

PARTIDO DE LA RAZA UNIDA DE NUEVO MEXICO

DISCUSSION BULLETIN NUMBER ONE

THE CHICANO MOVEMENT, THE SOUTHWEST, AND THE ROLE OF
THE NATIONAL AND STATE PARTIDO DE LA RAZA UNIDA IN THE
SOUTHWEST
AN ECONOMIC, HISTORIC, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL PROFILE
FROM 1890 TO THE EARLY
2000's

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PARTIDO DE LA RAZA UNIDA DE NUEVO MEXICO

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Introduction:

This will be the first of a series of discussion bulletins to be put forth by the State Chairman of the Partido and by other members who wish to have questions of ideology, program, organization, etc. discussed by the membership at large to be acted upon as policy by the State Central Committee upon completion of discussion at the county or section levels.

For some time now, it has become clear that if the Partido is to survive, it must develop an ideology, a political position and a program which will take us to power and through the crises that are presently and imminently threatening the Chicano Movement, its gains and even the civil liberties and civil rights of our people. In the past few years, the Partido has been the main mover of the Chicano Movement and the Chicano cause in the state of New Mexico, as we are the only statewide Chicano organization. Admittedly, we as the Partido seem, in many cases and in many counties to have lost perspective of our purpose, goals and directions and have fallen victims of the hard times under which we are presently living. We have suffered a decline in membership, there has been a falling off of the regular county meetings in many of the counties in which the Partido is located, members are apathetic about issues which occur in their communities and no longer take an active role in attacking these conditions as an organized unit of the Partido with the exception of Rio Arriba and San Miguel Counties, where the Partido is constantly in the news and in the struggle. In other areas, the Partido participates in coalitions on different issues, when indeed, it should be the directing force working for the resolution of those issues. This will be discussed in a "State of the Partido de la Raza Unida en Nuevo México" document to be released soon by the state chairman.

The purpose of this document is to give us a historical analysis, briefly, to discuss why we are at the present state and situation and to prognosticate what is about to happen in the near future and in the general future with respect to the economy of the southwest and the political and economic situation and the social conditions in which we can soon expect to find ourselves.

As Chicanos, we are a relatively young people, and we have yet to develop organizations which have transcended time and have given continuity to the movement, although some of us through study have acquired a certain sense of history and the past efforts of our movement. Essentially, we have gone through four stages of development in our rise toward the present day Chicano Movement. The first of these was the armed resistance phase, notably started by the struggles of Juan Nepomuceno Cortina in Texas and Joaquin Murrieta in California. As organized, ideological resistance, we can discount Joaquin Murrieta, but we must analyze the movement of Juan Nepomuceno Cortina. Cortina had a fully developed movement with a military and political arm as well as a network of spies. These were the Partido de la Raza Unida, a political party which was pushing for the statehood of south Texas independent of Anglo Texas. To defend the people and to attempt to carry out his plan, Cortina developed his military arm to try to bring the change about. Within the movement, however, there was a secessionist element that wanted to break away from the United States and reunite with Mexico, a theme that will recur throughout the history of the Chicano. Cortina did not succeed, but similar movements occurred in the Southwest prior to 1900, notably, the Movimiento de la Gente 1890 in San Miguel County and after 1900, the Plan de San Diego Movement and the Liga Obrera Movement. The latter part of the Armed Resistance Movement, the former of the syndicalist period.

In San Miguel County, the armed resistance movement was best exemplified by the activities carried on by the Gorras Blancas. These night riders, mostly members of different Penitente Moradas, started out in 1889 to protect the land grant lands from the land grabbers in the only way they knew how, by taking up arms and physically driving them out. But, in 1890, the movement became better organized and more sophisticated under the leadership of Juan José Herrera. This person organized the Knights of Labor, or Caballeros de Labor as they were known in Spanish. This gave the Movimiento de la Gente a two pronged attack, it served to organize the campesinos under the banner of Las Gorras Blancas and it organized the workers under a socialist syndicalist, or union, organization. Two other aspects were added with the development of El Partido del Pueblo Unido, which gave El Movimiento de la Gente a political arm and La Voz del Pueblo, which gave the movement a media communications organ to speak to the issues of the day and to spread the ideas of the Movimiento. A study of this movement can give us some directions as to areas of weakness of the Partido, and this movement will be analyzed further in a future bulletin.

The last major effort of the armed resistance movement or period came with the efforts of the Plan de San Diego to break away from the United States and form a republic of the former citizens of Mexico with a view toward a later, possible reunification with Mexico, although the plan denies this, as a safeguard for the sovereignty of Mexico. Since that time, the United States has maintained strict political, social, and economic as well as military restraints over Mexico to keep her from becoming a threat to the United States on the southern border. For this same reason, the Chicano is held as invisible as possible and as suppressed as possible with occasional concessions to make the Chicano think he is making progress.

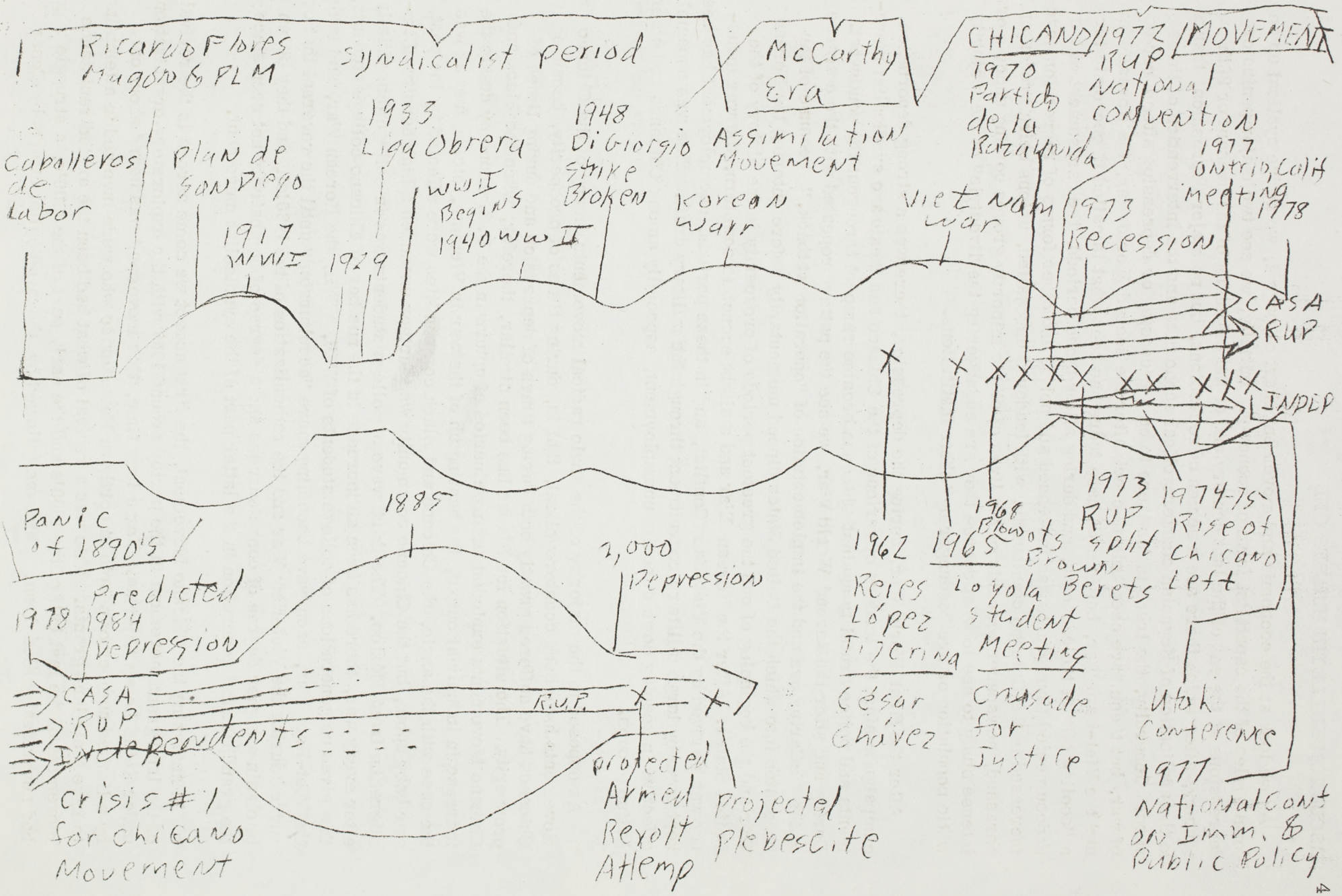
With the destruction of the Plan de San Diego, the armed resistance movement ended until it resurged in the late 1960's and early 1970's with the appearance of the Chicano Liberation Front and the armed resistance plan of the August 29th Movement. Overlapping with this period is the Syndicalist Period which begins with Juan Gómez and the Cowboy's strike in Texas. The Chicano was being driven from his lands and into the developing industries of the Southwest, which were tied in with the industrial revolution of the United States in the northeast. This began the development of the basic industries of the Southwest, the lumber industry, the cattle industry, the Agriculture industry and the mining industry, all of which required physical labor, which the Chicano or, as he was called then, Mexicano, provided in large numbers. This changed the task of the means of resistance from weapons to the strike (often combined by weapons against the attacks by sheriffs, vigilantes, etc.). Most notable among the syndicalist movements were the Knights of Labor in New Mexico, the Partido Liberal Mexicano under Ricardo Flores Magón, and the various farmworkers unions in California as well as the Liga Obrera movement started in New Mexico by Jesús Pallares. The syndicalist period was broken by violent repression and police violence, ending with the DiGiorgio strike in 1947-48.

Of special importance to the Partido de la Raza Unida de Nuevo México is the ideology of the Caballeros de Labor, the Partido Liberal Mexicano and the Liga Obrera. All of these groups recognized something that the Partido has not fully exploited, the power and organizeability of the working Chicano. All of these recognized that the majority of the Chicanos or Mexicanos were to be found in the working sector and that these were the people who had to be organized under what our senior advisor Don Florencio Aragón, former president of La Liga Obrera del condado de San Miguel call el plan de los obreros.

After the defeat of the syndicalist movement, the Chicano went into a period of assimilationism in which patriotism was paramount and the Chicano wanted a piece of the pie of the "american dream." This was added to the factor that the majority of the agitators and organizers in the Chicano community were arrested, deported, beaten, silenced or coopted. This left the Chicano leadership decimated, and it was not until the 1960's that it began to recuperate. What we presently see as the Chicano Movement, can essentially be said in most cases to be a revival of the older forms of struggle. César Chávez and the farm-workers represent a revival of the syndicalist period with the patriotic trappings of the assimilation period, the land grant movement is a revival of the armed resistance movement in New Mexico, and the vato loco is a politicized version of the pachuco, until the recent changeover back into the original style of gang and territorial warfare brought on by the economic crisis and the failing or decline of the Chicano Movement which could have politicized them, the political movement as represented by the Partido de la Raza Unida can in essence be said to be a revival of the political movements of the latter part of the 1800's as represented by Juan Nepomuceno Cortina and the Partido del Pueblo Unido, whose platforms it resembles. The only new factor in the Chicano Movement is the Chicano student movement, which added a factor of intelligentsia, which had been lacking or limited in the other movements and generally represented by one individual or a small number of individuals, but it is an undefined, underdeveloped intelligentsia which either becomes solidified in a regional base or is fascinated by other older, more established leftist intelligentsia and which either is becoming assimilated by that intelligentsia or is attempting to develop a Chicano model of it. A part of the Chicano intelligentsia is attempting to chart a new road, as it feels that standard (or even non standard) Marxist ideology is not appropriate to the Chicano experience nor to the needs of future Chicano society.

Now, we need to view some of the factors affecting the Chicano movement and the directions it has taken. Traditionally, the left, or the communists and socialists in the U. S. have improved their fortunes during periods of crisis, the various "panics" or depressions of the 17 and 1800's and the "recessions" and the "Great Depression" of 1929. They have suffered declines during periods of economic upturns and have grown when conditions have become economically worse. To the contrary, the Chicano movement has had periods of upturn during both periods of upturn and downturn, but in many cases, the periods of decline have been periods of extreme repression against Chicanos.

Nevertheless, the Chicano Movement for the most part has pretty much operated cyclically, organizing during the initial periods of an economic depression, but, unlike the anglo radical movements, it has not been able to sustain itself during the period of repression that usually comes later into the downturn in the economic cycle, as is seen in the diagram on page 4. To date, various individuals have survived the periods of repression and have gone on to give their knowledge to the next generation, like Don Florencio Aragón of the Liga Obrera, Ernesto Galarza of the Di Giorgio strike and Bert Corona who worked in various social organizations against repression versus Chicanos. Though these individuals have come through periods of crisis with their ideology and radicalism intact, their organizations have not survived the onslaughts and the Chicano does not have a legacy of transcendental organizations like the Communist Party USA, the Socialist Labor Party, the Socialist Workers Party or the Socialist Party of the United States. After each defeat, we have had to start over again from scratch, often times without even the information of the previous movements available to us. Please see the diagram on page 4 for the continued analysis on page 5.



Ricardo Flores Magón & PLM

syndicalist period

McCarthy Era

CHICANO/1972 MOVEMENT

Caballeros de Labor

Plan de San Diego

1933 Liga Obrera

1948 DiGiorgio strike

Assimilation Movement

1970 Partido de la Raza Unida

RUP National convention

1917 WWI

1929

WWI Begins 1940 WW II

Korean War

Viet Nam War

1973 Recession

1977 ONTRIP, Calif meeting 1978

Panic of 1890's

1885

2,000 Depression

1962

1965 Brown Berets

1973

1974-75 Rise of Chicano Left

Predicted Depression 1978-1984

Reyes López Tijerina

Loyola Student Meeting

Utaok Conference

CASA RUP Independents

R.U.P.

César Chávez Crusade for Justice

1977 National Cont on Imm. & Public Policy

crisis #1 for Chicano Movement

Projected Armed Revolt Attempt
Projected plebescite

As we look at the economic and movement chart on page 4, we notice cyclical up and down cycles of the capitalist form of economy. Initially, we see two major panics or depressions at the end of the last century and at the beginning of the present or 20th century, after which there are a series of recessions, but no major depression, thanks to the application of Keynesian countercyclical economics and the intervention of three wars. Generally, the trend is for there to be a recession or depression after a period of war, but these have been held in check after the Second World War, the Korean War and the Viet-Nam War, but in each case there has been what is called in economic terms a "cooling off" of the economy, and during all or these periods, the harassment of the undocumented immigrants has increased and police and other forms of repression have increased in the Chicano community, with leaders being jailed, unions being broken or harassed, newspaper accounts of the lives of ethnic minority groups coming under more intense study to see to what degree they are endangering the "lifestyle" of the majority white population or are "endangering" their institutions.

After the First World War, during the depression, there was a strong deportation campaign against the leaders of various of the Chicano and Mexicano syndicalist movements and police brutality against Chicanos became rampant throughout the southwest. During and after the Second World War, we see the pattern repeated with the entrance of the McCarthy era and the implementation of "operation wetback," because of the recession into which the United States dipped momentarily before entering the Korean War and the beginning of one of the greatest periods of prosperity in the history of the United States. After the Korean War and a slight economic downturn, the war industry was revived by the Viet-Nam Conflict, and in these periods, unemployment has been kept down by large military recruitment through the military draft. This was especially effective in keeping down minority unemployment, especially among Chicanos and other Latino groups.

As opposed to the majority of the Anglo radical movements, many of the Chicano movements have been countercyclical, that is, during times of prosperity, because Chicanos have suffered greatly both during times of depression and during times of prosperity. The situation for Blacks has been similar, therefore, when the Black and Chicano Movements exploded during a period of upturn in the U.S. economy due to the increase in industrial output, the heating up of the war in Vietnam, etc.. Just as was the case with the Anglo, the Chicano and Black communities were affected by the post war baby boom, but the Chicano community was further expanded a high density of immigration from Mexico. The third wave of college students was in college (essentially, after every war, there has been an increase in the number of Chicano college students, this gives us generations of college students of WWI, WWII, the Korean War, and later the Viet-Nam War, each wave becoming more "acculturated" until the reversal that occurred during the Viet-Nam War and the radicalization of the 1960's), and they began to obtain a higher degree of consciousness and a degree of combativity not seen since the grandparents' generation in the latter part of the syndicalist movement.

In analyzing the Chicano Movement, the first aspect we come across is the revival of the land grant movement in the period around 1957 with the exploratory organization under Reies Lopez Tijerina. For a long time, this movement was heard about only by a limited number of people in northern New Mexico who were involved in attempting to save their land grants. This was a revival of what had been the armed resistance movement of the last half of the 1800's and the early part of the 1900's, a struggle which had never really died down. This was followed by the syndicalist efforts by Cesar Chave

The movement of César Chávez represented a rebirth of the syndicalist movement of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, but without the overt nationalist overtones of the earlier efforts. Although César Chávez used Mexican symbols, like the black and red syndicalist symbols, the Mexican flag, the Aztec eagle, Mexican patriotic holidays, the movement was clearly tied to getting a piece of the U.S. pie and becoming "part of the mainstream" of U.S. life. César Chávez tried to deidentify himself as part of the Chicano Movement, although the Movement adopted him and his union's symbolism anyway. While Chavez's disassociation with the radical element of the Chicano Movement won him widespread liberal support, he alienated himself from the mainstream Chicano Movement by opposing undocumented immigrants and favoring deportations until the Movement's pressure and pressure from the undocumented immigrants in the union forced him to change his position. Chávez has since lost a great deal of his liberal support, and many of the people in the movement are reassessing their support of the UFW and Chavez in view of his support of the Marcos regime in the Philippines and the anti undocumented immigrant stand and the purge of many of his able assistants because of their non mainstream beliefs.

Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales began the next visible movement in the barrios of Denver which mainly organized the street youth and initially brought in their families, making the Crusade a popular Chicano Center and one of the decisive factors in the nascent tendencies of the Chicano Movement. The major impact of the Crusade was through the two major Denver Youth Conferences in 1969 and 1970, where the Plan Espiritual de Aztlán was conceptualized and developed, giving the Movement its first structured ideology and direction, although many sectors of the Movement were not aware or fully aware of the plan and often times did not adhere to it or modified it to make it more bland in relation to their activities. Others totally lost faith in their ability to implement it and went into community services. I will not go into great length in the plan, as it can be found in various documents and books as well as being explained in Corky Gonzales' treatise on Chicano Nationalism. If the membership of the Partido wishes to review these documents and discuss them, I will reproduce them and circulate them.

At the same time that the Crusade was opening its doors, the students in southern California were getting together at Loyola University, giving the beginnings of organization to the new element within the Chicano Movement, the student or youth element, which was to give a political impetus or direction to the Chicano Movement based on the Plan Espiritual de Aztlán. Consequences of independent factors made themselves felt before the university student element made itself felt, since the younger students in the high schools precipitated their activation by giving the community a shock by means of the East Los Angeles blowouts, followed by other high school student blowouts throughout the country. Not to be left behind by their younger counterparts, the university students followed suit and came together in the two Denver Youth Conferences.

The next element that came into play is what many of the marxist theoreticians of the Chicano Movement call the "Lumpen" or street youth. They organized by means of the Brown and Black Berets to definitively give the Movement a para-military posture and to provide the "shock troops for the Movement, much as the Black Panthers were doing for the Black Movement. This element initially was tested in street conflicts at the side of the younger element of the student movement in the high schools and later came into contact with other elements such as the crusade for Justice, the Alianza, and the college student movements.

From the Crusade for Justice and the Chicano Student Movement, came the next tendency of the Chicano Movement, the political movement as embodied by the Partido de la Raza Unida. This political organizational method spread throughout the southwest into the midwest and even to the east, although there were some elements which remained skeptical of the movement, such as the old Chicano and Mexicano left and those who wanted to work in mainstream politics or work independently on an issue to issue basis, such as some clinics or service centers. Nevertheless, the overwhelming majority of the Chicano Movement assembled in El Paso on September 2, 1972. (For an analysis and history of the Partido de la Raza Unida de Nuevo México, please consult the Manual for Raza Unida for Members and Prospective Members, a pamphlet on the informal history of the Partido de la Raza Unida de Nuevo México will soon be forthcoming).

Immediately, it became visible that a split was going to develop between the supporters of José Angel Gutiérrez, as did occur, (this will be analyzed in another discussion bulletin). Reyes López Tijerina remained on the sidelines during the majority of the political process but joined the convention at various high points and addressed the plenary sessions of the convention. The split in the partido began to be evidenced at the Congreso de Tierra y Cultura in November of 1972 and was even more extended at the December meeting of the Congreso de Aztlán. The June meeting of the Congreso de Aztlán called for the Crusade for Justice in Denver in June 1973 did not develop a quorum and became instead a third world convention of conference. The split was decisively made at the East Chicago, Indiana meeting, with the Partidos aligned with Texas Raza Unida continuing under the party banner, while the Crusade affiliated Partidos either left the Partido for new tendencies or let the Partido fall into disuse as a means of struggle for Chicano liberation.

As a result of the split, the Partido is presently active in the state of Texas, New Mexico, Southern Arizona, the Los Angeles area of California and Pueblo, Colorado as well as in a few other states where it exists as an organization rather than a registered political party. The Crusade continued to operate as it had before the 1972 Raza Unida Convention, as did some of the other groups, but a new element was introduced into the Chicano Movement in the post 1972 convention period, the emergence of the Chicano left. This took a number of forms, it was represented by the entrance of some of the Chicano activists into some of the traditional left parties and some of the new emergent left organizations of the various tendencies (maoist, stalinist, trotskyist, Marxist-Leninist, etc. which will not be defined in this discussion bulletin, as it would require too extensive a discussion. It will, however appear in another discussion bulletin.) The strongest effect of the Chicano left was through the August 29th Movement, which was formed from the Raza Unida splinter group from the Labor Committees of the Partido from California and New Mexico, and the Centro de Acción Social Autónomo or CASA, under the leadership of the Rodríguez brothers.

These organizations began to challenge the nationalist ideology of the Chicano Movement as postulated in the Plan Espiritual de Aztlán. To a certain extent, the August 29th Movement remained close to many of the Partido de la Raza Unida tendencies, but they disagreed with the pragmatic approach of the dominant element of the Partido which remained after the September 1973 meeting. This can be seen in their booklet "Fan the Flames." ATM wanted to foment armed rebellion to establish Chicano sovereign nation under a socialist government. Still, they accepted the notions of Chicano, Aztlán, etc. of the Chicano Movement.

The organization of CASA took a left turn under the direction of the Rodríguez brothers, after they took control of the organization from Bert Corona. Under their leadership, the organization spread from California to places like San Antonio, Denver, Chicago and other areas. For a time, the three major organizations in the Chicano Movement. In various areas, the former links in the Movement operated independently, such as the Clinica del Pueblo in Tierra Amarilla, the Crusade for Justice, the Chicano Rights Organization of San Diego, to name a few of the largest independents, operated without any major communication or work at a national level. In the period from 1974 through 1977, the novelty of the left swept many areas of the Chicano Movement, with many of the MEChAs formed the Fuerzas Revolucionarias de Aztlañ (FRA) and were operating on "Principles of Unity" when there were differences in ideology (many of the MEChAs went in a "nationalist direction," while others were dominated by ATM, CASA, or other organizations). Chicanos went into organizations like the Communist Party USA, the Socialist Workers Party, the October League, etc.. For a time, the Partido found itself also infiltrated by members of these organization of the left, and there were many divisions over ideology, especially in California, that destroyed many of the Partido chapters or raided the leadership or activists from the Partido into the organizations. Also, many communities and activists rejected the Partido as a means of organizing because of their bad experiences with the the left, the rhetoric and the opportunism and paternalism of the left organizations or infiltrators, leaving the Partido in California badly decimated and weak in numbers, with many persons writing the Partido off despite the fact that they had been activists in the Partido. The left, for the most part, was glad to see the Partido weakened, as the Partido was their chief rival for the Chicano community.

During this period, for the reasons to be discussed further along, the Chicano Movement began to lose many of its adherents due to graduation or dropping out into the world of work, due to dissatisfaction with the speed with which victories were being gained, due to the feeling the objectives (at least their objectives) had been attained, because they had enough talent to be worth buying out or coopting, or because of personal pressures of many types, inclusive husbands or wives who did not want them to participate in the movement because it detracted from their advancement in the material sense or because the spouses feared the repercussions of being in the movement such as loss of jobs, police harassment, arrests, or even death as occurred in the case of a number of activists. The overall result was that only the hard core remained, and these were badly divided into the Partido, CASA, ATM, and the independents of both the nationalist and variety persuasions.

A number of efforts were made to pull together the movement, especially the Utah conference of 1976, which brought together much of the secondary leadership of the Chicano Movement but failed to attract the major figures in the movement whose presence was required before any effort at national unity could be made. A second meeting of the national leadership was called together by Armando Navarró to Ontario California, and a better turnout occurred, but there was a division over the holding of a national Chicano conference for unity or to carry out a conference on the undocumented immigrant, which was one of the burning issues of the time due to the Carter Plan and a number of border closing bills in the congress of the United States. This caused a new split in the most active sectors of the Chicano Movement, with many of the independents deciding not to attend the conference due to SWP participation and the fact that they did not feel that the original purpose of the conference has been held to. Nevertheless, the attendance at the International Conference on Immigration and Public Policy. was extensive and included a large sector of the Chicano Movement.

What developed out of the Conference of immigration was a confrontation between the Socialist Workers Party and the Centro de Acción Social Autónomo, which does not want the participation of the SWP (along with the opposition to the SWP from various of the Chicano academicians and the intellectuals and some of the independents). The conference adopted a number of resolutions, some of which were carried out, but the most important aspect of the conference was the fact that many of the activist regulars were there and that there was a marked desire for unity among the Chicanos present, but the aspect of the participation of the SWP precluded a decisive decision, for which the conference was not geared.

Since the conference, a coalition of the independents has developed between the Crusade for Justice, the Chicano Rights Organization, Bert Corona, and the regular Crusade supporters the Chicanos Unidos organization of El Paso and Mario Cantú has developed to hold conferences on immigration and perhaps other activities, although these have not laterally materialized.

The August 29th Movement has since disintegrated over questions of tactics and ideology as have many of the MEChAs sustained by the ideologies of ATM, which considered the time ripe to carry on armed confrontation due to the economic crisis which began in 1973. The Partido de la Raza Unida is picking up strength in a number of areas due to its stands in defense of Chicano political, civil and human rights and the question on the matter of the undocumented immigrant. The leadership of the partido is undertaking a hard critical evaluation of position, strength, numbers, status at present, mistakes, etc. and is working to build the Partido from the ground up. Also, the Partido has established contact with the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores in order to exchange information and work cooperatively on transborder projects, such as the case of the undocumented immigrants, the matter of transnational corporations, etc..

At the present time, and in the future to be discussed, the major national Chicano organizations are the Partido de la Raza Unida and CASA, with a great deal of influence to be exerted by the coalition of independents. As we view the chart on page 4, we see that I postulate all three are still active coming into the roughest phase of the entry into the second major economic decline in the U. S. economy in the 20th century. The Chicano Movement, present and past have yet to weather, a major period of economic downturn in the history of our domination by the United States, as have segments of the anglo left, such as the Communist Party USA, the Socialist Party, the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Workers Party. These have been held together by the idea that the ultimate capitalist crisis is soon to come and the socialist revolution will be under way. The Chicano Movement's history shows only partially developed ideologies and programs which did not create a large enough number of adherents to carry them through either periods of crisis or periods of prosperity. It is my postulation that the Chicano Movement must weather the period of the depression and the following up cycle which will be brought about by an expansion of armaments production and perhaps another brushfire war in Africa of the Viet Nam type.

In order to weather this period, we must develop a solid organization with well defined goals, principles, organizational structure, financial organization and defined ideology and purpose which will give the Partido the cohesion that the left has had to carry it through the previous financial crises and upturns in the economy, which in effect were worse for the socialist and communist organizations, because the people felt that the system was working and prosperity was on the way. This has also affected the Chicano community, which kept the Chicano Movement from having a greater impact than it did.

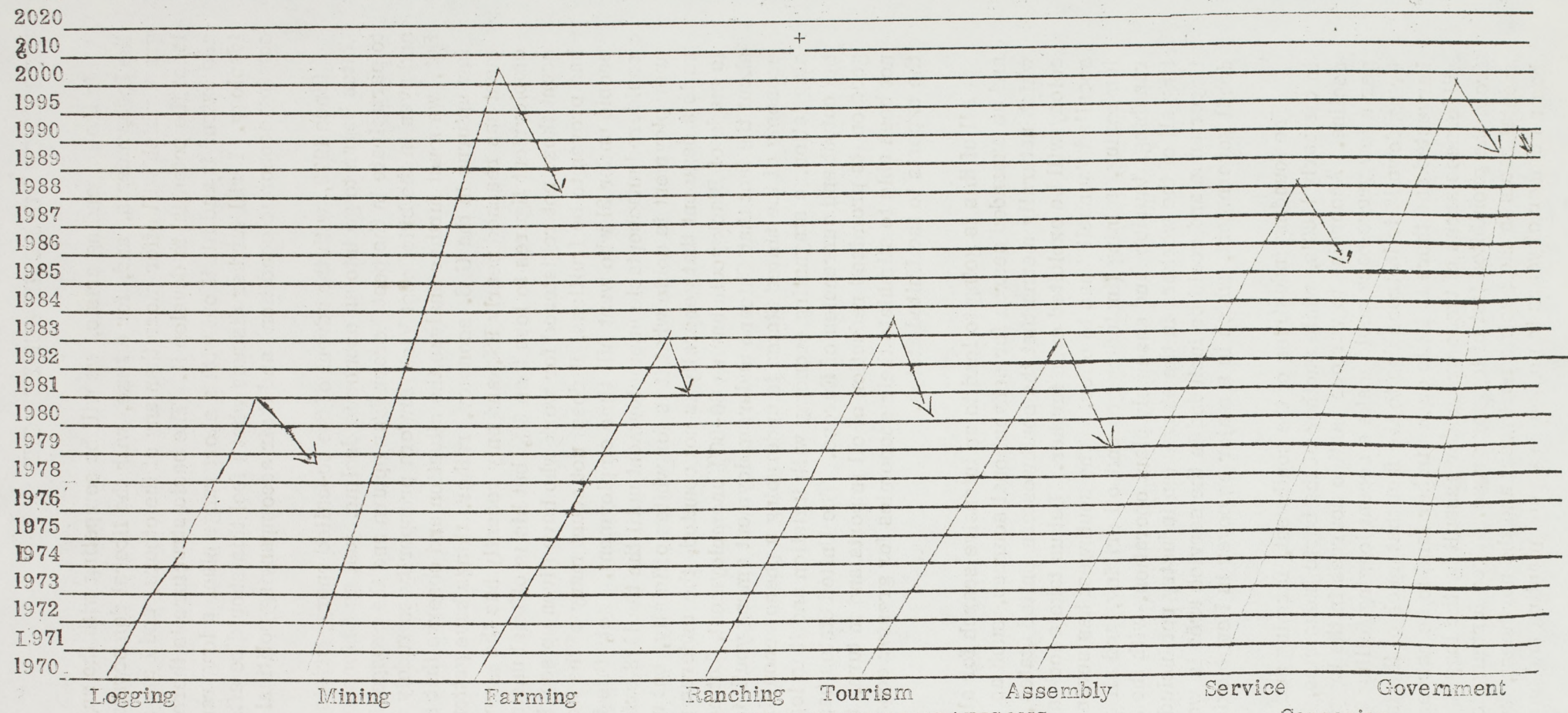
In the impending crisis, we will be competing with the anglo left and with CASA and the Independents, and, for a time, with the liberal democrats. We must develop a program which will offer more than any of the others, and I am sure that we have it, or at least the potential to develop it. The basic structure is there, but we must reinforce it and extend it and fill it out with a short range plan, a long range plan and an inclusive ideology. I will further discuss what I feel this should be after the discussion of the upcoming economic conditions and their accompanying political conditions.

Since 1973, with the advent of the so-called energy crisis brought on, the United States began to go into an economic decline, just as Chicanos and Blacks were beginning to participate in the post Korean War upturn and the prosperity of the Viet Nam conflict and even in the brief post Viet Nam era prosperity so rudely disrupted by the 1973 crisis. But, we must further analyze the situation and observe that since 1973, we have had few upturns in the U. S. economy, rather, things have gotten much worse: unemployment has reached nearly 9%, and only recently has the government downgraded its unemployment figures to less than 6%, but this is official unemployment which does not count those not registered for work who have given up seeking jobs because their search has proven to be fruitless, it does not count many of the women who seek jobs or the people under 21 who want full time employment. Yet, this is almost double what was considered unacceptable unemployment until the the 1973 crisis. For Chicano and Blacks unemployment is double what it is for whites officially, but unofficially, it is much higher as is a segment that generally is not counted, the underemployed and the youth. Much is made of Black youth having 60-80% unemployment, but nothing is mentioned that about the fact that Chicano underemployment among youth is at the same level. The economy of the United States is undergoing a phenomenon that was unexpected called stagflation, a stagnating economy with inflation and it is losing ground in relation to the output and currencies of Europe. The United States has not been able to make good on its promised reduction of oil imports and in turn, the European nations have not been able to stimulate their economies for greater consumption at home to reduce the exports to the United States.

All of this is going to lead to an intensive search for alternative sources of energy and an expanded search for conventional sources, such as coal, uranium, wood, etc, which naturally means that the southwestern United States, which is already an economic colony will be exploited even further. Let us take a look at what the southwest of the so-called "sunbelt" has to offer. The southwest has seven basic industries. These are lumbering, mining (including gas and oil drilling, and all mineral mining), farming, ranching, tourism and assembly plant operation, with the service industry complementing all of the workers in the above (an industry not included, but which is of major importance and could be included in the service area is work in federal, state and local government, which is a major employer in New Mexico, for example).

The founding industries of the southwest, farming and ranching will begin to decline in the early 1980's, while another of the basic industries, logging has already begun to decline. According to various partido sources in the logging industry, whereas a logger a few years back could make a decent logging felling 6 to 8 trees a day, he now must bring down 12 to 16 trees due to the fact that much of the larger timber has already been harvested and there is little open timber land to be harvested with the exception of the wilderness areas of these are under assault by the logging industry to remove them from the prohibited list of logging areas. Tree farming is being done on an experimental basis in the Pacific northwest and the northeast, but here, the experiment still has a number of years to go before a good planting and harvest cycle can be started, and

FIGURE 2 INDUSTRIAL GROWTH AND DECLINE CHART AND IMMIGRATION Y POPULATION CHART



POPULATION COMPARISONS	
Chicano Population	Undocumented Immigrants
2000	80,000,000
1990	24-26,000,000 (birthrate increase)
1985	22-24,000,000 (birthrate increase)
1980	40,000,000 (est.)
1978	10-12,000,000 (est.)
	8-10,000,000 (est.)
	60,000,000
	155,000,000 (est.)
	(220,000,000 est. total)

(Blacks, the largest "minority" group constitute about 40,000,000)

the limited amount of rainfall in the southwest creates a situation which does not provide very good possibilities of starting the tree farming process here. As can be seen on the chart of page 11, these industries will experience a slow growth up to the early and mid 1980's, after which they will suffer swift declines unless technological progress precludes this. The assembly plant sector and the tourist sectors, relatively new additions to the southwest economy will tend to increase, as the factories in the northeastern part of the United States are seeking sources of cheaper labor power and are moving into the non unionized South and into the poorly unionized Southwest, which they are attempting to soften up with a series of well financed so called "right to work laws." As the economist John Kenneth Galbreth states in his book The New Industrial State, modern day industry does not take its chances on the open market, but rather it plans 20-25 years ahead to create a market, it does the same for its labor supply and supply of raw materials; therefore, what we are witnessing with the flurry of "Right to Work" bills is the tip of the planning spearhead of the major industries which want to move into the Southwest to exploit the labor supply and to be near the sources of energy and raw materials which will soon be extracted in huge quantities in the Southwest and to extend the days of uninterrupted production from what today is the case in the "snowbelt," or the northeastern United States.

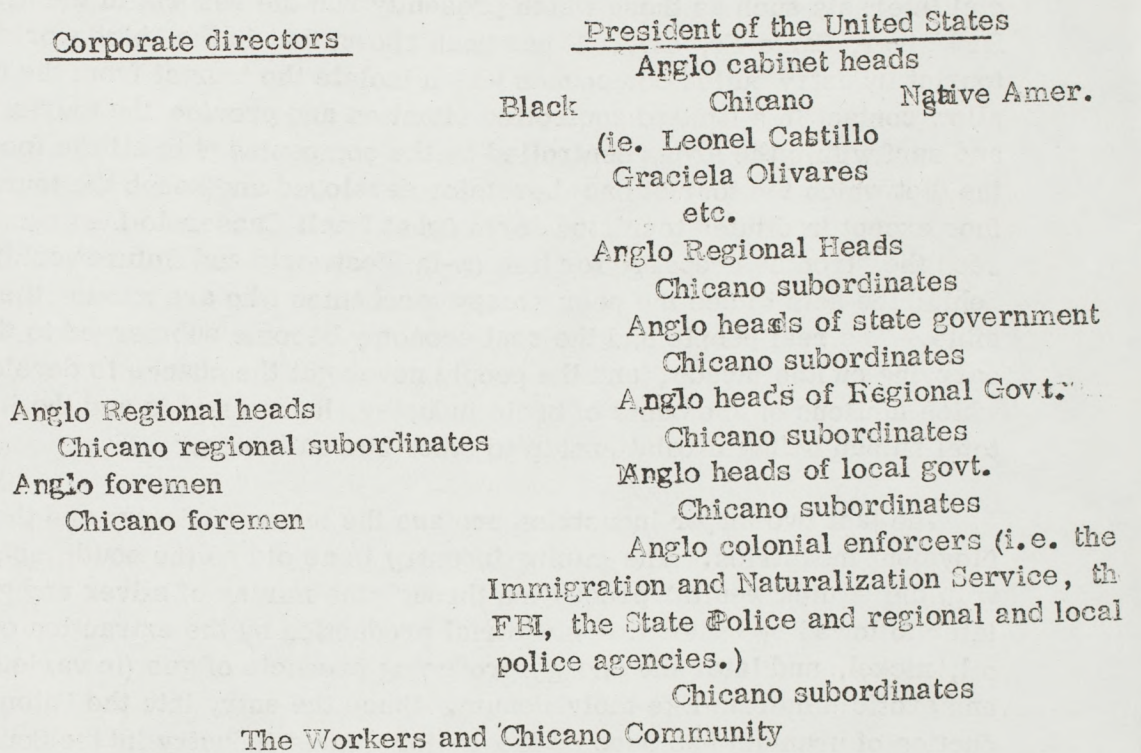
The tourist industry is being promoted by the short sighted politicians as a possible growth factor for the non industrialized southwest, as the environmentalists struggle to keep out polluting industries, but as has been shown to be the case in colonial, ex-colonial and third world countries, the tourist sites are controlled by the big financial interests such as those which presently run the resorts in the areas of Taos, Chama, Red River, Santa Fe, etc.. It has been shown that in the third world countries, the tourist industry builds compounds which isolate the tourist from the natives and only allow contact in a limited controlled situation and provide the tourist with the sun, sand and surf within the areas controlled by the companies with all the foods regulated to the diet which the tourist has heretofore developed and keeps the tourist from the "native food except in diluted tourist form (what I call Casserole Mexican food). The tourist sees the "fronts" prepared for him (a-la Westworld and Futureworld) and does not get behind the sets to see the poor greasy mechanics who are making the whole facade possible. The real people and the real economy become submerged to the interests of carrying on the facade, and the people never get the chance to develop a real economy which functions on the basis of basic industry, human needs and the improvement of the total human being in relationship to other human beings.

The last two major industries are the mining industry and the government employment industries. The mining industry is as old as the southwest, at first dealing with the "quick wealth" production through the mining of silver and gold. This was later followed by mining for industrial production by the extraction of copper, coal, oil, nickel, and later the energy producing products of gas (in various forms), uranium and exotic minerals like molybdenum. Since the entry into the "atomic age" the production of uranium has become the major mining industry in the Southwest, replacing the search for gold. The Southwest has become the "energy colony" for the rest of the United States and for the big corporations which are acquiring the options for the energy resources of the Southwest at an alarming rate. For the time being, many Chicanos are satisfied or relatively so, because the extraction of the minerals in mining provides good jobs never dreamed about under the village economy and the land grant system, but the honeymoon is ending as more and more Chicanos begin to realize that they earn less relative to workers in the plants on the east coast and that in reality the wages they earn in comparison to what they produce and the profits taken by the companies is really extremely small. Also, many of the workers are realizing that the

job they are doing is depleting the natural resources for the future generations and that the land is being destroyed or contaminated. They are beginning to realize that when the mined materials run out, the companies will move on and they and their descendents will be left to roam the dunes of uranium tailing, leaky gas wells which will spew their stench but will not provide enough energy for a Chicano economy, the strip mined canyons which will not grow anything and the contaminated subsurface which could spew out its wastes with the disintegration of the salt beds or a tremor from the Rio Grande fault.

But still, we do not have a highly developed enough consciousness among the Chicano worker to control those resources by having the state take them over and run them with the surplus being produced at the present time. The Chicanos who are not involved in the industries mentioned are generally involved in the major single employer of the Southwest, the government, state, federal or local. In northern New Mexico, this is one of the biggest employers of the Chicano population. As in the majority of industry, the Chicano work in the lower level jobs of government and rarely rise to a supervisory position of major importance, since the colonizers reserve those positions to themselves. At every level of government, the Chicano and other minorities hold what Rodolfo Gonzales aptly called token leadership in society's own name. When one reviews the government structure and compares it to the colonial structure of England in India or the other European countries in Africa, one sees layers of Anglo bureaucrats over the local or regional Chicano bureaucrats down the line

Figure 4.



It is evident that the entire structure is an internal colonial structure for the Chicano, Black and Native American in which the minority group member is supervised by a Caucasian, and that colonial peoples are used to supervise their own. This can work either in industry or government, but it is in government that it is most visible and can be clearly studied. For example, when there are Chicano enforcers, such as members of the Border Patrol or the local police forces, they are accompanied by an Anglo who pressures them to "get tough" with their own people or to whom the Chicano feels he has to prove something. The enforcers come from the most violent sectors of the

colonizer's community and they have little use for the poor or minority group members. The training schools for these enforces reinforce stereotypes and negative aspects of the colonized community and instill the values into the colonized members of society chosen to become enforcers.

The element that maintains the lines of supply for the colonizers and their institution is the so called service industry, which provides backup for all of the other sectors, it provides the food, move the good, tends to the laborers and managers of the system and in general keeps the army moving. This support section is where many Chicanos are concentrated, because oftentimes, service is thought to be beneath the dignity of the colonizer. This industry is usually the last to go in a decline period, because people are conditioned to have the services available and will attempt to utilize them until the economic crisis makes this no longer feasible.

The major limiting factor to the growth of the Southwest is water, its presence or absence can determine whether an area or an industry grows or dies. To date, despite the limited supply of water in the Southwest, there had been little concern, since the water supply was adequate to the tasks of farming or ranching, despite occasional droughts. But, now industry in Southwest is growing and it is demanding the lion's share of scarce water supplies to the exclusion of traditional pursuits such as farming in which many Chicanos in Northern New Mexico are still involved. Certain types of mining and manufacturing require vast quantities of water (witness the rivers they have polluted in the eastern United States.). In the southwest the conflict is between water for people and agriculture or water for jobs and industry. Until very recently, this was not even in question in the east.

The problem of water is so serious in the Southwest that due to the salination of the Rio Colorado, farming in some of California's richest areas may come to a standstill. This is threatening to occur in the Rio Grande confluences in New Mexico due to the taking of water by Colorado and Texas and the use of water for mining and recreation. Battles are presently under way in the courts to see who will control the water of the Rio de San Juan. Water is what limits the growth of population in many parts of Arizona and Texas. Still, industry want to get away from fuel shortages, cold winters and unionized labor in the northeastern United States, and it will go anywhere to make a larger profit, even to the water short southwestern United States. Industry calculates by the time the resources of the Southwest have been exhausted, they can find other areas to exploit, such as Mexico and Latin America, and, if necessary, the Northwestern United States (which is only recently beginning to be explored and exploited) and the Southeast, which is presently being industrialized and exploited for mineral resources.

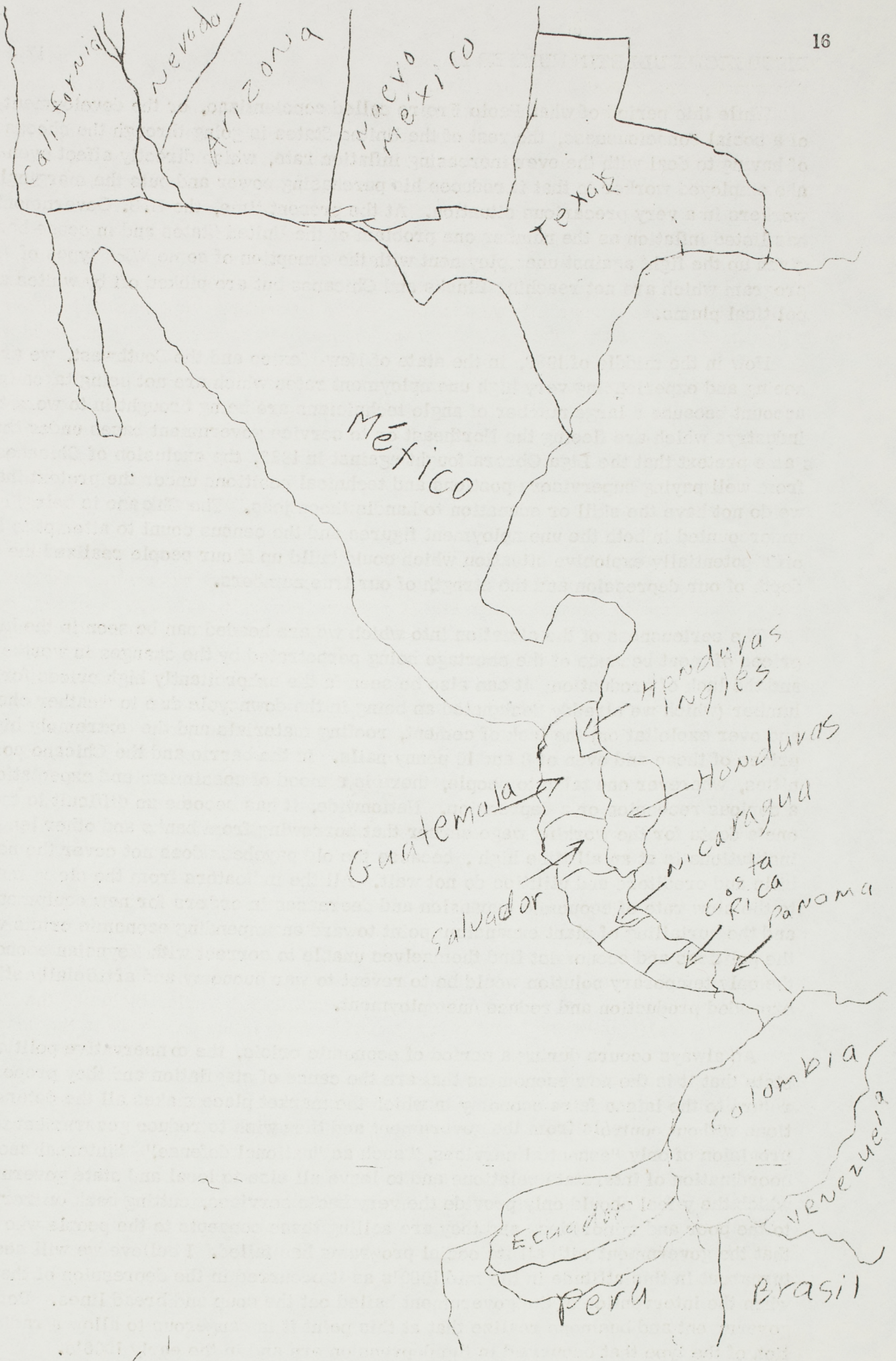
Because of the fact that much of the present industrial apparatus is in transition and looking for new resources for production, productivity is down and the U.S. economy is in crisis with the previously unknown factor of stagflation, or low production, high unemployment and high prices. Generally, when there are a lot of goods on the market and sales are low, prices go down and this stimulates a new cycle of buying which in turn heats up the economy again, but this is not occurring, Industry is not willing to downgrade its profits to stimulate sales, so they lay off workers and raise prices, creating the new spiral. Workers, caught by rising prices, go on strike and get higher wages after which prices are increased again, and this starts a vicious cycle which ends on the basis of government intervention (price and wage freezes, higher tariffs for imported goods, raising of the prime interest lending rate, etc.).

Because of the lack of a war economy, the United States has gone into a period of recession since about 1973, out of which it only recovered shakily and of which it is still feeling the effects. The unemployment rate is manipulated and made seem to be smaller by means of adjustments and uncounted sectors of the unemployed, which give the appearance of improvement in the situation. The unemployment in those sectors which they cannot hide, among Blacks especially, they try to explain away by saying that the workers "have no marketable skills" or by saying that the government (or private industry) does not know why certain people are unemployed in what seems to be an up cycle in the economy. (It is essentially because the "minorities" are the last hired and first fired and do not benefit from any recoveries until much after the caucasian population has recovered, we are the reserve labor force kept warehoused and in light maintenance until the economy heats up enough to require additional support.)

Until the heavy manufacturing interest have readjusted their production to the new areas, there will be little relief for the worker, especially the Chicanos, Blacks and Native Americans, and this will bring the downswing or depressions economists have been predicting of late for 1984 or so. Once the megaplants get resettled and the government intervenes a-la depression of 1930, the cycle will heat up again and begin to draw in the mainstay of skilled workers and later in the cycle will draw in the "minorities."

Economic disasters in the United States have often had devastating consequences in Mexico, and in the rest of Latin America. But, U.S. industry has already charter the natural resources in Latin America and is preparing to include those resources, especially in Mexico, into the increased exploitation of the Southwest. This is occurring, clearly, due to the geographic proximity of Mexico. Of recent importance is the oil discovery in the area of the Gulf of Mexico. This hold a great deal of promise for eliminating much of the poverty to be found in Mexico today. But, Mexico is also one of the nations where the distribution of the wealth to the lower sectors is the worst, and the only means of keeping those facts from preventing the improvement of the lot of the poor mexicano is to maintain the nationalized oil wells against U.S. pressure to de nationalize them and have them turned over to the "private sector," which the U.S. corporations (the multinationals) already manipulate in all sectors which production is in private hands, from manufacturing to agriculture to retail sales.

The greatest ally of these planned takeovers of the resources of the Southwest and Mexico is the ignorance of the the people and the desperation of their situation which causes them to look upon any job as a blessing and the lack of knowledge about political (electoral, governmental and ideological) realities and situations. Despite the fact that the people in the United States are the least illiterate in the world, including the Chicano, they are the worst informed least politicized of the population anywhere in the so-called "free world" due to the flood of trivial information and the lack of clear alternatives and the present relatively comfortable status of the majority of the workers in the United States compared to the workers of other countries. But, the U.S. and Chicano worker does not realize that his comfort is being bought at the expense of workers in other parts of the world. He is insensitive to their exploitation as occurred in the "Banana Republics" created by the multinational fruit companies and the harsh conditions endured by U.S. companys' workers in Africa and South, Central and southern North America. The blinders cannot be kept on forever, as these countries shake off the dictatorships brought about by domination by the United States and its multinational companies.



While this period of what Paolo Freire called *concientizao*, or the development of a social consciousness, the rest of the United States is going through the shocks of having to deal with the ever increasing inflation rate, which directly affect even the employed worker in that it reduces his purchasing power and puts the marginal workers in a very precarious situation. At the present time, the U.S. Government has listed inflation as the number one problem of the United States and in sense has given up the fight against unemployment with the exception of some WPA types of program which are not reaching Blacks and Chicanos but are picked off by whites as political plums.

Now in the middle of 1968, in the state of New Mexico and the Southwest, we are seeing and experiencing very high unemployment rates which are not being taken into account because a large number of anglo technicians are being brought in to work the industries which are fleeing the Northeast or to service government bases under the same pretext that the Liga Obrera fought against in 1933, the exclusion of Chicanos from well paying supervisory positions and technical positions under the pretext that we do not have the skill or education to handle these jobs. The Chicano is being undercounted in both the unemployment figures and the census count to attempt to head off a potentially explosive situation which could build up if our people realized the depth of our depression and the strength of our true numbers.

The seriousness of the situation into which we are headed can be seen in the high prices of meat because of the shortage being perpetrated by the changes in weather and the lack of production; it can also be seen in the exorbitantly high prices for lumber (which we already designated as being in the downcycle due to weather changes and over exploitation) the lack of cement, roofing materials and the extremely high prices of these and even of 8 and 10 penny nails. In the barrio and the Chicano communities, wherever one talks to people, there is a mood of pessimism and expectation of a serious recession or a depression. Nationwide, it has become so difficult to meet one's debts for the working wage earner that borrowing from banks and other lending institutions is at an all time high, because the old paycheck does not cover the new bills and creditors and utilities do not wait. All the indicators from the stock market to the slow rate of economic expansion and decreases in orders for new equipment and the curtailing of plant expansion point toward an impending economic crisis which the politicians and economist find themselves unable to correct with Keynesian economics, the only temporary solution would be to revert to war economy and artificially stimulate expanded production and reduce unemployment.

As always occurs during a period of economic crisis, the conservative politicians state that it is the new economics that are the cause of stagflation and they propose a return to the *laisse faire* economy in which the market place makes all the determinations without controls from the government and they wish to reduce government to the provision of only "essential services," such as "national defense," "internal security," coordination of interstate relations and to leave all else to local and state government which they feel should only provide the very basic services, cutting back on services to the poor and minorities, and they are selling these concepts to the people who feel that the government with all its social programs has failed. I believe we will see a turnabout in this attitude in the mid 1980's as it occurred in the depression of the 1930's when the intervention of the government bailed out the soup and bread lines. Both government and business realize that at this point it is dangerous to allow a radicalization of the type that occurred in the depression era and in the early 1900's.

During this period of crisis in the United States, Mexico is also undergoing a strong economic recession and expansion of certain exports at the same time, and this is causing large numbers of Mexicanos to cross the border to find jobs in the United States, where the situation is far better than in Mexico and Latin America where people are literally starving to death. The United States both fears and welcomes this phenomenon due to the fact that they fear the "reconquest of the Southwest by a massive immigration by the Mexicans and other Latin Americans," and it appreciates the fact that the undocumented immigrant can be exploited and scapegoated as the cause of the crisis. Nevertheless, the government wants the undocumented immigrant out as do various right wing radical groups because they see the explosive potential of this large population increase. The present Chicano population of the Southwest approximates 2 million, with another 10 to 12 million undocumented Mexicanos. It is calculated that within the next 15 to 20 years both these populations will double, giving us a native Chicano population of about 24 million, an undocumented immigrants population (from the present stock) of about 24 million for a total of around 48 million. The present population of Mexico is 60 million which will more than double in those 20 years to about 120 million persons. At the present time, Mexico has an admitted unemployment rate of 40% with a very young expanding population.

Considering that 1/7 th of Mexico's population (the 10-12 million undocumented immigrants) live in the United States and Mexico still has 40% unemployment, we can probably expect some 40 million more immigrants over the next 20-30 years, giving us a Chicano/Mexicano population of around 90 million for a proportion high on the scale of U.S. population of around 220 million of which perhaps 60 million will be black, this will be, of course an official count, since the undocumented will not be counted and the white population will be reduced by a negative birth rate.

We can already see the massive repression against the immigration from Mexico that exists due to the depressed state of the U.S. economy. This is reflected in the Rodino and Eilberg bills, the Carter plan and numerous studies and articles and reports such as the negative newspaper articles, the Crampton and Corwin reports, etc., all of which foresee the southwest taken over by Chicanos and Mexicanos in the control of government positions and programs, a separate Chicano nation, or a reunification of Mexico with the southwest, etc.. Arthur C. Clark in his novel Imperial Earth has prognosticated the formation of a separate nation of the present U.S. Southwest, as have various other writers; A recent bulletin from a Quebec socialist party has produced a pamphlet entitled "New Borders," which shows the southwest attached to Mexico. This is also being postulated by various adherents of CASA and is even being postulated by certain Mexican historians and has been declared to a Spanish scholar (from Spain, not northern New Mexico). This theory is relieving widespread dispersion. The Mexican historian feels that the large number of short generation Mexicans will want to rejoin Mexico because of historic feeling and as a part of a new civil rights push based on the Treaty of Guddalupe Hidalgo.

I feel that this will be a factor, but what will occur is that there will be massive repression and deportation during the present economic crisis in which massive deportations activities will be set in motion in which many citizen or naturalized Chicanos and Mexicanos will be caught up, creating rancos against the INS, the government and the anglo. Opportunities for Chicanos will be sharply reduced (as seen by the Bakke Decision which is made out to be directed mostly against Blacks, although California has far more Chicanos; this is to keep Chicanos on a low profile and to discredit any

Chicano analyses or declarations, which was clearly evident during the NBC television analysis of the Bakke decision). The news media has placed a heavy clamp and control on reporting of Chicano alternative political parties of Chicanos in order to keep them from being exposed along with their ideas to the Chicano community for fear this community will react favorably to our proposals and analyses. Police Brutality will increase to even unheard of levels, especially cases of Chicano police killing Chicanos. Economically, our unemployment rate will go up sharply, and federal programs will take some time to catch up, time enough to cause middle class Chicanos to go into lower middle class or poor status. This will, of course provide fertile ground for organizing, especially among the non politicized youth and the "Disco Chicanos" who now feel they have it made despite the first waves of the new recession depression. This will be a period of around 4 to 6 years. This will be the time to build a sound structure for the Partido with an analysis and perspective which our competitors cannot offer.

We will need this organizational period and effort to build the structure which will allow us to ride out the 15 to 20 year period of prosperity which will be occurring due to the adjustment of industry, the utilization of new energy resources, and a probable conflict involving the U.S. and Europe in Africa against Soviet, Cuban and other Worker states troops and conflict in the middle east. There will a possibility of some radical mobilization during this period, but government and police pressure will be far stronger than anything seen during the Viet Nam era conflict and a lot of people will fold under the pressure. This is the period which will cause massive immigration from Mexico, since the petroleum find will not likely filter down to the common people. This will cause floods of Mexicanos to date unseen as well as the placement of the U.S. military on the border, because the liberals of the Democrat party are losing their grip and the conservatives of the Republican party are definitely becoming more powerful and will instill regressive laws and a less regulated economy which will break down unions, but some benefits will be maintained to keep minority group reaction from becoming too widespread. During this period, we can expect the jailing of a large number of the Partido leadership, since we are seen as the greatest potential danger, since we are the only Chicano organization capable of taking state power in the Southwest (despite proclamations by the "pure leftists who criticize Partido electoral activity and assistance to the Chicano community as reformism).

The periods of the new recession and the upturn will be the test which will prove whether or not the Partido is the organization which will become the first Chicano transcendental organization to survive the up and downturns in the U.S. economy, and we have to organize for this period. We have to develop a secondary leadership and even a tertiary leadership to sustain the shock of the arrests which will take place among our Partido leaders. As to our rivals CASA and the Independents, I feel that CASA will enjoy some success among the Mexicano undocumented and some documented immigrants but will be unable to make strong inroads into the native Chicano population or the Mexicanos who have been here for some time. Most of the Independents will have faded out due to disillusionment and personal pressures. The Partido is in the position, after a thorough selfanalysis and criticism to reorganize and recoup and organize the native Chicano in all of the Southwestern states. We can also tap the documented Mexicano and his offspring and even make inroads into organizing the undocumented Mexicano and protect his human rights to the point where he will be able to join us openly despite the fact that he cannot vote.

I feel that once we begin to organize well and to develop a clear plan and ideology for the Partido, many of the independents will join us and we can work together with CASA in many types of cases with the possibility of a merger in the late 1980's or the early 1990's. There will have to be some ideological and structural changes needed in CASA in order for this to occur, but I believe it will occur. This will make our chances for survival that much stronger. What we cannot and dare not do is to capitulate to the system and say the Partido is outmoded and no longer effective. It is precisely because it is effective that we are under such a massive assault both from the government and the left. Once we see this, we know that all we can do is double our resolve and begin to develop structure and policy along with an ideology which will carry us through the roughspots. I will further develop what I feel this ideology should be along with a possible national, state and local structure.

After the upturn, the resources of the Southwest will have been exhausted, and a full scale depression will be setting in around the year 2,000 to 2,010, establishing unprecedented repression by police and the INS, but we can by this time have brought the majority of the Chicano and Mexicano with us well into the down cycle and we will be able to control all state and local government in the Southwest and will be able to establish a regional coalition for our own defense and in preparation for the separation. After the entry into the depression, at first the public demand will be for federal programs and unemployment help which will not be forthcoming from the conservative government and along with the depression will bring about an attempt at armed insurrection which I feel will be crushed, and we of the Partido will be condemned by this group of adventurers for not committing suicide, since the depression will not be far enough along for the public to and the Chicano community to support a revolution. La gente sufre muchísimo antes que se levanten, y no se mueven hasta que no estan listos. Esto se comprobó por la lucha anticipada de los hermanos Flores Magón, quienes podrían haber encabezado la revolución mexicana y le podrían haber dado otra dirección y haber establecido otro México.

It is my calculation that the people themselves will demand a plebescite to secede as is presently the case in Quebec. This time will be at the same time as the historic confrontation between the Soviet Union and the United States. Events in Mexico will also prepare it for the probability of providing aid to the Chicano to effectuate the secession and reunification. The major obstacle to this is the takeover of Mexican industry by U.S. multinational corporation, and to counter pose this, we need to establish ties with progressive groups in Mexico and develop a common strategy and work plan and to work with the Mexican government to obtain from it all of the assistance we can get educationally, politically and economically. Industry is already in or moving into the border area with the maquiladoras or runaway shops and shops and interest in Mexican industry. I believe in the late 1980's or the early 1990's, the Mexican government of the left will reverse the trend. My studies and data do not allow me prognosticate or analyze further, but I foresee that the unification will be successful and will eventually encompass South American and Central America with the exception of Brazil and Argentina which will come in later. Much later, a possible Southern Black State, the Anglo United States, Quebec and Anglo Canada will come together into a hemisphere country.

This is only the first of a series of bulletins, please read it, think about it, and, if you have material for a discussion bulletin based on it, please get it to me.

Juan José Peña, State Chairman
Partido de la Raza Unida de Nuevo México

Hermano.

Aquí te van unos documentos
del Partido de Nuevos Méjicos.
Después quisiera hablar contigo
sobre ello. Saludos a la gente,
y a ver si voy para allá para
hablar con el presidente Estatal
del Partido y trataré de dar
la vuelta a San Diego.

Jose José Ferrer