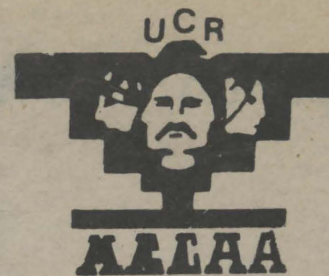


NUESTRA COSA



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"You may shed my blood and burn my body,



but you cannot kill or hurt my spirit."

Kahlil Gibran

Rivera to be Honored

Campus Sanctuary

Nicaragua and the U.S. Public

Kiko Martinez Re-Arrested

Chicano Studies: Status of Review

Opinion/Commentary

For many, the sixties remains a nostalgic era; the 'good old days.' These were the good old days because everyone seemed to be directly affected by the activism that prevailed. For many nostalgic individuals, the sixties was in fact the culmination of the Chicano movement. What they fail to see is that the sixties was only the beginning. The movement was instrumental in providing a strong foundation from which political, economic, and social demands could be made. It provided the impetus for these demands. The Chicano movement has also had many spokespersons. Some good, some bad.

Almost two decades later, however, we are still evidencing a continuance of a vying of recognition for many 'self-appointed' spokespersons. As if it were not bad enough to see outsiders proclaiming themselves as our spokespersons, it behooves us to look closely at those Chicanos who act in the same capacity, sometimes with the same characteristics. That they abound is no question. Many of these spokespersons have taken it upon themselves to delineate the needs and subsequently, the goals for change. One can see this manifested in different levels. For example, a few 'Hispanic' organizations have decided for Chicanos that it is in the best interest to affiliate with corporate America. What they fail to see, however, is that an affiliation with corporate America serves a very small percentage of Chicanos, and that this affiliation, in itself, is questionable. The new generation of Chicanos, or should we say 'Hispanics' (the new label in vogue), are more interested in making economic gains for themselves. But these 'gains' are made at the cost of the many who do not have "access" to being represented by the corporations. They totally forsake the Chicanos who are working class.

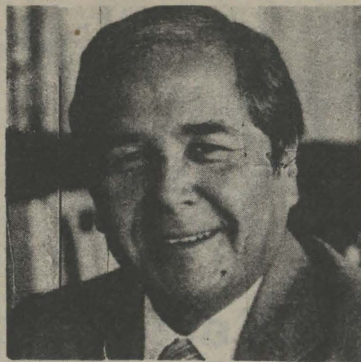
Not only do we find maggots camouflaged as philanthropists at the corporate level, but we also find them in our schools and within our communities. These people are caught up in advocating a new type of Chicanismo. They are the SUPER CHICANOS. They have a narrow-minded view of la causa. Super Chicanos are those who wear "Chicano clothes" (whatever that is), they "talk Chicano" (whatever that is), they actively participate in social gatherings—of course "for" and "by" Chicanos, they become members of organizations that will legitimize their status as "Chicanos" (though having an ambiguous or confused political perspective which may at times be counterproductive to the organizations they purport to help). And, last but not least, they are in the limelight—that is to say, in frontline activities. Those who don't happen to follow these dictates are not Chicano "enough."

But ask these Super Chicanos about what is happening in the rest of the world; ask them to tell you something about Chicanos in New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, Kansas, Texas, etc.; *no saben nada, ni les interesa*. This is not directly relevant to their everyday "activism." Ask them about the struggles of other peoples of color through the world and here in the U.S.; ask them about the political implications in the type of harassment that our brother Kiko Martinez is undergoing; ask them about the meaning of the death of the many Roberto Alaniz's in this country; ask them about Central America; ask them about the role of the government repression in third world nations...and the list goes on and on.

But why should they be concerned? They are Super Chicanos. And, of course, being Super Chicanos is what we have learned from the movement of the sixties.

So now we have Super Chicanos

Rivera to be Honored



Acting Chancellor Daniel G. Aldrich, along with the Senate's recommendation to the U.C. Regents, gave his approval to dedicate the UCR library in Tomas Rivera's name.

Eliud Martinez, chairman of the Chicano Studies Department and associate professor of Comparative Literature remarked that "this is the highest honor than can be conferred on an academic scholar," he adds, "it is a poignant and significant event for many of us who, like Tomas, came from families with parents who didn't have the opportunity to go to school."

Another colleague, Carlos Cortes, chairman of the History department comments that, "First and foremost Tomas was an author, a poet, a novelist. Books were his life."

In addition to having the library named after Tomas Rivera, an educational research center at Claremont College will be dedicated to him in April. Other educators in Palm Springs, Sacramento and Chicago are planning other honors.

Excerpted from the *Press Enterprise*

and Hispanics who, needless to say, carry the burden of educating the rest of us. There are many of us who "don't understand" the meaning of the Chicano movement. They will clarify things for us.

What about those who don't meet these standards? Should we bury them? Should we ignore them? There are many who work behind the scenes who never get the deserved recognition. Just because they have become separated (visibly) from the "frontline" activities does not

Chavez; Workers March for Justice

by Paco Quinones

On Saturday February 2, 1985, Cesar Chavez, along with over 300 people—workers, students and community people—marched from Romoland to Russell Stewart Memorial Park in Perris, California. Despite the adverse weather conditions, the group of farmworkers and their supporters made their six-mile trek a success. This march was organized in order to protest the recent increase of harassment that the Perris police have perpetrated on Chicanos in the area. Chicano drivers are being stopped arbitrarily and asked to show documentation regarding their legal residence status.

Chavez said Chicanos and other Latinos are ready to cooperate with the police; but by the same token, are ready to fight them. If actions on the part of the police remain unchanged, Chavez stated that they would necessarily take their grievance to court and sue them. In this manner, the whole community of Perris would be forced to foot the bill for this unwarranted harassment on the part of the police.

Many persons all the way from Blythe and cities surrounding Perris, arrived in cars, vans, and buses to join in the march. Several organizations came out to support the workers, among them, Hermandad Mexicana of Perris, UC-Riverside Mechistas, Congreso de Pueblos Unidos, San Bernardino and Riverside Counties Central Labor Councils.

Overall, the march was successful in reiterating the need and importance for Chicanos and others of standing up for our rights

and in making fair demands, to be treated with respect as human beings. Police harassment toward Chicanos and Mexicanos is not a new phenomenon. Historically, we have seen that whenever workers begin to make demands to their employers or when unionization activities are initiated in a certain area, we also see an increase of undue 'attention' by the local authorities and the migra.

We see an upsurge of *migra* raids in our communities, with no regard to the psychological effects, the humiliation, and disregard for the privacy of many citizens.



Cesar Chavez has always stressed that we should, and can, bring about changes through peaceful ways. The American public should be aware that the demands farmworkers make are not exaggerated in any form. They ask for the same things that other workers rightfully ask for: better working conditions, health care and insurance, disability compensation for injuries or diseases incurred on the job (for farmworkers, this is of upmost importance, for they are constantly exposed to fertilizers and insecticides), paid vacations, and last but not least, dignity to work as human beings. Labor is the essence of life and it need not take place in a dehumanized or deteriorating manner. Is this too much to ask for? We think not. Support the United Farm Workers of America in the efforts to live deserved decent lives.

Help the people who harvest the food you eat!

Nuestra Cosa

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

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We welcome all contributions, articles, poems, graphics, letters and criticisms.

We reserve the right to edit all submitted materials.



NUESTRA COSA STAFF:

Elba C. Alvarez, Diana Bustamante, Bertha Caballero, Mike Juárez, Cesario Pérez, Joel Pérez, Martha Rodríguez

CONTRIBUTORS:

Maria Luisa Arrizón, Rosa Castaneda, Victor Eaton, Esperanza Guzmán, Greg Garza, Virginia Goodman, Salvador Fernandez, A.M. Kweli, Jon Martin-Murray, Eliud Martínez, Reggie Norton, Nilda Pérez, Paco Quinones, Gustavo Rodríguez, Patti Rubio, Sharon Sannowski, Ward Schinke, Rosa Servín, Rubén Vázquez, Kiko Martínez Defense Committee, Leonard Peltier and Dennis Banks Defense Committees.

¿QUIÉN ES QUIÉN?

1. Who was the Chicano of New Mexico who served as Governor and senator at the turn of the century?

2. Who was the Chicana who was instrumental in helping Benito Juárez defeat General Miramón, which subsequently lead Juárez to become Mexico's President?

continued on page 11



STATUS OF THE CHICANO STUDIES PROGRAM REVIEW

Dr. Eliud Martínez
Chair, Chicano Studies

The fate or future direction of Chicano Studies, because of the program review now in its third year, is still unclear. It will be remembered that in spring of 1984, despite two years of overwhelmingly positive reviews of Chicano Studies by the Executive Committee of Humanities and Social Sciences, the Extra-mural Review Team, the Affirmative Action Committee, and the Chancellor's Advisory Committee on Affirmative Action, the Academic Senate Committee on Educational Policy made a recommendation to combine Black and Chicano Studies and to create an Ethnic Studies program or department. In the summer of 1984 the Academic Senate at UCR appointed an Ethnic Studies Formulation Committee to explore the Educational Policy Committee's recommendation.

Since the summer of 1984, the Ethnic Studies Formulation Committee has met several times and has consulted with Black and Chicano Studies faculty. Recently it completed its report to the Committee on Educational Policy. This Committee Report recommends the establishment of a department of Ethnic Studies, rather than a program. The report recommends the immediate allocation of two FTE to that department, and "immediate allocation of additional FTE to replace any current Black Studies or Chicano Studies Faculty who choose not to participate in the new department." Among others, the report recommends the provision of sufficient space for the department, the Chair, faculty and administrative staff; and the allocation of a full-time administrative assistant and secretary.

The Ethnic Studies Formulation Committee Status Report includes a discussion of: the definition of ethnicity, the recommended focus of the new department on four core groups--Black Americans, Chicanos, American Indians, and Asian Americans, with provisions for other ethnic groups in the future; research opportunities in Ethnic Studies; the organization and structure of the academic department; governance and faculty appointments; and the report recommends a tentative curriculum of courses and degrees.

Having been requested to comment on the Report I have responded to the Committee on Educational Policy, in a memo,

dated February 4, 1985, to express concern about the excessively prolonged deliberations regarding our program and about the potentially adverse consequences for our program, faculty, and especially students, whose needs we aim to service. In my memo to Professor Rodolfo Ruibal, Chairman of the Educational Policy Committee, I have expressed the collective opinion of the Chicano Studies Advisory Committee.

The collective opinion of the Chicano Studies Advisory Committee, which consists of Chicano faculty, students and staff, is that it would be in the best interests of UC Riverside, the

Chicano Studies program, its faculty and students for Chicano Studies to remain a strong academic unit, and not become part of an unproven Ethnic Studies department. We agreed that forcing the Chicano Studies Program and its faculty into an Ethnic Studies Department would have several adverse consequences. This agreement was reached after lengthy discussions of substantial academic and administrative ramifications.

In my memo I incorporated reasonable guidance offered to the Committee on Educational Policy prior to their recommendation to combine Black and Chicano Studies into an Ethnic Studies academic unit. Unfortunately, that guidance was not taken into account. The reasonable suggestions, offered by then Vice Chancellor Carl Bovell and by members of Academic Senate committees, questioned the workability of an Ethnic Studies program or department.

In my memo I enumerated some of the disadvantages which would attend the creation of an Ethnic Studies Department, which the Ethnic Studies Formulation Committee now recommends in its January 16, 1985 report. These include:

- 1) Re-training to teach courses in new Ethnic Studies areas would add responsibilities, already extremely burdensome, for Chicano Studies faculty;
- 2) The time needed for re-training would halt or retard Chicano Studies faculty research already in progress;
- 3) Chicano Studies faculty would be required to develop scholarly expertise and to publish in still other areas of knowledge related to Ethnic Studies scholarship.

4) Structural disadvantages in the creation of a new department of Ethnic Studies would compound the personnel evaluation process which already jeopardizes the advancement and promotion of our faculty. For example, evaluations would be compounded by the increased numbers of peer faculty evaluators whose varied areas of expertise would change the configurations of scholarly criteria.

In sum, these and other adverse consequences raise serious questions I pointed out regarding the unfairness to Chicano Studies faculty of increasing their responsibilities. One wonders how colleagues can expect of Chicano Studies faculty, who have created an academically successful program of study, who have contributed to a significant new area of research and scholarship, that they take on these other new and overwhelmingly burdensome responsibilities. Finally, I stated, that developments in teaching and research connected with U.S.-Mexico Relations argue strongly, on academic grounds, in favor of a strong separate Chicano Studies Program.

Chicano faculty, students and staff all hope that members of the UC Administration and of the Academic Senate will agree that it is time to bring to a conclusion the excessively prolonged deliberations regarding the Chicano Studies program. We firmly believe that it would be in the best interests of the entire campus for Chicano Studies to remain a strong autonomous program, which would serve as a formal mechanism to integrate the growing collaborative work between Mexican and U.S. scholars.



ARTE PARA EL PUEBLO

El Teatro de La Esperanza

El Teatro de la Esperanza recently announced its National Spring Tour for 1985. This will feature the Teatro's adaptation of Dario Fo's acclaimed comedy, "We can't pay, We won't pay!", a play which deals with modern urban living and the comical escapades and adventures of two Chicano couples.

Also on tour is "Ode to the Americas," a musical concert which journeys through Latin America. This musical captures the spirit of the people in these nations through their times of hardship and struggle for liberation. This spirit has been preserved in song through original adaptation by Esperanza. Some of the stories and poems have also been revived through dramatizations and dramatic readings.

In an effort to expand its performance into a greater number

of interested communities, Teatro de la Esperanza is soliciting the assistance of individuals and/or organizations willing to help sponsor local performances. Teatro de la Esperanza also offers a wide variety of educational and dramatic workshops for both the novices and professional, as well as an interchange of ideas and techniques with theatre groups based in local communities. Each workshop lasts approximately 2-3 hours, depending on their stay in your city and group size. Fees vary according to the workshops selected. Those interested can contact: Socorro Rico Gamboa, Tour Coordinators, P.O. Box 1508, Santa Barbara, CA 92103 or at (805) 962-5051.

Concilio de Arte, Popular

Concilio de Arte Popular is in the process of producing a Directory of California Chicano/Latino Arts Organizations, Groups, and Individual Artists. The objective is to distribute these Directories to libraries, school boards, community arts-presenting organizations, city and county art councils, cultural affairs, parks and recreation departments, etc., throughout California. If you or your organization or artistic group is interested in being part of the directory, write to:

Concilio de Arte Popular, 1828 Sunset Blvd., Los Angeles, CA 90026.

by Michael Juarez



Chicano Studies Courses for Spring 1985

Chicano Studies 5 - Introduction to Chicano Thought and the Arts

T Th 2-3:30 Dr. Eliud Martínez Sproul 2356

Chicano Studies 164 - Personality Development in Mexican American Children

W 4-7 Dr. Ray Garza Sproul 2340

Chicano Studies 190 - Special Studies
TBA Staff

Chicano Studies 191R - Research Methodology
W 4-7 Dr. Flora Ortiz Sproul 2356

Chicano Studies 198I - Individual Internship
TBA Staff

Chicano Studies 290 - Directed Studies
TBA Staff

Chicano Studies 436 - Community Practicum
TBA Staff

Return of the Spanish Boy

Chicano idealists of the sixties, launched a crusade for identity. In the early part of the decade, many activists succeeded in polarizing the term *Mexican American* in lieu of *Spanish American* and *Latin American*, which whites considered more acceptable than "Mexican." The latter was offensive to a large portion of the Anglo community and many of the local restaurants to help Anglos digest their food, labeled tamales, tacos enchiladas, etc., as "Spanish."

In the latter part of the sixties, youth went one step further and attempted to identify themselves as *Chicanos*, an old term which many had difficulty in accepting because

"The term Hispanic is...opportunistic and is being used by Chicanos to promote their self-interests."

many older Mexicanos viewed it as pejorative. Nevertheless, largely because of the zeal and energy of the activists, the term rooted itself.

In the late seventies, Chicano identity has again been changed; this time by Chicano bureaucrats who want to enhance their upward mobility and brokerage position by creating the illusion that they have a national constituency. They have artificially lumped all Spanish-speaking Americans under one umbrella, labeling them *Hispanics*. The common denominator is not that they are victims of European colonialism but that they all descended from Spanish settlers, explorers and *conquistadores*. In celebrating this new communion, advocates justify it by announcing that "Hispanics" are projected to be the largest minority in the United States by the mid-1980's which the bureaucrat hopes translates itself into more important bureaucratic opportunities.

What these brokers fail to realize is that Black identity has been forged through the years of common struggle and sacrifice. Their unity under "Black" is historical whereas the term "Hispanic" is divisive. It has been historically unprogressive, serving to subjugate Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans. "Hispanic" has offered them an escape from their African ancestry whereas in the case of Mexicans, it has led to deny their Indian ancestry by claiming that they were Spanish. For instance, in the United States, the New Mexicans built a myth that they were full-blooded Spaniard, descended from the *conquistadores*, in order to escape the racism of incoming Anglo Texans. Mexicans in other places referred to themselves as "Spanish Boys" in order not to offend whites and to be more acceptable to them.

What does it matter if "Hispanics" are larger in number than Blacks? Are they in

competition? Many Chicanos are irritated by the abuse of some Black bureaucrats of the umbrella "minority" which, in essence, means Black. The term "Hispanic" is also opportunistic and is being used by Chicanos to promote their self-interests. Being the largest group within this artificial coalition, they overwhelm Puerto Ricans, creating the same kind of friction that takes place between Blacks and Chicanos who compete for deferral and foundation monies. In the case of the more affluent Cubans, "Hispanic" gives them more national forum mobility and political muscle to further their anti-Castro propaganda.

The roots of the Mexican community in the United States are not in Spain, it is not a European population. Its foods, history, language, and culture differ from the other Spanish speaking groups because of its Indian roots. The *mestizaje* (the racial mixing of Spaniards and Indians) produced a denial on the part of the half breed of his mother's culture. Systematically, Hispanics suppressed Indian or better still, Mexican history, by destroying or demeaning its accomplishments to the point that the work *indio* became a dirty word. Throughout the colonial period, Mexicans revolted. Many of these revolts were suffocated by the *mestizos* who in their quest to be white turned against their brothers.

Racial grievances surfaced during Mexico's War of Independence, and for the next one hundred years, the Mexican peoples struggled toward a racial identity. Positivists under Juarez and later Porfirio Diaz even advocated the extermination of the *indio* and a massive immigration from Europe to turn Mexico white. In the name of progress, genocidal wars were launched upon the Indians. The masses revolted and, in 1910, the Mexican Revolution declared Mexican Indianism. Art, music, and literature reflected this identity which had been suppressed by the Hispanicized sectors of the Mexican people.

Slowly the vestiges of colonialism have been eliminated. This generation does not revere the lightness of color as did past generations which associated beauty with lightness; "*La niña es bonita aunque prieta*," "The baby girls is pretty even though she is dark." The brown is beautiful movement helped change the community's view of beauty. Youth in the sixties and seventies rejected the label "Spanish Boy" and proudly proclaimed their Mexicanism or Chicanismo.

Overnight this has begun to change. Chicanos who not long ago opportunistically rode the Chicano movement to gain admittance to medical, law and other professional schools have become today's "Spanish Boys." Chicano is the old way to them.

Let's package Mexicans in the United States into a bigger container and sell them for a higher price. They might sell them for a higher price. They might even be given Supreme Court Justice appointment, to alleviate the people's poverty.

Not all those who accept the Hispanic label are opportunists. Many are just not thinking about its implications and consequences. There is no denying that Chicanos must enter into coalitions with other Spanish speaking groups. They have a lot in common with Puerto Ricans—but, it is not their Spanishness. Puerto Ricans were brought to the Caribbean as slaves, and just like Mexicans, racial mixing has led to racism within the Puerto Rican people. The point of unity is that both groups have a common history in that they were victimized by Hispanic Colonialism and that today both are oppressed minorities who are largely working class. Unity with Cubans is another matter since their class aspirations make unity difficult if not impossible.

The neo-Hispanics of Spanish Boys, instead of attempting to capitalize on the population explosion of Chicanos and other Spanish speaking minorities, should concentrate on forging a strong Chicano constituency who will fight the brokerage networks that the Hispanics themselves want to build. It does not do the community one iota of good if we became more visible or if we are recognized as Number 1. We

"What does it matter if 'Hispanics' are larger than Blacks? Are they in competition?"

should learn from history. Labels are important since they condition our future. Zapata fought to liberate Mexicans from the *Criollo* (Spanish born in Mexico); hopefully, our present day Chicanos will not give Mexicans in the U.S. back to Spain of Hispaniola.

By Rudy Acuña

Reprinted from *Nuestra Cosa* Winter 1981.



Cultural and Political heroes; Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

A.M. Kweli

For most people cultural and Political heroes are known almost exclusively within a cultural group. Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. is one such hero. Born in 1928, Dr. King would grow to become an ordained Baptist minister. After Rosa Parks sparked the Montgomery, Alabama bus boycott in 1957, Dr. Martin Luther King was chosen by a community group to be spokesman for the protesters. The success of the boycott led to the creation of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). Since its inception SCLC has been at the forefront establishing a moral agenda for the United States.

Dr. King led the Civil Rights Movement, and has always stood inside of the "negro" struggle; yet, he has been vaguely associated with the Black Power Movement.

(Christian), Republic of New Africa, and other Pan-African organizations, who advocated self determination through political, economic, and social autonomy. They exposed the idea that political position of Europeans, whether they are in Europe, the Americas, Africa, or Asia, has been one of conquest and destruction. For them, to seek intergration with whites was tantamount to banishing oneself to the fires of hell on earth. According to the Afro-American philosophy, the dominant political, and economic position of whites has rested in their use of destructive technologies (ie. guns, atomic weapons), which is a clear indication of their apparently uncontrolled and perhaps inherent inhumanity.

However, while the Afro-American nationalists advocated



The Black Power Movement was led by Malcolm X, Kwame Toure (Stokely Carmichael), Elijah Muhammad, Maulana (Ron) Karenga, etc. The separation may be valid if looked at in certain ideological terms.

In the 1960's Blacks led two major Movements. One, the Civil Rights Movement, was essentially an integrationist movement. The leading organizations of this Movement, NAACP, CORE, and Urban League, depended on financial support from the white community. Whites also held leading positions in these organizations. In addition, white support was solicited to do much of the foot work in these organizations. It was the civil rights movement that laid the basis for Black grass root political activism in the 1960's. While women, Chicanos, Native Americans, and leftist in general, had struggled for many decades it was in the 1960's that they reached their height. The Civil Rights Movement included all those who sought to overcome economic and social oppression.

On the other side of the coin is the Afro-American Nationalist (Black Power Movement) ideology. Fundamentally, this Movement was led by followers of the Nation of Islam (Muslim), the Shrine of the Black Madonna

self determination, they also advocated coalition with other peoples of color. This indicates that the problem is not just an African struggle, but a global struggle that includes Chicanos, Native Americans, and Asians, among other peoples. It also highlights the racism that continues to be an aspect of the white dominated left.

The goal of the Movements was synonymous—to create a united political body within the Afro-American community which could effectively struggle for Afro-American rights politically, economically, and socially. Both Movements also agreed that the internal development of the Afro-American community was prime.

The Afro-American Movement was based on a concept of increased internal control of our communities, and Dr. Martin Luther King was instrumental in that movement; however, since he was an integrationist, it set him at odds with various segments of the Afro-American "nation."

Perhaps Dr. Martin Luther King's most significant contribution is one we all should follow: a legacy of dedicated, disciplined, morally righteous struggle. He has shown that within that struggle hope is eternal, and victory inevitable.

Update on Dennis Banks

Over the past three months at the Sioux Falls State Penitentiary, Dennis has kept busy with activities inside the walls, and correspondence with the outside. He works with the Native American Council of Tribes (NACT), which organizes drug and alcohol rehabilitation programs, and sponsors a basketball team which Dennis coaches. The NACT sponsored a concert at the prison on December 2, with Floyd Westerman and Sherry Blakey Banai (among others) and emceed by Dennis. A pow-wow was held December 15, with many attending from the outside, including KaMook, Mark Banks, and Bill Wahpepah.

After he learned of prisoners in a Texas institution fasting for a day and sending money saved to Ethiopia, and that a native Alaskan village had sent a donation, Dennis decided to undertake a spiritual fast for the suffering people of Ethiopia. He began his four-day fast Thanksgiving week, concluding on Thursday evening. Dennis said of the power of fasting, "The prisoners' fast had an impact on me and I don't know what impact I'm going to have on somebody else. If eventually enough people do it, the awareness will grip every person in this country. I believe in fasting. I believe in that kind of spirituality and making changes, and I think it's going to happen." Dennis plans to fast four days of each month.

Dennis' status has been reclassified, and he will be temporarily transferred to a minimum security prison in Springfield, South Dakota, where he plans to take courses. One of the last events he participated in at Sioux Falls was the January 15th celebration of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday, sponsored by the black inmates' association. You may write to Dennis at the following address: *Dennis Banks No. 22103, SCR P.O. Box 369, Crawford Hall 211E, Springfield, SD 57062.*

Keep your letters going in to Judge Marshall Young, asking for an early release for Dennis, and expressing concern for his safety: *Judge Marshall Young, 7th Judicial Circuit, P.O. Box 230, Rapid City, SD 57709.*



Leonard Peltier Update

Early 1985 is a critical time for Leonard, and we ask that people take action immediately to generate as many letters as possible.

Leonard is being kept in solitary confinement at the Federal Medical Facility at Springfield; he has told us that the reason for this inhumane treatment is his refusal to inform on other inmates to prison officials. He has no contact with any other prisoners, has only a slatted metal platform for a bed,

DENNIS BANKS ENDS FLIGHT

by Gregorio Garza

On September 13, 1984, Dennis Banks turned himself over to South Dakota authorities, ending nine years of being a fugitive from the state.

Banks is facing up to twenty years on the combined federal and state charges stemming from a police riot at the Custer County Courthouse on February 6, 1973. What was planned as a community meeting to establish a human rights commission and to investigate the stabbing murder of a young Indian man, John Wesley Bad Heart Bull, ended in a violent confrontation. That morning, South Dakota State officials had suddenly refused to meet with approximately 200 concerned Indians, many of whom had traveled up into the Black Hills from their reservations. They agreed to allow Dennis Banks and three others inside the unused courthouse.

When the slain victim's mother, Sarah Bad Heart Bull, attempted to enter pleading, "I have a right to be in there, it's my son they're talking about," she was beaten and held in a chokehold by the police.

Provoked and angered by this despicable act, fighting between the Indians and the police broke out outside the courthouse. All this time Dennis Banks remained inside the courthouse talking to authorities.

But when police threw a tear gas canister into a back room, he picked up a billy club lying on the floor and broke open a window in order to get some fresh air. For this, Dennis was charged with being armed in a riot without intent to kill. He was later convicted by an all-white jury on riot and assault charges, which carry a 15 year maximum penalty. However, Darald-Schmidt, the white man that fatally stabbed John Wesley Bad Heart Bull, was later acquitted.

Dennis decided to jump bail after threats by attorney general Janklow, according to Sioux Falls attorney John Gridley, "that the way to deal with AIM leaders was with a bullet in the head" as well or by a state prison guard claiming that Banks "wouldn't last 20 minutes in the Sioux Falls penitentiary." In August 1975, Banks failed to appear before Judge Marshall Young to receive sentencing. Banks fled South Dakota and received sanctuary in

California by former Governor Brown. He lived in California for seven years until Deukmejian threatened to extradite him back to South Dakota. Banks and his family moved to New York where he was given protection on the Onondaga reservation. However, Banks grew tired of separation from his family when his wife KaMook would take their children to visit her family in South Dakota. Banks was also limited to the amount of participation in AIM since he could not leave the tiny reservation. For over a year Bank tried to negotiate his surrender with state and federal authorities, but to no avail. After much consideration, he decided to get the legal problems over with so that he could be with his family and concentrate on his work for AIM, (which he helped cofound in 1968 to protect Indians in Minneapolis from police brutality as well as working to improve the Indian's living conditions this country which are still the worse of all minorities in the U.S.).

The night before Banks turned himself in he met with family and friends at the Pine Ridge reservation where he participated in spiritual ceremonies. After the ceremonies, Banks listened to his long-time friend and fellow AIM activist, Russell Means, who tried to dissuade Banks from giving himself up to the authorities. Means, who served time in the Sioux Falls state prison and was stabbed in the chest there in February 1978, told Banks "I'm afraid for your life and I don't think you'll make it,"...and "I think you are more valuable alive than martyred." However, Banks' decision to turn himself over to Custer County sheriff De Wayne Glassow at Rapid City Regional Airport in South Dakota, was a political and spiritual one.

Dennis Banks is a courageous and unselfish leader of the Native indigenous peoples throughout the Americas. He is innocent of any criminal wrongdoing, his only crime is to have spoken out against the forces that oppress non-white people and destroy the land, La Tierra--Nuestra Madre. Dennis Banks and AIM are more than just allies of the Chicano movement; we are of the same blood as well as the same origin.

For more information concerning this case and Leonard Peltier, write to: *Dennis Banks Defense Committee, 259 Termino Ave., Long Beach, CA 90303 or call (213) 433-2469.*

NEW WAVE OF REPRESSION AGAINST KIKO MARTINEZ

Only six weeks after the final charges in the "letter bombs" frameup were dismissed, the U.S. government has renewed its attempts to imprison Kiko and repress the movement to defend him.

On January 23, 1985 shortly after noon a paramilitary force of FBI and Alamosa police surrounded Kiko's home in Alamosa. The SWAT team composed of several dozen agents armed with automatic weapons and flak jackets captured Kiko and kidnapped him to Denver by airplane. In Denver Kiko was arraigned on three counts of giving false information in 1980 when he was returning from a seven year exile. Kiko had been in exile since 1973 when the government framed him up on bogus "letter bombs" charges. From 1980 to the end of 1984 the community conducted a spirited and successful campaign to expose that racist and political frameup and railroad. Kiko was acquitted by a jury. An appeals court dismissed other counts because of judicial and prosecutorial crimes. The government dismissed the final counts because of a lack of evidence.

The new charges are filed in Tucson, Arizona. With the exception of a Removal Hearing scheduled for February 1, 1985 in Denver, Colorado all proceedings will be held in Tucson, Arizona. The new case carries a total punishment of 15 years imprisonment and \$30,000 fine. The Arizona case was filed 4 1/2 years after the alleged acts. Who knows who the witnesses are, where they are and what other evidence is no longer available. Never before had the government indicated that there were other investigations pending against Kiko. The type of charges filed in this case are used in only the rarest of situations -- when all else fails and the motive is harassment. The sealed indictment (most indictments are made public immediately) was returned by a

secret grand jury on January 15, 1985 just as the property bond in the "letter bombs" case was being released. Kiko was never really free from those charges.

This latest repressive act by the government is a measure of revenge because of the defeat it was dealt in the bogus "letter bombs" case. The government is singling Kiko out with this vindictive and selective persecution because he continues to speak out on issues of concern to the Mexican community in North America. Kiko continues to defend the human, political, and democratic rights of his people. This exercise of free speech, free association and advocacy does not sit well with the Reagan administration and its reactionary policies. If we do not speak out against this reactionary tide we will be swept over by facism.

The community is outraged by recent events. How many more charges is the government holding in reserve to continue persecuting Kiko? It is precisely this type of persecution that forces Kiko to fear for his family's and his freedom, safety, and lives. This is precisely the type of oppression that forced Kiko to go into exile in 1973 and today forces tens of thousands of Central Americans to flee the CIA-backed bloodbaths in their homelands. How many refugees like Kiko are forced to assume another identity to defend and protect their freedom, safety, and lives? Is the Reagan administration again using the courts to criminalize progressive political activity and imprison its leadership? Are the false charges against Kiko in Arizona going to be used as a precedent against other refugees living under assumed identities?

LA LUCHA CONTINUA,
HASTA LA VICTORIA

SIEMPRE!

"Only the educated are free."

—Discourses, Bk. II, Ch. 1



Office of the Chancellor UC Riverside

and is kept in the hole for 23 1/2 hours each day. He is allowed no books, pens, or paper in his cell. According to his wife, Stephanie Autumn, Leonard's visitation rights are being violated as well. He has not been allowed to see his children, as are other inmates. An injunction has been filed against the warden.

Protest This Inhumane Treatment!!

Write to Warden Joseph Petrovsky, Federal Medical

Facility, Box 4000, Springfield, MO 65802. Keep letters going in to Leonard at Springfield: *Leonard Peltier--89637-132 (address above).*

For more information: Leonard Peltier Support Group, P.O. Box 7365, Minneapolis, MN 55407 or *Crazy Horse Spirit, Leonard Peltier Defense Committee, 2524 16th Ave. South, Seattle, WA 98144.*

Poesía

Listen

*Listen, dammed you and beware.
Listen to the silent
lullaby of the peasant mother who
dares out to sing to her babe
nested in her arm, a rifle
clutched in the mud hardened hand.
Cautious in the dark left to guard
the last of families slaughtered in the night*

*Who will hear
above the drunken laughter, children
of the land where milk and honey flow.
Crazed by the greed you go.
Slip and slide in the milk and honey
flow to drum beats of your stereos.*

*The drum beat slowly fades---
faint sounds of the death flute piping the wind;
Of the people crushed to death
under rolling wheels of bureaucratic hell.*

*We play with words,
we sing our songs of
God bless America
and tuck our children in their beds.
The childish prayer of God
bless people everywhere fades
into the low moan of freedom fighters
in a distant land, and yet so near.*

Virginia Goodman

Hopi Indian

A Quien Interese:

Why has it been so painful to know you? Is it because in knowing you I have known more about myself? Perhaps it has been painful to know myself from the standpoint of your eyes. All my life I have taken my people, my language, and culture for granted. Before you, I cared not to learn about your people, your language, and your culture, since I had only been despised by it: always compared to it. I learned about you without wanting to; I had no choice.

Yet, I have learned the extent of my 'outsidedness' to your culture; my ignorance of your ways, your values, your ideas. I have experienced its consequences though. Your people have conquered and made us a blasphemy. I have always resented that. You, however, are only a product of that ingrained ethnocentrism that predominates in this country. No, I do not hold you accountable, for you are also a victim. But yes, I do hold you accountable for not wanting to know and understand the reasons why.

I hate you. I hate you for what you represent. Your habitual, condescending attitude toward us, our language, our culture...But, I can also love you. I enjoy those times in which we can exchange ideas, fears, challenges, sorrow and happiness in our struggles--each in our own way, and together. You must learn to know me as I have learned to know you. It is time.

Amaranta



El Pueblo Salvadoreño

Walk...

Walk...

Step by step
walk along the
shattered bloody paths.

A child!
A woman!
Thousands of men!

Walk without listening,
fearing their presence.

Everything foggy.
Walk carefully.

Not to cause the palest
movement,
not to wake the
restless souls
in purgatory.

When aroused,
no passion on earth
satisfies.

Walk carefully
without listening to the echoes
which mutilate
divine thoughts.

Walk...

Walk...

Maria Alicia Arrizón

A SIMPLE PERSON

At a glimpse you are a simple person;
easy to perceive
easy to understand.

Yet, if one looks deeply into your eyes,
all that is seen is the mystic of your being.
Through the windows of your mind, rays of
adventure; love; and prosperity overflow.
But, your eyes reflect a protective curtain,
that only the chosen ones can remove.
It is they who find the treasure;
A wondering knight, carrying the spirit of a
dove
as his shield; the idealistic seeker of a
better tomorrow; and the purest and kindest
of hearts.

When you open up the passage way to that
mystical
land of fantasies, only then will people realize
what a divine treasure is hidden within you.

Untitled

Of a summer
that was cold
and a winter
that would not
let up, a
dream is
reborn in the
eyes of
a soft brown
color and
a skin
of bronze.
Old people
of respect
look at their
children
with a
sparkle in
their eyes.
At last
their dream
is about
to come
true in a
country that
held them
oppressed by
sheer attitude,
for a child
is born
with two
cultures
and nowhere
to go but
up!

A La Brava

Soy pocho
de los
chicanos
y nunca
en mi
perra vida
he dicho
que tengo
verguenza
de ser
MEXICANO!

Untitled

To a country
that still insists
that justice
belongs to the
man with the
long green.
I give you
fair warning
that I and
my kind
are here so
that true
justice will
be done
and democracy
will once again
have the
full sanction
of its meaning.
In this
framework of
society I will
make these
changes legally,
the way they
should be
made, the way
they will be
made. High hopes
have gone
crumbling like
a bridge
once built
to hold
a thousand huelguistas
crossing a
river on legs
dead from
exhaustion
so long ago.

The only time I
write is when I
am in anguish...
I have written
all my life.

Ruben Vasquez

Fact Sheet:

Phelps Dodge &
South Africa

Phelps Dodge's investments in South Africa and Namibia are significant for both the company and for the economic and political support which they lend to South Africa. Phelps Dodge's South African investments are its single largest foreign investment (as valued by "investments and long-term receivables" in its 1983 annual report) and in 1981 produced about 31% of Phelps Dodge's worldwide earnings from operations (1981 was the last year Phelps Dodge made a profit).

In Namibia, which is illegally occupied by South Africa, Phelps Dodge's Western Nuclear subsidiary is prospecting for uranium. This exploration is in violation of Decree No.1 of the United Nations Council for Namibia which prohibits foreign economic involvement in Namibia while it is still under South African control. Foreign corporations like Phelps Dodge continue to plunder Namibia's valuable resources before the country gains its independence and is able to use these resources for its own development.

According to the Investor Responsibility Research Center (IRRC), in the late 1970's Phelps Dodge planned to use 600 migrant workers to develop the Black Mountain project, and then to discard these people (with no pensions) and to replace them with "Coloured" workers. In 1980 a wage dispute developed at the Black Mountain mines. The company terminated the dispute by firing 200 black workers and flying them to the Transkei Homeland. This action is reminiscent of the 1917 strike at Phelps Dodge properties in Arizona where the company hired vigilantes to round up thousands of striking copper miners and their supporters, stuff them into cattle cars and dump them in the New Mexico desert.

Although Phelps Dodge is a signatory to the Sullivan Principles, it refused to file any report whatsoever in 1983 on its compliance with the principles. In its last report on Phelps Dodge's compliance in 1980, IRRC noted that Phelps Dodge had made minimal progress in implementing the principles. Its wage and fringe benefits for Black workers were below average with an entry-level wage ranking among the lowest in South Africa and, "while it is probable that Phelps Dodge will be more able than ever to implement the principles during the next two years, there is little indication that the company intends to accelerate its present pace."

At Phelps Dodge's fluorspar mine in South Africa, for instance, Black miners made less than 40 cents an hour in 1980, working 60 hours a week in ten-hour shifts and sleeping 12 to a room in the mine's migrant labor hostel.

The Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility (ICCR) filed a stockholder resolution in 1979 against Phelps Dodge for its South Africa operations. That resolution, sponsored by the Fiars of Atonement and the Franciscan, asked the company and its subsidiaries to terminate operations in South Africa. The resolution received support from 3.42% of the shares voted.

Because Phelps Dodge has found it increasingly difficult to secure credit at favorable terms, in July 1983 the company made a credit agreement with the New York branch of the Nedbank Ltd. which is incorporated in South Africa. The commitment under the agreement was not to exceed 7.4 million South African Rands.

Phelps Dodge's South African operations provide an interesting commentary on George Munroe's claim that "foreign-based companies are flooding the market with subsidized copper." This is the reason Munroe has given for demanding concessions from its unions in Arizona and Texas in 1983.

In the last four years Phelps Dodge's Black Mountain affiliate produced 18,000 tons of copper for export. The Black Mountain mine has been heavily subsidized by the South African government: \$33 million in improvements and an abatement on the 42% mine profits tax until accumulated profits equal the initial investment. The South African government, including Manufacturers Hanover Trust, as of 1980 was the world's second largest lender to South Africa.

A major reason for the high rate of return that Phelps Dodge earns on its South African investment is the low wage rate paid to its South African workers. These are the conditions which are "subsidizing" the foreign production that Mr. Munroe is so concerned about. Phelps Dodge is simply seeking to extract similar "subsidies" from its unionized American employees in Arizona and Texas by forcing them to compete with lower paid workers in other countries.

Reprinted from *Morenci Miners News Local 616, Clifton, Arizona, 85533. December 1984.*



Phelps Dodge at "Home"

According to Phelps Dodge Copper Corporation, the 19 month-old strike has legally and formally ended. The union thinks otherwise. Though Phelps Dodge claims a victory for decertification, one need to question the legality of the votes themselves. Over 1,700 strikers were not permitted to vote on this issue. Many of the workers who did vote for decertification were part of the scab labor brought in from outside Morenci and of Arizona.

The problem, however, is that one the vote is certified with the National Labor Relations Board, the strike will be legally ended. United Steelworkers Local 616 will continue to fight in another form, but it may not bring them back their jobs. Many strikers have been encouraged to look for alternative means of getting an income, many of these will be outside of the mining area, leaving friends and family. Others will be able to apply for unemployment benefits or job training, but this is not possible unless the strikers sign up work and declare that the strike is over.

Phelps Dodge did lose money during the strike—over 190 million alone in the last few months. These claims of losing money means only that they are not making more millions. Phelps Dodge has claimed that it was no longer possible to operate because

of the decline in low copper prices. This is untrue, since they are involved in the same mining endeavors in South Africa, Mexico, the Philippines, among other countries, where they get cheaper labor and can extract an even higher profit. What they fail to mention is that it was no longer feasible to operate in Morenci and its vicinity because of the higher wages demanded by the workers there.

Another claim by Phelps Dodge was that costs were already too high to meet the environmental protection standards. Phelps Dodge was included in report released by the Public Citizen Health Research Group, under Ralph Nader, which revealed that many of the miners had been exposed to hazardous materials while on the job without their knowledge. In addition to the harm to workers, pollution at the site of the mines affects all those who live there. Since 1981 Phelps Dodge has been forced to pay more than \$500,000 in fines for violations of the Clean Air Act. It is also being sued for polluting the San Francisco River with a number of toxic chemicals and faces fines of over \$400,000.

What would be of concern to us in this strike is the lack of support the Morenci miners received from the national and

regional AFL-CIO affiliates. Strikers were told by the AFL-CIO President that they would support them to the end. But when it came time to show this support, none was apparent. Further, at the beginning, workers were deceived off into accepting a 10-day cooling-off period which gave Phelps-Dodge and the state apparatus sufficient time to round up their forces against the workers. Once the state officials (National Guard and the Department of Public Safety) were well situated in Morenci, strikers lost the advantage they had in the beginning of the strike.

The actions of the national and regional affiliates of AFL-CIO are not surprising, to the miners and many supporters from outside. They reflect a continuing alliance between corporate and union management which is a disregard for any kind of worker offensive. The Reagan Administration is adamantly against worker offensive strategies and many corporations are taking advantage—Phelps Dodge included.

Contributions can be sent to the *Strike Relief Fund, c/o Angel Rodriguez, USWA, P.O. Box 1017, Clifton, AZ, 85533 or Morenci Miners Women's Auxiliary, c/o Fina Roman, President, 1113 Third Ave., Safford, AZ 85546.*

Symposium On Literature
and SocietyXXth CENTURY MEXICO:
IMAGES OF
TRANSFORMATIONUNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,
RIVERSIDE April 18-21, 1985
IN MEMORY OF
TOMÁS RIVERA

panels:

- I. Current Trends Of Literary Theory and Interpretation.
- II. Historiography and Ideology in Contemporary Mexico.
- III. Questions of Gender in Contemporary Mexican Literature.
- IV. Mexican Narrative Fiction in the XX Century.
- V. Mexican Poetry in the XX Century.
- VI. Images of Mexico in Chicano Literature.

Panelists include: Alurista, Margo Glantz, Yvette Jimenez de Baez, Luis Leal, Carlos Monsivais, José Emilio Pacheco, Elena Poniatowka, Jorge Bustamante, Jorge Ruffinelli, Adolfo Sánchez Vásquez, Elena Urrutia, and others.

This Symposium will honor the late Tomás Rivera and will include the dedication of the UCR library in his name.

CAMPUS SANCTUARY

by Lisa Duran

On February 9, 1985, the Campus Sanctuary Committee held the first conference on campus sanctuary. The conference attracted fifteen different campuses with approximately 85 participants. From the workshops and spirit of the conference it is apparent that the movement to declare sanctuaries at different campuses is continuing to grow and spread to different parts of the country. The following is a political summary of that movement as we have seen it.

We see these as critical times. The course of domestic and international events cause us concern and motivate us to actively combat attacks on human rights and their well-being. For Campus Sanctuary at UC-Riverside, sanctuary work is a way to concretely demonstrate our commitment to justice. Sanctuary allowed us to concretely aid a few victims of U.S. policy in Central America--and these few victims represented for many people the larger suffering endured by the millions there.

Sanctuary work calls us to reflect upon our positions and motives; we must be clear on what we can accomplish and why we wish to contribute to the work, particularly because we can be prosecuted for our acts. Because of this risk, we must be honest and courageous when we call on others to work with us. We agree with the stand of the Chicago Religious Task Force on Central America which states that it is necessary, out of honesty and commitment, to be willing to break laws, while

clearly showing the government is illegally interpreting the U.S. Refugee Act and the U.N. Protocol Accords as regards refugees.

When we began our work on sanctuary, we encountered what we began to call a 'legalistic perspective,' both within and outside of our group. We heard such arguments as "We can't do this until we have invited the INS to campus to see what they have to say about our declaring sanctuary;" "We have to have the administration's endorsement of our sanctuary;" and (from duly-elected graduate student representatives) "Unless the whole graduate student body votes we cannot endorse a declaration of sanctuary." We began to understand that, while support work can be legal, harboring refugees legally is an impossibility. Such overly cautious suggestions were stalling tactics from those who really opposed sanctuary, or who were not clear on the purpose of sanctuary. Eventually many of these hesitations evaporated as people began to better understand our efforts.

We at UC-Riverside have always perceived our work as an attempt to reach the broad masses of people, to link issues and to tap the progressive sentiment of those people. Although the media has many times attempted to sensationalize our work, we have consistently found that people from many different backgrounds do indeed support sanctuary. This is for many different reasons, which range from outright anti-

imperialistic stands in solidarity with the people in Central America, to a concern for the civilian population who daily suffers human rights abuses. To us, the reasons for the sincere support of sanctuary work are of little consequence. All who support sanctuary work are our allies, and are objectively supporting the solidarity movement in the U.S.

We have always felt that one of the strengths of the sanctuary movement is its breadth. However, we also feel it is crucial to look at sanctuary work strategically, not simply tactically. While any kind of sanctuary work is objectively a move against U.S. policy, aiding Central American refugees without bringing out the larger picture (i.e., U.S. involvement in Central America) is ultimately self-defeating. It will degenerate into short term provision of social services; attempting to put the proverbial band aid on the proverbial cancer. In fact, we have never met a Central American refugee who did not urge us to continually bring to the U.S. public the effect the U.S. military spending has had on the struggles in their countries.

When we became clear on the differences between short-term, humanitarian-oriented work (i.e., providing material aid for refugees) and long-term political goals (support non-intervention through education of North Americans), we began to see how having a strategic political goal offers a steady focus and direction while all the maneuvering and nuts-and-bolts

work of providing aid is carried out.

We are proud of the campus sanctuary movement. We feel it has concretely contributed to the solidarity movement in this country. We see sanctuary as an act, a state of commitment, in which a group of people pledge themselves to offer a haven to brothers and sisters from Central America. This can be done using one location or it can be done using many. In addition, to divide those of 'the Church' who provide sanctuary from those outside 'the Church' creates an exclusive club out of sanctuary work. This can only aid those who would split or weaken the sanctuary movement out of fear of its strength.

Sanctuary work carries with it great moral authority and captures people's interest and commitment. A year ago, the first sanctuary workers and refugees were arrested. More recently, the Federal Government has moved to crack down on the sanctuary movement, indicting 16 national leaders on charges of conspiracy to smuggle and harbor refugees. The timing and coordination of their attack and their use of wiretapping and paid infiltrators shows how seriously the government regards the sanctuary movement.

We see the sanctuary movement as closely linked to the solidary movement. Although there are differences in focus and style, both work against U.S. intervention in Central America and against the injustice it creates both there and here.

As part of the solidarity/

sanctuary movement, our work necessitates critical analysis of what we foresee in the longterm. As we saw with our declaration of sanctuary, broadly differing groups of people can all grasp and agree with the need for sanctuary. Using this base, we can consolidate forces if we integrate sanctuary work within the many progressive movements of this country. By bringing together sanctuary work with the struggles of Blacks, Chicanos, Asians, women, gays, anti-nuke groups and the elderly, among others, we can forge a stronger movement that can contribute to a national momentum for peace and justice. At UC-Riverside these attempts took the form of integrating ourselves in the local Rainbow Coalition, participating in University Coalitions and speaking to civil liberties groups like the ACLU.

Declaring our Graduate Student Association a sanctuary allowed us to take the strongest possible stance in the context of our situation here. It gave us an opportunity to illuminate the connection between drastic U.S. military spending, loss of jobs here at home and cuts in social spending; and the daily violations of human rights in Central America. By bringing sanctuary to a university setting, the solidarity movement can gain new impetus and momentum among the student population. In sum, our experience in declaring campus sanctuary has been exhilarating, exhausting, and an unqualified success.

José Antonio Villarreal Visits UCR

José Antonio Villarreal, author of several novels, *The Fifth Horseman*, *Clemente Chacon*, and *Pocho*, was part of UCR's Writers' week during February 18 through 22. Villarreal, better known for his first novel, *Pocho*, one of the very early, if not the earliest Chicano novels written in English, gave a presentation on "The Making of a Writer: Philosophy and Experience."

Villarreal explained that his work has been misunderstood by Chicanos and others alike. He discussed the impact that the Chicano movement had on his work, for before the 1960's, no one knew of *Pocho*. Villarreal reiterated that Chicano literature, in whatever manner it is defined, is a reflection of our reality. We live and we write, whether in Spanish, in English, or Calo, here in the United States. We have struggled for recognition, even though we have contributed to the political, economic, social and cultural arenas of this society. We are part of it and should be treated as such.

Villarreal also spoke of assimilation. To him, assimilation

is not a deliberate action; it has become a means of survival for many. We become absorbed in the reality in which we live and we struggle to exist within that reality. He distinguished between *partial* assimilation, which claims Villarreal, will exist for a long time, and *total* assimilation, which will take centuries. Assimilation works both ways; we are a fusion of many cultures and histories, whether good or bad.

Villarreal also discussed how the media only gives a partial exposure--usually with negative stereotypes of our history. He explained how the thematic content and experience are important in his works. He said that as far as Chicano literature was concerned, those who don't read it can't understand; those who don't want to read it will never understand about our history and experience.

José Antonio Villarreal's presentation was followed by an informal question and answer session, which gave everyone a chance to talk to him.



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UC RIVERSIDE

On Bilingual Education

by Paco Quiñones

The purpose of this report is not to argue against those critics of bilingual education. We must examine the assumption of those who argue against using the home language of bilingual children in the schools, and to provide evidence that this program has not gained the support it has needed in this "free country." Through a brief analysis of the educational system, history, the government's role and financial funding of the program, we can point out the importance of bilingual education to a minority group who has been under constant pressure to deny its ethnic identity.

Critics argue that bilingual education eliminates English as a bond to ease the assimilation of immigrants. In promoting pluralism, these critics argue that bilingual education can lead to civil fragmentation and chaos. On the other hand, supporters argue that English speaking communities have as much right as English speakers to use schools to transmit their language to their children. They regard linguistic and cultural continuity between home and school as beneficial and necessary. Critics often fail to realize that bilingual education can employ practices that can accelerate a child's assimilation.

Most bilingual programs consist of teaching children English as a second language, therefore encouraging assimilation. Another consists of subject matter instruction in the children's native language, presumably encouraging pluralism. "The relative allocation of time and attention given to the student's first language and that to English varies enormously among states, districts, and even among classes in the same school. Some bilingual teachers instruct primarily in the child's mother tongue. Most teach primarily in English. Many programs stress literacy in the mother tongue; more emphasize English literacy. Some teachers maintain a clear separation between languages. Others switch back and forth much as the children themselves do."

"Bilingual education is not new in the United States, but existed under local auspices, from the early nineteenth century until well into the twentieth." It seems ridiculous how bilingual education today is highly criticized simply because Hispanics are fighting for the right for schools to teach their children the value of their language and culture. It is ironic, however, that bilingual education was not considered a controversial topic at the turn of the century when public schools held German classes in Baltimore and Cincinnati. It is important to analyze how Hispanics compared to European immigrants, have fought and struggled throughout history to salvage their language; it is also important to analyze the role that the government has played in bilingual education, and what impact it has had on the program.

"During the period of European migration, the United States was home to large numbers of foreign-born people who spoke many different languages. During the closing decades of the nineteenth century the largest group was English speaking. English today is the usual language in 94 percent of the United States households. On the other hand, Spanish is spoken six times more than the next most commonly spoken foreign language, Italian." Though there existed a Spanish speaking population in the Southwest before the Anglo invasion and continues to increase at each intercensal period, critics continue to argue that Europeans migrated

promoted emigration from Europe. The federal government's contribution to world economic was small, and its role as a military power smaller yet. The presence of Hispanics in the United States, on the other hand, is to a much greater degree a consequence of U.S. government action. Chicanos and Puerto Ricans are part of this country's population today because of the government's armed takeover of Mexico (1848) and Spanish territories (1898). Unlike Europeans who traveled to the U.S. in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Chicanos and Puerto Ricans were already living in territories conquered by the United States. Another important

birth. It is, therefore, important to point out that Hispanics are mostly regarded by the larger society not simply as white members of a different ethnic group, as were the European immigrants, but as nonwhite members of a different race. Therefore, demands for use of Spanish in schools must not be seen as a shocking surprise; it is, rather, as a wakening reaction from native-born Americans who dissent from generally held views on education.

Just as it is not true that bilingual education is a unified movement whose supporters share in a pluralistic consensus, neither is it true that bilingual

preservation of a minority group's language? Perhaps what irritates the dominant white, English-speaking population most is the insistence of many Hispanics that they not only have a natural right but also a constitutional right to be taught in Spanish at the taxpayers' expense, a claim put forward by no other group of any significance in our history.

The current demand for Spanish in the schools is an attempt to transform a problem into an asset. The problem is that people who had never regarded themselves as non-white now discover that they are not only members of an ethnic minority, but of a racial minority too. Bilingual education affirms the distinctness of a different language and culture. Bilingual programs help to maintain communication in Spanish among Hispanic children, and they curb the process of assimilation. One important aspect about bilingual education that critics always fail to report is that where no bilingual education exists, Hispanic parents are less likely to approach the school and talk with teachers, that children are neglected by their teachers and tend to drop out, and that little effort is made to teach them English, preferring instead to classify them as slow learners or retarded. They fail to note that instruction in Spanish and through special efforts to teach English, bilingual programs have helped lower the dropout rates in many schools; that they have established an important link between the school and the home, as well as providing evidence to parents and students that their language is important.

These manifestations of the American tradition in bilingual education are indispensable to an understanding of federally funded bilingual programs. When we see all levels of government use Spanish as a more practical medium to reach a large audience, use of the language in schools should not seem surprising. When we see that bilingual programs have been financed by the federal government when it has suited military purposes, financing of programs for educational purposes does not seem so strange. When we see that English is not, nor has it ever been, the exclusive language of U.S. education, the use of Spanish in public schools today does not seem so revolutionary. And when we see private institutions teaching courses in Spanish to attract fee-paying Hispanics, use of Spanish again does not seem so strange. So before critics are quick to criticize bilingual education programs, they should analyze the components that give bilingual education its image. They should report that although the federal government has supported bilingual education programs, it uses the programs to its advantages. Most important, critics of bilingual education with a concern for civil order and social harmony should also concern themselves with issues of poverty, unemployment, and racial discrimination first, rather than concentrate on the use of Spanish in schools.



here to stay and thus became deserving of their support while Hispanics are here today and gone tomorrow, thus compromising their claim to their help. But what is most frustrating is that critics never comment on the fact that Europeans not only obtain their support but are treated as first class citizens, because American society can identify with them, while Hispanics are treated as second-class citizens simply because of their skin color.

The role of the federal government in their respective histories is often overlooked. In comparing these two groups role in proper perspective, we need to examine the government's responsibility for creating the conditions that brought Europeans and Hispanics here. What was the government's intention for inviting so many immigrants? It would be inaccurate to regard the United States government as a passive host to uninvited visitors. Immigration policy has always coincided with the labor needs of this country. The state has functioned as broker for capital and industry; it is in this context that the government supports immigration.

We need to look at the limited role of the United States in creating the conditions of deprivation and persecution that

fact that should be noted is that the government had little involvement in the education or language policies of the countries from which the Europeans migrated. The opposite is true in the case of many Hispanics.

Much of the criticism of a government role in bilingual education treads on the unstated principles that English is the natural language of the country, when there is, in fact, no such official policy; the status of English in the U.S. is simply one of practical *de facto* reality, and is not supported by a federal mandate or constitutional amendment. We can see that examples of government agencies spending public funds involving languages other than English are easy to find. For instance, on Spanish-language radio stations, the U.S. Army runs a recruitment campaign paid by federal dollars. And the U.S. government also sponsors instruction in Spanish in Fort Gulick, Panama, for 'counter-insurgency' police agents in Latin America.

Analyzing the position and circumstances of Hispanic and European immigrants, one can notice that unlike the European immigrants, the majority of Hispanics residing in this country were born in the continental United States or in Puerto Rico. They are, therefore, citizens by

education is always federally supported and only responsive to Hispanic students. Although bilingual education got its biggest push from federal involvement, many bilingual programs are now supported by state and local funds. Besides, bilingual programs serve children of many language backgrounds other than Spanish. This includes children from English monolingual homes.

Although bilingual education programs have many constructive aspects, such as assimilation, and cultural pluralism, strong objections to the programs are evoked when the question of cost is raised. Critics argue that bilingual programs may be worthy of private support, but government, particularly the federal government, should not support the teaching of languages other than English. They argue that bilingualism leads to little tangible educational improvement and increases the risk of *de facto* segregation and social tension. But what critics do not tell us is that since bilingual programs belong in public schools, they are legitimate recipients of public funds, and the programs are ridiculously underfunded. It should also be noted that bilingual programs account for less than two percent of the federal educational budget. What is it that provokes this strong opposition of critics about the



Softening Up the U.S. Public on Nicaragua

by Reggie Norton

Although official U.S. funding for the *contras* has been cut off by Congress until March, 1985, private U.S. sources have continued to fund the effort and there are new reports that special U.S. military forces are also involved in this effort. In preparation for the upcoming debate in Congress on aid to the *contras*, the Reagan Administration appears to be laying the groundwork for public acceptance of renewed and increased aid to the *contras* based on the charge that Nicaragua is becoming a Soviet base (like Cuba) and therefore must be stopped.

such as combat helicopters, might result in some U.S. action. One Pentagon official was quoted in a New York Times editorial of November 15th as saying, "What we need to do is translate concern about the military buildup in Nicaragua into support for renewed aid to the rebels."

Before the Soviet freighter arrived, the U.S. claimed that 12 combat helicopters were aboard and that Nicaragua might use them against neighboring Honduras as well as against the *contras*. Then on November 18th, U.S. officials said that there were only four to six helicopters... Nicaragua officials

States, have been attacking Nicaraguan territory for more than three years. If a force of proportional size were attacking the U.S., we would have 800,000 troops based on our borders who would have killed 150,000 of our citizens, kidnapped another 150,000 (presumed dead), and wounded 300,000 others. Because Nicaragua is responding militarily to forces of such relative proportions, it is labeled as aggressive and threatening by the Administration.

By seeking to discredit Nicaragua's election (which was generally reported as open and free

Nicaragua has aggressive intentions against Honduras and El Salvador is not merely a travesty of the facts, but also an attempt to mislead the American public into supporting a belligerent policy against Nicaragua.

Since this strategy has unfolded, there has been little reaction from members of Congress. Indeed, three Democratic Senators were quoted in the press as going along with the Administration's suggestion that if MIG's were received by Nicaragua, a military response could not be ruled out. Such action would be a flagrant violation of international law although it would be in keeping with past U.S. actions in the region. Since 1983, the U.S. has intervened militarily 39 times, each time claiming the need to protect U.S. economic or security interests.

Of greater concern is Congress' reluctance to voice alarm over Administration threats to carry out a series of military acts without prior consultation with Congress. The Shultz/Weinberger debates reflect this willingness to have military personnel make decisions that could involve the U.S. in a full scale war.

In the coming months, the American people can anticipate an escalation of "press leaks" and scare stories that imply Nicaragua is getting more and more aid from the Soviet Union, that Cuban involvement is increasing, and that Nicaragua is harboring expansionist desires in relation to its neighbors. Even if these stories are then shown to be untrue, they will leave a general impression which the Administration will likely use in its on-going crusade against Nicaragua unless carefully investigated by the media and challenged by Congress and the American public.

rooms debated whether Donald Mayes was guilty of the crime.

The District attorney's office sought a murder conviction, but two trials ended in deadlocked juries. When it became clear that the district attorney's office would seek a third trial, Mayes was given the option to plea for involuntary manslaughter.

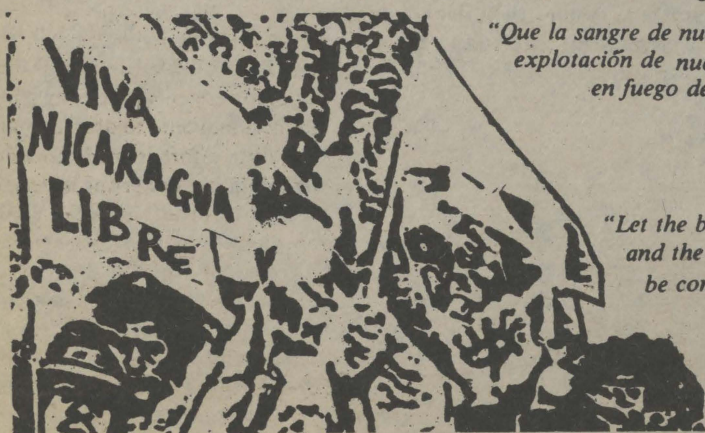
One need only to study prison statistics on the number of minorities in our prisons in relation to the number of whites to know that if Roberto, a Chicano, had killed Mayes, a white man, there would have been no need for a second trial. Roberto would have been convicted for murder. Mayes, however, will only spend one year in the Riverside County Jail.

The district attorney's office must be commended for pushing hard for a murder conviction, but it was pushing against the rubble of hundreds of years of injustice. It was also pushing against a criminal justice system which allows overt racists to participate and decide when a murder is "more" wrong.



To the hushed courtroom it almost seemed like the honorable judge, who sentenced Mayes, acknowledged the value of a life when he said that Roberto was "an exceptional person who contributed substantially to the community and had a very promising future." But Roberto's life was overshadowed by the decision to allow Mayes back into society. According to the judge, "society would be better protected if Mayes recuperated from stress and his abuse of alcohol, rather than by putting him in prison." How can society be "better protected?" How can we protect the victims of the crime committed? How can we protect the many Robertos? his grieving family? his daughter, the unborn child at the time of his murder who will grow up without her father?

Perhaps the outcome of this case seeks to discourage those of us who believe justice still exists. It does not. Though it deeply affects us, it also calls us to continue Roberto's struggle to end the injustice inherent in this racist, capitalist society. Roberto's spirit lives with us.



"Que la sangre de nuestros mártires y la explotación de nuestras masas se convierta en fuego de matracalla."

—FSLN

"Let the blood of our martyrs and the exploitation of the masses be converted to machinegun fire."

—FSLN

On election day, November 6th, U.S. intelligence sources leaked information suggesting that a Soviet freighter on its way to Nicaragua might be carrying MIG 21 advanced fighters, although both the Soviet Union and Nicaragua denied the charges. By November 10th, the U.S. acknowledged this was a mistake and that there were no MIG's on the ship.

However, in the following weeks, several Administration officials went on record claiming that Nicaragua was receiving other offensive weapons from the Soviet Union and was thus becoming a threat to neighboring countries. Having made it clear that the receipt by Nicaragua of MIG's would invite a "surgical" air strike by the U.S. to destroy them, the Administration also asserted that even the receipt of other weapons,

claimed that there were only one or two.

The stories of Nicaragua's so called "offensive" military buildup leaves the impression that Nicaragua is an outpost of the Soviet Union and a threat to its neighbors. For example, on December 6th, the Newhouse News Service reported that Nicaragua was receiving Soviet gas masks and protective gear that while defensive in nature, "could" be used as a first step in developing an offensive chemical warfare capacity. On December 13th, an Administration spokesperson declared, "You will have a second Cuba" unless Congress permits resumption of aid to the Nicaragua rebels (*contras*).

The Administration claims of a Nicaraguan military buildup seem to be a self fulfilling prophecy. The *contras*, funded by the United

by most international observers), the Administration has fostered the idea that the *contras* are liberating Nicaragua from a government unacceptable to its citizens and that attacks by the *contras* (or even U.S. military intervention) would liberate the populace from a repressive regime. Such a perspective ignores the fact that the government gained the support of 63% of the 75% registered voters who went to the polls during the November 4th elections and that the military leadership of the *contras* are made up of Somoza's national guard who are feared and hated by the majority of the Nicaraguan people.

Nicaragua is suffering serious economic problems, both from the economic legacy of Somoza and its inability to fight both the *contras* and to carry out its development programs. To assert that

Alaniz: Justice Forsaken

by Jon Martin-Murray

Roberto Claudio Alaniz was killed on, May 19, 1983 by Donald Jerry Mayes. Roberto is now more than a victim of murder, he is also a the victim of a criminal justice system. For nearly two years, court

Nuestra Cosa is now in its 13th year of publication. In order to preserve this newspapers' historical significance as an alternative medium, we are in the process of having it archived and microfilmed in the UC-Riverside library. We are, however, short of some of the earlier issues (especially those before 1977). We are asking our readership to help us in locating them. If you, or any persons you know, have early issues, please send them to, or contact, Diana Bustamante or Joel Pérez, Co-Editors, to the address on the back page. Gracias.

QUIÉN ES QUIÉN?

Continued from page 2

1. When California was still part of Mexico, Luisa Gárfias was a member of the ruling class of California. As she saw the Anglo-Americans invade the Southwest she moved to Los Angeles and became involved with politics along with her husband Manuel. Manuel joined Benito Juárez as Lt. Colonel at the time that Gral. Miramón was doing everything in his power to stop Juárez from becoming president of Mexico. Juárez' persecution was so intense that he was forced to flee Mexico. Luisa provided a safe place for him to live and helped him by selling her inheritance. She furnished him with money, horses, and an escort into Mexico City. With Luisa's help, Juárez was able to rebuild his army and subsequently defeated Gral. Miramón.
2. Octavio Ambrosio Larrazolo was elected governor of New Mexico in 1918 and senator in 1928. Prior to his successes, Larrazolo had been defeated three times in his attempts to be part of the United States Representatives. Larrazolo was respected by the Chicano population because he was dedicated to help Chicanos in anyway that he could. He encouraged many Chicanos to enter politics, businesses, and other professions. Larrazolo also fought for public lands and made this an important issue at Governors' conferences and in Washington. During his political career, he faced and always fought against prejudice and tried to help his people to the end. He died while he was still senator of New Mexico in 1929.

WHY BOYCOTT COORS?

Coors Is Racist...

In the 1920's, the Klu Klux Klan held meetings and cross burnings on property adjoining Coors property; property was owned by Adolph Coors' friends and business associates. In 1966 Chicano groups called for a boycott of Coors beer because of racist hiring practices.

Coors donated bullet proofing for one Denver Police Department helicopter and leased one other to the Denver Police, used primarily to patrol Denver's barrios and black neighborhoods.

In 1969, Coors was charged with racial discrimination in hiring practices by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and was found guilty. In 1977 Coors was forced to settle out of court and had to pay thousands of dollars and rehire several workers.

As a Regent at the University of Colorado, Joseph Coors opposed the existence of campus groups such as UMAS (United Mexican American Students), BSU (Black Student Union), and SDS (Students for a Democratic Society).

In 1973, Joseph Coors, along with Paul Weyrich, established the Heritage Foundation, a right wing-think tank, starting it off with \$200,000 in seed money.

In 1980, the Heritage Foundation presented to Reagan's Chief of Staff, Edwin Meese, a document which included the revocation of all executive orders requiring affirmative action, encouraged closer ties with South Africa, called for revoking the guidelines for intelligence agencies, called for a crackdown on domestic radicals and a revival of internal security committees in Congress. The Heritage Foundation has helped pass legislation to cut back on programs for the needy and to abolish the minimum wage. Meese stated the administration "relies heavily" on its recommendations.

In 1974 and 1975, the Heritage Foundation helped build a right-wing "textbook protest" in Kanawha County, West Virginia. Schools were bombed and parents were threatened and intimidated. The Heritage Foundation's lawyer, James McKenna, defended Klan leader, Ed Miller, in court.

Joseph Coors admits that he supports, and has given thousands of dollars to the John Birch Society, a semi secret organization led by neo-Nazis. The John Birch Society has had overlapping membership, leadership and programs with the Klu Klux Klan, and Klan-type groups such as the White Citizens Council, Minutemen, American Mercury and Common Sense.

Recently, William Coors exposed his racism by stating that "Blacks lack the intellectual capacity" and that "One of the best things they (slave traders) did for you is drag your ancestors over here in chains." Later, Coors debunked this story, saying that he had been misquoted. He claimed his remarks referred to African black and not blacks in general. He has filed a suit against the *Rocky Mountain News* for \$150 million as a smoke screen for the real issue.

**DON'T
BUY
COORS**

Coors Abuses The Environment...

In the early 1970's, Coors bankrolled the campaign for Anne Gorsuch (now Burford) for the Colorado State legislature where she helped attack government regulations on hazardous wastes. Later, as Director of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), she was forced to resign in disgrace over charges of corruption with the toxic wastes superfund in which she used the money to play politics.

In 1977, Coors founded the Mountain States Legal Foundation, a pro-nuclear group which presents companies suing to extract resources from wilderness areas. James Watt, former Secretary of the Interior, opened up vast wilderness areas for exploitation and was forced to resign only after he made racist, insensitive remarks before the media.

In 1978, the town of Westminster, Colorado, sued Coors for damaging their water supply in which effluent was released into it.

Coors has been involved in cloud seeding in the San Luis Valley of Colorado which subsequently modified the weather and led to the damage of other farmer's crops, particularly the potato crop.

Coors Heritage Foundation has sought to convert the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) and the Mine Safety and Health Administration into "cooperative" rather than adversarial agencies. It has also tried to subvert the Clean Air and Clean Water Act.

Coors Is Anti-Woman...

Joseph Coors has organized and founded some of the most vicious enemies of women's rights, such as Phyllis Schlafly, leader of the crusade against the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA); and Senators Jeremiah Denton, Jesse Helms and Orrin Hatch, all who have fought to deny women their rights.

Coors has funded the Heritage Foundation, the Mountain States Legal Foundation and the John Birch Society, all of which have fought to have women confined to "kitchen, church, and children."

After the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission filed suit against Coors in 1975, Coors hired more women; but, according to workers' affidavits, Coors did his best to see that women were fired or forced to resign.

Coors Busts Unions...

In the late 1960's, during the United Farmworkers strike, Coors volunteered to use his trucks to haul scab grapes from California to other states.

Coors has busted 19 unions in the past 20 years.

Coors distributors have historically been forced to sign contracts binding them to use scabs in the event of a strike.

Former Coors attorney, Irwin Lenten, is credited with getting the load limit per driver eliminated from contracts, thus making driving more hazardous to truckers.

In April, 1977, member of the Brewers Workers Local 366 struck the Coors Brewery over human dignity issues such as forced lie detector tests, and search and seizure of employees' personal effects by Coors' private police force. After 18 months the union was busted.

Coors has always fought against inspections conducted by OSHA. In 1982, a woman worker was overcome by toxic fumes and was seriously injured. Two other workers died while rescuing her.

Coors Is Right-Wing...

Coors is a member of the board of directors and a major financier of the American Security Council (ASC), which has pushed for greater war budgets (even greater than what the Pentagon has requested), and an aggressive, imperialistic foreign policy.



The ASC has taken under its wing dictators and butchers such as Roberto D'Aubuisson, commander of the death squads in El Salvador who are responsible for the deaths and disappearance of thousands of Salvadorans.

Coors has amassed a fortune in producing missiles components and porcelain war products.

The Adolph Coors Foundation awarded grants to Roger Pearson's Council of American Affairs, and to the "Peace Through Strength" project. Pearson, an outspoken Nazi, has written books which call whites a "master race," and advocate compulsory breeding for

"the master race." Pearson organized a meeting attended by international Nazi, fascists and by U.S. Klan types.

For over a century, the Coors family has abused the rights of workers, instituted racist, sexist and fascist policies in Colorado, the United States; and through the aforementioned organizations and affiliates, he has supported and helped establish right wing government that have terrorized and slaughtered indigenous people of Third World countries.

All of the above facts demand that the boycott of Coors products continue. It is clear that a boycott of Coors will not be ended when union workers get their contract signed by Coors, nor will it end when Coors drops morsels down to fund organizations such as LULAC (League of United Latin American Citizens), G.I. Forum, NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People), Operation Push (People United To Save Humanity) or any other community group or project.

We, the Southern Colorado Boycott Coors Committee, see the boycott against Coors ending when Coors ceases to control our lives through their environmental abuses, union busting, racist policy implementation and when they cease to fund and establish right-wing terrorist governments in other countries.

As consumers we have the power, through our own pocket books, to stop Coors. History has proven through our boycotts of non-union lettuce, grapes Gallo wines, Nestle products, and Mexicana Airlines that we can stop individuals and corporations that seek to abuse and destroy human rights and freedom.

BOYCOTT COORS
Including Herman
Joseph's, Killian's Red,
and Golden Brew.

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c/o Chicano Studies
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787-3863

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