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**History of the Chicano Movement**  
**Committee on Chicano Rights**

**INTERVIEWEE:** Baca, Herman  
**INTERVIEWER:** Patino, Jimmy, Historian, UCSD  
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[1 TAPE – 90 Minutes]

**BEGIN SIDE 1, TAPE 9, SESSION 7.**

**PATINO:** UCSD.

**BACA:** 11:15 a.m.

**PATINO:** Okay, we left off with the Carter March. What was their reaction to the Carter March?

**BACA:** Well, a little bit of everything I guess. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) Our community, it solidified at least in the Movement and the activist element, that something was not right in relationship to the proposal being put forth as solutions. And, the general society, I think the issue was still viewed the way it is today, that there was, you know, because of the racism that exists in U.S. society, that it was, the immigration definition that it, you know, you had people that were law breakers, people coming across, people that needed to be dealt with in a different manner than most normal residents or citizens would be treated. It increased the conciencia, the consciousness, I think in certain sectors of society, such as the church, some politicians rhetorically picking up some of the liberal concepts that, you know, people had to be, status had to be legalized, that families not be torn apart, or divided. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) I think the biggest thing that probably the opposition to the Carter Immigration Plan did was that it impacted labor.

(Patino: Uhm-hmm.) Some unions started to view the so-called immigration issue more as a labor issue, (Patino: Right.) and that workers were an integral part of the U.S. labor force that had to be organized like any other worker. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) And that the corporations had manipulated the policy and, you know, were reaping huge profits and that it was affecting their interests, you know. Possibly also because of the declining union membership that was, you know, starting to fall, you know. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) So, it was a little bit of everything, you know. And, like I said in our community it solidified, at least the Chicano Movement, in the, in the activist mindset that immigration was a frontburner issue that had to be resolved, you know, in order for us to continue our efforts to franchise our community.

**PATINO:** Right. What happened to the policy? I guess it got dropped eventually?

**BACA:** Ah, like . . .

**PATINO:** In Congress?

**BACA:** Like everything else there was conflicting interests battling it. I'm talking about in U.S. society. (Patino: Right.) You had, you had, you know, the vested interests, the Chamber of Commerce, the business interests that, you know, wanted no, they just wanted the status quo. So, they wanted no change. (Patino: Right.) You had other people that, like I said that most of the labor unions were in favor of the employer sanction thinking that some way, somehow that was going to make their unionizing, organizing efforts easier. But really, just like what you're seeing right now those competing interests were not able to resolve their differences and consequently the status quo just continued. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) I think one of the things that did come out because of the institutional racism in U.S. society was that the law enforcement/military definition became more widely accepted. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) You know, you have to remember that back in '76 most people outside of probably Texas and California

didn't give a damn about the immigration issue. (Patino: Right.) It was an abstract. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) It didn't affect them. You know, if you went to Iowa, Alabama, you know, it was something you might have read about. (Patino: Okay.) But, it's not like now [Laugh] and you have thousands and hundreds of thousands of Mexicanos in states that they were never present in. (Patino: Right.) So, like I said I think that accelerated that law enforcement/military definition that that was a solution, you know, in U.S. society. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) Back then, unlike what you see now, the entrenched racist white supremacist mentality, (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) and manifested by, you know, those talk show hosts, and you know, cheap politicians like you see in, what was in Pennsylvania, efforts to try to, you know, establish, you know, apartheid rules, like, "You can't rent. You can't hire unless you have a permit," you know. (Patino: Yeah.) That those are the things that came out of the acceptance. That started the process that we're now seeing. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) And, like I always state, the reason for that is because of demographics. (Patino: Right.) That's been the change. That's been a major change in U.S. society, is the demographics and the increase of our people and the dwindling so-called majority population, you know. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) For many, many reasons, I guess. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) But, the Carter Immigration Plan just went on to become the Reagan Immigration Plan and then later the Simpson/Rodino so-called landmark legislation (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) that we now see was a disastrous piece of legislation. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) Back then they were talking about giving amnesty, I think, to two million people, now the numbers got up to twelve, fourteen million. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) [Laugh] So. So, the Frankenstein, the monstruo, [Laugh] okay, fell apart in other words. The Carter Immigration Plan, you know, just fell apart. I mean, it was more of an emotional, that than anything else. It didn't do anything. It just made people feel good that, "Hey, because of the racism that, you know, they could have open season hunting on

Mexicanos, you know, (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) and blame them for every, every evil that existed. And, believe me I've seen everything from – I remember one time I was getting ready to go to some trip and I was looking at one of the local TV stations and they were interviewing a farmer in San Ysidro, (Patino: Yeah.) right at the international border. And, the issue was why his cows on his farm weren't giving milk, and the guy was saying it was because the illegal aliens were sleeping in the hay, in the cows' hay. [Laugh] And, this was being broadcast on a TV station, you know. [Laugh] I remember another report that something like eighty, the majority of forest fires were caused by illegal aliens, you know. On and on and on, you know, the crime, the use of the welfare system, you know. So, they were scapegoating, (Patino: Right.) you know.

**PATINO:** Especially somewhere like San Diego?

**BACA:** San Diego, California, but (Patino: Right.) especially along the border towns. (Patino: Right.) So, so really we've gone from scapegoating to race baiting now. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) You know, that doesn't – you know. And, the Carter Immigration Plan, like I said, it was a little bit of, it affected, it caused a lot of things in one manner or another that we're now seeing, you know, for given reasons. But I remember, I don't know if we talked about when we met with Griffin Bell. Did we go through that?

**PATINO:** I don't think so.

**BACA:** Yeah, after a picket here some way, somehow I don't know, some meeting got set up with the Attorney General, Griffin Bell, (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) in Washington D.C. So, a number of us went. And, I keep thinking that I either told you privately or that we did on tape about when Griffin Bell allowed us or was going to give us fifteen minutes, I think.

**PATINO:** Oh, that's right. The guy from – the southern guy?

**BACA:** Yeah. PASO. Yeah.

**PATINO:** Yeah.

**BACA:** Yeah, okay. But anyway, out of, out of, like I stated before the march against the Klan, because of the Carter Immigration Plan, the Chicano involvement became more national.

(Patino: Right.) You know, that's one thing. It became even more international because of Mexico, you know. (Patino: Uhm-hmm. Uhm-hmm.) There started to be communications or dialog about the various, what the Chicano Movement was doing and there was trips to Mexico, you know, to Mexico by a lot of people. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) National organizations started to finally pick up on the issues, you know, the funded, the so-called "powerbroker" organizations, you know, they started taking positions on the, on this issue, you know. So, those are some of the things that came out of the whole Carter Immigration Plan. And don't forget, Carter was just there from 1976 to 1980 (Patino: Right.) when Ronald Reagan whipped his butt, you know.

(Patino: Right.) So, he was a one-term president. (Patino: Right.) Yeah.

**PATINO:** So, the Carter Plan died and then Reagan comes?

**BACA:** Yeah. And ironically you can draw parallels. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) The immigration issue, just like now, was affected by the hostage takeover in Iran. So, that diverted some of the attention (Patino: Right.) away from this issue, just like the Iraq war is doing today. (Patino: Right. Right.) So, like they say, "The more things change the more they remain the same." (Patino: Right.) you know. Some things change, some things don't. But, overall for us the only thing that really has changed is is demographics.

**PATINO:** So how did, so the immigration movement seems to have actually gained impetus from the Carter Plan, gained momentum?

**BACA:** Well, yeah that's, but I would say more so from the change in demographics. (Patino: Right.) You know? (Patino: Right.) Because, the Carter Immigration Plan, like I said, it was

just a proposal by the president of old discarded policies, old discarded pieces of legislation.

You know, the carrot-and-the-stick, like I stated before. The stick being the increased militarization and law enforcement powers of the, by increasing the U.S. Border Patrol, (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) and politically you know engraining it in the U.S., the U.S. public mind that, you know, these were individuals that were breaking the law, you know, violating the sovereignty and abusing the institutions of U.S. society, like, you know, like in the workforce stealing jobs, you know. The hospitals, you know, welfare.

**PATINO:** Right. And this was a democratic president that . . .

**BACA:** Yeah. That's what I 'm telling you. It, democrat or republican, it's always been the carrot and the stick, (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) you know. And, like I said, it's always been defined as immigration, rather than the labor, labor issue, or labor so-called problem. And, you can't fix a labor problem with so-called immigration solutions, or vice versa, you know. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) You try and put a round peg in a square hole, (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) or vice versa.

(Patino: Uhm-hmm.) So, like I said, the Carter Immigration Plan I think basically what it did do was it highlighted it. Because, hey, now you got the Executive Branch treating this issue just like it did, you know, other foreign policy issues like, you know, the hostage takeover. The president was talking about it, in other words. (Patino: Right. Right.) It was prompting Congress to do something about it. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) And, like I said, for U.S. society I think it only accelerated and reinforced, because of the racism, (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) the mentality that we're now seeing, you know, at a much larger scale. And, like I said, for Chicanos it put the issue on the front burner and it solidified what at that time still existed, which was opposition to this approach that we had seen before. In other words, that the INS as it was structured, the Border Patrol as it as structured was (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) the Gestapo of the

Mexican people, whether they were citizens, whether they were documented, or whether they were undocumented. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) You know, that had taken hold. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) And, much of it was due to the politicizing efforts, organizing efforts, of Bert Corona, (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) you know. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) I mean that's, that's where we got our philosophical and political definitions, (Patino: Right.) you know. You know, and he had never wavered. Like I said, in the early '70s there was that disagreement or conflict with the UFW that Bert basically had taken on. You know, you look at some of the La Raza Unida newsletters, there's some speeches in there, and defining or explaining why that mentality that existed, not only in the United Farm Workers but in our own community, and in the minds of many activists, (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) was incorrect politically because of the negative affect it was having on our interests. (Patino: Right.) So, that's basically what happened with the Carter Immigration Plan.

**PATINO:** And two, with you guys in San Diego were observing and feeling the effects of the INS everyday?

**BACA:** Oh yeah, you know, just, we were like at the apex or the front lines of the whole issue. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) I mean, San Diego and Tijuana (Patino: Yeah.) that was, like I stated before, that was the busiest international border crossing in the world.

**PATINO:** And, was brutality increasing by the late '70s?

**BACA:** Oh, the brutality – I don't know whether it was increasing as it was surfacing. [Laugh] It was being reported. (Patino: Right. Right.) It was being denounced, you know, because there were organizations like the CCR that were making themselves available (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) and were willing to, you know, denounce it (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) as a violation of human rights. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) So, we started, I mean there's always, like I said, some of the first cases I got involved with were, was a rape case of a Mexicana, undocumented, by a U.S. border

patrolman. (Patino: Yeah.) And, that led to conflict with the district attorney here in San Diego, who, you know, all of a sudden immigration was a federal matter. And, then we had the local sheriff and the chief of police from the City of San Diego stating that they have the right to enforce federal immigration laws. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) And, another one was the shooting of two handcuffed individuals, you know. (Patino: Uhm-hmm. Uhm-hmm.) You know, which was common practice. It was common practice. I remember, I think it was in 1977 (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) that we took a packet to Washington D.C. of documented cases of those type of cases, shootings, beatings, assaults, children dying at the border, children being imprisoned at the MCC facility. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) And, I know the packet's here because it's also included in the tribunal, (Patino: Right.) you know, packet. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) But, I remember it was, I guess it was during the Carter, '79, yeah. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) It was during the Carter Immigration Administration, and we turned it in to the U.S. Department of Justice. And, it was a well laid out packet of documented cases involving, like I said, shootings, shooting deaths, beatings, rape of Mexican women, children dying, you know, at the border, children being imprisoned (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) at the MCC here in San Diego. Which, if I remember right I don't think that, you know, maybe that was. Maybe that was the meeting with Griffin Bell. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) I tend to forget now, you know, but I remember we did take, take the packet to D.C. and, you know. If I remember correctly we also had a press conference there, and, at the National Press Building, you know.

**PATINO:** What was the response?

**BACA:** Well, denial. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) "Isolated cases," "exception to the rule," you know, "a few bad apples in the barrel," you know, type situation. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) That was the response, you know.

**PATINO:** Right. Was the packet kind of the beginning of the idea for the tribunal?

**BACA:** Yeah, that kind of led up to the tribunal and I think it was the Memorial March. Right?

**PATINO:** Right. (Baca: And . . .) This is the same group of activists with the Carter Plan?

**BACA:** Yeah. Let me see that, see that packet right there?

**PATINO:** This?

**BACA:** See the tribunal, okay this is what month? This is . . .

**PATINO:** April.

**BACA:** April?

**PATINO:** April 11, 1981.

**BACA:** So, this is all that one. Okay. Yeah, as you can see by the packet, okay, yeah there was abuse of children, (Patino: Right.) you know.

**PATINO:** Denial of medical care?

**BACA:** Yes. So, yeah, use of deadly force. Okay, so let me see. So, this is the packet. I mean, this is some of the packet here about the actual complaints. (Patino: Right.) But, that's April. So . . .

**PATINO:** This is in May of 1980 here.

**BACA:** Yeah. I remember that, the, we had documented the cases in 1979, and of course there was a lot of interest. Because, like I said what was happening here started happening in other places, (Patino: Right.) and by here I mean San Diego. So I remember that, that as I'm looking at this thing here this is from a conference, a MEChA statewide conference in Fresno. So, like I said I'm trying to get the two marches together. And, let's see. Okay. [Turning pages] [Tape paused]

**PATINO:** Press release, a Time for Resistance, march and conference.

**BACA:** Now . . .

**PATINO:** That's in '80.

**BACA:** Yeah, you see, there's the Time for Resistance. Now, the tribunal was '81, if I'm . . .

**PATINO:** Eighty-one, right.

**BACA:** Right?

**PATINO:** April 11, 1981 was the tribunal.

**BACA:** Yeah, you see, but first we had . . .

**PATINO:** First you had a march, then the conference?

**BACA:** The march, which was – yeah, the – oh man. Let's see. Yeah, there was no march with the tribunal. (Patino: Right.) This, out of this conference here, the, whose theme was "A Time for Resistance," (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) and a memorial march came to tribunal. Okay?

**PATINO:** Right.

**BACA:** And, out of the workshops, and with the whole concept that to dramatize the border brutalities and the, caused by the militarization policy of the U.S./Mexico border, (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) okay, the purpose of the conference and, I mean from a press release, (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) "According to the CCR spokesperson HB will be to seek solutions to the escalating violence involving killings, rapings, beatings, and the massive violation of human civil and constitutional rights of the U.S./Mexico border, and in the Chicano communities. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) Furthermore, the conference will address itself to the formulation of a new direction based on the self-determination of our people and to take in a united Chicano position on the immigration issue before the 1980 presidential election."

**PATINO:** I see. So, Carter's still in?

**BACA:** Yeah. "The border memorial march, which is being called on the following day, May 25, 1980 at the international border in San Ysidro, California will commemorate the victims that have been killed and brutalized by the INS/Border Patrol. Endorsers, speaker workshops, and other information will be announced at a future date according to CCR spokesperson." Okay?

**PATINO:** Uhm-hmm.

**BACA:** So, that's the conference then that we had at St. Rita's.

**PATINO:** Okay.

**BACA:** And, let me see that packet. (Patino: Sure.) That file. And that's, we had an all-day conference at St. Rita's, where we had speakers. I distinctly remember, okay, Corky and myself (Patino: Right.) speaking. And, here's a folder right here. So, it was two days. Saturday was the day of the conference, (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) and then the march took place on Sunday. And, so I remember that the conference, now the conference was held at St. Rita's Catholic Church and they're all there, and I remember in organizing that it was to address, of course, the documentation of INS/Border Patrol brutalities that we had documented, (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) and to elevate or raise the issue for the 1980 presidential elections, (Patino: Right.) which goes back to the failure of the Carter Immigration Plan. But, so I remember that it was the CCR's first attempt to organize on a national level. (Patino: Right.) You know, before the Klan march brought people here, they came because in response to the Klan march. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) But, because we did it in two weeks. We never went out and said, "Hey, we're going to have a march against the Klan," you know. (Patino: Yeah.) People just responded and came down. This conference was a calculated effort by the CCR to focus attention on something that I'm sure everyone of Mexican ancestry has either heard, heard about it, stories about being harassed by Border Patrol officials on buses or at the airport, or even in your own communities, (Patino:

Uhm-hmm.) or seeing raids taking place at parks, and businesses, and even churches. Or, experience first hand, you know, like here in San Diego, you know, while crossing the border or, you know, through the international border, or out there to the Lomas, you know, and that surrounds San Ysidro and Tijuana. So, it was a calculated effort, you know, to try to get that out and try to get it to not only the activist elements but churches, and of course, into the political discussion that, you know, would hopefully come out of the 1980 elections. So I, but that was our first step for, to go out and try to get, and organize. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) And, I remember we worked out a plan where we started in San Francisco and we came from San Francisco and we hit all, all the campuses where I spoke at. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) And, the article I was making reference to, I remember it was a MEChA statewide conference in Fresno, asking for, they were informing them and then asking them for support and endorsement. So, there was that and then, of course, there was going through the various campuses, L.A., there was some organizations, some chapters of MAPA, CASA, and you know, going across into Tijuana and getting the word out to the Mexican public. So, on that Saturday we met at St. Ritas and from what I remember, or what I do remember is is that, I remember Corky, Corky spoke, I spoke, Bert Corona was supposed to have been present and he never showed up. And, after that splitting up and after, you know, dealing with the media and what have you, and now work, you know, we had various workshops on brutality, on education, (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) on – let's see, there was cultural, yeah, economics, labor, (Patino: Right.) administration of justice, residential sweeps, legislation, (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) political Chicano/Mexicano perspective of the issue, on the news media, (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) on the church. So, there was a lot of workshops.

**PATINO:** I wanted to ask you, this is kind of in response to the policies, kind of a Chicano response to the immigration policies. What was the thinking in terms of Chicanos and

Mexicanos that are just getting here, that they became Chicanos as soon as they crossed that border?

**BACA:** Well, you know, our political position has always been that any Mexicana crossing that border becomes part of the Chicano problem, you know, that we have been experiencing since, what is it, a hundred and sixty-some years, (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) whether they know it or not, which most don't know. It's a different mindset. (Patino: Yeah.) But, their children, their offspring, obviously, (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) find out about it. Because, I think the mindset of most Mexicanos is like saying, "Well, I'm going back to my little ranchita one of these days." (Patino: Right.) You know, "I'm just here to work." (Patino: Right.)

And, that's the other thing that, talking about mindsets is that a lot of Mexicanos do not like the value system here, you know, [Laugh] the liberal, social, anything-goes type of values (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) that they find in U.S. society. And, a lot of them have told me that if it wasn't for the economics that they would go back, because this is not a place to raise your children, (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) you know. But, on the other hand, it's like, "I'm going back." The children have a different completely mindset. (Patino: Right.) They become immersed in, or captivated by that, what U.S. society, you know, I wouldn't say "offer." I would say, what U.S. society Madison Avenues amend to, you know, the name brands. They're highly influenced by what they see on TV. And so, you've got those two mindsets. I know some people that, I mean the parents themselves have only been here fifteen years, you know, and children born here tell their parents, "Hey," that they won't speak Spanish. (Patino: Right.) The parents are completely unfamiliar with what the music their kids are listening to, or the movies that they're watching. I mean, it's just alien. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) So, those are different mindsets. But, in reference back to your question about, you know, the Mexicano/Chicano perspective, we

understood in CCR that that existed, (Patino: Right.) you know, that there was two mindsets. We had a commonality on the one hand, but there was different perspectives on the views of both groups. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) You know, and I think the main one was that we understood that the Mexicanos had what we didn't have, which was they had an institutionalized concept of who they were. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) What Chicanos were still grappling with, you know, "Am I Latino? Am I Mexican-American? Am I, you know, where am I? Who am I?"

**PATINO:** Uhm-hmm. They're Mexicanos?

**BACA:** Yeah, they're Mexicanos, (Patino: Uh huh.) plain and simple. (Patino: Yeah.) And, not only in name but in their mindsets, (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) you know. They listen to the kind of music. You know, interesting story or situation. I remember this teacher one time brought like about twenty students, most of them Anglos, to my print shop (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) to talk about the Chicano Movement. And, you've been in my print shop. I've got pictures all over the place. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) But, I got a particular setting where I've got a picture of Cuauhtémoc, and then I've got a bunch of Villa, and Zapata on each side, and then you come down and there's a whole bunch of other pictures, family pictures right there. So, I remember we're talking about this and that and this young Anglo student asked me, he said, "Mr. Baca," he said, "let me ask you." He says, I say "What's that?" He says, "What's a Chicano?" I said, "You know, that's a good question." I said, "Let me try to explain it this way." I said, "You see Cuauhtémoc up there?" who was way on the top. I said, "That was the last emperor, the last Aztec emperor before the conquest." I says, "Or after the conquest," I should say. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) Because he was killed by Hernan Cortez, you know. I says, "Now, below Cuauhtémoc is Zapata and Villa." I says, "Now, Zapata being from the south, I think, probably could have spoken to Cuauhtémoc, the Indian dialects." I said, "Now, Villa being from the

north, I don't think he could have." I said, "Now, you go underneath Pancho Villa and Zapata," I says, "There's my family." I said, "Now, my wife and I could talk to Zapata and Villa, but not to Cuauhtémoc." I said, "My children couldn't talk to either Zapata, Villa, or Cuahutemoc." I says, "My wife and I," I says, "we listen to Mexican music, you know, from José Alfredo Jimenez, Pedro Infante, Los Andis." I says, "My kids listen to Snoop Dog, and Madonna, heaven knows what else is out there." (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) I said, "But, my wife and myself also listen to, besides Bellefonte and José Alfredo Jimenez, Los Andis and to other music. You know, I like oldie but goodies and I like James Brown." I said, "And my wife likes Barry Manilow and Johnny Mathis." I said, "Now," I says, "my friends, Chicanos, a lot of them have married Anglos, so they have half Chicano, half Anglo kids." (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) I said, "Now there's other friends whose sons and daughters have married Afro-Americans," and I said, "Puerto Ricans," and I said, "many other races. So," I said, "so the answer to your question is, hell if I know what a Chicano is." [Laughter] I said, "Because it's, you know, you put all those conglomerations together, I, you know, I don't know." (Patino: Uhm-hmm.)

But, back to this interesting workshop of Chicano/Mexicano perspective, (Patino: Right.) it would be interesting to see what, what came out of it. Because, that's an issue, like I was telling you the other day, that it's there but it's not talked about or addressed by anybody. (Patino: Yeah.) Sometimes even leading to open conflict, you know, (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) as we've seen in the prisons, as we've seen in communities, you know, which is a shame, which is disgusting really, and it's something that, it's going to have to be talked about. It's going to have to be addressed. It's going to have to be resolved.

**PATINO:** And, I guess conferences like that was meant to raise the consciousness to talk about those things?

**BACA:** Well, to talk about that, but here it was basically on this issue that was affecting both groups. (Patino: Right.) You know, some people like to make light that, "Hey, we're just Mexicanos." I don't think it's that simple, like I just explained it. (Patino: Right.) You know? Realistically, it's not that simple, you know. As we have even seen historically, there's an old political saying that, "Revolutions come from the north," as was seen during the Mexican Revolution. [Laughter] So, and I've always maintained, I've always maintained, going back to this liberal perspective, that if there's ever going to be resolvment or a solution to the so-called immigration/labor issue that it's going to come from here, from the Chicanos. Realistically, we're the only ones that can affect and impact, you know, those policies. [Recording paused] Make up that's had and still has. Like I told you before, the Mexican government's position was always, "Get them out of here." (Patino: Right.) It lessens the chances for revolution. And, so realistically, I mean, we started looking at the change in demo . . .

**END SIDE 1, TAPE 9, SESSION 7.**

**BEGIN SIDE 2, TAPE 9, SESSION 7.**

**BACA:** East L.A. in California that's a big, big player (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) in electoral politics. Texas is a big, big player. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) And, with us becoming the majority, if we're ever educated, politicized, and organized, people have to take in account those issues and concerns (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) of our people and our communities. So, it's not that simple, you know. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) I wish it was. I think if you look at Mexican history, or make up of all of our society they're basically tribes, you know. (Patino: Uhm-hmm. Uhm-hmm.) What is it, "The family first, (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) then the city, then the state," and heaven knows anything about the federal (Patino: Right.) government, or could care less, other than, you know, the impact that it has on their daily lives. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) But, so I remember, getting back

to the conference (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) that there was a lot of workshops and but that was a lot of issues that we had dealt with or we had witnessed, okay. Like I said, it was an economic issue. It was a labor issue. The administration of justice, of course, was something that had always evaded our community. Residential sweeps. There was a lot of residential sweeps taking place, which back then, and to parks and businesses, (Patino: Right.) communities, churches, you know. Legislation, of course, you had the Carter Immigration legislation and other pending legislations. Border violence, you know. it was getting more and more, people were beaten up, made more aware and people were, you know, exposing it more. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) I already went through the Chicano/Mexicano perspective. The women in immigration, (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) you know. It was starting to change. Prior to the late '60s, middle '60s, '70s, most of the undocumented were, they majority were men. (Patino: Right.) We started to see an increase of women, families, children coming across. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) You know, and of course abuses taking place, like I already told you about that rape of the Mexicana.

**PATINO:** Uhm-hmm. I guess some of the jobs were changing, maids, garment workers, stuff like that?

**BACA:** Yeah, but most of those jobs that you described they were probably along the border, and most of the women would come across with a passaporte locales, you know, a local passport, (Patino: Right.) and 1-8 – I forget the number now – 187. Not 187, 192.

**PATINO:** Which was suppose to be temporary so you can cross?

**BACA:** Yeah. Which, it's, in reading about immigration, because of passaporte locale, there's very little talk about – they always talk about tourists, or visitors, or students, or business people overstaying their visas, but what happened in 1965 with the McCarran-Walter Act, okay.

(Patino: Uhm-hmm.) The Walter-McCarran Act, I'm pretty certain that's the name of it, it made

it more difficult to legally immigrate, on the one hand. But, because of the addiction to cheap labor the INS set up this process where they literally handed out millions of these passaporte locales. Now, a passaporte locales was, it was supposed to be a 72-hour pass (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) for "business, pleasure." In other words, yeah you could come and shop or you could go to the San Diego Zoo type situation, and you couldn't go back past the 25-mile radius. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) But, first of all, there was no checkout time. I mean, you didn't punch a clock or anything, and there was no check-in time. So people, "Where you going?" "Well, I'm going to go shop at then Sears," or what have you, (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) or "I'm going to San Diego Zoo." "Okay. Yeah, you can come across just like a U.S. citizen." (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) Because it is a system. Well, what happened is, and because there are sectors of the U.S. economy that demand, that demand this type of labor, of workers without any rights, what would happen is, is a person come across and they knew that there was employment in, as maids, or restaurants, hotels, (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) motels, the fields here and going into the Valley, in the Central Valley, or Sacramento, wherever. They would go on to their destination. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) And, I always remember, so, so that was like an administrative remedy to let people come in legally under certain conditions, okay, (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) making the stay of not returning now a law-breaking offense. Okay? So, what usually used to happen was, was people would go to work at, let's say, the garment industry, the hotels and motels, the industry, wherever employers demanded this type of labor. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) And usually what used to happen was when workers would start complaining about the wages or the working conditions or the exploitation, the abuses, the employer would call the INS, (Patino: Yeah.) the Border Patrol, (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) who would then pull their infamous raids, you know, and break up any efforts to correct those abuses, you know. And then, they would give the undocumented another

administrative remedy, voluntary departure. So, when you read in the newspaper that, "Hey, last year over a million illegals were deported," that's a lie. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) Deportation is the formal court proceedings that determines whether you're allowed to stay or you're going to get kicked out of the country. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) You know, John Lennon. Remember John Lennon. John Lennon, they deported him. He, John Lennon got deported, I think, for smoking pot or, I don't know, something. (Patino: Yeah.) So, they wouldn't let him in or something, I don't know. But anyway, that's deportation.

**PATINO:** It's a proceeding?

**BACA:** Yeah. It's a court proceeding. (Patino: Right.) You know. Lucky Luciano, the gangster. You know, they deported him. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) So, there's voluntary departure. It's completely different. Now, I remember the figures. I don't know how many there is now, but I remember that out of the million something like, there was like 35,000 deportations. (Patino: Yeah.) No way, no how could the system handle [Laugh] a million deportations. (Patino: Right. Right.) So, if everybody says, "I want a court hearing," you know. The system would collapse. So, what happens is, is that they pick up Juan Papalote, who was trying to, who was complaining and maybe trying to organize a union in L.A., they give him a voluntary departure, and voluntary departure means that you're going to get out of the country, probably the day or two days, as soon as there's enough, as soon as the bus leaves form L.A. to Tijuana. Okay? And, I don't know about now, but back then there was, you could put down Juan Papalote and there was no record. There was no punishment. So, usually what would happen was, they'd get on the bus. They'd be driven down here to San Ysidro, and they'd push them across, right? So, what would happen was is Juan Papalote probably sent his, mailed his passaporte locale back to his home address when he was in L.A., right? So, what would happen, he would go pick up

his passaporte locale. And I remember reading this INS official stating to the news media, because they knew it. He says, "The only thing that we ask is that Juan Papalote not beat us back to L.A." [Laugh] So, that's the system. (Patino: Right.) You know, because it appears that, "Hey, we're doing something about this law breaking," but because the demand for cheap labor, all these little trinketas were created."

**PATINO:** So in other words it's regulated and muted to where you can put down . . . ?

**BACA:** Turning off and shutting off the spout kind of (Patino: Right.) malarkey, you know.

**PATINO:** Right. That keeps them vulnerable where, I guess, where they can't organize?

**BACA:** Oh well, you know, the main issue is it's like slavery, going back to slavery, analogy.

(Patino: Uhm-hmm.) You got no rights, you got no stand. You can't complain it away. (Patino: Right.) And, you're subject to the whims of whoever is in power or defining it. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) So, that's really the, in my opinion, the immigration policy of this country. (Patino: Right.) You've got a group of individuals that have no standing. They have no rights. They can't complain. And, if you do this is what's going to happen and does happen, you know. What never seems to amaze me is how, you know, it's a little bit like Vietnam, you know, Gulf of Tonkin, (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) how the establishment spins and creates all these false definitions and conclusions, you know, stealing jobs, what have you. But, when you really look at the situation, and you look at the policy, okay, you can see just like Iraq that, okay, there's spinoffs. There's ramifications, you know. You see people getting wounded. You see people can die, and people jump in and, "We're going to do this. We're going to do that." But, they never address the policy (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) that caused the whole situation. (Patino: Right.) And, what never ceases to amaze me, amaze me is is that U.S. society has been conditioned to accept that this is a law enforcement, lawbreaking situation that requires military types of solutions. (Patino:

Uhm-hmm. Uhm-hmm.) And, it ceases to amaze me is, you know what, the Border Patrol has never stopped one person that wanted to cross that border and get a job in its history since 1924, unless they killed them. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) [Laugh] You know, it's never stopped. I've met guys, when we had CASA Justicia, that got across on the sixteenth try. They got caught fifteen times. Maybe that night, maybe that week, but ultimately they got across. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) So, you know, it's like that, we're going to bring democracy to the Middle East, you know. I thought democracy was the people deciding that. [Laugh] (Patino: Yeah.) So, you know, it sounds good. (Patino: Right.) But anyway, so getting back to the workshop conference, that is you had that social phenomena occurring of women now coming across, (Patino: Uhm-hmm. Uhm-hmm.) that we were attempting to address. The media. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) The media, of course, has always played a big part in establishing attitudes (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) in U.S. society and treatment, and defining what the so-called immigration issue is about. And, very, very racist terms, without any academic or analysis, or perspective. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) You know, the, part and partial, I guess, of the systems, of those, of that sector of the system that has always manipulated immigration policy. I mean, I told you that story about, about the *New York Times* reporter that one time came over and (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) was stating to me that, "Well, Mr. Baca, you know that sixty-eight percent of Mexican-Americans support stronger enforcement of the border and that, you know, they're being negatively affected by illegal aliens. And, you know, they support this approach to resolve the immigration issue." And, I responded back to him by saying, "Sixty-eight percent? Is that all?" I says, "I'll show you a group one hundred percent in our community." And he said, "What? What are you talking about?" I said, "I'm talking about the guy that came over five minutes ago that crossed the border. Their position is 'Shut it down right now. I made it.'" I said, "Now, that's a ridiculous argument that

you're giving me." I said, "Now," I says, "you look like you're an educated person. And, as an educated person I assume that you understand that it's not as simple as you just made it out to be, or as you stated it to me." I says, "So, did you come here to tell me what, you know, is accepted definition or do you want to talk about a problem that is historical, that is social, that is economic, and international in scope? You tell me what you want to do." So, you know, so, "Well, yeah. You're right. Let's talk, you know, about that." (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) But that, that never takes place with most reporters.

**PATINO:** How does that fit in? If immigration is a cheap labor system, basically, how does the media and race fit into that?

**BACA:** Because they know it, and they never define it as such. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) You know, first of all, like I said, their definition is incorrect. It's not immigration, what they're dealing with. They, I mean, if you did a six-pack analysis you could say, "Hey, it's always been the exploitation of Mexican labor." I says, "You know, and there's powerful forces that contribute to those politicians and have a big say so in the formulation of policy, and manipulated it, and have established this system to ensure that that continues to flow." So by them not reporting the truth they become party, in my opinion, to something that is, you know, race-based. (Patino: Right.) So, so of course, like I stated the media is something that the CCR dwelt with extensively. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) You know, to be honest with you we always saw the media as a big microphone, (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) you know. Whether they wrote something positive or negative, (Patino: Right.) "Just spell the name right," you know, [Laugh] because it was getting the message out that had never heard about an issue that was affecting them, or any other definition. Yeah. So. We dealt extensively with the local media, the national media, and the international news media. And like I stated before, like I told you, it was especially the

Mexican media after the Klan March. So, that was a very important workshop because they do establish the perceptions and give definition that in turn creates actions that, because they're based on race, on racist conclusions, (Patino: Right.) create negative or adverse conditions for persons of Mexican ancestry. So, at the conference, you know, we were trying to communicate that. That had to be countered, (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) that when they came out with the statement, "They're stealing jobs," you know. I says, "How do you steal a job?" I'd respond back. I'd ask them, "How do you steal a job? Do you break into the business at midnight and fill out your own credit, I mean time card or what? You know, do you put a gun to the employer's head and say, 'Sign me up'? How do you do it? I don't understand." (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) And, so it had to be countered, because you're talking about making public opinion. And, you really are starting to witness it extensively in the Year 2006 with all these talk show hosts. They are really just white supremacists, you know. [Laugh] They're white supremacists with business suits on, type talk shows.

**PATINO:** And a microphone?

**BACA:** Yeah. You know, that, they're academic and they're talking about an issue that they have long, you know, been unable to, that, you know, and they go into their racist bit a bout, you know, national security, and "If Juan Papalote can cross the border, why not Osama bin Laden?" you know. (Patino: Right.) So, mixing it up. Pumping up, giving credibility to the menso Minutemen, you know. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) You know, which are just, those groups are just an extension of the Klan with different names, (Patino: Right.) you know. I always call them the "bastard children of the KKK," you know. So, the conference dealt with the media. And then we then, I remember – let me see what the last thing there? It was, of course, the church. There was a lot of religious involvement. I remember there used to be group like Valdez, you know,

the Padre Hidalgo Center. So, there have been pronouncements by the Pope and what have you. So, that was something that, you know, we were trying to tie in. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.)

You know, the Guest Worker Program. They are no special emphasis on the Guest Worker Program. Guest Worker Program, we, "we" by that, our people, had a historical experience with the Bracero Program that was initiated in 1943, '42, under treaty (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) by the United States and Mexico, where because of the war, World War II, there was a shortage of labor. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) Especially in those sectors that, you know, such as agriculture. And, the treaty that established the Bracero Program guaranteed that the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo supposedly to guaranteed us first-class citizenship, many, many rights and many working conditions, safeguard of working conditions, which weren't worth the paper they were written on. I got a, I remember reading -- what was the INS commissioner's name? I think his name was Lee G. Williams. I always used it, I always used to use it in our handouts (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) where he -- now, this is the ex-INS commissioner of the '50s, that he, himself, defined it as a "slave program." So . . .

**PATINO:** The Bracero Program?

**BACA:** The Bracero Program lasted, I think, until 1964, [Laugh] and it was a wartime measure. (Patino: Yeah.) Because of the power, because of the demands of this very powerful interest, economic group within the secondary labor sector of the U.S. economy. The second labor sector in the U.S. economy is, you know, you're talking about the garment industry. You're talking about agribusiness, of course, you're talking about the hotels, the motels, and the whole live-in maid situation that exists along the U.S./Mexico border. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) And there, I mean, so when people start talking about this, what is a massive contradiction in the discussion of the so-called issue about border security, or lawbreakers. Hey, you always have this cry for a

"guest worker program," "foreign importation worker program." (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) And, that's where the real truth is at. (Patino: Right.) That there's, that they're addicted. (Patino: Right.) They're addicted to cheap labor. You know, but they will not acknowledge that in terms of, define it differently, like a labor issue. (Patino: Yeah.) I mean, if that's your demand, if that's your need, and it is a workers issue, then why are you treating that worker different than any other worker (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) in this country. So, like I've told you before, that's where people mix up apples and oranges. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) You cannot have a labor solution with immigration solutions. So, our position has always been that because it is a labor issue, (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) that I don't care if the person walked across the border five minutes ago, if somebody employed him (Patino: Right.) that person in essence has entered into a contract with U.S. society and its constitution, and its laws, (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) you know, and its administrative rules governing labor should be applied. And, I'm sure that the person that comes across during that day is going to have to go out and buy a soda, or a pack of cigarettes, or a beer and is going to pay taxes. So, based on those two factors our position, CCR's position, always was that, since that person has entered into a contract with U.S. society "through one of its employers or business owners," (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) that that person should be allowed and see, check in and see at the Immigration Office if he can get his status adjudicated (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) based on him being a job holder that someone needs, and a taxpayer. He just paid taxes on a pack of cigarettes. (Patino: Right.) Now, now you're talking about immigration. Can he adjudicate his status? Well, the usual process is if you're not a criminal, you're not a communist, if you're not a homosexual, if you're not a prostitute, those are things that disqualify you from "remaining in this country." (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) But, if you're not any, none of those excludable individuals (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) then what's the problem? You know. Hey,

somebody needs them. It takes two to tango kind of situation. (Patino: Right.) So, the Bracero Program is really the contradiction in all of the issues of policy that, that's the only really truthful admission by U.S. society that this is a labor issue that there's this demand, that it's needed. Contrary to what they say. That's the big fight between Bush and the extreme right of his own party. (Patino: Right.) The extreme right position is is they want to see something that's long gone. They're like those individuals in the south that are still dreaming or hoping or thinking, I don't know, that the South will rise again. The South ain't going to rise again. [Laugh] The Union's got, the Union Army's got nuclear bombs now you dummies. So, no matter how much you wave your Confederate flag, no matter how much you agitate, no matter how much you think or believe, the South is not going to rise, right, according to what you're thinking, with its slaves and its plantations, and all the other trappings. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) So, the extreme right is basically saying the same thing. They want a country like they knew in the '40s and '50s, everybody "understood" what it was to be American, in other words white. And, the minorities were either segregated in their ghettos and the Mexicans were working out in the fields, and, you know, and that's what their, their thinking of. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) But, the reality is, there ain't that many white people anymore. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) Sorry, you know. Sorry. I mean, that was 1940s, that was 1950s. This is 2006. It never ceases to amaze me that these Minutemen are at the border all damn day ranting and raving about the Mexicans coming over, and then they go to Denny's and eat a salad that those guys picked, [Laugh] and they probably go home and eat another salad that those guys picked. So, who in the hell's going to pick the damn food? Who's going to run the schools? You know, they're already a minority in the state of California. [Laugh] So, I mean I always, I always tell people that I remember, I says, "I graduated in 1961." What's that, forty-five years ago? (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) "And, we were twenty percent,

Chicanos were twenty percent of the student population. You go to Sweetwater now it's probably ninety percent and they might be ten." I remember Chula Vista used to be an all-Anglo city. El Cajon used to be all Anglo. In Chula Vista, if it's not the majority it's close to it, (Patino: Yeah.) you know. California's going to be the, you know, the majority soon. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) So, the extreme right, it's just like those old green-toothed southerners that think the South's gonna rise. It ain't going to rise and you guys ain't going to get your 1950 either, you know. Now, I understand your nostalgia and the privilege that you enjoyed, but you lost it, or you're going to lose it, because it's unrealistic. It's based on something that no longer exists. Bush, on the other hand, is a practical politician. What do you think the hotel industry is telling Bush? (Patino: Right.) "Hey, close the border? Who in the hell is going to clean our rooms? And, we just gave you a \$100,000 donation." (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) Agribusiness, what do you think they're saying? "What? We're going to lose our business, listening to the damn crackpots, you know."

**PATINO:** No one's going to pick anything.

**BACA:** So, yeah, who's going to pick my crops? So, those are the contradictions and that's what this Guest Worker Program proposals represent and this is basically the only thing truthful in the whole discussion, the admission that they are addicted to cheap labor, (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) and that they demand it, and they want it. So that's the situation. And, like I said that's the problem. That's a labor issue. Apply labor laws. Labor conditions. And if they've entered into an agreement with U.S. society, then let us therefore adjudicate their status under the existing immigration law. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) You know, this bunk about, you know, you have to go through this loop, and this tunnel, and this, you know, procedure, and you got to wait." It's idiotic. Stupid. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) You know, so, we'll get into the whole amnesty

issue in a little while, because that's also always been part of the discarded old policies or proposals. But, back to the conference.

I remember, now I'm remembering, now also present at the conference was Dennis Banks, the American Native leader, you know, (Patino: Yeah.) who came down. Rudy Acuña. (Patino: Yeah.) I remember that after, you know, I mean we had a full-fledged conference. People ate there. That night they came back after an hour break and we had a cultural, cultural presentation for Chunky, and Los Alacranes played. We had a teatro. They had ballet folklorico. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) I especially remember that, we had some other groups, I think, from San Jose. What was their name? I wish I had that flier here that's not here. But anyway, I always remember them. Let's see. Yeah. Here's a little bit. We had Rudy Acuña, Soledad Alatorre, Bert Corona, Armando Navarro, Ruben Sandoval, Ester Estrada from MALDEF. So, but I remember that night at the cultural presentation, the teatro, that they put on, they put on this play that was very, very fitting along with the whole conference (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) and the whole theme. And, I remember the play, and like I said it was a very moving cultural presentation. I mean, everything seemed to fall in, the music, the speakers. As a matter of fact, that's where, you know, Dennis Banks spoke that night. (Patino: Uh huh.) And then this teatro put this skit together where they were talking about people coming across and being brutalized. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) And, I remember that one of the actors was playing this elderly woman and the border patrolman was a Chicano, or a "Hisputnic" and very abusive. That was his role, arrogant, abusive, and assaulting hateful kind of guy, or maybe a realistic kind of guy, you know, that exist out there. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) And, the conclusion of the play was, was that the border patrolman had been separated from his mother in a crossing some twenty-five, thirty years before and that he was abusing his own mother, you know, which was like, "Wow."

(Patino: Right.) And, you know, we're talking about what, '79, '80? (Patino: Uhm-hmm.)

You're talking about twenty-six years ago and I still remember that, that, the impact of the way they put it together. I think it was Teatro Esperanza, if I'm not mistaken. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.)

And, so there was a lot of unity that night that the program brought a lot of unity, a lot of deep feeling, you know, clearer understanding of the reasons why they were here dealing and talking about this issue. And trying to determine what to do. So, the next day, which was a Sunday there was a mass and then we met at the border. And, I remember the CCR members and others that made up the conference, dramatized the abuses, the brutality, and the deaths at the border.

And, people just, like "Wow." you know, were just taken aback by the coffins. "What are they saying?" you know. "What's going on?" Because, (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) as with all issues people, people are conditioned, you know, getting back to the media now. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.)

People are conditioned to see that, "Well, you know, something's wrong or, you know, but you know, basically, you know, it's something that we need, something necessary." And, since the system spins it, it's always like, it's, "The personnel in there are good people," you know. So, when they saw the coffins, "What are these guys saying?" You know, the news media just, always looking for the dramatic, you know, they ate it up. And, after that I remember marching.

Our route used to be from Larson Park, come across to the east side of Interstate 5, go across the international bridge there and come back to the west side of the freeway and they'd get bunched up and they'd move into Larson Park where, you know, there was entertainment. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) Usually Chunky and Los Alacranes playing, and speakers. And, that's '79, '80. See, I get my marches mixed up, because there's, I don't know if that's when Carter and Portillo were meeting. Remember we talked about the oil.

**PATINO:** Right. Right.

**BACA:** But, I remember there was a press conference. There was a press conference where Corky, myself, I think Armando Navarro, (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) this guy Alberto Garcia spoke. And if it was the one, you know, I don't have to go to those files to make sure that I got the correct time frame, you know. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) I think next time when we get into this that I ought to at least glance through some of this stuff, the boxes that I'm looking at right now, and, you know, to refresh my memory. Because, you know, it is important that we put it in the right time frame, you know. (Patino: Right.) So, like I stated, you know, Dennis Banks was there, and what have you. And so, this again solidified the opposition to these type of policy proposals, as we already been finding since the introduction of the Carter Immigration Plan in '76 . . .

**PATINO:** And that's when it was decided to do the tribunal, correct?

**BACA:** Yeah, and then the tribunal came out of that. That . . .

**PATINO:** What was the goals and aims of that?

**BACA:** So, the goals of the tribunal was, of course, to, here we were sort of moralizing what we already had. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) The tribunal was another effort by the CCR to organize outside of our local area, to bring in – if it's happening, if this is happening here – because we, we might have talked about this at one workshop, the violence workshop, but it wasn't something that was highlighted on its own and something that other people from other areas were able to discuss. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) So, it was part of something that the church or the media with a Chicano Mexicano perspective, education, you know, whatever other issues were being discussed, but it wasn't an individual. And, the march, of course, was more general (Patino: Yeah.) to those unknown and to what we knew that we had collected locally. (Patino: Uhm-hmm.) So, we were, like I . . .

**END SIDE 2, TAPE 9, SESSION 7.**

**END OF INTERVIEW.**