



Ruben Salazar

A selection of columns reprinted from the Los Angeles Times

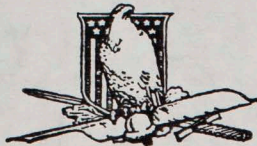
Los Angeles Times

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TUESDAY MORNING, SEPTEMBER 1, 1970

Ruben Salazar---His Goals Remain

Ruben Salazar was a most uncommon man who fought mightily for the cause of a group of underprivileged common men—those of the economically deprived Mexican-American community.

When Mr. Salazar, whose column appeared weekly in *The Times*, was killed during last Saturday's East Side rioting, he died on the job at 42. He was covering that tragic event. We fervently wish we were here with us today, to help explain what really happened.

Born in Juarez, Mex., Mr. Salazar came to *The Times* 11 years ago as a city staff reporter and won awards for his intensive coverage of Mexican-American affairs.

In his 1963 series on what is now known as the Chicano community, he wrote of dropouts from inferior schools, of the Mexican-Americans' lack of political power, of their search for identity in an Anglo world.

His final column last Friday declared: "The Mexican-American has the lowest educational level, below either black or Anglo; the highest dropout rate; the highest illiteracy rate."

In that column, he reported that U.S. Senate hearings on such problems failed to

evoke any interest—although Mexican-Americans are the nation's second largest ethnic minority.

Sometimes Mr. Salazar, who joined the Spanish language TV station KMEX last April, was an angry man, and properly so, as he observed the inequities around him. Yet he spoke out with a calm vigor that made his words all the more impressive—and influential.

In a eulogy, it is customary to conclude that such a man will be missed. This is utterly true of Mr. Salazar. For as Rep. Ed Roybal (D-Los Angeles), one of the few Mexican-Americans in Congress, mourned on learning of his death:

"Violence has deprived us of the man who best articulated the necessity for the peaceful pursuit of long overdue social reforms for the Spanish-speaking community in the United States . . .

"One thing we do know, however, is that Ruben Salazar's burden passes on to each one of us who remain behind, and we must continue to peacefully pursue his goals of social reform with steadfast determination."

Those are big goals. He was a big man.

WHO IS A CHICANO? AND WHAT IS IT THE CHICANOS WANT?

BY RUBEN SALAZAR

A Chicano is a Mexican-American with a non-Anglo image of himself.

He resents being told Columbus "discovered" America when the Chicano's ancestors, the Mayans and the Aztecs, founded highly sophisticated civilizations centuries before Spain financed the Italian explorer's trip to the "New World."

Chicanos resent also Anglo pronouncements that Chicanos are "culturally deprived" or that the fact that they speak Spanish is a "problem."

Chicanos will tell you that their culture predates that of the Pilgrims and that Spanish was spoken in America before English and so the "problem" is not theirs but the Anglos' who don't speak Spanish.

Having told you that, the Chicano will then contend that Anglos are Spanish-oriented at the expense of Mexicans.

They will complain that when the governor dresses up as a Spanish nobleman for the Santa Barbara Fiesta he's insulting Mexicans because the Spanish conquered and exploited the Mexicans.

It's as if the governor dressed like an English Redcoat for a Fourth of July parade, Chicanos say.

When you think you know what Chicanos are getting at, a Mexican-American will tell you that Chicano is an insulting term and may even quote the Spanish Academy to prove that Chicano derives from chicanery.

A Chicano will scoff at this and say that such Mexican-Americans have been brainwashed by Anglos and that they're Tio Tacos (Uncle Toms). This type of Mexican-Americans, Chicanos will argue, don't like the word Chicano because it's abrasive to their Anglo-oriented minds.

These poor people are brown Anglos, Chicanos will smirk.

What, then, is a Chicano? Chicanos say that if you have to ask you'll never understand, much less become a Chicano.

Actually, the word Chicano is as difficult to define as "soul."

For those who like simplistic answers, Chicano can be defined as short for Mexicano. For those who prefer complicated answers, it has been suggested that Chicano may have come from the word Chihuahau—the name of a Mexican state bordering on the United States. Getting trickier, this version then

contends that Mexicans who migrated to Texas call themselves Chicanos because having crossed into the United States from Chihuahua they adopted the first three letters of that state, Chi, and then added cano, for the latter part of Texano.

Such explanations, however, tend to miss the whole point as to why Mexican-American activists call themselves Chicanos.

Mexican-Americans, the second largest minority in the country and the largest in the Southwestern states (California, Texas, Arizona, New Mexico and Colorado), have always had difficulty making up their minds what to call themselves.

In New Mexico they call themselves Spanish-Americans. In other parts of the Southwest they call themselves Americans of Mexican descent, people with Spanish surnames or Hispanos.

Why, ask some Mexican-Americans, can't we just call ourselves Americans?

Chicanos are trying to explain why not. Mexican-Americans, though indigenous to the Southwest, are on the lowest rung scholastically, economically, socially and politically. Chicanos feel cheated. They want to effect change. Now.

Mexican-Americans average eight years of schooling compared to the Negroes' 10 years. Farm workers, most of whom are Mexican-American in the Southwest, are excluded from the National Labor Relations Act unlike other workers. Also, Mexican-Americans often have to compete for low-paying jobs with their Mexican brothers from across the border who are willing to work for even less. Mexican-Americans have to live with the stinging fact that the word Mexican is the synonym for inferior in many parts of the Southwest.

That is why Mexican-American activists flaunt the barrio word Chicano—as an act of defiance and a badge of honor. Mexican-Americans, though large in numbers, are so politically impotent that in Los Angeles, where the country's largest single concentration of Spanish-speaking live, they have no one of their own on the City Council. This, in a city politically sophisticated enough to have three Negro councilmen.

Chicanos, then, are merely fighting to become "Americans." Yes, but with a Chicano outlook.

MALIGNED WORD: MEXICAN

BY RUBEN SALAZAR

Mexican. That good name has been vilified for so long that even in the Southwest, where Mexicans are as plentiful as Yankees in New England, the word is used cautiously.

Most Mexican-Americans have experienced the wary question from an Anglo: "You're Spanish, aren't you?" or "Are you Latin?" Rarely will the Anglo venture: "You're Mexican aren't you?"

The reason is that the word Mexican has been dragged through the mud of racism since the Anglos arrived in the Southwest. History tells us that when King Fisher, the famous Texas gunman, was asked how many notches he had on his gun, he answered: "Thirty-seven—not counting Mexicans."

"Remember the Alamo!" is still used as an anti-Mexican insult where "Remember Pearl Harbor" has been forgotten.

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Carey McWilliams in his enlightening "North From Mexico" notes that the word "greaser" was well-known in early California and that it was defined as "Mexican; an opprobrious term." He also reports that "greaser" is "California slang for a mixed race of Mexican and Indians."

"Greaser," McWilliams points out, is defined in the Century Dictionary as "a native Mexican . . . originally applied contemptuously by the Americans of the Southwestern United States to Mexicans."

All this, and more, has contributed to the psychological crippling of the Mexican-American when it comes to the word Mexican. He is unconsciously ashamed of it.

State Sen. Jose Bernal of Texas told the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights last year that the "schools have not given us any reason to be proud" of being Mexican. People running the schools "have tried to take away our language," the senator continued, and so Mexican-American children very early are embarrassed by the Spanish language and by being Mexican.

One of the reasons for this, Bernal told the commission, is that "it has been inculcated" in the minds of grammar school children that the Mexican "is no good" by means of, for instance, overly and distort-

edly emphasizing the Battle of the Alamo and ignoring all contributions made by Mexicans in the Southwest.

Unfortunately, California Superior Judge Gerald S. Chargin has dragged the word Mexican to a new low. In sentencing a 17-year-old Mexican-American boy for incest in San Jose last Sept. 2; Judge Chargin looked down from the bench and told this American citizen that "we ought to send you out of the country—send you back to Mexico . . . You ought to commit suicide. That's what I think of people of this kind. You are lower than animals and haven't the right to live in organized society—just miserable, lousy, rotten people."

Is it any wonder, then, that the Mexican-American community is bitterly disappointed in that the California Commission on Judicial Qualifications recommended that the Supreme Court publicly censure Judge Chargin instead of recommending that he be removed from the bench?

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The commission, in making its recommendation, calls Chargin's remarks "improper and inexcusable" and says they "constituted conduct prejudicial to the administration of justice that brings the judicial office into disrepute."

The commission goes on to say, however, that "there is no evidence of bias or prejudice by (the judge) except for the incident of Sept. 2, 1969. There is evidence," concludes the commission, "that apart from this (the judge) has been a tolerant and compassionate judge with a background of understanding and interest in the problems of the underprivileged and ethnic minorities."

The Mexican-American community seems not to buy that. The general feeling seems to be that if Judge Harold Carswell was denied a seat in the Supreme Court for, among other reasons, making a racist speech in his youth, Judge Chargin should be removed from the bench for making anti-Mexican remarks, on record, from the bench.

This, the community seems to feel, would help cleanse the much maligned word Mexican.

CHICANOS VS. TRADITIONALISTS

BY RUBEN SALAZAR

Last Saturday's Chicano Moratorium and the activities of the *Catolicos por La Raza* dramatize the gulf which exists between the traditional-minded Mexican-Americans and the young activists.

Unless this is understood, observers can fall easily into the simplistic conclusions that the traditionalists are Tio Tacos (Uncle Toms) or that the activists are irresponsible punks.

Either conclusion misses the essence of the present Mexican-American condition.

Traditional-minded Mexican-Americans blush at the mention of the word Chicano. They blanch at the thought of being called brown people. The reason for this, outside of personal views, is the psychological makeup of the Mexican in general.

Octavio Paz, the Mexican poet-essayist-diplomat, has tried to explain in this way: "The Mexican, whether young or old, white or brown, general or lawyer, seems to me to be a person who shuts himself away to protect himself . . . He is jealous of his own privacy and that of others . . . He passes through life like a man who has been flayed: everything can hurt him, including words and the very suspicion of words . . ."

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The Mexican, says Paz, "builds a wall of indifference and remoteness between reality and himself, a wall that is no less impenetrable for being invisible. The Mexican is always remote, from the world and from other people. And also from himself."

Is it any wonder, then, that the more conservative Mexican-Americans—and there are many of them—are embarrassed and angered at Chicanos (suspicious word) who say they don't want to fight the war in Vietnam and *Catolicos* who are questioning the church and the world about them?

The Mexican, says Paz, wears his face as a mask and believes "that opening oneself up is a weakness or a betrayal."

The Chicano activists are trying to rid themselves of their masks and to open themselves to themselves and to others. It is significant that in doing this they should pick as a means the Vietnam war and the Catholic Church.

That more than 3,000 people braved torrential rains last Saturday to participate in the Chicano Moratorium is important not because so many peo-

ple showed a distaste for the war—Anglos have done this in a bigger way—but because it was Mexican-Americans who did it.

Mexican-Americans, who include a disproportionate number of Medal of Honor winners and who, like the blacks, are suffering a disproportionate number of deaths in Vietnam, had up to now fought our wars without question.

It was part of the "machismo" tradition. When called to war, Mexican-Americans showed everyone how "macho" or manly they were and never questioned the justification for the war.

Mexicans, says Paz, judge manliness according to their "invulnerability to enemy arms or the impacts of the outside world. Stoicism is the most exalted of (Mexicans') military and political attributes."

The Chicano Moratorium strove to end this stoicism, which is hardly a democratic attribute.

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"We weren't shedding our machismo," said a young marcher. "We were proving our machismo by asking the establishment the tough question: 'Why are we dying overseas when the real struggle is at home?'"

When the *Catolicos por La Raza* demonstrated during a midnight Christmas mass last year, they were also breaking with tradition and asking tough questions at the cost of going through the ordeal of being tried for disturbing the peace.

A San Antonio teacher, testifying before the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights last year, said he has noted that the difference between Anglo and Mexican-American students is that when "some situation befalls the Mexican-American," the Mexican-American tends to leave things up to God while the Anglo tries to solve it on his own.

Catolicos por La Raza, who greatly embarrassed the traditional-minded Mexican-Americans by their questioning of the Catholic Church's relevance to present society, were breaking with this concept.

Chicanos and traditional-minded Mexican-Americans are suffering from the ever-present communications gap. Traditionalists, more concerned with the, to them, chafing terms like Chicano, are not really listening to what the activists are saying. And the activists forget that tradition is hard to kill.

PACHUCO FOLK HEROES—THEY WERE FIRST TO BE DIFFERENT

BY RUBEN SALAZAR

Folk heroes arise of a need to articulate feelings unsung by conventionality.

Our real leaders, that is, people who actually run the country, are rarely inspirational enough to satisfy our need for romantic self-identity.

The Bob Dylans, Che Guevaras and Joe DiMaggios represent not a practical way of life but a spirit, an inspiration needed by hero makers.

This may help explain why the **pachucos** or zoot suiters of the early forties are becoming folk heroes in the eyes of Chicanos from colleges to prisons.

An East Los Angeles College publication, *La Vida Nueva* (The New Life), in its current issue, carries an article about pachucos which depicts them as heroic victims of the Establishment.

At McNeil Island Federal Penitentiary in Washington, a group of **pintos** (which is what Chicano prisoners call themselves) recently published a booklet which says that the pachucos "were the true vanguards of the present Chicano social revolution."

The booklet, written by the pintos after a seminar in the prison attended by, among others, a Harvard sociologist, a representative of the U.S. Department of Justice and Mexican-American leaders, says:

"During the early 1940's there were a group of young Chicanos who were **artos** (fed up) with the System. They wore their hair long, went against the norm by dressing unconventionally and confronted Society with a defiant attitude. They were pachucos. These Chicanos were the first to protest and rebel by direct confrontation with the Establishment..."

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The college publication article and the prison booklet stem from a deep desire by young Chicanos and alienated Mexican-Americans to understand their uniqueness as Americans.

Pachucos are becoming folk heroes because they were rebels. And sensitive people need to understand rebellion because they know it is not created in a vacuum. There's always a reason for rebellion.

A Beverly Hills reader recently wrote me that this column's "emphasis on Chicano militants and leftists does a disservice to the vast majority of Mexican-Americans who are predominately a dignified and hard-working people."

The reader continues: "By nature they (Mexican-Americans) are not as competitive and ambitious as Japanese, Jews or Europeans, but many will continue to improve their economic status to the degree permitted by their ambition mainly, and secondly

by their maintenance of a decent and non-threatening image to Anglos who are basically a fair-minded people unless they feel threatened..."

"Why," asks the reader, "should any Anglo care about what happens" to pachucos or the latter-day version, the **batos locos** (crazy guys).

The reader then reminds us, and probably correctly so, that "we (Anglos) are very ready to crush the bato loco if he gets too carried away and goes the route of the pachuco... I have had many a run with them and know that the bato loco will be dealt with even more harshly (than with the pachuco) because we are entering a phase of being fed up with unsafe streets and you will find that the best thing you can do for Mexican-Americans is to avoid emphasis on such dregs and outcasts..."

In other words, this column should tell Chicanos to shape up and fly right because, as the reader puts it, "to the degree that they (Mexican-Americans) learn our language and show a desire to advance and acquire skills, to that degree will they prosper and be accepted by the majority."

It is odd that this Anglo reader from Beverly Hills should demand from Chicanos what Anglos are finding increasingly difficult to demand of Anglo youths: unquestionable acceptance of the System.

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He might remember that hippies more or less copied their outlandishness from the pachucos, and with impunity yet. As a boy I came to California once during the early forties and I was asked by concerned older friends to remove my sport jacket because it was about an inch longer than was conventionally thought proper and I might be mistaken for a pachuco.

This came to mind recently as I sat in the Music Center Pavilion, in my conservative business suit, next to an Anglo man with hair to his shoulders, striped bell bottom trousers and a psychedelic shirt.

Then I remembered what Octavio Paz, Mexican poet-essayist-diplomat, said about why the pachuco flaunted his differences.

"The purpose of his grotesque dandyism and anarchic behavior," wrote Paz, "is not so much to point out the injustice and incapacity of a society that has failed to assimilate him as it is to demonstrate his personal will to remain different."

Pachucos are becoming folk heroes because of the yearning in all of us to be individuals first and part of a System second.

DON'T MAKE THE 'BATO LOCO' GO THE WAY OF THE ZOOT SUITER

BY RUBEN SALAZAR

A **bato loco** is a zoot suiter with a social conscience. He may be an ex-con, a marijuana smoker and dangerously defiant. But the difference between the zoot suiter or **pachuco** of the early 40's and a present bato loco, literally a crazy guy, is that the bato loco is experiencing a social revolution and so is learning and liking political power.

The difference is so important that unless we understand it we can contribute toward reverting the bato loco to an anarchistic zoot suiter.

An anarchistic zoot suiter, as we learned just before World War II, can be easily driven to violence. A bato loco, though impossible to convert into an Eagle Scout, can be dealt with on a political basis.

Because of the civil rights revolution, the so-called Establishment has deemed it necessary to accept innovations ranging from Head Start to Chicano Studies.

A countering "silent majority" revolution, however, is trying to reverse this acceptance and the trend today is to junk social innovations because, it is felt, they only "pamper" militants.

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What we must realize is that it is easier to open a Pandora's box than to close it.

The economy slowdown, the lingering Vietnam War and surging "hard hat" militancy are beginning to strip the bato loco of his newly gained social conscience.

"The **gabacho** (white man) never really changes," a bato loco said recently. "He gives you an inch and takes away a yard."

It is easy to understand the silent majority's frustration with high taxes, disrespectful militancy and seemingly unending social innovations. But to the bato loco in the **barrio** this frustration is a luxury which he cannot afford and does not understand.

All the bato loco knows is that things were looking up for a while and that unlike the zoot-suiter predecessor he could get involved in such projects as the Neighborhood Adult Participation Project. Now

he knows the heat is on and that such projects are being condemned by political and law-and-order leaders as subversive and money-wasting.

Stripped of his potential political power—and that, after all, is what barrio and ghetto social innovations produce—the bato loco has no way to go but to the dangerous shell of an anarchistic zoot suiter.

Recently, a front-page story appeared, in of all places, the Wall Street Journal, which warns of possible violence in the Southwest's Chicano barrios.

According to the newspaper, Jose Angel Gutierrez, a Texas Chicano activist who holds a master's degree in political science, said that "It's too late for the gringo to make amends. Violence has got to come."

This may sound scandalously alarming but the mood in the barrios seems to back it up.

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This mood is not being helped by our political and law-and-order leaders who are trying to discredit militants in the barrios as subversive or criminal.

In the traditionally quiet town of Pomona, for instance, a crowd of Mexican-American parents, not known for their civic participation, recently applauded Brown Beret speakers.

The importance of this is that a year ago it would be impossible to find Mexican-American parents hob-nobbing with Brown Berets. Police chiefs, mayors and other leaders must learn that they can no longer discredit a movement by just pointing out that the Brown Berets, or any other militant group, are involved.

In other words, whether we like it or not, Brown Berets are gaining the respect of barrio people at the expense of traditional mores.

But perhaps more importantly, the Mexican-American establishment is finding it more difficult every day to communicate with barrio Chicanos.

Before we scrap all the social innovations which gave the bato loco hope we should probe the probable consequences.

MEXICAN-AMERICAN'S DILEMMA: HE'S UNFIT IN EITHER LANGUAGE

BY RUBEN SALAZAR

"... A Los Angeles Police Department officer was beating a Spanish-speaking motorist, calling him a dirty Mexican. Occupants in the motorist's car yelled out to the police officer that the person he was beating was not a Mexican, but that he was a Nicaraguan.

"At that moment the officer stopped beating him and obtained medical help for him."

So testified a psychiatric social worker at a hearing before the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights in December of 1968.

The testimony gives some insight into the complicated subject of the differences among the Spanish-speaking people in the United States.

Mexican-Americans, about 8 million of the 10 million Spanish-speaking people in the country, are, ironically, among the most abused of this minority simply because they're Americans. This holds true for Puerto Ricans who are also Americans.

Non-American Spanish-speaking people, like Nicaraguans, Argentinians and Colombians, are as the police officer knew instantly, treated with more respect.

The reason may be that Americans, originally immigrants to this country, show more consideration for other immigrants than they do for indigenous people like Mexican-Americans and Indians.



Because of the civil rights movement, there has been an intense search for Spanish-speaking teachers, journalists, social workers, salesmen, etc.

Invariably, when found, these specialists turn out to be non-American Spanish-speaking people—Cubans, Central Americans, South Americans and native Mexicans.

The reason is simple. Non-American Spanish-speaking people have a better education—and so speak good Spanish—and assimilate well into Anglo society because they came here expressly to do this.

The Mexican-American, meanwhile, many of whom speak neither good Spanish nor good English,

are victims of an educational system which purports to "Americanize" them while downgrading their ethnic background.

For instance, the first truly bilingual education program in this country was set up not for Mexican-Americans but for Cubans in the wake of the Cuban crisis. Bilingual education was made available to Cuban refugees at Florida's Dade County schools in 1963.

Yet, as late as December 1968, educators testified before the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights that Mexican-American children were being punished for speaking Spanish on school grounds in other parts of the country.

Cubans today, then, have a better chance of obtaining jobs requiring bilingual people—now that Spanish has been discovered as an asset instead of a liability—than do Mexican-Americans.

Belated bilingual education programs for Mexican-Americans are geared toward using the Spanish language as a tool only until the Chicano kid has learned enough English to overcome the "problem" of speaking Spanish. These are not truly bilingual programs, which should be the teaching of both languages on an equal basis.

The truth of the matter is that despite our talk in the Southwest about "our great Spanish heritage" and the naming of our towns and streets in Spanish, the Spanish language has never been taken seriously by American educators even in areas where both languages could be learned together and correctly.

Too often the difference between a Mexican-American and a non-American Spanish-speaking person is that the non-American can speak better Spanish than the Mexican-American—and so is more qualified for the emerging bilingual job.

And the difference between the Mexican-American and the Anglo-American is that the Anglo speaks better English than the Mexican-American and so is better equipped for the more conventional jobs.

The pattern could change when the American educational system is as considerate of Mexican-Americans as it was of Cubans in 1963.

WHY DOES STANDARD JULY FOURTH ORATORY BUG MOST CHICANOS?

BY RUBEN SALAZAR

A small group of Chicanos sat before a TV the Fourth of July to watch Honor America Day for the explicit reason of trying to determine why such events bug them.

How could a show honoring the Flag, God and country offend any American? The Chicanos knew they had tackled a tough one and that any answer to the nagging question could be easily misinterpreted.

But being that they were merely indulging in mental and emotional calisthenics they tackled the job with alacrity.

The trouble with such patriotic bashes as Honor America Day, the Chicanos decided, is that they tend to dehumanize the Flag, monopolize God and abuse the word America.

For too long the American Flag, the Chicanos agreed, has been the symbol of those who insist that property rights are more important than human rights.

Fourth of July oratory, the Chicanos noted, tends to paint God as a super American who has blessed this country with its great wealth and power because right thinking people—like those who attend Honor America Day celebrations and wave the Flag vigorously—run the place.

But the thing that bugged the Chicanos the most was that the United States is called America, as if that name belonged exclusively to Anglo United States.

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All this spelled one thing to the Chicanos: our system insists on Anglicization.

Most Anglos, the Chicanos decided, are unconscious of this and so cannot comprehend why Honor America Day could offend any "good American."

After watching Honor America Day and making their comments the small group of Chicanos unwound and had a good Fourth of July, just like many other Americans.

The thing to remember, however, is that this small group of Chicanos voiced the thinking of a significant part of the Chicano movement. Chicanos are resisting Anglicization.

UCLA's Mexican-American Cultural Center has just released the first issue of a "Chicano Journal of the Social Sciences and the Arts." The journal is called *Aztlan* for the Mexican Indian word which describes the Southwestern part of this continent which includes the five U.S. Southwestern states and Northern Mexico.

Chicanos explain that they are indigenous to *Aztlan* and do not relate, at least intellectually and emotionally, to the Anglo United States.

The journal, written by Chicano university scholars, starts off with the "Spiritual Plan of *Aztlan*" which was adopted by the Chicano Youth Liberation Conference held in Denver in March, 1969.

The wording of the "plan" may shed some light for those wishing to understand the Chicano movement:

"In the spirit of a new people that is conscious not only of its proud historical heritage, but also of the brutal 'gringo' invasion of our territories, we, the Chicano inhabitants and civilizers of the northern land of *Aztlan*, from whence came our forefathers, reclaiming the land of their birth and consecrating the determination of our people of the sun, declare that the call of our blood is our power, our responsibility, and our inevitable destiny.

"We are free and sovereign to determine those tasks which are justly called for by our house, our land, the sweat of our brows and by our hearts. *Aztlan* belongs to those that plant the seeds, water the fields, and gather the crops, and not to the foreign Europeans. We do not recognize capricious frontiers on the bronze continent.

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"Brotherhood unites us, and love for our brothers makes us a people whose time has come and who struggles against the foreigner 'gabacho' (white) who exploits our riches and destroys our culture. With our heart in our hands and our hands in the soil, we declare the independence of our mestizo nation. We are a bronze people with a bronze culture. Before the world, before all of North America, before all our brothers in the bronze continent, we are

a nation, we are a union of free pueblos, we are Aztlan."

Whether we like it or not Fourth of July Americanism is in disrepute among minorities because they can't seem to relate to it.

Singer Joan Baez, who is part Chicano, recently said that the defense of country, as used in Fourth of July oratory, "has absolutely nothing to do with the defense of people." She continued:

"Once we get rid of the obsession with defending one's country, we will begin defending life . . . That's why I hate flags. I despise any flag, not just the American Flag. It's a symbol of a piece of land that's considered more important than the human lives on it . . ."

Whether we agree or not, it behooves us to revamp our Fourth of July oratory to relate to people instead of to fixed ideas that apparently are not working.

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MEXICAN-AMERICANS' PROBLEMS WITH THE LEGAL SYSTEM VIEWED

BY RUBEN SALAZAR

Justice is the most important word in race relations. Yet too many Mexican-Americans in the Southwest feel with David Sanchez, Los Angeles Brown Beret leader, that "to Anglos justice means just us."

A report issued Wednesday by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights helps explain why Sanchez can successfully exploit his bitter theory. Called "Mexican-Americans and the Administration of Justice in the Southwest," the 135-page study concludes:

"This report paints a bleak picture of the relationship between Mexican-Americans in the Southwest and the agencies which administer justice in those states. The attitude of Mexican-Americans toward the institutions responsible for the administration of justice—the police, the courts and related agencies—is distrustful, fearful and hostile. Police departments, courts, the law itself are viewed as Anglo institutions in which Mexican-Americans have no stake and from which they do not expect fair treatment."

La Ley or The Law, as Mexican-Americans call the administration of justice, takes forms that Anglos—and even blacks—never have to experience.

A Mexican-American, though a third generation American, for instance, may have to prove with documents that he is an American citizen at border crossings while a blue-eyed blond German immigrant, for example, can cross by merely saying "American."

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Besides the usual complaints made by racial minorities about police brutality and harassment, Mexican-Americans have an added problem: sometimes

they literally cannot communicate with the police.

The commission report tells of a young Mexican-American who, while trying to quell a potentially explosive situation, was arrested because the police officers, who did not understand Spanish, thought that he was trying to incite the crowd to riot.

In another case, the report tells of a Mexican-American in Arizona who was held in jail for two months on a charge of sexually molesting his daughter. As it turned out, he had been mistakenly charged with the offense, but he did not voice any objections at the time because he did not understand the proceedings and no interpreter was provided for him.

A probation officer, who spoke Spanish, later talked to the defendant and upon learning the facts explained the situation to the local magistrate, who dismissed the case.

Among the most startling conclusions made by the commission, which is chaired by Notre Dame president Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, concerns California grand juries. A commission study of the grand jury system of 22 California counties concluded that discrimination against Mexican-Americans in juror selection is as severe as—some times more than—discrimination against Negroes in grand juries in the South.

"In California," the commission points out, "grand jurors have the authority both to indict persons for crimes and to investigate and evaluate the administration of local government. Because of this broad authority, exclusion of Mexican-Americans from grand juries not only may affect their ability to receive fair and impartial criminal justice, but also is

likely to render grand juries less vigorous in inquiring into and exposing governmental deficiencies—in police departments and school systems, for example—adversely affecting Mexican-Americans.”

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“In Los Angeles County, with almost 500,000 eligible Spanish surnamed residents, only four served as grand jurors during the 12 years studied,” reports the commission, “while Orange County, California’s fifth largest (eligible Spanish surname population estimated at 44,000) had only one Spanish surnamed person on its grand jury lists in the 12-year period.”

Among the many other “findings” listed in the commission’s report are that “there is evidence of wide-spread patterns of police misconduct against Mexican-Americans in the Southwest,” and that “in several instances law enforcement officers interfered with Mexican-American organizational efforts aimed

at improving the conditions of Mexican-Americans in the Southwest” and that “local officials in the Southwest abuse their discretion in setting excessive bail to punish Mexican-Americans rather than to guarantee their appearance for trial.”

As if to warn that continuing such practices will only win new converts to Sanchez’ philosophy that “to Anglos justice means **just us**,” the commission concludes:

“The commission recognizes that individual law enforcement officers and court officers have made positive efforts to improve the administration of justice in their communities. The fact however, that Mexican-Americans see justice being administered unevenly throughout that Southwest tends to weaken their confidence in an otherwise fair system. In addition, the absence of impartial tribunals in which claims of mistreatment can be litigated to a conclusion accepted by all sides tends to breed further distrust and cynicism.”

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CHICANO REMINDS BLACKS THEY ARE NOT THE ONLY MINORITY

BY RUBEN SALAZAR

It takes a bold Mexican to address the Urban League and tell its members that too much attention is given blacks at the expense of Chicanos.

But that’s the kind of guy Dionicio Morales is. Speaking before the League’s recent 60th anniversary convention at the New York Hilton, Morales told his hosts that most Mexican-Americans “reject the over-simplification that everything that is good for blacks is good for Mexican-Americans.”

Morales, who has said that one of the reasons Chicanos and blacks don’t get along too well is that Negroes tend to be black Anglos, reminded the Urban League that it was Booker T. Washington who warned of the danger of standardization.

In his book “Up From Slavery” the black educator, Morales pointed out, says that “No white American ever thinks any other race is wholly civilized until he wears the white man’s clothes, eats the white man’s food, speaks the white man’s language and professes the white man’s religion.”

In Washington, D.C., where the power is, and even in the Southwest, where Mexican-Americans

outnumber blacks, the word “minority” is equated with the term “black,” Morales said. Because of this, Morales warned, blacks and Chicanos are on a collision course.

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Morales, executive director of the Los Angeles based Mexican-American Opportunity Foundation, told his hosts that blacks and Mexican-Americans together “could make unprecedented progress of unimaginable mutual benefit.”

“But if we miff it, and miss the opportunity, the blacks may end up with another unexpected burden on their backs—on top of all the rest—and that burden may well be the frustrated, rejected, neglected and hostile Mexican-American.”

Morales, a fighter for “la raza” when many of the present Chicano leaders were in diapers, is used to tackling tough issues. An early foe of the bracero system, Morales traveled to Mexico City once and publicly told the Mexican government that it should do something about stopping the flow of cheap Mexi-

can labor to the United States because Mexican nationals were taking jobs away from Mexican-Americans while the Mexican nationals themselves were being exploited by American employers.

Both governments issued cool statements against Morales.

Now Morales is saying, to the Urban League yet, that "blacks get a disproportionate number of the important opportunities and appointments intended for minorities."

"This fact," Morales told the historic 60th anniversary Urban League conference, "is becoming more and more abrasive to my people throughout the Southwest."

According to a study by the Metropolitan Applied Research Center, there are 1,586 elected black officials in the United States, including 10 members of Congress (one senator), 173 state legislators, 51 mayors, 701 "other city, county officials," 423 school board members and 228 law enforcement officials.

"I would propose," Morales told the League, "that we emphasize to black representatives in positions of influence and authority that the word 'minority' includes others than blacks—and that this fact is more of an opportunity than a threat."

Morales reminded the League that though blacks are the nation's largest minority, with some 20 million people, and Latins the second largest, with 10 million, Mexican-Americans are the largest minority in the Southwest.

"It worries me that our two groups are pretty much doing their own thing, each with little regard for the other," Morales said. "Each without communication with the other, in a total absence of mutual understanding and organization."

Morales said his message was that "the mobilization of the black community must not be accomplished as though the brown community does not exist. Nor should the converse be allowed to come about."

Morales said Dr. Charles Hamilton of Columbia University summed up the whole problem when he said: "We have allowed ourselves to be caught up in time consuming public debates with each other, while our true oppressors go right on oppressing us."

The fact remains, however, that Morales was really indicting Washington more than any one else for its easy way out of equating "minority" with black.

This was reenforced recently by the filing of petition for redress of grievances against the Administration by, among others, the California Rural Legal Assistance, the Mexican-American Political Assn. and the Chicano Law Students Assn. of California.

The petition pointed out that "the executive branch, despite eloquent promises and the presence of 10 million Spanish-surnamed Americans, has virtually no Spanish-surnamed Americans at policy level jobs—only 35 of 9,286."

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CHICANOS WOULD FIND IDENTITY BEFORE COALITION WITH BLACKS

BY RUBEN SALAZAR

Mexicans and Negroes are learning that they must know each other better if their differences are not to help those who would like to kill the civil rights movement.

This necessary lesson is not easy to come by.

Blacks, scarred by the bitter and sometimes bloody struggle for equality, consider Mexican-Americans or Chicanos as Johnnies-come-lately who should follow black leadership until the Chicanos earn their spurs.

Chicanos, not untouched by bigotry and wary of the more sophisticated black leadership, insist on going their own way because, as they put it, "our problems are different from those of the Negroes."

Despite the loud mouthings of radicals, most blacks and Chicanos want the same thing: a fair chance to enter the mainstream of American society without abandoning their culture and uniqueness.

Much has been made of late of the growing rift between Negroes and Mexican-Americans. Chicanos

complain that blacks get most of the government help in the fight against racism, while Negroes scoff that Mexican-Americans have not carried their share of the burden in the civil rights movement.



Leaders of both communities throw up their arms in despair, saying that the blacks and browns are fighting over peanuts and that political coalitions must be formed to make a real impact on the Establishment.

Blacks and browns have always been cast together by the forces of history and the needs of these two peoples.

Los Angeles, for instance, was founded not by Spanish caballeros, as romantics would have it, but by blacks and browns.

Historian H. H. Bancroft points out that Los Angeles was founded on Sept. 4, 1781, with 12 settlers and their families, 46 persons in all, "whose blood was a strange mixture of Indian (Mexican) and Negro with here and there a trace of Spanish.

C. D. Willard, another historian, adds that "cataloguing this extraordinary collection of adults by nationality or color, we have two Spaniards, one mestizo, two Negroes, eight mullatoes and nine (Mexican) Indians."

The children of the settlers, continues Willard, were even more mixed, as follows: Spanish-Indian, four; Spanish-Negro, five; Negro-Indian, eight; Spanish-Negro-Indian, three; Indian, two.

Since then, Mexicans and Negroes have more or less followed their own separate destinies, due partly to their cultural and language differences but also because of the racist strain in American society.

Mexican-Americans have a saying about Negroes that goes, "Juntos pero no revueltos"—together but not mixed. Negroes, on the other hand, tend to think of Mexican-Americans—as do many Anglos—as "quaint and foreign."

One hundred and eighty years after the small group of black and brown people settled in what became Los Angeles, however, six Mexican-American children and six Negro children are involved in a Superior Court ruling in which Judge Alfred Gitelson ordered the Los Angeles school district desegregated.

When the Los Angeles school district is finally integrated, history will again have thrown the blacks and the browns together.

To understand why Mexicans and Negroes are having their differences now, one must look at it in the light of the black revolution.

The revolution exploded partly from a condition which had been known all along but which became the basis for a black-white confrontation: the color of one's skin is all too important in America. White is good. Black is bad.

Faced with an identity crisis, many Mexican-Americans—especially the young who were excited by black militancy—decided they had been misled by the Mexican establishment into apathetic confusion.

It came as a shock at first: Mexican-Americans felt caught between the white and the black. Though counted as "white" by the Bureau of Census, Mexican-Americans were never really thought of as such.



The ambivalence felt vaguely and in silence for so long seemed to crystalize in the wake of the black revolution. A Mexican-American was neither Mexican nor American. He was neither white nor black.

One of the reasons for the growing distrust between Mexicans and Negroes is that the Chicano is still searching for his identity.

As yet, most Mexican-Americans seem not to identify with any one single overriding problem as Americans. Though they know they're somehow different, many still cling to the idea that Mexican-Americans are Caucasian, thus white, thus "one of the boys."

Many prove it: By looking and living like white Americans, by obtaining and keeping good jobs and by intermarrying with Anglos who never think of it as a "mixed marriage."

Many others, however, feel they have for too long been cheated by tacitly agreeing to be Caucasian in name only. These Mexican-Americans, especially the young Chicanos, feel that the coalition with the Anglos has failed.

And they're not about ready to form a new coalition—this time with the blacks—until they, the Chicanos, find their own identity in their own way.

MEXICAN-AMERICANS COME OUT 2ND BEST IN HIGH SCHOOL COURSE

BY RUBEN SALAZAR

"The young Mexican-American husband must show his male acquaintances that he has more sexual energy than his wife can accommodate. To prove his prowess, he often continues the sexual hunt of his pre-marital days. He may demonstrate his physical and financial resources by visiting (a house of prostitution) with drinking companions after an evening in a tavern. The most convincing way of proving *machismo* and financial ability is to keep a mistress in a second household known as a *casa chica*."

A quote from a racist or pornographic tract? No, it's from a paper until recently used in a Pomona high school sophomore class to teach Mexican-American culture.

Before the instructional material was ordered removed by the board of education, Victor Sherreitt, principal of Ganesha High School, tried to defend the paper in this manner:

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"At the beginning of each semester, every teacher looks across his class at inquiring students. In their eyes you see one question formed—'Are you, Mr. Teacher, a phony? Are you going to tell it the way it is?'"

"The course, cultural anthropology, offered in the 10th grade is a study of man and his society. In an attempt to have students gain a broader knowledge of the diverse nature of American society, this essay was incorporated into the unit on family and society."

One wonders if Sherreitt would agree then, that high school sophomores learning about Anglo culture should be taught about Anglo martini-guzzling, pill-popping, wife-swapping suburbanites?

Sherreitt and the social science teachers who incorporated the paper in the course do not seem to realize that the material contains blatant stereotyping.

One of the reasons Mexican-Americans object to the Frito Bandito television commercial is that it stereotypes Mexican-Americans as ridiculous, sleazy bandit types. This can badly damage the self-image

of young, impressionable Mexican-American minds and feed prejudice to young, impressionable Anglo minds.

The Ganesha High School paper stereotypes the Mexican-Americans in many ways but tends to emphasize sexual stereotyping. In a section called Marital Conflict, the paper says in part:

"Sexual promiscuity on the part of the wife is a heinous crime. So fragile is a woman's purity, according to Mexican-American belief, that one sexual indiscretion inevitably leads to a life of complete sexual abandon. No Mexican-American man would remain with a promiscuous wife unless he is already so debased that nothing matters . . ."

Then the paper gives an example. Reynolda's "excessive drinking interferes with the employment he needs to provide money for liquor. Quenching his thirst is more important to him than sex or respectability so he allows his wife, Flora, to have a generous Anglo lover. Flora maintains this illicit relationship partly to punish Reynaldo for his failings. Her shame about her promiscuity leads her to give her husband most of the money she receives from her lover . . ."

Though the paper is no longer used in the course on Mexican-American culture, its very existence and Principal Sherreitt's written defense of it have left a deep wound in Pomona's Mexican-American community.

Sherreitt stoutly defends his social science department and says the controversial paper was "misinterpreted or taken out of context."

Mrs. Ascension Garcia, a school employe who prompted the protest to the board of education, thinks the paper has polarized Pomona's minority population.

"Suddenly we realized that though Mexican-Americans and Negroes comprise 40% of the 90,000 Pomona population there is not one Mexican-American or Negro school principal or even vice principal," says Mrs. Garcia.

"So we Mexican-Americans and Negroes have decided to form a coalition to fight the school district's lack of sensitivity."

L.A. SCHOOL BOARD'S OFFSPRING TURNS AGAINST ITS PARENTS

BY RUBEN SALAZAR

When the Los Angeles school board created the Mexican-American Education Commission it was with the hope that it had conceived an ally.

Like many parents, however, the board is discovering that it may have given birth to a rebellious appendage.

Nothing produces distrust more quickly than a crisis and the Roosevelt High School dilemma has alienated the commission from the board in a way which stems from a lack of mutual admiration.

Almost a year old, the commission was set up to help the board unravel some of the intricacies involved in solving the unique problems of the Mexican-American student.

A sort of cruel joke, though, seemed to have been perpetrated when it was decided that the commission be composed of 40 people—40 people!

Its first meeting was held on May 5, 1969—the day of the Mexican holiday Cinco de Mayo. Philosophically, at least, the commission took on the task of helping improve the education of Mexican-American kids so that the massive East Los Angeles high school walkouts of 1968 would not be repeated.

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On the second anniversary of the walkouts, Roosevelt seemed on the verge of leading new ones. The situation deteriorated to the point where school administrators saw fit to call in large numbers of policemen which resulted in the arrest of more than 100 people.

The police have been criticized for their "over-reaction" by, among many others, Los Angeles congressman Edward Roybal. But, as one militant teacher leader has pointed out, "Isn't that kind of beating a dead horse? Isn't the real issue one of why school administrators felt incompetent to handle the situation themselves and had to run to the police for help?"

Where, one might wonder, was the Mexican-American Education Commission when the crisis was building up? The commission, after all, had been formed amidst much fanfare that it was the

missing link which would help unify the community and school administrators.

A commission of 40 individualists may be too unwieldy to deal with subtle educational problems but surely such a large commission could have at least polled the students to find out what was going on.

According to the commission's chairman, the Rev. Vahac Mardirosian, school administrators preferred to call the police instead of the commission when trouble was brewing.

"I heard about it second hand," says Mr. Mardirosian. The Rev. Horacio Quinones, the head of the commission's grievance committee, went to Roosevelt to investigate and was denied entrance—as were parents concerned with the impending disturbance.

School board member Dr. Julian Nava points out correctly that the commission was never intended to be a "troubleshooter" but adds that if the commission had been consulted maybe the calling of the police might have been unnecessary. Mr. Mardirosian categorically insists that the police were called "prematurely."

Monday quarterbacking in these cases is about as useful as an apology after being knocked down by a billy club.

But the fact remains that communication between the commission and school administrators (including the school board) has diminished as the commission's communication with the activist students has increased.

The Rev. Mardirosian and his followers in the commission are supporting the youths fight to reinstate controversial school teacher Sal Castro and encouraged the Chicano Moratorium.

The more conservative members of the original 40-member commission have for some time stopped participating in the group's activities as Mr. Mardirosian has moved closer to the students. He now talks of inviting 15 high school and college students to join the commission.

The commission, then, has become totally activist-student oriented. As long as the school board has created the commission—and even given it a budget—wouldn't it be a good idea to consult it before the police are called again?

THE MEXICAN-AMERICANS 'NEDA' MUCH BETTER SCHOOL SYSTEM

BY RUBEN SALAZAR

A week ago today Vice President Agnew stood in a sea of television lights at the Century Plaza Hotel to announce the formation of a new national organization to promote business development among the nation's 10 million Spanish speaking citizens.

Agnew said the undertaking would help ensure that "Americans of Hispanic descent get a fair chance at the starting line."

By the end of the day, thanks to the great coverage the Vice President gets from the news media, the whole nation knew of the formation of the National Economic Development Assn. or NEDA.

In the barrios Chicanos immediately started calling NEDA NADA which in Spanish spells "nothing."

Why this rude put-down about an organization which undoubtedly will help some worthy, energetic Spanish speaking entrepreneurs?

The bitterness stems from the distortion of priorities in this country.

Just two days before Agnew made his announcement, Sen. Mike Mansfield complained that too much attention was being given to the ABMs and the SSTs and not enough to the ABCs:

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NEDA, started with a grant from the Small Business Administration, will initiate business development for the Spanish-speaking through public and private sources, it was announced. Fine. Great. Long overdue.

But is it accurate for the Vice President to say that NEDA will ensure that "Americans of Hispanic descent get a fair chance at the starting line"?

NEDA, as good a concept as it is, will invariably help only those who have already made it—those who are in business or ready to go into business. This is hardly the "starting line" for the Mexican-American in this country.

The following has been said and written many times but it has yet to effectively penetrate the minds of our national leaders: The Mexican-American has the lowest educational level, below either black or Anglo; the highest dropout rate; and the highest illiteracy rate.

Yet, bilingual education was one of the items President Nixon vetoed in the educational bill. The veto was overridden but the veto indicates a strange definition the Administration has about where the "starting line" is.

Martin G. Castillo, chairman of the Nixon Administration's Cabinet Committee on Opportunity for the Spanish Speaking, said during the NEDA press

conference that the Vice President had recently donated \$10,000 to the Salesian Boys Club from proceeds of the sale of Spiro Agnew watches.

Castillo complained that this gesture typifying the "other side of the Vice President" got little mention in the news media.

That may be. But something besides the Vice President's Spiro Agnew watch gesture was being ignored by the news media.

On the same day that Agnew was getting nationwide publicity over the formation of NEDA, the U.S. Senate's Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity was winding up a two-day hearing on minority educational problems. The Vice President and NEDA got the lion's share of the publicity.

Complained Sen. Walter Mondale, chairman of the committee: "We found that the best way to get television cameras out of this room and reporters to leave is to hold a hearing on Mexican-American education. There doesn't seem to be any interest. Yet this is the second largest minority in America."

Mario Obledo, director of the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Educational Fund, told the senators that it was a "tragedy on the part" of federal and state government to ignore the educational problems of Mexican-Americans.

"How do you bring this to the attention of the American public?" asked Obledo. Does it require some overt act of violence to bring it forth, or can it be handled in a manner that is conducive with the American way of life?"

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Father Henry J. Casso, also of the Mexican-American Defense Fund, asked Sen. Mondale: "How long would you and I continue to do business with a lawyer who lost eight out of 10 cases; a doctor who lost eight of every 10 of his patients? Being a religionist, what would my bishop do if I lost eight of 10 parishioners?"

"Yet, the institutions, including government, have remained mute to see eight out of every 10 Mexican-American children drop out, kicked out and pushed out of the educational institutions of this country. No one has asked an accounting for the vast sums of public money that have been wasted. But the young are demanding an accounting and I stand with them."

Dr. Hector Garcia, a Texas physician and former member of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

who was dumped from the commission by the Nixon Administration, testified that 80% of Mexican-American students in Texas never get past the sixth grade.

"... the system has not worked for us," Dr. Garcia said. "I am here as a capitalist. I am one of the few

Mexicano capitalists. They say, 'Dr. Garcia, why do you criticize?' I say, I only criticize because I want more Mexicano capitalists, educated, in college..."

NEDA, then, will mean little until the government is serious about creating more Chicano capitalists—through good schools.

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THE 'WETBACK' PROBLEM HAS MORE THAN JUST ONE SIDE

BY RUBEN SALAZAR

When **la migra** calls the Mexican trembles.

La migra is Chicano slang for the U.S. Immigration Service which, with the Border Patrol, plays an important and sometimes terrifying role in the lives of thousands of Mexicans, Mexican-Americans and other Latins in the Southwest.

A recent crackdown by the immigration department against illegal entrants in the Los Angeles area has again dramatized the human tragedy which can occur when a poor country, Mexico, borders on a rich country, the United States.

The fact that at least one American citizen, a mentally retarded Mexican-American boy, was mistakenly deported in the immigration service dragnet indicates the vulnerability of the underprivileged Chicano to **la migra's** power.

Wetbacks and Chicanos look alike to the border patrolman.

The problem of illegal entrants to the United States can be looked at very coldly. It is illegal to enter the United States without the proper papers, so, from time to time, these people must be rounded up and deported.

A closer look at why Los Angeles has become the wetback capital of the world, however, shows why it's unfair to blame only the illegal entrant for the breakdown of the law.

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Why is it that it is estimated that at certain times of the year there are at least 80,000 wetbacks working in California? Because employers are willing to hire them.

A wetback lives in constant fear. Fear that he will be discovered. Fear of what might happen to him once **la migra** finds him. Fear that he will not be paid before being deported.

The wetback employers know no such fear. There is no law against hiring wetbacks. There is only a law against **being** a wetback.

A sweat shop employer of low-paid wetbacks has only one small worry—the temporary stoppage of production between the time his wetbacks are dis-

covered in his plant and the time the next wave of wetbacks arrives.

When the wetback is caught he is jailed and deported. Nothing, however, happens to the employer. As a matter of fact, the employer can gain from the wetback raid on his plant because he can easily get away without paying the wetbacks' salaries due at the time of the arrests.

State Sen. Lewis Sherman, a Republican from Alameda County, would like to change this. He feels the employer should bear some of the responsibility for the wetback situation. He has introduced a bill (S.B. 1091) which would make it a misdemeanor to knowingly hire wetbacks. Under the proposed law, the employer could be fined as much as \$500 for each wetback he hires. Sen. Sherman contends that with "reasonable care" employers could detect wetbacks from legal workers.

Most people concerned with the problem feel this would help immensely.

But it would probably not solve the basic reason for the wetback problem: poor Mexicans willing to take a chance at arrest for what they think will be a good job and the employers willing to take a chance at getting caught because they want cheap labor.

Bert Corona, a leader in the Mexican-American Political Assn., claims that the immigration service in its dragnets, is "conducting a reign of terror and exploitation against the Mexican people" and that among the 1,600 recently deported there were persons born in the United States who did not have their papers with them, Mexicans with valid tourist visas, persons separated from their families.

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The policeman, this time the immigration and border patrol man, is invariably accused of "brutality" when enforcing the law and undoubtedly they have made mistakes.

But anyone who has seen the fetid shacks in which potential wetbacks live on the Mexican side of the border can better understand why these people become wetbacks. In comparison, the detention center

for wetbacks in El Centro—called a “concentration camp” by Chicano activists—looks like a luxury hotel.

The point is that Mexico has a grave poverty problem which is growing alarmingly. Mexico, with its limited resources, has grown from a nation of 15 million in 1910 to an estimated 44 million in 1966. In another 10 years some Mexican demographers

estimate an increase to 61 million people and by 1980, to 72 million. Many, many of these will be potential wetbacks.

Though Sen. Sherman's proposed bill should help alleviate the wetback problem, it is obvious that the United States and Mexico must talk and plan on the highest level to forestall an even more serious wetback explosion in the future.

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CONSECRATION OF BISHOP FLORES SHOWS THE STRENGTH OF AN IDEA

BY RUBEN SALAZAR

The consecration of Patricio Flores, a former Texas migrant farm worker, as a bishop of the Catholic Church indicated once more the church's growing sensitivity to the Chicano community.

The mass of consecration held Tuesday in San Antonio on the Mexican holiday Cinco de Mayo was unusual in many ways. The ceremony was conducted in English, Spanish and Latin and televised in Los Angeles, San Antonio and Mexico City.

Instead of holding the rite in an august cathedral, it was held in an informal convention center to accommodate large numbers of **la raza** who applauded enthusiastically—unheard of in such ceremonies.

The music came not from a serious choir or majestic organ but from a joyful **mariachi** band.

Among the special guests of the 41-year-old cleric, who became the first Mexican-American to be raised to the hierarchy of the church, were Cesar Chavez, Bishop Sergio Mendez Arceo of Cuernavaca, Mexico and Jose Angel Gutierrez, leader of the activist Chicano organization MAYO.

The guest list alone showed how involved Bishop Flores is in the problems of the Mexican-American, the farm worker, the young.

Chavez, who read one of the epistles at the mass of consecration, had already been recognized by the church as an important leader when the church's Bishops Committee announced in Los Angeles April 1 that a “breakthrough” agreement between Chavez' grape strikers and some California grape growers had been reached with the help of the Catholic Church.

This was a bitter defeat for those who claimed Chavez was not the true leader of the grape strikers. The defeat for growers wanting to discredit Chavez became more poignant when Archbishop Timothy Manning of Los Angeles told a press conference that he hoped the agreement between Chavez and a small number of growers “will be but the beginning of a chain of such contracts.”

The fact that Bishop Mendez Arceo of Cuernavaca was present at the consecration of Bishop Flores publicly revealed the new bishop's affinity to the church's liberal wing. Bishop Mendez Arceo, a maverick in the Mexican conservative hierarchy, has many times proclaimed himself a staunch **Zapata**. Emiliano Zapata, a Mexican revolutionary and a land reformer, is a hero of the Chicano movement.

Bishop Mendez in 1968 was the only Mexican bishop who refused to sign a declaration in support of the Pope's new ban on artificial contraception and was the only member of the Mexican hierarchy to condemn the Mexican government's repressive acts against students in the riots at the University of Mexico.

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The invitation of Gutierrez, MAYO leader, who also read an epistle at the Flores consecration, probably shocked the Texas establishment because Gutierrez is known as one of the most militant Chicano youth leaders in the Southwest. Unlike Chavez, who is softspoken and dislikes Chicano militant talk, Gutierrez is a forceful speaker on what he considers “Anglo crimes” ranging from the Vietnam war and the draft to bad Mexican-American education and the “suppression” of Mexican culture in the United States.

Bishop Flores, who with his parents and eight brothers and sisters migrated from farm job to farm job in his youth, believes communication between the church and the so-called militants must remain open.

Bishop Flores' consecration was a remarkable spectacle: guitar-playing **mariachis** mingling with miter-wearing bishops and **barrio** Chicanos mixing it up with plume-hatted and white-tie-and-tailed Knights of Columbus.

It gave one hope that an ideal, like the Catholic Church, can still bring people together.

COUNTY'S 'AFFIRMATIVE' PLAN TO HIRE MINORITIES READS NEGATIVE

BY RUBEN SALAZAR

It was on March 18, 1969, that the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors ordered that more Chicanos, blacks and members of other racial minorities be placed on the county payroll so as to give them a more meaningful participation in our county government.

With great fanfare the commitment was baptized the Affirmative Action Program.

In December of that year Herb Carter, executive director of the Los Angeles County Human Relations Commission, warned the 14th annual county management conference against hypocrisy.

"... Even as we talk about an Affirmative Action Program," Carter told the county executives, "(past experience) has caused me to view with a great deal of skepticism that a sign hanging on the door or a note printed on the bottom of a county bulletin really means what it says . . ."

When the county made its great commitment the situation was this: though Spanish surname people make up 13% of the county population Spanish surname people make up only 4.7% of county employment, too many of these jobs in the menial category.

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Today, the situation is almost identical. Some say it has worsened.

Not much has been said about this because few in county government wanted to rock the boat while the past election was at stake and while the job of L. S. Hollinger, county chief administrative officer, who has decided to resign, is up for grabs.

As a result little information has been made available to such agencies as Carter's Human Relations Commission on the progress or lack of progress of the county's Affirmative Action Program.

A check with the county's personnel office indicated that a report on the Affirmative Action Program would be available sometime in September. However, no one in that office is optimistic that the report will show meaningful gains.

"It's hard to change a system," said a weary county bureaucrat.

That perhaps is the crux of the matter. We're all for doing right but few of us are willing to take the painful necessary steps.

Instead, it appears, we conduct a new survey.

One of the newest is a "racial distribution survey" which went to college placement counselors.

"As Placement Director," asks the survey form, "how do you feel the County of Los Angeles could maximize recruitment of minority people?"

With the simplicity of one who has broken away from the gobbledy gook of reform language, Joyce Gomez, a placement counselor for Cal State Los Angeles, answers:

"Do away with your white middle class exams which are completely irrelevant to the jobs minorities seek and very discriminatory."

Miss Gomez contends, for instance, that there are many minority sociology college majors who could do a good job for the county but have been unable to get jobs because "they were not able to prove their mental" agility "in vocabulary and number progression which are alien to their elementary and secondary educational background."

Miss Gomez claims that the county turns away many "sharp, highly intelligent and concerned" minority people because white middle class exams make them look unqualified.

The county's insensitivity does not end with the way it deals with minority sociology graduates.

Recently, the county department of beaches sent out questionnaires to try to determine why Los Angeles could not recruit more black lifeguards.

"In the Southern California area," reveals the county letter accompanying the questionnaire, "few black swimmers, if any, reach the finals in any top high school or college league. We are also unable to find a black water polo player participating on a top high school or college team. Even when looking toward the national A.A.U. and N.C.A.A. swimming and water polo teams, and the United States Pan American and Olympic water polo and swimming teams, we do not find blacks. Why is this? Yet, black athletes in other fields of competition are certainly outstanding."

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Has it not occurred to the director of beaches and the lieutenant of lifeguards, who sent out the questionnaire, that ghetto alleys might be a good training ground for boxers but not for aquatic sports?

In trying to determine why more blacks do not participate in aquatic sports the county questionnaire asks this question:

"The lack of blacks in competitive aquatic sports is due to:

- I. Physical (external)
 - 1. Coordination
 - 2. Other—

II. Physiological (internal)

—1. Bone structure:

- a. —heavy
- b. —light
- c. —other—.”

Oh, come on.

Then the questionnaire asks whether maybe the lack of black swimmers is due to muscle tissue. Is it heavy? light? other? Or maybe it's due to buoy-

ancy. Is it positive? Negative? Or muscles? Long? Short? Other? Or maybe blood. Thick? Thin? Other?

As of now it does not look like the September report on the county's Affirmative Action Program is going to be revealing. It will probably say the obvious: that the county is as unsuccessful as ever in recruiting racial minorities. But the message will really be that the county is not willing to change the system.

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REASON IN WASHINGTON, PASSION IN DENVER —WHAT WILL WORK?

BY RUBEN SALAZAR

WASHINGTON—If Daniel Moynihan speaks of “benign neglect” for the black, what is in store for the Chicano?

This was in the minds of some of us who came here at the invitation of the Urban Coalition to discuss the image of the Spanish-speaking people in the mass media.

It was not long before the chilling truth overcame us. Image? Hell. Washington doesn't even know the Chicano exists, so how can we talk about image?

But we did. The 15 of us—Chicano newsmen, educators, consultants—went through the motions of telling the attentive Urban Coalition people how the news media and the advertising, television and motion picture industries hurt the sensibilities of Spanish-speaking people.

The Coalition set up a meeting for us with members of the Federal Communications Commission—including rebel commissioner Nicholas Johnson. During that meeting, it suddenly dawned on me how quaint the Chicano group must seem to Washington bureaucrats.

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I got the strong impression that the FCC is not really a regulatory agency in that it does not sit in Washington as a judge ready to correct, for instance, any inequities perpetrated on the Chicano by radio or television.

“The FCC is not only gutless in this respect, but also impotent when it tries to do something on its own,” I was told by an FCC staffman.

The FCC, however, is responsive to community or political pressure, I was assured.

Power, Chicano. Power. That's what Washington understands.

This obvious conclusion is sometimes hard to come by for those of us who are conditioned to think that reason, information and patience will eventually triumph.

At least one of us, though, seemed to understand Washington instinctively better than most of us. He was a young Chicano from Texas who wore a bush jacket and a badge with Chicano Power printed on it.

After two days of deliberation and exchange of ideas in the plush Mayflower Hotel and in the ultra-modern Urban Coalition building, the young Chicano concluded:

“About the only thing accomplished these two days was that the Xerox machine worked overtime.”

He then took a plane to Denver to attend Corky Gonzales' Chicano Youth Liberation Conference.

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In Denver, Gonzales, an ex-prize fighter and poet, told a crowd of 3,000 young Chicanos, like the ones who left Washington in disgust, that growing Chicano militancy “has turned a spark into fire.” With clenched fists in the air, the young Chicanos screamed “Chicano power!” Then, without the help of Xerox machines, they started the job of uniting for “la causa.”

In these days of “benign neglect” one wonders how much good such a meeting as the one we had with the Urban Coalition does. And come to think of it, what came out of the dozens of meetings and conferences we've attended throughout the years?

After two days in Washington, the melancholy thought arises that representatives of the Denver Chicanos would have more of an impact on Washington than the 15 of us who went to Washington with our carefully prepared papers which probably moved no one except the Xerox machine.

**Following is the text of the eulogy delivered by Otis Chandler,
publisher of The Times, at the funeral of Ruben Salazar:**

I appreciate having the opportunity today to say a few words about a man I liked and admired, as everyone did.

I envy many of you who knew Ruben Salazar much longer and much better than I did.

It was in 1959 that Ruben joined The Times and soon his byline began to appear on many local stories involving the minorities of our city.

He had a keen sense of perspective and introspection in explaining to our readers the hopes, the dignity and the bitter frustrations of the minority population, particularly the very large and neglected Mexican-American community — a community that The Times had largely overlooked until Ruben made us aware of this fact.

He helped me personally gain an insight into the Mexican-American community not only through his words, but by bringing in leaders of that community to meet with The Times publisher and his senior editors.

He served as a prime catalyst in helping us to focus our attentions on the real needs in the minority communities of our city.

I liked the way he did this, too.

He had a basic honesty and straightforward approach that came through at these meetings.

We always listened to Ruben's ideas and thoughts on the problems of the underprivileged in his community.

He was a fighter, a firm believer that all men, regardless of color or language barriers, could, in the end, live together peacefully and productively in our city.

But he knew that before this could happen, the Anglo community had to understand the basic problems in the minority communities.

He devoted himself to try to bring about this sense of comprehension through the medium of communications: First as a reporter with The Times and, more recently, with a column in The Times and as news director of KMEX.

In between, he served our readers with great distinction covering the Dominican Republic revolution, covering the Vietnam war with a narrow escape at Da Nang, and later as our Mexico City Bureau chief, he was on the scene, as usual, during a student-army shootout in Mexico City.

As The Times said yesterday in a memorial editorial to Ruben, he was a most uncommon man.

I will always be proud to have known Ruben, as a friend, as a fellow journalist, as a man who contributed to our newspaper, to our community, to our country, a challenge, a goal, a necessity.

His life had deep meaning to all of us.

His death provides new dedication to continue his most important work.

We must not fail Ruben.

To his wife, Sally, to his three children, to his parents and other family, on behalf of his hundreds of friends and admirers at The Times, I extend to you our most heartfelt sympathies.

Thank You.

Mexican-Americans Hit Reports on Education

BY RUBEN SALAZAR

Times Staff Writer

The names of the studies were "Educational Achievement and Aspirations of Mexican-American Youth in a Metropolitan Context" and "Comparative Values and Achievement of Mexican-American and Anglo Pupils."

The setting was the Vista Room, Sunset Canyon Recreation Center, UCLA.

The reaction of the Mexican-American community representatives, educators and students was negative.

General Reactions

The three general reactions of the Mexican-Americans invited to comment on the studies last week were:

—Too many studies and not enough action.

—The studies do not take into account the "crippling effect Anglo schools have on Mexican-American children at the very beginning."

—Not enough Mexican-Americans are involved in conducting the studies.

Among the first to pour cold water on the reports was Dr. Miguel Montes, member of the California State Board of Education.

His concern centered on statements in one of the reports which said "... the proportion of Anglo pupils who aspire to continued education is almost twice the proportion of Mexican-American pupils. Further, of those who do have post high school aspirations, Mexican-Americans tend toward trade schools and junior college, while Anglos tend toward four-year college and subsequent graduate training..."

The studies show that one-third of the Mexican-American pupils enrolled

in the schools of Los Angeles never finish high school. In some schools, the drop-out total is as high as 50%.

Montes lamented that the reports, in trying to gauge the Mexican-American students achievement and aspirations, do not mention the lack of teachers' preparation to deal with the Mexican-American child in the first grades and what the present school system can do to the Mexican-American child at the beginning of his education.

"The reports put too much of the burden on the students and not enough on the teachers in the school system," Montes said. "By the time the Mexican-American student is in the sixth to ninth grade they are deformed students (because of the school system deficiencies to deal with Mexican-American students.)"

Dr. Audrey J. Schwartz of the UCLA Graduate School of Education, author of one of the reports, and co-author of the other, in explaining the studies, said research showed that the Mexican-American student "views his fellow man with caution and sees his future with resignation."

Though in no way exonerating the school system, Schwartz said that though changes must be made she believes that the schools "were not deliberately" hurting the Mexican-American child.

Dr. Simon Gonzales, assistant dean of the

UCLA graduate school of education, excused himself momentarily from the role of moderator to answer.

Twisting a piece of paper in his hands and tearing it in two for emphasis, Gonzales said the school system is "deliberately and coldbloodedly destroying the Mexican-American child."

For one thing, he said, though there are about 27,000 teachers in the Los Angeles School district there are only about 700 Mexican-American teachers among them and little is being done to correct this.

He said that since last December he has been trying to convince the Los Angeles school district to participate in a project to train 30 Mexican-American teachers in East Los Angeles for work among Chicano children.

Efforts Unsuccessful

So far he has been unsuccessful, Gonzales said, even though the U.S. Office of Education is willing to put up \$270,000 for the project if the district spends \$30,000.

"The school district spends about \$800 million yearly yet it cannot find \$30,000 to help train Mexican-American teachers," Gonzales said.

Harshest criticism of the studies came from Roberto Sifuentes of UCLA's United Mexican-American Students, who charged that "at no time was the UCLA Mexican-American community consulted about the studies" and that such studies should be conducted by qualified Mexican-Americans and not Anglos.

A university spokesman said later the UCLA Mexican-American community was consulted from the very beginning on the studies conducted by the Center for the Study of Evaluation.