE—MEXICO CITY—JUNE 19,
1975

World Women's Challenge—A New Society Based on
Justice and Peace

BY MS. LUPE ANGUIANO

The necessary BASE for equality of women and men, as well as for development and peace must be a new "INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER"—the liberation of developing and underdeveloped countries from foreign controlled military regimes and the Independence of all countries from foreign economic exploitation. This in a nutshell was the outcome of the United Nations International Womens Year Conference in both the official Government "U.N." Conference and the Non-Government Tribune Conference held in Mexico City June 19 to July 2, 1975. Major contributions to the organization of this plan in both the official and Tribune Conferences were Women and Men from Third World Countries—Chicana delegates of La Raza Unida Party allied themselves with Third World Women and Men in supporting and pushing forward this plan which is called "The Declaration of Mexico." The plan was finally adapted by all countries except the United States and Israel.

Presentations and the exchange of ideas clearly demonstrated that Women from Third World Countries see their liberation closely integrated in the liberation of their Country, their Pueblos—and more important they see their liberation as a lasting liberation in that they are fighting and dying for the creation of a new Social Economic System—which will keep them from being exploiters of other people when they win their liberation.

Third World Women do not agree with the United States Feminist liberation approaches and basic views. They refuse to accept the notion of being liberated women as isolated individuals (women)—detached from her social and economic reality. This in fact was the struggle between the two groups of World Women.

Concrete events which lead to the adaption of the "Declaration of Mexico" were the oppressive problems the majority of World Women from so called undeveloped and developing Countries exposed and discussed in various Tribune workshops and in the papers delivered by official Government delegates at the Tlatelolco Conference. I'll just mention a few of the many incidents I heard and saw at the Conference:

1. Many women from Latin and African Countries spoke about foreign controlled (which they called Yankee) military regimes which oppressed their Coun—



tries by killing or torturing women and men who worked openly for the economic independence of their respective Countries.

2. I saw evidence of torture cases such as one woman from Argentina showed me her hand with a hole drilled through, another one's fingers were smashed and bent. One woman from Chile showed me her leg turned black from the torture inflicted on her, she spoke of military men forcing insects such as spiders into her vagina. Another spoke of being forced to witness sexual violence against her young daughter then seeing her murdered before her eyes. (Please note the list of Chilean Women prisoners at the end of this article.

3. Ms. Marie Pierre Herzog, who lead the United Nations Organization for Education, Science and Culture delegation stated that Mrs. Ahmadon Mahtor M'Bow recently filed an official complaint of many sexual violence cases brought to her attention. M'Bow has charged that men round up young girls, forcing them to be prostitutes and torturing them if they refuse. Ms. Herzog said that in "some cases little girls are obliged to submit to all kinds of sexual perversions inflicted on them." Some women are "forced to have intercourse with as many as 80 clients a day—if they refuse they are either deprived of food, beaten or tortured, some women are murdered to serve as an example." Ms. Herzog stated that M'Bow has personally informed United Nations Secretary General Kurt Waldheim and the directors of the World Health Organization and the International Labor Organization of this situation. Proper investigation and verification of these cases have taken place according to Ms. Herzog.

4. Women from African Countries spoke with great passion about starvation—about being forced to make decisions like "who will be fed and allowed to live—the young or the old."

5. I heard many complaints and some well documented studies by Third World Women about United States Family Planning programs sterilizing the Women of their country.

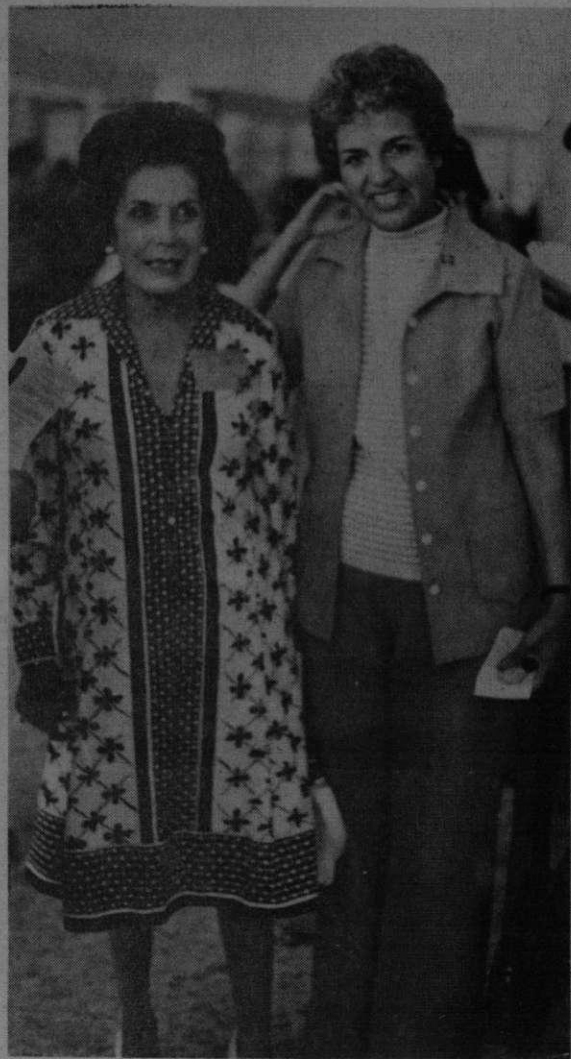
6. Brave Bolivian Woman, Mrs. Domitila de Chungara spoke about the deplorable working conditions of Bolivian Miners—and the life of misery forced upon the miners family. About three and four thousand wives of miners in her community organized themselves. According to her, women are beaten even if pregnant for attending some of the Union organizing meetings. The Company has persons killed when Union organizers try to force the company to improve working conditions. The majority of miners to 14 hours daily—six days a week. She explained that education, health and adequate nutrition is impossible because of extremely low wages. According to her foreign controls (which she called yankee) in her countries mines are killing her people—they are depriving and stealing Bolivian people's God given natural resources which should be used for the benefit of Bolivian people.

These are but a few examples of the things "Brave World Women Leaders" said and saying about their "Reality" in the Society or Pueblos—and about children the responsibility all World Women have in building and becoming integrated into a new Economic System—based on Justice, Dignity and Peace.

As was the case in the official Government Tlatelolco session likewise in the Tribune—the majority of United States feminist stood almost alone in presenting their International approach for the liberation of Women and Men, they stressed that basic to equality, development and peace was that of including women as leaders in their respective countries system—in all levels of opportunity—political, economic and social. The majority of World Women (a few from U.S. in the Tribune disagreed with this basic philosophy—to them such a method would merely replace "Paternalism with Maternalism"—they argued that a Capitalistic system would make women the next oppressor—that the issue is not "men have had the power now women want it or part of that power." This idea would basically imply aggression, domination and being like the oppressor. The majority of women favored rather the building of new social and economic structures which would give all people—women, men, children an opportunity to exercise their human powers in a just manner.

I was really surprised to see the lack of Politication of United States Feminist and with them a handful of women from developed and developing countries.

Other events worth noting, one was the work coming from the "Journalist Encounter" Journalist mainly from the United States, among them Gloria Steinem, who met before the I%W%Y% Conference started June 19. This group put together a "Feminist MANIFESTO"—hopeful to get the endorsement of the Tribune or as one woman stated, control the Conference. The Manifesto was shot down. This incident reminded me of the many community program development sessions Chicanos are asked to participate in—not withstanding the fact that someone else has already organized the plan. We were called to organize a plan that was already organized for us.



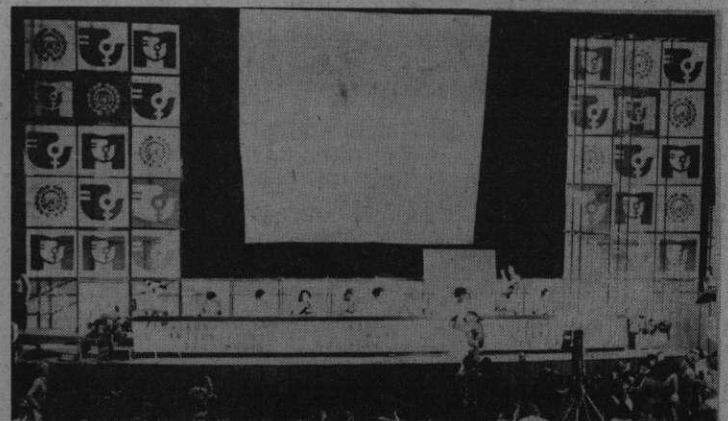
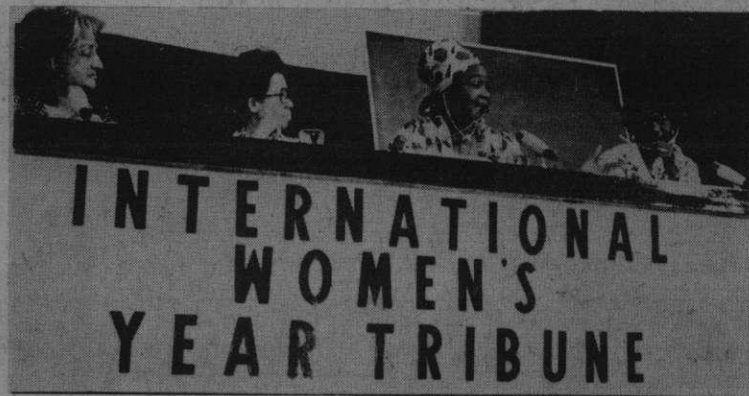
Hortencia Bussi viuda de Allende y
Lupe Anguiano

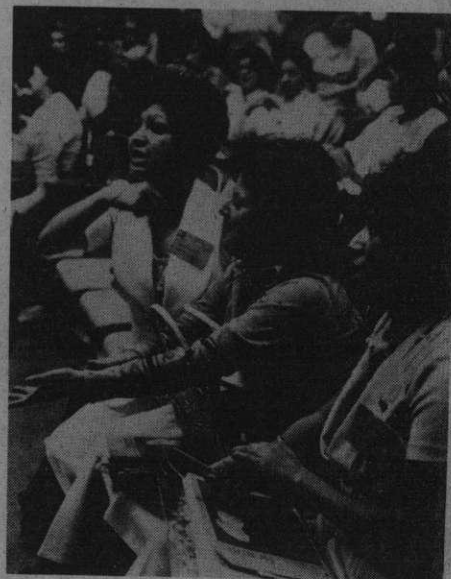
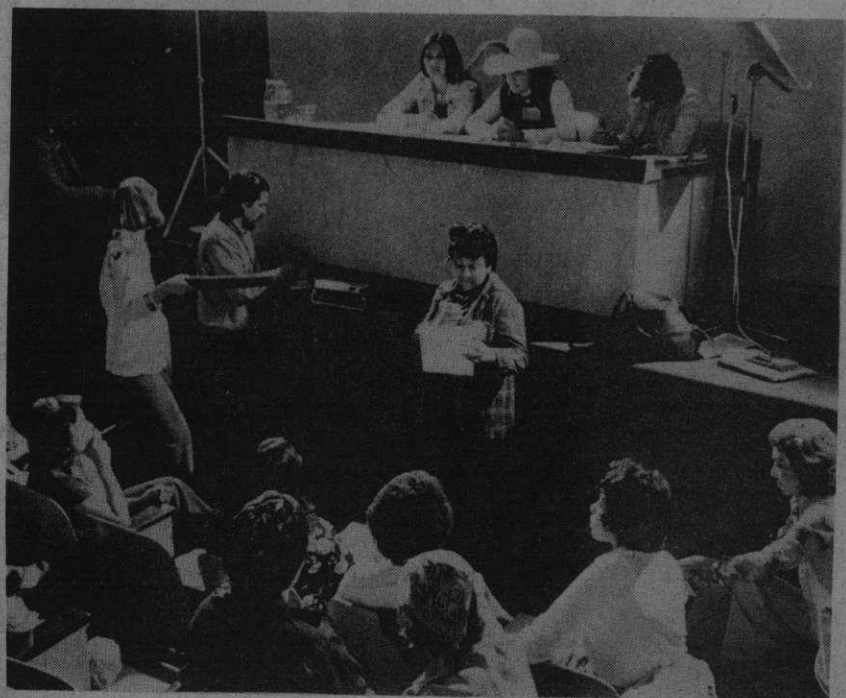
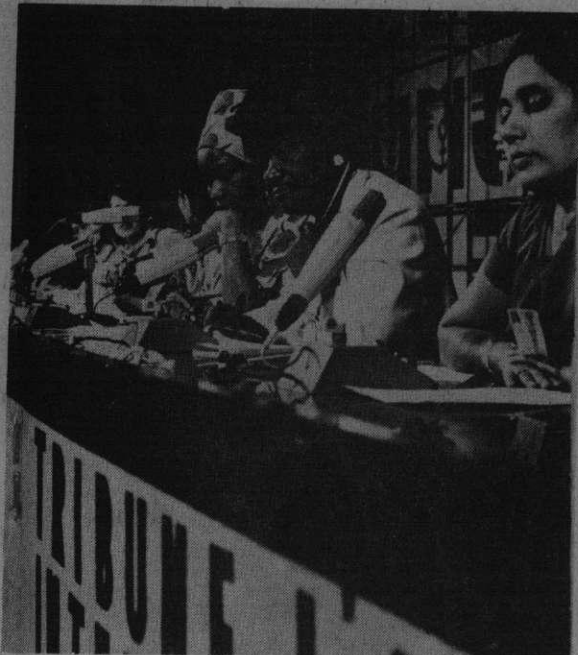
Another similar event was organized by Betty Friedan's group (N.O.W.) and supporters by conducting so called "Global" speak out sessions which were not part of the official Tribune program.

They had great difficulty reaching Third World Women in particular Latin American Women—I was asked to chair a session but graciously declined. Topics discussed in the sessions were abortion—greater involvement of Women in policy positions—greater educational opportunities—a great deal of the time was spent expressing displeasure over the fact that a MAN and not a WOMAN was chairing the official Government Tlatelolco Conference—strategies for unseating him took a great deal of time. Recommended changes by the United Nations Proposed Plan of Action were small and not truly substantial.

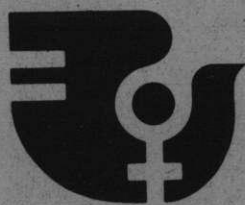
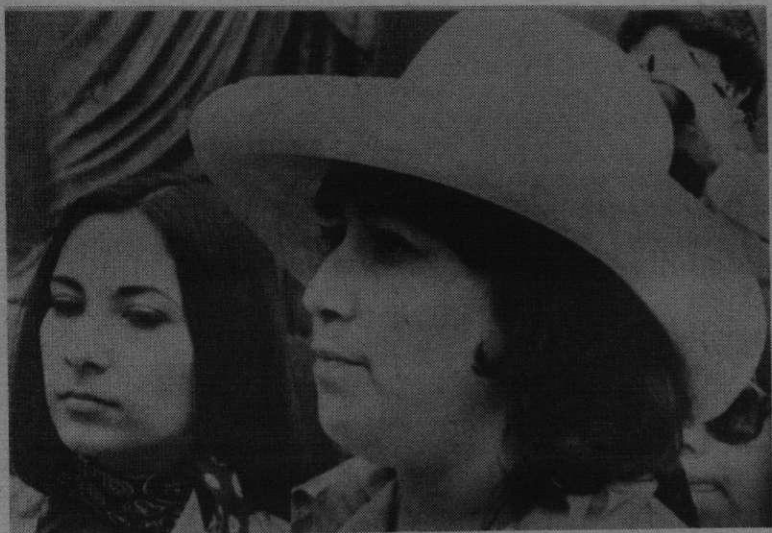
An International Women's Task Force was organized—from the so called Global speakouts Betty Friedan was selected to chair the Task Force—what the "Feminist Manifesto" failed to do—this Task Force was suppose to accomplish.

This International Task Force, which was not representative of World Women but merely Feminist collaborating with the United States N.O.W. organization, asked to address the official United Nations





Photos: Rolando Silva Magdalena Bugarin





**Tribuna del Año Internacional
de la Mujer
Tribune of International
Women's Year**



**Tribune de l'Année Internationale
de la Femme**





Tlatelolco assembly in the name of the Non-Government Tribune—they requested that Mrs. HEVI Sipila, Vice-chairperson of the Official Conference attend the Tribune meeting July 27 so that the Tribune could reinforce the so called World Plan recommendations given the United Nations Official Assembly by the so called International Task Force.

Many Third World women were angry about what they called the "political movida" and "Brassy" U.S. women trying to control the Tribune Conference—to them it was another clear example of U.S. aggression and imposition of power. This event gave Third World women the impression that the U.S. Feminist movement is a capitalistic—imperialistic and colonialistic women's movement.

I was angry when I read the watered down interpretation of our Latin American meetings—these weak and inaccurate statements were even published in the newspaper—it created a great deal of confusion. At any rate Latin American Women got together and together rejected the so called International Task Force recommendations—we got together and quickly wrote some clarification and corrective statements giving reasons for our opposition to the recommendations. This "Clarification Document" was signed whole heartily by many Tribune delegations and read as follows:

PRONUNCIAMIENTO ACLARATORIO AL DOCUMENTO QUE HA CIRCULADO A NOMBRE DE LA TRIBUNA

Las delegaciones de: Argentina
Cuba
Chile
Chicanas del Partido La Raza Unida
Bolivia
Ecuador
Guatemala
Nicaragua
Panama
Puerto Rico
Uruguay
Republica Dominicana

1. Denunciamos el actual estado de dependencia y en todos los ordenes de a mayoría los pueblos de Latinoamérica, respecto do su dominador, el imperialismo yanky. Este desarrolla todas las formas de opresion, que abarcan el colonialismo como en Puerto Rico, la intervencion directa como en Nicaragua, Guatemala, Republica Dominicana, las dictaduras titeres fascistas pro-imperialistas de Bolivia, Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, Paraguay, Haiti y Brasil. la usurpacion de las riquezas nacionales de lo cual es un ejemplo el Canal de Panama, el ilegal bloqueo a Cuba, la opresion y la marginacion de las minorias latinoamericanas residentes en Estados Unidos, por ejemplo las Chicanas de Aztlan.
2. La lucha de la mujer latinoamericana por su liberacion pasa por su compromiso definitivo con la lucha anti-imperialista y por la construccion de una sociedad mas justa de acuerdo con los caminos propios de cada pais, es decir desde su participacion en frentes populares electorales hasta todas las formas de lucha que son necesarias como unica respuesta posible a la violencia del opresor.
3. El problema latinoamericano y por ende el problema de su mujer no es solo un problema de subdesarrollo sino que la situacion economica, social, politica y cultural es producto de la explotacion del imperialismo y de sus aliados vernaculos. En las condiciones actuales, hablar de comprometer a la mujer en el "desarrollo," no es mas que imponerle como modelo el de la metropoli.
4. Proponemos que a traves de las diferentes agrupaciones nacionales desarrollen las mujeres una conciencia latinoamericanista comprometida con la revolucion y no con el modelo de la mujer latinoamericana que propone el imperialismo.
5. Las leyes civiles, laborales y penales que no sean lesivas a la dignidad de la persona humana y discriminatorias en razon de sexo, solamente podran lograrse cuando sean leyes dictadas por el pueblo y no por el opresor. Exigir modificaciones de leyes al enemigo es crear falsas expectativas en el pueblo.
6. Protestamos contra la explotacion del hombre por el hombre, porque los problemas especificos de la falta de igualdad de la mujer, son un emergente de esa explotacion. La mujer como simbolo de objeto sexual es solamente un producto de la explotacion.
7. Denunciamos la represion a la familia latinoamericana y el intento de utilizarla como salvaguarda de los intereses mas conservadores de la sociedad.
8. Solo en el contexto anterior la energia de la mujer podra ser canalizada de manera socialmente util porque las politicas reformistas con explotacion solo sirven para paliar el problema y confundir a las masas haciendo el juego al imperialismo y al neocolonialismo. Denunciamos cualquier intento, desarrollista, tecnicista de encubrir las raices fundamentales del problema social de la mujer.
9. Exigimos que los sistemas educativos dejen de ser instrumentos de opresion de la vida y la cultura de los pueblos latinoamericanos y que coadyuven a formar una conciencia racional, latinoamericana, ant imperialista y revolucionaria.
10. Denunciamos categoricamente los intentos del imperialismo de control de la natalidad como forma de reprimir la potencialidad revolucionaria de los

latinoamericanos, pero aprobamos el derecho de los gobiernos revolucionarios de America Latina de acordar junto con su pueblos, las politicas de poblacion que sean mas adecuadas a sus proyectos politicos latinoamericanos revolucionarios.

11. Solo el triunfo del conunto de los pueblos latinoamericanos contra el imperialismo resclvera los problemas de los trabajadores inmigrantes legales e ilegales, temporales o residentes. Estos problemas son producto del desempleo causado por el poder hegemonico de las empresas transnacionales y de las oligarquias nativas en las economias de los paises dependientes de Latinoamerica, que buscan, en la actual division internacional del trabajo, mano de obra barata que garantice alto reditos a capital invertido.
12. Demandamos la liberacion de todos los hombres y mujeres presos politicos en latinoamerica y en el mundo oprimido por el imperialismo, y en particular la existencia en nuestro continente de campos concentracion regimenes carcelarios inhumanos, la anulacion del derecho de defensa y de asilo, vejaciones y torturas como intento de quebrar la voluntad de lucha, la represalia familiar a traves de la captura de rehenes y los ataques directos a la familia.

Denunciamos la sincronizacion de los aparatos represivos de los gobiernos titeres latinoamericanos y la creacion de "escuadrones de la Muerte" para reprimir a los pueblos, por ejemplo la utilizacion de tropas Ranger contra el pueblo centroamericano en coordinacion con las tropas mercenarias de los dictadores de esos oprimidos paises, y el acuerdo que se ha gestado en el Cono Sur entre Pinochet, Isabel Bordaberry, Stroesner, Geisel y Banzaer

Hacemos un llamamiento al conjunto de las mujeres y los hombres comprometidos con la liberacion de sus pueblos para que impidan que el problema de la explotacion de la mujer sea manipulado por el imperialismo y que contribuyan a la integracion definitiva de la mujer a la lucha de los pueblos del mundo por su liberacion definitiva.

Mexico, 27 de Junio de 1975

We decided to tell the entire Tribune and U.S. Feminist how we felt and why we rejected their International Task Force but—we were not allowed to do so. In the confusion microphones were taken from us, sounds were turned off—I'm sure you all heard and read about this confusion. Had we voted at this time our recommendations would have taken the entire Tribune. Monday morning the so called International Task Force made a last effort to be the spokes piece of the Tribune—they again made a poor interpretation of our clarification document—we again discussed reasons why we did not agree with their interpretation—they did not want to hear our reasons and again the meeting ended up by our standing firmly behind our approach to women's liberation.

We succeeded in exposing the phony International Task Force—even through the United States still announced that they will work with this so called International Task Force through an announced International Network. It was sad to see a few well meaning Black, Mexican, Mexican-American and the Chicana Coalition women caught up supporting this situation.

The conference was a major success—World Women

in both the Official and Tribune Conference rejoiced at the adaption of the "Declaration of Mexico." It passed by a vote of 89 to 2 with 19 absent. The United States and Israel voted against.

Included in the plan are certain "minimum" goals to be reached by 1980 which are a marked increase in literacy of women, extension of vocational training, parity of enrollment in primary education and increased employment opportunities.

On the international level, the plan calls for full involvement of women in policy-making and governments are asked to guarantee that women are equally represented at international meetings.

Regarding that family structure, the plan also states that the functions and roles traditionally allotted to each sex within the family should be continually reexamined and reassessed in the light of changing conditions if women are to have equal rights. Official registration of marriages should be made compulsory and practices such as child marriages and inheritance of widows should be abolished.



"It further states that unmarried mothers should be granted "full-fledged status" as parents, and that children born out of wedlock have the same rights and obligations as those born in wedlock.

Couples should also be enabled to determine freely the number of and spacing of their children and legal, financial and social obstacles to the dissemination of family planning knowledge, means and services should be abolished.

The plan's purpose also is to set guidelines for national and international measures to be taken up by the individual countries at their own volition.

The Declaration of Mexico, stated that "International cooperation and peace require the achievement of national liberation and independence, the elimination of colonialism, imperialism foreign occupation, Zionism, apartheid and racial discrimination in all its forms."

The declaration also asks for the establishing and implementing of a New International Economic Order of which the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States "constitutes a basic element."

Our Faza Unida delegates had the privilege of meeting with the North and South Vietnamese delegation—they spoke of their long haired Army (women) and how they entered Ho-Chi-Mien City before the men's army. They gave us a ring made of the material from the last United States plane shot down in South Vietnam. The Vietnamese women were very warm—they send greetings to all U.S. citizens who helped them win their freedom—over and over again they uttered praise to U.S. people and the same time condemned our corporations—Government which exploit so many people of the World.

I had the honor of receiving a special invitation from Vilma Spim of Cuba to a reception at the Cuban Embassy. It was really great to be among progressive—humanistic—joyful and very optimistic people. Betty Cuevas, Porfirio Delgado Los Angeles Raza Unida delegates and I really enjoyed the Cuban music which is so much like our music—or should I say Latin Music is our music.

I was asked to speak at a major session about the Immigration problems we have in the United States. Some of the points I discussed were:

a. The U.S. Immigration in a Congressional investigation was found to be involved in many illegal activities such as Drug traffic, smuggling workers, prostitution, bribes etc.—We have not succeeded in the obtaining release of the complete "Congressional Investigation Report" called operation clean sweep. As a result of this investigation 226 immigration officers have been forced to resign. Many others involved in this corrupt activities are still employees of the United States Immigration Department.

b. A Los Angeles report and investigation completed by Ms. Susan Racho found many cases of immigration officers sexually attacking women workers without documents upon deporting them. Nothing has been done to take corrective steps.

c. The United States Immigration Department together with the Media have given the nation the impression that Mexican workers coming to the U.S. without documents are causing unemployment and a major recession. This publicity pins Chicano against his Mexican brother and sister. Some studies we have show that undocumented workers receive meager wages even below the Welfare subsidy.

d. Growers hire work contractors who go into Mexico to seek workers—with the cooperation of Immigration officials they smuggle these workers through the border—sometimes these workers are used as strike breakers in particular against United Farm Workers Union without their knowledge. In many cases growers or contractors call the Immigration on these workers before the workers receive their salary.

e. The most serious or basic problem which we are studying is the question—to what extent is the U.S. economy responsible for the lack of employment in Mexico. We have found that for example out of every 42 cents put in by United States Mexico Boarder factories the United States reaps 5 dollars. Economically Mexico depends on the United States—just check to see where Mexico's clothing, soft drinks, auto, utilities etc., etc. come from. In view of these facts we reject any laws that would ban workers from migrating into the United States. We propose that all workers (even the undocumented) be allowed to join a union and that those not be allowed to break strikes.



In closing—I was pleasantly surprised to find that Mexico is ahead of the United States in the passage of a constitutional amendment providing equal rights to men and women under the law. Mexico has a special Women's Department working for the implementation of this law of equality for women and men.

It was great to receive free copies of studies completed of different Mexican Women groups—including special studies of different Indian women. So many studies and other items were given free in Mexican booths.

Finally—I am including in this report a small list of Chilean Women who are political prisoners in their country because they were fighting for Democracy in Chile. The torture—sexual violence committed against these women calls for justice. Alicia Romo representing the military regime in Chile denied that these concentration camps exist in Chile—she invited us to come to Chile and see. The Chilean women delegates attending the Tribune conference—reaffirmed and gave many evidence that torture and that these concentration camps exist. These and other cases plus other documentations can be obtained from La Casa de Chile in Mexico City.

Some closing thoughts—you might like to ask your congress and Senator representative to investigate the military training programs our country is giving to foreign (Third World Countries) military personnel in this country. Many Third World Women complained about the brutal training these men are receiving—to use against their own people.

The Catholic Church has done so much to welcome the excited Vietnamese—it seems to me that Latin American people are also being tortured and killed why can't we open our doors also to the Chilean political prison.

Finally, just like we in the United States would fight and die to keep outsiders from imposing a type of government which we do not approve of—so it seems to me we should defend other world peoples right to select their own form of government. If countries people choose Socialism as their form of government then we as a people should defend their right to choose such.

Many incidents in the conference proved that sharing their countries resources helped the majority of people to eat, receive adequate health service and become educated. It seems to me that in the United States publicity has forced us to protect the capital interests of a few millionaires not for our good but for their wealth.



Why is Olga still a prisoner in Argentina?

For more than 10 months the Argentine Government of Isabel Peron has held Olga Talamante—a 25 year old Chicana from Gilroy, California—in jail with an estimated 3,000 other political prisoners. Her crime? Association with the broad mass of Argentine people who for years have struggled for the restoration of democracy in their country. For more than 10 months the U.S. Government has been guilty of complicity by supporting this repression against the Argentine people and by refusing to press for Olga's release—all the time assuring Olga's family and many supporters that "we are doing the best we can."

We have waited long enough and will no longer accept lies and weak excuses. It is now the time for progressive people and their organizations all over the

country to unmask this complicity by (1) sending letters and telegrams, (2) passing resolutions of support from your organization, (3) informing others through the media and (4) pressuring your elected representatives to act now for Olga's release and an end to the U.S. supported repression in Argentina.

The enormous support already shown for Olga and her fellow prisoners in the past months has surely saved their lives and brought much attention to the suppression of democratic rights in that country, but a much greater effort is now necessary. The U.S. Government apparently does not want to free Olga, perhaps afraid that the American people will hear her story. But we, whom the Government pretends to represent, can and must free Olga and her fellow prisoners by our public and united outcry.

OLGA TALAMANTE AND HER COMPANIONS NEED YOUR HELP. WE URGE YOU TO SEND LETTERS AND TELEGRAMS (SEE SAMPLE) IMMEDIATELY TO THE FOLLOWING OFFICIALS:

OLGA TALAMANTE Y SUS COMPAÑEROS NECESITAN SU AYUDA. FAVOR DE MANDAR CARTAS Y TELEGRAMAS (VER EJEMPLAR) INMEDIATAMENTE A LOS SIGUIENTES OFICIALES:

U.S. Ambassador Robert Hill
U.S. Embassy
Sarmiento 663
Buenos Aires, Argentina

Argentine Ministry of the Interior
Balcarse 50
Buenos Aires, Argentina

Dear Sir:

The case of Olga Talamante and the twelve Argentines arrested with her show the lengths to which the Argentine Government will go in suppressing democratic rights and the extent to which the U.S. Government will lie to its citizens back home in order to hide its complicity with this repression.

I demand the immediate release of Olga and her companions, Olga's immediate return to the U.S. and the restoration of democratic rights in Argentina.

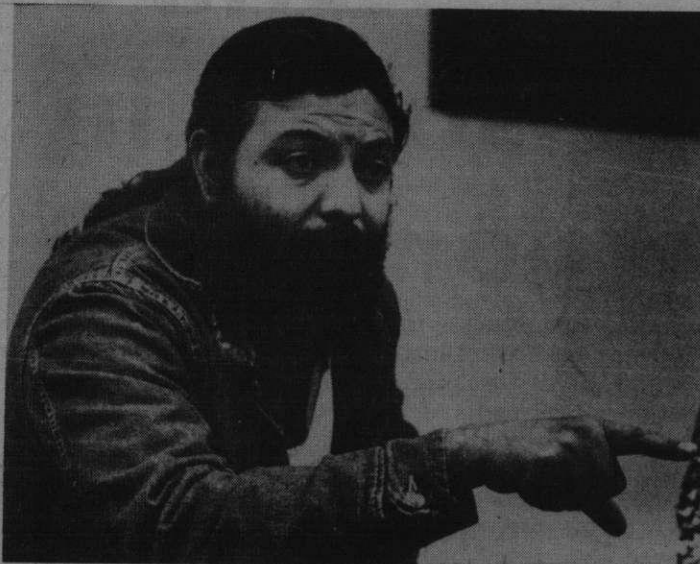
Estimado Señor:

El caso de Olga Talamante y los doce Argentinos arrestados con ella muestra hasta que grado el gobierno Argentino llegará en su represión de los derechos democráticos, y el extento a que el gobierno de EEUU mentirá a sus ciudadanos para esconder su complicidad con esta represión.

Exijo la inmediata libertad de Olga y sus compañeros, el regreso de Olga a los Estados Unidos y la restauración de los derechos democráticos en Argentina.

PEOPLE'S ATTORNEY

by David J. Gonzalez



an interview with miguel garcia

Miguel Garcia, a thirty-two year old Chicano attorney, sat in his office at 2111 East Brooklyn where the Model Cities Office is located. In the background, the posters of Cuba and Zapata reflect the current political climate in the community. He is unique because of his method of approach to law and his commitment to the overall people's movement in this country to preserve democratic rights of all people. With a deep sense of commitment, he has taken on the institution of police.

Miguel Garcia has been before the California Supreme Court and won. Two of the cases are *Pitches v. Supreme Court*, 11 Cal 3d 531 (1974).

His method of approach in police brutality cases is effective because Miguel has been able to get into the personnel records of police officers who have a history of brutalizing people. He has been able to bring witnesses to testify about the propensity for violence on the part of police officers in these cases. In this context, he is demonstrating aggressive qualities of a leader for political change in this country. And since police brutality in the Chicano community is one of the most serious problems, he is in the forefront of our struggle.

Q: I would like us to discuss the responsibilities presently faced by the Chicano resistance movement. But to get to the heart of the matter, we should hear your opinion of the movement's past progress and whether or not it moved in the right direction.

A: I think there has been progress. We have certainly moved to a different level from what I remember way back in 1968 when I first started getting involved because of the walk-outs when ten thousand Chicanos here in Eastlos said the education stinks and that really had a great impact on me. So my involvement dates from about that time and I have seen the different stages.

The first stage was very much an aggressive level, a level where it was Chicano. Chicano, Chicano. It was very cultural, very ethnic, and very nationalistic. It lacked ideology in terms of we going beyond our culture and beyond our own group and see what was happening in society as a whole and even the world as a whole and how we fit into that. I think there has been two changes. One is the street level has kind of decreased and the people who were heavily involved and committed in that type of participation have gone to doing different things, for example, to learning particular systems within the whole structure of the government, the whole structure of society, and then trying to use them for the benefit of poor people. There has been a definite change in terms of we developing a higher level of sophistication and knowledge and being able to use it.

Secondly, I think there has been a big change in terms of now the movement is not so nationalistic, not entirely for Chicano but is good for working class people, good for poor people. I think we have to pay special attention and importance to ourselves because who is going to take care of our needs but we have to have a broader perspective too.

Q: Like any other people, the Chicanos follow various ideological trends. Surely, it is natural that these trends be expressed through different organizational forms, especially at such a stage as national liberation. What is your opinion on this matter?

A: I think we have to have room for difference within the Chicano community, within the political community. I think if we become too dogmatic, if we draw lines too distinctively, too strongly, then people become alienated. And in terms of unity and

strength, we lose a lot from that. There is, at some point, where I myself personally will not be willing to work or associate with certain individuals who I feel are too conservative, too reactionary, too opposed to goals and objectives that I have which I feel strongly about.

However, I am also more tolerant of persons who may not agree with me but are not at the point that I consider them to be reactionary. I think it is at that level we have to have more understanding. We, in fact, have to try to bring people along in terms of trying to have them see that maybe some of the values and some of the styles of life that they follow is not really what is important to us as a people or to them as individuals. I think that people are at different stages of development so if we draw very hard lines we are excluding what can be a lot of support for objectives that the extreme left may have. I think there should be more tolerance of different ideologies but there is at some point where I would say fuck you too.

Q: What are your thoughts on raising the consciousness of those people who are more spectators than participators? What kinds of programs can be developed to politicize them?

A: Through study groups, but in study groups you are assuming the persons who are going to participate have enough interest that they would even come together. Nevertheless, it is an effective method for raising the consciousness of the people. I can talk about the methods that I use, for example, in the courtroom.

I do police cases, not only to make a strong legal attack against the institution of police but it is also, in one sense, to educate people in the majority community and in our own community about what is happening, that is, what the police are doing in our community. Each time I have a case, I have twelve people who are my audience from several days to as much as four or five weeks. Certainly, you use that process to educate them, and to impress them with the kind of repression that that agency of the state is into.

Q: There are different theories of what should be done in terms of raising the consciousness of the people. The Marxist theory, for example, says that people will not reach a level of consciousness until the productive forces effect them in a way that they will have some kind of consciousness of a class, some kind of consciousness of their condition. And there is the other view that some vanguard, in this particular case, a Chicano intellectual vanguard, that will feed an ideology to the people. What are your thoughts on this problem?

A: You can't just rely on the working conditions raising the consciousness of the people. I have to get back to what I am into because that is concrete. In terms of the police issue, we have a Police Practices Panel which we recently organized. One of the things that has come out of the panel is a monthly newsletter which goes out to the community. The first issue is coming out in about a month because we have just organized the panel. That is one method of raising the consciousness of the people on these particular issues. We are also developing a centralized complaint file against the police officers county-wide. So one of the regular stories in this newsletter will

be a breakdown of the complaints received and also we will have some article on the Pig of the Month, a police officer of the month that is the most brutal because he has received so many complaints. In other words, to expose those people to that kind of pressure and at the same time to educate the community on a particular issue. I think the process of education when it is done in terms of what people can understand and when it is done in a logical common sensible way does a lot in raising the consciousness of the people. How much, I don't know.

In police cases, most of the time people can't believe what goes on until they themselves are the victims of it or until a family member is a victim of it. I am not sure the newsletter is going to do that much but it is an effort. I think you have to take an active role in educating people.

Q: Do you think there is a possibility in the future of having a permanent organization that the people could identify with, collectively, have some kind of point of reference, a militant sense of belonging?

A: Sure, and it is happening in every nation. You have the communist party in a lot of countries where that is the kind of organization that you are talking about. We have not reached the level here in the United States or in the Chicano community where that actually can happen. I am not really into the international thing at this point. My goals are much more modest. I am into learning a system that is very much oppressing our people and has done that historically.

In terms of what I can do as an individual I have mapped out certain goals and certain objectives and that is what I want to dedicate myself to at this point in my life, in terms of learning that system and being able to use it effectively, in expanding the rights of people, that is in checking repression and aggressively dealing with the agency of the state which is very much in the forefront of fascism and which is fucking over people, and that is the institution of the police.



Q: Break that down. How do you see police and their role within the community, the Chicano community?

A: They are the representatives of the people in power. They are the intimidators of the poor in this country so the people will not overwhelm those that have a lot to lose. That is what the police really are about. The police express the racism against Chicanos, against Blacks. Poor people are intimidated very much by the police. There is no doubt about it. They represent the power in this country. They are some of the representatives of that power.

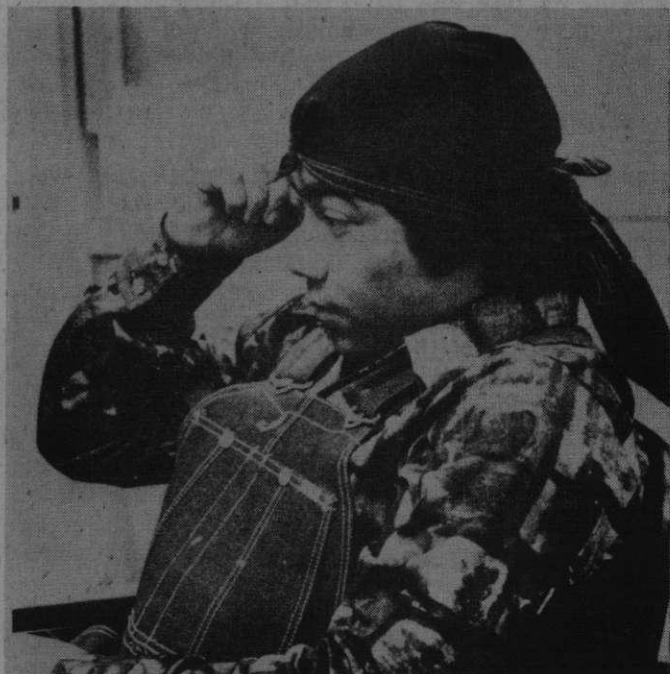
Q: Are you saying the police department is an instrument?

A: Sure. I think that the system of police repression is only a very small part of what the overall people's movement in this country has to contend with. I see myself as a participant in the overall movement of poor people but it is a very small part. I think there are other people who, and here again it comes to levels of involvement, are at the level of trying to develop a more broad base and broader resistance to repression in this country and to capitalism too. Mine is a much more limited role. I see it and I think what I do also has an impact on the people who are working at this other level because the work that I do will certainly benefit the political activist. While I have established principles that deal with the democratic rights of everybody, including political activist, include Chicanos, including any class of people who will be prosecuted because they are disliked, because they are on the outside. So it is all interrelated but I see myself in a certain role or in a certain way that I am participating in the people's movement.

It is not always in the level of a lawyer because I am also at the level of an organizer when I am doing the Police Practices Panel and we are putting together a newsletter that is educating people in the community while we are developing a centralized complaint file which can be used in political ways.

Q: Can you tell us about some of the Supreme Court decisions that you have initiated or played a role in?

A: First let me tell you more or less the method of work that I have which I think is important because to my knowledge it is really the first time any political lawyer developed a very systematic and methodological way of dealing with the agency of the State. We have had Spanish surname lawyers for a long time but in terms of political Chicano lawyers we have had very few. Before my time, the only Chicano lawyer I knew about was Zeta Acosta and he dealt with the legal system in a very aggressive way. I deal with the legal system in a very aggressive way too. But he limited his work to a great extent to using the court case to educate people in the community and that was beautiful. I have to develop more of a knowledge in a way to do that, but my method of work has been to use the



Larry Romero de Casablanca, Riverside-victima de brutalidad policiaca

system and its principles to effect the rights of people on a broad base level. And I have confined my work to a certain area because I think that the law is so broad that you have to know the area that you're into very well when you're really going up against the institutions who are part of the State, who are status quo. So the reason why I think this method is important is by doing systematic and sometimes very routine work you begin to accumulate knowledge just by the everyday work on that institution because the legal struggle like any other struggle is not something that is static. You may win a victory but there will always be a reaction from the State agency, from the system in terms of that victory. And the reaction almost begins immediately and so if you just leave that victory and nothing else happens soon that victory will be no longer existing, or any of the results from that. So by concentrating on one institution, you win a victory. They develop strategy to counteract that victory, and then you have to develop counterstrategy. It is a constant struggle, constant movement that change in terms of what is happening in the legal system as well as any place else.

In the past, lawyers confined their work to reacting to the system entirely by defending the big political case. The Pentagon Papers, the Chicago Seven cases, you name it, just about any case and there was always lawyers representing people who had to be represented because they were brothers in the struggle and certainly those cases can even be used to raise consciousness but they were still reacting to what the government was doing and what I have tried to do and have been effective and actually achieving it is to instead concentrate on one arm of the state, accumulate knowledge on that and begin to take it on very aggressively in a legal kind of struggle. And we're

winning that struggle as far as the kinds of cases we have been establishing. We are almost at the point where the internal affairs section of the LAPD and the Sheriffs have to be eliminated. Coming to court cases, we established the principle that in a police brutality case that the question of the officer is very much an issue. When the police officer says Jose Gonzalez jumped on me, we should be able to go into his background, and see if he has a history of brutalizing people, if he has a history of complaints being filed against him. So we were able to get into the personnel records of police officers and to bring witnesses to testify about this kind of trait of character, this propensity for violence on the part of the police officer. In a police brutality case, that subject was never brought up, and that you could never get information about. It just didn't make sense.

This also brings me to the point of my approach of using the legal system, my approach to the law. I think the legal system that we have in this country, in theory, is a very beautiful system. In practice, it is fucked up because it is not really intended to uphold and follow the principles it is based on. But my approach is always to deal with those principles and to develop arguments that are very logical, that make sense, that in terms of the needs of the overall society, where people have democratic rights, where they have a right to earn a living, a right to have a peaceful life. If you analyze what the law is or should be in terms of those principles and you make arguments based on it and based on concrete factual situations of people that have been fucked over, it can be a very effective way.

That is a different style of working for most lawyers who have been caught up into the system so that they never even have an overview of what the system is suppose to do. Most lawyers of course are into the



money trip. So they do not think of what the law is suppose to be. But I find that most lawyers get caught up with what cases have said for so many years even if those cases do not make sense. And that is not my approach at all. I always look at it in terms of what the law should be and what makes sense, what is just and what is fair.

Q: How did you develop this kind of consciousness—next? What you are expressing is some kind of commitment. How did you escape the brainwashing at the higher institutions of learning, at law school?

A: The walk-outs had a tremendous impact on my mind. I could not wait until I became a lawyer. I felt it was something I had to get into now, and it was a slow process in terms of first organizing a social worker's group which we called Social Action Latinos for Unity Development. But it was a group that was very effective. With a consciousness of what we could do for the Chicano community but no ideology. We were very political in the sense that we were able to form a coalition between the group that we formed within, with welfare rights groups from outside in another community and we were able to get things done in about a period of about a year that the Social Worker's Union was not able to do in many years. So it began with that type of involvement to being involved with Catolicos Por La Raza which was the first time that a church was attacked in this country to my knowledge, to organizing demonstrations against the police, to being delayed from admission to the Bar because of my political involvement, all these things, to being busted by a police officer for resisting arrest, all these things have gone a long way to politicize me. When I was in law school, it was in my second year, when I began to be involved and that went a great deal from keeping me from adopting other values.

Lately my perspective of society has changed even more. I can no longer be an active participant in terms of the consumer society. For example, the buying syndrome, the always being in debt and wanting to have nice clothes, wanting to have a new car. I have abandoned all of those things because I saw no value for me as an individual. What was important in my life, what gave me satisfaction and by abandoning those values it has also given me a great deal more independence because I am no longer caught up in that syndrome. I don't have to compete with people as much as I did before. It is my point of view that society needs to change a great deal.

In terms of the kind of world I want to see, the kind of world I want to live in, being a lawyer, making money, distinguishing myself in traditional ways is not WHAT I am into. It gives me much more great satisfaction to establish a principle of law that is going to be here as long as the court functions, as long as the law is given lip service.

Q: Do you believe in our human right to defend ourselves if necessary from police brutality?

A: Without a doubt. The principle of self-defense is a beautiful principle and even recognized in law and certainly any time your life or your physical being is in danger you have the right to defend yourself.

WOMEN IN CUBA

By Lilian Lechuga and Bernardo Marquez

PRENSA LATINA

Confined in the Boniato Prison near Santiago de Cuba, after the events of Moncada, Haydee Santa Maria and Melba Hernandez, who had participated in the attack against the fortress, decided to continue the struggle and "to run the same risks our comrades were running."

Immediately after the attack on Moncada, Haydee and Melba faced a new stage in their lives as revolutionaries: prison. They felt the deep loss of their comrades in the attack who had met a cruel death: Able, Boris, Raul Gomez, Gildo, Jose Luis Tassende and many others. Still fresh was the blood spilled at Moncada when, without time to assimilate those blows, the women fighters of Moncada were confined in prison and placed in the hands of the jailers of the tyranny.

First in the jail we lived in the tremendous uncertainty of not knowing who was still alive, and mainly what fate had befallen Fidel. We were stunned, so many things had happened. We weren't afraid for ourselves, but we were depressed about what had happened to many of our comrades; nevertheless we were alert and ready to face whatever necessary in those terrible circumstances. Above all, we had the same faith in the principles which guided us in that first great struggle against the tyranny.

82 Days in Boniato

The Boniato prison had a building housing the administrative offices, three blocs for common prisoners, and one, "the best one" for political prisoners.

The bloc housing the Moncada attackers had two wings with a common corridor. They put all of them in one wing, four in each cell. In the other wing, originally destined for political prisoners but now used as a sick bay, they shut up Fidel, alone, in a locked cell. The rest of the wing was occupied by common prisoners who were ill. Access from one wing to another was guarded by four soldiers.

A little while after the Moncada attackers had arrived in Boniato, the director of the prisoner was changed. The new director was someone called Rosabal. The situation was more and more difficult for the combatants. Melba and Haydee were moved to Fidel's wing: "They wanted to deprive us of the protection we had by being with the other Moncada attackers, so they pitted us against the common prisoners."

But the attempt of the tyranny to put them at the mercy of the common prisoners, who would make their lives impossible, was frustrated: the common prisoners sympathized with the Moncada attackers and respected the only two women in that prison. "They

didn't look on us as two women, they treated us as their sisters, they took care of us and protected us from the soldiers."

Then the attackers went on a hunger strike. One of the conditions they demanded was that the two women—in the same wing with Fidel—be allowed to speak to him. What the attackers wanted was to receive instructions from Fidel, who was then preparing for his trial.

The strike started mainly in protest against the isolation of Fidel and the consequent danger to his life. The jailers were becoming more infuriated with Fidel because from the office in the bloc they could see him constantly writing, but they didn't know what he was writing or where he used to hide his notes, how they were smuggled out of the cell or how they circulated from one pavilion to another.

Thus what was supposed to be a punishment for Melba and Haydee turned into a victory. Being in the wing allowed them to establish contact with Fidel and transmit his instructions for the trial. They succeeded in smuggling out the letter that Fidel wrote to the court, denying the version that he was ill and therefore could not be tried with the rest of the attackers.

Melba and Haydee were taken to trial in handcuffs, as were the others. Fidel's energetic protest over this illegal procedure forced the magistrates to order the removal of the handcuffs during the trial.

At the trial, Melba, in a heroic gesture, read out the historic letter.

We agreed that we would interrupt the trial at some early point. We stood up, it was against the rule, but we did it anyway. The court tried to order us to obey the rules, but we didn't. We forced the court to listen to us. Then we presented the letter.

Fidel Castro wrote in *History Will Absolve Me*: "That was the letter which, as the court knows, was presented by Dr. Melba Hernandez in the third session of the trial on September 26. I succeeded in sending it to her, in spite of the implacable vigilance I was subjected to. Because of that letter, immediate reprisals were taken: Dr. Hernandez was held incommunicado and since I was already incommunicado I was put in the most isolated spot of the prison. From then on, all the accused were carefully searched from head to toes before leaving for the trial."

After they had mocked the vigilance of the soldiers and passed the letter to the court, the repressive measures were tightened. Melba and Haydee were given the same punishment as Fidel, they were confined to the reduced space of their cells. "After living that way for five days, our jailers realized that nothing would change our attitude. They un—



Melba Hernandez and Haydee Santamaria in prison after the attack.

locked the cell and permitted us to go out in the corridor."

Fidel was taken to the ground floor, to the pavilion of the common prisoners who were kept in subhuman living conditions.

When Dr. Baudillo Castellanos, said Melba and Haydee, came to tell us that we were to be set free, we energetically opposed it, and in court we stated that we rejected the absolution, that if our comrades were declared guilty we also were equally guilty and if our comrades were given sentences we should be sentenced also.

We acted that way because we wanted to run the same risks our comrades were running, since we did not have the opportunity to run the risks of those who had been killed. And here is the secret of the matter: if we couldn't be with Abel or Boris, then we had to be in jail, side by side with our comrades.

Thus Melba and Haydee became the first women political prisoners in the history of the Cuban Republic. Many women had been imprisoned before, but this was the first time that the courts of the pseudo-Republic had sentenced two women to prison terms for political reasons.

The departure from Boniato was difficult for the revolutionaries. They had to separate from Fidel, whose trial was still pending.

From Boniato to Guanajay

The Moncada attackers were taken from Santiago de Cuba to the Isle of Pines in two military planes. The men were taken to the capital, Nueva Gerona.

The separation of the two women combatants from the group meant a new stage in the struggle: facing prison alone, with only their own convictions for company and stimulus.

In Guanajay the women lived under the government-established prison regime. They were never taken to the courtyard to receive sun. They left their cell only on visitors' day. When they arrived at the women's prison their rebelliousness was somewhat neutralized, since they had no concrete way to express it. But something happened—the assassination of Mario Fortuny on November 27, 1953—that permitted them to express it once again. The director of the prison was obliged to go to their cell and talk at length with the prisoners.

The situation of the prisoners' children was dramatic. There were more than 20 children, all under five years of age, who were in jail with their mothers. Those little children had been born punished by society without having committed any crime, they were like the children of the slaves who were born slaves. Exactly the same.

During Christmas of 1954, Melba and Haydee gave the children toys they had received through Melba's father from the Women's Marti Society. On that day, the journalist Marta Rojas entered the prison under the pretext of taking photos of the children with their toys. She managed to take a historic photo of Melba and Haydee, the only picture that exists of the Moncada attackers in the Guanajay prison.

Prison regime

The Guanajay prison was built in the same period as the Boniato prison. The architecture of both prisons was similar, only in this case Grau San Martin did not foresee the possibility that the women's prison was to house political prisoners one day. All the installations were conceived for common prisoners. The buildings were rectangular blocs with different floors for good-conduct prisoners and for mothers with children. Pavilion "D" was for the most conflictive prisoners. It included a punishment cell that had a metal door with a slit on the bottom for the passage of food: no bed, no furniture, the women slept on the floor.

Underneath Pavilion "A" was the kitchen with an adjoining pantry which was adapted as a cell for Melba and Haydee.

We were not allowed to go out to the courtyard or communicate with the other prisoners.

After seven months in prison, Melba and Haydee were released on February 20, 1954. The parents and relatives of both combatants were waiting for them on the outside. Immediately after their release, they went to the cemetery to place flowers on the tomb of Eduardo Chibas.

From that moment on another stage in their lives began: the reorganization of the movement which was now called July 26, after the attack that had given start to the revolutionary process, according to the instructions of Fidel who from Nueva Gerona had drawn up the strategy and tactics to continue the people's armed struggle to obtain definitive national liberation.

LOS PARRA

Charon D'Aiello

In the most successful Chile solidarity event ever held in Los Angeles, an audience of nearly 2,000 filled Ingalls Auditorium on Saturday, October 11, at East Los Angeles College to hear the LAGLAS sponsored concert by exiled Chilean folk-artists, Los Parra de Chile.

Los Parra's final song, a moving composition by Angel Parra with flute, cuitar, charango, and bombo received a standing ovation expressing the mood of solidarity with the Chilean people:

I want this song to mean hope and unity

Because tomorrow the alamedas will be opened

Because tomorrow the working class will be marching

Because tomorrow the whole world will hear

That our people have recovered their flag.

The group is composed of Patricio Castillo, Isabel Parra, Angel Parra, Christina Parra and Arturo Cipriano. The Parras, exiles from Chile, are the son and daughter of Violeta Parra known to the folk singing world as the mother of the Chilean song movement.

Angel Parra began composing music at the age of 14. His first song is called "Del Norte Vengo Maruca" (I Come From The North, Maruca).

In 1958, he studied at the National Conservatory of Music of Chile. His studies included composition and harmony with Sergio Ortega. He studied classical guitar at the Arturo Gonzalez Academy in Chile and at Academie Plein Vent of Paris. On trips with his sister and mother, Angel gathered and transcribed songs and rhythms of Chilean folklore. From this research 80 songs have been recorded.

Angel Parra has recorded 25 LP albums, and in 1975 together with his sister Isabel received the gold medal for the best folklore group in Helsinki, Finland. Angel has performed with other well known Chilean groups, such as Los Incas, Los Amerindios and the Quilapayun group which traveled through Europe and Latin America as "Cultural Ambassadors of the Popular Unity in 1970.

Isabel Parra like her brother, is also an accomplished musician. She participated in the world Youth Festival in Finland in 1962 and traveled to Cuba for the Festival of the Committed Song. Isabel composed her first song in 1968.

Isabel won first prize for the Best Folklorist Award by the Performance Critics Association in Santiago. She also received first prize for the song "The Ant, My Neighbor," and for best soloist, "Song For A Seed" with the Group Inti-Illimani at the Queen Elizabeth Hall in London.



Isabel has appeared in TV appearances in Paris, Cuba, Argentina, Ecuador, England, Finland, Germany, Italy and Venezuela.

Isabel's recordings include La Pena de Los Parra, Los Parra de Chile, Canciones Folkloricas De America Latina and Canciones De Violeta.

Patricio Castillo joined the group in 1972 at the "Pena de Los Parra." He has performed with groups such as Quilapayun, Los Incas, and Pena de Los Parra. He traveled with the group Quilapayun through Europe and Latin America as "Cultural Ambassadors of the Popular Unity."

Castillo performed at the World Youth Festival in Berlin in 1973 and put to music five poems by Patricio Manns, forming a cycle entitled, "Spring Dead On The Rooftop." He composed the music for Pablo Neruda's play "Splendor and Death of Joaquin Murieta." He also composed and interpreted the music for the Chilean film, "History Belongs To The People Who Do," produced by the Anti-Facist Filmmakers Front. It was shown at the Leipzig Film Festival in 1974.

Through the use of authentic Chilean folklore Los Parra de Chile brought to the American People their message of a Democratic Chile, as well as the traditional folk music and "new song" of the rest of Latin America.

The military government of General Augusto Pinochet, which overthrew the democratically elected Popular Unity government on September 11, 1973, has imprisoned and tortured thousands for their political ideas, outlawed all trade unions and political parties, and repressed the most elementary democratic rights.

In spite of all the government tortures, and threats of death, the people of Chile are continuing their struggle for justice. Through groups like Los Parra de Chile the people are expressing their resistance to such inhumanity as that of the government of Pinochet.

Organizations contributing to the success of the Parra concert at Ingalls Auditorium by providing security against right-wing Cuban or Nazi groups were: La Raza Unida Party, City Terrace Chapter; LAGLAS, Latin American Civic Committee, U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, Latin American Society (USLA), Smith-Scott Defense Committee, New American Movement, and the Socialist Workers Party.

THE ECONOMIC

MANAGEMENT OF THE

FASCIST

DICTATORSHIP

IN CHILE! AND ITS

CONSEQUENCES

After two years and two months of government of the Military Junta, which assumed power in the bloody coup, which cost the lives of President Salvador Allende and thousands of Chileans, the country has been thrown into an economic crisis, in which are valueless the tortuous justifications that they pretend to assign, for the mismanagement of the economic situation to external facts or to problems received as an inheritance of the Popular Unite Government.

Chile has the sad distinction to hold the world record for inflation, which is above 1.5 percent daily. The economic activity, which growth reached in 1971 to almost 8 percent, today has frankly retrogressed and the most optimistic prognostications point to a result for the year of a diminution of at least 5 percent of the gross national product.

These regretful results, the effects of which fall most cruelly over the heads of the people of Chile, are the fatal consequences of politics economically oriented in favor, exclusively, of the interest of the national oligarchy and of Imperialism, and is indissolubly linked to the political and social principle

dissolubly linked to the political and social principles of a fascist dictatorship. Under the boot of the military, Chile is a country where one can see the accentuation of the differences between the great national majority and a small group of privileged men who, in concert with foreign capitalism, are avidly devouring the national patrimony and who



worsen the exploitation and the poverty for the working class. The working class is condemned not only to stagnate but also to retrogress along roads already traversed of past economic and social development. The working class is condemned to become converted into a militarized nation whose armed forces—aside from being an inhuman element for its own people—can become a threat against peace in the whole of the southern Hemisphere of South America.

The Military Junta has declared itself to be fundamentally opposed to communism and has expressed its desire to “extirpate the cancer of Marxism from Chile” and to recuperate its preponderant role, outlined in the preceeding century. In accordance with this, the fascist military has been called upon—so they say—to accomplish this historical debt, and they have announced their willingness to implant a political system which would be similar to the interpretation that they make of the rigors of Chilean republican life of the past century. The economic expression of these principles consists of the imposition of a liberal interpretation of nineteenth-century economic ideas, in reality a crushing of the rights of the working class by means of a cruel repression which silences protestations whatever.



Welcome

The functionings of the economy should theoretically be linked up with the operation of the forces of the market—place which works freely with the forces of supply and demand for the determination of the prices and the allowance of the resources. Free competition, the flesh and bones of this system, would be stimulated, opening up the economy to the exterior allowing the imported products to contribute towards obtaining the proper increment of efficiency for the national products or eliminating them from the market for not having the capacity to compete. The role of the State in the economy must be reduced to a minimum, for it should deliver to private hands all those businesses which belong to the State and which national or international concerns might take an interest in.

The economic development of a country should be based on the energy supplied by private initiative, which the government should foster by offering the facilities and conditions which would make investments attractive. These conditions and facilities should principally consist in ensuring political, social and economic stability for the country, guaranteeing a cheap labor force capable of competing on the international market, and extending conditions more favourable to that foreign investor who accedes to the exigencies of the foreign companies legally nationalized by the government, and by favouring the concentration of the risk and income in order to generate the ability to save what should be converted into productive investment.

Another central aspect of the economics of the Junta has been the material strengthening of the armed forces not only to exercise internal repression but also to prepare itself for a possible war with some bordering country. Towards this end they have destined a very important part of the large internal debt which the country contracted in 1974.

Inflation, the endemic evil of the Chilean economy, could be conquered by the traditional methods recommended by the International Monetary Fund and advised by the orthodox economic

theory of the neoclassical school: reduction of public spending, control of expense, and drastic reduction of the capability for buying of the mass of the population.

The dogmatical, retrograde and extraneous nature of the economic model supplied by the dictatorship cannot result in any other end than a complete disaster brought down upon the heads of all the Chilean people. All this is further aggravated by the fact that the Junta, confronted with its errors, has announced its determination to continue along the same track, arguing that the misery and hunger of the people are "the price we must pay" for the eventual development of the country.

The level of inflation, which they were hoping would not rise above 150 percent in 1974, was more than 375 percent according to the official figures, and actually at levels of more than 600 percent according to the figure of economists of international organizations and publications of the USA and Europe. The first months of 1975 show figures even larger than the first months of last year.

The Junta can show success in none of the economic sectors. The manufacturing industry acknowledged, in 1974, a contraction of 10 percent with respect to the previous year, which had been itself an abnormal year, for obvious reasons. Agriculture was not able to realize levels of the previous ten years, despite the intense propaganda waged to increase production. Mining, which showed good results in the beginning because of the exceptional price of copper (93.3 cents per pound, on the average, in 1974) has had to reduce its production by 15 percent because of agreements with the other copper-producing companies in order to avoid a more pronounced drop in price (today less than 60 cents), dictated by a drop in demand on the international market. This large drop in demand, occasioned by the reduction of the power of buying of the people, brings about disastrous effects for the commerce and for small industry, many of which have had to close down when faced with the imperious conditions demanded of them in order to remain in the market. As a result, the sources of work continue to be reduced and the control of the economy by monopolies grows.

Unemployment is more than 15 percent, and the latest measure of the government—which has stated that it will stop inflation at whatever cost—continue to increase the unemployment in all the economic sectors and in all the regions of the country.

The liquidation of the businesses and possessions, through low prices, of the State, is leading to a monstrous concentration of the wealth and income which is forcing a parallel impoverishment of the workers and the middle classes, of the society. The declarations of principles for free competition and free workings of the marketplace, are nothing more than a pretext to cover over the masked appropriation of riches into the hands of small groups of the privileged whose interests are completely foreign to the necessities of the Chilean people.

The hope of the Junta to obtain some kind of economic development for the country through the investments of the national oligarchy and foreign capitalism has constituted a new deception. The very characteristics of the dictatorship inhibit the confidence of any possible investor given that—even though they have complete political control over the people of the country—the irrationality of the situation is such that it is difficult to believe that they can remain for a prolonged period of time. This, joined with the mismanagement of the economy, has brought the result that national and foreign private investment has remained inconsequential. And this has become an additional factor to accentuate the crisis.

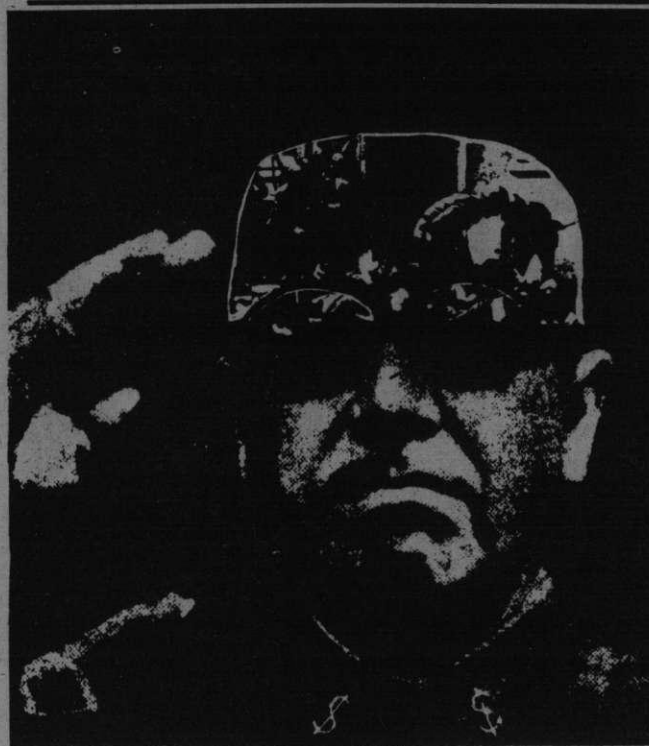
The Military Junta, in announcing its program, said that the year 1974 would be a year of sacrifices for the people, to become the foundation of future development whose fruits all Chileans would enjoy. They have complied with the sacrifices; the fruits are still wanting. Now, in 1975, General Pinochet announces that the stage of sacrifices must be prolonged for at least another two years before the situation can become alleviated. The sacrifices will augment.

The consequences of this economic philosophy—which the Junta has dubbed National Recuperation—has signaled a reduction for the Chilean workers of more than 50 percent, compared to the levels that existed during the period of the Popular Unity Government. It has also signaled the growth of unemployment that—despite the government figures—has grown to be greater than at any other point in the history of Chile.

Behind the coolness of the numbers and percentages there lies a human reality which is truly alarming. The extreme poverty forces the families who live in the slums to construct huts four meters square with discarded materials. They eat a few pieces of bread during the week. The men search for any kind of work which will give them an income—without success. Laundry and domestic jobs once the front of work traditionally apportioned to the woman—have become every day more difficult to find, because the middle class has also had a drastic reduction in their incomes.

The salaries of the workers just barely cover the expenses put out for food. The minimum wage which permitted one to buy 22 Kgrs. of bread in September of 1973 is today equivalent to only 7.5 Kgrs. The workers who are able to maintain jobs now save only or survive.

The middle class, made up of professionals, small and middle size businessmen and industrialists, and a large contingent of public employees—the camp of those who were least favorably disposed towards the Popular Unity government resent the annihilation of the walls of defense that they enjoyed, privileged as they were with respect to the workers and the lower classes. Aside from the fact that the adjustment of the cost of living is not adequate to make up the jumps in inflation, the measures of reduction in the employees in the public sector and the closure of many of the units of production have resulted in large unemployment for this class as well.



to Chile

The demagogic measures of the dictatorial government in offering an emergency plan of employment in which they offer a basic minimum salary and a packet of food apportioned by the charity of international organizations, does not even constitute a palliative for the situation, inasmuch as they are offering 20,000 positions, and those affected are more than 600,000 persons.

The reduction of public expense, destined to fight inflationary pressures, aside from throwing thousands of functionaries into unemployment and many more thousands, dependent upon these functionaries, into worse misery, has brought along with it the considerable reduction of those social services which the State had offered for many years, and which had been perfected under the Popular Unity government. Health care has become a luxury item. The budget of the universities has been reduced, technical courses have been eliminated, and attendance is impossible for all but the few. On the other hand, the military budget has grown immodestly, and the officials of the armed forces—active and retired—are allowed to collect various salaries, allowed to work simultaneously in military and civil charges.

The portrait of misery, abuse, and exploitation is clearly demonstrable in the indexes of infant malnutrition. The figures given for children with irreparable deficiencies due to malnutrition are growing alarmingly. This portrait is clearly demonstrable in the long lines of unemployed seeking work, in the growing number of Chileans who must eat at communal tables to obtain food, in the growth of alcoholism and prostitution. This is what the most brutal dictatorship which Latin America has ever known can offer to the people of Chile in the name of Liberty and Democracy.

PUERTO RICO

la crisis del colonialismo

Díno Cervantes

Puerto Rico, colonia clásica del imperialismo yanqui vive uno de los momentos más críticos y a la vez más importantes de su historia. Paralelamente al deterioro de la crisis política y económica que viven los colonialistas se evidencia el fortalecimiento de las fuerzas revolucionarias y la toma de conciencia de amplios sectores del pueblo, particularmente de su clase obrera integrándose definitivamente a la lucha libertaria.

Para entender a cabalidad la justa lucha del pueblo puertorriqueño y la magnitud de la crisis a que se enfrenta el colonialismo es preciso hacer un poco de historia.

EL CAMBIO DE ESTRATEGIA

En Puerto Rico, como en cualquier colonia capitalista, las actividades económicas se dan en función de las necesidades e intereses de las clases dominantes del país colonizador. De ahí que lo que caracteriza la economía puertorriqueña a lo largo de toda su historia es el desarrollo desigual de las diversas áreas que la componen.

Al final de la década del cuarenta, Estados Unidos cambió su estrategia económica en Puerto Rico. Hasta ese momento la Isla había sido una gigantesca fábrica para la producción de azúcar que se exportaba hacia los EE.UU. sin completar su proceso de refinación. Pero terminada la Segunda Guerra Mundial la necesidad del imperialismo norteamericano era otra. Habían acumulado inmensas cantidades de capital con la industria de guerra y emergían como la principal potencia capitalista. Tenían a su disposición los principales mercados del mundo, sobre todo, a la Europa deshecha por la guerra.

Ante la necesidad de reinvertir el capital excedente, se abrió la posibilidad de desarrollar una gran industria liviana. Uno de los lugares escogidos para hacer una operación económica fue su colonia directa: Puerto Rico.

Las ventajas que presentaba Puerto Rico eran evidentes: control directo del imperialismo, gracias a su dominio colonial; abundancia de mano de obra barata; cercanía a los puertos del este de los Estados Unidos; y exención contributiva hasta por 30 años.



Es así cómo se inicia en Puerto Rico una nueva invasión de capital. Pero esta invasión de capital, a diferencia de la invasión de capital de principios de siglo que estaba dirigida hacia la caña de azúcar, será de *capital industrial*.

Esta nueva estrategia económica que trajo consigo el florecimiento de la industria liviana trajo también cambios en la estructura de clases de la sociedad puertorriqueña. Surgirá ahora una amplia clase obrera, principalmente urbana, con una fracción industrial muy importante. El campesinado, dueños de limitadas extensiones de terrenos en el campo, que en épocas anteriores fueron un sector importante, fue desapareciendo a medida que la agricultura como actividad económica fue decayendo. A la incipiente burguesía nacional, que ya había quedado arrinconada con la invasión masiva de capital de principios de siglo se le troncharon definitivamente todas sus posibilidades de cristalización como clase,

ocupando su lugar una burguesía intermedia, cuyos integrantes están íntimamente ligados a la gran burguesía norteamericana en calidad de socios menores o como sus representantes en la Isla.

Acompañando este "desarrollo económico" el imperialismo impulsa reformas en la superestructura como son la "Ley 600" que crea el llamado "Estado Libre Asociado". Estas reformas tenían el propósito fundamental de frenar la ascendente lucha nacionalista que se llevaba a cabo en el país y que constituía el principal obstáculo a sus planes de explotación económica y al mismo tiempo acallar a la opinión pública mundial que había obligado a los Estados Unidos a informar anualmente a la ONU sobre Puerto Rico ya que la isla era considerada como un territorio no autónomo. Estas reformas también sirvieron para allanar el camino de la invasión de capital dándole, por ejemplo, al gobierno colonial la capacidad para endeudarse ante los bonistas de Wall

Street. El imperialismo norteamericano trató de capitalizar este "desarrollo" que vivió la isla durante la década del cincuenta para sus planes de penetración en el continente latinoamericano. De ahí surgen los lemas: "Puerto Rico, vitrina de la democracia", "Puerto Rico, vitrina del progreso", y otros, que tenían el propósito de venderle a los países de América Latina el "progreso" que vivía Puerto Rico a cambio de su soberanía política.

LOS PILARES DE LA EXPLOTACION

Para garantizar el éxito de esta estrategia económica, el imperialismo toma algunas otras medidas que al pasar del tiempo se van a convertir en los pilares sobre los cuales va a descansar la explotación económica de los próximos años. Estos se pueden resumir en tres puntos:

1. EMIGRACION Y ESTERILIZACION

Las legiones de desempleados creados por la extinción gradual de la industria azucarera y de la decadencia de la agricultura en general, ante el nuevo énfasis económico del imperialismo, fueron congregándose en los cinturones de pobreza alrededor de las principales ciudades. La nueva actividad industrial no era capaz de abrir paso a ese exceso de mano de obra. Al agudizarse la problemática social se crea la válvula de escape de la emigración, o sea, la exportación del excedente de mano de obra para cubrir los huecos que se van quedando marginados en el desarrollo tecnológico e industrial de los Estados Unidos. Este proceso de emigración lleva a más de dos millones de puertorriqueños a emigrar hacia los Estados Unidos lo que representa el 40% de la población.

Paralelamente a la emigración, los imperialistas recurren a la esterilización masiva de mujeres como fórmula para acabar con el problema del desempleo evitando el nacimiento de "futuros desempleados". Cifras recientes demuestran que una tercera parte de las mujeres puertorriqueñas entre los 20 y los 49 años han sido esterilizadas.

2. LA DEUDA PUBLICA Y PRIVADA

Para hacer realidad el nuevo papel que nos asignaba el imperialismo se necesitaban numerosas obras de infraestructura: electri-

cidad abundante y de bajo costo, carreteras para el transporte de los productos, escuelas para adiestrar a los futuros obreros, etc. Los recursos para construir estas obras no provenían de los capitalistas yanquis que estaban interesados en la maximización de las ganancias a corto plazo. Por lo tanto la solución fue el endeudamiento masivo del pueblo puertorriqueño en manos de otros capitalistas yanquis: los bonistas de Wall Street. Estos a su vez representan, en la mayoría de los casos, subsidiarias de las mismas empresas capitalistas que invertían en los diferentes sectores de la economía. Por ejemplo, Rockefeller invierte grandes sumas en la industria turística, y otra empresa Rockefeller, el Chase Manhattan Bank, le presta dinero al gobierno colonial para construir la carretera que necesita a tal fin. Claro está, todo esto se hace cobrando jugosos intereses.

La deuda pública del gobierno colonial asciende en estos momentos a la friolera de 3,397.2 millones de dólares. Sus acreedores no son otros que el Chase Manhattan Bank, First National City Bank, el First Boston Corporation y la Morgan Guaranty Trust, las principales instituciones financieras de la oligarquía norteamericana.

Esa gigantesca deuda pública permitió al gobierno colonial mantener una burocracia enorme que, disfrazando el desempleo, amortiguó las tensiones sociales. Le permitió también hacer incursiones periódicas en la economía adquiriendo, por ejemplo, empresas en quiebra para asegurarle las ganancias al capitalismo extranjero y evitar que se afectara el "clima industrial" que no es otra cosa que demostrarle al capitalista yanqui que sus inversiones están aseguradas.

Junto a esta deuda pública, que pesa sobre todo el pueblo está la deuda privada. Es el endeudamiento particular de cada puertorriqueño que inducido por la necesidad, la propaganda y los mecanismos oficiales de una sociedad de consumo, hipoteca por adelantado sus ingresos futuros. La cifra a que ha llegado este tipo de deuda es muy superior a la deuda pública. Y los acreedores son otra vez los bancos yanquis y sus representantes en el patio.

3. LA REPRESION

Puntal de todo este plan estratégico era la eliminación de todo obstáculo que pudiera echarlo a pique. Y los obstáculos estaban claramente definidos en el Partido Naciona-

lista que dirigía Pedro Albizu Campos y en la Confederación General de Trabajadores (CGT). Contra ellos enfocó sus miras todo el aparato represivo de la colonia y el de los imperialistas. La represión, unas veces sutil y otras descarada pero siempre brutal llevó a la cárcel y a la muerte al liderato nacionalista y dividió la CGT haciéndola prácticamente inoperante.

LA REALIDAD ACTUAL

Aquellos que dentro de la administración colonial, los representantes de la incipiente burguesía criolla, abrigaron la ilusión que la inversión de capital extranjero facilitaría la acumulación de un capital nacional vieron muy pronto su ilusión desvanecida. Las ganancias de las empresas yanquis no se reinvierten en Puerto Rico sino que salen del país. Lo poco que pagan en salarios va principalmente a las grandes empresas de consumo que llegaron con la industria liviana y por lo tanto también

salen de la isla. Surge así un círculo vicioso: para poder mantener un cierto ritmo de crecimiento económico es necesario que entre cada vez más capital extranjero. La administración colonial no tiene ningún poder para evitar la entrada de las empresas de consumo norteamericanas para obligar a las industrias a reinvertir en Puerto Rico sus ganancias.

Por otra parte, por Puerto Rico ser colonia norteamericana toda la transportación marítima entre la Isla y los EE.UU. tiene que hacerse por barcos de la marina mercante de los Estados Unidos, la más cara del mundo y cuyas tarifas están en constante aumento. Esta realidad, unida a la creciente combatividad del movimiento obrero por mejores salarios, redujeron el margen de ganancias de los capitalistas yanquis. Ante esa situación, donde el colonialismo se convierte en camisa de fuerza para el desarrollo económico ya que las ganancias se reducen en vez de aumentar, los capitalistas yanquis recurren a otros lugares como por ejemplo Haití y República Dominicana donde pueden pagar salarios más bajos



y donde no tienen que utilizar la marina mercante norteamericana maximizando así sus ganancias. Las consecuencias de esto no se hicieron esperar: se redujo el ritmo de crecimiento económico en la Isla y se agravó el desempleo.

SE DESMORONAN LOS PILARES

Parte importante de la situación en que se encuentra Puerto Rico es el hecho que los pilares sobre los cuales se montó el andamiaje de explotación también está en crisis.

Los efectos de la inflación en la economía norteamericana han echado a pique la ilusión que se le creaba al puertorriqueño de que emigrando a los EE.UU. podía resolver sus problemas. La tendencia de los últimos años es hacia el regreso de los puertorriqueños que al enfrentar las mismas condiciones de desempleo de las que huyeron en un inicio y al enfrentar la discriminación racial, y otros males sociales de la metrópoli deciden regresar a su patria. Por otra parte los planes de "control familiar" o de esterilización de mujeres han encontrado una sólida oposición por parte de distintos sectores de la población por considerar los mismos de índole genocida.

Por otro lado, la deuda pública, que resultó ser una maniobra efectiva de los imperialistas para resolver la demanda por obras de infraestructura que presentaba la invasión de capital, se les presenta ahora como un boomerang. Esa deuda está llegando a unos niveles en que la débil economía puertorriqueña y el saqueo presupuesto gubernamental no pueden enfrentarse. Se hace evidente que una política económica que se monte en pedir dinero prestado sin que ese dinero vaya destinado a la producción está condenada al fracaso. Un solo dato refleja los niveles de esa crisis: a base del crecimiento actual, para 1977 la deuda pública del gobierno colonial será de 6,000 millones de dólares. Ante esta realidad los gastos gubernamentales se reducen. Lo que antes era una forma de disfrazar el desempleo y ayudar a balancear la economía se viene abajo ante un presupuesto con un déficit de 200 millones de dólares.

La represión, arma con la cual se pretendió suprimir la lucha del pueblo, encontró la protesta, la rebeldía y la acción revolucionaria de los explotados y los oprimidos. Lejos de suprimirse la lucha nacional y la proletaria, estas se conjugaron como nunca antes en la historia de Puerto Rico y de la mera reacción

de autodefensa pasaron a la ofensiva revolucionaria que aspira a transformar este sistema de explotación colonial-capitalista.

EN BUSCA DE "ALTERNATIVAS"

La desesperación de los administradores coloniales por buscar "alternativas" a la industria liviana como base de la economía de Puerto Rico, se une entonces a una nueva necesidad del imperialismo: conseguir nuevas fuentes de materias primas y la necesidad de buscar lugares hacia donde exportar sus industrias altamente contaminantes y con alto consumo de energía. Es así como surge el interés por explotar los yacimientos minerales de Puerto Rico y se establecen en la isla las industrias químicas y petroquímicas.

Aparte de la oportunidad de contaminar sin restricciones hay otras razones para que se escoja a Puerto Rico para el establecimiento de estas industrias químicas y petroquímicas. La fundamental de ellas es la posibilidad de obtener energía barata. Estas empresas pagan la energía eléctrica a un precio mucho menor del que se le factura al pueblo. Y estamos hablando de empresas que consumen gigantescas cantidades de energía. Dos de ellas consumen juntas, más electricidad que 17 distintos países de América Latina. Esto se ha sostenido hasta ahora llevando a niveles sin precedentes la deuda de la empresa gubernamental productora de electricidad (a casi mil millones de dólares) y gravando al pueblo con tarifas abusivas. Ambas cosas difícilmente pueden continuar, entre otras cosas porque de continuar como hasta ahora su programa de inversiones la empresa productora de electricidad tendría que utilizar para 1977, el 75% de su ingreso para el servicio a la deuda.

EL TALON DE AQUILES

Estas industrias químicas y petroquímicas sobre las cuales se pretende montar la economía de Puerto Rico en estos momentos genera muy pocos empleos y estos a su vez son altamente especializados lo que no resuelve el problema del creciente desempleo. Sus flujos contaminantes además de afectar la salud del pueblo tienen efecto sobre la agricultura y la pesca dejando en la miseria a campesinos y pescadores.

En el caso de la industria petroquímica, sus planes de expansión se han visto seriamente afectados por la política asumida por los paí-

ses productores en el Medio Oriente o en Venezuela. El hecho de que estos países hayan entrado en contradicción con los Estados Unidos y que Puerto Rico sea colonia yanqui pone en riesgo el futuro desarrollo de estas empresas.

La proyectada explotación de los recursos mineros del pueblo puertorriqueño han encontrado una oposición que va más allá del pueblo patriota. Hasta los sectores liberales, que buscan un colonialismo suavizado no han tenido otra alternativa que oponerse a los planes de explotación minera. Temeroso ante la reacción popular, el gobierno colonial ha pospuesto la toma de decisión sobre el particular.

ANTE LA CRISIS LA LUCHA DEL PUEBLO

Toda esta situación de crisis, sin soluciones dentro del marco colonial, repercute en las masas, especialmente en la clase obrera. Se agravan sus ya difíciles condiciones de vida y se ve claramente que la causa de sus problemas se encuentra en la base misma del colonialismo y el capitalismo. El imperialismo consciente de su precaria situación, agravada por su propia crisis interna, trata de canalizar el descontento de las masas a través de grupos liberales tratando de reducir la lucha a unas meras demandas por reformas.

Pero la realidad objetiva, unida a una acertada visión política y conducción organizativa correcta han llevado a un ascenso de las fuerzas revolucionarias puertorriqueñas.

Tanto en el plano nacional como internacional, las fuerzas patrióticas puertorriqueñas en especial el Partido Socialista Puertorriqueño obtienen grandes éxitos en su lucha por la libertad.

En síntesis, sin dejarnos conducir a una guerra abierta y desigual utilizando toda la flexibilidad táctica que justifican las circunstancias el sistema ha sido movido a una posición defensiva e impopular que incrementa la voluntad de lucha y el valor y el sacrificio de las clases explotadas. Estas manifestaciones de combatividad cobraron significación especial en las acciones armadas del nacionalismo que llevaron la guerra de liberación a la residencia del presidente Truman y al Congreso de los Estados Unidos, actos que produjeron la mayor acción armada contra Estados Unidos en Puerto Rico en el año 1950 y que desde entonces generalizaron y popularizaron las acciones armadas de masas en coincidencia con las acciones combativas de estudiantes y obreros en el propósito común de liberación nacional y erradicación de las bases capitalistas de nuestra sociedad.

La lucha del pueblo puertorriqueño por su independencia nacional enfrenta a unos años decisivos. Los revolucionarios puertorriqueños estamos seguros de poder conducir esta lucha por un camino victorioso. Esta victoria se acercará más en la medida en que demos vigencia al principio de que el coloniaje es una violación a la paz internacional. De este reconocimiento deduciremos que el caso colonial puertorriqueño es uno de carácter universal que nos atañe en mayor medida a nosotros los puertorriqueños, pero para cuya solución la aportación de todos los pueblos es necesaria.

Llamamos la atención a toda la humanidad antimperialista y anticolonialista sobre la importancia del momento que vive nuestro país. Los combates que surgirán en los años venideros sellarán definitivamente el destino de nuestro pueblo. Estamos seguros de poder contar con una solidaridad similar a ese esfuerzo.





LA RAZA Editorial Board

LA RAZA MAGAZINE Back Issues Still

Available (Vol. 1 nos. 3 THRU 5 and 7

THRU 12 and Vol. 2 No. 1

PEDRO ARIAS
Raul Ruiz
Pasty Duarte
Connie Velasquez
Daniel Zapata
Charon D. Aiello

Bernabe Larralde
Armando Garcia
Martha Garcia
Olga Bastida
Jose Bastida

Viviana Vargas
Jesus Esparza
John Orona

LA RAZA
ENGLISH/SPANISH MAGAZINE
P.O. BOX 31004
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90031

NAME/NOMBRE _____

ADDRESS/CALLE _____

CITY/CIUDAD _____

STATE/ESTADO _____ ZIP CODE _____

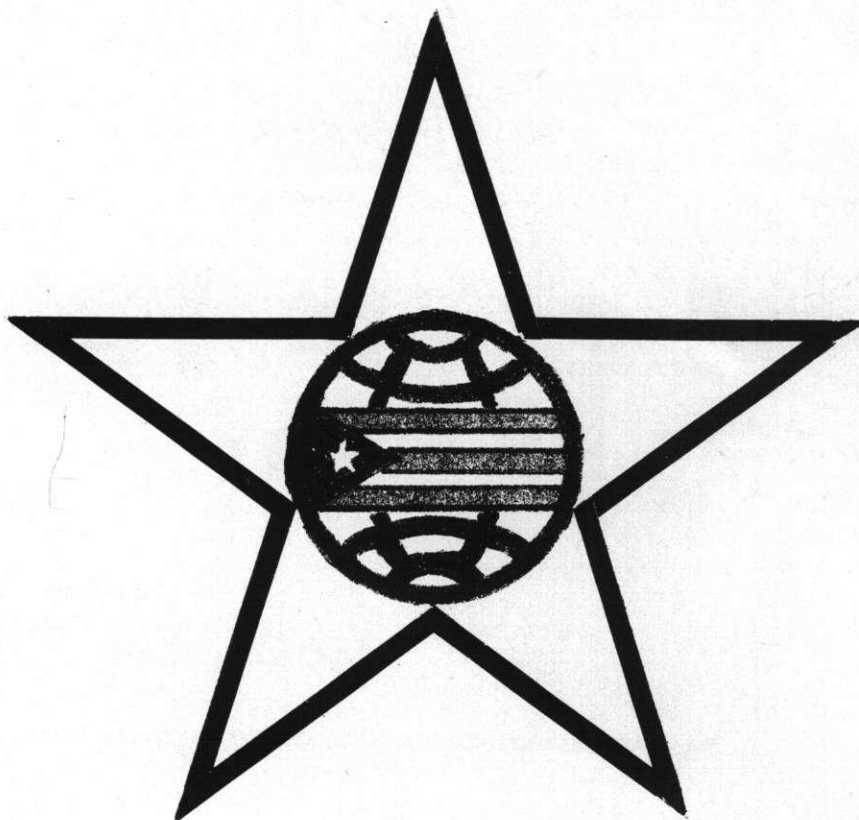
Subscribe/Subscribase

SUBSCRIPTION PRICES FOR 12 ISSUES

\$12.00 USA
\$14.00 Latin America
\$16.00 Europe

**CONFERENCIA INTERNACIONAL DE SOLIDARIDAD CON LA INDEPENDENCIA
DE PUERTO RICO!**

La Habana, Sep. 1975



VICTORIA

1
9
7
5



1
9
7
6

U F W