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Interview no. 266

Javier J. Valle

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UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT EL PASO
INSTITUTE OF ORAL HISTORY

INTERVIEWEE: Javier J. Valle
INTERVIEWER: John T. Tillti
PROJECT: Class project
DATE OF INTERVIEW: November 4, 1976
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BIOGRAPHICAL SYNOPSIS OF INTERVIEWEE:

(Officer for the Texas Industrial Accident Board) Mr. Valle was born on April 6, 1914 in Hermosillo, Sonora, Mexico. When he was eight years old his family came to South El Paso. His father was a Mexican army officer in exile in the United States and he was not able to be with his family. In 1936 Mr. Valle moved to Los Angeles, married, and began raising a family. He was involved in the Zoot Suit Riots there, and afterwards was in the Second World War. He later went to college under the G.I. Bill and studied law. He returned to El Paso in 1960 and is presently in charge of the Texas Industrial Accident Board.

SUMMARY OF INTERVIEW:

History of the Chinese in the state of Sonora; the origin of the word "Chicano" (Chicano was used in Sonora to designate the offspring of a marriage between a Chinese man and a Mexican woman); personal experiences; Zoot Suit Riots; World War II; the Industrial Accident Board.

45 minutes, 19 pages

(Interview with Javier J. Valle by John T. Tiltti on November 4, 1976.)

V: In the year 1882 or thereabouts, the United States Congress passed the Exclusion Act, which prohibited the immigration of Orientals into the United States for a period of 10 years. This influenced the Chinese to promote and procure the Chinese ambassador to the United States to negotiate a commercial treaty of friendship and immigration with the most preferred status to a Chinese citizen with Mexico. By the year 1883 the treaty was concluded, which opened up immigration of Chinese citizens into the state of Sonora for the price of \$25 per head, paid directly to the central government of Mexico, which was under Porfirio Diaz at that time.

Now at first the population of the state of Sonora accepted the Chinese immigration with good feelings. They were sympathetic, and they received them with open arms. But within seven years, with money imported from California by the Chinese tongs to the state of Sonora, the Chinese groups developed a strong commercial base in that state. But, since the new Chinese immigrants were coming into the state of Sonora and were not bringing any women, soon the Chinese men started intermarrying with the Mexican women. At the same time, they started to develop a stronghold in the commercial activities of the state. They developed grocery stores, meat markets, laundries, restaurants, etc. They began to perform domestic duties as servants to the more affluent groups in the state, and within seven years the sentiments changed, since the commercial domination by the Chinese in the state of Sonora began to affect the employment situation. The Mexican citizens began to manifest a dissatisfaction with the treaty and began to attack the new Chinese immigrants. In those seven years, an organization called the Club Verde, or the Green Club, was developed. Their intent was to separate themselves from Mexico and create a new nation, a new country. This underground group began to assault and harm

the new Chinese citizens. As a result, an underground group developed, a group similar to the Ku Klux Klan in the United States which, every time there was an assault on the Chinese barrio or shanties or ghetto or whatever you want to call it, it was called the Green Wave.

Soon thereafter, the state of Sonora passed a new state law prohibiting the intermarriage of a Mexican woman with a citizen of China, indicating that any offspring of such a union had to be registered as a Chicano or a Chicana. The situation developed into such a grievous climate that China forced the government of Mexico, Porfirio Diaz, to protect the Chinese in the state of Sonora. [This] resulted in the federal government of Porfirio Diaz sending into Sonora, to suppress the state, three batallions of Mexican soldiers from the southern part of Mexico. The situation continued and led to the association of rebel forces with other forces in Mexico.

This brings us to 1910 and the beginning of the modern Mexican Revolution as we know it. The state of Sonora rebelled and joined the forces of Francisco Villa, Zapata, and others, which brought down the regime of Porfirio Diaz. Now, what happened to the problem of the Chinese and the Mexicans after the Revolution? Because of the involvement of the elite groups in the rebellion and the forming of a new government, for the moment they abandoned the Chinese problem, but it never went away. During the years of warfare, which was from 1910 to practically 1927, the word Chicano spread through the communities and was considered an insult to anyone that was called Chicano in those times. If you called someone Chicano, it was enough reason to challenge that individual to life or death combat. As a result, there is a vulgar word that has developed which means the same thing. It's pretty close to s.o.b., but I don't want to explain the vulgarity on tape.

From 1910 to 1927, the development of the education facilities in Mexico

was very slow; there was practically none. The result of this is that the people in Mexico have to live by cultural customs, concepts, and _____ understanding that this is the way life is and this is the rule. During those 17 years no one bothered to document many of the results of Mexican history. At the present time, 1976, tremendous efforts are going on in Mexico in search of the true facts of the Mexican history. How I came about this discovery was in cleaning out my mother's effects after she took sick. I found a book that was printed in Mexico in 1932, which has the title The Example of Sonora. It deals exclusively with the Chinese problem, and in this book you will find the source of the word Chicano. This particular book at this particular moment is in the hands of Dr. Melvin Straus, who is taking care of it for me for security purposes. We have tried to find other books similar to it, but apparently they are out of date and can't be found; but there are a few.

My father was born in Hidalgo, and his name is Javier Jiménez Valle; Jiménez for his mother and Valle for his father. He was a cadet. He was involved in a duel with another cadet, and unfortunately my father killed his counterpart and was sent to the state of Sonora to pay three years' penance with one of the battalions of troops that had been stationed in Sonora. After he completed his penance he left the army and went to work for the state penitentiary as an accountant and later became the chief of the penitentiary. This is two years before 1910. My father married my mother, who was from a family of wealthy ranchers who later became destitute in the aftermath of the Revolution. At age eight or nine I arrived in El Paso. After my father was sent as the chief of military operations in Yucatán, and, not knowing what was going to happen, my father sent us to El

Paso. Soon thereafter a new uprising occurred, and my father was exiled with a price on his head and was not able to make contact with us again for many years. I grew up in South El Paso until age 16. At age 16 we started to move a little bit northward to Sunset Heights and then to the area where Hotel Dieu is now. At that time, I was going to El Paso High School. In 1936, I went to California, and from 1936 until 1960, I shuffled back and forth between El Paso and California.

T: Did you have any experiences with the Chinese when you were growing up?

V: The only experience I had with the Chinese is that we had a Chinese man that was my father's servant. He traveled with my father to Mexico City and back during three or four years. And to the best of my recollection and that of my mother, they only knew him by "El Chino Juan." He was always taking care of me. As a matter of fact, my mother tells me one time when the military train was blown up between Chihuahua and Durango, the train turned over and Chino Juan held me in his arms and protected me from getting hurt. Somewhere along the line we just lost him. My mother relishes the fact that El Chino Juan was a tall Chinese, well built; and he could wear my father's clothes and could like like a military man, and spoke very good Spanish. The only other Chinese I remember in South El Paso were the ones who used to sell groceries at the corner of Second (which is now Paisano) and El Paso. There were two stores, the Republica, and I don't remember the name of the other; but they were the main grocers in South El Paso.

T: This word Chicano still had that derogatory meaning?

V: To us who had our formative years under this influence, we were aware that it was used as a derogatory word. At the present, for those who do not know Mexican history, who do not even know American history very well, who only

take the top, the concept, they will use the word at will for whatever purpose it suits them--even to the point of accepting hearsay as to the source of the word. They have searched for it and have gone as far back as to the Aztecs, but the word Chicano was never used until such time as it started in Sonora.

T: You said there was an organization called the Green Club?

V: Yes. This was an underground organization of wealthy individuals in the State of Sonora who wanted to secede from Mexico, but they were suppressed when it started to get a little too hot and rough for the Chinese, and Porfirio Diaz sent in three battalions of Mexican troops. Now, there is another word they used in Sonora to distinguish the Mexican Indian from the South of Mexico, and the word they use is guacho, and it also was derogatory. The northern Mexicans used it to distinguish themselves from the southern Mexican Indians.

T: You say you started going to California around 1936?

V: Yes, 1936, after I graduated from El Paso High School.

T: What other education did you have after graduating from high school? Did you go to college?

V: No, my grades were pretty bad. I could understand, write, and speak pretty fair English, but not with class--just to get by. Most of my thinking and living was done by the customs of my culture. This is the state of affairs in the barrio. This is what we go by. If you try to live by the rules of the other side, well, we were going to be ostracized. So to survive you remain status quo.

T: Were there gangs in South El Paso at that time as there seem to be now?

V: Not in those years. The gangs that were known, those gangs were older men

who were involved in smuggling, etc., because it was during the years of Prohibition. There was very little activity by the smaller gang groups, at least to my knowledge. I was not aware of any fights. I did see some quarrels between groups and the knife was always present. But that was because that group of people lived in their own environment, and certainly there were conflicts of personal interest among themselves, either because of the word that I told you (about "Chicano" or something derogatory), and immediately it was combat for dear life. That was the rule of life then. I'm only talking about my experiences in South El Paso at that time. I went to Aoy School, Sacred Heart, St. Ignatius, Alamo, and Franklin. After I made the move to El Paso High School, I ran into a conflict with a new type of environment which I was thrown into, with the non-Spanish speaking groups in Morehead and El Paso High School. The dominant ethnic groups were the Jewish boys and the Syrians and the Anglos. That was when I first realized that I was not well prepared and could not cope with a system that was being practiced by these other affluent ethnic groups.

T: Before you went to El Paso High, was the instruction you received in the schools mostly in Spanish?

V: No, English. And it was very slow because we were very slow to catch on, especially some of us who lived by the rules and customs of our environment and our heritage. Certainly, we would speak more in Spanish, and everything was in Spanish. And there was a very reasonable probability that our allegiance was Mexican without our knowing why.

T: You mentioned that it was many years before your father was able to join you here in El Paso. How long was it before the family was finally united?

V: The family was not united, because he only came in for a year. And like I

said, there was a price on his head, and he was being persecuted. He never abandoned his need to participate with the exiled revolutionary groups and he was always going from town to town.

T: In Mexico?

V: No, here in the United States. He was in New Orleans, San Antonio, El Paso, and Colorado. He spent a number of years in Colorado. To me it was disastrous, because I practically had to grow up by experience which you learn from day to day.

Something very interesting happened when I was in California: World War II broke out and I was drafted. I was married and had three children. And for the first time in my life I saw more Mexicans under a particular organization, which was the Army or the armed services, and it certainly made a difference in my thinking; and I assumed that there must have been a lot of changes in the thinking of our people after we came out of the Service. Up until the day that I went into the Service, we went into some experiences in which we had sociological conflicts with other ethnic groups.

In Los Angeles there was a tremendous number of gangs. Certainly because of the trends of that time, the Zoot Suiters had developed. I was already married. When the Zoot Suit conflicts came to Los Angeles, that particular Saturday I was going to the movies with my wife. I got off the streetcar and somehow or another we got in the middle of it. I mean, I was not involved one way or the other -- I just got caught in the middle. And in order to protect myself, I just had to join in against whoever was assaulting us, simply because they could identify us as Mexican Americans and Mexicans. That is something you can't forget. But at this particular time, I only relive it as a moment in the history of my life, but I don't

hold any grievances on account of it, because I happen to know what the cause of it was. It was just ignorance on both sides. Nevertheless, when we went to war, we found ourselves fighting for a country; we only knew we were fighting but we did not know (at least I did not know) for what. It was just, "get out and fight." Not until after we came back from the war did we realize what it was all about. Educational opportunities opened up for us. Many of us capitalized on it. I went to junior college and then I went to college using my G.I. Bill. And although I was already along in years, I used it a little bit late, but it certainly paid off. The educational opportunity that the United States Government offered the minority groups that participated in [the] defense of this country was of tremendous value because it helped remove the cloth of ignorance. I began to see my relationship to this country, which to this day has really turned around 180 degrees.

T: You say you did take advantage of the educational opportunities?

V: Yes. I believe that the federal government has an important role in the development of a better quality education in the United States, not necessarily only the states or the districts. I think that the federal government does have a role to play in which they can guarantee every citizen of the United States of America quality education and an opportunity, especially in the areas where the child that is going to grammar school or to high school is a product of a low economic group. By virtue of being an American citizen and having mental faculties that can be developed and can be useful to this country, they should be given an opportunity to develop--specifically the Spanish surnamed group. We are about 15 million in the United States, and most of us [are] in the southwest portion of the United States. Now, there are solid legal reasons

why this particular group should move into higher education. This is the only way this particular group will ever acquire knowledge that they have an absolute right to exercise their rights and their obligations under the Constitution of the United States of America without limitations or reservations.

T: Sir, when you graduated from college after the Second World War, what was the field of your degree and what kind of work did you go into?

V: I was always interested in law. I don't know why, but somewhere deep in my heart, since I was from a minority group, I always felt the need for equality. I believed that by studying law or understanding law you could exercise those rights to protect yourself in the face of adversity, which are unknown to one who is ignorant.

T: You studied law in college?

V: Yes.

T: What kind of job did you get after graduation?

V: I didn't get a job from graduation because I was too old to compete with the younger elements that were coming out of the university. All my economic survival was in the field of organized labor. Until such time as I exercised my rights, I began to participate and meddle in politics. And through political action I did manage to attract the attention of some individuals who felt that perhaps I would be of some benefit working in Government. I was given the opportunity to work for the State Industrial Accident Board in the field of workmen's compensation, which deals solely with the working man, which is something I am far more familiar with than anything else. And in this position, I have been very judiciously trying to balance justice against injustice without being high-handed one way or another against anybody. I have tried to practice what I believe in,

and that is to be a real judicious person, doing no harm to nobody and helping solve problems. This is what's happening now. This is what I'm doing right now while you're looking at me behind this desk.

Going a little further, let me say this: if anything is going to happen in the United States with minority groups, in order to remove the problem of mistrust and hostility, [we must work for] a better quality of education for all of us, where we will all understand our rights and the rules and obligations that we have to live by under this Constitution of the United States. Any group that is deprived of this educational mobility can be turned into a hostile group, which can be a detriment to the survival of this country.

T: Yes, very true. I'd just like to ask you what does your work here with the Texas Industrial Accident Board actually take in? Do you review claims?

V: I am the pre-hearing officer. I am the individual who makes the initial recommendation to the Industrial Accident Board as to the rights and the benefits of the injured party. I am in an administrative job, like an arbitrator. I recommend to the individual whether he has any benefits coming or not, without being high-handed or developing an attitude of hostility toward the insurance company or the employer. This has to be disciplined because it is very easy to charge the employer or the insurance company with deprivation of benefits to the working man. One of the biggest problems that comes around here is the result of the working man only being just a working man, and he has no relationship, no knowledge of anything else but to his patrón or to the job. The minute that something happens to him, he is at a loss as to how he's going to survive as the result of an injury which has removed him from economic activity

or competition. If you don't take care of this man who has been hurt in the course of his employment, then someone has to pick up the tab or he falls into welfare, which should not be the case; because there is a right and a duty flowing out of the workmen's compensation law. And if we allow the employers, the insurance companies, the organized labor, the working men, and lawyers to fight among themselves to the point that they would not solve the problem for the working man, all you have is guerilla warfare among the corporations.

T: Are there many people, when they get injured on the job, that know about your office and can take advantage of the benefits?

V: Benefits are always in the dark. Working men are not aware of what their benefits are until such time as they reach the point where they are in need of salvation. At that point, they start inquiring. All the agencies are products of the taxpayers. If an agency doesn't have any money to advertise, then it remains in the dark.

T: I myself had never heard of this office before.

V: What I have done here in El Paso is that I have gone on television to advertise the existence of the Industrial Accident Board in the State of Texas and its office in El Paso for the benefit of the working man, but not until in the last seven years has this come about. Before it was an unknown existing agency which was created solely for the purpose of helping the working man. It is just like an educational agency or anybody, if the individual doesn't know where to go, the opportunity passes him by because no one took the time to inform him, and information is very important. This is the reason why you are going to school over there. You are seeking answers for things that you only feel, but you can't quite pin down the remedy.

T: Right, very true. I'd just like to ask you one more question about this book you mentioned before, The Example of Sonora. You say that's the only book that you were able to find dealing with that subject?

V: That's one of the oldest; 1932. I will refer you to Dr. Melvin Straus at UTEP. Check with him, tell him that I sent you, and tell him to lend it to you; then give it back to him.

T: Yes, I'd very much like to see that book. You say it more or less details the experiences in the State of Sonora with the Chinese?

V: Yes. Remember that it was 1932 in Mexico, just about five years after the end of the 17 years of civil war, so it has to be spotty. But that should be able to give you a list of where to begin to look for something.

T: You mentioned before that after the Revolution there was an open border between the United States and Mexico and people could come and go at will. These Chinese, were they immigrating more or less into the United States about the time of the Mexican Revolution?

V: Well, they did go into California, Sonora, Arizona, and Colorado from Mexico. The Chinese is just like any human being: wherever he settles and finds himself comfortable and surviving, he will stay there.

T: Yes, but this move by the Chinese into the United States, was that as a result of the oppression they felt directed toward them in Sonora?

V: No, that was a natural process among themselves. It's just like now. The guys are floating in here. Why? Because there is a cushion here already. If there was nothing here you could pick them out like a sore thumb, right? But they can get lost. The same thing is in California; they could go into California and they could get lost. The Immigration Department was not that strong then.

T: I think the Border Patrol was formed about 1924.

V: It's the same thing with the Mexican border; there was no problem. As a matter of fact, there should be no problem when you take into consideration that all the western states, with the exception of California, have land to use, to cultivate, to develop. It's there and yet nobody is using it. You take the state of New Mexico, which only has one and 3/4 million population--my God! You take San Antonio and the surrounding territories, and there you have two million. If these lands were opened up, there would be no need for all these hassles about employment. That's productive land over there.

Now as far as the Mexican American is concerned and his quest for the development of his own economic mobility, there are three premises. Number one, the fact that they are a mixed race or supposed to be a mixed race with the Native American (which is the Indian) gives him some rights to the North American continent. (Let's say second class Native Americans, taking into consideration the real native, the one that is not mixed, the Indian.) Now comes the war with Texas or the Texas Independence. You must remember that the Battle of San Jacinto would never have been won if General Sam Houston had not had a tremendous number of Mexican citizens fighting for the independence of Texas. They would not have been successful. As a result, by winning the independence of Texas and the development of the Texas Constitution, it gave the rights to all the citizens of Texas, which included the Spanish surnames that fought. That left a constitutional premise there for the rights of the Spanish surnames to survive. One more step, [through] the Mexican War and by agreement between the victorious party and the losing party, all that did was just put a fine line [a border] --from here belongs to you and from here belongs to us. But what about the human beings that

already had villages? They had [their] culture, little farms, churches, and society, right? Then by international law and by being citizens of the U.S. they should be under the full protection, obligation, and benefits of the Constitution of the United States. [Because] there is no word in the Constitution that says the word American in "We the American people" is to be used exclusively by any particular ethnic group. Where do you find in the Constitution of the United States that says, "us Anglos only," or "us Irish," eh? It's a social contract. So we have three premises.

One of the problems that we always have had is that this must be recorded in history. You have seen it on television, you have read it in stories, that the individuals that came from across the Mississippi River who moved into the wild west came in with a gun, rifle, and a horse and were far more powerful than the pre-existing villagers who did not have guns. [The villagers] had farming equipment, maybe a few tools to fight the Indians; but they had a good relationship with the Indians, there was no problem. But [because of] the fact that they came in with a gun, they overcame the existing residents of the area. And because of the taking hold of the governments, they made laws to deprive these pre-existing individuals of their lands. All we are talking about now is that the Mexican American people should identify themselves as Americans per se and nothing else.

T: I feel the same way about that. There is too much of what they call "hyphenated Americans"--German-American, Irish-American, Spanish-American.

V: But we must understand that the United States is still going through this mechanical process, and eventually it is going to be greater; but we are still going through the primitive stage of evolution and we must

understand that this is what is going on. A person who is intelligent and humanitarian should understand that these things exist, but [that] they are going to be changed. We are changing. We are trying to avoid this Chicano victim which prevents our people from thinking American and using the system so that they can improve themselves.

T: The educational system?

V: That is right. So if they find us quarrelsome and petty, it is because these are the only truths that we have to throw, to attract attention to something that is not right.

T: From what you said earlier about the word Chicano, I imagine now you think that is a bad term to use for this Chicano Movement they have. You think they could have found a better name?

V: It arrests mobility toward the use of the word American. In other words, they can't use the word American because they are going to find someone who says, "Ah, you are not a gringo, you're just a Chicano." You follow? It arrests the movement until such time as a man acquires enough intelligence to say, "Well, sh--! This is mine over here. Why should I be in mind over there and body over here? When if I go over there, I don't even belong over there." Now this group that is using the word Chicano is only a motley group. They are just nothing.

T: They're mostly the younger people, aren't they?

V: They'll get away from it as they grow older.

T: You're not suggesting then that they do away with a group like that, but that...

V: You just have to tolerate them and open the door to educate them to the truth, because the word Chicano rightfully belongs to identify someone who is of Mexican and Chinese heritage. [The Chicano Movement] is only ten years old.

T: Yes, that's true, but didn't the word Chicano have a different meaning when the early Mexican immigrants were coming into the United States?

V: It was derogatory. You talk to the old folks. They were solid Mexicans or nothing. They've got to be a Chicano nation to be a Chicano, and there is no Chicano nation.

T: Right after the Second World War, were there a lot of Spanish surnamed men taking advantage of the educational opportunities?

V: Yes, you can tell.

T: Has there been a marked change from the late 1940's until now, say before the Second World War?

V: Yes. We have Castro as a Governor in the state of Arizona; we have a black as a Governor in the state of New Mexico. We have judges with Spanish surnames, Senators with Spanish surnames, Lujan [for example.] So now the biggest problem that faces the Mexican American, the Spanish surnamed group, is the development of an elite society that will be able to invest into economic enterprises, using the law to draw up contracts, partnerships, and corporations, marketing, etc. Before we were only relegated to the working class.

T: It has been very interesting talking to you, sir. I know Dr. Straus at UTEP. I had a seminar with him last spring, and I believe I'll try.

V: He might object to my saying this, but I don't give a damn because this is my experience; I have lived it. He didn't live my life. In order for the Chicano studies to survive there, they have to nourish the Chicano problem. Now the Chicano problem is one of the use of words. Why use the "Chicano"? Actually what we are looking for is the historical development of the present new American, called the Mexican American, or let's say we were older Americans before. What do I have? I have a boy that is married to an Irish girl in Boston. My two little granddaughters

are Valle. My granddaughter, the one who just wanted to talk to me, is Mexican, Spanish American, Mexican American. Her father is of French-Mexican extraction--the one that you saw. One of my granddaughters just married a Jewish boy. Now what will the offspring be?

T: Americans.

V: Americans. They can't say Jewish-Mexicans! [Laughter] You see, this is what is happening, the evolution. But the fact is that a great number of people are making a big deal out of, "The guy is a Mexican because his name is Martinez." Well, hell! We have brown and blue-eyed Martinez's and Sanchez's and Gomez's.

T: Well, I guess that just carries out the concept of America as a melting pot.

V: The true fact is that the word American is not for the absolute right and exclusive use of one particular group, but it is the body of rules and laws under [which] all ethnic groups identify themselves in a social structure. But nobody does that.

T: There seems to be a big emphasis on retaining your culture from whatever...

V: The use of our culture in this country can only serve as a means of entertaining emotional satisfaction, but for practical purposes, to survive in the field of economic activity, social activity, [and] political activity, it is detrimental.

T: Yes, but you wouldn't suggest abandoning it.

V: I can't abandon it. Every day I run into conflict with the dictates of my culture against my logic.

T: Do you have an example of that, sir?

V: Well, suppose that I have a grandfatherly type man, 60 years of age, who was injured on the job. He cries and cries to me about his problem.

Here is the big octopus, the insurance company and R. E. McKee. Should I prostitute the law here in order to go with my paisano? I'm emotionally involved if he pulls me. Should I close my eyes to the fact that he's got no compensation coming, that he's wrong, and commit an immoral act, a violation of the law? We want to be equal to the law. I want you to trust me. I don't want you to think of me as a petty thief or that I am going to put my hand in your pocket and make it rough for you.

T: Yes, I can see there's quite a conflict there.

V: I have to be careful [as] to whatever I am talking about in order to let these people know and the other side know that we are individuals capable of being trusted with the reigns of government. Should I be partial, should I pardon Nixon simply because [I'm] of the same party, [or] for the good of the country?

T: I guess there are a lot of things that you have to consider.

V: In a very small way, I'm no different than up there. But somewhere along the line, if we do not have any morality in our standard of living, then we have no government.

T: I know you mentioned there a little while ago about making yourself heard. How far do you think the minority groups now should go in making themselves heard?

V: Through a political process, organization. In the United States, no individual can survive by himself against the organization, because in the United States you have multiple organizations--everything is organization, organization, organization.

T: Do you think the political party La Raza Unida is a step in the right direction? Are they representative of the Spanish surnames here in the Southwest?

V: They are representative only of one problem: they manifest what I feel --the need to be accepted as capable of participating in the application of the laws governing our social, political, and economic life, simply because we are just slightly outside of any power inside the Democratic Party or the Republican Party. The Raza Unida is only the outsiders attempting to get inside the process and govern. Just like I said, I'm government here. But if they prostitute the law, then they are not serving the purpose of it.

T: Yes. They should apply the law equally to all ethnic groups.

V: To all ethnic groups, right.

T: Not just concentrating more or less on the minorities.

V: Right. That's an intangible benefit. It's not right now, but in the years to come. But if you are trying hit for a one chance deal to get everything that you can right now and run with it, it will be very hard.