

THE ANGLO QUESTION

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### INTRODUCTION

This is the third in a series of discussion bulletins on questions of importance to the Partido de la Raza Unida in a series which includes a number of documents such as "Raza Unida on Youth" and "The Chicano National Question," and it is written to stimulate discussion on the issues which affect our people and to be studied and discussed at all Partido Raza Unida chapters and modified or accepted as is in order to produce Raza Unida policy on the question being discussed or considered. The Partido invites comment, countercomment and even counterpositions to be discussed by the entire party and formulate a final position or policy on the question. Any bulletins written may be sent to the state chairman for circulation to the counties, where it shall be reproduced for circulation among the members, discussed, brought to the State Central Committee Level and discussed and considered as is or as modified or from a number of positions at the State convention. The State Chairman is responsible for circulating the documents to the other states where they will be circulated among the county chapters.

### THE QUESTION

#### Some Historical Origins.

After the time of the Mediterranean empires, a small nation or City State in the present day nation state of Italy began to rise to power and eventually dominated the surrounding city states, forging an empire that was to conquer a large part of the known world, including a tenacious "barbarian" nation called at the present time Spain, and another nation which constitutes present day England, and at the same time, it was in constant conflict with the peoples to the north. With the fall of the empire, and the invasion by the barbarians to the north, a new social order was established which was to be shaken by the invasion from the south, with the African invasion of Spain by the Moors.

After the expulsion of the Moorish armies in 1492, Spain became the major power and the defender of the faith of the Holy Roman empire or what remained of the Old Roman Empire, and during this time there occurred the takeover of Rome and the Vatican by the Spanish armies, which under both Spanish and Germanic rulers attempted control the old empire and propagate the Catholic faith across Europe during the period which was called the Golden age of Spain. With the Protestant split and the so called Reformation, there began to be both fear and resentment against Spain and envy because of the empires that Spain was forming in the Americas, and the other emerging powers of Europe began to try to do the same.

England emerged as the strongest rival for power, with France and Holland also beginning to arise, and the reports of Bartolome de las Casas to the King of Spain on the horrendous treatment of the Indians in the gave these countries ammunition for what was later to be called the "Black Legend," the myth of Spanish barbarity and cruelty.

While we cannot mitigate the cruelty and damage done to the Indian civilizations in the Americas, we cannot but note the fact that the

Spanish did marry the Indian women and pass laws protecting the Native Americans from the very outset, as opposed to the Anglo policy of extermination. Both the Native American Indian and the Mestizo as well as all of the other castes were officially recognized, as opposed to their outcast position among the other peoples of English and north European descent of these "half-breeds." (See "The Chicano National Question").

The Spanish/English conflict was carried across the high point of Spain's power and on into the decline of the power of Spain, which was speeded up by the intervention of France and its invasions which weakened Spain and the disaster of the storm which decimated the Spanish "Armada." The rise of protestantism, and many would say also the rise of capitalism began to establish racism in the spread of the idea in Protestant doctrine that the people of color were the descendant of (Ham) one of the discredited sons of an old testament prophet, who was supposedly the father of the Black race. This concept was extended to include the Native American, the Asiatics and the Mestizo, Mulatto and other people of color, and these people were supposed to be the "hewers of wood and the drawers of water;" in other words, the slaves of the "civilized" white race.

Spain itself was not in reality considered as part of Europe of the Renaissance, but rather it was considered a poor relation which was considered to be more a part of Africa than Europe, and "Europe ended at the Pyrennese." These attitudes were carried over into the conflict for the conquest of the "New World," and the victims were the Native Americans, who were to be subjected to genocide and the Mexican people who were destined to extinction or servitude to the white race (See "The Chicano National Question").

With the independence of the United States, the racist form of thought which was a part of the Protestant sects was heightened by the growth of the concept of "Manifest Destiny, which contended that the "white race" was to dominate the world because it was the dominant and most vigorous and intelligent race and destined to rule.

There is no need to rehash many of the attitudes of the Anglo, since most Chicanos in the Movement are well aware of them, and they are well documented in Cecil Robinson's With the Ears of Strangers and the works of many of our own Chicano writers, but we need to note that these racist concepts were given pseudoscientific backing with the support of the so-called Social Darwinists, who stated that the other peoples were biologically inferior and that in the competition for survival, the fittest would come out on top, and this was the white race, but they began to have some doubts, and even the Anglo writers began to talk about the rise of the "dark races" and the possibility that they might take the position of power away from the white races. People like Theodore Roosevelt attempted to block this possibility with gunboat diplomacy and an expansionist colonial policy after the United States bought the stolen property (by European Rights of discovery concepts) of the Louisiana Territory, bullied a weakened Spain into giving it the Florida Territory and imperialistically annexed the northern half of the Mexican territory. The United States

was also instrumental in scuttling the efforts of Simón Bolívar for the unification of all of America Latina as one nation, because it feared that a unified America Latina would be more than a match for anglo North America. This fear has never left the minds of the policy makers and intellectuals of the United States.

The attitudes of the anglo against the Mestizo and other peoples of color did not vanish, but rather it became more subtle and institutionalized and made to be considered the natural order of things, and the resistance movements of the Mexicano during the Armed Resistance Period, the Syndicalist Period were crushed with all of the racist overtones possible, and by the late 1940's, the Mexican has been "put in his place," with the destruction or driving underground of the armed resistance movements and the breaking of the syndicalist organizations and the Mexicano unions and the killing, deportation or buying off of the Mexicano leadership. The major trend in our community at that time was maintaining a low profile, assimilation and even a certain degree of patriotism due to the large numbers of Mexicanos drafted into the armed forces of the United States.

There were, of course, anglos who worked with the Mexicanos at this time who came out of the socialist movement through the IWW, the Raza Mexicana of the Socialist Party and others, but even Ricardo Flores Magón, who was opposed to racism had to exasperatedly comment on the racism that existed within the anglo left in the United States. This was carried over into the period of the Depression, when the left leaning Mexican unions attempted to get protection for the undocumented immigrants, which the Communist Party dominated unions refused, instead telling the Mexican unions to work to keep their workers at home. In the 1950's and early 1960's, most of the sociologists and social scientists were discussing the status of the "invisible minority," and the "sleeping giant," which was being blamed for its poor economic and political status in racist terms which smacked of the arguments of biological and social inferiority of the Social Darwinist era.

## II. The Chicano Movement.

The Chicano Movement of the 1960's brought most attention to the cause of Cesar Chávez in the anglo community, because it was seen as a civil rights and syndicalist or workingman's cause, and because Chavez disavowed the Chicano Movement while capitalizing on the Mexican aspect of the union, using Mexican symbols to rally the farmworker who were mostly of Mexican descent, but espousing mainstream goals for the union workers and rejecting the Chicano Student Movement, the Land Grant Movement and the Partido Raza Unida political Movement. The Chicano Movement was almost totally ignored by anglos, even those of liberal or radical persuasions until the early 1970's, when some of the leftist and liberal organizations were shocked into acknowledgment of the movement through the Courthouse Raid by Tijering and the Alianza and the Chicano Moratorium against the War and the Blowouts in the schools, but it never took on the level of interest which whites had for the Black community, and Chicanos were ignored even in the state where we are the predominant non anglo population.

With the "War on Poverty" started by Lyndon Johnson, some Chicano out of the barrio organizations began to be coopted, and Chicanos who had risen through channels into the lower level bureaucracy were elevated into positions of responsibility as agency regional heads, program directors, representative positions and even upper level faculty status in the schools and universities, by giving lip service to the Movement and just as often putting themselves forth as the representatives of the people. Many who were genuinely organizers in the Chicano community were fascinated by the possibilities of having the power and position they had never had before and sold out, isolating themselves from the people in the maze of programs and bureaucracy of government or industry, becoming totally lost to the grass roots organizing of the community.

Other than this, the activists and organizers of the Chicano Movement confronted directly the school boards, the city councils, the governments agencies, the universities and the police, almost unnoticed by the anglo community except those who were directly confronted, but with the decline of the Chicano Movement through the loss of activist, the loss of the emotional impetus for the movement, the loss of the activists who graduated and took jobs, and those who became disillusioned with the Movement or its leaders brought a crisis of direction, and the two major philosophies became many, with some Chicanos becoming interested in Marxist ideology which had been rejected in the nationalist phase of the Chicano Movement.

It was at this time in the early 1970's that the anglos who had been toying with the concepts of trying to recruit activists from the Chicano Movement began to make inroads into some of the leadership who felt that nationalism was "out," and that marxism was "in." Some of the new leftist organizations began to make it policy to infiltrate members into the Chicano Movement organizations and to try to redirect them into a Marxist line; this created conflicts between the nationalists and the leftists which in many cases left the organizations split and divided, discouraging many of the people into leaving the Chicano Movement altogether in disgust. What had been a split among the "big four" became a full scale fracture, and it was in this stage of confusion that the anglo left began its recruitment in our movement.

The two Chicano organizations that rose to rival the Partido were the August Twenty Ninth Movement and the Centro de Acción Social Autónoma, the one a Nationalist Chicano Socialist Organization which favored the establishment of the Chicano nation, and they were growing and in constant conflict, taking over faculties in California and the MEChA's until the MEChA's began to come to terms with each other through the Frente Revolucionario de Aztlan and the Principles of Unity. The anglo left began to make inroads through the October League, the Communist Labor Party, the Revolutionary Communist Party, the Communist Party U.S.A., the Workers Viewpoint Organization, the Socialist Workers Party and many others; even the anglo liberals "discovered" the Chicano and the Southwest, and many of them began to infiltrate the Community Services organizations oriented toward giving services to the Chicano through the Social Services and Social Work programs, the legal services programs, etc. They began to come from the foundations and take

over the Southwest offices with different foundations, companies, organizations, etc. which are justifying their existence with "serviece" to the community, services which often take on paternalistic trappings and hire a few "natives" to make it seem as if the programs are in actuality involving the people whom they are supposed to be serving in the decision making process, when in actuality they are only using the Chicano and other local people in their "missionary work," as the colonizers of the western world have always done. This aspect is particularly highlighted by the facility with which Chicanos are fired from these programs and the difficulty with which an anglo is removed from the same program.

### III. The Anglicization of the Mexicano/Chicano

On the social scale, the anglicization of the Chicano/Mexicano had been taking place since the invasion of the Southwest by the anglo, and it can be seen in persons who rejected our people like the Governor of New Mexico, Miguel Otero, whose mother was anglo and who denounced our people as greasers and much worse, but in the early stages, anglicization was limited due to the strong Mexican influence in the entire occupied region. In many cases, the "coyotes," or children of one anglo and one Mexican parent, became mexicanized, but as the process of mixed marriages continued, the process reversed and most of the coyotes began to go into the anglo culture.

The process of the prestige involved with marrying one of the invaders pervaded our communities most strongly after the period of the Second World War, and even before in the case of anglo men marrying Mexican women, but often the culture was not maintained in these type of marriages, unless the anglo male had been acclimated to the Mexican culture and society of the colony, but the reverse was generally the case, as Mexican women were taken into the interspace between the anglo and Mexican cultures with some of the Mexican women marrying into some of the dominant families in the case of the daughters of the wealthier Mexicanos. The above process generally did not occur in the case of the Mexicano males, as they were fairly well prohibited from marrying "white women," in much a similar taboo as existed with the prospect of a "Black man touching a white woman."

The process of Mexicano/Chicano men marrying anglos generally began to occur after the Second World War, with upper and middle class Mexicanos and Chicanos beginning to marry into the lower and lower middle class anglos, and this was seen as sort of a prestige symbol for the Chicano/Mexicano males who were able to obtain such a marriage, and it was seen as sort of a passport into the anglo world. Clearly, there were exceptions, where the Chicano male would bring his wife in to the Mexicano ambient, but these were rare, as it was generally upwardly mobile Chicanos who married the anglo women.

Economically, as these upwardly mobile Chicanos began to be accepted at least on the fringes of anglo society, whether they were married to anglo women or whether they underwent anglicization themselves, the Chicano began to separate himself more and more from the barrio and to dissolve into the "melting pot," taking their children with them.

The post Korean War period was especially expensive for the Chicano community in terms of the anglicization of our people, since with the urbanization brought about by the exposure of these two wars in the Chicano/Mexicano community made them want the things that they had seen in anglo society, and thus a strong migration began from the rural areas into the cities, expanding the barrios, and this concentration along with massive immigration from Mexico created the barrios as we know them today from the basic railroad company towns and the basically Mexican origin communities. The exploitation of the Mexicano/Chicano was expanded into many more sectors than those in which he had been traditionally used, and we became the backbone of the development of the basic industries of the southwest, mining, farming, ranching, and to these were added manual labor on the railroad and other construction projects, menial labor as domestics and workers in the service industries, and as menial labor in general for all of the tasks which had to be done in the the urbanization of the "southwest."

For the most part, the anglo ignored the Mexicano, but his educational system and the continual economic bombardment took their toll as did the forcing of the teaching of English by the parents of our youth, who did not want them to undergo the same discrimination that they as "minorities" in this society had undergone. Through the massive increase of anglos through their high birth rate and immigration, we became a minority in our own land, and this too had its effect in the loss of our language, our land, and control of economic and educational institutions, even in New Mexico where we remained the majority until 1942 and again became the majority, by a plurality in the early 1970, with 52% of the school children being Chicano/Mexicano.

The rebirth of the resistance movement, started from the traditional, still Spanish Speaking roots of Reies Lopez Tijerina and Cesar Chavez, but the next phase of the Movement, the student and street youth sectors, came into sharp conflict over the language question. There were sharp clashes between the Spanish and Non Spanish speaking Chicanos at the Denver youth conferences which are present even to the present time, and there is still the question as to whether to speak Spanish or English at the conferences, and either solution draws criticism and is difficult to resolve by making bilingual presentation because the majority of Chicanos do not understand English, thus the English speakers often impose their will on those who wish to conduct matters in Spanish, or else lengthy and often half hearted translation are rendered due to the lack of dexterity in both languages by Chicanos and Mexicanos. Yet, many Chicanos have refused to learn a strong form of Chicano/Mexicano Spanish or standard Spanish, and everything in the anglo world reinforces this, even among the most conscientious of the people in the Chicano Movement, but inroads are slowly being made for making the English speaking Chicano into a speaker of Spanish however anglo sounding it may be initially.

There are a number of factors in our language maintenance which have served to counteract the loss of our language and our national identity, our old people, who have kept the language alive, those of our youth who spoke Spanish in defiance of all anglo pressure to do the contrary, and most especially those who fought for bilingual edu-

cation, but our greatest debt lies with our Chicano brothers and sisters who have come here and out of necessity to communicate with them have almost forced us to relearn the language that we were forgetting, and for this, we owe them a debt we perhaps may never be able to repay for they have saved us from that abyss that the anglo call the "meltin pot," which is the road to alienation, rootlessness, purposeless materialism of the consumer society and loss of respect for the basic core of our being, the the Chicano and Chicano extended family, or just plain la familia; which we as Chicano/Mexicanos must defend against the attacks of both the society and the left.

#### IV. Anglo Paternalism vs Chicano/Mexicano Potential

As we see the depth of the penetration of anglicization, we can also begin to see the reversal, which will again make the Chicano/Mexicano the numerically largest group of people in this area within the next two decades, bringing with it all of the possibilities and potential for Chicano/Mexicano control, self determination and autonomy and the reinstatement of Spanish as the or an official language in the southwestern present day United States. This is feared by both the anglo right and the anglo left, thus, on the one hand we have the efforts of the anglo societal leaders at coopting the leadership which it feels will provide role models for anglicization while at the same time attempting to remove those which it feels use their positions to promote Chicano consciousness, and on the other hand, we have the efforts of the anglo left to "proletarianize" our movement to make part of the "working class movement" of the United States, i.e. themselves, so both sides are trying to make us forget our national identity and the fact that in the long run our destiny follows the same road as our Spanish Speaking brother to the South, and while somewhere along the line it may parallel that of our English Speaking brothers of the North when they shed their racism and paternalism and are ready to treat as equals both as a people and as individuals and not attempt to force their perceptions of reality upon us, they are not the same, for in many respects we are not the same, and the lack of assimilation of our people should have shown them that a long time ago. While the conservative has realized this, the liberal and leftist have not, or perhaps they could not bring themselves to accept it, thus, under leftist idealism, they feel that they must paternalistically force themselves upon us and "guide" until we accept that we must be the same as they.

As I have already noted, in the early 1970's, the anglo, who had for the most part ignored the Chicano and had concentrated his paternalism and guidance to the Black community, and in some cases to the Native American community, even to the point of considering the plight of Blacks over that of Chicano/Mexicanos even in the Southwest, began to look for another "fertile field" for his missionary work, and he joined some of the pioneer missionaries of the liberal camp in the newly "discovered" Chicano Community of the Southwest. Anglos have now begun to compete with Chicanos for the community service jobs that are left over from the "war on poverty," and in cases where Chicanos remain in the directing positions, there is strong resentment against Chicanos and our leadership and direction, and conflicts of leadership are beginning to arise in these poverty programs to where anglos are trying to "humanize" or "proletarianize" the Chicanos working in the programs and are working against the Chicano directorates through un-

dermining the authority held by Chicanos in the programs, by polarizing the non movement staff of the programs against the movement personnel and directive leadership, by attempting to use bureaucratic tactics to find fault with the Chicano leadership and use the mechanism of the anglo social system to remove Chicanos from positions where they are in control and by firing Chicanos where they are in positions of authority or blocking the entrance of Chicanos where they feel that these Chicanos will be nationalist Chicano Movement oriented and will not accede to their guidance and "guardianship," because they do not want the Chicano community and movement orientation to become prevalent in the program, and they very much believe the concept that if you give a Mexican an inch he will take a mile, or that we tend to "breed like rabbits" and multiply within the social system, the program, or whatever.

In general, we can say that the liberals express many of the same fears expressed by the anglo community at large, that is that if there are too many Chicanos, by birth or by immigration, and if we begin to control the positions of power for the benefit of our people, that we will attempt to "Mexicanize" the programs, the political offices, the regions in which we live, and that we may expand the Spanish language into an official language and that it may actually be necessary to learn the language to work in our communities, that we may want all or most of the top positions for Chicanos in proportion to our numbers in the population, or that we may want to be represented in proportion to our numbers in all sectors of society very rapidly, and in this, they are absolutely correct. In essence the Plan Espiritual de Aztlán is still a guiding force in the Chicano Movement, whether we want to control our own region within the United States, "a-la-Quebec," form our own Chicano nation or join a Mexican or Latin American union.

The left, just as the anglo liberal, fear the same concepts, but they cloak their fears in different terms. The anglo liberal speaks in terms of democracy, of unions, of broad based decision making and other concepts which he feels that he can manipulate to his advantage and shifts tactics when these are not to his advantage, to a more authoritarian position when he is in power at the top. The anglo leftist, on the other hand, speaks of getting away from nationalism, of working for a proletarian revolution and internationalism, and that the nationalities must subordinate their demands to those of a proletarian revolution, and that once this is achieved, the demands of the nationalities will be dealt with, but they do not state how they will be dealt, and in view of the current status of the national minorities in the Soviet Union, the prospect is none too appealing for the nationalities of the Third World, the people of color. The overbearing nature of the caucasian soviets in Third World countries has become all too clear, and we do not need their paternalism any more than we need the anglo paternalism under the present socio-political economic system.

The anglo left has begun to make inroads into our movement, as we have noted because of the divisions which split our movement asunder after the 1972 El Paso, Texas National Convention of the Partido de la Raza Unida. The dissatisfaction of some of our top leadership with the divisions in the leadership and in the Movimiento and the search for something at a higher level also led to the exodus of some.

Many of these Chicanos are being trained in the ideology of the particular left organization and are being sent back into the Chicano communities to recruit members from their old Chicano organizations or to make contacts with other Chicano organizations and to sell the concepts of a socialist revolution. among the organizations of the anglo left that are doing this are the Communist Party USA through the efforts of Lorenzo Torres and a number of others, such as perhaps Elizabeth Sutherland Martinez, Bert Corona and others, while the Socialist Workers Party has such organizers as Manuel Archuleta, Miguel Pendas, Sylvia Zapata, Olga Rodriguez and others, and the other organizations have other Chicanos working for them which many may be known to the Partido chapters in other states, but which are not known to us in New Mexico, and it is necessary that a listing be made of all of the Chicano organizers working for left organizations.

The majority of the organizations of the anglo left do not accept the concept of Chicano nationalism and are working toward orienting the Chicano toward working with the anglo and the other nationalities in the United States toward making a general socialist revolution in the United States and are trying to eliminate the orientation of the Chicano toward America Latina, and to the present time, they have had some success with the anglocized Chicano though they have been notably unsuccessful with the poor and mexicanized Chicano who still hold to our culture, language and nationalism in general, thus for this reason, they condemn many of our aspects of Chicano culture which hold us together as a people and prevent them from having the organizing effect in our community that they have among the anglocized Chicano. The anglo leftist organizations which do tend to have some feel for work with the Spanish Speaking people tend to orient their efforts toward rapprochement with America Latina and not with the Chicano community, thus they are not a factor as far as the efforts of the anglo left are concerned with respect to attempting to make inroads into the Chicano community.

Among both the established anglo left and what is called the anglo "new left," there is a paternalism with regard to minority groups, as they feel that we are still in a primitive state of development as far as either the liberal or Marxist-Leninist ideology is concerned, and any efforts to determine our own paths to a new society which is not Marxist-Leninist is labeled as "reformist" or "petty bourgeoisie," as the revolution in Nicaragua has been labeled for not calling itself Marxist-Leninist but "only" Socialist. It is with this tactic that the anglo left has attacked Chicano organizations, trying to break-up any hegemony that these organizations may have as possibly being an arm of the Chicano people as a whole and to broaden their membership so that the organizations of the left can infiltrate their membership in order to redirect the course of the Chicano organization, and when this occurs and the leftist organizations begin to try to redirect the organization or begin to push their particular "line," the stressed that are put on the organization in the arguments that develop often break up the organization as has been the case with the Partido de la Raza Unida in Las Vegas, New Mexico, in San Jose, California, in the bay area in California and in other areas. At this fragile stage of organization, the majority of the Chicano membership in Chicano organization is not ready to confront or deal with the sophisticated (relatively) tactics that are used by the anglo organizers in order to win members from the Chicano organization to their organization or to redirect the organization, and most Chicano members and organizers are not ready to answer the so-called Marxist arguments of these organizations with counterargument, Marxist or otherwise, and this has caused

downfall of many Chicano organizations which have been infiltrated by these anglo socialist organization.

Thus, when we consider all of the factors, we note that the majority of the anglos and their organizations, whether they be mainstream, liberal or leftist, for the most part cannot and probably will not accept us as a distinct people who can work with them as a people or as individuals, but that there are some concerns which are indigenous to us and which we as a people and as individuals have to resolve for ourselves, and that in order to do this, we have to have the autonomy, control and powers, and yes, when necessary, even the separation from the anglo to be with our own people in the environment which best promotes our own reflection and decision making processes. Like any individual, we need time to be alone with our own thoughts, our own ambient and our own people. In part, it is this enforces separation and solitude which has contributed to the love of our families and of our own people which has held our community together through such long periods of depression and poverty, and it has been the anglo method of resolving conflict which has contributed to our alienation, the breakup of the family units and community units which have allowed us to keep ourselves psychologically, socially and physically. Our mechanisms for dealing with stress have been much more effective than those of the anglo, and this is reflected in our lower suicide rates and the increase in suicide rates among anglocized Chicanos.

The participation of the anglo, of all persuasions, in the Chicano community has in some cases improved the material well being of some sectors of our community, but it has not been without cost, since in many cases it has caused separation of family members from family members and communities from communities, because the efforts of the anglo are based on an individual basis and not on a communitywide basis, to uplift the entire community, and it this individual emphasis that has caused a high degree of envy or envidia in the Chicano/Mexicano community which the anglo has tried to "help." This is why projects for improvement take so much longer in the Chicano community, because the Chicano who acquired resources is obliged to share them with the family and the community, and this is not necessarily bad, as the anglo society tries to depict it, but it is mechanism which the community has developed to avoid the jealousy and backstabbing and social climbing on the backs of others that are so prevalent in anglo society.

To be sure, there are anglos who are genuinely concerned with facilitating community control and self determination of the Chicano people, whether they be on the anglo left, liberals or just honest well meaning people, and there are these anglos who are genuinely sympathetic to the plight and the objectives of the Chicano/Mexicano community and who frankly do not understand what we want or why we do not care to assimilate or embrace anglo solutions to our problems, and we can under given circumstances work with this segment of the anglo population. There are also anglos who would prefer to work in the Chicano social framework of problem solving and communal relationship and who are frankly disgusted with the manipulative chicanery of the anglos who take a paternalistic approach to solving the problems of the Chicano, and we must learn to identify those who in reality hold to this way of thinking and who in reality are our friends and allies and are not wanting to use the Chicano Movement, the Chicano community and those resources in the Chicano community for their own advancement

or to push their "line" upon us. There is a difference between honest debate and subversion to the goal and ideals of any given person or organization, and we must learn to recognize this, just as surely and thoroughly as we must know which anglo is in reality our friend and which one merely wishes to use us or do "missionary work" among us, whether it is liberal, socialist or Marxist-Leninist.

#### V. Differences in Issue Perspectives and Orientation.

When all of the debate is over, and all of the discussing is done, the basic issue with respect to anglo-Chicano/Mexicano relationships is one of power, political, social and economic power, at least in the short term relationships among the two peoples, perhaps in the long term, long run relationships we can talk of commonality of proletarian or workers interests, but, in the short run, the major ruling factor is power, and, for the most part, anglos, from the right wing reactionaries to the left wing armed revolutionists have not and cannot tolerate working under the direct control of Chicanos or under Chicano supervision or to have Chicanos as a majority our own communities, and the institutions which function in those communities, and those Chicanos who are or have been tolerated in positions of power are those who conform to anglo expectations, be they from the right, the center or the left. It is clear that this perspective well may be criticized as narrow nationalist, divisionist, anticlassist, petty bourgeoisie or many of the other epithets that the left likes to use against those organizations which disagree or go counter to their perception of reality, but nevertheless, from all of the anglo left organizations I have studied, I find that this is the rule, and the other type, which allows Chicano/Mexicano control as Chicano/Chicano perspectives predominate is the exception, and in fact of the studies I have made, I know of no anglo organization which allows this or fosters it, it occurs only in Chicano organizations, where the Chicano perspective is expected to predominate and does.

To date, anglo liberals and radicals of the left have dominated large sectors of those programs which were supposed to serve the Third World peoples and have amassed for themselves the top level salaries; this is less true in the Black communities, where Blacks have told the anglo to stay out of their way and have directly confronted the anglo to keep him from taking the bread out of their mouths, but the Chicano/Mexicano community has been a totally different case, as anglos injected themselves into those programs which were supposedly for the Chicano community under the guise of "qualifications," which are used as a guise even by anglo "leftists." The privileged situation of the anglo can be seen in any "poverty program," whether sponsored by the government or by private foundations; one needs only to count the anglo employees and Chicano employees in the higher paying positions and then look to see who composes the "support staff." Yet, when Chicano attempt to change this ratio to one more proportional to the Chicano composition of the community, the ones who bith the loudest are the anglo staff, be in Northern New Mexico Legal Services or La Clinica del Norte, and the anglo uses the concept of unions in order to undermine the power which has been hard won by Chicanos in constant struggles with the bureaucracy from the national level on down to the local level.

Another factor which is notable is the fact that anglos, whether from the right or left end of the spectrum come from the eastern part of the United States to the Southwest,

the anglo spends less time and effort in acquiring a job, often the same day he arrives, than the Chicano who has lived in the Southwest all of his life, this is as true in Albuquerque, New Mexico as in Houston, Texas as in Denver, Colorado as in Phoenix, Arizona as in Sacramento, California. In general, we can say that they all come from the "home country" to the colonies and immediately take precedence over the natives in the use of all of the resources in the colonized district, be they the universities, the government institutions, the elected offices, the service sector or the colonial primary industrial sector, such as mining, logging, manufacturing, ranching, farming, etc., but in the present day situation, the "home country" has dominated the colony for so long that the anglo from all parts of the political spectrum take the possession of the colony for a fait accompli, something that already is, and they take for granted their privileged position within the political, social and economic structure of the colony and they in effect consider the jobs, resources and land of the colony to be part of their birth-right, without considering that the natives of the colony may want to control their own resources and run their own lives, and that we do not wish to undergo a period of tutelage under the colonizer, be he from the right or left of the political spectrum, and because we are natives we may wish to control all of our resources for our own people's benefit, and that they are welcome to work with us, but under the goals, guidelines and principles that we set for ourselves, and that we do not wish to have them set for us, by anyone, but that does not mean that matters cannot be discussed, only that they must not be imposed upon us by anyone.

In the long run, we the mestizo Chicano/Mexicano population will be the majority of the Southwest by from anywhere from 65 to 75%, and we are already the majority in New Mexico with some 47% of the population and 51% of the School Children, and our Native American brothers make up another 10%, and with the other Third World people, we compose 60% of the population of the state of New Mexico, yet we do not control any but the most limited and menial resources, and we have only recently come to control some of the programs which are supposed to be for our benefit, and we find ourselves challenged for them by the anglos who hold privileged status, whether they consider themselves to be part of the progressive element or not, and we are not going to let this challenge go unmet, regardless of the racial connotations this may have, for it is a racial issue between the colonized and the colonizers of whatever persuasion. If we are to ever be able to control our own destiny, we must, as we have stated in the Plan Espiritual de Aztlán, control our lands, our communities and our resources, and for this we need no surrogates or "consultants," we are grown enough that we can handle our own affairs well enough and take them in those directions in which we wish them to go.

While the anglo attempts to discourage us from thinking that our destiny lies with America Latina, more and more of us are coming to realize that this is the case, both in the rest of the Bronze Continent and within the colonies of the Empire, and those anglos who wish to assist in our liberation must work with us in what we want to do and where we want to go, not in what they want to do and where they want to go. The caucasian people have had their turn at leadership on the world scene, and now they must yield to the Third World people who are the young upstarts who are seeking a new way of establishing a more

world order based on socialism, not necessarily what the anglo considers socialism, that is, Marxist-Leninism, but under what we consider to be the optimum social organization for human development in all spheres of life without limits or restraint other than those which will physically harm the people as decided by the people, and even here, there must be ample room for debate on this question, because if the human mind is not to stagnate, it must have ample room to maneuver in.

In looking beyond these major differences in perspective, we can see other areas of diverse opinion as to what is important, the anglo may give greater priority to the nuclear cycle, while the Chicano will give more importance to land control and water rights as well as jobs, since we have a phenomenally high unemployment rate, especially among our youth, the anglo will give a great deal of importance to the environment, while the Chicano will give more importance to hunger and the need for decent housing, the anglo talks about saving the whales, while we talk of saving the people, the anglo talks about nuclear disarmament, while we talk of police brutality in our communities, the anglo talks about institutional care, while we talk about not having enough Chicano doctors, lawyers, engineers, nurses and medical care, or even about being pushed out of and excluded from the institutions of basic learning, not to mention higher learning, the anglo will worry about equalization of salaries, while many of our people have no salaries at all and have live for three or four generations on welfare and more recently on food stamps, our elderly have no provisions for being sustained adequately while living with their families as they should, and the anglo does not understand our need for all of our people to speak Spanish and to have the language taught from Kindergarten to college in the colonies, and most of all, they seem not to understand our need to retake control of the colonies and begin to chart our own path, and in all of these sectors we meet resistance, not only from the anglo right, but the anglo left. When we demand open borders from the Mother and sister countries to the colonies, it is the anglos who resist, through Zero Population and other organizations and try to divide us against our brother, through the unions, through organizations and through personal effort.

The fact is that the majority of the anglo population has not shaken the anti-Mexicano, anti-Latino attitudes inherited from their Protestant forefathers and carried on down to the Manifest Destiny movement, the Social Darwinist theories of inferiority and to the present day sociological theories of inferiority. The entire spectrum of anglo society is infected with either open hatred or non-comprehension of the Mexicano, Hispano, Latino society, and the attributes described in "The Chicano National Question" of our people being backward, patron ridden, church ridden and in need of guidance and supervision or displacement still hold true in all sectors of anglo society today, and we see the same paternalism and exclusion in the anglo left today as was present in the anglo left of the times of Ricardo Flores Magón, and it is visible in the chauvinism or paternalism of organizations like the Communist Party, the Socialist Workers Party, The Communist Party-ML, the October League and the other organizations of the anglo left as well as the Social Democrats. Clearly, it is something they must overcome if they wish to participate in a socialist society and a socialist world, but they have shown few signs of shedding their chauvinism, and we cannot as a people wait for the anglo to do so, but rather we must forge ahead and undertake those tasks which are needed by our people to meet our spiritual, social and physical needs and to develop the ties with our long separated brothers with whom we share a common continent and even our ancestral commonality with Spain, and if the anglo of any

persuasion attempts to impede that development, he will find himself confronting the natural flow and tendency of our development, and there will be conflict, perhaps with the anglo winning the majority of the initial battles, but he will begin to tire and yield to the fresh, young troops of Chicano community, which, like the Sandinista youth, will not be held back in their quest for a just, new world order, where they will sit as equals in the world councils, not as "satellites" of any people or power, and we will do it as a people, for only when the caucasian world respects us as peoples and as a Hispanic entity and in a broader spectrum, to include the Portugese and French, as a Latino entity, can they respect us as individuals, and when they respect us as individuals, they must respect us as an entity and respect our rights to govern ourselves as well.

## VI. Present and Naar Future Conflict and Confrontation

Recent newspaper articles in the Los Angeles Times have depicted the Northeast as productively economically dead, and the industrial midwest as rapidly dying, as industry flees from those areas to avoid the unionized labor force and the strong unions, the higher cost of doing business, the lack of primary natural resources, especially energy resources, etc., more and more of the industries will be coming to the Southwest (see Discussion Bulletin Number One) and this will bring a large number of anglos with certain technical skills and anglos in the support "service industry" to the Southwest, in search of jobs, for the anglo has no attachment to the land or to his home territory as the Chicano/Mexicano and the Native American have, but once here, he will encounter what had been a "lesser problem" on the East Coast, the large numbers of Mexicanos and the continually growth rate of the Chicano/Mexicano population through the high birth rate and through immigration, both documented and undocumented, and this will undoubtedly lead to competition for jobs along racial lines, with the Chicano/Mexicano being excluded from the higher paying jobs and being relegated to the lower levels of employment in the early 1980's. This is already occurring in places like Albuquerque, New Mexico, Houston, Texas and Phoenix, Arizona as well as Denver, Colorado and all of the places where the new industry is establishing itself. The influx of anglos is already bringing conflict in the nature of massive increases of police brutality to keep the colonized peoples down and "in their place" and in the exclusion of Chicanos, Blacks and Native Americans in the universities to make room for the anglo population. The Colonial governing superstructure is strengthening its hold on the governments of the colonized states by pushing out the upper echelon colonial native officials and tightening controls on those who remain. It is replacing the Mexicanos with people like City Manager McDermott and Police Chief Tom Tillespie in remote places like Las Vegas, New Mexico, which have strategic value as far as future potential is concerned for the location of anglo industry, and the same is occurring throughout the Southwest, as the genocidal putsch begins to pick up steam to eliminate the Chicano/Mexicano or make us subservient to the will of the anglo superstructure.

This hardening of the position of the Colonial structure of governance is visible in the composition of the California legislature and in the conservative coup which ousted the control of the liberals in the New Mexico House of Representatives which now complements the conservative element in the New Mexico Senate. The same can be said for the governments in Texas and Colorado. And, as one poorly concealed anglo industrial report in the Albuquerque Journal revealed in its racist conclusions, the major obstacle to the industrial-

ization of New Mexico at a more rapid rate is what was called "the unstable situation at the grass roots level." The writer of the study refused to comment further, but it was clear that he was referring to the numerous communities where the Chicano controlled the local and county government structures, and where the Chicano could not be counted on to totally cooperate the way a more "stable" anglo governmental superstructure would, and we can also not the historic fear the anglo has had of the possibility of the Chicano breaking his bonds and taking over anglo property, prestige and power. For this reason, they are reluctant to bring industrialization into predominantly Chicano/Mexicano areas like northern New Mexico or South Texas and concentrate industry in places of greater anglo population concentrations, like the cities previously mentioned.

Nevertheless, the anglo industry is coming into the colony because of the exhausted resources in the "home country," and despite the fact that it is settling in predominantly anglo urban areas, it is having its effects in the peripheral areas, like the influx of anglos into places like Las Vegas, New Mexico, Ruidoso, New Mexico, etc. and the even the remote community like Chama, New Mexico is feeling its impact as the wealthy land speculators begin to acquire the lands of the Mexicano in the greatest land robbery since the land grants were stolen in the mid 1800's, only this time they are being taken by offering more money to people who have never had very much money, by driving up land values to the point where the poor Mexicano/Chicano cannot pay the land taxes and has to sell or have his land sold for taxes, and thus the anglo building boom is already disfiguring places like Ruidoso, New Mexico and the surrounding Hondo Valley, Taos, New Mexico, and many other areas which have been in large part Mexicano/Chicano, and people like the multimillionaire Robert O. Anderson of Arco and Rockwell International are trying to buy up the land like the Hondo Valley and the Montezuma Seminary land in Las Vegas, New Mexico, and thus, we are presently experiencing the second anglo invasion of industry and its followers who wish to maintain the jobs.

This is precisely what motivates the enactment of Right to Work laws in the surrounding states of Arizona and Texas in order to keep the prevailing wages of the colonized peoples at a low level and to keep the wages of the incoming anglo technicians who will be following the industry at a lower rate than they were where the industrial flight took place, but still much higher than the wages paid to the native colonized population. This double standard and the efforts of the liberal and most leftist anglos to maintain control of those institutions they already control and their attempts to control those they do not or those that are marginal will inevitably lead to Chicano/Mexicano-anglo conflict in the 1980's, and this in turn can only bring about stronger police repression against the Chicano/Mexicano community and the further militarization of the border and the interior with broad anglo "middle class" support, but as the Channel 5 "Money Matters" host stated recently, a social structure is a very fragile thing, and the occurrences in the expectedly stable Iran and Nicaragua have shown that determined resistance can overturn even the most seemingly formidable superstructure politically and economically, and this is a strong fear in the mind of the anglo with respect to the Chicano/Mexicano community, thus the only way he feels he can react to maintain control is to repress the colony and hope it can be eradicated as a threat, as has been done with the Native American population,

or, as the anglo thought he had done with the Native American population, because this population is also demanding its autonomy to develop itself along the lines that it feels will be most beneficial to its people.

Anglo-Chicano/Mexicano conflict can only heighten in the 1980's and the 1990's because of the anglos attempt to repress the Chicano/Mexicano population and the conflict over jobs and education as well as professional positions, but the border cannot be dealt off, as was shown in the case of Viet Nam, and the Mexican border is a much longer one, and the U.S. 's distortion of the Mexican economy and the entry of more U.S. companies into the areas of Mexican agriculture and industry can only cause more economic dislocation with the spiraling birth rate and unemployment in Mexico, and it is only natural for the people of Mexico to seek to keep from starving to death, something even the current production of Mexican petroleum can ward off. These people will naturally come into the colonized part of their lands seeking employment, and this will further fuel anglo-Mexicano tensions with greater anglo demands for sealing the border and repression, and such a situation can only become explosive, especially with a majority Chicano/Mexicano population which using the power of the ballot, if it can unite itself, will have the potential to take over the institutions of government under the same type of sentiment for autonomy which currently is the case in Quebec in order to escape further exploitation by the English Speaking nation over the French Speaking people, or in this case, the Spanish Speaking people.

It is clear that such an atmosphere will create conditions such as those envisioned by the Brown Berets, where they will take up arms against the anglo, but the current military power of the anglo in the Southwest is monstrous, as the arms build up of the anglo in Southwest occurred in order to have a broad target for the Soviet Union in the event of a nuclear attack and to have that attack hit where there were the smallest concentrations of anglo population and the largest concentrations of Mexicano/Chicano peoples and close to the Mexico-U.S. Border to serve two purposes, to have the military close to the border in the event it were necessary to control that border should unforeseen circumstances occur in Mexico and to expose northern Mexico to nuclear devastation in the event of a nuclear war to make an invasion into the Southwest less desirable due to the political and military disorganization of the United States in the post holocaust period.

We currently see more military bases and personnel in and around New Mexico per capita than any other state in the United States, and the neighboring states of Texas, Arizona and Colorado, not to mention the massive militarization of California. In New Mexico, there are three Air Force bases, having been four at one time, and the Fort Bliss Military Reservation crosses Texas and New Mexico, and New Mexico also has the Sandia and Los Alamos laboratories, which are prime targets for a nuclear attack, as is the Air Force Academy at Colorado Springs, Colorado and the SAC and NORAD command located there. Southern California, where the majority of the Mexicano population lives is another highly populated area which has a high concentration of military, also making it a prime target in the event of a nuclear war, thus the anglo population deliberately was protected as much as possible, while the Mexicano population was subjected to a very

high degree of danger. But, the anglo general staff and government did not plan for the rapid expansion into the Southwest of industry and an enlarged anglo population, and this could cause problems, as the heavy industry will now also be located in the Southwest, creating a "security problem" for the anglo military, as the concentration of military and industry will make the United States more vulnerable than the former dispersed condition, and this also will create disruptions in the anglo social organization as well as create a military crisis as to whether to relocate, and in a period of the threat of nuclear war and under a conservative government more willing to risk nuclear war, there is little likelihood that any other region, such as Wyoming, Utah or the Dakotas will want to take the risk of having the facilities placed there.

This situation causes a grave dilemma for the Chicano/Mexicano community, one which is too extensive to be considered in this discussion bulletin, but part of the solution is to control the government apparatus of the Southwestern states and to be able to deal from a stronger position with the issue than we are currently able to do, but the solution is not armed insurrection at the present time, as the Brown Berets and the Liga Socialista Puerto Riquena are proposing, because that would be suicidal, and when victory can be won by organization and proper timing of our actions and the mobilization of our people, it is sheer madness to commit suicide against the massive United States War machine within its own confines. Again, how we are to deal with this is a matter for deep and serious consideration, and while it surely is part of the anglo question, it is too extensive to be dealt with properly here and should be discussed in another discussion bulletin.

Still, as I have concluded in Discussion Bulletin Number One and in this Bulletin, I feel that there will be a popular secession movement such as that which is currently underway in Quebec and that in all probability there will be armed revolt attempts by Chicanos which will fail, and that in all likelihood, the secession will take place in the early 2,000, and perhaps there will be bloodshed, which in the long run cannot but involve Mexico and perhaps America Latina in a war with the United States at a time when the United States will also be confronting the Soviet Union over Africa and the Middle East, but this remains to be seen, since events are proceeding much faster than I have been able to calculate, although pretty much along the same course. But, we also need to turn to important, though less serious matters of anglo-Chicano/Mexicano relations which have not been extensively enough dealt with here.

#### VII. On Chicano/Mexicano-Anglo interpersonal relationships

Most of the relationships occurring between Chicanos and anglos are on the level of on the job contact or at the interpersonal level, most of the on the job relationships are fairly well set as defined by the tasks and the supervisory or coworker's relationship, but many times a coworker relationship develops into an interpersonal relationship, this can also result from school contact with one's classmates, contact in a social setting, etc.. In the past, the work situation resulted more in conflict between Mexicanos and anglos than is currently the case, although within the union movement in certain areas, a certain type of camaraderie developed between anglo and Mexicano, but more often than not, this camaraderie was based upon the Mexicano's accession to the social and action requisites

of the anglo, with any assertion by the Mexicano causing conflict and strife, usually resulting in retaliation by one or the other in the form of withdrawal of friendship, ostracism, work retaliation or physically related retaliation of some form, those most relationships of anglo-Mexicano friendship were based on the fact that the Mexicano was pliant and submissive to the anglo and did not conflict with the anglo's world view. In some cases, it may well have been that the Mexicano adopted the anglo world view, but more than likely the case was that the Mexicano wanted the acceptance of the anglo, whom he considered superior, and thus did not contradict him for fear of disapproval, or he did disagree and voice this disagreement, he would quickly concur, when the anglo would unload a charge of "logical" reasons why his point of view should be accepted, with, perhaps a slight or not so slight hint of disapproval or the possibility of the withdrawal of friendship should the Mexicano not concur.

In many cases, this resulted in a leader and led situation, where the Mexicano would seem to shadow what the anglo friends were doing, saying or suggesting, and in many cases, the Mexicano/Chicano would attempt to outdo his anglo companion(s) in a particular action or set of attitudes. This is particularly visible in teams of anglo/Chicano policemen, Border Patrolmen, soldiers, white collar workers, etc., anywhere where the Chicano/Mexicano is made to feel he is intruding into anglo domain or where he feels lucky to have a job. The anglo for a long time has played upon the humbleness of the Chicano/Mexicano and his humbleness and deference to authority which has come from the Mexicano/Chicanos training as a youth to hold respect, or respect for persons, which the anglo has often taken for servility or just meekness, but which he has taken advantage of whether the anglo be on the right, middle or left, and often the anglo has been in a position to turn the Chicano/Mexicano against his own people and has done so, again, irrespective of ideological persuasion.

This is not to say that there have not been cases of anglos and Mexicano/Chicanos working together in situations of mutual respect, there have been, such as the relationship between Juan Patrón and Alexander McSween during the Lincoln County War, in which McSween was in effect dependent upon Patrón for support of the Mexicano community against the Murphey, Dolan and Riley faction which controlled the outlaws, the military and the politics, such can also be said to be the case between William Bonney (Billy the Kid) and Elfege Baca, and Ricardo Flores Magón and many of the anglos who worked with him. But, we find that most of these relationships were based on the anglo's support of a political or social cause or lifestyle defined by the Mexicano, and not the other way around, perhaps because the anglo in this case accepts the definition of a life or world outlook of the oppressed and not of the oppression by his own people, whereas a Chicano/Mexicano who accedes to the anglo world view in constant deference to his anglo companions is often taking the role of a sycophant (or a lambe, as he would be referred to in Chicano Pachuco terminology), or the Mexicano is not confident enough in his own ability to make judgements as to what should be the case to make a decision, thus he looks to whom he considers superior, the anglo.

In more recent times, with the onset of the Chicano Movement in the latter part of the first phase, such relationships have begun to develop in which the anglo is willing to support the Chicano/Mexicano's right to self-determination and control of his own communities in the

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manner which he sees as being most appropriate, and not in the demanding manner of Peter Dressler, who holds the opinion that the Chicano must adopt the "alternative life-style" which he feels is the salvation of the human race and will allow for no argument from the Chicano, avoiding it by simply turning away from the Chicano and ignoring him or rudely walking away from the Chicano. To the contrary, there are anglos who work with the Chicano/Mexicano in situations of mutual respect on those issues of Chicano/Mexicano self determination as the Chicano/Mexicano defines them and makes constructive suggestions and criticism, fully realizing that since the Chicano/Mexicano's life is at stake, he must make the final decision, and that in this part, he cannot go any further without encroaching on the Chicano/Mexicano's right to choose his own road, and the anglo cannot live our lives any more than we can live his, and just as is the case with individuals, we have the need at times to be alone with our own people to work our mutual problems, directions, philosophies and world views or just to enjoy in the company of our own people those things which are culturally and socially important to us as people or just to exchange the meaning that only solitude among our own kind can bring.

In this present period, there are many more Chicano/Mexicano-anglo interpersonal relationships being developed on the basis of the anglicization of some of the Chicano/Mexicano people, but the process of anglicization is being reversed by the remexicanization of the Chicano people by the population influxes from Mexico and America Latina and the emphasis toward the remexicanization of our language and culture away from the anglo influence, and this in itself is causing confusion and resentment among the anglo, but those anglos who can come to accept, if not aid, this decolonization process will be all the more likely to develop true relationships of friendship with the Chicano, Hispano and Latino peoples than those based on the anglicization or acculturation of the Chicano/Mexicano people. This undoubtedly will be difficult for many anglos to do, for during the period of colonization, they have come to consider the colony as part of their domain and that the native peoples must conform to their concepts of society or principles of life, and they must learn that it is unacceptable for the anglo to attempt to remake the Chicano/Mexicano in the anglo's own image.

As anglo industries come into the Southwest and anglo workers displace Chicanos, there will be conflict based on what a friend of mine and one of the founders of the Chicano Associated Student Organization stated, when he says that the expansion of industry will not help him as a general contractor, since the outside companies and contractors will be coming in to take advantage of the expansion, and the anglo industrialists will hire the anglo contractors instead of the local people, who will remain essentially at the same level at which they presently find themselves. What will be expanded will be the number of menial and lower level jobs which in turn will attract the Chicanos from the small town to the newly developed areas and the big cities, leaving the poverty situation of the Chicano/Mexicano essentially unchanged. This stress will test those anglo-Chicano/Mexicano relationships which have been built up on a less stressful non competitive basis, and there will be a taking of sides as the situation in the Southwest polarizes on the basis of race toward Chicano/Mexicano political control and attempts to take control of the industries and the natural resources to alleviate the extreme poverty and hardships which will be evident all throughout the industrialization period and especially in the latter part of the two decade cycle, when the natural resources begin to be depleted and Chicano/Mexicanos begin to attempt to insure that resources will be left for them to use once they are able to control the political aspects of government and begin

to go after the economic assets. ¶ The perspectives of the anglo with respect toward the Mexicano/Chicano will be further tested when the border is further militarized, Chicanos and Mexicanos with and without documents begin to be even more extensively harassed by the Border Patrol and the Immigration and Naturalization Service, and the inland searches by these agencies become more prevalent, entering into the home the documented and undocumented Mexicano/Chicano alike, and when police brutality increases with the blessing of the conservative administrations, and the Chicano leadership begins to be jailed for all sorts of charges based on exigencies of "national security." This will severely test many anglo's view points that "we are all 'americans.'" Many anglos will be further alienated by the Chicano/Mexicano's decolonization attempts in order to shake off the ever tighter colonial yoke of the anglo government, and will probably react in the same manner that the anglos in Quebec reacted when the autonomy then the separatist movement took control, the industries begin to leave, and very shortly, the non French Speaking people began to leave.

The above is not say that there are not mutually respectful friendships and marriages between anglos and Chicann/Mexicanos, there are, and even these will be sorely tested during a period of crisis, because up to now, they have survived a mostly accepted situation of anglo dominance, and stresses will develop during a resurgence of pride and Mexicanism and during the period of Mexicanization, both from the Chicano/Mexicano's resentment of what he discovers to be an anglo colonial situation and from the anglo companions inability to comprehend this resurgence of racial pride and efforts at control and the subsequent repression, which, when not comprehended as to its reasons and origins, can cause the dislocation of even the most long term of anglo-Mexicano/Chicano friendships. Thus, if the anglo is to maintain strong, friendly relationships with the Chicano/Mexicano, he must educate himself as to the problems and differences that occur and be aware of their sources as well as being aware of how the Mexicano can, must, should or will deal with the problems from a Mexicanist perspective and be sympathetic and supportive of the efforts of the Mexicano/Chicano to assert and decolonize himself in order to take control of his own destiny. This is much more difficult than it seems, but it is necessary if a strong anglo-Chicano/Mexicano friendship is to survive or be developed.

But, this is not the way the anglo left is viewing the situation, they view it as a threat when the Chicano/Mexicano attempts to assert himself and decolonize himself and his people, for the anglo liberals and leftists still maintain the anglo chauvism and their concepts of what the Mexicano/Chicano should be and for the most part, they are attempting to mold us after their own image and strongly resent it when we contradict them, both on a philosophical basis and a racial basis, and this can be attributed to the majority of the leadership and membership of the liberal and leftist organizations in the United States today, and I am strongly convinced that the Mexicano has very few anglo friends who can fully comprehend and support what we have to do to decolonize ourselves and work to become equals on the world scene, as the people we are and with our own progressive ideas to contribute to the reorganization of the world socio-political economic structure, and because of this, many friendships and perhaps even marriages may be ruptured as part of the essential decolonization process of our minds and our existence in the physical realm, or what Paulo Freire in Pedagogy of the Oppressed calls concientizao, the development

of a political, social and economic consciousness through the painful process of self-analysis and analysis of one's social relationships and subjugation to the oppressor and to begin to take personal responsibility, as individuals and as a people, for the development of our own destiny, to broaden our consciousness and awareness of the entirety of reality beyond our previously limited realm, which in itself is painful, because human beings, for the most part, abhor dislocation. But, in order for us to take control of our own destiny, this dislocation must take place, and it will affect both the anglo and the Mexicano/Chicano and create conflict until the new social relationships are established.

On the world level, the same dislocation is occurring for the United States and the rest of the caucasian, european world, as the Third World rises up to break the chains of colonial bondage, be it physical, economic or political and are beginning to demand a new world order which will equally divide the world's resources among the world's people, and the demands are coming from the world's largest population group the people of color, the Red, Brown, Yellow and Black. What is occurring with the colonies of the United States of the Chicano/Mexicano people is but a microcosm of what is occurring on a world scale through the process of concientizao, and the caucasian peoples are fighting it as long as possible, both on the world scale and here in the United States, with especially strong pressure being placed against the Native American and Chicano/Mexicano people as well as the Puerto Riqueños, whom the United States has also brutally exploited as an unabashed and unconcealed colony. There are anglos who both on the world and national scale are aware of and sympathetic to the present shifts in power relationships, and in many ways they are working for a more just world order, but even among many of these people, we find large doses of chauvinism, with such suggestions as that English become the world lingua franca, or language of communication, this derives from an attitude of superiority and lack of respect for the other peoples and their languages, and there are also suggestions that the United States is a proper center for the administration of a new world order, etc., as the anglo should well see, he must also undergo his own process of concientizao, because future relationships with the people of color of the Third World will depend on it, and the caucasian will no longer be able to dictate from a position of power, but rather will have to use openness, frankness and persuasion, as it may well even find itself in a position of weakness unless the Third World decides it is now in its interests to grant equality to a race of people who have subjugated a large part of the human race; thus what the caucasian does now may very well determine his future status in the world where he is outnumbered by the people of color, and this same question must be addressed by the anglo and caucasian on an individual level as to his relationships with the people of color.

#### VIII. On Work with Anglos and Anglo Organizations.

From the previous discussion, we can conclude that in essence, the task of the Chicano/Mexicano Movement and of the Chicano/Mexicano as an individual is one of decolonization and regaining social, political and economic control of our territory and reestablishing ties with the rest of our people on the continent and in Europe and to work for a social-political and economic system which will equally divide the work and the benefits of the resources of

labor and the land among all of the people who inhabit the land, and in this task, we must convince our anglo brethren that it is not a personal or racial vendetta that we are undertaking, but rather part of our historic task and destiny, and that they must not impede, if they will not assist, the Mexicano/Chicano in carrying out this task. They must further be made to realize that they are operating under the colonizer and colonized system of government in the territory of the colonized and not in the "home country," thus they should be facilitating the taking of social-political economic control by Chicano/Mexicano and the Native American of their own lands. This is not to say that the anglo does not have the right to hold a job and to make a living, that is the right of every human being, but it does mean that the anglo is a guest in the colonized territory, though a forced guest whose passage has been kept open and whose residence is maintained by a colonial social, political, economic and military superstructure, and he should not consider it his right to take and retain the reins of power over the native and indigenous people, for while some people like Graciela Olivares may accept this state of affairs and be content to make the best of it, rising through the colonial apparatus to manipulate and control her own people and their destinies through high paying jobs in the colonial bureaucracy and doling out or taking away money from the poorest of the poor, many of us are not satisfied to serve the colonial administration and are working to return power to our people and to return control of the colonized lands to the people who are the indigenous people to those lands.

It is possible to work with different anglo organizations and anglo individuals on different issues according to the agreements they hold on different sectors of the matter of Chicano self determination, and in many cases, our interests will coincide. In the areas where our incidences of issues do not coincide, we must work alone, and on the issues with which we disagree, we must make it known to the anglo that we will not hold back because of personal friendships or the fact that we have worked together on other issues; we must do what we must do, however painful that may be to our personal and/or racial relationships. This does not detract from the fact that we are working for a world where there will be equal sharing of the work and the resources, and where all human beings will be able to live in peace, or where all human beings can develop themselves as human beings within the social, cultural and racial context of their being, but we have the very difficult task of developing our own consciousness and direction and of "getting off our back" those who due to their own social conditioning are holding us back from this, be they from the right, the middle or the left, and, as Freire notes, we provide the social consciousness for both ourselves and our oppressors, since because of their privileged position they are clearly unable to do so for themselves except in a few limited cases and exceptions.

There will be different degrees of cooperation with anglo individuals and organization possible for us according to how far they are willing to go to promote the decolonization, and we can probably work with most if not all anglos according to the lengths that they are willing to go to assist us in our tasks at different times and in different places. So we must not close the doors on any possibilities for working together on progressive issues, but we must not be so blind as to think that we can work together or will agree on everything and that there will not be conflict, for this is not the case, and we must deal with each situation according to the touchstone of the goals and directions our people must take in order to de-

velop concientizao, to decolonize ourselves and to establish self-determination and a new communion with the rest of our people on the continent and to renew our common bonds. This means that new relationships must be developed with the anglo to replace the colonial relationships which heretofore have bound us together; and we must not be fearful of losing the anglo's support and friendship for doing so, for it must be done if we are not to stagnate and become impotent in the development of the new social order.

WE must assert ourselves and our identity as never before as well as reclaim the right to take our destiny into our own hands and to take our place in the world councils as a people, and not be represented by surrogates who neither understand us nor care about our special, particular needs, and the anglo, if he has a sense of history and justice should not be offended by this and should be supportive of the new order, for he will be part of it and for the first time will be able to shed the self imposed "white man's burden" and work as an equal with the people of color who can, after all, think, plan, build and dream, though they may not necessarily be the same thoughts, plans and dreams as those of the anglo, or then again, many of these may be different perspectives on the same.

#### IX. The Partido de la Raza Unida Position on the Anglo Question.

The position of the Partido de la Raza Unida is clearly spelled out in the Manual and Political Program of the Partido, such as in the first principle developed out of the 1975 State Convention of the New Mexico Partido, which states as follows:

- Human Development. We propose the establishment and development of a society whose supreme priority is the meeting of the basic needs of every human being, and the establishment of the necessary conditions and institutions to promote and advance the maximum development of the intellectual and creative powers and talents of every human being in the context of his own being.

and the Partido responds to the question as to its position on the anglo as follows: We are struggling against an economic, social and political system which will just as indiscriminately fire an anglo as keep him working, but which will first fire the minorities and the people of color and will use this privilege of jobs to divide the Chicano and the anglo and keep them from working toward a common goal, the right to meet the human needs of the person and to be able to fulfill himself as a human being respecting the differences of color, customs, culture, and language in other human beings and allow another human being to develop these in the institutions without hinderance or interpretation by society.

The Partido de la Raza Unida still holds to the humanist principles which were instituted in 1975, but these are tempered by further analysis of our colonial status within the United States of North America and by our experiences in working with anglos as individuals and as groups, and it identifies the intermediate steps that are necessary and that were overlooked in the idealism and the desire to work with anglos which came from the 1975 declaration of principles, and it more clearly defines our relationship to anglos as individuals and through our organizations, and begins to lay down some

principles of unity on which we can begin to work with the anglo toward the ideal of a humanistic, though not homogenous, world society in which all differences in culture, language and viewpoints or world outlook can work together without the imposition of one over the other and where there will be no need for borders or artificially contrived systems of the distribution of resources by national boundaries of profit consideration and people can choose the language and culture in which they wish to develop themselves without regard to their birth or past heritage and lineage, but this must first come about through the decolonization processes, which are need as much by the anglo left as by the anglo right, for the experiences of the Partido and its organizers in working with anglo groups has taught us that chauvinism and paternalism are essential features of both extremes, and that both, when confronted by the demands of the Chicano/Mexicano for self control, self-determination and autonomy react in the same way to protect their privilege of control and veto powers over the decisions of the the Chicano/Mexicano and the institutions which should be serving us and which we should control. We find strong resistance to the decolonization process and the process of concientizao, which the anglo find threatening to the concept control which anglos have held over Chicano/Mexicanos for such a long time, and both the right and the left strike out to repress this control and independence by the Mexicano/Chicano people.

Tempered by this experience, we of the Partido realize that we must judge the anglo, as an individual and as organizations, on the basis of how far they are willing to go to assist us in the decolonization and concientizao process and work with them on that level, without illusions that they will be willing to go any further toward working with us than these levels which they have demonstrated through their words and actions and our perceptions of their motives and goals as individuals and as organizations, for we of the Partido have been badly used as the largest Chicano/Mexicano organization by the anglo left who came bearing gifts like the Trojan horse and holding out his hand in supposed friendship while he studies our resources and attempted to direct them toward their purposes and attempted to take "the best fighter" from our organizations. Thus our criteria for extensive work with anglos and anglo organizations will be far harsher than they have been heretofor, and when we work with anglos, it will be according to the issue at hand and upon the basis of unity upon the issue we are dealing with and not the personalities involved, and in many cases, we will not work with organizations of individuals whom we feel have betrayed our trust or have reflected negatively upon our intents, purposes and work in the Chicano/Mexicano community.

While to this point, we have attempted to refrain from mass labeling of the anglo and from attacking of the anglo as a people, we must recognize the social and consciousness shortcomings of the anglo people and deal with them at a realistic level and be ready to confront the anglo where he is working to our detriment regardless of the racial consequences which may accrue from that confrontation, and we must call a spade a spade when the occasion warrants it. We as the Partido de la Raza Unida have been tempered by the conflicts and have learned from the lessons and defeats we have suffered in our dealings with the anglo and in our attempts to form progressive alliances and thus will be much more