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Prologue



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*The second part to the four part work by Nick C. Vaca entitled, "The Mexican-American in the Social Sciences," scheduled to appear in this issue, has been re-scheduled to appear in the subsequent issue of EL GRITO, Vol. IV, No. 1. — Editor

Antiperros

SERGIO ELIZONDO

“Tierra perdida, llama de amor;
Tierra de basura, estoy lleno de amor”
Mis hermanos los jóvenes, llenos de vida,
se levantaron de su fingida derrota,
para cantar conmigo de gusto y de dolor.
Todos como uno, me dijeron
un cuento sin libro,
que se está escribiendo
al otro lado de la vía del tren
donde los otros viven
en clínicas de esmalte blanco,
que cubren,
el acero de sus perdidas almas.
Me dijeron tanto, que es desmedida
la cantidad de pudredumbre
que han aquellos amasado
en cerros de lodo,
con papeles verdes,
y el asco de su obeso sudor.
Dicen que de aquí
a la luna han ido
a plantar la insolencia
de aséptico pie, en arenas de plata,
y falso trapo tieso como la muerte.
Con estas palabras
puras y buenas como los días
en honrada pobreza,
han sabido mis manitos medir
lo que en otra forma piensan.

PERROS

Llegaron a nuestros ranchos,
muertos de hambre,
implorando amistad cuando los sequía
el polvo de la muerte.
Sombreros de fieltro,
espuelas que no pican,
carretas de Pennsylvania
y biblias en las nalgas.
Se creían buenas gentes
sólo porque trabajaban, y se sonaban el pecho
sacándose culpas.
Pero en sus ojos no había espejos,
ni suave sudor en las manos.
Mis abuelos barbas de olor a tortilla,
piel de sol en la tierra,
y lengua que mece las ramas;
cama, comida y costumbres
a los hambrientos colmaron.
Como cuento viejo, los pequeños crecieron
y sus familias se hicieron
falsamente redondas. Y no salían por las puertas,
Y se quedaron dentro
de la casa de tierra y palo.
Reventaron las perras
regando animales que otra lengua hablaban.
Güiri-güiri de misterios,
mierda de librerías en la corte,
afrenta a los ojos negros,
agua salada en la milpa.
Se perdieron las tierras
en falsos cielos azules
Y el mendigo que llegó a cenar
engañó las puertas y se quedó en casa.
Mi viejo cuentero,
dientes duros y alma fuerte
se retiró a los adobes
del Barrio de Salsipuedes.

Dicen que por los tiempos
Chingueasumadre no había,
porque más fuertes los rinches,
con pistolones azules
medían en cuadros de a milla
lo que los Reyes de España con los ojos.
Yo no digo lo que sé sino lo que me dijeron
Y como buen Chicano, cuento.
No tengo letras en el coco
ni cronistas en la casa,
sólo rabia en las tripas
y fuerte sudor en los cuates.
Chavalo: más fuerte es el amor
que me mueve dentro,
que un siglo de motores.

En otros montones de años
hicieron casas los cabrones;
desdeñaron las llanuras
donde el viento fuerte barre mentiras;
creyendo que con líneas rectas
se arreglan las curvas del corazón.

Tú y yo, Ese,
risa secreta cantamos.

Déjenlos que se confundan
en casas blancas de papel,
laberintos amarillos de codicia.
Crecieron sauces en mi rancho
y *grass* verde en las ciudades.

Mineros de tierra y pico
con palas hacían soles a la vuelta novecientos;
gritos de amor como faroles.
Falsos cañones escupen
gringos que apuntan de lejos;
no alcanzan a ver los soles.

Mi casa creció en tribu,
suaves palabras de noche
donde cigarros relumbran
en la oscuridad que este mundo no nos roben.

Calladitos de alegría, uno por uno hemos quedado
en las afueras del pueblo
y poco a poco en cobijones,
de aliento y chile, mujeres y hombres.

¡Ay, que mi casa siempre es nueva!
¡Ay, que la polka me lleval
en una pata bailo solo
cuando se me sube a los faroles
un amigo fuerte y agua
que me acosquilla los tostones.

¡Ay, polvo de baile en rancho!
¡Ay, mis naranjas sexuales!
¡Ay, las prietitas de Tejas
van a piscar algodones!

ESPAÑA

Cante, cante, caballero,
España y cuerdas en los sonos.
Plata y bronce por el aire,
más claro que todos los soles.

Lleva mi voz de caballo
gotitas tiernas de mayo.

Los treintas me quitaron lo poco que tenía
pero en alma y corazón, en eso me los jodía.
Antes no tenía yo chingue,
aquí a medias te guacho, Bato,

garabato,
caresapo,
culoalto,
Chilesín,
Putín
hijo de Rintintín.

TRECE ESTRELLAS

Después en invierno celebran
 extraño rito de melancolía
 Y una vez más se los lleva el tren
 pero no lo ven;
 ritos hechos de hombre
 un día duran nomás
 Y en febrero una vez más
 fingen que el amor se hace
 de corazones de papel
 En mayo su Señora Madre tiene trono de pastel
 y desperdician
 la marihuana del mes:
 sin amor.

EPITALAMIO

Junio de mis amores,
 casado te veo,
 libro,
 de blanco y costoso,
 especie de mueca sinfónica de glorioso verano;
 Señor: métaselo

GRITO

Bastardo legítimo, trino,
 como pájaro Quetzalcóatl de mil colores,
 y como liebre a toda máquina por el camino.
 Mis padres no se casaron,

solo se amaron.

MI CUENTO

Paso ahora,
al agosto de grandes guerras,
que retiemblan mi pecho
y bailan mi corazón.
En un establo de Francia,
chante de piedra
y vino de botellas pardas,
celebré mi libertad.
Parche de hombros otro cuento,
fusiles,
pan.

Canto mi épica Chicana,
¡Chingueasumadre el mundo
y viva la llamada democracia americana!
En cien escaramuzas me metí donde mis primos no podían,
contra otros pobres que nada me debían.
Fiel, nuevo lustre en mi bronce,
me aventé en inglés.
Refinaba en gringo,
mucho *down*, mucho *up*
plenty of money,
I rode cars;
La banda de Miller me llevó,
en trombones, saxofones,
hasta los brazos de la primera
y dije: "Aquí chingo."

Desfilaban a toda madre por New York.
Yo y mi cuerpo, solos.

Esperando sepultura.
Me la negaron en Tejas.
El Aguila de las aceitunas y flechas
me enterró en sagrado.
Y yo y mi espíritu viejo
en la tierra de mis padres.

Mano, presta la lira,
tú con el bajo sexto.
No tengo himno de gloria
a ver que sacamos de esto.
Yo:

Soldado me fui, hombre vine.
Moreno por las alas de la pasión de mis padres,
prieto por el sol de los trabajos,
blanco por los ojos de la Virgen,
picante como el chile colorado.
Ella:

Se mece en las curvas de sus pasos.
Canta cuando habla.
En su morena piel
el sol fundió la miel,
y en sus ojos,
el calor de las abejas
que pausan bajo rosales.

Amigo: tengo todo.
De aquí pa' lante,
la uvas que me esperan en los campos
amigas de mi armonía,
con tiernos dedos acaricio hermanas.
Adan y Eva, dos en uno, en todos estos años
que llaman historia,
soy israelí de mis viñedos.
Guardo un cuchillo
p' al panzón con gafas
que mi espalda guacha,
mientras que yo callado,
trabajo,

y de reajo miro a mi muchacha.
Uvas de amor siento que me dejas;
prefiero hoy mi ser valioso
y jamás tener quejas.
Adiós, adiós, patrón
tengo un asunto,
Chicana el alma,
gringos los bolsillos,
carro al lado,
águila cuando brinco.
Ora sí, ¡Chingueasumadre! amigo.
En las paredes de mi barrio escribo,
a grandes letras,
que miren mis ojazos,
vivo, gozo, chingo,
quiero,
tomo,
y en las esquinas
de Juana un frajo.
No me alcanzan,
vuelo;
y por si acaso,
la placa con otras pistolas,
allá la dejo
y yo le digo que ya sabe,

mientras que me pinto con safos.

SERGIO ELIZONDO received his elementary and secondary education in Sinaloa, México, where he was born. He is Associate Professor of Spanish, Romance Languages, and Chairman of Mexican American Studies at California State College, San Bernardino. He has served as consultant of Mexican American affairs to governmental, media and educational agencies.

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“Capirocita Roja”

JESÚS MALDONADO

(el flaco)

Esta era una vez, hace muchos años, había una muchachita que se llamaba Capirocita Roja. La Capi vivía en la ciudad con su mamá y tenía una abuelita que vivía en el mero centro del bosque a unas once millas de la ciudad.

Un día la mamá de Capi le dijo que tenía que hacer un mandado.

— Capi, llévale esta canasta a tu abuelita porque está enferma.

— ¿Qué hay en la canastita, mami?

— Pues, hay una docena de tacos, media docena de enchiladas, otra media docena de chalupas y un jarro de frijoles. También le llevas unos discos: José Alfredo Jiménez, Javier Solís, Cuco Sánchez, Miguel Aceves Mejía y José Feliciano.

— ¡Ay qué bueno! Sé que le va a gustar José Feliciano.

— Sí, hijita. Tu pobre abuelita tiene muchas ganas de verte. Dice que nos mandó un “smoke signal” hace una semana, pero con tanto “air pollution” no recibimos el mensaje.

— ¡Ay, qué lástima! Estos gabachos nos van a matar con tanto “air pollution.”

La mamá de Capi le arregló la canasta y se la dio a la Capi. Le dijo que tuviera mucho cuidado con el lobo feroz porque era muy sinvergüenza y muy “fresh.”

La Capi salió a la esquina de la calle y tomó el bus. Al subirse le echó una peseta y se fue a sentar a mero atrás. Cuando llegó el bus a las afueras del bosque, la Capi se bajó porque este bus no iba al bosque, pues le tenía fuchi fuchi al lobo ya las otras bestias. La Capi le achó un nicle al “meter” y se apió. Iba ella muy contenta y de pronto se echó una cancioncita que va así:

— Yo soy una muchacha igual que todas, igual que todas,
igual que todas

Yo soy una muchacha igual que todas, igual que todas,
igual igual

Me gustan los amigos para ir a pasear

Me gusta ir a una fiesta para poder bailar

Me gusta que me digan piropos al pasar

Y si me gusta un chico me puedo enamorar

Yo soy una muchacha igual que todas, igual que todas,
igual que todas

Yo soy una muchacha igual que todas, igual que todas,
igual igual

Me gusta ir por la calle cantando una canción

También a veces tengo muy triste el corazón

Me gusta que la gente tenga felicidad

Y cuando tengo penas también sé llorar

Yo soy una muchacha igual que todas, igual que todas,
igual que todas

Yo soy una muchacha igual que todas, igual que todas,
igual igual

Venía esquiando y cantando, y ya había caminado unas dos millas cuando se le apareció un lobo.

— ¿Para dónde vas, Capi? — le preguntó el lobo en un “high-pitched voice.” (Este sinvergüenza sabía que era Capi porque la había visto bailar por TV en el Club A Go Go. Y también sabía que la Capi venía a visitar a su abuelita porque él había “tapped el telephone.” Este guy tenía mucho “odesity” como dicen los gringos; también tenía mucho huevo como dicen los mexicanos, pero en realidad no tenía porque era maricón).

La Capi, al ver al lobo feroz, se puso bien escamada, pero de pronto recobró su “composure” y dijo.

— Voy a ver a mi buelita porque está enferma.

— ¿Y qué traes en esa canastita?

— Traigo unos tacos, enchingadas, chalupas y unos discos de aquellas. Me puede decir ¿a cuál camino llega más pronto al sur?

— ¿Quieres que te acompañe?

— Váyase mucho a lachi, nomás dígame cuál es el camino.

— Pues es este cortito aquí — Y le apuntó a un camino. (Pero no era un camino corto; este iba a dar a que la madre de los burros y se thrdaba chingos para llegar a la casa de la abuelita).

La Capi se fue de volada porque no quería dilatarse. El lobo tomó el otro camino y comenzó a reirse.

A la distancia se miraba que venía alguien cantando una canción muy alegre y se oía de aquella:

— Hasta México ha llegado
La noticia muy alegre
Que Delano es diferente

Pues el pueblo ya está encontra
Los Rancheros y engreídos
Que acababan con la gente

Y como somos hermanos
 La alegría compartimos
 Pa' todos los campesinos

VIVA LA REVOLUCION
 VIVA NUESTRA ASOCIACION
 VIVA HUELGA EN GENERAL

El día ocho de septiembre
 En los campos de Delano
 Salieron los filipinos

Y después de dos semanas
 Para unirse a la batalla
 Salieron los mexicanos

Y juntos vamos cumpliendo
 Con la marcha de la historia
 Para liberar el pueblo

VIVA LA REVOLUCION
 VIVA NUESTRA ASOCIACION
 VIVA HUELGA EN GENERAL

VIVA LA HUELGA EN EL FIL
 VIVA LA CAUSA EN LA HISTORIA
 LA RAZA LLENA DE GLORIA
 LA VICTORIA VA CUMPLIR

Era un vato que traiba unos pantalones Kakis, unos calcos tangerines, la camisa desabrochada con el cuello alzado y unos sunglasses. Se miraba bien cool el vato. Cuando se encontró con el maricón le dijo:

— ¡Queúbole, ese vato! ¿Pa' dónde se la tira, ese?

— Hola, Chulo — dijo el maricón — voy a ver a la abuelita de Capi. Le lleva una canastita de frutas y unos taquitos de frijoles refritos. Y a mí me encantan los taquitos de frijoles.

— ¿Y cuántos tacos trae la masota esa? — preguntó el Chuco.

— Pues trae unas dos o tres docenas. Con eso tengo yo.

— Oye vato, a mi también me caen los tacos de frijolitos y yo tengo mucha hambre. ¿Qué dices si vamos mita y mita?

— ¡Qué mita y mita ni que tu abuela! Yo la vide primero.

— Goloso, te voy a dar en toda la . . . Te voy a patalear el tanque bien pataleado.

El Chuco sacó su filero y le dijo al maricón que se aventara. El maricón no sabía que hacer. No traiba nada, nomás su bolsa. El

Chuco le cortó una oreja y luego se armó un lío tremendo. ¡Levantaron una polvareda de los diablos! No se sabía quien era cual. Saltaron zapatos por aquí, fondos por allá y sangre por 'onde quiera.

Entonces uno de los lobos se levantó, se sacudió y siguió en su caminito. De pronto se encontró con otro lobo. Era grandotote, con "muscles" por onde quiera y parecía. "He-Man," un "Mister America." Traiba unos zapatos "Wing-Tips," una corbata anchota y la cara era de color harina. El tercer lobo le preguntó al Chuco.

— Say, man where you going?

— ¿Qué pasotes? — le contestó.

— Where you headed, man?

— Oh, ¿que pa dónde me la tiro? Al cantón de la abuelita de la Capi, ese. Ella le lleva unos taquitos de frijoles a la vieja.

— That sounds good, man. I sure like those tortilas.

— Buenos ese, tengo que pañar descuento.

— Cool it, cat!

— ¡Qué cool it ni que nada! — dijo el Chuco — Ya me voy, ese.

— Don't get tough with me, man.

— Voy, voy, y tú qué te crees, ¿la mamá de Tarzan o qué?

— Them's fighting words.

El gringo le quiso aventar un derechazo al Chuco pero el vato se lo echó al plato en un dos por tres. El gringo con todos sus "muscles" y sus "Wing Tips" le vino guango al Chuco. Lo hizo garras y hasta barrió el suelo con él.

El Chuco se sacudió y le puso. Llegó muy de volada a la casa de la abuelita. Al llegar al cantón tocó la puerta.

— Tan, tan.

— ¿Quién es? — preguntó la abuelita.

— Soy yo, buelita — dijo el lobo imitando la voz de la Capi.

— Pásale hijita, pásale. ¿Me trjuiste mis taquitos y mis discos?

El lobo, tan pronto como entró, se le echó en cima a la abuelita y se la comió de una mordida . . . ¡aaahhhuuuuuuuum! Estaba un poquito talluda la viejita, pero no le importaba al lobo porque traiba un hambre de la chingada. Entonces éste fue al "closet" y sacó una bata de la difunta y se la puso. También cogió una gorrita y se la puso. Después se echó en la cama y se cubrió con las cobijas hasta la "chin." Estaba tan largo y tan flaco que se le salían las patotas y le colgaban de la cama.

Dos horas más tarde viene la Capi llegando a la casa de la abuelita. La pobre venía con la lengua en rastra y los calcos todos rotos, y venía bien cansada. Al llegar a la casa tocó la puerta.

— Tan tan tan.

Allá adentro se la pararon las orejitas al lobo y dijo.

— Adela . . . — y se “cleared la voice” el lobo y dijo.

— Adelante. ¿Eres tú, Capirocita?

— Sí, buelita. — dijo la Capi.

— Pásale, que está abierta la puerta, hijita.

La Capi entró y cerró la puerta.

— Ven siéntate aquí a mi lado. — le dijo el lobo.

— ¿Cómo está buelita?

— Estoy bien, hijita. ¿Qué me trujiste?

— Pues, le truje unos taquitos, enchingadas, tortillas y frutas.

— ¡Ay, qué bueno, hijita! Dame la canastita pa’ cá. Traigo mucha hambre.

La abuelita, o más bien dicho el lobo, empezó a comerse los tacos riquísimos y sabrosotes.

La Capi notó los ojos de la abuelita y le dijo. — Buelita, ¡qué ojos tan más colorados y tan más grandotes tienes!

— Para verte mejor, hijita. — contestó el lobo. Entonces la Capi la dijo cuando vio las pesuñas. — Buelita, ¡qué patas tan más grandototas.

— ¡Ay, hijita! — dijo el lobo — Es que andaba en el chancle el viernes y me bailé tantas polquitas que se me hincharon los pies.

— Buelita, ¡qué orejas tan más grandotas y qué puntudas!

— ¡Ay, hijita! — dijo el lobo — Es que de tanto hablar en el “telephone” con las comadres se me hincharon. Tenía tantas ganas de comadrear esta semana.

— Buelita, ¡qué dientes tan más grandes y tan más filudos!

— ¡Pa’ comerte mejor! — le gritó el lobo.

Se quitó las sábanas y se le echó en cima a la Capi y se la comió de una mordidita . . . aahuuuum!

Y colorín colorado

El cuento está acabado

El que no se levante

Se queda pegado.

JESUS MARIA MALDONADO was born September 18, 1944, in Mission, Texas. He received his B.A. in Spanish from Southwest Texas State College in San Marcos, in 1969, and is currently working on an M.A. in Spanish at the University of Washington, Seattle, Wash.

Toward a True Chicano Bibliography

Mexican-American Newspapers: 1848 - 1942

HERMINIO RÍOS

LUPE CASTILLO

Introduction

For Mexican-Americans the vast period from 1848 to 1965 is a period of non-history. It is a period of non-history *not* because historical events did not take place. It is a period of non-history because the historical events of importance to Mexican-Americans were not recorded, commented upon, and subsequently incorporated into history books by those who recorded historical events.

This bibliography will begin to demonstrate that not only was the Mexican-American historically present, but that *he also left written records of his presence*. It is a bibliography of Mexican-American newspapers, and, as such, the newspapers represent a significant key to the history of Mexican-Americans in all its major aspects — political, economic, social, and artistic. Newspapers, of course, provide us with the daily reflection of events to which prophetic hindsight can be added to provide us further with a needed horizontal and vertical perspective of historical events.

Although this bibliography deals only with the period from 1848 to 1942, it is fairly certain that continued investigations will produce an additional number of bibliographic entries beyond the 193 that are listed here for that period.

Even if nothing more than the publication of this Mexican-American newspaper bibliography is forthcoming, it will have served a major purpose — for, in itself, it is a damning blow to those myopic historians who have led some to believe that the Mexican-American had no history, or to believe what history he has had was not recorded by Mexican-Americans themselves.

MEXICAN-AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS

1848-1942

NOTE: The first date listed indicates the earliest known year of publication. The second date indicates the latest known year of publication. A question mark indicates that the termination date of publication is unknown.

ARIZONA

PHOENIX

- | | |
|---|-------------|
| 1. El Demócrata (<i>weekly</i>) | 1898-1900-? |
| 2. El Fronterizo (<i>weekly</i>) | 1934-? |
| 3. El Mensajero (<i>weekly</i>) | 1936-1941-? |
| 4. El Observador Mexicano (<i>weekly</i>) | 1894-1898-? |
| 5. El Ocasional (<i>weekly</i>) | 1897-1911-? |
| 6. El Progreso del Valle (<i>weekly</i>) | 1887-? |

NOGALES

- | | |
|---------------------------------|-------------|
| 1. El Monitor (<i>weekly</i>) | 1886-1895-? |
|---------------------------------|-------------|

TUCSON

- | | |
|--|-------------|
| 1. La Alianza (<i>weekly</i>) | 1900-1906-? |
| 2. La Colonia Mexicana (<i>weekly</i>) | 1883-1886-? |
| 3. Las Dos Repúblicas (<i>weekly</i>) | 1877-1879-? |
| 4. El Fronterizo (<i>weekly</i>) | 1878-1929-? |
| 5. El Imparcial | 1931-? |
| 6. El Iris | 1886-? |
| 7. El Mensajero (<i>weekly</i>) | 1900-1933-? |
| 8. La Sonora (<i>weekly</i>) | 1879-? |
| 9. El Trueno (<i>weekly</i>) | 1895-1896-? |
| 10. El Tucsonense (<i>weekly, bi-weekly</i>) | 1915-1934-? |

CALIFORNIA

AZUSA

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| 1. Azusa Valley News (<i>weekly</i>) | 1885-1895-? |
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LOS ANGELES

1. El Aguacero (*weekly*) 1878-?
2. El Amigo del Pueblo (*weekly*) 1861-?
3. El Clamor Público (*weekly*) 1855-1859-?
4. La Crónica (*semi-weekly, weekly*) 1872-1892-?
5. El Demócrata (*semi-weekly*) 1882-?
6. Las Dos Repúblicas (*weekly*) 1892-1898-?
7. El Eco De La Patria (*weekly*) 1878-?
8. El Eco De México 1924-?
9. El Eco Mexicano (*daily*) 1885-?
10. La Fe a la Democracia (*semi-weekly*) 1884-?
11. La Ganta de los Estados Unidos
(*weekly, monthly*) 1918-1924-?
12. El Herald de México (*semi-weekly, daily*) 1915-1929-?
13. El Joven (*semi-weekly*) 1877-1878
14. Los Angeles Daily Star
(*weekly, daily, English-Spanish*) 1851-1860
15. El Monitor (*weekly*) 1898-?
16. La Opinión (*daily*) 1926-1932-continuing
17. La Prensa (*weekly*) 1912-1923-?
18. La Reforma (*semi-weekly*) 1877-1878-?
19. Revista Hispano-Americano (*weekly*) 1889-1894
20. Revista Latino-Americana (*weekly*) 1892-1893-?

SAN BERNARDINO

1. El Sol de San Bernardino 1926-1931

SAN DIEGO

1. El Hispano Americano (*twice weekly, daily*) 1914-1931-?

SAN FRANCISCO

1. Las Américas 1914-1936-continuing
2. Anglo-Spanish Merchant (*semi-monthly*) 1880-1883
3. La Correspondencia (*weekly*) 1885-1887
4. La Cronista (*weekly*) 1884-1885-?
5. La Crónica (*twice weekly*) 1854-1855-?
6. El Eco del Pacifico (*daily*) 1852-1857-?
7. Hispano América (*weekly, semi-weekly*) 1914-1934-?
8. El Imparcial (*weekly*) 1926-1934-?
9. Lucha Obrera (*weekly*) 1933-1935-?
10. El Nuevo Mundo (*semi-weekly*) 1864-1867-?
11. La Prensa Mexicana 1868-?
12. El Progreso 1871-?
13. La República (*weekly*) 1879-1889-?
14. La Sociedad (*semi-weekly, weekly*) 1869-1888-?

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| 15. El Tecolote (<i>daily</i>) | 1875-1879-? |
| 16. El Tiempo (<i>weekly</i>) | 1868-1869-? |
| 17. La Voz de México (<i>semi-weekly</i>) | 1864-1866-? |
| 18. La Voz del Nuevo Mundo | 1867-1883-? |

SANTA BARBARA

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|-----------------------------------|-------------|
| 1. La Gaceta (<i>weekly</i>) | 1880-1881-? |
| 2. El Barbareño (<i>weekly</i>) | 1895-1897-? |

COLORADO

ANTONITO

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|--------------------------------|-------------|
| 1. La Aurora (<i>weekly</i>) | 1911-1924-? |
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AUSONIA

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| 1. El Explorador (<i>weekly</i>) | 1874-1877-? |
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NEW MEXICO

ALBUQUERQUE

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|---|-------------|
| 1. La Bandera Americana (<i>weekly</i>) | 1903-1929-? |
| 2. El Combate | 1892-? |
| 3. Defensor del Pueblo | 1891-? |
| 4. La Estrella Mexicana (<i>weekly</i>) | 1890-? |
| 5. La Hormiga de Oro | 1903-? |
| 6. El Independiente (<i>weekly</i>) | 1894-1935-? |
| 7. El Indito | 1900-? |
| 8. Nuevo Mundo (<i>weekly</i>) | 1897-1900-? |
| 9. People's News (<i>weekly</i>) | 1935-? |
| 10. El Pueblo | 1900-? |
| 11. La Revista de Albuquerque (<i>weekly</i>) | 1881-? |
| 12. La Unión de Albuquerque (<i>weekly</i>) | 1893-? |

BELEN

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| 1. Hispano-Americano (<i>weekly</i>) | 1911-1925-? |
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CLAYTON

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| 1. Unión del Pueblo (<i>weekly</i>) | 1913-1922 |
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ESPAÑOLA

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| 1. El Palito (<i>weekly</i>) | 1925-1927 |
| 2. La Voz del Río Grande (<i>weekly</i>) | 1909-1928-? |

LAS CRUCES

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|---|--------|
| 1. Borderer (<i>weekly</i>) | 1871-? |
| 2. Eco del Río Grande (<i>weekly</i>) | 1876-? |

3. Eco del Siglo (*weekly*) 1882-?
4. Eco del Valle (*weekly*) 1905-1916-?
5. La Empresa (*weekly*) 1896-1897-?
6. La Estrella (*weekly*) 1911-1931
7. La Flor del Valle (*weekly*) 1894-?
8. El Fronterizo (*weekly*) 1874-1877-?
9. La Gaceta Popular 1919-(?)
10. El Labrador (*weekly*) 1896-1942
11. El Observador Fronterizo (*weekly*) 1888-?
12. El Promotor Escolar (*weekly*) 1891-?
13. El Tiempo (*weekly*) 1882-1913-?
14. La Verdad (*weekly*) 1890-?

LAS VEGAS

1. Anunciador de Nuevo México (*weekly*) ?
2. La Cachiparra (*weekly*) 1888-?
3. La Gaceta 1873-1879-?
4. El Hispano Americano (*weekly*) 1892-?
5. El Independiente (*weekly*) 1894-1907-?
6. Revista Católica 1894-1912
7. San Miguel County Star (*weekly*) 1928-1940
8. El Sol de Mayo 1882-1892-?
9. La Voz del Pueblo (*daily*) 1889-1925

MALDONADO

1. La Estrella (*weekly*) 1897-?

MORA

1. La Crónica de Mora (*weekly*) 1889-?
2. El Demócrata de Mora (*weekly*) 1888-1889-?
3. El Mosquito (*weekly*) 1891-?

ROY

1. Roy Record 1905-1929-?

SANTA FE

1. Aurora 1884-?
2. El Boletín Popular (*weekly*) 1872-1910
3. El Clarín Mejicano (*weekly*) 1873-?
4. El Gato (*weekly*) 1894-?
5. El Guía de Santa Fe (*weekly*) 1886-?
6. El Nuevo Mexicano (*weekly*) 1862-1932-?
7. Registro de Nuevo México (*weekly*) 1916-?
8. La Verdad (*weekly*) 1842-1845-?
9. La Voz del Pueblo 1888-?
10. La Voz Pública 1932-1942-continuing

SANTA ROSA

1. La Nueva Estrella 1910-?
2. El Sol 1911-1913-?
3. La Voz Pública (*weekly*) 1906-1922

SOCORRO

1. El Combate (*weekly*) 1898-?
2. El Defensor del Pueblo (*weekly*) 1904-1935-?
3. La Estrella de Nuevo México (*weekly*) 1896-?
4. La Golondrina (*weekly*) 1898-?
5. El Hispano Americano 1891-?
6. El Progreso (*weekly*) 1887-?
7. El Republicano 1901-?

SOLOMONVILLE

1. La Opinión Pública (*weekly*) 1896-?

SPRINGER

1. El Estandarte de Springer (*weekly*) 1889-1894

TAOS

1. Heraldo de Taos (*weekly*) 1886-?
2. El Heraldo (*weekly*) 1884-1889
3. El Heraldo Taoseño (*weekly*) 1884-1889-?
4. Revista de Taos 1904-?
5. Revista Popular 1900-1920-?
6. El Taoseño 1887-?

TIERRA AMARILLA

1. Nuevo Estado (*weekly*) 1901-1925
2. La Opinión de Río Arriba 1942-?

WAGON MOUND

1. El Combate (*weekly*) 1900-1920
2. La Flecha (*weekly*) 1886-?

TEXAS

BROWNSVILLE

1. La Bandera (*weekly*) 1848-1863-?
2. Boletín Extraordinario 1865-?
3. Correo del Río Grande (*daily*) 1866-?
4. El Cronista del Valle (*weekly*) 1917-1930-?
5. El Demócrata (*semi-weekly*) 1875-1880-?
6. El Heraldo de Brownsville 1935-1940
7. El Horizonte 1879-1880-?
8. El Mundo (*semi-weekly*) 1885-1887-?
9. El Republicano (*semi-weekly*) 1865-1867-?
10. Río Bravo 1851-?
11. El Zaragoza (*weekly*) 1865-?

CARRIZO SPRINGS

1. La Javelina 1895-1909

CORPUS CHRISTI

1. El Paladín (*weekly*) 1925-1935-?

EDINBURG

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|----------------------------------|-------------|
| 1. El Defensor (<i>weekly</i>) | 1930-1931-? |
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EL PASO

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| 1. El Azote | 1922-1923-? |
| 2. El Ciudadano | 1892-? |
| 3. El Clarín del Norte (<i>weekly</i>) | 1905-? |
| 4. El Continental | 1934-1938-? |
| 5. El Correo del Bravo (<i>daily</i>) | 1913-? |
| 6. El Defensor (<i>weekly</i>) | 1894-1895-? |
| 7. La Democracia | 1906-? |
| 8. El Día (<i>daily</i>) | 1914-? |
| 9. Las Dos Américas (<i>weekly</i>) | 1898-? |
| 10. El Eco Fronterizo (<i>weekly</i>) | 1896-? |
| 11. El Hispano Americano (<i>daily</i>) | 1893-? |
| 12. El Independiente | 1896-? |
| 13. La Justicia (<i>weekly</i>) | 1893-? |
| 14. El Latino-Americano (<i>semi-weekly</i>) | 1891-? |
| 15. El Monitor (<i>weekly</i>) | 1897-1900-? |
| 16. Las Noticias (<i>weekly</i>) | 1899-? |
| 17. El Observador Fronterizo (<i>weekly</i>) | 1886-? |
| 18. La Opinión Pública (<i>weekly</i>) | 1895-? |
| 19. El Paso del Norte (<i>daily</i>) | 1904-1918-? |
| 20. La Patria (<i>daily</i>) | 1919-1924-? |
| 21. El Progresista (<i>weekly</i>) | 1901-? |
| 22. La República (<i>daily</i>) | 1917-1929-? |
| 23. Revista Católica | 1919-? |
| 24. El Zurriago | 1892-? |

HOUSTON

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| 1. El Tecolote (<i>weekly, twice weekly</i>) | 1924-1932-? |
| 2. La Tribuna (<i>daily</i>) | 1924-? |

LAREDO

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|---|-------------|
| 1. El Boletín Fronterizo Comercial (<i>daily</i>) | 1930-? |
| 2. La Colonia Mexicana (<i>semi-weekly</i>) | 1886-1891-? |
| 3. La Crónica | 1910-? |
| 4. El Demócrata Fronterizo (<i>weekly, daily</i>) | 1891-1920-? |
| 5. Evolución | 1917-1920-? |
| 6. El Mundo (<i>weekly</i>) | 1888-1891-? |

SAN ANTONIO

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|---|-----------|
| 1. El Bejareño (<i>weekly</i>) | 1855-? |
| 2. El Correo Mexicano (<i>weekly</i>) | 1895-? |
| 3. La Epoca (<i>weekly</i>) | 1916-1931 |

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| 4. El Monitor (<i>twice weekly</i>) | 1888-? |
| 5. La Prensa (<i>daily</i>) | 1913-1942-continuing |
| 6. El Regidor (<i>bi-monthly</i>) | 1888-1916-? |
| 7. La Rosa (<i>daily</i>) | 1915-1916-? |
| 8. El Tiempo (<i>weekly</i>) | 1878-? |

SAN DIEGO

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| 1. El Horizonte (<i>semi-weekly</i>) | 1878-1882-? |
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NOTE: Mr. Herminio Ríos and Miss Lupe Castillo are continuing their work with Mexican-American newspapers, and they are now working on the period from 1937 to 1970. This is an enormous task toward which this bibliography is a beginning. If the reader knows of any Mexican-American newspapers not included here for 1848 to 1942, or of any for the period 1943 to 1970, please communicate with Mr. Herminio Ríos, c/o Quinto Sol Publications, P.O. Box 9275, Berkeley, California 94709. — *The Editors*

HERMINIO RÍOS was born in Mexico. He has resided and worked in Fresno, and other California cities. His experience has been very diverse, ranging from teaching in public schools to co-editor of *Coraje*, the Tucson Chicano newspaper, to directing Chicano theatre productions to working in Huelga activities. Mr. Ríos is a doctoral candidate in comparative literature at the University of California, Berkeley. This work is part of a series being completed by Mr. Ríos and Miss Castillo at *The Center for Advanced Mexican-American Social Research* in Berkeley, California.

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JOSEPH A. CLARK Y MORENO

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Book Review

VIVA CHICANO, by Frank Bonham. E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc. 179 pgs. \$4.50 hardbound.

Reviewed by NICK C. VACA

It is a pity that at a time when serious literature on the Chicano is so wanting that Frank Bonham should choose to title his latest work *Viva Chicano*: for there is really very little about it that is Chicano. This remains true in spite of the fact that the protagonist, Joaquin "Keeny" Duran, along with numerous other characters, have Chicano names, that the book contains a sprinkling of Spanish words and phrases with *bato loco* being decidedly over used, that it is set in a *barrio* (Dogtown) in Los Angeles, and that Emiliano Zapata appears as a latter day Charlie McCarthy to Joaquin's rational alter-ego. What *Viva Chicano* really is, is an impassioned plea for youth that has been engendered probably by Bonham's welfare interest for wayward youths of any race. If Joaquin were substituted by a protagonist of any other color or race the essential quality of the book would not have been altered.

It is writing such as this that leads many Chicanos to speculate whether in fact an Anglo can accurately portray the Chicano experience. Instead of feeling infused with the symbolic qualities of Chicanismo or of being exposed to those sometimes imperceptible clues that are distinctively Chicano, the reader comes away from this book with a feeling of having been entertained to a simplistic and naive narrative of just what caused Joaquin to go wrong, and what eventually caused him to go right.

To the more aware Chicano reader, Bonham's account of what caused Joaquin to run afoul of the law will be infuriating. For Bonham neatly divides Joaquin's existence into two worlds — the good and the evil. And as luck would have it and Bonham write it, all evil resides within the geographic boundaries of Dogtown and the psychological boundaries of Joaquin's family. Thus all evil resides within Chicanos. From the beginning of the book we are told that were it not for Joaquin's promiscuous mother and her incessant screaming that has driven him to leave home more than once, all would be cool. The same is to be said of Joaquin's club, The Aztecs (a pubescent social club that pretends at being a fighting gang) whose constant popping of "reds" and drinking wine (Ripple or Red Mountain, no doubt) does nothing to help steer Joaquin along the yellow brick road to becoming a good citizen. However, on the side

of "goodness" we have the Anglos. There is Joaquin's (Bonham insists on calling him Keeny) parole officer, Mr. Baker, whose paternal understanding is a constant source of hope for Joaquin. We also have Rosie and Peggy, two Anglo women who run homes for wayward youths and whose compassion and understanding sustain Joaquin through various parts of his ordeal to straighten himself out with the police. Lastly we have the stolen (sic) cardboard image of Emiliano Zapata, an image that we soon discover is capable of speaking. Well, not really speaking, for Zapata's mysticism is later "clarified" by Mr. Baker who explains that Zapata's voice is actually Joaquin's alter ego expressing itself. But for a while, at least, Joaquin really believes that Zapata speaks and that this revolutionary of years gone by is really reincarnated in that stolen (sic) cardboard image. However, the advice that comes from the mouth of Zapata is more reminiscent of a Father Flanagan than of a Mexican revolutionary. Zapata thus advises Joaquin, "You should have gone with the police that night and let your P.O. help you." Then, again, "Well, if that's it why not turn yourself in and start doing your time."

What will infuriate not only the aware Chicano, but other readers as well is that Bonham never once writes of those factors that are external to Dogtown and Joaquin's family as being causes for the condition in which not only Joaquin finds himself but all of Dogtown. For this reason there is no mention of unfair police practices toward Chicano youths, institutional prejudice against Chicanos, and the economic factors that would lead a Joaquin to a world of delinquency. We are thus left to believe that if Joaquin left his mother and Dogtown (thereby rejecting his whole existence as a Chicano) to live in Peggy's home for wayward youths, then he would be all right. And, indeed, this is the way the book ends.

It is such superficial works as this by Frank Bonham that acidly point to the absolute necessity for literature on Chicanos by Chicanos.

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Book Review

THE MEXICAN-AMERICANS: AN AWAKENING MINORITY.
Edited by Manuel P. Servín. Glencoe Press, Beverly Hills, Calif.,
1970. viii + 235 pp.

Reviewed by MARIO T. GARCIA

There is no question but that in studies of Mexicans in the United States the most neglected field is history. There are numerous and growing sociological, anthropological, psychological, etc., studies of the Chicano, but little has been done by historians to examine the experience of the Mexican in the Southwest, especially after the Anglo conquest of 1848. This must be corrected, for it has been the lack of a written history that has allowed insensitive social scientists and others to accuse the Chicano of being ahistorical — of possessing no history, and who will not have one until he enters the “promised land” of assimilation.

One can trace the long list of histories of the Southwest and find little mention of the history of the Mexican and of his contributions. Look, for example, at some of the works of J. Frank Dobie, such as *A Vaquero of the Brush Country*, and see only passing references to Mexicans. This neglect is not surprising, for it is an accepted axiom that the victors always write history, and certainly this has proven to be more than true in the Southwest. There is no question, then, that the history of this section of the country must be corrected — some would say re-written — to put into proper focus the history of the Mexican people. Until this is done, young Anglo and Chicano students in a state like Texas will continue to commence their life-long animosity toward one another when they read, as early as the fourth grade, that the “good guys” in Texas history have always been the “John Wayne” types; whereas, the “bad guys” have always been the sneaky Mexican “greasers.”

Realizing, no doubt, the inadequacies in the histories of the Southwest, Professor Manuel P. Servín of the University of Southern California has compiled an anthology which is intended to trace the history of the Chicano from his Indian roots to the present-day protest movements. This chronological order is marred, however, by the neglect of the period 1848 to 1900, leaving a large gap — historically speaking — in the book. The compilation includes 16 articles, among which are excerpts from well-known works such as Carey McWilliams' *North From Mexico* and Emory Bogardus' *The Mexican in the United States*.

The most interesting articles, which have not previously been widely published, are "The Sleepy Lagoon Case and the Grand Jury Investigation" and "The Zoot Suit Riots" by Robin F. Scott, "The 1943 Zoot Suit Riots: Brief Episode in a Long Conflict" by Patricia Adler, and "The Development of Mexican-American Organizations" by Kaye Briegel. As one can see there is much attention given to the gang movement among Chicanos during World War II; indeed, perhaps too much attention is given to this topic at the expense of others. A major topical omission, certainly, is the Mexican labor movement in the Southwest of the 1920's and 1930's. Moreover, one wonders how Servín could have omitted any excerpts from the writings of Ernesto Galarza, the dean of Mexican intellectuals in the United States. Further, this reviewer would have liked to have seen some attention to the role of the Chicano in American society during the 1950's.

The article which, undoubtedly, will come under harsh criticism by Chicanos is the one by Servín himself. Servín's article, "The Post-World War II Mexican-Americans, 1925-1965: A Non-Achieving Minority," on the whole, is not understanding of Chicanos. In writing of the Mexican experience from 1925 to 1965 Servín appears to be saying that the major cause for the Mexican being a non-achiever is the Mexican himself — that he is his own worst enemy. Servín is especially harsh toward the Mexican record after World War II. Arriving at the fantastic conclusion that the Chicano after the war had finally "become an American," Servín criticizes those who refused to take advantage of the opportunities they now had ("He [the Mexican] could also swim in the same pools and eat in the same restaurants with North Americans" — see page 155). One wonders what Servín considers Chicanos to be — Central or South Americans? Or perhaps Españoles?

Among his objects of criticism are the Pachucos or Zoot-Suiters, who he believes, "reacted in a most un-Mexican-like manner," for they "undid," according to Servín, "the hard-lived reputation of the pre-war Mexican (see page 155)." This statement is reminiscent of what older Mexican-Americans have always told their children, that if they go out and demonstrate they will give Mexicans a bad name. Little do they realize that Mexicans in the United States have always had a bad name where Anglos are concerned, regardless of whether they demonstrate or not!

Servín goes on to make other remarks about the low educational record of Chicanos, of their large numbers in penal institutions, of their lack of a professional class, of their political failures, etc. Through this list of failures, Servín seems to conclude that the reasons for such are to be found at the Mexican's doorstep. He gives little thought to the possibility that the reasons for these failures may have a lot to do with Anglo suppression of the Chicano, of imposing upon him a condition of subordination! Instead, Servín puts the blame on the Mexicans themselves, and he then argues that there is truth to what a certain Hans Zinsser once wrote that "give the Mexicans a good home diet, cheaper beer, and tons of soap and flea power (sic?) and we shall have a great, tranquil, and friendly neighbor (see page 160).

I do not quarrel with Servín's right to make his own interpretations of the Mexican population in the United States, but what I would like to emphasize is that Servín, a Chicano himself, (?) is unfortunately making the same assertions and generalizations that Anglo writers have made about Chicanos year after year, and which have had the effect of convincing the community at large that little can be expected from Mexicans; thereby, reinforcing the stereotype of the Mexican as a person who sleeps all day or else, going to the other extreme, portraying him as a "Frito Bandito" type.

Having said all this, let me conclude by stating that what Servín attempts to do in his anthology is admirable, for we need more studies about the historical role of the Chicano. And, in total, Servín's work is good and will be helpful. My major criticism is directed toward Servín's own interpretation of the Mexican. He writes that the Mexican in this country is a mystifying minority group (page 144), and, it would appear to me, that Servín is among the most mystified of all.

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The Dialogue of Cuco Rocha

A Play by FRANCISCO O. BURRUEL

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This is a fictitious play. All characters are make-believe and any similarity or resemblance to persons known or unknown, living or dead, is purely coincidental.

THE CHARACTERS
CUCO ROCHA (*cucaracha*)
CAPTAIN WHITE
GUARD ONE
GUARD TWO

SCENE ONE

The Time: 1970

The Place: A prison cell

Cell door stage center. A wooden table directly in front of the entrance. On top of the table is an unfinished chess game. At each end of the table two small stools. Stage left and against wall is a bunk. Stage right and on the right wall is a Bible, a book on jurisprudence, and legal papers.

The cell is dimly lit. The walls are gray and prison disinfectant permeates the air. It should be pungent and strong. Light comes from a small bulb in the center of the cell. Cuco Rocha is seated on the bunk as the curtain rises. He has a dark complexion with thick shiny black hair and a thick heavy mustache. He is about thirty-five years old and is dressed in rumpled street clothes.

As the curtain rises, we hear a guitar strumming the first two bars of Adelita and the clanging of prison doors. Captain White appears outside the cell door and stands there watching the prisoner. He wears an immaculate police uniform and carries a walking stick. A guard appears and lets the captain into the cell. Cuco is reading . . . He puts down the book . . . looks at the captain, and smiles.

CAP: I came to finish the chess game.

CUCO: (*Staring at the Captain*). You mean . . . you came to see me off to prison.

CAP: Yes . . . (*Indifferently*) . . . I suppose I have come to see you off . . . time is getting close.

CUCO: What's the matter . . . conscience?

CAP: (*Looks at Cuco*). Of course not.

CUCO: (*Shrugs his shoulders*). It's simple . . . law is law.

CAP: (*Slams his stick into the palm of his hand nervously as he walks around*). Law has always been my way of life.

CUCO: (*Smiles*). Couldn't tell it by looking at you.

CAP: (*Stops and turns to look at Cuco*). I think . . . (*Says the next line very deliberately*) . . . we have failed to understand one another . . . (*Leaves it hanging.*)

CUCO: (*Gets up from the bunk*). You think you've made a mistake?

CAP: (*Stops and sits at the chess table*). You're a threat to this country.

CUCO: (*Gently*). No Capitán . . . I'm a threat to human reason.

CAP: (*Looks away in disgust*). Aw c'mon . . . don't start that again . . . not tonight.

CUCO: (*Squints his eyes with amazement*). Such arrogance! How lonely and impersonal . . . like a god . . . a god who has forgotten the basics of life and his own creation.

CAP: (*Slams the stick on the table*). I demand respect!

CUCO: (*Yells back*). Yes you do don't you? You've put so much into being a Captain and what it stands for . . . (*A little louder*) . . . you've forgotten what it's like to be a human being. (*Walks over to the table stage right. The Captain stands slamming his stick into the palm of his hand and looking at Cuco with his back to him*). How can I respect the uniform when it has overcome the human being? *The Captain rushes to Cuco to strike him.*

CUCO: (*Still with his back to the Captain*). That's right, Captain . . . (*Looks over his shoulder*) . . . live up to what you are. (*Turns around and faces the Captain*). PUERCO! PIG! Is that what you want to hear! (*Cuco spits on the floor and walks away slowly*).

CAP: (*Comes to himself and starts brushing his uniform with his hands*). I'll not dirty my hands with the likes of you.

CUCO: You blew it man . . . is that what security has done for you?

CAP: Damn you . . . and all you stand for!

CUCO: Why . . . because you don't qualify anymore? (*Shakes his head*). It's not your fault.

CAP: "Forgive them father . . . for they know not what they do." Is that it? (*Starts laughing*).

CUCO: (*Still shaking his head*). You've even forgotten the God mother taught you all about.

The Captain turns his back and stands at parade rest with the stick behind his back. He turns abruptly and slams his walking stick on the table.

CAP: What the hell do you want from us!

CUCO: You're a hard man to talk to . . . you're always slamming your stick into something or someone.

CAP: ANSWER ME!

CUCO: Of course Señor Capitán . . . (*Bows low*).

CAP: Quit calling me Capeetan!

CUCO: (*Sarcastically*). But that's what you are Señor . . .

CAP: I know who I am!

CUCO: Do you?

CAP: (*Stares out the window for a few moments then turns*). I'm very proud of my country, Rocha . . . try to understand that.

CUCO: (*Nods his head*). So am I.

CAP: (*Doesn't seem to hear Cuco*). It's a country with freedom. When I hear the National Anthem . . . it . . . it gives me goose bumps all over. (*Seems to shiver*). You should understand that . . . you were a Marine.

CUCO: (*Sits down at the chess table*). I believed in what I was doing.

CAP: And now you don't.

CUCO: Yes I do . . . but in a different way. It's hard to put into words . . . so fantastic . . . suddenly realizing what we can do in the community. Better jobs . . . better schools . . . voting. It's so magnificent it makes me want to shout it from the mountaintops. We want to compete.

CAP: (*Grunts*). Then tell me about it.

CUCO: You have to understand people, Captain White . . . you have to understand the Chicano here in California as well as in the Southwest.

CAP: I see.

CUCO: (*Slams his fist onto the table*). No you don't see. (*Turns away frustrated*.) You're always complaining about the Chicano nodding his head and saying he understands when he doesn't. Well . . . *that's what you're doing now* . . . NODDING YOUR DAMNED HEAD! (*Gets up from the table*.) You have to understand the silence of the desert . . . silence . . . (*Uses his hands to explain*) . . . and back-breaking field work. Tomatoes . . . lettuce . . . broccoli . . . always the same damn jobs. You have to understand the vicious cycle of agriculture . . . of . . . of . . . harvest time, cold mornings. Of seeing mothers bring their children to the field because there isn't a decent care center they can take them to. (*In a humble tone*.) Sure . . . they've always lived off the land . . . but . . . because . . . because they appreciated what they had. (*Gestures with his hands*.) Now they're ready for greater things . . . they have not forgotten the basics of living . . . something you forgot a long time ago.

CAP: Words . . . all words.

CUCO: Why? Because you don't believe it can happen to them?

CAP: Because they haven't got the education . . . the know-how to be leaders.

CUCO: Time . . . give us time . . . it will come just like it came for you . . . just like it comes for all nations and people.

CAP: It's a vision Rocha . . . don't you see! It's a vision only in your eyes!

CUCO: (*Very serious*). It's the continuity of the human race . . . *history demands it*.

CAP: BAH!

CUCO: You've never paid any attention to the suggestive power of words have you? You've never understood the effect it has on young minds in the schools and the students at the Universities and State Colleges. It's in your school system . . . your economics and politics. (*Runs his hand through his hair.*) Such a subtle way of putting minds to sleep. (*Laughs.*) Ha! Ha! The leaders of this country have always understood this secret of real power.

CAP: (*Nervous.*) I don't know what you're talking about.

CUCO: A pity . . . you were entrusted with the freedom of the world . . . somehow . . . you've managed to lose it. (*Shakes his head.*) What a shame . . . your own children know more than you do. (*Laughs.*)

CAP: I see nothing funny!

CUCO: (*Still laughing.*) You've even lost your sense of humor. (*Laughs some more.*)

CAP: STOP IT! (*Cuco laughs more.*)

CUCO: (*Half laughing.*) Is that an order mi Capitán? Tell my mind what it must do . . . you always have! (*With violent anger.*) What makes you people think you are the only ones who can reason?

CAP: (*As if afraid for the first time.*) You're a dangerous man. Soon you won't be able to tell the people any more. YOU'RE A TRAITOR!

CUCO: Words, Captain . . . only words.

CAP: You people have always been a thorn . . . always too humble . . . so innocent . . . so . . .

CUCO: So *Chicano*, Capitán?

CAP: Yes . . . so damn sneaky!

CUCO: No more, Captain . . . you've awakened a sleeping giant. Cuco Rocha is not only a name . . . Cuco Rocha is the Mexican-American people, Captain.

CAP: Let's finish the chess game!

CUCO: Yes . . . I forgot . . . that's what you came for.

CAP: Now let's see what kind of a player you are. Ha!

CUCO: Do I have any choice?

CAP: (*Smugly.*) No, by golly . . . you don't. The game must be played.

CUCO: What time is it?

CAP: (*Looks at his watch.*) A little past noon. You still have time before they come for you. Let's see how good you are in the game called life.

They both sit down and look at the chess board for awhile.

CUCO: (*Not looking at the Capitán.*) Tell me something . . .

CAP: (*With his hand around his mouth.*) Huh?

CUCO: How in the hell have you managed to stay in power so long?

CAP: (*Amusingly.*) Because we have no conscience.

CUCO: No . . . it's not because you have no conscience.

CAP: Oh? How's that?

CUCO: You forget it for the sake of convenience.

CAP: My . . . but you're funny. (*Laughs.*)

CUCO: What are people to you . . . chess pawns?

CAP: Oh come now . . . you don't really believe that do you?

CUCO: Then why are you afraid of letting me compete against you?

CAP: Because you're a threat . . . you've been telling the people things they shouldn't know.

CUCO: (*Matter of factly*). I've been telling them the truth.

CAP: Sure you have. That's why we have no choice but to put you away.

CUCO: But you invented the system. Its only a form of competition. Are you afraid of a little competition?

CAP: Well . . . not afraid, you understand. Let's say we're being a little cautious.

CUCO: Oh . . . I see.

CAP: You could control all of the Southwest. You could control the agricultural belt of this nation.

CUCO: Meaning?

CAP: Meaning you could control the votes also . . . elect your own people . . . put an economic stranglehold on the country. (*Looks at Cuco.*) Now we couldn't very well allow that, could we?

CUCO: (*Sarcastic*). My people couldn't do that! They haven't the training!

CAP: Hah! Don't make me laugh. I know what's been going on!

CUCO: Is that why most federal programs have been reduced? Afraid my people have learned too much in these few short years?

CAP: We have to curb inflation . . . you know . . . balance the budget.

CUCO: At the expense of the poor?

CAP: Well . . . you know . . .

CUCO: Yeah I know . . . "AMERICA . . . LOVE IT OR LEAVE IT." Is that the American way? To create a system and then tell them "LOVE IT OR LEAVE IT?" (*Looks around and leans toward the Captain.*) C'mon . . . you can tell me. You cats actually think you're the only ones that have the inside track on freedom?

CAP: What do you mean?

CUCO: Well . . . you . . . know . . . (*Looks around again.*) You guys really believe you're the only ones that can think?

CAP: (*Uncomfortable*). This nation was founded by great thinkers!

CUCO: Aw c'mon, man . . . this nation was founded by revolution.

You're great-great-grandads were on the same kick we're on.

CAP: Rocha . . . you know the system . . . it breeds corruption . . . it leads men astray . . . good honest men . . .

CUCO: Your system . . . not ours . . . your economy . . . not ours . . . your politics . . . not my people's. But we're willing to learn. We're willing to use it. We're willing to compete. People are the American dream, Captain. They want a chance at a human way of life.

CAP: Don't you like the way we treat you?

CUCO: Yes . . . but don't you understand? We're American citizens . . . not slaves! (*Starts to get angry.*) You've forgotten the fury and rage in the voice of freedom that spoke for this nation at the beginning. It's the same freedom that lets me speak to you on this level. MIND TO MIND! It has the same energy and strength you have held back in my people. LOOK AT ME, DAMN YOU! LOOK AT ME! (*Captain looks at him.*) NOW YOU WILL KNOW WHO WE ARE!

CAP: You're a lunatic . . . a maniac . . .

CUCO: That's right Captain . . . label me. Tell the world I'm insane. Use your psychology to put me into an institution so you can remain in control. But you won't do a good job. This is a time of awakening. It is the protests of the students . . . the burning of cities and the crying of women and children in the streets. People will no longer be slaves to suggestion or be programmed to the ways and philosophy of one system. It is a return to appreciation of life.

CAP: That, my friend . . . is why you will spend the next twenty years of your life in prison.

CUCO: Why? Because I have a free mind? Because I want to free the minds of my people? Because I have nothing to fear . . . not even the bayonets your soldiers pointed at us? (*Pause.*) There used to be a time when you said . . . "SLEEP WELL . . . YOUR NATIONAL GUARD IS AWAKE." Now we say . . . "STAY AWAKE . . . YOUR NATIONAL GUARD IS AT FIXED BAYONETS." (*Breathing deeply.*) The conditioning of people is over. You made a mistake when you educated them, expecting them to follow your way of thinking like Pavlov's dogs . . . reacting . . . always reacting.

CAP: You've made a terrible mistake.

CUCO: Captain . . . have all of you lost your sense of understanding?

CAP: If change should come . . . it will take years . . . you will be nothing but an old, old man.

CUCO: That's the name of the game.

CAP: (*Starts laughing.*) If you are found out . . . you lose.

CUCO: To want freedom . . . you must be willing to be found out.

CAP: Most of you don't belong in this game . . . doves . . . sweet innocent doves. Life is a game of skill. Some are not able to play too well. That is why you will go to prison and I will remain free.

CUCO: I go to prison because I tell the truth. As long as you hide people like me . . . you will be safe in your laws. Power is like a vulture . . . a vulture one holds only for a single moment in history . . . it will destroy you. (*Smiles.*)

CAP: Where could we go wrong?

CUCO: You could go wrong by allowing one method of education. You could go wrong by not providing funds for better housing in the barrios. You could go wrong by not allowing equal and better employment. To fail to recognize and use the creative energy of other people or fail to produce a moral climate where people are accepted on the basis of what they can do.

CAP: (*Strong voice.*) Our schools are the best!

CUCO: They could be better. Don't you see what you are doing in all the nation? You have actually convinced yourselves you have the only way.

CAP: I don't understand . . .

CUCO: Through suggestion . . . my people were made to believe they were slow learners and mentally retarded. Do you mean to tell me that a people who speak *two languages* are mentally retarded?

CAP: I suppose not . . . (*Holds his hand up.*) I know what you're going to say. This is a bi-lingual state and it says so in the state constitution. The people who are in power are the ones who make the laws.

- At this moment . . . it happens to be us. You'd probably do the same thing if you were in our shoes.
- CUCO: If we did . . . somebody else would be there to replace us. Don't you see . . . you cannot stop the progress of a people?
- CAP: So you think protesting is the only way.
- CUCO: We do what we have to do.
- CAP: True. Now you understand my position.
- CUCO: I always have. Still . . . it's a shame.
- CAP: Why do you say that?
- CUCO: Too many people live life on a temporary basis without ever knowing it is a continuous creation.
- CAP: (*Slowly shakes his head*). A shame a mind such as yours must be kept away from the people. A shame you are not one of us.
- CUCO: What makes you think I'm not? Because I don't have the same color of skin?
- CAP: Because you're Cuco Rocha . . .
- CUCO: My people are Cuco Rocha. They are the spirit of this competitive revolution. You cannot put all of them away.
- CAP: Why is it we can't trust each other?
- CUCO: We must learn to respect each other, Captain, not to be secure only in what we know or in the wealth we have.
- CAP: What good will it do?
- CUCO: It will let you understand and feel life's direction and it will tell you why you live. Then you will appreciate it and not be over cautious because you will know you can lose all in one second. You will treat your children as individuals and not as real property.
- CAP: What happens to people in power?
- CUCO: If they are not watching . . . they lose themselves in speeches and man made laws. They forget real words have meaning and they spout them like waterfalls until they drown the people . . . somehow man has forgotten to keep his word.
- CAP: Is there any hope?
- CUCO: There always is . . . if we listen to the people.
- CAP: . . . A miracle.
- CUCO: No.
- CAP: Then what?
- CUCO: I'm waiting for my people to have their chance.
- CAP: Most of them are ignorant.
- CUCO: Then we will teach them.
- CAP: It's a vicious game. Some won't survive.
- CUCO: But it has to be played. There is no other way.
- CAP: (*Takes a deep breath.*) You amaze me. So composed at a time like this.
- CUCO: God is on my side.
- CAP: (*Angry*). Don't be an idiot! (*Walks toward the table and picks up the book on jurisprudence.*) This is the god that is playing games with us. (*Slams the book down.*) How stupid can you be at times!
- CUCO: Why, Captain — what a sudden change.
- CAP: Law is the great god . . . an instrument of trial with agony of appeal. Thinking is a greater law. It rules your mind. Each thought

like a chess piece (*Whispers*) whispering in your ear. A moral right? A wrong? Who knows? (*Turns to Cuco.*) Some call it conscience.

CUCO: You're beginning to sound bitter.

CAP: Not bitter . . . tired and sick of games. Tired because I know how we use the people . . . their minds. How we dress them up with bright hopes and keep them drunk with their own egos . . . pitted against each other. Pawn against pawn. Knight against knight, just to keep them from finding the real treasures of their minds.

CUCO: What's the matter . . . don't you like to play the game?

CAP: (*Holding his ears*). It's that infernal digging voice!

CUCO: You're a failure, Captain. Not even that uniform makes you a man.

CAP: I'm just tired . . . so damn tired.

CUCO: You're beginning to think again, Captain . . . or could it be your conscience?

Just then we hear a clanging of prison doors and two guards appear to take Cuco Rocha away to prison. One guard remains at the door.

GUARD ONE: Come on, Rocha. It's time to go.

Cuco Rocha begins to pick up his books and papers off the tables. The Captain just watches him. When he is about to leave the Captain stops him.

CAP: What about the chess game, Rocha?

CUCO: (*Looks at the Captain, then at the chess pieces*). You keep it, Captain. (*Cuco stops at the cell door and waves at him.*)

The Captain stays behind looking at the chess pieces for a while.

CAP: (*All alone*). Maybe it's a stalemate . . . (*Cocks his head*) . . . or is it resignation?

We see the dimming of lights and we hear the strumming of Adelita on the guitar.

TEN MINUTE INTERMISSION BEFORE THE SECOND AND FINAL SCENE

SCENE TWO

The time is fifteen years later. After many years of legal battle the Supreme Court has reversed the case against Cuco Rocha and has ordered his release.

Cuco Rocha is packing his personal belongings as the scene opens. He is much older. Prison has had its effect. He walks a little laboriously due to the arthritis and rheumatism that has set into his bones.

Captain White appears once more at the cell door which is now open. He is carrying a small box under his arm. Captain White is now the Warden of the State Prison.

CUCO: (*Walking in he watches Cuco pack his belongings . . . Cuco looks up*). Oh . . . excuse me, Warden. I didn't hear you come in. I'm so used to hearing that cell door clang everytime someone comes in. (*They both look to the open cell door.*)

CAP: I came to see you off.

CUCO: (*Stops what he is doing and smiles*). Seems . . . we've been here before.

CAP: (*Bows his head*). Yes, I guess we have.

CUCO: Anyway . . . thank you. (*Goes on packing.*)

CAP: What are you going to do now?

CUCO: I think I'll just grow old and watch my people become lawyers, doctors and school teachers. Besides . . . rheumatism has set into my bones . . . I won't be much use to anyone.

CAP: We already have many of them . . . teachers and doctors.

CUCO: I know . . . I've been reading of their successes.

CAP: You must be very proud of them.

CUCO: I am . . . I am. I always have been.

Pause.

CAP: (*Sets the box down on the table*) . . . Can I help you with anything?

CUCO: No, thank you. I'm almost ready.

CAP: Rocha . . . I'm very glad you won your freedom.

CUCO: *I've always been free*, Warden.

CAP: I know . . . You know what I mean.

CUCO: (*Nods his head*). I knew it was just a matter of time.

CAP: Fifteen years?

CUCO: Yes . . . fifteen years. Fifteen years of reading about my people. Fifteen years of waiting.

CAP: You never lost faith did you?

CUCO: No . . . I didn't. It was just a matter of seeing the new generation take over. (*Pauses to look at the Warden.*) You see Warden . . . I've always had a lot of faith. Well . . . I'm ready . . . whenever you are.

CAP: Let's go . . . let's not keep your people waiting. (*They walk out together.*)

We hear the final bars of Adelita. The lights dim. We hear the final clang of prison doors.

THE END

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Tamale Leopard

J. L. NAVARRO

I sat at the bar smoking a cigarette and drinking a beer. I had been there for fifteen minutes. The bar was on Brooklyn, just off Soto. It was the first time I had been in this bar. Behind me men and women danced on the sticky floor to a loud Mexican tune that blared from the juke box, convulsing the hot bodies that slid and twisted in drunken rhythms. At the rear of the bar a group of men were gathered by the pool table shooting 8 ball. There was also a woman in that area of the bar. She sat alone at one of the small, round tables against the wall. She wore a leopard coat. From where I sat she looked youthful. Her hair was bobbed into a bubble form. I looked at her occasionally, wondering if perhaps any of the men shooting pool had picked her up yet. It didn't appear as if she were with any of them. She sat with a displayed look of detachment on her face. Like many of the other women at the bar, I gathered that the woman in the leopard coat was a whore. She seemed to be waiting for an initial approach. I thought it over. It wasn't a bad idea. I hadn't come to the bar to pick up women. But now that I thought of it, it wasn't a bad idea. I had nothing to lose. All she could do was refuse. There were other women who were alone, but the one in the leopard coat was the one that attracted me most. She would look at me and then she would look at the men shooting pool and at the ones who were against the wall watching the game. Maybe I was wrong. Maybe she was married. I looked at her left hand to see if she wore a ring. I could see that there was a ring on her finger but I was sure that it was not a wedding ring. It was too large to be a wedding ring and the ornament was a jade green piece of plastic. I looked at the men shooting pool. To go up and talk to her might prove to be embarrassing. It was easy to start a fight in a place like this.

A fat man in a soiled brown suit who sat the next stool turned to me and said, "Putas. Todas. Take your pick." The fat man extended his hand. "My name's Pancho. Pancho Fuentes."

I shook the fat man's hand. It was sticky with sweat.

"Do you come here often?"

"No," I said. "This is the first time I've been here."

"Ah," he said. "Well, if you have come to find a woman then you have come to the right place. I've had just about every slut in here."

A dark, lean woman who sat on the other side of me gave the fat man a disdainful stare.

"What are you looking at?" the fat man said to her.

"You have a filthy mouth," the woman said.

"Look," the fat man said to me, "that whore sitting next to you is worth but two dollars, if that, and she insists on ten every time. You would have to be a fool to pay that much."

"Raúl!" the woman called.

The bartender turned in her direction and the woman motioned him over.

"Another one?" said the bartender.

"No," the woman said. "Throw that tramp out."

The bartender looked at me.

"The other one," said the woman.

"What are you up to now, Pancho?" the bartender said.

"Nothing," the fat man said. "Nothing at all."

"He's drunk and saying disgracing things about the women in here," said the woman.

The bartender gave the fat man a reproachful look.

"You better hold your tongue," the bartender told him.

"Raúl, you know that I say nothing but the truth."

The bartender look at the woman. "Keep the truth to yourself," he said to the fat man. Then he went to get a beer for a customer who had just come in.

"My friend," the fat man said to me. "Do I appear drunk to you?"

I shook my head. Best to keep the truth to myself.

"Of course I'm not drunk. In all my days of drinking I have never gotten so drunk to where I don't know what I'm saying. I drink every day, on the job and off. I make cheese for a living, my friend. We at Casa de Queso make the best cheese in the world. If I had some with me I would gladly give you some. To judge for yourself. Yes, I take great pride in what I do. And not only that, I am foreman there. Have been for the past ten years. The supervisors there have such high esteem for me that they even allow me to drink. So you see, I get a lot of practice. But I never drink to the point where I do not know what I'm doing. Nunca. I am a man of fair temperance, of modest tastes. My sole pleasure in life is to work for money and spend it on beer and women. Tell me, is there any better life than that?"

"No," I said, "I can't think of a better life than that," at once thinking of a dozen life styles I would have preferred instead.

The lean woman who had been sitting next to me and who had told the bartender to throw the fat man out was now dancing with a short Mexican to a bolero. The short man had a thin moustache and was like a slippery worm on the floor, exercising a set of steps that moved him from head to foot, making his legs appear as if they were made of flexible rubber. The woman on the other hand danced erect and stiff as if she had a board strapped to her back. They made a funny pair out on the floor. The woman was at least a foot taller than the short man with the moustache.

I turned to look at the woman with the leopard coat. She was looking down at her beer. Then she put her finger in the beer and began to stir it. She did this with concentration for a while before taking her finger out and licking it like a popcicle. Then she put her finger back in the beer and began to stir it again.

The pool table was empty of balls except for the cue. The man who had lost the game was now at the bar ready to buy the winner a drink. And the challenger at the pool table put his quarter into the coin slot and pushed it in. The balls came down in a noisy clamor. He put the rack on the felt and began placing the balls inside the triangle, putting the black 8 in the center. The woman in the leopard coat looked at the men around the pool table with a coy invitation on her face. But none of the men paid any attention to her. The challenger lifted the rack and the winner of the previous game stroked the cut ball, breaking the set-up and pocketing two "small ones" into the corner pockets.

The fat man finished his beer and called the bartender for a refill. The lean, dark woman who had been dancing came back and slid onto her stool. With her elbow she nudged me on the arm. I turned and found the woman giving me a toothless smile.

"What's your name?" she said.

I looked at her pink gums, well washed with beer. She continued smiling at me unashamedly.

"Larry," I said, picking the first name that came to mind.

"My name's Rosa," she said.

"Rosa no es buena cosa," said the fat man.

Spitefully, the woman said, "Shut up!"

"Amigo, don't waste your time with her," advised the fat man. "Besides being toothless and ugly she will give you sores where you least want them."

"You talk too much," the woman said. "Eres cochino de maña y modo, cabrón."

"I'm only giving him a fair warning," said the fat man. "I should know. With what you charge and with the doctor's fee, you're not worth it, Rosa."

I began to feel uncomfortable sitting between the fat man and the toothless whore.

"Ha!" laughed the woman. "And for you I suppose I am not good enough. Look at yourself. A fat dog! You should see him eat," the woman said to me. "He is like a hog who has not eaten for a week, grunting and snouting, smearing it over his face like I put on make-up."

Ignoring the woman, the fat man said, "I will give you some advice, amigo. Use a rubber every time. For precaution. I have a few with me if you would like some."

"No thanks. I don't plan on using them."

"That is even better. A young man like you has no business in a cantina like this to begin with. Look around you. Everyone here is over the hill."

I glanced around the bar. The people dancing and sitting at the bar and tables all appeared to be over thirty-five. I was by far the youngest one there.

"You see," said the fat man. "Everyone here is on the make. To get something from one another. I don't believe you're here for the same reasons."

I looked at the woman in the leopard coat. The fat man was right. I hadn't come here with any idea of picking up a woman. I had gone out of my apartment only for some relaxation and a drink or two. If I had wanted to pick up a girl I would have gone to Whittier Boulevard, the Sunset Strip or the Eastside. The people were younger there. However, I was now thinking seriously of approaching the woman in the leopard coat. She seemed so apart from everyone else here, as if she were held in an invisible cast of isolation. This somehow attracted me. I was here and she was here. And I had nothing to lose. I was sure by now that she was completely alone. None of the men playing pool or looking on made any attempt to speak with her. I turned to the fat man.

"Who's that woman over there?" I asked.

The fat man looked. "I don't know. I've never seen her before. Pretty though. Why? You want her?"

"I was just asking."

"Well, better take her before someone else does. Material like that doesn't last too long in a place like this."

I motioned for the bartender, ordered two beers, and then went over to the woman's table.

"Anyone sitting here?"

The woman looked up and stared at me with what I interpreted as suspicion. Two of the men at the pool table were looking at me with not too friendly expressions. Her boy friends, I thought. Maybe. Maybe not. I stood there with the two beers in hand, looking at the woman.

"What do you want?" she said.

The question was blurted at me with a tone of irritation.

"Well," she said. "What is it?"

Feebly, I said, "Nothing," pulling out a chair to sit down.

"I didn't say you could sit down," the woman said.

"I thought maybe you'd like some company."

"I don't."

"Here. At least share a beer with me." I put the glasses on the table as a sign of good will.

"Maybe you didn't hear me," the woman said. "I said I didn't want any company."

I ignored her and poured beer into my glass. I somehow got the feeling she was putting me on.

"Listen," she said. "What do you want?"

"Nothing. Just thought I'd come and talk to you. I saw you sitting here alone and I thought that maybe you were lonely."

"I'm not. I like being alone."

"At least let me finish my beer," I said. I took the other bottle and poured beer into her glass. The woman watched the glass fill until a crown of foam covered the yellow liquid. When I put down the bottle the woman picked up the glass and, without drinking, seemed to be whiffing at the brew.

"You didn't put anything in it, did you?"

"You saw me pour it."

"Well, I don't know. Maybe you had the bartender put something in it."

"Like what, for instance?"

"Drugs. I know about those things."

"From experience?"

"No. But I'm not stupid. I know about those things."

"Don't worry. I didn't put anything in it."

"A girl can't be too careful."

"Sure," I said. "I understand."

The woman took a sip. Then she put the glass on the table and stared into it. We sat there, not saying a word. I listened to the loud music amplified to the point where the talk at the bar was like indistinguishable squawking to my ears. The billiard balls were clicking and rolling hollowly down the pockets. The fat man at the bar had now moved over next to the toothless whore. They were laughing loudly and the fat man's shoulders were shaking up and down in quick beefy motions. The toothless whore covered her mouth with a boney brown hand as she laughed.

"Do you live around here?" I asked the woman in the leopard coat.

"Yes," she said. "That is, no. I mean, I don't know."

"You don't know where you live?"

"Of course I know where I live."

"Then you do live around here."

"Yes and no. It's not too far from here."

"What's your name?"

"What do you want to know for?"

"Just asking."

"Well, it's none of your business."

This one's really weird, I thought.

She was smiling at me coyly, like a girl. A very young girl. Her brown eyes were trying to flash a spark of innocence at me. Her dyed black hair was like black string.

"My name's Esther," she said. "What's yours?"

"Alfred," I said, this time telling the truth.

"You look familiar," she said. "Have I seen you somewhere before?"

"Could be. It's a small world."

She gave me a penetrating look as if she were trying to recall my face.

"I know I've seen you before," she said. "I just can't remember where."

Esther was an attractive enough woman. Although there was a strange quality about her that not so much frightened me as it made me wonder about her. Why is a woman her age playing the part of a young girl, I wondered? Well, I thought, I had gone this far, so now there was only one thing to do. To get her into the car. I looked at the clock. It was 12:45.

"Do you come here a lot?" she asked.

"No. It's the first time I've been here."

"It's the first time I've been here, too. It's nice here. Don't you think?"

"It's okay."

The little girl attitude was everywhere on her, in her manner of speech and in her facial expressions. I couldn't tell if this was an act or if this was her true self. If it was an act, she did a good job of it. If I would have closed my eyes and listened to her I would have been listening to a sixteen year old girl. Now, as I looked at her, I wondered how old she really was. Thirty, I thought. At least.

She sipped her beer. "Are you married?" she said.

"No. I'm too smart for that."

"I wish I were married, she added.

"Why don't you get married then?"

"No one will marry me."

"I can't see why. You're good looking," I said. Then thought, and added, "Young."

"Really think so?"

"Sure."

"How old do you think I am?"

"I don't know. Twenty-five, maybe."

"Wrong."

"How old are you?"

"Twenty-seven."

I knew she was lying.

"You look younger than that," I said.

"That's what everybody says." She looked down at her beer.

"What are you going to do when you leave here?"

She looked up. "Go home," she said.

"Do you live by yourself?"

"Why do you want to know?"

"Curious."

"Yes, I live alone."

"What do you do for a living?"

"I'm a secretary."

I was running out of questions. I wasn't accustomed to picking up women in bars.

"Have you got a car?" I asked.

"No."

"How did you get here?"

"I walked."

"I can give you a ride home if you like."

“Okay. If it’s not too much trouble.”

“No trouble at all.”

We had a few more beers before leaving. On the way out the fat man noticed me with the woman in the leopard coat. He came up to me. “Here,” he said, and he put a prophylactic in my coat pocket. “Just in case.”

Her house was modest. Duplex. Simply furnished. Portable t.v., record player. Worn, comfortable couch in the living room. Typical Eastside pad.

“You have a nice place,” I said.

“It’s no palace. But I’m happy.”

It had been no trouble getting in the house. I had simply asked if I could come in for a while. Sure, she said, why not. Want a beer? Yes, I said.

Now we sat on the couch. Esther was saying, “I feel good, don’t you?”

“Good as ever?”

“You think I do this all the time, don’t you?”

“Do what?”

“Pick up men.”

“I didn’t say anything.”

“Well, I don’t. They pick me up.”

I kept quiet and just looked at her.

“I know what you’re thinking,” she said.

“What am I thinking?”

“I can’t tell you.”

“Why not?”

“It’s nasty.”

“What’s nasty?”

“What’ you’re thinking.”

“I’m not thinking anything.”

“You are, I know you are.”

“Okay. I agree. I’m thinking nasty things.”

“What are they? What are you thinking?”

“Really want to know?”

She giggled. “Yes,” she said. “Tell me.”

“Really want to know?”

“Yes. Really. What are you thinking?”

“I want to go to bed with you.”

“I knew it. I knew it.”

"What?"

"Men are all the same. That's all they want."

"You wanted to know what I was thinking. I told you."

"I know. That's why I said that men are all the same."

"Okay. So now you know I'm normal."

"But you're so young," she said. "And I'm so old. You're nothing more than a boy."

"You're not old. You're only twenty-seven. That's not old."

"I'm older than that."

"Oh? I wouldn't have known if you hadn't told me. How old are you?"

"Too old. Too old to get married."

"You're never too old to get married. All you need is someone to marry you."

"I know. But Mr. Right just hasn't come along."

"Mr. Right will show up one of these days, don't worry."

"You wouldn't marry me, would you?"

"I can't marry anyone. I'm too poor to get married."

"What do you do anyway?"

"I'm a student."

"Really? I used to go to East L.A. College."

"I went there, too. For a while."

"It's a nice place. Maybe that's where I saw you."

"It's possible."

I had come to the conclusion that Esther was a dimwit if there was one.

"I can't go to bed with you," she said.

"Why?" This really shook me up.

"Because I'm waiting for Mr. Right. Besides I'm a virgin."

They all say that, I thought. "That's no excuse," I said.

"It's a good enough excuse for me."

"You should become a nun," I said.

"I've thought of it."

"Take your clothes off," I said.

"What for?"

"Just take them off."

"What are you going to do?"

"Never mind. Just take them off."

"I don't want to."

"All right. I'll see you. There's no reason for me to stick around any longer."

I got up and made for the door.

"Wait," she said. "I'll take my clothes off if you promise not to do anything."

"I promise."

She took her clothes off and sat on the couch. We sat there not saying a word.

Finally, I said, "Mind if I take my clothes off?"

"I don't care," she said. "If you want."

I stripped and we sat there naked.

"You must think I'm a whore."

"The thought never crossed my mind," I said.

"Good," she replied. "Because I'm not. I'm just waiting for Mr. Right."

I got closer to her. I could smell her. The bad b.o. dominated the smell of her perfume. Can't be choosy, I thought, and continued smiling. I knew I would never see her again after this. I was twenty-three and it was the first time I had ever picked up a woman in a bar. I had picked up girls before. The Eastside had two kinds of bars. Those for the young and those for the old. I had, up until tonight, patronized those for the young people. And like all bars, those who went to them went for companionship and to meet people, to meet them and, like the fat man said, to get something or to give something. Male and female. They were all in the same bag. And this happened to be one of those chance meetings. Where one met and then got lost, never to see each other again.

I put my arm around her and kissed her. Then we sat talking for a while. She said, "I'm tired. I'm going to lie down."

She stretched out and that gave me no place except to lie on top of her.

The Social Science Myth of the Mexican American Family

MIGUEL MONTIEL

There is an ideological, philosophical, and theoretical resemblance between studies of the *Mexican* family and their counterparts, studies of the *Mexican American* family. These similarities have generally been taken for granted, for such thinking has been based primarily on the assumed similarities between the value orientations of Mexicans and Mexican Americans. Such assumptions have had a considerable impact on the method of study used when dealing with this subject matter. For example, the sociologist Fernando Peñalosa has said that, ". . . the dynamic of Mexican family life as portrayed by Mexican scholars are *essential and relevant* for understanding the current changes in the Mexican American family."¹

But the theories and concepts that have guided Mexican family studies have consistently lacked both methodological sophistication as well as empirical verification. Specifically, they have relied almost totally upon a psychoanalytic model in which there is an uncritical use of concepts like *machismo*. However, as used, this approach has relegated all explanations of Mexican family life to a pathological perspective.

An analysis of the literature will give us an understanding of psychoanalysis as it appears in Mexican social science and how it is related to the concept of *machismo*. This concept is the central device used to explain family roles in Mexican studies and subsequently in Mexican American studies. The careless use of *machismo* as an explanatory device has resulted in what is here called the myth of the Mexican American family.

Psychoanalysis: Inferiority and Machismo

The origin of psychoanalysis in Mexican philosophy and subsequently its diffusion into Mexican social science is an ironic historical occurrence indeed. Using Ortega's thesis — *Yo soy yo y mi circunstancia*, Samuel Ramos, pioneer in the philosophy of Mexican culture, framed a rationale for his philosophy. Ramos' principal objective was to ultimately define a perspective which revolved

around the Mexican experience thus avoiding dependence on European thought.^{2,28} Ramos believed that imitation by Mexicans of European thought had resulted in a feeling of inferiority among the Mexican people, and as a consequence the time had come for Mexicans to "adopt a living culture."³ Noble as this cause may have been at the time of its initial proposal, it is an historic irony that Ramos himself was not true to his own ideal, for he ultimately relied upon Alfred Adler's individual psychology to "explain" the causes of Mexican "inferiority" as he saw it.⁴

Alfred Adler's theory postulates that children born with hereditary organic weaknesses are inclined to compensate both physically and emotionally in the direction of the defective function.⁵ Furthermore, Adler's theory asserted that ". . . the whole human race is blessed with deficient organs," and thus there exists a continual resistance to the establishment of a harmonious life situation.⁶ Specifically, he claimed that most individuals suffer from a "sense of female inferiority" and as a result "both sexes have derived an overstrained desire for masculinity." Adler called this the *masculine protest*.⁷

In much the same way, Samuel Ramos' historical interpretation of the evolution of the Mexican character concludes that the persistent domination of the Spaniards, first over the Indians and later over the Mexicans, created in the Mexican personality a sense of inferiority and resentment toward authority.^{8,28} Correspondingly, Ramos' *pelado* becomes the essence of the Mexican character. This "nobody" in his lowly status and in his sense of worthlessness is then said to be revengeful and hostile toward those who threaten his virility which, supposedly, he has built up to support a deflated ego.^{9,28}

Historically, the term inferiority is later substituted by insufficiency, but nevertheless the continual and persistent *external* domination is said to cause the Mexican to hide his feelings of inferiority.¹⁰ Leopoldo Zea, for example, attributed the external force to the compromise of the Latin American ideal ". . . for the North American ideal of material comfort."¹¹ Octavio Paz provides the best example of a contemporary psychoanalytically oriented analysis of the Mexican character. In typical manner Paz states that he,

" . . . agrees with Samuel Ramos that an inferiority complex influences our preference for analysis, and that the meagerness of our creative output was due not so much to the growth of our critical faculties at the expense of our creativity as it was to our instinctive doubts about our abilities."¹²

Octavio Paz becomes particularly important because his ideological explanation transcends national boundaries when he attempts to "analyze" the plight of the *pachuco*. Again alluding to the inherent inferiority, he states:

"The *Pachuco* tries to enter North American society in secret and daring ways, *but he impedes his own effort*. Having been cut off from his traditional culture, he asserts himself for a moment as a solitary and challenging figure. He denies both the society from which he originated and that of North America. . . . The *Pachuco* is the prey of society, but instead of hiding he adorns himself to attract the hunter's attention."¹³ (*emphasis mine*)

At this point the reader is probably wondering what these "national character" studies have to do with the Mexican American or perhaps even the Mexican family. The fact of the matter is that such studies have a way of appearing and reappearing in many guises, like Octavio Paz' masks. For example, if it can be said that there is a Mexican national character, then it must logically follow that the basic individual units of that national entity must be a reflection of the national pattern. Not surprisingly, therefore, the central issue here is not only national character, but how the national character manifests itself through individuals (traditional culture). In this manner, almost always the studies which address themselves to the Mexican American family ultimately evolve into a discussion of *machismo*: i.e., the national male character as it manifests itself through individual males over time.

It is around this concept that most "explanations" of family structure evolve, including the Mexican American family, in spite of the fact that the methodological transition required to jump from the national character in general to the Mexican family in particular is a hazardous enterprise indeed. In short, Ramos, Zea, and Paz began with what can only be called essentially an aesthetic, philosophical and psychoanalytically oriented exercise. In the following years their explorations have been accepted as the "true" description of the Mexican character, the Mexican male, and ultimately the Mexican and Mexican American family. Their exercises have been accepted uncritically by North American and Mexican social scientists alike. Thus whatever reliability and validity these studies might have had, has been predicated primarily upon philosophical emulation. *However, mere repetition of philosophical and quasi-psychoanalytic postures does not per se constitute empirical reality.*

Mexican Family Studies: Three Examples

An excellent example of the repetition of such postulates using *machismo* couched in psychoanalytic theory under the guise of "social science" is provided by Maria Bermudez in *La Vida Familiar Del Mexicano*.

The similarity between *machismo* and the inferiority which Ramos postulated provides the basic framework for Bermudez' theory. On the assumption that both factors (inferiority and *machismo*) originate from a common source, she then proceeds to outline the sequence of events that lead to the formation of the Mexican character — male and female.¹⁴

Briefly stated, Bermudez' basic argument is that the false concepts Mexicans have regarding masculinity and femininity impede Mexican males from being "candid and humane" and females from being "dignified and independent." Thus she declares that the characteristics of self-denial and self-inflicted suffering are mere products of ineptitude and nothing else among Mexican women. From this premise Bermudez builds a series of instances in which the Mexican is "deficient," ranging from excessive delinquency to underdeveloped industrialization.¹⁵

The writings of a well-known Mexican psychiatrist, Diaz-Guerrero, and a not-so-well known American psychiatrist, G. M. Gilbert, illustrate further their resemblance to the philosophical postulates of the Mexican cultural philosophers. Using a survey questionnaire containing only ten structured questions, Diaz-Guerrero postulated that two propositions; (1) the unquestioned and absolute supremacy of the father, and (2) the necessary and absolute self-sacrifice of the mother, form the dominant Mexican family pattern.¹⁶ On the basis of these ten questions he concluded that the inability of either partner — particularly the females — to fulfill their expectations created a tendency toward neurosis.¹⁷

Similarly, on the basis of talking to only *nine older adults*, G. M. Gilbert, in a study regarding sex differences in mental health in a Mexican village, found,

“. . . a pronounced tendency to either severely constricted affect or to morbid-depressed-hypochondriacal types of responses among the older males . . . this may be indicative of increasing impotence and 'castration anxiety': as the males fail in the life-long struggle to live up to the demands of *machismo* . . .¹⁸

The "inferiority models" constructed by Bermudez, Diaz-Guerrero, and Gilbert — like those of Ramos, Zea, and Paz — lead to the same foregone conclusions regarding *machismo* and the Mexican

character in general. Unlike the philosophers, however, the social scientists attempt to legitimize their observations "scientifically." For example, in her analysis of the Mexican population Bermudez' assumption that similarities outweigh differences justifies for her the methodological jump from the case to the class. In light of the evidence, this assumption must be viewed with suspicion. Such "legitimization" of philosophical postulates without serious attempts to validate them scientifically is illustrated also in Mexican American studies.

Mexican American Family Studies

In 1948, after a review of the literature pertaining to Mexicans in the United States, R. C. Jones assessed the situation regarding family studies in this way,

Little of this material represents really basic or prolonged research but it is largely explanatory in character. A tremendous amount of duplication exists. References to family life are scattered and seldom documented.¹⁹

Twenty years later in 1968 Fernando Peñalosa stated this about Mexican American family studies,

". . . Mexican American family structure has not yet been subject to any systematic analysis. It may be said without exaggeration that neither the empirical data nor an adequate theoretical framework is yet available for the carrying out of this task."²⁰

In 1944 Norman D. Humphrey conducted a study of the Detroit Mexican family. His findings closely parallel the generalizations in Mexico and set a framework for subsequent interpretations. Humphrey viewed the father's role as (1) food provider and (2) family judge and protector. The immigration of the Mexican family to the United States created "special" problems that would not be encountered had the family remained in Mexico. The failure of the father to provide adequately for his family created a decline in the status of the father and a lessening of the respect in the new culture.²¹

Twenty years later, William Madsen, an anthropologist, has some interesting comments relative to the status of the Mexican father in the United States:

To a large extent, the supremacy of the male within his own home compensates for subservience he may have to demonstrate on the job or in the presence of a social superior.²²

In discussing further the role of the Mexican American male he states that "The most convincing way of proving *machismo* and financial ability is to keep a mistress in the second household known

as a *casa chica*.²³ In essence, Madsen, as did Humphrey twenty years before, depicts the role of the Mexican American father as insignificant and pathological.

A slightly different interpretation of the father's role in the Mexican family is provided by Robert Hayden who believes that supreme male dominance, individualism, pride, *wife beating*, aversion to contraceptives, and other traits traditionally attributed to the father are typical of Mexican American culture.²⁴ Hayden explains that these characteristics do not indicate either a neglect of responsibility or a break-up of family ties.²⁵ It is inconceivable to imagine, however, that there could exist any semblance of stability or close relationship in a family where behaviors described by Hayden are the norm.

In like manner, Celia Heller, sociologist and accepted "expert" on Mexican American youth, uses the "enemy within" notions of pathology to explain her belief in the lack of independence and achievement among Mexican American people. With reference to *machismo* she states:

The kind of socialization that Mexican American children generally receive at home is not conducive to the development of the capacities needed for advancement by stressing values that hinder mobility — family ties, honor, masculinity, and living in the present — and by neglecting the values that are conducive to it . . .²⁶

Summary

From the tremendous volume of literature that makes reference to the Mexican American family several generalizations emerge regarding their ideological, philosophical, and theoretical orientation.

First is the unquestioned acceptance of the "masculinity cult" to explain family roles. Unlike Mexican studies, however, *machismo* is not generally linked to what can be called a psychoanalytic orientation *per se*, but rather is arbitrarily interjected to explain family roles or concomitant problems *irrespective of the data available*. For instance, permeating the literature pertaining to the "problems of the Mexican American" is the idea that the nature of the family is best characterized by the cult of masculinity, which is said to be to blame for their problems. Secondly, this indiscriminate use of the concept of *machismo* coupled with the loose methodological approaches accounts for another characteristic of the literature — low level theoretical sophistication. Finally, the strong evidence of speculation (plus the patronizing and condescending sentiments of the writings) further make the findings and interpretations highly suspect.

Conclusion

The myth of the Mexican family has been created because of certain questionable assumptions that have dominated Mexican and Mexican American family studies. First and foremost is the concept social scientists have regarding *machismo*, as supposedly *the* underlying cause of Mexican and Mexican American problems. Secondly, it follows that this formulation is inherently incapable of defining normal behavior and thus automatically labels all Mexican and Mexican American people as sick — *only in degree of sickness do they vary*.

The seriousness of this fallacy can be brought to perspective only by examining concepts like ineptitude, irresponsibility, and inferiority that have been used to define *machismo*. Terms like *machismo* are abstract, value-laden concepts that lack the empirical referents necessary for construction of sound explanations. Accordingly, as long as research on the Mexican and Mexican American family is guided by anything other than sound operational definitions its findings, conclusions, and interpretations must be seen only as philosophical and ideological speculations — not as empirical truths.

NOTES

¹Fernando Peñalosa, "Mexican Family Roles," *Marriage and the Family*, Vol. 30 (1968), p. 681.

²Patrick Romanell, *Making of the Mexican Mind*, (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1952), p. 164.

³*Ibid.*, p. 165.

⁴Alfred Adler, *Individual Psychology* (Paterson, New Jersey: Littlefield, Adams and Co., 1959). Alfred Adler was a famous Vienna physician who with Freud and Jung, has been so largely responsible for the widespread interest in psycho-analytic methods.

⁵Alfred Adler, "Individual Psychology" in *Theories of Personality*, Primary Sources and Research (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1965), p. 99.

⁶*Ibid.*

⁷*Ibid.*

⁸G. W. Hewes, "Mexicans in Search of the 'Mexican': Notes on Mexican National Character Studies," *The American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, Vol. 2 (1954), p. 13.

⁹*Ibid.*

¹⁰*Ibid.*

¹¹Romanell, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

¹²Octavio Paz, *The Labyrinth of Solitude: Life and Thought in Mexico* (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1961), p. 10-11.

¹³*Ibid.*, p. 17.

¹⁴Maria Elvira Bermudez, *La Vida Familiar Del Mexicano* (Mexico: Antigua Libreria Robredo, 1955), p. 98.

¹⁵*Ibid.*

¹⁶Rogelio Diaz-Guerrero, "Neurosis and the Mexican Family Structure," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, Vol. CXII (1955), p. 411-417.

¹⁷*Ibid.*

¹⁸G. M. Gilbert, "Sex Differences in Mental Health in a Mexican Village," *The International Journal of Social Psychiatry*, Vol. 3 (1959), p. 212.

¹⁹R. C. Jones, "Ethnic Family Patterns: The Mexican Family in the United States," *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 52 (1948), p. 450.

²⁰Peñalosa, *op. cit.*, p. 680-681.

²¹Norman D. Humphrey, "The Changing Structure of the Detroit Mexican Family," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 9, No. 6 (1944), p. 622-626.

²²William Madsen, "The Mexican-Americans of South Texas" (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1964), p. 48.

²³*Ibid.*, p. 49.

²⁴Robert G. Hayden, "Spanish-Americans of the Southwest: Life Style Patterns and Their Implications," *Welfare In Review*, Vol. 4, No. 10 (April 1966), p. 20.

²⁵*Ibid.*

²⁶Celia S. Heller, *Mexican American Youth: Forgotten Youth at the Crossroads* (New York: Random House, 1966), p. 34.

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Affluence Amid Poverty

ARMAND J. SÁNCHEZ

“One individual represents the human race. He is one specific example of the human species. He is ‘he’ and he is ‘all’; he is an individual with his peculiarities and in this sense unique, and at the same time he is representative of all characteristics of the human race. His individual personality is determined by the peculiarities of human existence common to all men.”¹

“The State exists to serve the common man.”

These two quotations contain the seed which is basically at the very root of two fundamental questions: (1) What is the general welfare of the individual? (2) What is the state’s responsibility to the individual?

True, these two questions have been debated philosophically *ad nauseam*, for they are at the very core of the issue: the state’s responsibility in relation to poverty.

For purposes of logical and intelligent presentation, first we will consider the concept of the welfare state: its historical background; concept and philosophy; and the fundamental differences of opinions regarding the welfare state. Secondly, we will focus on poverty. Various concepts of poverty and the frantic activity regarding poverty will be examined in view of proposed solutions to poverty.

I. THE WELFARE STATE

A. *Historical Background*

The welfare state has been attacked repeatedly with polemic rather than scholarship. Diverse characteristics of the welfare state have been in existence for some time. However, the term "welfare state" is of recent origin. In 1941 the term "welfare state" was originally used in contradistinction to the "power state" of the Communists and Nazis. The rationale for the use of the term was a defense of an enlarged role for the state based on religious values and moral principles.² William Temple's declaration that the state exists to serve the common man has provided a platform for welfare state protagonists upon which the welfare state programs rest. The term "welfare state" originated in Great Britain. The National Health Insurance Act of 1911 is regarded as landmark legislation. The old poor law, from which social services emerged both directly and by reaction, was not so much broken up as eroded away by depression, war, unemployment and the piecemeal introduction of remedial legislation. The social welfare legislation of the Labor government of 1945-50 has begun to be viewed historically, in view of its development over time.

In Germany, Bismarck's innovations resulted in the first comprehensive social insurance program of any modern country. Bismarck's reforms of the 1880's — laws of 1882, 1884 and 1889 introducing compulsory insurance against sickness, accidents, old age and invalidity, attracted immense interest in other European countries. Denmark copied all three German pension schemes between 1891 and 1898, and Belgium between 1894 and 1903.

In the United States, the struggle between the doctrine of laissez-faire and the concept of the general welfare state ensued. Ethical implications in the doctrine of non-interference motivated economists, social workers, polemicists, writers and others to attack the doctrine of laissez-faire.

The protest against laissez-faire was not only ethical in character, it was also scientific . . . The emerging social sciences — economics, sociology, and political science — and the philosophy and psychology of William James and John Dewey all contributed to this development. The protagonists of these bodies of thought disputed the validity of the tenets of classical economics and social Darwinism and helped to undermine the theoretical foundations upon which the structure of laissez-faire had been reared.³

The traditional individualism of Protestant theology was abandoned in favor of the social gospel. The social gospel exerted a significant influence on the leaders and rank and file of Progressivism, the religion of the Progressive movement. The social gospel movement became the institutional embodiment of the social gospel point of view in American Protestantism. The social Darwinism of Spencer and Sumner was strongly challenged by the arguments of William James and John Dewey and the sociology of Ward, Small and Ross. Political science was led away from laissez-faire when Woodrow Wilson and W. W. Willoughby took issue with John Burgess. The public at large appeared unimpressed by the philosophy of the negative state; moreover, the public was less inclined to entrust their fate to the laws of nature. "By the turn of century," Commager accurately notes, "the philosophy had been formulated, the instinct had crystallized into popular conviction, and statesmen were preparing to translate that conviction into legislation."⁴

The clear repudiation of laissez-faire came with the New Deal. "It was largely owing to the Progressive movement, the New Deal, and the Fair Deal of the twentieth century that theory was translated into practice and that the concept of the general welfare state was embodied in legislation."⁵

The Employment Act of 1946 and the role it assigned to the Council of Economic Advisers, the work-relief and public works programs of the New Deal and the Fair Deal — all were translations of the concept of general welfare into programs. Sidney Fine writes:

As the mid-point of the twentieth century was reached, Americans would appear to have rejected the admonition that government is best which governs least and to have endorsed the view that in the interests of the general welfare the State should restrain the strong and protect the weak, should provide such services to the people as private enterprise is unable or unwilling to supply, should seek to stabilize the economy and to counteract the cycle of boom and bust, and should provide the citizen with some degree of economic security. It had come to be recognized that the state had a responsibility with respect to the welfare of each of its citizens and each group of citizens and that this responsibility was to be discharged by such positive action as was warranted in any particular case rather than by the invocation of the doctrines of laissez-faire and natural law. Thus had the ideological conflict of the late nineteenth

century between the advocates of laissez-faire and the advocates of the general welfare state been resolved in theory, in practice, and in public esteem in favor of the general-welfare state.⁶

B. Concept and Philosophy

It is to be noted that the welfare state is not the exclusive product of one political party. Both liberals and conservatives have contributed to its development. Hence political party lines are no sure guide to an understanding of the welfare state since both major parties support welfare state programs. Definitions of the welfare state are myriad. To most Americans the welfare state means a more limited group of services — social security, health and education, low-cost housing, unemployment insurance, and relief for the needy, the aged, the sick and the dependent. Asa Briggs defines the welfare state in comprehensive and more inclusive terms.

A welfare state is a state in which organized power is deliberately used (through politics and administration) in an effort to modify the play of market forces in at least three directions — first, by guaranteeing individuals and families a minimum income irrespective of the market value of their work or their property; second, by narrowing the extent of insecurity by enabling individuals and families to meet certain 'social contingencies' (for example, sickness, old age and unemployment) which lead otherwise to individual and family crises; and third by ensuring that all citizens without distinction of status or class are offered the best standards available in relation to a certain agreed range of social services.⁷

Gunnar Myrdal, the eminent Swedish economist and political scientist, writes in his book, *Beyond the Welfare State*:

In the last half-century, the state, in all the rich countries in the Western world, has become a democratic "welfare state," with fairly explicit commitments to the broad goals of economic development, full employment, equality of opportunity for the young, social security, and protected minimum standards as regards not only income, but nutrition, housing, health, and education for people of all regions and social groups.⁸

Myrdal's approach is an historical one in which the welfare state is distinguished by economic prosperity and universal political rights. However, these broad criteria fail to develop reliable guidelines for analysis of the welfare state. An analysis of established and operating programs presents a challenge to the welfare state to reinterpret the ethics of welfare and emerge with more equitable programs. Myrdal also makes it clear that in all countries the welfare state is still in the process of completion. Welfare state ideology

lags behind welfare state programs because of a general unwillingness to change ideas and beliefs even though changing programs such as social security have rendered them obsolete. Proponents and supporters urge the fulfillment of the welfare state while its opponents feel that it has produced undesirable results such as irresponsibility and bureaucratic inefficiency. An added dimension to the welfare state proposed by its proponents is that the welfare state is more than a state dedicated to material well being. An ethical mission is associated with it.

In summary, fundamental concepts underlying the welfare state are expressed differently but generally involve the redistribution of income to assure minimum standard of living; equality of opportunity; minimum social services available to all; and a legal right to welfare state benefits.

C. *Fundamental Differences of Opinion*

The debates over the welfare state during the past twenty-five years have given rise to more heat than light. Both opponents and proponents have supported their arguments by assertions of belief rather than by analysis of the advantages and disadvantages of welfare programs. However, the dispute narrows down to just what is believed regarding the destiny, purpose, and place of man. *The welfare state emphasizes the place of man as a member of the group whereas the free enterprise economy emphasizes the fundamental dignity of man as an individual.* A more fundamental question is: Whose welfare state? *The point is that the welfare state benefits aid the middle class more adequately than the poor; the middle classes receive good standards of welfare while the working classes receive a Spartan minimum.* With rising standards of living, the goal of a subsistence minimum merely increases inequality. The true goal of a welfare state, therefore, must be to reduce inequality through a more equitable distribution of material resources.

II. POVERTY*

Resolve not to be poor . . . Poverty is a great enemy to human happiness; it certainly destroys liberty, and it makes some virtues impracticable and others extremely difficult.

— Samuel Johnson

*Michael Harrington's *The Other America* presented a dramatic documentation of poverty and deprivation among present day Americans. Other books, articles, institutes and seminars on poverty have also

The previous section addressed itself to the welfare state and its goals. However, the final part of the first section also raised the question: Whose welfare? An analysis of the distribution of wealth and income will reveal that a significant impact on poverty will be made only when economic structural changes are made. The war on poverty, the copious literature on poverty, and the frenzied activity regarding poverty will contribute but an iota to the solution of poverty; on the contrary, the synergistic effect will result in greater social unrest and upheaval, characterized by an increase in the poverty population and consequent intensified polarization between the poor and the power structure. The demand is for control of political and economic life rather than just more income. The theory of relative deprivation, if operative, indicates that more income changes the present social situation with little significance. Evidence suggests that the two groups that engage least in riot activity are the best educated and economically advantaged and the least educated and poorest.⁹ Although the explicit goal of national policy is the elimination of poverty, this commitment is tempered by social and political realities. These realities have been tested out through the war on poverty, particularly the community action program, and the poor have found that getting more of the same does not solve their poverty problems.¹⁰

The reality of the economic structure does not correspond with the myths held and perpetrated by the dominant society, namely, potential affluence for all those who warrant affluence. The assumption is based on the equal opportunity theory. The issue is clearly an economic issue, not in terms of the absolute money income, which is a simplistic approach, but in terms of equal distribution of income and wealth.

Sociologically, we are entering the post-mortem phase of the war on poverty. The flurry of interest in the problem of poverty was politically occasioned and designed to aid political fortunes rather than the fortunes of the poor. Former President Johnson's

contributed to the exposure of the magnitude of poverty within our generally affluent society. John Kenneth Galbraith, in *The Affluent Society*, asserts that this country is an affluent society. Affluence amid poverty is a classic anachronism. More and more people assert that a nation that can, with seeming ease, spend thirty billion dollars a year on a war to alleviate oppression among a people unknown to most Americans, twenty-four billion to put a man on the moon, and an additional forty-five billion dollars for military defense should be able to devote a greater financial, legislative, and personal commitment to the problems of its own people.

definition of poverty was politically useful, altogether ignoring previous research as well as data produced by the Department of Labor. In 1964 the Council of Economic Advisers reported one-fifth of the nation to be poor. The political significance of the numbers game played with the size of the poor is obvious. The fact is that one-quarter of the nation's families and unattached individuals lived in a state of poverty and another one-seventh lived in marginal poverty, according to the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics. Equally important is the assumption on which measures to alleviate poverty have been based, namely, the universally accepted assumption that the poor and oppressed are responsible for their own plight; they are "by choice" uneducated and unskilled. To say that more education will automatically lead to more jobs erroneously assumes that the better educated are not unemployed. This very assumption is the issue of the poverty problem. Inequality is integral to a society wherein the richest tenth receives 30 per cent of the annual money income or 14 per cent of the nation owns 68 per cent of the net wealth. Some must profit if we are to maintain our economic structure in its present form; others must not. The poor will remain along with the inequality long after they have been studied, discussed, and forgotten by politicians and academics. The poor are likely to be with us more than ever before, not merely for a variety of economic and sociological reasons, but because the political paralysis that dominates American life today makes it extremely difficult to enact even the most minor genuine reforms. The American economic structure, with its deeply entrenched privileges and inequities, can hardly be changed, for no socially significant movement in American society today seeks to end poverty by attacking the basic, essential inequality upon which the economy rests, nor is there a broad vision of a new society. For this reason all the bills and measures advocated by political leaders, the unions, and the present day civil rights movement have little chance of altering the structure of poverty, wealth and economic power.

An analysis of the distribution of income indicates that while the income share of the richest tenth has remained large and virtually constant, the two lowest income tenths have experienced a sharp decline.

Table I further shows that the combined 6th through lowest tenth groups, which constitute the poorer half of the population, received 27 per cent of the national personal income in 1910, but only 23 per cent in 1959. Thus, for the only segments of the popu-

lation in which a gain could indicate progress toward economic democracy, there has been no increase in the percentage share of the national income. *The deduction drawn from Table I is that no*

TABLE I
PERCENTAGE OF NATIONAL PERSONAL INCOME, BEFORE TAXES, RECEIVED BY EACH INCOME-TENTH*

	Highest Tenth	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	8th	9th	Lowest Tenth
1910	33.9	12.3	10.2	8.8	8.0	7.0	6.0	5.5	4.9	3.4
1918	34.5	12.9	9.6	8.7	7.7	7.2	6.9	5.7	4.4	2.4
1921	38.2	12.8	10.5	8.9	7.4	6.5	5.9	4.6	3.2	2.0
1929	39.0	12.3	9.8	9.0	7.9	6.5	5.5	4.6	3.6	1.8
1934	33.6	13.1	11.0	9.4	8.2	7.3	6.2	5.3	3.8	2.1
1937	34.4	14.1	11.7	10.1	8.5	7.2	6.0	4.4	2.6	1.0
1941	34.0	16.0	12.0	10.0	9.0	7.0	5.0	4.0	2.0	1.0
1945	29.0	16.0	13.0	11.0	9.0	7.0	6.0	5.0	3.0	1.0
1946	32.0	15.0	12.0	10.0	9.0	7.0	6.0	5.0	3.0	1.0
1947	33.5	14.8	11.7	9.9	8.5	7.1	5.8	4.4	3.1	1.2
1948	30.9	14.7	11.9	10.1	8.8	7.5	6.3	5.0	3.3	1.4
1949	29.8	15.5	12.5	10.6	9.1	7.7	6.2	4.7	3.1	0.8
1950	28.7	15.4	12.7	10.8	9.3	7.8	6.3	4.9	3.2	0.9
1951	30.9	15.0	12.3	10.6	8.9	7.6	6.3	4.7	2.9	0.8
1952	29.5	15.3	12.4	10.6	9.1	7.7	6.4	4.9	3.1	1.0
1953	31.4	14.8	11.9	10.3	8.9	7.6	6.2	4.7	3.0	1.2
1954	29.3	15.3	12.4	10.7	9.1	7.7	6.4	4.8	3.1	1.2
1955	29.7	15.7	12.7	10.8	9.1	7.7	6.1	4.5	2.7	1.0
1956	30.6	15.3	12.3	10.5	9.0	7.6	6.1	4.5	2.8	1.3
1957	29.4	15.5	12.7	10.8	9.2	7.7	6.1	4.5	2.9	1.3
1958	27.1	16.3	13.2	11.0	9.4	7.8	6.2	4.6	3.1	1.3
1959	28.9	15.8	12.7	10.7	9.2	7.8	6.3	4.6	2.9	1.1

*Interms of "recipients" for 1910-37 and "spending units" for 1941-59.

Source: Data for 1910-37 are from National Industrial Conference Board, *Studies in Enterprise and Social Progress* (New York: National Industrial Conference Board, 1939), p. 125. Data for 1941-59 were calculated by the Survey Research Center.

significant trend toward income equality is identifiable. Income inequality is more evident when income-in-kind distribution is considered. Although existing statistics do not allow precise calculation of the percentage of total expense account outlays that represent personal income-in-kind, they suffice to indicate that income-in-kind is an item of major consequence to the share of the top income tenth, especially to the style of living enjoyed by many of the richest members of the economic elite.¹¹

An additional factor to take into account in income-in-kind dis-

tribution is the underreporting on tax returns and non-reporting to interviewers. Low and middle income earners are dependent on wages or salary for their incomes from which automatic payroll deductions withhold the amount of money due for Federal income taxes. However, professionals, businessmen, and others receiving cash payments for their services are in an especially advantageous position to underreport their income on tax returns or to seek tax dodges.¹²

Taxation has not mitigated the fundamentally unequal distribution of income. It has perpetuated inequality by heavily taxing the low and middle income groups. The same factor that stimulated a higher tax rate on the rich also produced permanent and significant income taxation of low and middle income earners. Kolko writes:

In this process of incorporating more and more of the American population into the Federal income tax system, a moderate degree of progressive taxation has been maintained. The income tax is practically the only major tax that is not basically regressive. Nevertheless, the income tax paid by the average family in the lowest income fifth — in 1957, amounting to 3.3 per cent of their income — constitutes a greater hardship for those living on an emergency budget than does the tax burden of 13.7 per cent paid in the same year by the average family in the richest income fifth.¹³

Taxes other than federal income tax must also be considered, for it is the local and state taxes that the low and middle income groups feel more heavily. Local and state taxes are regressive. More than half — 59 per cent in 1958 — of all state tax revenues come from sales taxes. About one-half of the expenditures of an average spending unit earning a cash income of less than \$1,000 per year are subject to general sales or excise taxes, but only one-third of the expenditures of those earning \$10,000 plus are so taxed.¹⁴ This means that corporations present the public with additional hidden taxes, for taxes are another cost which corporations pass on to their customers. It has been variously estimated that one-third to one-half of this tax is shifted to the consumers. Furthermore, *at least two-thirds of American corporations add all payroll tax costs to their prices.*¹⁵ Table II shows that state and local taxes are regressive, and that all Federal taxes combined fall much more substantially on the low-income classes.

It is to be noted that the figures in Table II include all local, state and Federal person-income taxes; inheritance, estates, and gift taxes; corporate-profit taxes (it is assumed that one-half of this is shifted to the public); excise and sales taxes; customs and property

taxes. The highly regressive social insurance taxes, which take 7.3 per cent of the total income of those earning \$2,000 or less, but

TABLE II
PERCENTAGE OF 1958 TOTAL INCOME PAID IN FEDERAL,
STATE, AND LOCAL TAXES,* BY INCOME CLASS

Income Class (In Dollars)	Share of Taxes (In per cent)		
	Federal	State and Local	Total**
0-2,000	9.6	11.3	21.0
2,000-4,000	11.0	9.4	20.4
4,000-6,000	12.1	8.5	20.6
6,000-8,000	13.9	7.7	21.6
8,000-10,000	13.4	7.2	20.6
10,000-15,000	15.1	6.5	21.6
15,000-plus	28.6	5.9	34.4
Average	16.1	7.5	23.7

*Social insurance taxes are not included.

**Because of rounding, items do not always add up to totals.

Source: Tax Foundation, *Allocation of the Tax Burden by Income Class* (New York: Tax Foundation, 1960), p. 17.

only 1.5 per cent in the \$15,000 plus class, are not included. The tax burden is substantially heavier for the lower-income classes in that income tax paid by the lower-income classes is money that would otherwise go for essential personal and family needs. Moreover, in view of the amount of Federal welfare expenditures, the lower-income groups paid for them. Taxation and welfare measures have not brought about a redistribution of income; rather, taxation and welfare measures impose an added hardship on the lower-income classes.

Table II does not take into account income undeclared in order to avoid paying taxes on it. It is estimated that about 10 per cent of the national personal income — \$30 billion — never appeared in tax returns. Most of this \$30 billion was received by the upper-income class. Capital gains, a deferred-compensation plan, stock-option, tax-exempt interest, gifts and trusts are means through which the higher income class avoids paying taxes, or pays at a low rate.

The concentration of economic power in a very small elite is an undisputable fact. This power is a function of both their direct ownership in the corporate structure and their ability to control it. Their possession of savings and wealth is possible because of the continuing basic inequality of income that is simply a part of a larger pattern of inequality in the United

States. The implications of this intense centralization of economic power are twofold. First, the concentration of income allocates a large share of the consumption of goods to a small proportion of the population. Second, a social theory assuming a democratized economic system — or even a trend in this direction — is quite obviously not in accord with social reality.¹⁶

Victims of Social Theory?

Some have defined poverty in psychological terms, while others have defined it in purely economic terms. Sociological factors such as age, occupation and race reflect only degrees of poverty. *Moreover, psychological aspects of poverty as well as sociological aspects of poverty are effects of poverty, not causes of poverty.* It is in this manner that social scientists are wont to engage in circular reasoning in trying to explain away poverty. Another example of circular reasoning is the internal causation argument. Talcott Parsons defined poverty as people who are not motivated to “get ahead” because of “qualities of personality.”¹⁷ Social theory reflects implicitly bipolar dichotomies which relegate segments of the population to lower class status and thereby creators and victims of their own poverty. Out of this nebulous thinking emerges the confusion between class and culture — they become one and the same. The anthropologist, Dr. Octavio I. Romano, has examined very critically the results of such thinking by sociologists and anthropologists with respect to the Mexican-American.¹⁸

Prior to the not-so-celebrated war on poverty, social scientists expounded the social theory that poverty had declined sharply as a result of radical changes in the economy — particularly the greater income equality.¹⁹ Moreover, social scientists held that: “The poverty in America, in fact, is almost entirely outside the economic sphere proper.”²⁰ Both pronouncements are totally erroneous. Recent studies by sociologists who have employed more honesty and rigorous methodology show that poverty has increased rather than decreased. Economists such as Robert Lampman have shown that poverty is not almost entirely outside the economic sphere proper.

Poverty is the economic inability to maintain minimum standards of nourishment, housing, clothing, and medical care. In addition to what has been said about taxation and inequality, distribution of income, and distribution of wealth, the hard fact is that unemployment, a guarantee of low income and poverty, always affects the lower income groups more frequently and for longer periods of time. Between 1960 and 1975, the population aged between eighteen to twenty-five is expected to grow more rapidly

than the middle aged population.²¹ With the more rapid expansion of the young and old population, both of which are low-income groups, an increase in the extent of poverty is probable.

It is estimated that in 1972 the poor population will be 28.9 million. In 1965 there were 27.4 million living in poverty, 14.3 million of whom were children under 18 years of age while 2.1 million were persons living alone. Of the 27.4 million poor in 1965, 25.3 million were children and adults living in families with children under 18 years of age.²² It is important to point out that the poverty group is not homogeneous; the common factor is that their income falls below the Social Security Administration's poverty index. Recognition of the differential distribution of poverty is essential in the formulation of social policy.

Another very important aspect of the problem of poverty is the linear correlation between poverty and family size.

TABLE III
PER CENT OF FAMILIES IN POVERTY BY NUMBER
OF CHILDREN, 1965

Number of Related Children Under 18	Per Cent Poor
None	11.2
1	11.3
2	10.4
3	16.3
4	21.6
5	33.7
6 or more	43.5

Of the 14.3 million children in poverty, more than one-half — 8.2 million — live in families with four or more children. There seems to be two reasons for the poverty-family size relationship: (1) wages are insensitive to need; and (2) transfer payments (social security deductions, public assistance, etc.) benefit small families more than large ones.

In brief, poor population consists mainly of families with children. However, the national wage system favors single individuals or small families and a benefit system that favors small families among the poor. "Net transfers favor small families in low income classes, but favor large families in high income classes. The switch is at about \$6,000 of pre-transfer income."²³ Poor families are predominantly *intact* families. Seven out of 10 poor families are headed by men. According to Social Security Administration sta-

tistics, in over 86 per cent of the male-headed families, the head worked at least part of 1965. The Eckstein-Harris report predicts that by 1972 relatively more of the poor will be persons in large families and female headed families, and aged persons.

TABLE IV
CHANGE IN NUMBER OF POOR PERSONS, 1959 TO 1964
AND PROJECTED 1968 TO 1972
(millions of persons)

Population Group	Number of Persons				Percentage Change	
	1959	1964	1968	1972	59-64	68-72
Total	38.9	34.1	31.1	27.7	-12%	-11%
Aged	5.9	5.4	5.1	5.0	-8	-2
Families with						
Children	27.4	24.0	22.1	19.5	-12	-12
Male Head	21.0	17.9	16.0	13.3	-15	-17
Female Head	6.4	6.1	6.1	6.2	-5	+2
Other*	5.7	4.6	3.9	3.2	-19	-18

*Non-aged unrelated individuals, and families with no children.

Source: Otto Eckstein and Robert Harris, *Income and Benefit Programs*. Office of the Assistant Secretary for Programs Coordination, U.S. Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare, October, 1966.

The Eckstein-Harris report has very serious implications. First of all, poverty will continue to be a national serious problem for many years, unless substantial measures are taken. Secondly, an alarmingly high number of poverty families will be *intact* families — families headed by men. A corollary to this implication is the implication that families, particularly large families, play a critical role in the perpetuation of poverty, for lack of adequate resources and the necessity to stretch very thinly meagre resources deter the families from providing the incentives, health and education which permit exit from poverty.

III. THE PUBLIC WELFARE SYSTEM

Widespread dissatisfaction with the welfare system is inevitably and inextricably tied to the concern for the elimination of poverty. However, two considerations in the elimination of poverty are a substantial reduction in the cost of welfare and the size of its bureaucracy. Existing welfare policies have become a huge political liability. Modern social welfare policy must be virtually unique among major policies in that it has no supporters one can discern. The welfare system itself — the direct provision of funds and services to carefully delineated groups in the population under a series

of rules – has become an enormous political albatross. Rejection of existing welfare policy is understandable in the context that people want to control their own economic life. *The demand is for control of political and economic life rather than just more income.*

The charge of welfare colonialism addresses itself to the resistance of the poor to be manipulated. The poor want self-determination and control over their own lives as well as opportunity to select and develop their own life style and thus counter the sense of powerlessness and despair.²⁴

It is clear that a dominant value in American society, industrial growth, is justified on the assumption of its universally beneficial results. However, this assumption turns into a blatant lie when we discover that those benefiting from industrial growth are but a handful. Moreover, it is becoming patently clear that the above assumption is but a guise for the maintenance of systems which perpetuate the social problems confronting our society today. It is particularly ironic that in this time of crisis these institutions seem frozen in the past, addressing themselves only to the casualties of a sick society.

A case in point is the welfare system. In the past, public welfare departments were charged by society with the responsibility for assisting those who are in need with the expectation that those receiving assistance are in need temporarily and will return to the mainstream in a relatively short time. While this expectation may have been valid during the depression of the 1930's, it is no longer valid in most instances.

A very pertinent question needs to be asked: in view of the fact that the welfare system was created for a time of economic crisis, the depression, why has it been kept in its original form when the rationale for its existence has changed radically? *Why continue with a structure created for depression years in an era of affluence?*

Thus the poverty group – the delineated group of the public welfare system – lives in a painful and constant ambiguity vis-a-vis the double message of the general public versus the explicit actions of those who control the system. Rules, regulations and policies are seen as deliberate “mystifications” that are promoted by an elite determined to keep clients at arms length and to shut them out from meaningful participation. It is becoming increasingly more clear that the Public Welfare System epitomizes a polarity between those who have economic and political power and those who are economically and politically poor. A corollary of this polarity is the

discontinuity and confused thinking between authorization and practice. The system has the authorization and mandate "to rehabilitate" the poor. However, the practice of the system is nullified by the political and economic considerations in all communities. The incestuous nature of the funding base invalidates, contradicts and renders ineffective the authorization and practice. The socio-economic must be put ahead of "rehabilitative" issues. The welfare system can only respond to a program for the emancipation of the poor if the problem is conceptualized in economic and political terms. This is the heart of the dilemma. An institution cannot do battle against social problems at a causal level while its life depends on the largesse of political powers.

IV. A DEMOCRATIZED ECONOMY OR NOBLESSE OBLIGE?

The California *Welfare and Institutions Code*, Division 9, Part I, Chapter 1 (10,000) defines the purpose of Public Social Services as follows:

The purpose of this division is to provide for protection, care and assistance to the people of the state in need thereof, and to promote the welfare and happiness of all of the people of the state by providing appropriate aid and services to all of its needy and distressed. It is the legislative intent that aid shall be administered and services provided promptly and humanely, with due regard for the preservation of family life, and without discrimination on account of race, national origin or ancestry, religion or political affiliation; and that aid shall be so administered and services so provided as to encourage self respect, self reliance and the desire to be a good citizen, useful to society.²⁵

It is within this framework and philosophy that 700,000 children in California receive financial help through Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). It is within this same framework and philosophy that the legislature has not changed the payment base for the care of these children since 1957. During this time they did respond to the aged, blind and disabled by providing continuous raises and by providing cost of living increases.

The following chart which shows the increases over the last 12 years for the various categories will provide the initial understanding of the fiscal base. It is this fiscal base which is the root cause of the problem.

Table V graphically illustrates the problem. It is important to further understand how the State of California determines these different allowances for the public welfare programs.

TABLE V
MAXIMUM PARTICIPATING BASE

Year	Two Persons		One Person	
	One Adult and One Child	Blind	Aged	Disabled
1957	\$145.00	\$110.00	\$ 89.00	\$ 88.00
1966	148.00	183.50	179.00	150.00
1969 (Dec.)	148.00	202.00	195.00	166.00
Total Increase	\$ 3.00	\$ 92.00	\$106.00	\$ 78.00

The Maximum Participation Base (MPB) is the amount in which the federal, state and local agencies will share. The family or individual may have a larger amount to live on only when there is income from some other source, usually earnings, contributions, or OASDI benefits.

State laws provide for the public assistance recipients' budgets to be computed from state standards. These standards are set annually by the State Department of Social Welfare based on their determination of the amount of money needed to pay for minimal needs (W & I Code 11452). Changes in standards for families are reflected in the regulatory guidelines (cost schedules) county welfare departments must use in determining the amount needed by a family for its basic living. The amount of aid received by the family, however, is absolutely limited by the MPB, regardless of the State standard of need.

State laws provide for a cost of living increase when proven necessary in the adult programs. Section 44-205.1 of the Eligibility and Assistance Standards describes "*Cost of Living Adjustments — Adult Programs*: The Standard of assistance is adjusted on December 1 of each year to reflect changes in the cost of living as provided by statute." This adjustment assists aged, blind and disabled recipients in meeting increases in the cost of their minimum needs. No such provision is made for the AFDC family. The \$3.00 increase in Table V is the result of a federal increase which the state was required to pass on to the families. While increased costs are reflected in the cost schedules issued annually, the legislators have not acted to permit increases in the MPB for families. If the standards for families were reflected in the MPB, the following would exist:

The amounts in Table VI are based on the standards provided for AFDC in Santa Clara County adjusted for cost of living increases for 1968-69. These figures take in only the basic need, as

TABLE VI
COMPARISON OF MPB STANDARDS

Number of Children	Average Amount Required to Meet Full Allowable Needs		Present MPB	Average Difference
	Range			
1	\$192	180-203	\$148	\$44
2	228	207-250	172	56
3	279	247-311	221	58
4	322	279-366	263	59
5	372	319-426	300	72

determined by the AFDC standard, and do not reflect any special needs that may exist in the family's budget.

Rather than to rely solely on the standards which are determined by state staff in compliance with the law, and noting that the cost of living has risen by 30.6 per cent since the year 1957, it is important to take a look at the cost of living as it relates to the present MPB for AFDC. The Consumer Price Index (CPI) is used.

TABLE VII
COMPARISON OF MPB COST OF LIVING

Number of Children	Oct. 1957 MPB	Adj. to 9/30/69 CPI Increase (Rounded to nearest dollar)	Difference
1	\$145.00	\$189.00	\$ 44.00
2	168.00	233.00	65.00
3	215.00	298.00	83.00
4	256.00	355.00	99.00
5	291.00	403.00	112.00

The October 1957 MPB used to compute the adjustment is basically the MPB adopted by the legislature in 1951 for various federal pass-on provisions occurring between 1951 and 1957. A comparison between the "Average Amount Required to Meet Full Allowable Needs" column in Table VI and the column headed "Adjusted to 9/30/69 CPI Increase" in Table VII clearly indicates the failure of the MPB to keep pace with the cost of living.

V. THE WELFARE DOLLAR IN THE ECONOMY OF A COMMUNITY

What role does the welfare system play in the economic health of a community. *How much does a community depend on the welfare system for its economic survival? Ultimately, who gets the*

TABLE VIII
COMPARISON OF MPB FOR 1950, 1957, 1968

1 child	\$105	\$145	\$148	+\$ 40	+\$ 3	+\$ 43
2 children	153	168	172	+ 15	+ 4	+ 19
3 children	201	215	221	+ 14	+ 6	+ 20
4 children	249	256	263	+ 7	+ 7	+ 14
5 children	297	291	300	- 6	+ 9	+ 3
6 children	345	320	330	- 25	+ 10	- 15
7 children	393	343	355	- 50	+ 12	- 38
8 children	441	360	373	- 81	+ 13	- 68
9 children	489	371	386	- 118	+ 15	- 103

welfare dollar? Who is profiting by keeping the system as it is? Is the welfare system a quasi-colony for the colonizer? However inadequate the welfare grant is, it contributes significantly to the economy of a community. *It is my hypothesis that the welfare dollar sustains and enlarges the economic and political power of a few in the community.* The corollary is that the welfare dollar does not contribute to the economic and social development of low-income communities. Since the possibility that there will be a radical change in the welfare system is very remote, are there ways in which the financial sources of the welfare system can be converted into resources for the economic development of a delineated community?

NOTES

¹Eric Fromm, *Man for Himself* (New York: Rinehart, 1947), p. 3.

²Charles I. Schottland, *The Welfare State* (New York: Harper and Rowe, 1967), p. 16.

³Sidney Fine, "The General Welfare State in the Twentieth Century," *The Welfare State* (New York: Harper and Rowe, 1967), p. 47.

⁴Henry S. Commager, *The American Mind: An Interpretation of American Thought and Character Since the 1880's* (New Haven: 1950), p. 217.

⁵*Op. cit.*, Sidney Fine, pp. 51-52.

⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 68-69.

⁷Asa Briggs, "The Welfare State in Historical Perspective," *The Welfare State* (New York: Harper and Rowe, 1967), p. 29.

⁸Gunnar Myrdal, *Beyond the Welfare State* (London: Duckworth, 1958), p. 45.

⁹See Everett F. Cataldo, Richard M. Johnson, Lyman A. Kallstedt, "Social Strain and Urban Violence," in Louis H. Masotti and Don R. Bowen, eds., *Riots and Rebellion: Civil Violence in the Urban Community* (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1968), pp. 285-298.

¹⁰See Daniel Moynihan, *Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding* (New York: The Free Press, 1969). James L. Sundquist, ed., *On Fighting Poverty* (New York: Basic Books, 1969).

¹¹Cf. "Expense Accounts," *Harvard Business Review*, March-April, 1960, pp. 16, 172; *U. S. News and World Report*, August 16, 1957, p. 87 and p. 83.

¹²Cf. Gabriel Kolko, *Wealth and Power in America* (New York: Praeger, 1962), pp. 9-29.

¹³*Ibid.*, p. 35.

¹⁴Tax Foundation, *Federal Excise Taxes* (New York: 1956), p. 47.

¹⁵Lewis H. Kimmel, *Taxes & Economic Incentives* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1950), p. 182.

¹⁶*Op. cit.*, Kolko, p. 68.

¹⁷Talcott Parsons, "A Revised Analytical Approach to the Theory of Social Stratification," *Class, Status and Power* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1953), p. 127.

¹⁸Octavio I. Romano, "The Anthropology and Sociology of the Mexican-American," *El Grito*, Vol. II, No. 1 (Berkeley: Quinto Sol Publications, Inc., 1968), Fall.

¹⁹Cf. Seymour Martin Lipset and Natalie Rogoff, "Class and Opportunity in Europe and the United States," *Commentary*, Dec., 1954.

²⁰Max Lerner, *America as a Civilization* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1957), p. 338.

²¹Social Security Administration, *Illustrative United States Population Projections* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1957), Actuarial Study No. 46, pp. 23-24.

²²For a profile of the poor see article by Mollie Orshansky in the *Social Security Bulletin*, January 1965, July 1965, April 1966, and May 1966.

²³Robert J. Lampman, "How Much Does the American System of Transfers Benefit the Poor?" *Economic Progress and Social Welfare*, Leonard H. Goodman, ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966), p. 147.

²⁴Cf. *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders* (Kerner Report) (New York: Bantam Books, 1968), Chapter 17, Part III, p. 457.

²⁵*Welfare and Institutions Code: and Laws Relating to Social Welfare*. State of California, Department of General Services, Sacramento, 1967.

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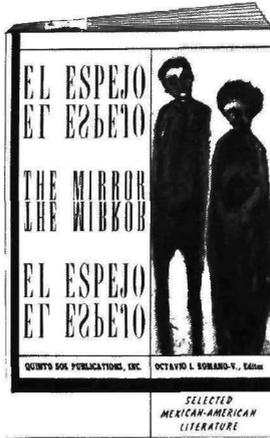
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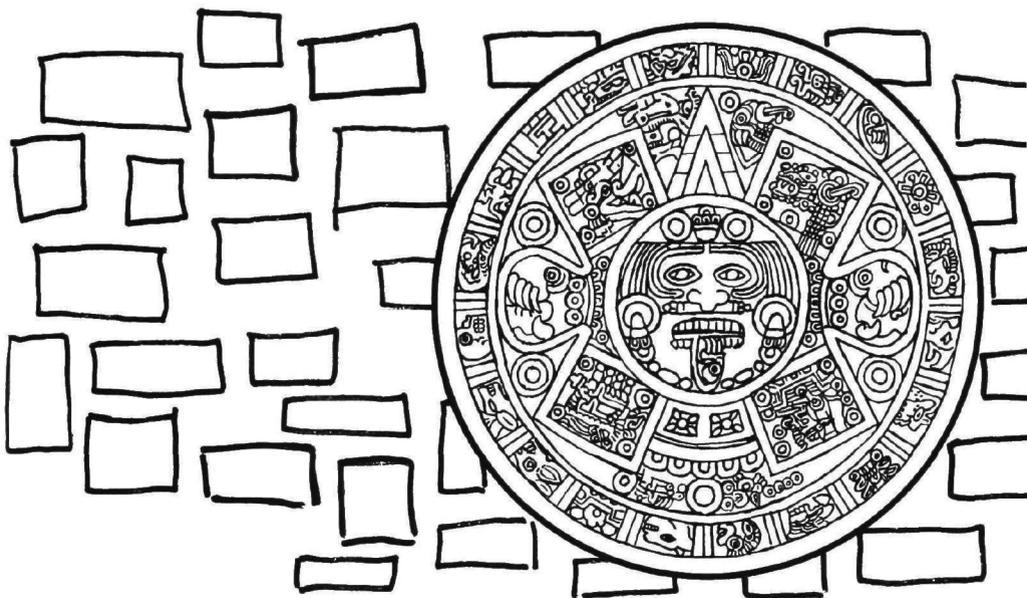
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