

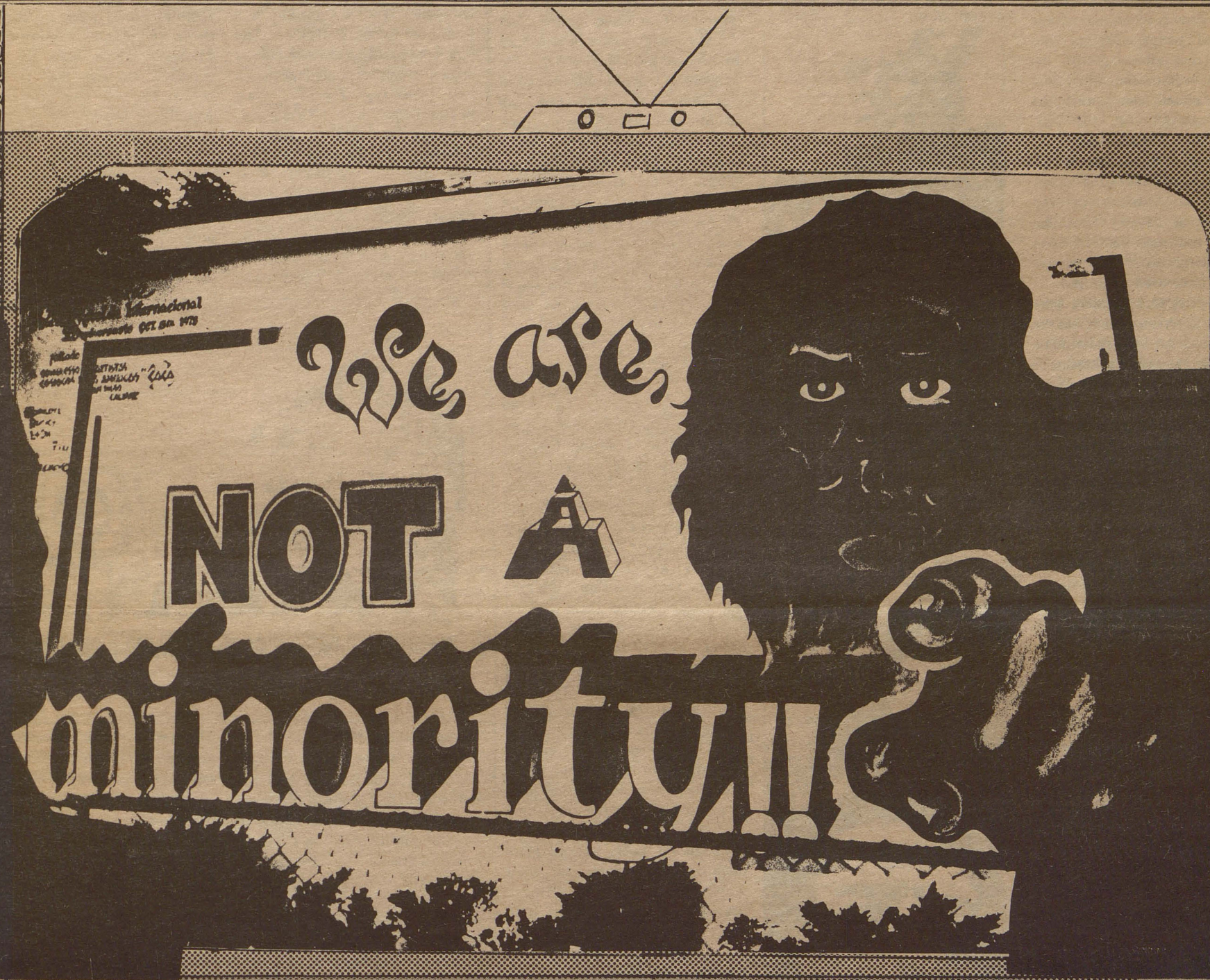
NUESTRA COSA



VOL. 12 No.2

University of California, Riverside

1984



"Chicanos

and the

Media"

OPINION/ COMMENTARY

¡ORGANIZATE RAZA!

The conquest and colonization of Northern Mexico in the mid-19th century set into motion a process of resistance by the inhabitants of the region. This resistance has continued down through the generations of the conquered people, forging into being a new ethnic group: the Chicanos. Both individual and collective efforts have contributed to the struggle for the self-determination of Chicanos.

While at different points in history, great persons have emerged as leaders of the movement, a cursory historical overview indicates that we have been most successful and effective when we have been organized.

To be sure, these leaders were charismatic persons, but it was the efforts of organized individuals that brought about the successes of the Movement. The Movement has grown unevenly, at a snail's pace in the face of an onslaught, and by leaps and bounds at other times. During the 1960's we had a resurgence of activism, after having sustained the onslaught of McCarthyism.

Accomplishments of the Movement during the sixties in the areas of education and civil rights were due to the organized efforts of the people. Achievements of short-term goals, however, coupled with a strong backlash has slowed the Movement.

In recent times, some individuals who were swept up by the Movement of the 60's and 70's have been prophesizing about a new wave of heightened political activism. Such optimism can only be based on faith or an accurate understanding that organization is the key to the realization of this new level of activism. We cannot expect to see any advancement in Movement activity unless those of us who claim to be committed to the goals of the Movement commit ourselves to an organization which itself is committed to the Movement.

Regardless of who one is, or how

much education one has, one ain't nothing if one is not part of an organization. Often times, people feel that they can be central to the Movement without becoming members of a Movement organization.



Worse yet, some individuals act as if they are above organization and in some way serve the Movement in some abstract or metaphysical manner. Such individuals undoubtedly serve the Movement in some manner, but the Movement cannot be advanced by isolated individual effort. The Movement will only advance when our individual contributions are coordinated through organization.

The Chicano community-based organization has historically been central to the Movement. This type of organization has sustained the Movement through hard times and propelled it through periods of growth. Before we can organize at the regional level, to say nothing of the inter-regional level, we must have a highly disciplined organization at the local level.

The Riverside/San Bernardino area is a region where the colonization process has been especially oppressive, and it is no accident that a strong Chicano community-based organization has not endured. For this reason, this type of independent Chicano community-based organization has been absent from the area.

Many potentially effective Chicano activists reside in this area but do not realize their political capacities because of the absence of a grassroots Chicano Movement organization. All individuals have the right to participate in the solutions of their problems, and conscientious Raza have the obligation to struggle collectively through organization.

Organizations advance the goals of the collectivity rather than those of the individual. The organization holds its individual members accountable for their words and deeds. Without organization the efforts of well-intentioned individuals are likely to be coopted by Hispanic and poverty-pimp agencies. For the optimists' view to hold true, that a new level of activism looms on the horizon, Raza must get ORGANIZED!

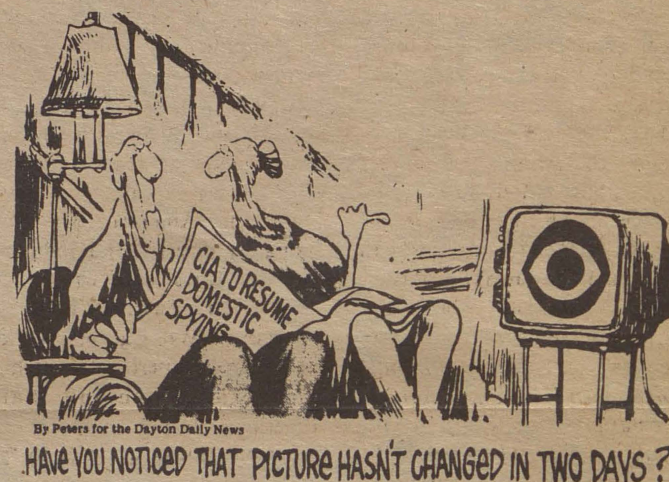
Chicanos and the Media

by Angela Valenzuela

On Saturday, March 3, 1984 between 9AM and 5PM, a symposium entitled "Chicanos and the Media" was held on campus at the University of California at Riverside. The symposium was sponsored by UCR MEChA. The following speakers discussed issues related to Spanish language media use: Phillip Torrez, San Bernardino Sun Telegram; Enrique Martínez, Spanish Broadcast Coordinator for the University of California; Tom Castro, co-owner of KNSE radio station; Ruben Martínez, PhD candidate in Sociology at UCR; and Felix Gutierrez, University of Southern California Department

also emphasized the need for Hispanic ownership of the media.

Ruben Martínez discussed the patterns of Spanish language media use among Chicanos in southern California. Based on findings drawn from a sample in three Chicano communities, Martínez stated that the data collected showed that a large majority of the surveyed population would like to see an increase in Spanish language television programming and that the largest proportion of these respondents wished to have more educational and cultural programs. Finally, Felix Gutierrez discussed the existence of stereotypes of ethnic minorities in



of Journalism.

Phillip Torrez and Enrique Martínez discussed the need for individuals that operate television broadcasts and monitor radios to become sensitive to the Chicano communities, in terms of promoting community interests. This need exists, according to Martínez, because most radio and television stations are owned by non-Hispanics who tend to ignore Chicano interests. Among these interests, also mentioned by Tom Castro, include the promotion of education, upward mobility, and community services. Tom Castro

The media. He described the process by which the image or stereotype that one has of a group is reinforced by the media which then becomes a reality when people conform to the stereotype. He reacted to the stereotypic portrayal of Chicanos in the media by emphasizing the need for self-definition among Chicanos. "Self definition is the first step towards self determination."

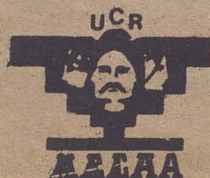
This was the first symposium of its kind put on by MEChA. This symposium highlighted the need to be more critical of what we see, hear and read in the media.

Nuestra Cosa

Nuestra Cosa is the MECHA newspaper of the University of California at Riverside, and is cosponsored by ASUCR.

The opinions expressed in Nuestra Cosa do not necessarily reflect the views of Nuestra Cosa Staff, MEChA, the University of California or ASUCR.

We welcome all contributions: articles, poems, graphics, letters and criticisms. We reserve the right to edit all submitted materials.



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¿QUIEN ES QUIEN ?

1. Who was the prominent national leader within the Salvadoran revolutionary movement who was assassinated in April 1983?

2. Who is the Chicano who not only ranks as the foremost scholar on farm labor but is recognized as one of the leading organizers of farmworkers?



The Electronic Invaders

by Placida Gallegos

In considering the effect of the mass media on Chicanos in general, it is first important that we recognize the profound changes caused by electronic technology on our current society. No longer do we, as Chicanos, have the "luxury" of living in isolated barrios surrounded by comadres and compadres, raising our children under the protective gaze and support of the extended family. More and more, Chicanos are forced by economic and professional realities to leave their families of origin and migrate to other locations. The worlds we encounter and the issues we must deal with are radically different from the lifestyles of our ancestors.

The advanced technology and rapid pace of this country and this age have created adaptive demands on each of us without providing alternate rewards and sources of support.

Marshall McLuhan has sounded the warning cry in his book, "The Medium is the Message" in which he assesses the diverse effects of media overstimulation on our ability to process information about our environment.

"Electric circuitry profoundly involves men with one another. Information pours upon us, instantaneously and continuously.

As soon as information is acquired, it is very rapidly replaced by still newer information. Our electrically-configured world has forced us to move from the habit of data classification to the mode of pattern recognition. We can no longer build serially, block-by-block, step-by-step, because instant communication insures that all factors of the environment and of experience co-exist in a state of active interplay." (p. 63, 1967) What McLuhan is saying bears particularly on Chicanos as we rely on media sources to inform us of the world "out there" as well as informing "them" of our true nature and values. The images of Chicanos and the way we are portrayed in the media have deep

and immediate effects on each of us as we attempt to adapt to our constantly changing surroundings.

The influence of modeling and imitation have been well-documented by current researchers. They have repeatedly found that children begin to interact and imitate significant others at a very young age. Unfortunately, many Chicano youth today grow up constantly bombarded by distorted pictures of the Chicano personality. We are depicted as ignorant slaves or "loose women" but only rarely as productive and healthy individuals coping creatively with real life challenges and problems.

Perhaps even more damaging than misrepresentation of our national character, Chicanos are often ignored and under-represented on television and radio programming. Many of us grew up living in separate worlds; at home we saw brown faces speaking Spanish and living with Chicano values while at school, we saw white faces speaking English, living the American way and telling us directly and indirectly that our ways were wrong. In order to cope with the contradictions of our dual worlds, we became experts at switching roles and changing hats, sometimes losing sight of the important things in order to "get by."

The media, print, television and radio, reinforced the duality of the Chicano existence. Success was portrayed as the Anglo lifestyle and any deviation from that was considered backward and counter-productive. Our language, our faces and our voices have long been stifled or omitted from the national air waves. The only way this situation will change is with our insistence and persistence that programmers consider our needs and more accurately reflect our lifestyles. When media executives recognize the value of the Chicano advertising dollar, perhaps they will begin to serve our communities more efficiently than in the past.

Accused Murderer Awaits Trial

On the evening of May 19, 1983 a long-time member of the Nuestra Cosa Staff died of a gunshot wound to the neck. A few days later the Riverside Coroner ruled that the death of Roberto Claudio Alaniz, 26, had been caused by someone other than himself. On June 2, 1983 Riverside Police officers arrested Donald Jerry Mayes for the murder of Roberto. Released on a \$100,000 property bond a few days later, Mayes, 45, who owns Interstate Marketing Co. in Corona, was tried in Riverside Superior Court in late December and early January. On January 20, the jury members deadlocked and were unable to render a verdict. Mayes remains free while awaiting a new trial.

All the while, those of us who knew Roberto continue to feel a great loss as a result of his death. This loss is especially great because of who Roberto was, an organizer of the Chicano community. His commitment to the Chicano Struggle was neither recent nor shallow, for early in his life he had recognized the oppressed states of his people and the vast qualities that exist in this society.

Born on June 27, 1956 in Los Angeles, Roberto was raised in a barrio called Cypress Park, located in the northeastern part of the city. He attended Aragon Elementary, Nightingale Jr. High, and Lincoln and Franklin High Schools.

During his youth, Roberto played basketball, baseball, and football both in school and his community's sports center. While in high school, he helped coach younger kids in several sports, stressing team over individual achievement.

When in elementary school, Roberto traveled to Baja California on several occasions with his family. He quickly noticed the impoverished lives of the peoples with whom he came in contact, pointing to dirt floors and cardboard houses. He saw the people as clean and well-mannered but as lacking something—food. As he grew older he became involved in delivering food to the needy, and if there was a fundraiser to help

underprivileged people, Roberto was there.

Roberto was a sensitive, loving person who loved helping people from all walks of life. He was proud of his heritage and his people, and he refused to accept racism, whatever its form. On August 29, 1970 Roberto and his family attended a rally in East L.A. known as the Chicano Moratorium. Perhaps this organized march more than any other had the greatest positive influence on his commitment to his people.

Having observed organization at its best, Roberto proceeded in Jr. High School. In the Fall of 1970, he became the Vice-President of the Student Government at his Jr. High School, attending several leadership conferences that year. He and other students founded a Chicano group dedicated to the purpose of curbing violence among Chicano youth.

Roberto went on to get involved in the political campaigns of candidates running for local and state government. He served on student government in high school and in college. Roberto also served as an officer in various MEChA chapters and joined the struggle of the undocumented workers and farmworkers. All of these experiences cultivated Roberto's organizing skills, and in 1978, while at the University of California Riverside, he put those skills to use in helping organize the first Mechistas Unidos Conference. This and the conferences that followed brought together hundreds of Chicano high school students for the purpose of achieving a higher level of education and cultural awareness amongst our youth.

A firm believer in the right of people to participate in the solutions of their own problems, Roberto motivated the students and community members alike into participating in the organization of the conferences. As a result, the Mechistas Unidos Conferences had the support of students, parents, teachers from various schools, community organizers, community agencies, local politicians, and the

superintendent of the school district.

Roberto stressed the virtues of honesty and cooperation and the ideal of freedom. He believed that individuals should be responsible for their actions and repeatedly demonstrated this in his work. He emphasized the necessity to document our organizing efforts and events for the purposes of critical examination.

While working as a consultant the Drug Abuse Central Program of Riverside County in 1980, Roberto recommended that the Mechistas Unidos philosophy be integrated into the County's Health Plan. He further recommended that more funds be allocated for the purpose of hiring more health department personnel to work with Chicano youth.

The contributions of Roberto to his people are countless. His loss will continue to be felt not only by his family, but by the community at large, for he was an organizer who sought by his efforts to make this a better world in which to live. By critically questioning his surroundings, Roberto was able to perceive solutions to problems that others too often take for granted. His dedication and commitment to the emancipation of all oppressed peoples set the standards of activism for all of us.

Throughout the trial of Mayes, however, the defense attorney, Victor Kenton, presented an image of Roberto as an argumentative wild-eyed radical, stopping short of calling him a racist. The concept of Aztlan was brought out by Kenton as if it were part of an underground subversive organization. Witnesses for the defense testified that Roberto was known as "Lefty" because he was left-handed; this fabrication is necessary for the coherence of the story told by Mayes concerning the death of Roberto.

Yet, we who knew Roberto know what kind of person he was, what he stood for, and which hand he used most often. We know what MEChA stands for and what Aztlan means to us. Roberto's spirit is with us as we continue our struggle to be free.

RAZA YOUTH UNITY CONFERENCE 1984

by Patti Rubio

Young people from different areas of California came together in the Mission district of San Francisco for the Raza Youth Unity Conference to stress unity and strengthen our forces as Chicanos. The conference not only brought Chicanos together; it also served as a source of motivation to those who are being introduced to the Movimiento and our Struggle of the past, and the present for the first time. The conference opened with the blessing of a Sacred ceremony commemorating our Indian heritage done by Danza Quetzalcoatl, which also set the mood for the conference. One of the keynote speakers was Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales who started off

with a motivating speech. He reminded the audience of the significant periods in our people's struggles—the sixties. He also stressed the importance of awareness and involvement in the movimiento of all Chicanos.

After the keynote speaker, the people attended various workshops. The Military Draft Workshop, "Who are we fighting for?" concentrated on the fact that today's Raza youth are exposed to T.V. commercials which tell them to be "all that you can be" or "it's not just a job, it's an adventure." The workshop provided an alternative view to the draft and military so that youth would be able to get a full picture of the armed services. The workshop

raised some critical discussion as to what the military is all about, and more importantly, who and what we are fighting for.

The Education workshop served to identify some of the major obstacles affecting Raza youth in the educational system. The speakers gave special attention to the struggles within our communities and how these strengths can overcome the many obstacles youth face in education. In essence, the main theme was "Raza educating Raza." The "Images of the Movement" are also reflected through our art and Culture. In this workshop the speakers gave visual accounts of our people's struggle and history.

The Youth Police and la Pinta:

The Criminalization of Raza Workshop looked at recent trends in youth incarceration, police practices and the criminal justice system. The emphasis was on how these trends are affecting nuestros barrios. The conference ended with a noche de cultura, baile and poetry by Jose Montoya.

The conference continued the following day with the author of *Occupied America*, Rudy Acuna. Acuna emphasized the importance of Chicano unity and cohesiveness. He considers this to be an obligation of all Chicanos. Another important point that he focused on was the tremendous responsibility that all Chicanos have to what is occurring in Central America. One way in which to

begin to get involved is by participating in the upcoming marches during the L.A. Olympics to protest the involvement of U.S. military troops in Central America. Our involvement is of vital importance because "if we don't do anything about it, than we become part of the problem."

In summary, the Raza Youth Unity Conference was dedicated to the Raza youth in our communities and to the Black, Yellow, Red and other oppressed peoples in this country, in Central America, and throughout the 3rd World where young people are fighting for their peoples' liberation. Together we shall endure hasta la victoria. Adelante Raza!

Film Review:

El Norte:
A Filmic Milestone

by Joel Perez

There is currently a film which is receiving great critical reviews and attention, the uniqueness of this is that the film is an independent production; the director and producer are a husband and wife team (Gregory Nava and Anna Thomas); the main cast is Latin American; and the film does not use overtly political means to deliver its message.

The film is *El Norte*. It depicts the plight of two young Guatemalans (a brother and sister), who flee north to the United States by way of Mexico after their country is enveloped in violence and chaos. Their epic journey involves them in a multitude of harrowing adventures which bring them to the realization that the promised land is not the paradise they had dreamed after all.

The story begins in Guatemala, a land of mystical beauty and ancient Mayan traditions. This idyllic setting is converted into a place of terror by the political turmoil in which the protagonists' parents are involved. The father is killed by the army and the mother disappears soon after.

Rosa and Enrique, their children, escape to Mexico, where they encounter other problems. With thousands of similar refugees attempting to cross the border, the Mexicans have taken measures to keep out illegal aliens. This is an ironic announcement of what will confront them at the U.S. border later. Eventually wending their way there, they become victims of a coyote whose intention was to kill them after robbing them. Nevertheless, they manage to enter the U.S. through a sewer pipeline crawling with disease-carrying rats.

In California, their luck appears to change. However, it soon resumes its downward trajectory. The girl contracts typhus while her brother has to decide whether or not to accept a chance to better his situation by going to Chicago and leaving his sister behind. The ending resolves all of the stray

strands of the narrative in a surprising dramatic turn.

This is the third film this pair of gifted filmmakers has produced. *El Norte* was realized not without some problems of its own. Production money was difficult to obtain; the shooting on location was conducted under hazardous conditions, and the raw stock film was stolen at gunpoint for ransom. Despite these handicaps, the result is already being hailed as an epic of independent filmmaking.

The movie features many Latin American actors in key roles. In this respect Nava went against the advice of many individuals who warned the project would never succeed unless it used Anglo actors. He decided to trust his own intuition that if it were done well and honestly, the cultural barrier would be easily crossed. That the film was made with an estimated budget of one million dollars is rather remarkable in itself as well.

Nava and his wife wanted to show as truly as possible the lives of the main characters. Hence, myth, dreams, traditions, folklore and the marvelous are mixed with more realistic elements to show the totality of their existence. These aspects become diffused and less integrated as they proceed through their odyssey to the north.

The visual capabilities of the camera are exploited to an exacting degree in this project. The beautifully photographed panorama of the heroes' wanderings nonetheless makes a clear statement about human beings experiencing exploitation, suffering, and tragedy at the hands of their fellows, regardless of where they are met.

This film is such that it seems destined to mark a milestone in filmmaking; in the history of independent producers as well as for the genre in general.



UCR Chicano Studies
Spring Course Schedule

Chicano Studies 5- T-Th 2:10-3:30 p.m.	Introduction to Chicano Thought and the Arts Mr. R. Martinez
Studies 125- T-Th 11:00-12:30 p.m.	La Chicana Dr. Ortiz
Chicano Studies 163- T-Th 9:30-11:00 a.m.	Social Forces and the Educational Condition of Chicanos Dr. Aguirre
Chicano Studies 164- T-Th 4:00-7:00 p.m.	Personality Development in Mexican American Children Dr. Garza

CALENDAR OF EVENTS
APRIL

9th	MEChA Mtg.	12:00 pm
10th	Senior Dinner Mtg.	12:00 pm
12th	Community College Day	
14th	EOP Transfer Student Interviews	
18th	Senior Dinner Mtg.	12:00 pm
23rd	MEChA Mtg.	6:30 pm
25th	Senior Dinner Mtg.	12:00 pm
28th	NASA Medicine Ways Conference	
29th	Chicano Studies Open House	

MAY

2nd	Cinco de Mayo Activities	
7th	MEChA Mtg.	12:00 pm
8th	Senior Dinner Mtg.	12:00 pm
12th	CHE Conference	6:30 pm
16th	Senior Dinner Mtg.	12:00 pm
21st	MEChA Mtg.	
23rd	Senior Dinner Mtg.	12:00 pm
30th	Senior Dinner Mtg.	12:00 pm

JUNE

4th	MEChA Mtg.	12:00 pm
6th	Senior Dinner Mtg.	12:00 pm
17th	Senior Dinner	

*NOTE: All Mtgs. are in MEChA Cultural Center

Update:

Chicano Studies
Review

by Eliud Martinez

The review of the Chicano Studies program was initiated by the Dean of the College of Humanities and Social Sciences in the Spring of 1982, with a tentative recommendation to disestablish. In its review of our program a year later, the Executive Committee of the College of Humanities and Social Sciences disagreed with the Dean. The members of the College Committee were unanimous in their support of Chicano Studies and recommended that it be continued.

The report has been received from the External Review

Committee that was invited to review and evaluate the Chicano Studies program. Members of the External Review Committee were Dr. Juan Gomez-Quinonez, UCLA; Dr. Rosaura Sanchez, UC San Diego; and Dr. Julian Samora, University of Notre Dame. The committee, chaired by Dr. Samora, came to UCR in early November and interviewed faculty, students and staff. The External Review Committee reports states:

"The UCR Chicano Studies Program is among the top five in the country out of a total of approximately 60, and among the top three in California. The

academic quality of the program, its utility to the fulfillment of the academic mission of the university and the centrality of this Program to the educational enrichment of current and future students, determine that the Program should continue and be further strengthened."

Other phases of the review of the Chicano Studies program remain. They include evaluations by Academic Senate Committees and the Vice Chancellor with the final determination of the Chicano Studies program review to be made by the Chancellor. We are all optimistic about the remaining phases of the Chicano Studies review.

STOP THE DRAFT
CHALE NO
WE WON'T GO



The Erosion of Civil Rights in America

by Leo Cruz

The legacy of Civil Rights in America has been based on the creation of two societies: one white and one non-white. The Civil Rights Cases (1883) were intended to implement the Civil Rights Act passed by Congress in 1875.

Implementation of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments made it a misdemeanor to deny any person equal rights and privileges in inns, theatres, amusement places, and transportation facilities, regardless of color or previous condition of servitude.

In *Plessy vs. Ferguson* (1896) the Supreme Court's doctrine of "separate but equal" emerged. These cases were vehicles for the states and localities to enact a plethora of "Jim Crow" laws. "Jim Crow" laws were designed to complete and reinforce the process of racial segregation between whites and non-whites. In simple terms the validation by the Supreme Court of the "separate but equal" doctrine assured the exclusion of Blacks and other non-whites from the economic, social, and political arenas.

The doctrine of "separate but equal" would remain intact and an essential way of life in America until it was challenged in *Brown vs. Board of Education* (1954). In a unanimous opinion, the Supreme Court struck down public school segregation and the "separate but equal" doctrine which it was based upon. What emerged from the court in *Brown vs. Board of Education* was that "separate but equal was indeed inherently unequal." The constitutionality of the *Brown* decision was challenged by many states and even more so by the southern states. The southern states argued "Interposition" or "States' Rights" concerning desegregation. As a traditional bastion of racial hatred and oppression, the deep southern states did not feel legally obligated to honor the dictums of the Court. When pressure was applied by the Federal Government to comply to the ruling some of the states did little or nothing, while other states complied at the slowest, most deliberate speeds.

Another argument put forth by the southern states was that it was merely "sociological jurisprudence" and clearly not a valid, legal doctrine in the true sense. The continual and unyielding persistence of the southern states to not adopt the dictums of the *Brown* case lead to non-violent demonstrations and civil

disobedience by the traditionally disadvantaged southern Blacks. Resistance to these tactics by southern whites created racial tensions and overt acts of violence perpetrated upon reform conscious Black and non-participating Blacks as well.

Continued acts of violence and racial tensions forced the Federal government to secure the fundamental, constitutional freedoms being denied to Blacks by the states and localities. The most profound effect of the 1960's Civil Rights Movement not only addressed the issue of differential treatment because of race, it also exposed the persistence of a debilitating economic situation for a specific sector of the population in the midst of great affluence.

The passing of the Civil Rights Act in 1964 accomplished many of the objectives of the Civil Rights Movement. The Act provided the

Now, nearly halfway into the decades of 1980's, we are witnessing a departure and a gradual stripping away of hard-fought Affirmative Action Programs. What is "affirmative action?" Affirmative action can be defined as any measure which seeks to terminate a discriminatory practice and to correct and compensate for past or present discrimination. It can further be defined as a systematic, comprehensive, and reviewable effort to dismantle discriminatory processes and to prevent them from recurring in the future.

Without a doubt, affirmative actions is a key tool in achieving gains in this struggle. It appears that of late there have been governmental efforts to reverse the lately-won rights and gains of the non-white workforce and to further that of the working class as a whole. As recently as January

These demands which essentially have been formulated by Reagan's aides are now being considered for presentation to the public as a form of spontaneous pressure on the administration. Of greater significance is that the Heritage Foundation postures itself as defending the interests of white males against affirmative action and against those who benefitted from affirmative action. The next logical questions to ask at this point would be: Which societal members benefit from affirmative action? Who are these intrusive proposals aimed at?

How have the courts dealt with the issue concerning the interests of white males against affirmative action? In *Bakke vs. University of California Regents* (1978) Justice Blackman wrote in his opinion: *In order to get beyond racism we must first take account of race.*



right to vote, prohibited employment discrimination, allowed access to public parks and facilities, it outlawed discrimination to recipients of Federal financial assistance and it ended segregation.

With these and subsequent acts it now appeared that the federal government was assuming responsibility for the needs of the traditionally disadvantaged minorities in the U.S. The Civil Rights Movement of the 1960's and 1970's was of historical and monumental proportions. It was now an enforced constitutional promise to reform and correct the societal, economic and educational encumbrances that minorities had encountered as a result of subordination to white supremacy.

1983, the ultra-right Heritage Foundation has demanded that the Reagan Administration should relieve itself from the commitment to Civil Rights and should further nullify the hundreds of existing affirmative action agreements.

Such reversals of affirmative action gains would upset and banish the already won consent decrees with regard to goals, timetables, and other methods of measuring progress in ending race and sex discrimination. In turn, those who have benefitted from such decrees would then be deprived of the advantages which would then be redistributed to those persons who would have benefitted in the absence of affirmative action in the first place.

There is no other way. And in order to treat some persons equally, we must treat them differently. Justice Blackman's opinion suggests a premise of rulings supporting affirmative action while still clearly addressing the issue of race as being a possible social and cultural determinant of status ascension.

It is vitally important to recognize that the incitement by the ultra-right conservatives of the Reagan Administration to antagonize conflict between whites and non-whites is an age-old capitalist tactic of the exploiting class to divert and undermine the struggles of the collective working class.

It is important to recognize that this strategy has been underwritten

by the Reagan Administration. Simply recognizing the motives of separating non-whites from whites and excluding them from non-economic forms of societal activity can serve as a frame of reference in identifying the origins of racist institutions which produce the racist consequences which we confront today. The accelerating class polarization that exists in America today makes the struggle much more difficult.

Chicanos and Puerto Ricans in the barrios, the Chinese and Japanese American in Chinatowns and Little Tokyos, the Blacks in the urban ghettos, the Native Americans on the reservations and just as important, the four-fifths majority of white workers need a better understanding of this adverse process. The latter's skin color exempts them from the direct adverse effects the less than one-fifth minority workers experience. They, too, would know that they are a mass which lives by the sweat of its brow, or on the payment of its labor power. Such an understanding could lead to a better awareness of the class character of racism. Furthermore, these workers serve as a vehicle in maintaining the hard fought gains in the legal, societal, and economic spheres of past decades. It becomes an imperative for the working class to keep jobs above poverty level wages, to maintain safe working conditions, to provide fringe benefits and promotion, to safeguard constitutional protections and due process of law and the many other essentials which ensure for a healthy life.

The sustenance of such gains can better be accomplished by the reification and actions of a united multiracial, multinational, male-female working class structure. The effective tool to mobilize the struggle is Affirmative Action. An effective process of establishing equality of opportunity and strengthening the democratizing movement to counter the ultra-right conservatism of the Reagan Administration can be maintained through affirmative action. It further serves as a process by which factual equality can be measured, irrespective of race, color, nationality, sex or religious affiliation. The need to deepen the understanding of the workforce and working class in regards to the necessity of Affirmative Action appears to be profoundly important at the present moment.

The Media: Marching to War in Central America

by Ward Schinke

The Media: Marching to War in Central America

Billions of dollars and further thousands of lives, American and Central American, are to be expended on Central America if the U.S. government gets its way. Yet, despite the serious proportions of the conflict in Central America, the American public rarely hears more than the

administration's viewpoint. Due to the increased military buildup, many students may not be enrolled in the fall due to their financial aid being cut or they will be serving in the military on the side of repression in Central America. Will they know why?

The media tend to report the sensational or natural disasters in Third World nations. A study by Professor

McAnany of Texas showed that between 1972 and 1975 the three major television networks did not mention El Salvador on their nightly broadcasts. This period included the overthrow of elected President Duarte in 1972 by the military. While Nicaragua suffered under a brutal dictator from 1975 to 1978, there was barely a half dozen reports. These were mostly the hurricanes and other

natural disasters. But the U.S. government and media claim to be concerned about democracy.

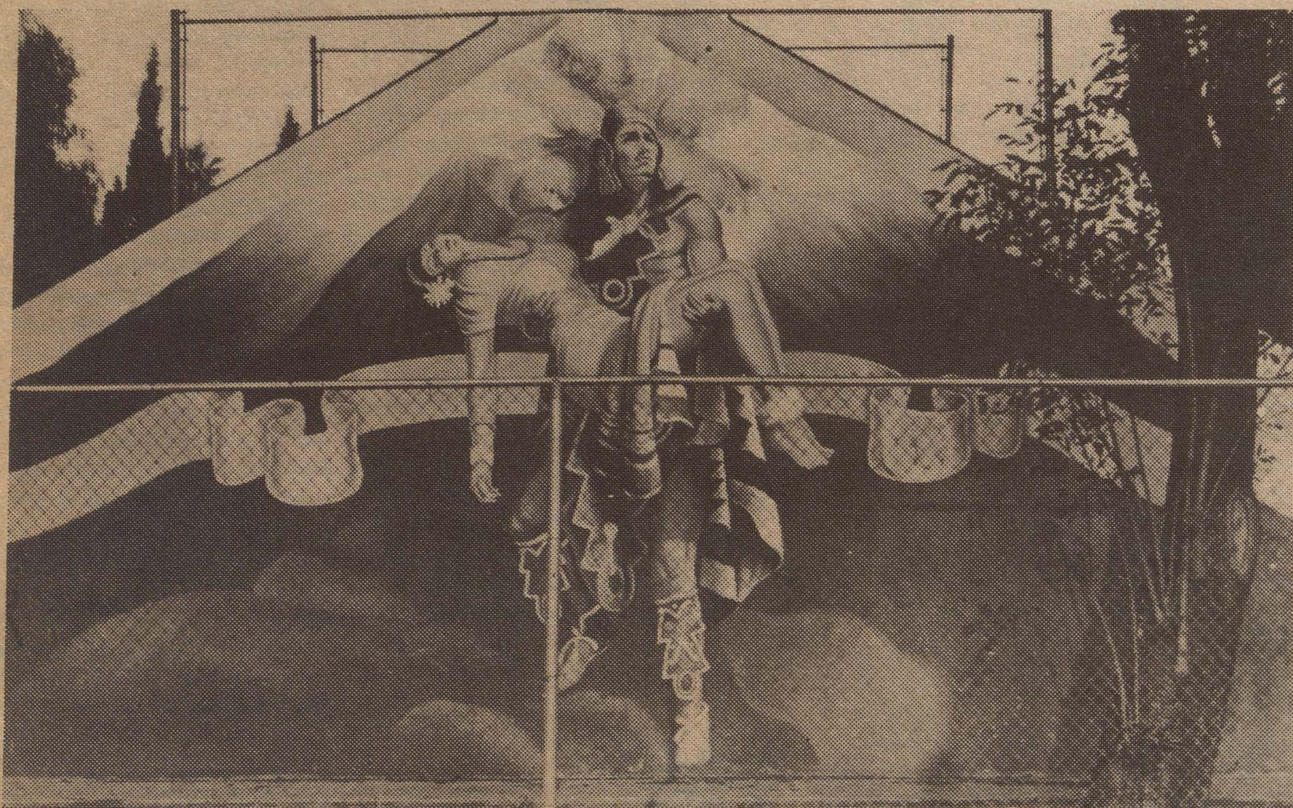
What happens when the media does take up the issue of Central America? In March, 1981 the Reagan Administration publicly called for less coverage of El Salvador contending there were many more important issues. The media dutifully complied. In

the first three months of 1981 there were 186 T.V. reports but only 60 in the next three months and only 62 in the six months after that. Furthermore, according to a study conducted by the Columbia University School of Journalism, when the press quotes officials on El Salvador, 80% of the quotes are from U.S. or El Salvadoran government

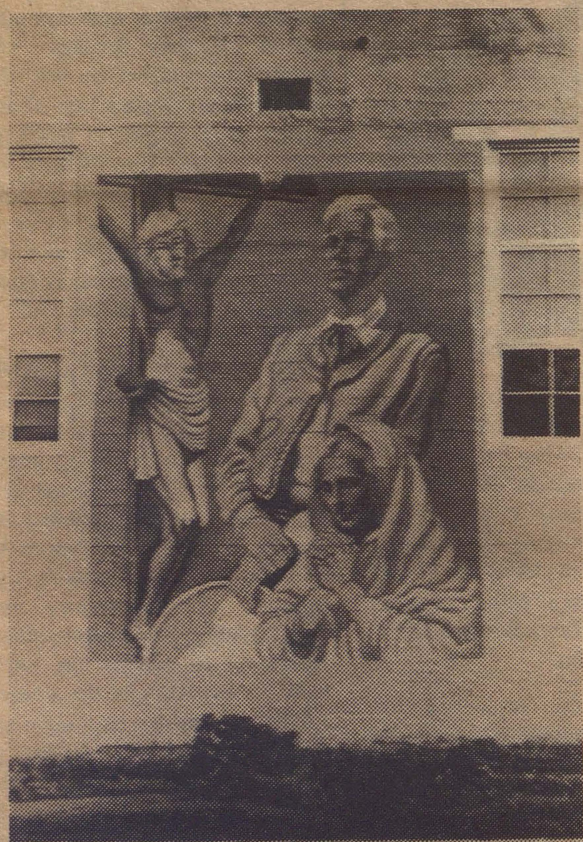
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Photo Essay:

The Mural



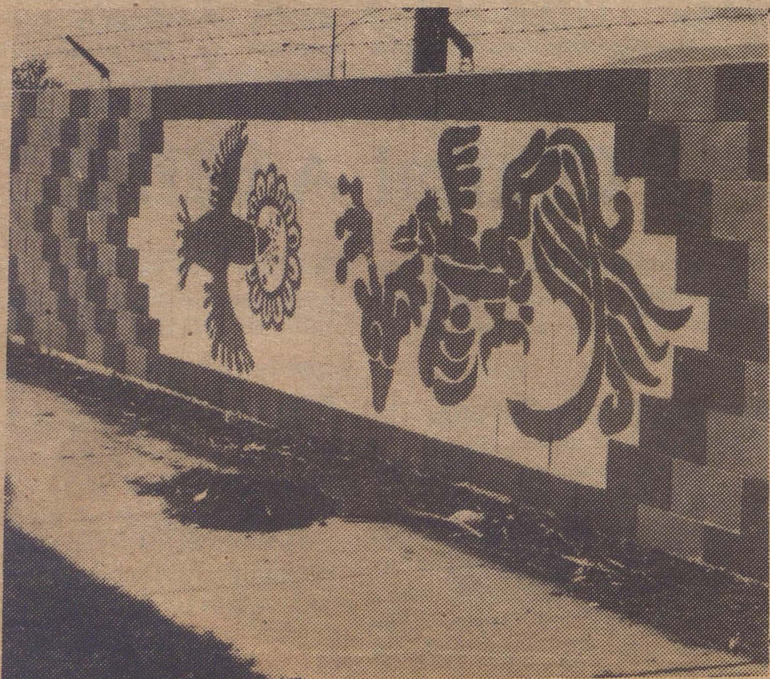
Quinones



Quinones



Perezoso



Perezoso



Perezoso

by Joel Perez

Mural painting is as ancient as the indigenous civilizations of Mexico: those at Teotihuacan and Chichen Itza being two preeminent examples. There, murals served important social and cultural, as well as religious functions.

Today, mural art is still performing a useful role within the Chicano community. Inspired by the great Mexican muralists of the twentieth century who revived tremendous interest in this venerable art form—Orozco, Rivera, Siqueiros and others—young Chicano artists are creating murals which deal with age-old themes and subject matter that, nevertheless, are relevant to and significant for our own times.

Myth and legend become concrete in the form of a pair of indian lovers who, ill-starred, become immortalized in the shape of two snow-capped mountains near the valley of central Mexico. Joined for all time, their story inspires literary, musical, and visual representations. Their images are as apt to appear in a calendar as they are on a playground wall.

Religious motifs, too, recur frequently in barrio art; the crucified Christ and la Virgen de Guadalupe are two of the most often repeated figures. They spread their message from diverse backgrounds as well, since it is not one which can or should be confined to churches or such edifices.

The political and historical aspects of Chicano murals cover a wide range: an Hidalgo, a Juarez, or a Zapata can share the same space as a soft-spoken labor leader or a concerned politician or a

humble campesino. These images bespeak of the struggles and triumphs of any people wishing freedom from despotism and oppression and of a people whose human ties cannot be separated by man-made barriers constructed across national borders.

The artist, partaking of the aesthetic, will venture into the imaginative and mystical. A woman figure presides over a mysterious land where nature and its inhabitants are in mutual accord. Or, stylized animal life-echoes of Mayan and Aztec paintings- adorn a wall around a city yard. The surrealistic is joined with the "real" in the image of a beating heart surrounded by more usual objects and scenes. Perhaps the artist is symbolically saying that the heart of any community is its people living in harmony and respect for each other.

Symbols and allusions, of course, abound in mural paintings. But the statements they make, not surprisingly, are clear and unmistakable. Pain and death can result from our own actions and ignorance, proclaims one painting, while another cries out that the shackles binding our freedom can be shattered by the power that we, as any people, exert through our concerted and rightful efforts.

Mural art in the Chicano community is a vital medium for educating and serving el pueblo and making it aware of its socio-politico-religious past and present. The barrio artist in this endeavor joins hands with his artistic and spiritual predecessors: the contemporary Mexican muralists and their indigenous forerunners.



Quinones



Quinones



Quinones



Perezoso

"Forgotten People"

by Enriqueta Vasquez

Y QUE VIVA NUEVO MEXICO... y por que Nuevo Mexico, some may ask. New Mexico remains not only one of the strongest landholds of Chicanos, but it's a place where our roots remain imbedded deep and alive *en la gente*. What is taking place here and in southern Colorado in relation to land, water and *la gente* is important for all of the Chicano nation to know about, wherever we live, wherever our children may wander.

As a mestizo nation we live in a defined territory, an area of conflict, and as children of revolution we have that for which our forefathers died, a land base. The Southwest remains an area taken by invasion, and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, signed in good faith as a condition of peace, remains that important document that guarantees our rights. We have these treaty rights under international law, guaranteed and agreed to by the U.S. government. When we understand this, we can see ourselves as we really are: citizens of the world, shielded by the banner of humanity.

Most important and unique to Nuevo Mexico is that there are 1700 land grants in the state that never submitted or applied for recognition. At the time of U.S. colonization less than 10% of the people applied for grant recognition. This was mostly because people assumed that these rights would be respected by the new government and the native concept of trust and *'mi casa es su casa'* was extended to the aliens. Many persons do not realize that these lands, the customs, and the laws of our people are still in question.

Under Spanish law there was no simple, absolute title to all land. What you had title to had to be needed and used, and what was left did not need absolute adjudication or title...but, you could use the fruit from the land. This agreement as to usage was not in conflict with native beliefs and laws. Extraction of natural resources for use somewhere else has always been in conflict, beginning with the seed of the sun and gold, to the lumber, coal, uranium and natural resources taken today by big corporations.

Native lands, too, are protected under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, even though most native tribes signed their own treaties with the U.S. government. The Hopi is one of the tribes that tried to remain completely sovereign and refused to recognize outside governments in any way. Reservations were created by the U.S. government, however, placing native reservations and tribes under state laws.

As more and more natural resources are being 'discovered' on these native lands, new attempts are made to dissolve these treaties in order to exploit and rape the people and their lands. Where at one time natives were forced to sell large portions of land under threats of all their lands being taken from them, the natives are now standing firm on what land is left for their use. However, today even this stand is being threatened.

In March, 1969, when we Chicanos declared Aztlan an independent nation consisting of the union of the free pueblos, we were exercising our international rights: to self government. The Chicano is a mestizo race, unique in its own way. Recognizing the blood of our mestizaje is recognizing the strength of our native roots. This recognition comes by choice and by tradition; a tradition which is indigenous to Las Americas and which gives us the sense of oneness, in both the universal and the natural sense.

Pueblos, land grants, and our peoples have co-existed and have had many agreements and disagreements. Through it

all, Native peoples and Raza have intermarried, natives raised Chicanos and Chicanos raised natives. *Compadres* are common and remain strong in many communities that surround pueblos. The 1680 native revolt resulted from the lack of respect for native beliefs and expressions of these beliefs. This was a strong blow against Catholicism. Since then, the church has made amends and it was permitted to return and co-exist on the condition that it respect what was already here.

As we recognize the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and the rights it guarantees us, we realize that peace and a strong bond among our peoples is necessary. As Mestizos, it means peace within ourselves to return to the circle of our people. Up to the time of the treaty we have a clear view of how land and water laws worked together with tradition and as laws of the land. This recognition establishes our peace and our history.

Since then we have lost most of our lands to the Anglos, and recently, land grant associations have undertaken incorporation. When you incorporate, you incorporate under U.S. laws and therefore compromise your treaty rights to an extent. Heirs become shareholders and you lose your heritage and tradition as an *heredero*.

sacred land. Yes, Chicanos, we also have religious rights to claim. There are 16 foot crosses on Tome Hill and on good Friday and Easter, pilgrimages and services are held here. Much of this land is grazing land and was used as common land. We, as Chicanos, have yet to declare our religious lands and test this sacred right which is also guaranteed under the treaty. To do so we need to use it more.

There are basically three views on the Tome issue, one is that money is the main issue, another is that land is the main issue, while in the third, there are those that want the land back... "money cannot buy land; once it is gone, it is gone, and you cannot eat money," some of the people say. The case is still pending.

Another land grant struggling with incorporation is the Atrisco Land Grant. In 1967 a corporation was formed. This corporation does not recognize the rights of heirs. "This amounts to stealing the land," say *herederos*, "they recognize only the right of shareholders. A corporation looks out for the business of the corporation, not the business of the community." The Atrisco Land Grant Council *herederos* continue to stand firm in protecting their rights as well as those of generations to come. The biggest

Supreme Court. The idea of private land and being able to sell as private property appeals to some *herederos*.

In southern Colorado there are also some cases of land grants being challenged and people's existence is threatened as they are cut off from wood sources and grazing lands.

New Mexico is also being targeted as "undeveloped" and a good place to "invest." Speculators and developers seem to have rediscovered us and are moving in fast. Because there is little industry other than tourism, unemployment is high and those that are moving in are the very wealthy. Land prices are out of sight and native peoples are being squeezed out by the mere fact of economics.

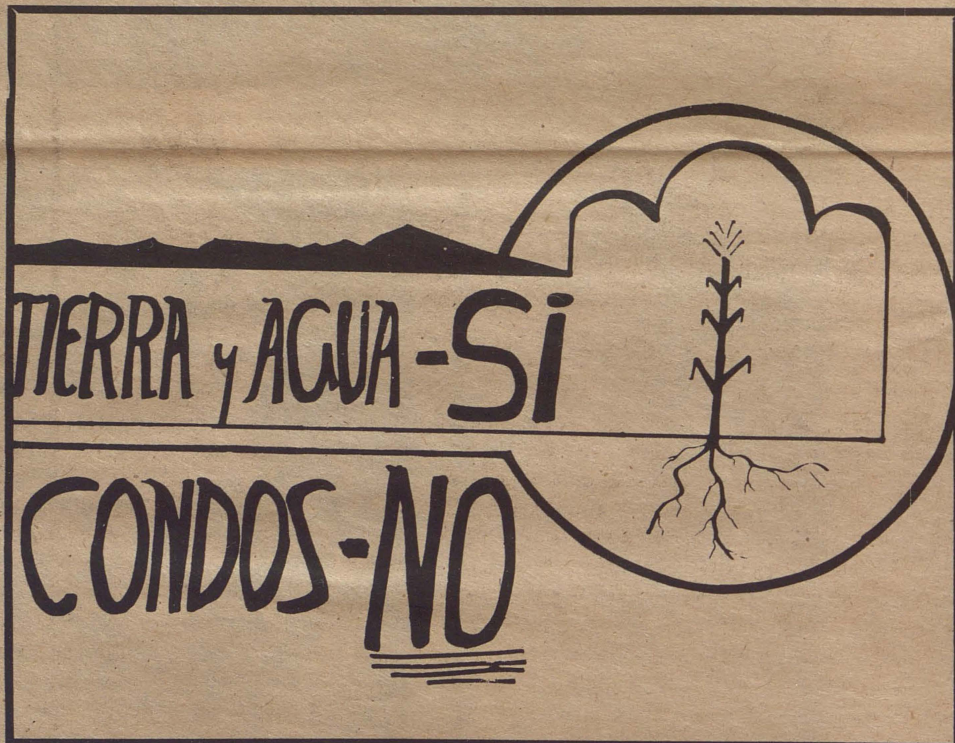
An example of current issues is the Valdez Valley condo project, Las Arboledas. Valdez is north of Taos on the road to the internationally known Taos Ski Valley. In late 1982, it was announced that a condo project was planned for Valdez. While there are condos in nearby Arroyo Seco and the tennis ranch has units in Las Colonias, this was seen as particularly threatening to the Valdez community as seven acres of land would eventually house more units than there are families in the whole valley. They would be selling for \$250,000.00 per unit.

The issue of water came up as the already over-developed Taos Ski Valley upstream has polluted the Rio Hondo. There are 18 families along the stream that use this as their only source of domestic water. People in Valdez felt that there wasn't enough water to sustain the proposed project and were surprised to learn that for some time the developers had been buying water rights in the valleys below and having them transferred to their project by the State Engineer. This was something many people did not know was legally possible... immediately water rights became invaluable.

The Valdez community organized and stood solidly against the condos. They had a march in Taos and went before the county commissioners to demand a halt to the construction of the condos. Tension had built up and the community feared there might be violence as they were being provoked in many ways. All to no avail. They put up picket at the motor company where the builder was on the board of directors. The awareness of the people as to the situation in Valdez was raised and some workers refused to work on the condos. Guards had to be placed on 24 hour watch. Finally the builder bent to the will of the people, he decided not to go ahead with the condos in Valdez.

The three villages of San Cristobal, Valdez and Arroyo Hondo immediately began to organize a zoning district in hopes of slowing the growth of their communities and also protecting the poor and traditional family way of dividing land. Speculators and developers are not happy with the new zoning regulations and see this as a threat to keep out big projects. The zoning commission expects to be challenged in court and the people will be called upon to protect the regulations and stand behind the wishes of the people.

One very important point as to land and water rights is that few of us realize that New Mexico became a state as recent as 1912. We have elders among us that are caretakers of many original papers and retain history that is important to us now. This testimony as to custom law and land usage is being called on at land and water hearings. The generation born at the time of statehood is 72 years or older so that as we lose that oral testimony,



Land grant *herederos* have their original rights under the treaty and wherever you live, the cause of the lands in common remains. One could say that lands in the southwest are held in good faith, without absolute title.

Under corporation laws you get a case such as the Tome Land Grant near Albuquerque, New Mexico. In 1968 the Horiz Corporation bought 47,000 acres of the land for \$4.7 million dollars. The court named 286 shareholders, who in turn sold the grant.

In 1978 the Supreme Court overturned this sale and determined that 2,500 heirs were found. The 286 shareholders were ordered to return the money from the sale for redistribution. \$2.5 million still remains under the name of Tierra del Sol.

In the meantime, the communities of Tome and Adelino are pitted against each other in court battles and the stockholders of the now defunct corporation are supposed to return the money they received. Although they have a request for a jury trial of two former officers of the corporation...a trust has been broken and family bonds have been threatened.

The Tome land grant is also a cultural stronghold of *la gente*, since it contains

majority of heirs are not shareholders.

South of Taos, New Mexico, the 17,000 acre Cristobal de La Serna Land Grant has just been declared a private land grant after its year-old hearing. As such it can be bought and sold by individuals. According to the judge, the de La Serna Association owns no land it can claim in trust or otherwise. "The King of Spain owned all the land and it could only be transferred by a document direct from the king," ruled the judge.

Yet, the grant clearly designed common lands and elders from Taos Pueblo as well as historians testified as to Spanish law and custom law. In 1965 the grant had been recognized as to custom law.

The Mora and Guadalupita Grants were accepted by the mayor and custom law was honored and upheld. However, the population there is almost entirely Raza and therefore it is respected as to custom law. The Cristobal de La Serna, on the other hand, is prime real estate, south of Llano Quemado around the Stakeout Restaurant. Many newcomers have just moved in and settled there, some reportedly without papers.

The Association has not decided as to whether or not it will appeal to the State

Under Seige

we not only lose our elders as a family base, but also we lose a strong link of history. Their papers, documents and experience is very important to us and needs to be preserved with respect by the next generation.

That, *mi Raza*, is another reason why Nuevo Mexico is important to us. Wherever you are, whoever you are, take our history seriously and take your peoples roots to heart. Carry it proudly, *somos herederos todos, de un modo, o de otro*. The schools will not give you this, it has to come through *la gente y la familia*, all of us. We need that and we need you to care, care about who and what you are.

Now as to the issue of water. While in the city water is that liquid that pours out of the faucet, in Nuevo Mexico it is one of our most precious natural resources. It is as precious as air, land and all natural life needed for survival...and there is not an endless source.

It is part of our knowledge to know the relationship of man to water and water to land. While to many of us, water is sacred, to state government and agencies, "water is a commodity." As a commodity, industry and commercial use has priority and their attitude is that they know what is best for the people. As a commodity, the rich control it. The new immigrants from other parts of the country, feel that they can afford it, they have a right to all they want. The resentment for the lack of respect of the precious substance surfaces in many ways.

To understand water, we need to know that river water is the upper water. This can be dry at times and in rainier seasons can be more available. Ground water is the underground water basin. As more ground water is used for deep wells, industry, and new water irrigation (agri) systems that are moving in, there is less river water up above. Upper water is replaceable, with rain and through the natural processes, ground water, however, when it is gone or polluted, is gone forever. It is not replaceable.

In New Mexico, the state engineer controls water. Upper water is fully adjudicated, water rights are assigned to certain lands. Lower water is not fully adjudicated. As a landowner, you have a right to have a deep well for domestic use. Cases such as the one in Cerro, a small community north of Taos, are beginning to sprout. A large farmer-land owner has asked the state engineer for a permit to drill a deep well to irrigate farm land. The families of the community have petitioned against this permit being granted on the grounds that if he does this their wells are in danger of drying up. New Mexico Legal Services presented their case and experts testified and presented evidence to back up the community. The land owners' figures were wrong and indeed the community was right.

In the face of all this evidence the state engineer gave the farmer an additional sixty days to refile his request. At this time he would make his decision. The State engineer ignored the community petition and the evidence presented by experts. In this case, as in others, he has shown that he strongly favors big business. The fact still remains, there is not an endless supply of water.

One of the most important lawsuits that is taking place as to water, is the New Mexico vs. the Aamodt, et. al. case. All of the people of the Pajoque Valley, near Espanola, are listed alphabetically. This lawsuit was started over sixteen years ago by the state engineer. To have 'complete' adjudication of water, there was the need to know if Pueblo Indian water rights in New Mexico are controlled by state water laws or federal

laws.

In order to do this, the state engineer defined Indians and non-Indians, creating a racial and social conflict situation among the people of the Pajoque Valley and the natives from San Ildefonso Pueblo. People from the pueblo and Chicanos have not only been friends all their lives but many are intermarried. They find themselves now at odds and divided because of this court case. While Chicanos and Native peoples are actually not the biggest users of water, speculators and developers welcome this conflict. It gives them a free hand to step into the situation and gain water rights.

Pueblos, land grants and *acequias* have traditionally managed natural resources as in common, but now, the commodity concept has split people to value personal benefit before common interests. Each wants their water rights to buy or sell how as they see fit.

Lawyers, too, have played a big role in keeping people at bay with each other. Firstly, they isolated the native people by

as to history, custom law and water rights. The testimony presented here was never before heard in this area and melted Raza and Native people together. Yet, the scars inflicted by this case have been deep and it will be a long time in healing these wounds.

The maintenance of our traditional *acequia* system in much of northern New Mexico is part of the custom law that still remains in control of *la gente*. *Las Acequias Del Norte* Association is strong traditionally, maintained under Spanish law, as the law of the land. The delivery system is important to maintain as custom and to keep the family concept strong. However, if the state engineer gains control of all water, even our *acequia* system is threatened. A tradition, a custom, a law of the land may become a thing of the past. To date, this remains strong.

At the present time special legislation asking for commission hearings on the matter of land grants and water rights is being prepared by Jaime Chavez, a Taos attorney. Time is precious to us for we now

Mexico, Raza too, has shared in this experience. Since the colonization of the southwest, the destruction of the land, our language, cultural beliefs and values continues. Those matters are the core of our very existence. Furthermore, they bind us to all of *Las Americas* and strengthen our family line; perhaps this is why we are seen as a threat at times.

For some years now, the native peoples have been preparing a case to go before the International Court of Justice on the matter of human rights. In presenting their case, they have been careful to leave it open for Chicanos to join in this suit. With this in mind, there have been meetings held to strengthen our blood ties. The exchange and dialogue taking place has been much needed and the continual flow increases as if becoming part of the evolutionary process of our peoples. The exchange that has taken place has been important not only in the matters of land and history, but more important in the matter of the heart.

Out of these meetings the land institute, called El Instituto Tonantzin, has been established. The Institute is part of the centuries old Circle of Elders, an international organization of traditional leaders of indigenous and tribal peoples. In June, 1983 the bridge between our people was strengthened and Chicanos participated in an elder's circle meeting in Santa Clara Pueblo. The meeting was attended by tribes from throughout the nation. There were also representatives of indigenous peoples from Mexico and Canada.

As people rose to speak of their experiences as individuals as well as a people, the Chicano experience and history was added and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was presented. Elders have said, "New Mexico is unique in that it is a strong land and spiritual base, and this is greater and stronger than a military land base will ever be." For Chicanos, stepping into the circle defines and strengthens that base, one that centuries ago our *abuelos* called Aztlan.

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo is a treaty of peace, and peace with an emphasis on humanity and human rights has it's responsibility to the brotherhood of all living things. The common goal for peace is indeed a powerful cry...one that teaches and shows the way, when it is embraced.

As one gazes over the *mesas* of Nuevo Mexico one realizes that beyond Santa Clara rests Los Alamos, the birthplace of the atomic bomb, to the south, next to the pure white sands, lies WHIP, the nuclear waste disposal site, and as the voices of wars rise there seems to be a profound piercing silence. With this presence in mind, we continue to go about the business of gathering documents, history and experience. This will speak for what is precious to us and declare our human rights before the world's court. Then we will learn just how much real concern there is about people and justice in the International Court of Justice.

"To the sacred earth, where mountains embrace rivers and people carry their roots in their hearts."

El Instituto Tonantzin is a land institute with a membership of land-based organizations. There are four co-ordinators, or trustees. For further information write:

David Lujan, 120 59th St. S.W., Albuquerque, N.M. 87105

Francisco Abeita, P.O. Box 229, Isleta Pueblo, N.M. 87022

Diana Ortiz, P.O. Box 443, Paraje, N.M. 87007

Enriquetas Vasquez, P.O. Box 43, San Cristobal, N.M. 87564



"To the sacred earth, where mountains embrace rivers and people carry their roots in their hearts"

not letting them meet with their neighbors to agree on this matter. On the other side, they created panic demanding "justice" and told non-Indians their land "may dry up and the Indians would sell the water to corporations." People are paying tremendous sums of money for attorney fees on this lawsuit and poor Raza land owners are under tremendous financial stress. Chicanos, as "non-Indians" are forced to go along with Anglos and Anglo interests.

The Aamodt case was heard in Santa Fe on October 4, 1983. Legal historians from Spain and Mexico were brought in to testify

have a governor that is more willing to lend an ear to the needs of the people. It is also important in that as more and more people migrate into the area, there is a need for the lands under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo to have some kind of protective status, perhaps such as the pueblos have, maybe public notice, "territory held in 'rust'."

While land and water rights are important, equally important is the matter of human rights. While native people have been faced with continual extermination and genocide, after the brutal invasion of

Juchitán: una política "como de guerra"

Un rutinario fraude electoral no bastaba para recuperar el municipio de Juchitán (al sur de México). Por primera vez desde la promulgación de la reforma política, aparecía abiertamente en escena una organización popular sólida y templada en las luchas por la defensa de los derechos agrarios, laborales y políticos de las masas trabajadoras. La imposición priista (el PRI es el Partido Oficial en México) se abrió paso con la violencia: la escalada represiva, intensificada desde la ocupación militar del palacio municipal, el 13 de diciembre, incluyó la detención de unos cuatrocientos integrantes de la COCEI (Coalición Obrero-Campesino-Estudiantil Del Istmo): el secuestro y las torturas de sus dirigentes; seis meses de agresiones impunes y continuas por parte de los provocadores priistas; la disolución de manifestaciones mediante policías y agentes vestidos de civil, que el 1ro de enero de 1984 dejaron un saldo de 36 heridos de bala, todos ellos coceistas; y el estado de sitio bajo el que aun se encuentra la población.

Si en su I Informe de Gobierno Miguel de la Madrid declaró que la situación económica de México era "como de guerra," en el Istmo mostro que podía hacer política "como en las guerras," movilizandó el aparato estatal para encubrir las soluciones de fuerza bajo argumentos de legalidad jurídica. Así, su intransigente negación de las libertades deomocráticas del pueblo juchiteco, aparecía como un necesario retorno a la vida institucional y, en todo caso, como un problema estrictamente local y electoral.

LOS CAMINOS DE LA IMPOSICION

La ofensiva estatal desatada contra la COCEI combino dosificadamente diversas formas represivas con una serie de maniobras jurídicas. Las acciones de un grupo de pistoleros y provocadores se convirtieron, desde el primer momento, en la punta de lanza de la estrategia estatal. El clima artificial de tension e inseguridad que lograron crear justificó, el 3 de agosto de 1983, el desconocimiento de las autoridades municipales respaldadas por el pueblo. A través de la movilización masiva, presente mas que nunca en la multitudinaria respuesta al referendum convocado el 7 de agosto por la Coalición; del repudio cotidiano de la población mayoritaria al consejo municipal priista; y del respaldo nacional alcanzado, la COCEI logró remontar este primer golpe.

No obstante, a partir del desconocimiento del ayuntamiento popular, se tendieron los lazos que habrían de estrechar el cerco en torno al movimiento. La ocupación del palacio municipal por arte de la COCEI, ahora en condiciones de ilegalidad, prefiguraba entonces el desalojo

y las detenciones. Entre agosto y diciembre de 1983, el ejercicio espectacular de la violencia corrió a cargo de los pistoleros, mientras que la policía y el ejército argumentaban su presencia en Juchitán por la necesidad de evitar, enfrentamientos. Por mas que la COCEI denunció la complicidad entre los pistoleros y la fuerza pública, se reeditaba la imagen del "Estado arbitro," garante de la paz y de las instituciones.

La fuerza popular indudable de la COCEI, la inconformidad con el consejo provisional priista y con el continuo hostigamiento, además de la amenaza del gobierno de suspender las elecciones municipales, fue marcando la realización de las votaciones como la solución natural del conflicto. Con esto se lograba obligar a la COCEI a dar un paso atrás, de una forma sutil y efectiva: la realización de elecciones aparecio como una demanda central, cuando que en otras condiciones esta se hubiera asegurado como cuestion de tramite, garantizado constitucionalmente. En cambio, el problema de las condiciones en que habrían de efectuarse las elecciones quedó desplazado a un segundo plano, ampliando el campo de maniobra para la preparación del fraude.

Mientras se exigía de la COCEI un estricto apego a las normas senaladas por la ley electoral, bajo amenaza de ilegalizar el movimiento, todas ellas se violaron en favor del PRI. Pero para dar credibilidad a un pretendido triunfo del partido oficial, no bastaba con un cuidadoso manejo fraudulento. El PRI estaba obligado, previamente, a mostrar ante la opinion pública que tenia fuerza. Bajo la ficción de una campana "pluralista," las manifestaciones minoritarias de los priistas fueron magnificadas y potenciadas nacionalmente, llegando al grado de presentar a los contingentes de la COCEI como parte de los desfiles oficiales transmitidos por television.

Entre agosto y noviembre, los limites de la actuacion política se fueron marcando tambien a traves de la definición estatal de los interlocutores. Se presentó ante la opinion publica a una COCEI dividida en dos fracciones: una asociada a la violencia e instigada por "guerrilleros centro-americanos," a los que era necesario volver al orden legal; y otra "razonable," con la que se podía negociar en tanto se sujetara a las reglas del juego senalados por el gobierno. Dentro del discurso oficial estaban contenidos los recursos para enfrentar no tanto a dos sectores de una organización, sino las expresiones que desbordaran el sometimiento a un proceso electoral amado.

Así se llegó a las elecciones municipales del 20 de noviembre con el previo despliegue de un extraordinario dispositivo que habria de consumir el fraude y cuya magnitud, aunque fue denunciada por la COCEI en

diversas ocasiones, resultó superior a lo previsto en amplitud y complejidad. Un manejo personalizado y minucioso del padron electoral y de las credenciales de los votantes marginó a miles de coceistas, y unos cientos de priistas lograron, en cambio, votar en distintas casillas y con diferentes credenciales. Ese mismo día, el PRI anunció su triunfo a través de los medios masivos de comunicacion. Si para el pueblo juchiteco el fraude fue transparente, el estricto control estatal de la prensa permitió desdibujar sus denuncias y reducirlas, ante amplios sectores nacionales, a un problema de opinion. La fuerza jurídica estaba una vez mas en manos del PRI: formalmente, la COCEI habia "perdido" las elecciones. Este hecho amparaba la decisión de imponer a toda costa a un ayuntamiento priista.

LOS CAMINOS DE LA RESISTENCIA

El pueblo juchiteco no entregó el poder que pretendían arrancarle por medio de unas elecciones amañadas. La COCEI retomó la movilización en Juchitán y en otros once municipios istmeños, mientras el gobierno mantenía intransigentemente los resultados de unas votaciones preparadas con tanto cuidado. La toma de posesión de las autoridades priistas fue precedida por la ocupación militar del palacio municipal y de toda la población de Juchitán; a dos mese de distancia del desalojo de la COCEI, el gobierno impuesto sigue sostenido por el ejercito.

El aislamiento político, que la COCEI no logró remontar, se convirtió en el último eslabon de la estrategia estatal. El reflujo general del movimiento de masas y la incompresión de la gravedad del golpe asestado a la COCEI, debilitaron la cobertura solidaria nacional que requeria el movimiento. Por otra parte, la urgencia de las denuncias específicas y detalladas de los artífices de la represión, el fraude y las provocaciones, llevaron a la Coalición a postergar una caracterización general de las agresiones sufridas, que pusiera de relieve lo que tienen en común con el resto de los movimientos populares, librados a lo largo del año en torno a dos ejes fundamentales: contra la subordinación creciente de la política estatal a los intereses imperialistas y contra la represión y la antidemocracia que supone para las masas la imposición de tal política.

Las intensas movilizaciones de los pueblos istmeños perdieron potencia en la medida en que quedaron restringidas a una expresion local de inconformidad con los resultados de las elecciones. Diversos partidos y fuerzas de izquierda, interesados en experimentar en carne propia los alcances de la reforma política, contribuyeron al aislamiento

politico de la COCEI, eludiendo las consecuencias nacionales que tiene para la oposicion el hecho de que el Estado tolere la expresion fragmentaria de las opiniones disidentes, a la vez que bloquea por todos los medios el ejercicio de poder por parte de una fuerza popular organizada y ascendente. En este marco, la COCEI fue obligada a pasar a la defensiva, no solo en el terreno de la movilización y de sus demandas, sino tambien en el aspecto político: su rechazo de las elecciones amañadas quedó relegado ante la urgente exigencia de detener la represión; sus llamados al diálogo y a las soluciones políticas opacaron la imposición de hecho de las soluciones represivas.

Pese a la derrota, queda en pie el extraordinario potencial de la organización popular, que habra de hacerse valer por otros caminos. Si el Estado puede arrebatar por la fuerza los espacios formales de poder, como el ayuntamiento, la capacidad de accion política de las masas no esta garantizada por ellos, sino por el fortalecimiento de sus organizaiones autonomas.

La COCEI tiene por delante la tarea de reemprender las luchas de los obreros y campesinos istmeños, evitando que la perdida del gobierno municipal se traduzca en la demovilización de sus bases sociales. Habrá de redefinir las formas de incidencia sobre la política municipal, manteniendo la vigilancia sobre el actual gobierno y garantizando, a traves del combate, la satisfaccion de las necesidades de la población.

En 1977, la imposicion priista garantizó el control del gobierno, mientras que el pueblo juchitco fortaleció su autoorganización y fundo, a través de los comites de barrio, un germen de poder pupular capaz de desarrollarse enmedio de la represión y la antidemocracia impuestas por el Estado. La importancia de esta linea se revela ahora con mayor claridad y puede convertirse en una de las enseñanzas mas profundas que aporta la experiencia de la COCEI a las luchas de todo el pueblo de México.

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Department of Literatures and Languages

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Conversación Intermedia
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Prof. Coddington)

Curso relacionado:

Latin American Studies 118B
(Modern Period)-Prof.
Oyarzun

El curso se dicta en inglés.

The Media

continued from page 5

officials and only 20% from opposition figures. Obviously, it is difficult to interview guerrilla fighters in the mountains. However, the opposition forces in El Salvador, the FMLN-FDR, have offices in Mexico City. Furthermore, the European press has published interviews and documents by the FMLN-FDR with much more frequency. This shows it is feasible to do better than what the U.S. press has accomplished to date.

This is not a trivial matter of academic interest only. The American public has been denied vital information. The Reagan administration is pursuing a military "solution" with all its disastrous consequences to the civil wars in Central America. Yet, the FMLN-FDR of El Salvador has repeatedly offered to enter into unconditional negotiations. The latest peace proposal in late January by the FMLN-FDR has offered a solution of "power-sharing." They repeated their policy that Soviet or Cuban troops or missiles will not be permitted in El Salvador if the U.S. does not try to destabilize the new government.

The *Christian Science Monitor* reportage was typical. It printed a modest article on page eleven three weeks after it was first announced. To its credit the headline used was accurate: "Salvador's Rebels Wave a Peace Flag as They Win on Battlefield." The popular support for the guerrillas and their military gains have advanced so rapidly that Reagan Administration is now proposing to bypass Congress and send aid without its approval. But negotiations are nowhere to be seen.

Headlines are important as can be illustrated by two further examples on negotia-

tions and elections. A *New York Times* front page title for a story of April 22, 1983, read: "U.S. Aides See Need for Big Effort To Avert Rebel Victory in El Salvador." Buried near the end of the story on page ten it quotes a high official: "...we decided in February that we needed to move on the diplomatic side to deflect the perception of our only going for a military solution." The administration claims the situation requires a military

aircraft was a "good idea" but others thought it would reveal our intelligence sources. Supposedly we have intelligence to stop the alleged arms shipments but stopping the alleged shipments would reveal our intelligence. How droll! The point is the headline should have revealed the new admissions, not the old news by that time, that Reagan was determined to expand the war. The headline should have read, "U.S. Uses Negotiations as

On the 25th of March there will be elections in El Salvador and undoubtedly the administration will claim that democracy is "deepening." Similar elections took place in March, 1982. The *Los Angeles Times* headline at the time read "Salvadorans Jam Election Places." There were long columns of print devoted to fighting off the guerrillas and the people's desire to vote. However, on the inside pages toward the end of the article, of

it a non-secret ballot; people would not get paid if they did not vote; and the list of infractions goes on. No doubt the headlines this March will dutifully talk about democracy in El Salvador as the situation becomes even more repressive.

To their credit, the media have picked up on Central American issues quicker than they did during the beginning of the Vietnam war. However, their general performance, as illustrated above, still has not been adequate to this crisis in foreign policy. There are many explanations put forth to justify their actions. They share the same general ideology with those that determine foreign policy. Media are big business and it is big business which benefits by the repressed cheap labor in Central America. In other words, one does not pick on friends. Reporters who do report on the FMLN-FDR are threatened with their lives by the government controlled right-wing death squads or are censored by senior editors and publishers. Many factors come into play (for further information, see the journal *NACLA*, "The Media Go to War," July/August 1983).

According to surveys, the majority of the American public get their news from television or radio and most people do not read articles to the end. A person who follows the news thoroughly can obviously get much useful information. However, most people are influenced by the headlines. Presently, the American public is in the midst of a media blitz by the administration. The supposedly "bipartisan" Kissinger report is being used to try to rally public opinion behind more bloodshed in Central America. The upcoming March elections in El Salvador will be used to try to convince Americans that progress is being made in El Salvador. From here on, do not expect headlines of electoral fraud or a vetoed land reform program on page one. This is a time for war, a war where everyone loses except for Reagan, big business and the media; they go to war.



solution because Cuba is "exporting revolution." But the same article, further towards the end, of course, reports that officials "acknowledge that the guerrillas are now getting most of their arms from within El Salvador--by capturing them or buying them--but insist that the flow from Nicaragua is essential" to the guerrillas. Asked why they had not shot down a plane or captured a van transporting supplies or provided further evidence, the *Times* reports, "the answers are sketchy." One official thought shooting down an

Propaganda. Answers on Outside Arms Shipments Laughable." There would have been more readers of the article and hopefully more opposition to government policies. Now the Administration is proposing \$8 billion as an initial installment for Central America. It has built bases and held maneuvers for the moment when U.S. marines will formally invade. The poor and minorities will disproportionately form the bulk of these troops as in the Vietnam War. However, this does not make headlines.

course, it reported that people "whispered that they voted because they feared that the military (i.e., government) would punish them if they did not." In the following weeks on the inside pages of the newspapers it was reported that the elections were fraudulent: at least twice as many people voted as there were ballots; half the voting booths were closed to make the lines of waiting people look longer for the cameras; the voting ballot number and the registration role signature list number were the same making

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¿QUIÉN ES QUIÉN?

1. Ana María Anaya Montes, known as 'Comandante Ana María,' was a legendary figure in the Salvadoran revolution. She was the highest ranking woman in the united front of a national organization. She was a teacher, union militant (activist) and intellectual, and a guerrilla commander. She was a member of the Unified Revolutionary Directorate of the Farabundo Martí Front for National Liberation (FMLN) and second in command of the Popular Liberation Forces (FPL). Comandante Ana María was one of the founders of the National Association of Salvadoran Educators - (ANDES), a very strong militant teacher's union. She was also a founding member and leader of the People's Revolutionary Bloc (BPR), the largest of the mass movements in the late 1970s. In April of 1983, Comandante Ana María was assassinated by some individuals in the FPL due to serious policy differences.

2. The scholar and farm labor organizer is Ernesto Galarza. Born in the village of Jalcoctan near Tepic, Nayarit, Mexico in 1905. Ernesto came to the U.S. with his mother in 1911 to escape the Madero revolution in 1911. With his roots in the fields, Ernesto went on to earn a PhD at Columbia University. During the 1940s, he struggled to create a farmworkers union, continuing their struggle through the 50s and 60s. He has written several authoritative books on farm labor and agribusiness. Recognized as an expert on bilingual education he has numerous publications in this topic, as well as several poems and children's stories.

Ernesto is one of our greatest activists, having been involved most of his life in the Chicano Struggle for freedom. He has carried the torch of freedom with dignity and pride, and remains the "burning light" of the Chicano Movement.

BOYCOTT



Joseph Coors, Executive Vice President of the Adolph Coors Company, is a major enemy of the movement for women's rights, both in his plants and in the country at large.

Over the years, Coors employees have described company discrimination against women and national minority workers. As of 1975, only 7% of its employees were women. There were virtually no women production workers. After the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) filed suit against the company in 1975, Coors hired more women. But, according to workers' affidavits, the company did its best to see that those women who were hired were fired or forced to quit.

In 1982, a woman worker was overcome by toxic fumes and seriously injured. Two other workers were killed trying to rescue her. The company had failed to provide emergency oxygen and rescue equipment required by law.

Not content to remain behind the scenes, Joseph Coors has widely proclaimed his opposition to women's equality. He personally intervened, as a regent of the University of Colorado, to try to keep women students from obtaining birth control information.

Joseph Coors has organized and bankrolled some of the most vicious enemies of women's rights. He has funded Phyllis Schlafly, leader of the crusade against the Equal Rights Amendment. He is one of the

major political backers of the ultra-right wing, including the Heritage Foundation, the Mountain States Legal Foundation, and the John Birch Society, which have all fought to

deny women their rights. Senators Jeremiah Denton, Jesse Helms, and Orrin Hatch, among the most active crusaders against women's rights, are all backed by Coors money and political power. Ronald Reagan, the current leader of the assault on the rights and standard of living of women and all working people, owes much of his election to thousands of Coors dollars, and active promotion by Joseph Coors.

The goal of the movement that Joseph Coors participates in is to implement the Nazi slogan of confining women to the "kitchen, church and children," by reducing their legal and social status to that of servants to their husbands or fathers--with no rights of their own.

We join women's organizations, labor unions, Chicano organizations, and others in calling for a boycott of Coors beer. Don't help finance Joseph Coors' campaign to keep women in chains.

IN TWENTY YEARS, COORS HAS BROKEN 19 UNIONS. Among the victims of Coors' union busting activities have been the workers at Coors Porcelain Company, construction workers in Colorado, and

Teamster beer truck drivers in California. Most recently, Coors forced out Brewery Workers Local 366, which represented the workers at Coors' single gigantic brewery in Golden, Colorado. During the long and bitter strike, which began in April, 1977, strikers were threatened, run over, beaten and shot. The main issue was Coors' arbitrary power over the workers. Coors employees were subjected to lie detector tests questioning the most intimate details of their personal lives, their political activities, and their personal beliefs. They were forced to submit to physical examinations by company doctors and searches by company guards. The Coors' contract listed 56 reasons for dismissal including "making disparaging remarks about the employer or his product." The 56th reason was anything not listed which Coors thought warranted dismissal. As a consequence, the AFL-CIO and other trade union organizations have been calling for a boycott of Coors.

Joseph Coors declares that he sees "little appropriate role for unions in this day and age." However, he takes a different view when it comes to anti-

worker organizations of employers. Not content with breaking the unions in his own plants, he is orchestrating a country-wide anti-union crusade through such organizations as the National Association of Manufacturers, its Council for a Union-Free Environment, and the National Right to Work Committee.

Sitting on Reagan's "kitchen cabinet" with his millionaire friends, Joseph Coors is part of the general staff that is directing the administration's war on the workers of the U.S. The breaking of the air traffic controllers' union, the destruction of the CETA program, the slashing of social security and black lung benefits, the gutting of OSHA (Occupational Safety and Health Administration), and moves to further curb the right to strike have all been part of this war.

Working people dedicated to democracy and committed to defending their rights must join together to beat back these attacks. One way to do this is to refuse to buy Joseph Coors' beer.

Friends of M.A.R.K.
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