

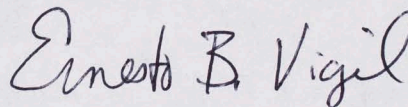
**Early FBI File References to the 1970 LA Moratorium
(Ernesto Vigil FOIA FBI Documents Collection)**

The FBI documents in my possession show that the FBI field offices and headquarters made many early references to the August 29, 1970, LA Moratorium. The documents show such references in documents on the Second National Chicano Youth Liberation Conference that endorsed the moratorium event in the spring of 1970. The file references, moreover, show that the FBI was monitoring the antiwar activism in our communities and these references also touch on the events, organizations, and leadership in antiwar events that preceded the Moratorium.

This note will be brief, but I do want to mention that there have to be complete FBI files dedicated to the Moratorium, the Moratorium Committee, and the key individuals on the Committee if anyone wants to take the time to request them. I believe I have seen the references and numbers to these files, but do not now have time to re-read about 6,000 pages to locate the file numbers.

You will find herein ^{one} ~~on~~ page attached to the cover sheet for the Denver FBI field office on the Crusade for Justice, its fifth volume, and will see that the FBI subscribed to New Mexico's El Grito del Norte newspaper and clipped the article for its files. The FBI uniformly subscribed to *all movement publications of any significance* and used their contents to glean "intelligence." Note the reference in the article to Rosalio Munoz in California.

I have included 5 similar references found in the FBI's sixth volume of the same field office file. Similar references are undoubtedly found in numerous files on organizations and individuals who were involved in antiwar activism in the barrios in that era. These are forwarded to you in view of your interest in the Moratorium and its history. I will send additional copies as I continue to go through my FOIA collection. I hope they are useful to yourself and others who are involved in political event this year that coincides with date of the Moratorium of 1970.



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7-28-02

Freedom of Information and Privacy Acts

Subject: CRUSADE FOR JUSTICE

File Number: (DENVER) 100-9365 VOL 5



Federal Bureau of Investigation

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Sept. 16 - La Raza Unida!

"It was the biggest demonstration in the history of Denver," said Crusade for Justice leader Corky Gonzales. He was speaking of the Sept. 16 student strike to mark Mexico's Independence Day, in which thousands of students and even teachers walked out of school to marches, rallies, and a picket line at the Safeway store (which sells grapes).

The Denver celebration was only one of many across the Southwest. In Alamosa, a small town 250 miles south of Denver, about 500 students walked out of the high school. In San Jose, Calif., the day had been made an official school holiday and there, too, thousands of students expressed their pride, determination, and demands for change in the school system.

Even in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, over 200 high school students, parents and community residents marked the date. Students walked out of school, went to a "teach-in" on the history of Sept. 16 and then attended a rally. (*La Guardia, CPA*)

Activity was limited in Los Angeles for several reasons. But a former Univ. of Calif. at Los Angeles student leader named Rosalio Munoz, now an admissions director at Claremont College, did announce his refusal to be drafted in front of an induction center while some 100 pickets stood by to show support.

In Denver, the marchers went to the Capitol and posted the Plan of Aztlan (see column by Enriqueta Vasquez in this issue) on the locked doors. A student from the Univ. of Mexico read the original "grito" of Father Miguel Hidalgo on Sept. 16, 1810. As Corky Gonzales said, "Sept. 16 is a day of unity of all Chicanos. For us it is Chicano liberation day."

And right here in New Mexico, on the University campus is Albuquerque, several hundred students gathered in a similar spirit.

A teacher at San Jose State College spoke for all chicano students who do not seek to become Anglo but take pride in their own culture and people when he said: "They tell us to go back where we came from. Well, we don't have to go back... we are back where we came from!" VIVA LA RAZA UNIDA!

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

P11 EL GRITO DEL NORTE
ESPANOLA, N.M.

Date: Undated
Edition: Vol. II, No. 14
Author:
Editor:
Title: "CORKY" GONZALEZ

Character: IS - SA

or
Classification: 100-3153
Submitting Office: AQ

Being Investigated

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OCT 30 1969	
FBI - DENVER	

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- 3 - Denver (RM)
- (1-100-9290, [redacted])
- (1-100-9365, Crusade for Justice)
- (1-100-La Raza)

9-4-98 SP3 BTJ/R

- 3 - AQ
- (1-100-3153, Crusade for Justice)
- (1-105-1619, La Raza)
- (1-105-1722, El Grito Del Norte)

10-29-69/ajf

b7C

Freedom of Information and Privacy Acts

Subject: CRUSADE FOR JUSTICE

File Number: (DENVER) 100-9365 VOL 6



Federal Bureau of Investigation

Nat'l Chicano conference is planned for next March

By ORRIN BROWN

DENVER—Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzalez, head of the Denver Crusade for Justice, announced plans this week for a Chicano gathering in Denver to begin the last week in March. According to Gonzalez, the gathering will be a "Chicano Congress" which will take up plans "to form our own political party and make plans for convening our own nation of Aztlan."

Gonzalez says he expects delegates representing Chicano organizations throughout the country to attend the gathering. Invitations will also be sent to Puerto Rican organizations in the East.

The gathering is the outcome of activities which began at the first Chicano youth conference held here last March when the Plan Espiritual De Aztlan, a program for liberation of the Chicano people, was drawn up. The plan outlines basic principles underlying the Chicano movement including Chicano control of the Chicano community, community self-defense and independent political action.

The planned Congress will work toward implementing these principles. A Chicano Congress is necessary, Gonzalez said, because "we are not represented in the one in Washington. The two parties are the same animal with two heads that feeds from the same trough."

Gonzalez described the Congress as a gathering where decisions could be made which affect the Chicano people.

One of the issues to be taken up by the Congress will be to decide whether Chicano youth should fight in the current war being waged by the government in Washington.

At a talk to Chicano students at Colorado College where plans were first announced, Gonzalez projected the perspective of retaking a large area of the Southwest and renaming it Aztlan, "the name originally given to this land by the Indians."

Gonzalez says that the Chicano movement today is the beginnings of the fourth revolution. The first three have already taken place in Mexico.

Representatives from more than 20 Chicano organizations attended a Chicano conference in Albuquerque, New Mexico, Nov. 29-30.

According to an article in the Dec. 6 issue of *El Grito Del Norte*, the purpose of the conference was to improve communications between Raza groups.

The final speaker at the conference was Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzalez of the Crusade for Justice in Denver. He told the gathering, "We have to start thinking of ourselves as a nation." Emphasizing the need for community control, he said, "This is a colonized state. Texans come here and take out the timber. Our sweat is paying for all these businesses—we must take our share. And if we are not allowed to take our share, then we must become a nation within a nation. We need to take over our communities, de-annexate them."

94-98 JBBTJ/1

*filed by R/S
from [unclear]
re Crusade for Justice
for appropriate action*

The Militant
12-26-69
100-9365-4846
b7c

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC (100-9975) (C)

DATE: 1/21/70

FROM : SA [REDACTED] b7c

SUBJECT: INDEPENDENT CHICANO POLITICAL PARTY
IS - MEXICAN AMERICAN

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9-4-98 BY SP3 BTJ/

It is noted the name in caption was derived from a "Chicano Symposium" held at Hayward State College, Hayward, California, on November 13 and 14, 1969. Listed among the speakers at the symposium for the "Formation of an Independent Chicano Political Party" was Corky Gonzales.

GONZALES was in fact in the San Francisco area as of 11/14/69 inasmuch as he was a speaker at the Anti Vietnam War Moratorium activities there on 11/14/69.

GONZALES has voiced the idea of forming a Chicano political party and make plans for "our own nation of Aztlan"; he did so in a speech at Colorado College, Colorado Springs, on 12/11/69

[REDACTED SECTION]

b2
b7D

The 12/26/69 issue of The Militant, a weekly paper of the Socialist Workers Party, carried an article datelined Denver, in which Corky Gonzales announced the convening of a "Chicano Congress" in Denver the last week of March, 1970, which would take up plans to "form our own political party and make plans for convening our own nation of Aztlan".

The formation of a Chicano political party at the conference in Denver in March, 1970, will be covered under the "Crusade for Justice" file (100-9365) and accordingly it is recommended that instant case be closed.

1 100-9290 [REDACTED] b7c
1 100-9365 (CFJ)
1 100-9975)
JJO:jjo
(3)

100-9365-449

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JAN 21 1970	
FBI - DENVER	



All-Raza Conference

Hold - Moro

*A CPA Special from El Grito and El Papel
(No "regular" press were invited to the meeting)*

Representatives of more than 20 Raza organizations from New Mexico and across the Southwest came together in Albuquerque on Nov. 29-30 at a historic Conferencia de la Raza.

The conference did not aim to draw up any big programs or make any great decisions. Its purpose was simply to improve communication between Raza groups working for social change within the state, and also with groups outside the state. But when we think of how isolated people have been in New Mexico, that is a great accomplishment.

The weekend get-together grew out of several previous meetings of different groups around the state who felt the need to establish closer contact.

On Saturday, Nov. 29 at the University of New Mexico's Newman Center, a representative of each group present told what it had been doing--its goals, programs, problems. Ramon Tijerina, President of the Alianza, and others gave formal speeches. There were workshops on problems related to the land, welfare, education, political representation.

The next day's events took place at the Alianza office, where a number of people spoke before the crowded hall. Speakers were introduced by Felix Carriaga of Quebrar and Fidel Lovato, a MAPA representative in New Mexico.

Rosalio Munoz of Los Angeles, former student body president at U.C.L.A. and one of the first chicano draft resisters, showed a film about the draft and talked about it. Munoz was in the 19th day of a fast to protest the drafting of chicanos, the fact that they are being drafted and dying in Vietnam all out of proportion to their population percentage, that they are being used to kill innocent people. He urged people to attend a conference on the draft in Denver Dec. 6.

Wilfredo Sedillo, Vice President of the Alianza, had some sharp things to say about the politicians. "The Republicans and the Democrats are a family," he told the crowd. "And the two parties are scared. They are rics, they are scared of the poor people."

Corky Gonzales from the Crusade for Justice in Denver was the final speaker.

"We have to start thinking of ourselves as a nation," Corky said. "The white man has broken every treaty with the Indians--the Indians have never broken treaties. The white man broke the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidaigo."

The white man's treaties with Latin American countries are for him to exploit. We can't depend on that man's word."

Corky went on to explain how some people are afraid of nationalism--think it is "racist"--yet the Irish were being nationalist when they supported Kennedy, the blacks are being nationalist when they root for a black prizefighter, the Italians are being nationalist when they protect a person of Italian background, he said. It's nothing unusual.

"The women understand the need for nationalism better than the men," Corky said. "They are nationalizing the chicano students in college. Before, a

young chicano who went to college would become like a gringo there and end up marrying a gringa--because that's all there was around them." Now the chicanas were making the Raza boys aware and proud of their people, and anxious to struggle for them. "Women are the muscle of an organization," he added.

Corky made it clear that nationalism did not simply mean putting a chicano into office. "Has having chicano politicians changed anything?" he asked. "No!" the audience shouted back. "Has it fed the babies of Rio Arriba County?" he went on. "No!" the people shouted again. "Has it given us our land back?" And again the

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Chicano Group Calls For Anti-War March

A Hispano anti-war march in Los Angeles, Calif., Aug. 29 was proposed Friday in a report to a plenary session of the National Chicano Youth Liberation Conference of Azilan in the Crusade for Justice Building, 1567 Downing St.

The report, presented by a spokesman for the conference's draft resistance and Chicano moratorium workshop, also called for a petition urging immediate American withdrawal from Vietnam to be circulated among Hispanos.

The report and others on such topics as political action, community security and economic activity, will be considered for adoption Sunday by the approx-

imately-3,000 youths attending the conference.

The report asked a hard look at college draft deferments. Either the requirements for the deferment should be as strict as those for receiving a hardship deferment, or hardship deferments should be made as easy to get as those for college, the report said.

The spokesman contended other anti-war activities haven't helped Hispanos. Anglo draft resisters, he said, simply create "spaces in the Army for Chicanos to fill."

The report opposed the creation of a volunteer Army because "it would be Nixon's place for unemployed Chicanos."

The youths also heard reports from conference workshops on art, women's liberation, literature, communications and grape boycott.

The communications group advocated the establishment of a national Hispano newspaper and demands for time on radio and television.

Representatives of three Hispano street gangs in Chicago, Ill., agreed publicly at the meeting to stop fighting among themselves and to work for the city's Hispano people.

Rodolfo (Corky) Gonzales, Crusade leader, said the agreement was "beautiful."

The conference began here Wednesday and will run through Sunday.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Page 29
The Denver Post
Denver Colo.

Date: 3-29-70
Edition: Home Edition
Author:
Editor: Palmer Hoyt
Title: Hispano Anti-war March in Los Angeles Calif.

Character:
or
Classification: 157-41
Submitting Office:
 Being Investigated

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9-4-98 BY SP3 BTJ/R

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APR 3 1970
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[Redacted area]
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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Unite or perish, declares Gonzales

Crusade for Justice leader Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales Tuesday night told about 400 cheering Chicano followers at Colorado State University that "we free ourselves together, or we don't free ourselves at all."

Gonzales spoke under the sponsorship of the United Mexican-American Students (UMAS). His call to Mexican-Americans to unite or perish in what he described as an American economic jungle was a key note to the four-day Mexican Awareness Week Crusade on the CSU campus in Fort Collins.

"We must become one people," Gonzales said. "If one of us is in jail, we're all in jail. If one of us is out on bond, we're all out on bond. If one of us is hungry, we're all hungry."

"You have to have a collective movement. And, eventually to protect it, you will have to set up your own security. Until we become strong, we'll never be respected politically, socially or economically," he said.

Young Chicanos, he said, are starting their own peace moratorium because they are now relating the claim that for every Anglo that doesn't go to war, one more Chicano does go. He said the movement would stage its own peace moratorium Aug. 29.

Gonzales called for an "economic revoultion" with education supplied by Chicano teachers as the first step.

"Black people are getting what they want," he said. "Now we will get what we want."

He said his people would do it on their own, and not with sociologists with master's and doctor's degrees.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

105 Rocky Mtn News
Denver, Colo.

9-4-98

SP3 B73/r

Date: 4-15-70

Edition: Home

Author:

Editor: Jack Foster

Title:

Character: 100 - 9365

or

Classification: 100 - 9290

Submitting Office: Denver

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100-9365-509

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FBI - DENVER	

The following is an abridged version of a presentation given by Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales (Founder and Director of The Crusade for Justice in Denver, Colorado) at the University of Calif. at Santa Barbara, on June 1, 1978.

EL MARRO/JUNE 1978

Corky en Santa Barbara

The one thing we see across the nation, not particularly in the *chicano* communities or college organizations or community organizations, is a lot of apathy. We see a lot of the pre-war apathy coming back, the right wing attitudes and approaches to society. We see the emergence of a Ku Klux Klan not just as a Southern organization but as a national organization. We know what it is to have the John Birch Society as part of our neighborhood, living in the state of Colorado. In fact the Ku Klux Klan at one time ran everything politically in Denver and in the state of Colorado. So we are familiar with the right wing elements. We see that emergence coming on. We see students at the University of Colorado celebrating an Alfred Packer Day, which means they are honoring the memory of a cannibal who ate his friends. Maybe that is very exemplary of some of the society's advances on underdeveloped countries. We see goldfish-eating contests taking place at DU; this is the most radical thing they can think of doing. But this is why we talk to our youth and specifically talk to our group.

Some people have named me a reverse or regressive nationalist, and I think I'd like to explain the word *nationalism* and the types of nationalism. The reason why I'm going to talk about this is because I think it sets a basis for much of the organization work we've done and plan to do and that we're involved in now. What the tools are to use to organize, something the ultra radical or right have been unable to analyze (figure out) about our particular group. The two elements have really never penetrated the masses of our people, so I think it is important to explain what I mean by *nationalism*. There are three types of nationalism. There is *regressive nationalism*—the type of vicious nationalism which produces the arian race, the Nazis who hate people of color, who consider themselves superior. There is *progressive nationalism*—that nationalism that uses the identity, the history, the cultural ties as tools to organize a mass of people in one political direction, which has been used by great leaders such as Ho Chi Minh. Internationalists will say he was an internationalist. The Vietnamese will say he was a nationalist. He knew who he was taking the money home to and the materials and supplies; and he knew what he was going to liberate—that was Vietnam.

I think that is progressive nationalism. There's progressive nationalism going on in Africa, and as they go through their progressive nationalism they also recognize they are placed in the role and understand classism much better. We don't deny the fact that classism exists and is the final level that must be destroyed. But again we have to work with the tools that we have. When you nationalize

the resources of an underdeveloped country, when the liberators, the revolutionaries nationalize that country, that means that they will use the natural resources—the minerals, the oil, the diamonds, the metals; whatever they have for the benefit of the group, the benefit of their nation. That is very necessary to develop the economy and the liberation of a country. Not just to drive the oppressors out but to control the economy—that's very important. For us, for *chicanos*, we don't have money, and in this society where some of our people do happen to turn on the big bills, the big bucks, they usually do it based on capitalism and individual ambition; therefore they are useless to their peer group. We have to think on terms of nationalizing our national resources. And since we've been driven from our land or robbed of it, since we have no natural resources of material value, we have natural resources of physical value, meaning the masses of our people to put those masses to work in the political direction that is necessary to liberate them all. That is progressive nationalism.

Now we get to the one that we run into more as *chicanos* than any other type of nationalism, and that is *naive nationalism* or *stupidity*. To say that Porfirio Diaz was a *Mexicano* and therefore we would support him is in error. We know what a despot is, we know what a traitor is, we know what treachery and murder are, and for us to support a politico who votes for arms or war or regression or repression against our people and other people is not to have the support of the masses of our people, and we have to show them the difference. We cannot allow for naive or stupid nationalism.

The coyotes and the *vendidos* who sell us out, then turn around on election day to say we're all *chicanos*, so vote for me because he doesn't even do what the other white politico does: to put on a serape and a sombrero and eat a taco on election day or on Cinco De Mayo. He just uses his name—sometimes his color, sometimes his relatives—but you know an oppressor is an oppressor. A violator of principle is a violator of principle; a hypocrite is a hypocrite. We have to recognize the different species of animal and know that that person is not a part of a progressive nationalism and therefore does not deserve our support; that we use the nationalism for organizational tools, and we have always said that, while we stated that nationalism is a tool for organization, not a weapon for hatred.

I want to ask any *chicano* here, Is there an immigration problem? I have no problem with immigration. The only problems I have is with the immigrants who have become

the fathers of this country, the illegal aliens who came across the Atlantic Ocean—there's where we have our problems. I have had no problems with any *Mexicano* crossing, because if I would have I probably wouldn't be here because my father crossed what we consider an imaginary border line. So when we talk about that and those are the issues that effect us, those are the issues that effect us not only intellectually but emotionally. For us to say that there is a problem, for some fools who go around saying well there is an immigration problem I want to discuss, then he has a problem. He doesn't understand his history.

I don't look at immigration from a point of economics—I look at it from a point of history and politics. I look at it from the fact that historically this is occupied Mexico, any way you want to look at it. Historically we were colonized, historically there is no border line. Factually and legally, we use something called the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo—we use that to show the issue of discrimination, the robbery of the land and the culture. But the fact is, there is no valid, legal Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which means there are no borders because any treaty signed

must be signed by those representatives of an elected leadership and the majority of the people of the nation, under the Constitution. And that's why when any South American country finally liberates itself from the dictators that are supported by the arms and money of the corporations of this country and the politicians; when they liberate themselves and nationalize, those treaties are invalid—under international law they are invalid.

And if we look at it historically, there are no border lines and somebody will say that's fantasy. It's fantasy when we do know that there are armed guards and that Carter wants two thousand or four thousand more border patrols, when they accept the assistance of the Ku Klux Klan to help them arrest what they call illegal aliens, when they accept the assistance of right wing organizations to support their stand—then that reality is there. But the reality of

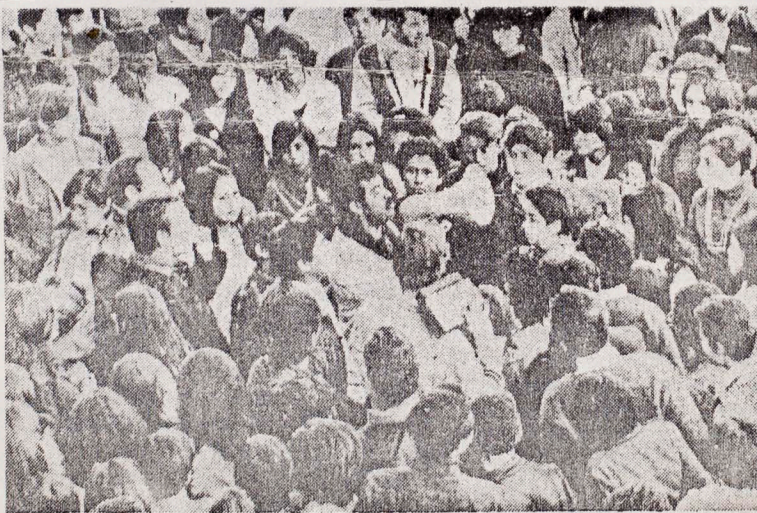
4 OF 4

legality is something that has never been discussed and something that I think we have to look at. People will say it is a fantasy because time will take care of everything.

I tell you we have to think in terms of generations and of time. Cinco De Mayo just passed and some of the words of Benito Juarez were, *Mexicanos* could not stand for any foreign invader to occupy the land of Mexico, neither from Europe or from North America, and the generations and generations that came would struggle for that liberation. And dramatic as that might sound—and maybe as fantastic—that's the truth—that the generations of Mexican people and the *chicano* element, the people that we come from, that we think on terms of liberation.

And if you think of the word liberation as some word of rhetoric—a word used but never really put into action—I think we have to evaluate what liberation really is also; we have to free ourselves from brainwashing, from media and newspaper yellow journalism, we have to free ourselves from views that are narrow. We have to free ourselves from pacification.

You know some of the things I thought I should say today I was saying ten, twelve years



ago. And to some of the students you know it seems it sounds new to them. We talk about pacification. You know you see a baby and you put a pacifier in his mouth instead of a bottle. He thinks he is getting something, so he shuts up, he sleeps. And that is the type of pacification that takes place when they want to dilute a movement, to keep a people thinking that everything is alright, satisfactory, to keep you away from the news or idea that your brothers and sisters in Mexico could eat and live good from the garbage we throw out, that people in Asia and South America and Africa are dying from the oppression of the imperialistic and capitalistic countries.

You understand that we are being kept in the dark and that we are being pacified from everything—from government programs to drugs to heroin and junk. You know we use a lot of that in the parks; we use the parks as our political forum, and there is always that guy out there who

is grumbling, What are you doing out there, Where are we at now? Well, he ain't nowhere, because when anything happens he can't even wiggle his toe 'cuz he's strung out. The wino passed out under the tree—he's a butt for jokes by little kids; he's not an example and possibly he could be an example, and we don't want that. We don't want those types of examples.

And some of those guys who have been through the mill instead of understanding that they don't want their children (there's no one walking the earth, I don't think, except those people who can't think), who wants their children to have less education they they had, they want them to have more education they they had. They want them to have a better job then they had. If they're an alcoholic they don't want their children to be drug addicts, so there is that love and understanding that if there is an avenue out of that, then we have to find it and we can't allow ourselves to be pacified and hypnotized. There's a pacification going on.

In the sixties, when the *chicanos* started to move, for example, let me give you that history because we're coming to a point where we have to make some very important decisions. We've had to make them all the time but collectively, I think there's going to be only emergencies that are going to bring us together collectively. Just like a family, everybody gossips about the *prima*, is gossips about the *prima*, god when his brother-in-law gets in a wreck and ruins his new car because he doesn't have a new car and inside he feels pretty good but he says, Hey, that's too bad. But inside he feels pretty good—there goes that slob's new car. It's that competitiveness—it exists in families. But come down on a family and you got a family fighting and that's what is important: we have to show what's coming down on us. So we remember in the sixties when the *chicanos* start to move progressively, when they start to relate to history, demanding jobs and education and civil rights and human rights and we start to march. There's blood stains on these steps from students who opened these doors for more students. And I understand most of them are out on a picnic, and that's part of the pacification—out on a picnic. I hope they have a lot of company with a lot of big red ants.

In the sixties when we started to demonstrate, when the schools were blown out and we had actual wars with the police department who had been trained in riot control and brought it out to Colorado and tried it on us, they lost. In a physical confrontation they lost. We had a five-day war they lost. But they had control of the money, they had control of institutions, and they had control of the politics. And when they saw we started to teach young people right in the parks, when they would do nothing but swim in the parks, lay in the sun and maybe get high, when we started to organize, to take over that park, to drive out the people, they recognized they were a colonized group, that the community should run the parks, should take care of those children, should do all the

Corky en Santa

continued from page 9

their degree, not that a degree means any level of education or intelligence. It just guarantees you a paper and possibly a job, but because most of these people are further educated then most of these degrees can get them, some of our older people and our youth we sent to college, so we deal in sports because that was an area we talked about in 1965, we organized a group called Colorado rep leaders and the Boxing Coaches Association, we got rid of a racist commission, there is no commission in Colorado. We run our own shows we are going to be organizing a Ronnie Law fight this Saturday, a professional fight because nobody will give Ronnie a chance to fight because he's got a case hanging on his head. We started our own teams, we organized and nationalized our own recreation centers. You know, a bunch of guys came and analyze it and say it is racist, it's too general, it doesn't allow for pragmatic organization. We say we are going to nationalize our institutions, we're proving it. There's Aztlan Park, there's El Alma Park, La Gente Park, La Raza Park, Meztizo Park, Aztlan Center, Junior Martinez Center, there's about four clinics, and they are all named *chicano* names, they are run by *chicanas* or *chicanos*. The recreation centers are run by youth, the parks are run by youth. This is nationalization. Some people don't recognize or relate to it, but it's taking place, from this take place the necessary political instruction. The first thing in the timetable was identification, if we wouldn't have identified ourselves, we couldn't have related where we stood on the ladder in comparison to the majority of society and in education, employment and social standing. We got identity by using the word *chicano* as a political identity in the movement. We don't reject our Mexican heritage, never, in fact, where did the word *chicano* come from? Sure as hell didn't from Washington DC.

The cultural events used by Cinco de Mayo and the seis de septiembre are used to develop a forum; no radical left wing, right wing group or Democratic party has ever been able to bring the masses of our people together. But our social and cultural events do, and from there we have a forum and from that forum we are able to start teaching, start exchanging ideas and situations, the *chicano* park celebration in San Diego, masses of people, Cinco De Mayo, Semana De La Raza these are necessary to bring people together from which you have a forum for your ideas and for your direction so we let nobody take over those situations. The students run Cinco De Mayo in our city and the activists run Deiz y Seis De Septiembre and we have never had a politico on that stand. They sure would like to be there but we don't allow them to talk because they haven't got nothing to say, not for that day, we call it the day of liberation in relationship to

day of independence for our fatherland. Those are some of the things we've used as tools.

Something all of you have been touched by is divisionism, that is cliquism, people who consider that they are intellectually and politically superior, people who in the early sixties came to us to offer their leadership and we said no dice; if we develop administrators they are going to be our own. We started a school with no help, with people who had no degrees, we had to bring friends in with degrees to front for us. Today we have fifty people in our educational circle; we have ten people in school with masters degrees and three of them are PhD candidates. We have another ten to fifteen who are getting their BA's who are older people and then we have our youth as they graduate and go on to college, and we didn't have that before, but took our time to develop that; we have our own administrators and our own legal defense committee; we have our own director of our prisoners' rights organization; we have our own ballet directors, who grew up with the ballet, we have had a ballet for twelve years; we have our own director of our *teatro*, we have our own artists. They boycotted our boxing team, we started our own boxing team and whipped them all. Our kids don't fight because they have to have identification, they get involved and they know they are representing something political, and they're tougher that way. That's why I say with the seed of revolution planted in the people's minds, you have to give people goals and especially youth why they go through that university, why they go through that school and to encourage them to stay in that school, not just to go for a pot of gold but for satisfaction. To live and love in a world full of humanity, something like that, that's much more important than living in a world of hate and murder. The divisionism has come about, in some cases planned; we went back and we remember we always worked with Brown Berets everywhere. Nationally they used to have a few words, insinuations, insults about us and we never did anything to these guys and then later on we found out that the guy who became the chairman of the moratorium after Rosalío Munoz, Francisco Martinez, was one of the Prime Ministers of the Brown Berets and he must have been suggesting these things because he was an agent. You know what happened to us and the Panthers, they put up cartoons the FBI did and they killed each other. That never happened to us but, but they tried, they created animosity, now we have people coming into the community, where our youth are organizing everything; basketball games, football games, political rallies, legal defense banquets and dinners, fundraising things, just doing things, leadership programs; and then talking about bringing in a guy from the Alinsky school in Chicago at our conference in March; looking for ideas and solutions, and we're helping them

organize because nothing is happening in Chicago and then, somebody is going to come from Chicago to organize us? But that is just the latest thing the first thing, was, SWP came in to tell us how they were going to create direction for us. Then they came to tell us how they're going to tell us what we should do in our

community, then the very guy they are defending, a guy named Baca, they now through out their party, they found out we were right in the first place, we knew him, I knew him since he was practically born, he's not a valid human being. The other guy they were supporting involved a drug program because one of the guys who was managing the park threw him out for selling drugs to kids, and when he got back he got what it takes to keep him out, and he went to the pigs because he had cases on him, and he became their man, they're the ones who took him to court, until the final day when he showed up he didn't even testify. I guess SWP is thinking differently about the people they supported. But, we were right because we know our own community. Then we had some M-Lers (pseudo M-L's, in this case, E.M.). We never disagreed with much of the Marxist philosophy or ideology; there is much that can be used, there is much that can be respected.

But let me tell you this, that when they come into our communities and try to organize and say we are *cultural*; regressive nationalists, and try to organize around El Cinco De Mayo or one of our martyrs' deaths, then they are regressing, and the young people who bled fighting for those parks went up, picked them up and threw them out.

We don't disagree with the ideology; we disagree with the

baskets, they packed it, they canned it, they sold it and stored it. And when the militants got down and everything was starting to ease off and they said, look man we've been within the movement and we've starved our children, my family doesn't have things, I've been to prison, I've either got to go back to robbing banks or sticking up little old ladies or selling junk, I don't have a job I'm not qualified, I don't want to become a poverty pimp, so let's utilize that money for economic growth, utilize it for scholarships utilize it for the things we said we all believed in. And they all said no you can't come in.

Education means to educate a person, for them to analyze things for themselves, not to plan it in their mind that this is the way it is. Because we go through life learning.

Educators have to remember they have to broaden the mind of students not narrow it, that they have to teach them that if we have *chicano* studies, the social, political implications of our history and what it amounted to and

We started an educational circle so that all of our women and all the janitors could get

continued on page 16

tion every twenty years, by the year 1996 or 2000 we will be the biggest minority in this nation, we don't have no immigration problem. They have a democratic ruling problem, because they say where you are a majority you make the decisions and since we are majority we will be making decisions, and those decisions should be revolutionary. So look at the long term gains of planting the seed to historically understand where we come from. From Aztlan to build the mines build the railroads and dig the fields, and it is the same people coming back and forth and developing ourselves, growing but we have to maintain the political philosophy, self-determination and liberation, only those things can satisfy any human being, only those things should satisfy any human being, and I think that is very important. So we use those tools, we use our experience of what has taken place in the past to understand we have to develop economic channels to support ourselves.

The last thing I want to end with, I want to tell you a little of what we're doing, so you don't think we're just talking about it. In 1965 when we organized the Crusade, we organized it to be independent, to be independent of any influence, any political influence, economic influence, any religious influence. To be a strictly independent group that would resist any injustice that would be put upon our people, to start a political direction, to create unity identity, political awareness. We helped the people in the farmworker struggle and in the union struggle. We started legal attacks against the used-car lots and the gyp artists and the finance companies. This has been taken up by legalized service agencies through the

what our progress should be and what we are fighting against and why that history took place, who is the oppressor and who is the oppressed who is the poor and who is the rich, who is the liberator and who is the oppressor and we have to have that taught at our schools. Because with each generation it will come out until the seed will be planted, and I'm telling you and I'm telling everybody everywhere that the seed of revolution has to be in all of

our minds and in every one of our heads day and night. We as a people can never relax, if there is racism if there is injustice if we don't control our own destinies if we don't run our own communities, if we don't control our own education, our own health if we don't have our own jobs then we have to change it, and if there are any dictators or despots then we have to get rid of them. If there are people who fool us then we have to get rid of them, we have to exist in a state of revolution until all humanity is free, till all humanity is free, not just ourselves, not just individuals, but the masses of humanity who count in this world, and not until we think that way will there be a real place to live in where love is first, where love does come and make everything beautiful, because until that time we have to have that bit of anger against any kind of injustice.

We are doubling our population government. We started attacking the schools for beating our kids for not having their gym dues, and we sent guys down there to paddle the guy who was paddling. They created new laws after the '69 blowouts whereas you cannot disrupt a classroom, whereas if you hollered, *chicano* power or *viva la raza* or down with racist education, you were arrested. They created new laws against marching because we would march every *16 de septiembre*, we would blow out, 5 to 15,000 would go down those streets, and not as a parade and there is nothing commercial about it, so they passed a law in council, along with one of our *vendidos*, that you could only march on national holidays. We're taking that to court already because they already violated it, because when they had the Broncos going great they had a Bronco parade so we're going to hit them on it. These type of things you know are the constant problems we had to deal with, so we worked in that area, we started our own school, because we didn't allow our children to be sacrificed on the altar of miseducation, so we would create the leadership that was necessary, we didn't have the money to do it for everybody, just for those within the organization who wanted their children there.

3 of 4

people and their track record when they try to come in and organize us when we are already organized. We have a timetable to know where we're going and we know why we are doing it.

There are a few things we ask somebody when they question us, when they criticize us, saying we should do this, or you didn't do this or you didn't do that, you're wrong here, you're ideologically wrong on this point, we just ask them simply. What have you done for your people? What have you done? Have you fed anybody? Have you taken anybody out of jail? Have you saved anybody from jail? Have you saved youth, have you worked with them? Have you done anything to educate them, to better their lives? Have you gone to jail with us when we have gotten beaten in the streets with the moratorium, when we got beaten in the streets at some of our marches and demonstrations? Are you doing time with all of us in the penitentiaries, are you going to the jails? Are you standing in the unemployment line, are you getting the worst jobs? Are you working out in the field with us? Bleed with us, starve with us, we're trusting. Don't come out here and criticize us. And even among our own when they say why didn't you guys do this right? We say what have you done? And if you have an answer, give me an answer, not somebody else's book, give me your answer, don't give me someone else's quote. Tell me what your principles and values are. Don't tell me you're bad because somebody else did something; you're bad because you did it. And don't tell me to do such and such a thing if you won't go with me. That's the way you rate those people who come to confuse and divide, so I want to finish with that. I

want to say that I don't have time to criticize, to insult, to use derogatory terms that could hurt any other organization. We only have time to think in terms of positive steps. We just say history will absolve us, as Fidel Castro said.

We took a stand against certain people because of their lack of principles or because they violated certain values of honor with us. History absolves us because sooner or later, they show the same characteristics to other people. When we take a step in self-determination or liberation, by doing it ourselves, it takes time to produce young administrators, it takes time to produce professional people; and we need those professional people, and they're coming out of these universities, and every one of you who comes out of these universities has to understand that there is an obligation and responsibility to a community. To a community right in your own home or right in your own land or a community right across this nation, or right across this false border line. When your grandparents came here they came here for a better life for their children and you're prospering from that better life. And your relatives, your *primos* and *primas*, and your blood is still starving, and it is still without work and it is still being taught to be subservient, fatalistic, and humble. And we know the spirit of revolution is in them, and we know all they need is the help and support of people who are willing to take a stand, and they'll follow the example. Those people are the children of the last two generations and they're the children at these universities. So, we do have a responsibility to ourselves and to our peers and to our people.

4 OF 4

History of Repression

May, 1968, Ernesto Vigil refuses induction into the armed services. charges dropped.

March, 1969, Ernesto Vigil and Gil Quintana arrested for assault on U.S. Marshall in anti-War incident. Quintana acquitted; Vigil convicted but released on parole due to community pressure.

March, 1969, over 50 Chicanos arrested at West High School Walk-Outs over 50 are Crusade members. Five trials result in 5 acquittals. Remaining cases dropped.

December, 1969, Art Cordova refuses induction into armed forces. Found guilty; conviction later reversed on appeal.

December, 1970, Ernesto Vigil and Roberto Elias beaten by police and charged with disturbance, interference and resistance. Acquitted.

August, 1970, Thirty-two Colorado Chicanos arrested at L.A. Moratorium; only Corky Gonzales and Alberto Gurule are tried. First trial acquits Gurule on possession of weapons charge; hung jury on Corky. Later retried, Corky is convicted and serves 40 days.

March, 1972, Anselmo

Peralta and Bobby Roybal charged with bombing Ft. Lupton police station. Charges dropped at trial.

March, 1973, Over 70 arrested in police attack on Crusade apartments. Luis Martinez killed. Six trials result in 5 acquittals. Mario Vasquez sentenced to a reformatory for the shooting of 2 police. After a few months Vasquez is released on "unauthorized leave."

1973, over 100 Crusade members harassed, stopped or arrested by police 1 conviction results.

September, 1973, Nota Aleman and Ramon Alvarado charged with assaulting an officer. Charges dropped in court.

September, 1973, Juan Avila charged with shooting police officer, Avila 15, acquitted in September 1974.

January, 1974, Gary Garrison framed in attempted bombing. Acquitted.

June, 1974, Five women, wives and friends of six assassinated chicano activists killed in May, 1974, are subpoenaed to a Denver Federal Grand Jury. Community mobilization forces

dropping of subpoenas.

July, 1975, Corky Gonzales arrested for interference and resistance. Charges dropped.

September, 1975, Juan Haro and Antonio Quintana framed for conspiracy to bomb police station. Haro acquitted in state case, charges dropped on Quintana. Haro convicted on possession of explosives in federal case. Conviction now under appeal.

May, 1976, Corky Gonzales arrested for assault. Charges dropped.

September, 1976, Tony Marquez and Ernesto Vigil charged with felony menacing and assault stemming from an incident where activists were preventing sales of drugs in La Raza Park. Charges dropped.

October, 1977, Alberto Mares framed for bank robbery. Continues his political activity by not showing up to court.

December, 1977, Van and Steve Lucero subpoenaed before a New York Federal Grand Jury investigation underground Puerto Rican independence group. Legal and community mobilization forces dropping of subpoe

things that are necessary to do for ourselves and family, that we didn't need carpetbaggers who were college jocks, who came from Indiana or Illinois or New York, who were vacationing in our city and getting a nice paycheck while they were sitting in the lifeguard stand and giving no example because there was no relation to the youth. They don't know what they did at night or how they suffered, and we started to change that acid which was selling for five bucks a capsule at that time, it was being given away like chewing gum. We established an anti-drug patrol of some of the baddest, toughest *vatos* who had been through some of the same things themselves, who didn't want the same for the other youths or their children, and step by step they became menaces to the pushers and the users because we didn't want those kinds of examples.

When La Raza park was organized, nationalized, and taken over by the community, there was a total political upheaval and the whole political situation changed in the north side, which was once little Italy and controlled by the Mafia. The whole political picture turned by the activists, and immediately drugs became practically given away, and immediately the drug pushers and users had jackets on and became snitches against the movement. They became the informants and those are the people who try to set movement people up. We've been going through court situations ever since then. Again, using drugs to control our people, using handout programs to say "do nothing man—just pick up your check."

Now we would like to pick up those checks but do something to teach, to organize, to

prepare our children for the future and to understand the political social implications of this society. So we took over this park and the young men who became managers of them were political people; they understand the political social implications and they started to teach and have culture programs and political programs. So the system comes and tries to destroy them, but now they have to contend with one thing: that when they want to destroy one of these people or one of these parks, there are five hundred youths who march to those parks, and they get mad and by Monday they give them what they want, and they have to or there will be a war. We have to keep that level of pressure at all times. So we know what pacification is, we know how they try to buy us off, we know how they try to hypnotize us, so some of the things that have happened in those times, those dramatic things that have happened, those historic things that happen will be blown in the wind if we allow them to control our *chicano* studies, if we allow them to direct what we think, what we read and what we write. If we allow them to control economically everything that we do, allow them to give us, what I call; at one time we were colonized now we have common wealth politicians as our leaders who tell us we're sharing the wealth because they're sharing the wealth. We have politicians who are marching

with us in the sixties and early seventies, and we said that system is hypocritical, that system is racist. The educational system is a racist institution and we pointed to those situations that showed us racism, they showed that they were against minorities, they were against our people, against the poor and they agreed with us and the politicians were lying and they

were hypocrites. And you know what this year they are a legislator, they're a senator, they're councilmen. And you know what; "there is no problem, you just get in that system and you do it within because after all, those people before us didn't have our intelligence, they didn't have our intellect, they weren't suave they weren't cool. We'll do it the right way, the legitimate way." They have back-stabbed any principle they believed in ten years ago. We say they are wrong. If they become part of that system and they're in there as infiltrators and they're going to be ready to come out if anything happens in this country and give us a design of every community building and every arm defense plan, then I say they are revolutionaries and they believe in what they were talking about ten years ago. Otherwise they have become part, they have been absorbed and co-opted and they do not serve the principles and values of the movement of their people and of humanity. Understand that. It's up to us to keep the needle in them.

The other thing that happened, it's very much like allegory, I'll say that. I was thinking that we were talking about creating a *teatro*, we look around and see who's running the service program, who's the labor department work program, but none of

top in the top branches, and we told all the people that we're going to go up there and we're going to get that. The priests came by and say don't go up there, pray and kneel here and we'll say a rosary together and the Lord will drop it down. The militants said no. We turned around to the politicians there was a senator, probably the first senator in the history of our existence. He told us, go slow, everything will change. Just don't push, you're infuriating me, you're getting me mad and these people mad, meaning the leaders of the Democratic party and the politicians. Just go along, everything will come along its day. While he was dealing for the oil companies and the mining companies and he was getting rich. He told everybody else you take it easy; well, he told the militants don't go up there and get that fruit. Then the educators who were educated by the system and didn't know any better and were following the same educational routine, on the same merry-go-round said, education will do it just read these books, be here every day, be here on time, never be

these guys come around anymore. We don't see them here; we see them only at the Hilton or at the big hotels in their tuxedos and electing a queen once a year. When they call their club meetings they couldn't fill a Volkswagon, but when they have social events once a year, they pack the different auditoriums and fancy hotels. So, where are all these guys? How do they represent us? All these funds that were given to them out of the reaction of the imprisonment and court cases, and the starvation and the demonstrations of our people. What's happening with them? They have been pacified, but one thing that has happened is, well it's like this, I was telling some young guys that were very frustrated and I think there are some young men and women here who have been involved a long time, they may be young but they're involved. They're children of the movement born into it. There's some frustrations and I understand them. We've gone through them and their problems in many situations. They say look at this, these guys are getting a million and a half for this, this guy is getting a million for that program, that guy just got out of the joint he was a head man for heroin in Canyon City and now he is part of a five million dollar language program in another state. How do these guys do this? I'll tell them look, what happened was that when there was no movement we said there is a big tree with fruit on

absent, be a good all-American boy and wash your hands and put on a tie and go to church, you're going to be alright, you're going to make it, but you don't go up there and get those apples. When you get educated you learn how to climb that tree. And then the radicals were saying you don't have to go up there and get that, you have to know why you are oppressed.

We want you to know that you're oppressed. Well, who in the hell doesn't know he's oppressed? He's getting sent to jail doing life on the installment plan, ninety days at the county every three months. Who didn't know he was oppressed, getting shot down in the streets, bloodied, getting thrown out of school, getting dropped out, kicked out, making up 60% of the juvenile halls when we're only 10% of the population. And we didn't know what oppression was, they're going to teach us, and define it to us on the right revolutionary line. After we learn that then we can chop the tree down. And if the tree lived we could grab some of the fruit. But we said no, we're going to do it on our own and we climbed up. The militants went ahead and climbed up the tree, they went up to the highest branches and they shook it all down and it took a long time shaking the fruit down but down at the bottom the guys who didn't climb up, they picked it up and put it in

2 of 4

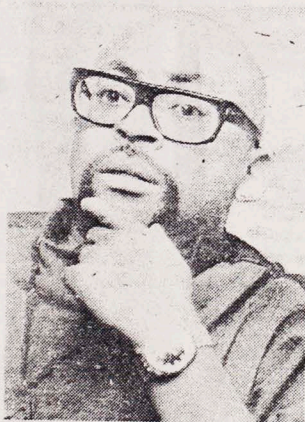
The De-Afro-Americanization of Malcolm X

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One of the severe tragedies in the life and struggle of any people is the loss thru death of its great men and women who are models of human possibilities and achievements and necessary evidence of a people's capacity for greatness. The severity of the tragedy, however, is increased when a people forgets or fails to understand and appreciate fully the meaning and contribution

of its great men and women.

Such failure of understanding and appreciation is often reflected in the tendency



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to trivialize these heroes and heroines by reducing the richness of their thought to poorly remembered sayings and slogans used to justify dubious actions and positions. Moreover, it is equally as often reflected in the practice of trotting them out on ceremonious occasions to lend credence and support to events and organizations which the heroes and heroines, themselves, would have neither attended nor approved.

It is difficult not to think these and other thoughts in relation to the recent march held downtown in Malcolm X's name, but not exactly in his honor. A critical review of the march reveals key problems it posed which tended to negate its alleged value. The first problem posed by the march was that although it claimed to be for Malcolm, it was not directed toward the education and involvement of the very people for whom Malcolm struggled and gave his life, Afro-Americans.

The planning, location, and speakers' line-up, among other things, reflected this de-Afro-Americanization of the meaning and contribution of Malcolm and the relevance of the holiday in honoring him and our heritage as a people. Malcolm X is not just an abstract leader of all oppressed people, but a leader of Black people.

His contribution to us as a people is at the same time a contribution to the advancement of humanity, but the focus and fight which gave him greatness were for Afro-American people.

So it was with Zapata for Mexicans, Metacomet and Geronimo for Indians, Mao and Sun Yat-sen for Chinese. Thus, if others wish to celebrate Malcolm's birthday, we are pleased for he deserves it. But we don't have to deny his Blackness to win his acceptance, no more than any other people would deny the essential national or ethnic identity of their leaders to win their acceptance by others. If Malcolm is great, it's because of his contribution to his people, not because of his belated or supplemental acceptance by others.

Secondly, the choice of Jane Fonda as the keynote speaker can in no way be considered an appropriate choice. To have Fonda give the keynote speech at a Malcolm X celebration, in spite of her acting ability, name recognition and political orientation, is like having Cicely Tyson give the keynote address at a celebration of Israeli Independence. This choice reflects at least two important contradictions. First, it shows appalling disregard for the spirit and practice of self-determination of Black people whose holiday this is and who must, in the final analysis, be in the forefront of its planning and execution.

Malcolm X

(Continued from A-5)

This does not mean no other Third World people or progressive whites can be involved. But it does mean that Black people must be at the heart and head of their own history, their own holidays and their own life and struggle. And leaders like Herman Baca, Dennis Banks and Delores Huerta, who we respect highly and whose participation we always welcome, understand, teach and practice this fully for their own peoples and culturally specific events. For it's a question of leadership and focus, not exclusion.

The second contradiction the Fonda choice reveals is the consequential projection that no Black person - man or woman, radical or progressive - was capable of keynoting such an important Afro-American cultural expression of self-determination. Are Black people to believe that nowhere among them is there sufficient competence and commitment to honor their own heroes and heroines fully and that as a result the community must appeal to a person outside the community to give the keynote address at such an important Afro-American celebration? The contradiction is further compounded by the fact that neither the keynote speaker nor the other speakers spoke directly and definitively on the life, work and meaning of Malcolm X to Black people and by extension, to the world. Given these facts, how can one seriously call this an event to honor Malcolm X? And if it were not to honor Malcolm, why exploit his name?

Finally, there was the problem of the appropriateness of the march itself as a means of honoring, involving and educating. Certainly Malcolm was not one for marches. He viewed them as essentially creating a myth of action, mobilizing energy that gave a false sense of accomplishment to the petty-bourgeoisie who organized them, but left the masses with the same problems. The rally at the end of the march could have been instructive, but like most rallies it was designed for emotional elevation rather than education or action.

The full employment conference afterwards was perhaps the most meaningful event and should have been honestly and effectively divorced from the march and rally as they were constructed. The problem, it seems, was one of over-extension to gather the largest crowd and perhaps hide the lack of organization and mobilization efforts by the march sponsor among the Afro-Americans who are not only the heirs of Malcolm, but the greatest victims of unemployment.

Next year will be the 13th annual celebration of KUZALIWA since I established it in 1966 and it is imperative that we plan and execute its celebration in a more meaningful, beneficial and self-respecting way than was the case this year. **I offer these observations, not to condemn, but to criticize constructively and defend the life and work of a man whose contribution to us as a people is immeasurable.** Moreover, it is important that we as a people and

Malcolm X

(Continued from A-11)

community prevent negative practices which threaten its validity and value as a self-determined Afro-American cultural expression.

Other Black communities define and boldly defend our heroes, heroines and heritage as a people. It is obviously our responsibility to do the same here in San Diego. Only in this way will we demonstrate respect for ourselves and our history, and thus, inspire the same respect in others - not only our Third World allies, but all progressive peoples throughout the world.

Herman,

Sorry it took me so long to send you this. I am organizing the FOIA materials and putting them in chronological order, and putting 6,000 pages in chronological order takes a lot of time. If you have a collection of similar materials, make an extra copy of the collection and put it in chronological order. A different picture emerges from the materials when the stuff is read in chronological order, because the **FBI's own actions** become more apparent.

At this point I am awaiting the decision of the Justice Department on my appeal of their denial of the waiver of copying costs. Meanwhile, I have sent the FBI the \$200 for previous copying costs and asked that they continue to review and release the remaining 1,600 pages of documents. By my math, the FBI has already reviewed 4,400 pages and released about 2,200 pages; if this pattern carries over into the remaining materials, then another 800 or so pages should be reviewed and released.

I am not optimistic, if for no other reason than I sent the money and the appeal on the same day. The letter and money to the FBI was sent "Certified/Return Receipt Requested" on November 6, 2002, and I have yet to get any notice that they even received the fucking letter and money. Attorney General Ashcroft already notified all his subordinates that the DoJ will stand behind them in all cases where they reject FOIA requests. All decisions made by the subordinates will have full government support; I anticipate the waiver appeal will be rejected and I'll be charged for the remaining copies. Or they may reject the appeal **and** refuse to release the remaining materials.

i.e., this year

The FBI had previously referred some materials to the IRS for the IRS to review (the materials had been generated by the IRS and sent to the FBI). I got a form letter from the IRS; they refused to release even one sentence of the documents. Under the Bush administration, the Patriot Act, and the soon-to-be Department of Homeland Security, all FOIA future and pending requests will run into such obstructionism. I have not yet double-checked the IRS materials, but am pretty sure that the stuff they now refuse to release had already been released in 1977, and I have old copies of it anyway.

What happened was that the FBI had asked the IRS to audit the Crusade's tax reports in hopes of catching the Crusade in something the FBI could use against the Crusade (or have the IRS do its dirty work, if such was needed). In effect, this is selective enforcement of the laws and procedures on tax matters, and the political motivation for such "investigation" is obvious. It is also **illegal**.

in the mid-1970s

The IRS distanced itself from the FBI when the FOIA shed light on this activity, and the IRS then made a fairly complete disclosure of this

The IRS mat'l was generated in the late 1960s.

even tho' both the IRS & FBI released this very mat'l previously, they with-hold it now from me!!!?

circa 1968

incident in FOIA materials released to Gonzales in the late 1970s. So I have the data to show how the IRS did the FBI's [illegal] bidding in the 1960s, how the IRS itself disclosed this via the FOIA release in the late-1970s, and now in 2002, the IRS is refusing to reveal matters that are already revealed.

I am not only going to donate my FOIA materials, but the FOIA correspondence (the FBI to me, me to the FBI, my waiver request, their denial of the request, my appeal of the denial, etc.) will also be donated. It paints the picture of obstructionism by itself: the 8-year delay on my 1994 FOIA request, the withholding of materials previously released, etc. Fuck those shit-heads.

I know these enclosed materials are few, but I will occasionally review the whole collection as I go through it and will notify you if I think other materials may be of interest to you. Please stay in touch.

Although I did not want to begin another book until I had all the ideal conditions (mostly financial) in place to do so, I have now decided to write another manuscript. This means my limited income will now drop, and that I will be under the resultant stresses until the manuscript is done. This means I need to generate enough money to pay for rent, phone, and have food until the manuscript is done. I think I can knock off a 300-page manuscript in nine months.

With passage of the Patriot Act, the apparently-impending invasion of Iraq, the Homeland Security Department, etc., I anticipate that we are on the verge of another McCarthy era, maybe worse. These considerations have compelled me to decide to do the new manuscript (while there is still some time and operating space). My personal experiences lead me to believe that I am the kind of person whose writings and related inquiries irritate the Powers-that-Be, so if I am gonna write, I better get started before they decide to go on the offensive...

Ernest Vigil
4423 Zuni St.
Denver, CO
80211



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Diego, California
June 27, 1975

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

INVESTIGATIVE SUMMARY

[REDACTED]

In October, 1972, Olga Navarro Castaneda was sending out appeals to all San Diego area Mexican-American organizations asking for donations and written material for a newspaper entitled "Raza Unida" (United Race). This newspaper was supposed to be the newspaper of the Raza Unida political party, and Herman Baca was the editor. Baca is the organizer and president of the San Diego Branch of CASA. Castaneda used Baca's print shop at 1337 Highland Avenue, National City, California, adjacent to the CASA office at 1339 Highland Avenue, National City, as an office for her papers and materials. Since 1972, Castaneda has been working constantly as a volunteer registrar to secure additional members for the Raza Unida party. She also used to help in the CASA membership campaign, although there is no indication that she was actually on the CASA staff.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

105-225465-80
ENCLOSURE

[REDACTED]

A report was received on May 20, 1974, that Burt Corona, a self-admitted communist, was the national organizer of the Raza Unida party.

Confidential informants familiar with Mexican-American extremist matters in the San Diego area have stated that they know of no extremist activities in which [REDACTED] is presently involved.

Aug. 5, 2002

Herman,

I am sending Rosalio Munoz copies of FOIA documents from the materials I have from the FBI headquarters file on the Crusade for Justice. References to the Crusade's antiwar opposition are found throughout the Crusade files, and show how monitoring the Crusade also drew FBI notice to the Moratorium. The FBI may well have been following "Chicano moratorium" activity (of Rosalio Munoz or that of the Brown Berets) previous to the time of these references. Ask Rosalio for copies if they interest you or I can send them later if you want; let me know. The inventory below describes them, and I don't send them now only for reasons of postage. These FOIA materials refer to the Denver December 1969 [anti] draft conference, the second national youth conference in March 1970, and the Moratorium and its aftermath. I am sending you some items not listed below and will comment on the materials sent you after the following inventory.

1. 105-178283-38, 4/3/70. This document was written a few days after the 2nd national Denver youth conference. Among the FBI officials who read and signed the documents was a man named "L. E. Belanger" whose name or initials appear on many documents. You will also see the name, nearly illegible, of "C.D. Brennan," an FBI official who figured prominently in the Ellsberg investigation. Brennan once headed the Domestic Intelligence Division, sometimes called Division Five. Seventeen crucial pages were not released.
2. 105-178283-39, 5/8/70. This copy is of a memo from W. Raymond Wannall to William C. Sullivan. I think Sullivan was the Domestic Intelligence Division chief at this time, the number 3 position in the FBI after Hoover and Tolson; Wannall later replaced Sullivan. Note the list of headquarters recipients -- the highest FBI officials. Hoover's and Tolson's names are not listed, but if you look at page two, you will find Hoover's scrawl: see "OK" and the initial under it. There are also the initials "WCS," for William C. Sullivan, the FBI's number 3 official.
3. 105-178283-40, 5/11 [or 13?]/70. Note the recipients and field offices to which it was distributed.
4. 105-178283-41. The FBI is apparently very sensitive about their activity vis-à-vis the youth conference, and probably the Moratorium, to withhold the whole report after all this time.
5. Denver FBI field office document, not numbered, but dated May 22, 1970. Note the reference to the "anti-Vietnam war moratorium at Los Angeles, Calif., on 8/29/70," and to the "anti-draft conference at Denver on 12/6/69."
6. 105-178283-NOT RECORDED, 9/2/70. References to the Moratorium in the Crusade file were scarce from May 22, 1970, until September 2, 1970. What happened, I am sure, is that reports on the evolving Moratorium were made in a separate file, as indicated by the caption "National Chicano Moratorium August 29, 1970." Though the document cites no corresponding file number, it is under the prior caption that Moratorium documents should be found in FBI headquarters and field offices. Wannall's name and initials are on the first page. Sullivan's initials are found on the second page; see his almost illegible remarks: "Discussed [illeg., 'with?'] the Director [2 illeg. Words]. WCS 4:05 - 9-2-70."
7. Albuquerque FBI field office report, May 28, 1970, numbered only as 105-178283. The 1970 youth conference antiwar resolution is cited.
8. 105-178283-45, 6/30/70. Note the recipients listed on the lower left corner: the CIA, the Office of Naval Intelligence, the Office of Special Investigations [of the Air Force], the State Department, etc. Again, 17 pages were completely withheld from release.
9. 105-178283-46, 5/25/70. Note the recipients and the FBI field offices listed on the lower left portion of the page. References to the Moratorium are on the second page.
10. 105-178283-47, 7/21/70. Five pages were completely withheld from release.
11. 105-178283-48, dated 8/28/70. Note the stamp in the lower-left corner, "cc to IDIU, Adm[inistrative] Data deleted." IDIU = Interdivisional Intelligence Unit. For more

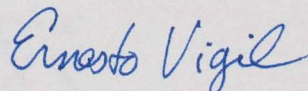
on the IDIU, see Frank Donner's book, The Age of Surveillance, under the "Justice Department" entry in the index. This one page report is brief ("administrative data" was deleted). From the last two sentences: "SA's [Special Agents] will witness activity. LHM follows." The first sentence shows the FBI was physically present at the Moratorium [not really surprising, on its own, but it is the only official admission of this fact that has come to my attention].

12. 105-178283-49, dated 8/29/70. This one page document is signed by C.D. Brennan, Wannall, and Belanger, and was sent to the IDIU after "administrative data" was deleted. The FBI's hierarchy was apparently following the Moratorium, and related activity, on a daily basis; see date of no. 5, above.
13. 105-178283-NOT RECORDED, 9/14/70. This is a Denver FBI field office report to headquarters under the caption "National Chicano Moratorium. Los Angeles," etc. It would seem that the FBI file number for the Moratorium was "105-29127" in LA and "105-4371" in Denver. No headquarters file number seems to be indicated. Belanger, Brennan, and Wannall read this document. If you look at the right-hand margin, you will see the words "Original filed in [illegible file number]," maybe the FBI headquarters' number for the Moratorium file.
14. Denver FBI field office report, dated "December 11, 1970." Note the table of contents; the FBI was methodical in monitoring all aspects of organizational activity, almost scientific in their methodology...
15. 105-178283-NOT RECORDED, Jan. 8., 1971. Note the caption is "Mexican American Matters" [sic; actually, "Mexican American Militancy"].

Herman: I had written Rosalio that I have some non-Crusade FOIA material, stuff from the San Francisco FBI field office, mostly clippings that they kept in their files. The Denver youth conferences, especially the first two, were in favor of national antiwar and independent political activity. The national scope of activity concerned the FBI and they seemed to have opened a generic file titled "La Raza" that later became more specifically focused: La Raza Unida, Committee to Defend Los Siete de La Raza, etc. When the FBI monitored a Crusade delegation that attended a November 1969 war protest in San Francisco, they were also concerned about the La Raza Unida Party efforts and the articles the FBI clipped also mention the antiwar activity. There should be an FBI field office file on LRUP in San Diego. You could also file FOIA requests under La Raza Unida, Herman Baca, CCR, etc. If key members at that time also file FOIA requests, you get a bigger picture of what was going on. The process, however, will take years and the FBI is now under no pressure to anything but the bare minimum.

A friend is trying to arrange a flight for me, but I can only attend the first Friday to Sunday events, the 24th or whatever, but I will be in touch when I know more. I will try to contact people whom have shown interest in the FOIA materials to see if I can get something done while I am in the area, to further contacts for donating the stuff, etc. If you want to meet about anything along that line, let me know. Lastly, I will send you more material once I retrieve several files that are now being copied. I should get them tomorrow, but will have to go through because much of the material is from the recent releases and I am not sure how much is about the Moratorium. When I see other materials that may interest you I will copy them, as well.

I have highlighted captions, dates, etc., for your attention in the enclosed materials. I hope the enclosed material is useful to you.



Ernesto B. Vigil
4423 Zuni Street
Denver, CO 80211
Ernestovigil@aol.com
(720) 855-8073

Please confirm receipt.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC (100-~~3393~~ ⁶²⁷⁴⁷)

DATE: 12/31/69

FROM : [REDACTED] SA

SUBJECT: "LA RAZA UNIDA"
SM-C

[REDACTED] advised on 12/31/69 that he discussed the above-captioned group with [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] told [REDACTED] on 12/31/69 that the UNIDA hoped to picket the construction of the new City Center Project in San Jose but all construction has been at a standstill due to weather and the holidays.

[REDACTED] said he is convinced that [REDACTED] is strictly a "disturbing influence" in the Mexican-American community and is interested in furthering his personal gain and not interested in helping the Mexican-Americans.

[REDACTED] further stated that it is an impossibility to unify all the Mexicans in the area and the UNIDA would never succeed as best he could predict.

ACTION: CLOSE

100-~~3393~~ ⁶²⁷⁴⁷
EES

Close
78

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DEC 31 1969	
FBI - SAN FRANCISCO	

100-62747-23



(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Symposium Closes Tonight

Last night was the first half of the Chicano Symposium, presented by La Raza Unida and also sponsored by the ASB. Tonight, from 6 to 10 p.m. in the gym the program will be concluded.

Ron de la Cruz, ASB representative-at-large, revealed Wednesday that he hopes that the Symposium will bring to the surface more of the problems felt by the Mexican-American.

"Other than presenting these speakers, who are the most prominent men in the Chicano movement on a national level, the impact we look for in the Symposium is mobilization of all Chicano people.

"Through these men we hope to motivate the entire Bay Area to such a level that to speak of 'Brown Nationalism' will not be rhetoric, but reality...and soon."

The Moratorium now in progress does not, according to de la Cruz, relate directly to the Chicanos.

"We are finally taking a stand on the war in Vietnam: we recognize that we should call our people back from the war; we realize the fact that in reality we are not Americans. The word has been used too freely to have any meaning.

"Through education and with the help of the Student Mobilization Committee and Young Socialist Alliance, we realize our fight is not on any other front, but here."

The Chicanos are finding that their position in America needs immediate reassessment.

"With the Delano crisis the Chicano people are taking a turn in tactics. The grape boycott has shown us that we cannot rely on our patience but must turn instead to militancy for positive direction. The agricultural system has exploited the Mexican-American--and we refuse to be used any longer."

De la Cruz spoke of Corky Gonzales, a Symposium speaker, as being instrumental in the Chicano movement.

"Corky advocates Brown Nationalism in the spirit of Malcolm X; realizing that it is necessary to establish Chicano communities and schools.

"Legislation, wages and working conditions have provided the same motivation as the lack of education for the Chicano people. All things united will bring our people together under a federation."

The administration is now viewing plans for a Mexican-

American Studies Department on campus.

"We do not look on the project with optimism. The department has been placed temporarily in the hands of Dr. Van Alken, an instructor of Latin American Studies. We do not recognize Dr. Van Alken.

"We found a man, Dr. Martinez of San Francisco State, but when we presented him to President McCune the door was slammed in our faces. He did not approve of Martinez because of his participation in demonstrations at S. F. State. Martinez' involvement was played up by the press.

"The administration is not working with us but against us in establishing a Mexican-American Studies Department. They claim a lack of qualified instructors--yet were quick to reject Dr. Martinez."

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

The Daily Pioneer
Calif. State College
Hayward

Hayward, Calif.

Date: 11-14-69
Edition: Daily
Author:
Editor: Lou Fadeira
Title:

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: SF
 Being Investigated

100-62747 (La Raza Unida)
100- (Chicano)

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SERIALIZED FILED
DEC 9 1969
FBI-SAN FRANCISCO

100-62747-24

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Chicano Symposium

A Chicano Symposium to be presented by La Raza Unida and sponsored by the Associated Student Body, will have its first session tonight from 6 p.m. to 10 p.m. in the Cal State gymnasium. The symposium will also be held at the same time Friday night, November 14. The purpose of the event is to answer many questions concerning the Chicanos.

Speakers will include the following: Corky Gonzales-Crusade for Justice, Denver; Cha Cha Jimenez-Young Lords, Chicago; Roger Alvarado-Los Siete de la Raza, San Francisco; Armando Valdez-La Causa, Oakland; Antonio Mondragon-Alianza, Director of El Centro de la Raza, Hayward; Freden Lezda-Chairman of Chicano Studies, Merritt, Oakland; Roberto Perezdiaz-Veteranes Brigada, CSU Merritt, Oakland; Bert Corona-- founder of MAPA; and Antonio Camacho-- CSU Merritt, Oakland.

[Redacted]
1-62368 (La Raza Unida)

[Large redacted block]

(MAPA)

[Redacted block]

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

The Daily Pioneer-
Calif. State College,
Hayward

Hayward, Calif.

Date: 11-13-69
Edition: Daily
Author:
Editor: Lou Madeira
Title:

Character:
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Classification:
Submitting Office: SF
 Being Investigated

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FBI - SAN FRANCISCO
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100-62368

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

SMC Sets Rally Today At Cafeteria Agora

The Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam will be sponsoring a rally today at 12 noon at the Cafeteria Agora. The speakers will include Barry David, chairman of the San Francisco State SMC, John Hodge, a Cal State philosophy professor, Ed Printemps, Chairman of La Raza Unida, and Caryl Towner, ASB Vice President. Two members of the Cal State SMC will also speak, along with Joe Cary, staff member of the Hayward Draft Center.

These speakers will discuss the Student Strike that will be held tomorrow on this campus and the mass march on Saturday, November 15 in San Francisco.

The SMC urges all students who are against the war in Vietnam to attend this rally and demonstrate their opposition this Friday by supporting the International Student Strike on November 14, and March and Demonstration in San Francisco on November 15.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

The Daily Pioneer-
Calif. State College,
Hayward

Hayward, Calif.

Date: 11-13-69
Edition: Daily
Author:
Editor: Lou Madeira
Title:

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: SP
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100-57484 (SMC)

100-64196 (SMC - C LCH)

~~100-62368~~ (La Raza Unida)

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Date prepared

10/13/71

Date received

10/17/71

Received from (name or symbol number)

[Redacted]

Received by

SA [Redacted]

Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks)

in person

by telephone

by mail

orally

written by Informant

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:
Date

Dictated _____ to _____

Transcribed _____

Authenticated by Informant _____

Date of Report

Date(s) of activity

Brief description of activity or material

Leaflet captioned "Raza Sin Guerra No."

File where original is located if not attached

[Redacted]

* INDIVIDUALS DESIGNATED BY AN ASTERISK (*) ONLY ATTENDED A MEETING AND DID NOT ACTIVELY PARTICIPATE. VIOLENCE OR REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES WERE NOT DISCUSSED.

INDEX

[Redacted]

① 100-(DEAD) (RAZA CONTRA LA GUERRA, AKA RAZA AGAINST THE WAR)

Scott

[Redacted]

Raza Unida 100-62747-11

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QUE ES RAZA CONTRA LA GUERRA

Raza Contra La Guerra es una organizacion de Chicanos, Mexicanos, Puerto Riquenos y otros Latinos que se han unido para luchar contra la Guerra Vietnamita con las demandas centrales de 'SAQUEN TODOS NUESTROS CARNALES DE VIETNAM AHORA' y 'PAREN EL SERVICIO MILITAR OBLIGATORIO PARA JOVENES DE LA RAZA.'

Estamos organizando un contingente para la demonstracion del seis de Noviembre que sera compuesto de raza solamente.

Habra un mitin de Raza Contra La Guerra durante la Conferencia contra la guerra de norte California, Octubre 2, para planear concretamente las maneras de unir a todos de la Raza de Bronze en la lucha contra la guerra. Si quieren ayudarnos, llenen el cupon abajo.

WHAT IS RAZA CONTRA LA GUERRA (RAZA AGAINST THE WAR)

Raza Contra La Guerra is an organization of Chicanos, Mexicanos, Puerto Riquenos and other Latinos who have united to fight around the central demands of 'BRING ALL THE CARNALES HOME NOW' and 'END THE DRAFTING OF RAZA YOUTH NOW'.

We are involved in organizing an independent all-raza contingent for the November 6 Demonstrations against the war being sponsored by the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) and the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ).

There will be a meeting of Raza Contra La Guerra after the panel at the Raza Workshop at the October 1-2 Northern California Anti-War Convention to plan ways of involving all Raza brothers and sisters in the contingent. If you want to help us, please fill out the coupon on the bottom of this sheet.

Clip and mail to: Raza Contra La Guerra/ 50 Oak Street/San Francisco California 94102 Phone: 864-5835

Nombre (Name) _____
Direccion (Address) _____
Telefono (Phone) _____
Intereses especiales (Special Interests) _____

La Raza party call by Denver Chicano meet

By JUAN LOPEZ
and SAM KUSHNER

DENVER — While this city's Mayor was making preparations to go to bed at home Sunday night, over 3,000 Chicanos and their supporters, led by the Crusade for Justice, watched on as "El Plan Espiritual de Aztlan" was being pinned onto the heavy, wooden doors of his work place, the Denver City Hall.

This incident was the crowning touch on the third annual Natl. Chicano Conference, June 17-20, in this city. After an evening candlelight march through downtown Denver, the spirited, often chanting crowd had gathered on the front steps of City Hall to hear workshop reports from the four-day conference. Upon the recommendation of

the workshop on La Raza Unida party, which lasted one entire day, the plenary meeting at city hall concurred in the proposal that a nationwide meeting be held over the Thanksgiving day weekend in November to launch such a party on a national level.

NEW PARTY

The panel recommended that all candidates running on the new party's ticket must subscribe to the El Plan Espiritual de Aztlan, which was formulated at one of the previous national Chicano conferences.

The conference, with about 1500 registered delegates, emphasized that those who are candidates for office on the Democratic or Republican tickets are not welcome as standard bearers for Raza Unida.

Representatives from state La Raza Unida parties and from groups in the process of organizing such parties will meet here July 31 to formalize plans for the projected conference and to select a site at which it is to be held.

Throughout the conference, many leaders underscored they saw La Raza Unida party as an organizing tool on the political front through which Chicanos will be able to place their demands before the entire community. Others, such as the Texas delegates, saw it as a concrete means of winning political power in areas where Chicanos make up a large part of the population. Under consideration in that state, Texas Chicanos said were proposals for La Raza Unida to organize a state organization with which they may vie for the governorship and other offices.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

bl PEOPLE'S WORLD
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Date: 6/26/71

Edition:

Author:

Editor:

Title:

Character:

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Submitting Office:

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FBI - SAN FRANCISCO	

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Al Garcia, La Raza United party gubernatorial candidate in the last Colorado election, argued that "Raza has to be our first priority" in responding to those who argued for a coalition approach. He emphasized the new party would be the political arm of the Chicano liberation movement and that it would be supportive of the activity of the militants in the barrios.

"MOVEMENT AWAY"

CFJ's Corky Gonzales viewed the formation of the new party as "a movement away from the two party system, that is based on liberation." It should become, he said, "the voice of

the whole Chicano movement in which we use the political system to protect our youth." And the new party, he added, should seek "support of the total community."

Gonzales and others emphasized how Democratic party politicians, and also Republicans, use the nationalist desires of Chicanos for their own opportunistic purposes. "We must destroy old idols," he said. Self-critically he spoke of his own past support for some of these politicians, like the Kennedys.

The conference also called for the formation of a national Chicano welfare rights organization and for community control of welfare.

STUDENT MEET

Alicia Escalante, leader of a Chicano welfare rights group in Los Angeles, said her organization is ready to work with other welfare rights groups. She contended, however, that Chicanos have to get together with themselves first in order to more effectively fight against the welfare department, especially in cases where Chicanos are singled out as special victims of the welfare department, as was evident in California where so-called illegal aliens were taken off the welfare rolls. She described this action as "a



CORKY GONZALES

crude attempt to deport our people."

The conference called for a national Chicano student convulse some time in the Fall, 1971.

The workshop on prisons concluded by calling for educational conferences inside prisons, wherever possible, on September 24 and for support actions outside.

The workshop resolution proposed that all Chicanos in the Albuquerque demonstration be charged \$10 bonds, as were the Washington, D.C., white GI demonstrators last month. The resolution demanded that Reyes Lopez Tijerina be freed and charges be dropped against the 16 other Tierra Amarilla court-

house defendants. It also stated that charges against Gonzales be dropped.

Gonzales was arrested in Los Angeles following the August 28, Chicano Moratorium demonstration, and assaulted by the police. Three Chicanos, including journalist Ruben Salazar, lost their lives as a result of the police action. Gonzales was brought to trial in Los Angeles for allegedly having a gun in his possession.

ANGELA PLEA

At the closing Sunday night session of the four day conference, Juan Lopez, representing the Natl. United Committee to Free Angela and All Political Prisoners conveyed the personal greetings of the jailed black women Communist to the conference and announced that two prominent Chicanos have been among those who recently have joined the national committee to free Davis. They are Rosalio Muñoz, chairman of the National Chicano Moratorium, and Bert Corona, former chairman of the Mexican American Political Assn. and nationally prominent activist in the Chicano movement.

Lopez told the crowd, "Angela stands tall among her people as our Corky (Gonzales) among our own people."

Gonzales, speaking after Lopez, told the crowd Davis was among the first people who realized the importance of the Chicano movement. He said she has been supporting the struggles of Chicanos for many years and, especially, the struggle to free Tijerina.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

CHICANO CONFERENCE FORMS PARTY

A proposal to make the **La Raza Unida** party a national Chicano party was approved by some 1500 delegates at the third annual National Chicano Conference held June 17-20 in Denver, Colo. The conference plenary session voted to hold a nationwide meeting on Thanksgiving Day weekend to formalize the organization of a Chicano party on a national level. Conference participants emphasized that office-seekers tied to the two major capitalist parties, the Democrat and Republican parties, would not be welcomed as candidates of La Raza Unida party. Debate centered around how the new party would perform nationally: whether it would seek to become active nationwide or whether its national structure would focus primarily on strengthening the party in regions where many Chicanos reside. The La Raza Unida party presently has a popular base in many areas of the Southwest.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

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GUARDIAN

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N.Y., NEW YORK

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Date: 7-14-71

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Edition:

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Author:

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100-62747-58

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FBI—SAN FRANCISCO	

2/2/71

2/2/71

The Drums of War

Beware the leader who bangs the drums of war in order to whip the citizenry into a patriotic fervor, for patriotism is indeed a double-edged sword. It both emboldens the blood, just as it narrows the mind.

And when the drums of war have reached a fever pitch and the blood boils with hate and the mind has closed, the leader will have not need in seizing the rights of the citizenry. Rather, the citizenry, infused with fear and blinded by patriotism, will offer up all of their rights unto the leader and gladly so.

How do I know? For this is what I have done. And I am Caesar.

Julius Caesar

Herman Baca,

After copying and mailing the last materials to you, I found three other items that I had meant to copy and send. I am not sure if these items were listed in the brief inventory sent you. If I wrote the inventory and did not send the materials, then the inventory may confuse you a little. Sorry.

The first copy is an FBI clipping from The Militant, 12/26/69; see the anti-Vietnam war reference. This copy is initialed by Mr. Wannall. The other two items are from the San Francisco FBI field office, one a cover sheet to an early-August 1970 report; note the references to file captions and numbers and the seeming confusion about a "Chicano" and "La Raza" moratorium. The last item is a leaflet that shows the groundwork activity that was going on in San Francisco before August 29. I assume that the various FBI field offices that were recipients of the kind of reports that I sent you in the last packet opened files under the Moratorium file caption[s] and monitored all related activity.

I retrieve several more files from where they are being copied and should be able to review them and send additional material by early next week.

Ernesto Vigil
Aug. 7, 2002

- Tolson _____
- DeLoach _____
- Walters _____
- Mohr _____
- Bishop _____
- Casper _____
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Nat'l Chicano conference is planned for next March

By ORRIN BROWN

DENVER—Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzalez, head of the Denver Crusade for Justice, announced plans this week for a Chicano gathering in Denver to begin the last week in March. According to Gonzalez, the gathering will be a "Chicano Congress" which will take up plans "to form our own political party and make plans for convening our own nation of Aztlan."

Gonzalez says he expects delegates representing Chicano organizations throughout the country to attend the gathering. Invitations will also be sent to Puerto Rican organizations in the East.

The gathering is the outcome of activities which began at the first Chicano youth conference held here last March when the Plan Espiritual De Aztlan, a program for liberation of the Chicano people, was drawn up. The plan outlines basic principles underlying the Chicano movement including Chicano control of the Chicano community, community self-defense and independent political action.

The planned Congress will work toward implementing these principles. A Chicano Congress is necessary, Gonzalez said, because "we are not represented in the one in Washington. The two parties are the same animal with two heads that feeds from the same trough."

Gonzalez described the Congress as a gathering where decisions could be made which affect the Chicano people.

One of the issues to be taken up by the Congress will be to decide whether Chicano youth should fight in the current war being waged by the government in Washington.

At a talk to Chicano students at Colorado College where plans were first announced, Gonzalez projected the perspective of retaking a large area of the Southwest and renaming it Aztlan, "the name originally given to this land by the Indians."

Gonzalez says that the Chicano movement today is the beginnings of the fourth revolution. The first three have already taken place in Mexico.

Representatives from more than 20 Chicano organizations attended a Chicano conference in Albuquerque, New Mexico, Nov. 29-30.

According to an article in the Dec. 6 issue of *El Grito Del Norte*, the purpose of the conference was to improve communications between Raza groups.

The final speaker at the conference was Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzalez of the Crusade for Justice in Denver. He told the gathering, "We have to start thinking of ourselves as a nation." Emphasizing the need for community control, he said, "This is a colonized state. Texans come here and take out the timber. Our sweat is paying for all these businesses—we must take our share. And if we are not allowed to take our share, then we must become a nation within a nation. We need to take over our communities, de-annexate them."

Walters

- The Washington Post Times Herald _____
- The Washington Daily News _____
- The Evening Star (Washington) _____
- The Sunday Star (Washington) _____
- Daily News (New York) _____
- Sunday News (New York) _____
- New York Post _____
- The New York Times _____
- The Sun (Baltimore) _____
- The Daily World _____
- The New Leader _____
- The Wall Street Journal _____
- The National Observer _____
- People's World _____
- Examiner (Washington) _____

The Militant Page 16

Date 12-26-69

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 9-24-82 BY SP6BJA/CB

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Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks)

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If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:

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Date of Report

Dictated _____ to _____

Date(s) of activity

Transcribed _____

7/26/70

Authenticated by Informant _____

Brief description of activity or material

Flier advertising La Raza Unida Moratorium
to be on 7/26/70

File where original is located if not attached

* INDIVIDUALS DESIGNATED BY AN ASTERISK (*) ONLY ATTENDED A MEETING AND DID NOT ACTIVELY PARTICIPATE. VIOLENCE OR REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES WERE NOT DISCUSSED.

Information recorded on a card index by _____ on date _____

Remarks:

- lcc - 100-64988 (Downtown Peace Coalition)
- * 100-62747 (La Raza Unida)
- * 100-66357 (Chicano Moratorium)
- * [REDACTED]
- * 100-63125 (Los Sieta)
- * 100-60797 (Mexican-American Militancy)
- * 100-0 (National La Raza Moratorium Committee)
- * [REDACTED]

UC 1969-70 Directory lists RALPH C. GUZMAN, Acting Associate Prof., Politics & Community Studies, Merrill College, UCSC; wife - MARGARET.

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LA RAZA UNIDA MORATORIUM

To advance the cause of our Chicano brothers, the Downtown Peace Coalition is issuing a call for support of the Chicano Moratorium, which will take place on Sunday, July 26, in Oakland.

ASSEMBLE AT MARY HELP OF CHRISTIANS CHURCH, 2611 E 9th STREET, AFTER NOON MASS, THEN

MARCH TO SAN ANTONIO PARK FOR A RALLY. SPEAKERS WILL INCLUDE:

- × CORKY GONZALES--Colorado Chairman, La Raza Unida Party.
- × ROBERTO ELIAS--National La Raza Moratorium Committee.
- ANTONIO QUINTERO--President, Mexican-American Law Student Association.
- MARTIN MONTEMAYOR--Los Siete.
- DR. RALPH GUZMAN--U.C. Santa Cruz.
- and others.....

STOP THE WAR IN VIETNAM.

END THE MURDER OF CHICANO BROTHERS.

FUERA DE VIETNAM! LIBERTAD PARA LOS SIETE! LUCHAREMOS HASTA LA VICTORIA!

Raza Si



Raza Contra La Guerra es una organizacion Chicano y Latinos que esta organizando contingente para la demostracion contra guerra el seis de Noviembre.

Estadisticas del Departamento de Defensa indican que mientras Chicanos y Latinos son solamente 10% de la poblacion de los Estados Unidos, 20% de las bajas en Vietnam son Raza. La Guerra en Vietnam es en verdad solamente una guerra contra los Vietnameses, una guerra contra Raza tambien.

Raza Contra La Guerra is an independent Chicano and Latino anti-war organization which is sponsoring a contingent in the November 6 Mass Anti-War demonstrations.

Department of defense statistics show that while Raza is only 10% of the population of the U.S., they make up 20% of the casualties in Vietnam. The War in Vietnam is not only a war against the Vietnamese, but truly also a war against Raza.

guerrero

marche

EN EL CONTINGENTE DE LA RAZA NOVIEMBRE 6

congregacion en el Parque de Dolores
8:30 A.M., Sabado, Noviembre 6

Necesitamos Ayuda Urgentemente:
dinero y Voluntarios para mobilizar
el sentimiento que existe en los
barrios contra la guerra. Llene
el cupon y mandelo a:

Raza Contra La Guerra/50 Oak Street/Fifth Floor/San Francisco, California

march

IN THE RAZA CONTINGENT NOVEMBER 6

Assemble in Dolores Park
8:30 A.M., Saturday November 6

We need help urgently
Funds and volunteer to mobilize
the anti-war sentiment in the barrios.
Fill out the coupon and mail to:

NOMBRE (NAME):

DIRECCION (ADDRESS):

CIUDAD/ESTADO (CITY/STATE):

TELEFONO (PHONE):

MANERAS EN CUAL NOS PUEDE AYUDAR (SPECIAL WAYS IN WHICH YOU COULD
HELP US):

ZIP:

Chicano Moratorium History Draft (about the draft, ha!)

The chicano anti Vietnam war movement that grew into the Chicano Moratorium demonstrations of 1969-1971 got its first major impetus when the UCLA Mecha chapter mobilized a protest demonstration in front of the downtown Los Angeles draft center on South Broadway near Olympic Blvd on September 16, 1969. The demonstration was in support of former member Rosalio Munoz who refused induction that day accusing the draft system of discrimination against Chicanos. Over 100 demonstrators were on hand to support the stand of Munoz, who had graduated from UCLA in June of 1969 after having served as the first Chicano Student Body President of UCLA. Munoz had been ordered to report for induction that September 16, which was also the anniversary of the declaration of Mexican independence from Spain

The protest drew on a study by professor /activist Ralph Guzman which showed the percentage of Spanish surnamed casualties in the Vietnam war were nearly twice the percentage of Spanish surnamed people in the population. In a statement made in front of the draft center that day Munoz said that the disproportionate death rate was a form of genocide resulting from discriminatory draft laws and other forms of institutional racism in the political, educational, law enforcement, social services, and employment practices. He called for draft deferments for "all Chicano youth who serve our people" and for the government to provide "the money and support that would make such work meaningful in social political and economic terms."

Munoz' statement was read at Chicano movement celebrations at in other locations like Denver Colorado and Albuquerque New Mexico. The demonstration got major print & electronic coverage in Los Angeles, and was put on the Associated Press bulletin for the day which was printed by several papers across the country.

The demo was the launching of an effort to build an "antiwar anti draft current" in the growing Chicano movement to encourage Mexican Americans to find ways to stop being cannon fodder for an "unjust war". Leading the effort were Munoz and close associate Ramses Noriega a painter and organizer who was a graduate student in fine arts at UCLA and had worked as an organizer for the United Farm Workers.

In October Munoz quit his job as a recruiter for the Clarmont Colleges to work full time to antiwar /antidraft work within the Chicano movementis cause. He was given office space at the Euclid Community Center, directed by Rev Antonio Hernandez a staff person for the Congress of Mexican American Unity and umbrella group for Mexican American groups and agencies in the greater Los Angeles area.

TURNING POINT

The turning point in the Chicano anti war work was the November 14 national moratriums against the war in Vietnam held in San Francisco and Washington D.C. Between 500,000 to 1 million Americans demonstrated against the war that day. Among them were thousands of Chicanos. Chicano leaders Rodolfo Corky Gonzalez of the Denver based Crusade for Justice, Dolores Huerta of the United Farmworkers, Abe Tapia of Mexican American Political Association, and draft resistor Munoz spoke at the San Francisco protest.

Munoz remembers "when we saw the coverage of the event we saw a native American chief in traditional garb, Black Panther David Hilliard, and antiwar Republican Senator Wayne Morse featured, we Chicanos were invisible". Munoz adds "we realized that we helped build opposition to the war which resulted in more mainstream American youth to find ways to refuse to fight in an unjust war, leaving the draft boards to fill their quotas with more minorities and the poor. It was clear to us we needed affirmative action on the issue, a peace movement for the barrios". On November 18 at a protest in front of the downtown L.A.

induction center Ramses Noriega told the L.A. Times (quoted Nov. 19) "we are talking of holding a Chicano moratorium. Independently the Los Angeles based Brown Berets had also decided to take action on the Vietnam issue. A few days later a committee was formed to organize a Chicano Moratorium in East Los Angeles. Brown Beret leader David Sanchez and Noriega helped lead the meeting. A demonstration was planned for Dec 20.

Meanwhile Munoz was carrying the Chicano antiwar message nationwide. On November 20-22 Munoz led an antiwar workshop at a church funded national conference of Chicano organizations, activists and leaders from around the country. The conference was held in Kansas City, Kansas and was convened by Presbyterian Minister, a score of chicano activists from around the country signed up to work with Munoz for future anti/war anti draft work. Among them was Los Angeles activist Bob Elias who committed to working with Munoz full time. The two both planned to attend a New Mexico wide Chicano conference the following week, While Munoz traveled to Tucson and back to Los Angeles to continue organizing, Elias agreed to make contact with Corky Gonzalez to enlist the Crusade for Justices support of the budding Chicano antiwar

At the Nov 28 New Mexico Conference Munoz announce that a national Chicano meeting to plan antiwar anti draft actions was to be held at the Denver Crusade for Justice on December 6-8. In between trips Munoz attended the 2nd meeting of the committee organizing the Dec 20 Chicano Moratorium in East L.A.

At the Denver meeting delegates from Texas, New Mexico, Northern & Southern California, Chicago and Colorado attended. Support for the Dec 20 L.A. moratorium was approved.

In 1989, concerned Chicanos realized that this miscarriage of justice, this heroic and tragic event in Chicano history must not be allowed to lapse into oblivion; that the memory of its noble and empowering mission, the establishment's racist repression of the event, the thousands of Chicanos who traveled far and wide to participate in the event, and the racist establishment's brutal attack and murder of Chicanos engaged in the lawful, peaceful, and joyful exercise of their First Amendment Rights must be kept alive for generations to come.

To achieve this end, Chicanos founded the National Chicano Moratorium Committee (NCCMC) and immediately moved to organize an Aztlán-wide mobilization of Chicanos for the purpose of commemorating the 20th anniversary of the August 29th, 1970 National Chicano Moratorium in East Los Angeles. We must recognize and applaud the Chicanos involved in this initiative, for their foresight and planning brought about a mobilization of raza unseen since the protest marches and rallies of the late sixties and early seventies. To wit, August 25, 1990 saw some 8,000 Chicanos mass together in East L.A. to commemorate the 1970 Chicano Moratorium, the marchers proudly following the route to Salazar Park taken by the original marchers.

The Chicano Movement of the sixties and seventies evolved from numerous social and political revolts originating in Chicano barrios across the nation. The problems these communities faced had deep historical roots; a history during which Chicanos were victimized by a virulent form of Nazi-like racism that characterized Mexican Americans as a mixed-blood and thereby inferior race; a savage race given to laziness, filthiness, lechery, drunkenness, revelry, thievery, and a belief in the infallibility of the Pope.

Unfortunately, this demeaning stereotype is deeply rooted in the Euro-American psyche; its origins can be traced to a patchwork of impressions noted down by alien Anglos with a strong appetite for Mexican land. Then as now, it takes little time for immigrants who come to America from every continent and island of the world to become indoctrinated to this insulting caricature of Americans of Mexican descent. What is amazing about this stereotype is its archetypal endurance in the psyches of several generations of Americans. My mother once told me that "everybody needs a dog to kick." It seems that in America we are that dog. How else can one explain or justify the history of racist abuse suffered by Chicanos in the United States of America? Our poverty, our low income households, our low-wage labor, our substandard education, and social services; the police abuse inflicted on members of our communities; the violations of our civil rights by elected or appointed public officials — these are the products of a racist establishment that has mustered all its might to keep us in our place.

Mexican Americans born in the thirties reached full maturity in the sixties, at the dawning of the Age of Media. It was an age rife with social, political, and cultural movements across the length and breadth of the nation. An age when media sage, Marshall McLuhan, the father of modern communications, wrote the immortal words, "The medium is the message." Considering the current state of media influence on our lives, I think it's safe to say that the *medium is now the media*.

Today, our world's become the lap dog of media power. Save for the influence of our families, no other force has impacted our lives like the media; it envelops us like an electronic membrane. As independent Mexican American revolts coalesced in the Chicano Movement throughout America, the Media fell upon us in all its habits, print, radio, and television, and main-frame computers. Although a large majority of Chicano activists sought to redress grievances and bring about institutional changes beneficial to Chicanos by working within the system, that is, through the exercise of rights and freedoms guaranteed to all Americans by the Consitution and Bill of Rights, the "Movement" attracted Chicano individuals and groups with diverse political and cultural agendas, including liberal intellectuals, poets, visual artists, taggers, lawyers, budding politicians, centrists, Maoists, Ché disciples, indigenists, and angry, unforgiving separatists ready to resort to violence to accomplish their ends. Needless to say, media focus on the radical

elements of the "Movement" was tantamount to inviting federal, state, and local law enforcement agencies to infiltrate the "Movement" and hound some of its more vocal or active members.

From 1965, the year Cesar Chavez and the National Farmworkers Association (NFWA) led a strike of California grape-pickers to demand higher wages and encouraged all Americans to boycott table grapes as a show of support, on through the high school "Blowouts of 1968; the incarceration of the "East L.A. 13" by L.A. District Attorney, Evelle Younger, on the ludicrous charge of conspiring to commit a misdemeanor, a felony; the protest demonstrations at the L.A. County Jail, where the "East L.A. 13" were incarcerated; the protest demonstration at Parker Center and the march and rally at Olvera Street; the legal battles at the L.A. County Courthouse; Zeta's challenge against the jurisdictional power of the L.A. County Grand Jury on the grounds of its discriminatory selection and unrepresentative character of the Superior court judges who refused to inquire into the alleged criminal conduct of the "East L.A. 13"; the Chicano confrontation of the Catholic Church: Chicano activists admonishing the Church to ally itself with the Chicano community in resisting the discrimination and exploitation practiced against them by a racist establishment; and the Chicano Moratorium of 1970, a massive effort by Chicanos across the nation to bring an end to the horrific bloodletting and death of American soldiers in Viet Nam--an inordinate number of whom were Chicanos.

The Chicano Movement was not exclusively a political movement as revisionist writers of recent vintage have tried to characterize it. It was a collective catharsis driven by five hundred years of racist abuse and repression; a chronicle of suffering and despair so vile that some of us have unconsciously grown numb to it, while others of us have consciously played dumb to the havoc it's wreaked on our spirits and souls. Yet, the memory of this vile history has imposed itself in every cell and fiber of our being; a memory so vast that even the collective unconscious has yet to show it can contain it. The Chicano Movement was merely a servant of its premonitions, the catalyst that freed its pent up energy, the warrior spirit that pulled the plug on our collective unconscious, releasing to the world a thunderbolt infused with the anger, tears, love, kinship, courage, purpose, unity, organization, leadership, creativity, and pride of our people; a bolt of lightning that's lit up our precious homeland while America sleeps and the world wonders.

From its onset, the Chicano Movement encompassed a cultural phenomenon that, in my opinion, has gotten short documentary shrift in the public record. In fact, the explosion of visual, literary, and performance art permeated, accompanied, and gave powerful expression to the "Movement's" goal of achieving political, social, and cultural justice for Chicanos. Not since the muralist movement of the Mexican Revolution had art served the political, social, and cultural needs of a community as powerfully as the art of the Chicano Movement. For what happened in Los Angeles was a microcosm of what was happening in cities and barrios of America. Media coverage of the "Movement" brought national and global attention to the plight, latent power, and creative ability of Americans of Mexican descent.

Nor has the energy released by the Chicano Movement disappeared in a time warp. That energy is alive and viable in the collective unconscious of every single one of us. Today a new generation of Chicanos is assuming the mantle of power generated by the Chicano Movement. A generation whose time has come to shepherd that power. A power fueled by our collective memory, encompassing all the fundamental truths (positive or negative) veiled by the contradictions accompanying our journey across the landscape of history. Our ancestral memory knows no boundaries. Nothing less than a truthful account of our history must inform our ancestral memory. Nor does our ancestral memory recognize political borders. We do not dump our ancestral memory at the border simply because we exchange political allegiances. Politics is certainly an important aspect of our ancestral memory but our memory is a vast repository knowledge and wisdom that is vital to our spiritual and psychological well-being. Without that knowledge we grow muddled and contentious about our identity. Without this knowledge, we grow weak and vulnerable and much easier to exploit by people who would do us harm. We elders understand that it is our duty to pass on

The National Chicano Moratorium, which was scheduled to take place in East Los Angeles' Laguna Park on August 29, 1970, was a massive protest against the legality and excesses of the Viet Nam War; a war Chicanos and Americans across the nation saw as an illegal and senseless war against the Vietnamese people. While many Chicanos shared this view, they were particularly incensed by the fact that Chicano GIs in Viet Nam were dying in obscene numbers relative to their size in national population, representing more than 20% of the casualties while making up only 6% of the American population. Ironically, while Chicano GIs were sacrificing life and limb in the steamy jungles of Viet Nam, their families in America continued to be treated like second-class citizens. This was a bitter pill to swallow--the more so because the National Chicano Moratorium never really got off the ground.

An incident at a nearby liquor store outside Laguna Park was the slim pretext the Los Angeles County Sheriffs needed to justify their marching lockstep into the park, black batons at the ready, to begin breaking up what up to that moment had been a crucial, yet, in typical Chicano fashion, a festive, family oriented affair. Until that riotous point in time, the hopes and aspirations inspired by the Chicano Movement, which sought a redress of grievances that had been suffocating in our memories for nearly a century-and-a-half: the freedom to exercise our right of self-determination; the right to identify ourselves according to principles of faith and historical truths that *we* as a people deem valid; and the right to confront and wrest away from a long-standing racist establishment *our* fair share of political, social, educational, economic, and cultural power, an agenda that had rocketed our spirits to an apogee of expectations unrivaled in Chicano history É an agenda momentarily interrupted by the police overkill at Laguna Park.

On that fateful day, the warriors amongst us, that is, the men, women, and children armed only with picket signs, magazines, flyers, purses, bottles, fists, and feet gallantly withstood the brutal onslaught of the Los Angeles County Sheriffs, fiercely resisting this unprovoked attack against our First Amendment right of free speech and our right to peaceably assemble and petition the government for a redress of grievances, but as police reinforcements from surrounding municipalities or jurisdictions streamed into the battle zone with sirens blaring, those who weren't beaten into submission or arrested had little alternative but to scatter helter-skelter from the mêlée, joining the stampede of thousands of shocked, angry, and outraged Chicano anti-Viet Nam War protestors.

At day's end on August 29, 1970, an estimated 30,000 Chicano souls—great numbers of whom had traveled to East Los Angeles from cities and barrios across the nation were gone; only the debris of those victimized by the police riot lay strewn on the park green É a haunting reminder of the foul blow struck against Chicano liberation and empowerment, the U.S. Constitution and Bill of Rights, and American democracy--along with torched and overturned police cars; smashed storefront windows; burning buildings on Whittier Boulevard; unjust arrests; hundreds of injured Chicanos; and the tragic deaths of three Chicano patriots: Lyn Ward, Brown Beret: Angel Diaz, and journalist, Ruben Salazar. The smoke plumes rising from the embattled ruins of our peaceful moratorium on the Viet Nam War signaling the people of Southern California that disaster had once again befallen East Los Angeles. This was indeed É a bitter pill to swallow--but, not an uncommon experience for Chicanos.

In the weeks that followed, outraged Chicanos rallied again, this time organizing a march to commemorate the untimely deaths of Ruben Salazar, Angel Diaz, and Lyn Ward, while unleashing a passionate campaign to change the name of Laguna Park to Salazar Park. Ruben Salazar was, of course, the Chicano journalist whose assignment it was to cover the Chicano Moratorium at Laguna Park. Irony of ironies, little did he know that while he was quaffing a beer at the Silver Dollar Bar--taking a brief respite from an event of hope, empowerment, and joy suddenly turned violent, shocking, and tragic--that a Sheriff's ill-intended missile would snuff out his life and that Laguna Park, the site of this seminal event in Chicano history would be named after him.

to the next generation our witness, experience, knowledge, and wisdom of what it has meant to be Chicano in *our* generation.

Más Caras/Aztlannet.com has understood for a long time that the various fronts of the Chicano Movement shared one important idea, the social, political, and cultural empowerment of our people. The pursuit of empowerment was a powerful unifying principle in the sixties and we at Más Caras/Aztlannet.com believe we should make it our rallying cry in the present day. While we applaud the accomplishments of educated professionals and gifted lay-persons, their feats are dwarfed by the poverty and suffering of a majority of our people. Gregory Rodriguez informed us in a recent article published in the Opinion Section of the Sunday Edition of the L.A. Times, of the failure of educated Chicano professionals and gifted lay-persons to build powerful and enduring human service institutions in our community; foundations or nonprofit organizations fully capable of addressing the needs of Chicanos today.

While I generally disagree with most of Rodriguez's revisionist babble on Chicanismo, it's obvious, with notable exceptions, that Chicano professionals and gifted lay-persons have generally turned right and browned-out in Chicano middleclass enclaves or white-washed their mongoloid spots in ex-burbs to gain the consolation prize of acceptance as creatures of a "different" stripe than barrio rabble from whence they came. Still, if our hearts are better for a remedy of our own, we must forgive their errant ways and welcome a change of heart, and whatever skills or know-how they can contribute in helping us build permanent public organizations dedicated to the empowerment of our people.

Beginning with the Chicano Moratorium of August 29, 2002, Más Caras/Aztlannet.com. and its friends plan to celebrate the personal achievements of individuals, organizations, and seminal historical events. Más Caras is a 501 (c) (3) Private Nonprofit Public Benefit Corporation dedicated to promoting, supporting, and showcasing Chicano arts and letters. We are not a political organization, per se, but we strongly believe that arts and letters should serve both an individual's fancy and the political, social, and cultural needs of the community. Más Caras/Aztlannet.com was founded in the belief that art empowers individuals as well as communities. This year, Más Caras/Aztlannet.com is collaborating with a consortium of individuals and groups to commemorate the 2002 Chicano Moratorium in Highland Park. The event will present all of us the opportunity to celebrate a seminal event in the rise to power of our people and an exposition of the arts or cultural achievements of our people.

National Chicano Moratorium

1 9 9 0



August 25, 1990 East Los Angeles Califas, Aztlan

COMMEMORATING AUGUST 29, 1970

20 years of struggle toward
Chicano Mexicano Self-determination

Official Program

Compañeros y compañeras

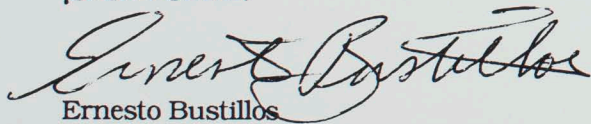
Those serious about Raza liberation must draw several lessons from the events surrounding the August 29, 1970 National Chicano Moratorium and the work that was previously done, including:

1. U.S. "democracy" is a farce limited to token opposition. The state will use whatever means necessary to destroy any opposition, real or imagined.
2. The movement needs a strong and disciplined organization that can withstand an all-out military/police attack.
3. We must be on constant guard against police infiltration. This calls for security-conscious, centralized formation willing to struggle against those who would idealistically call for an "open" organization.
4. All social movements are based on the concrete conditions of any given period of time. Thus it was the anti-colonial struggles of oppressed people throughout the world that forced white people to become radicals. The sudden "unity" of white people with oppressed nations here in the belly of the beast (U.S.) was a response to the realities of Vietnam. Therefore, all strategies and tactics must be based on scientific examination of the situation in which our movement presently finds itself.
5. The European colonial system, through a whole gamut of tricks, uses opportunists and sellouts found within our population to destroy the legitimate forces of self-determination.

The object of this year's march and rally is not to simply commemorate an historical event, but most importantly, to draw attention to the actual conditions and situations facing the overwhelming majority of nuestra Raza. Relatively speaking, conditions confronting La Raza are worse than they were 20 years ago, as newspapers or a ride through the barrio will confirm.

The 1990 National Chicano Moratorium Committee members and myself call upon all Raza to put aside differences and place the defense of our community first. Let us join together in forging a more unified and stronger Movimiento through participation in the 20th Commemoration of the National Chicano Moratorium and beyond.

¡SI SE PUEDE!



Ernesto Bustillos
National Coordinator

Hay quienes quieren hacernos creer que las cosas han mejorado mucho para nuestra gente.

Pero **no es cierto** porque nuestros hijos aun no tienen un presente y un futuro libres de injusticia y discriminación. Hay que seguir luchando, porque la union **si** hace la fuerza!



En solidaridad,

CIWA

ASOCIACION DE TRABAJADORES INMIGRANTES DE CALIFORNIA

AFL-CIO

(213) 738-8000



UNION DEL BARRIO

P. O. Box 620095 • San Diego, CA 92162 • 619-233-7279

"Ni los ecepticos, ni los apaticos detendran la revolucion chicana, que avanza hacia los nuevas amaneceres donde las nuevas y viejes geneaciones de nuestra raza caminara por la alamedor liberador de Aztlán."

POR LA UNIDAD Y LIBERACION DE NUESTRA RAZA

CONCIERTIZACION, ORGANIZACION, ACCION Y LIBERACION

On August 25, 1990, Raza from Aztlan and elsewhere will hold a march and rally in East Los Angeles to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the Chicano Moratorium. Marching along the same route followed by Raza in 1970, we will end our march and begin our rally in Salazar Park. Salazar Park (formerly Laguna Park) was renamed after the first moratorium on August 29, 1970 when over 20,000 Chicanos, marching in defense of their rights and to demand an end to the U.S. Imperialist war in Vietnam were brutally attacked by more than 1,000 Los Angeles police and sheriffs. Countless people were injured, hundreds were arrested and three Mexicanos died—Angel Díaz, Lynn Ward and journalist Ruben Salazar (for whom the park is now named).

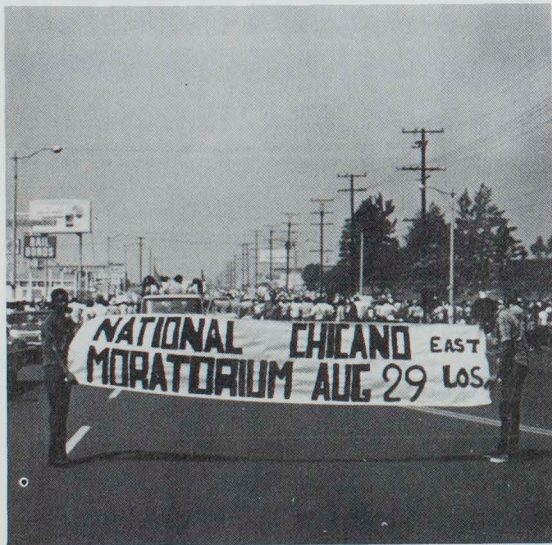
August 29, 1970 occurred during a period when revolution was strong and struggles were going on world-wide. In

Africa, Asia and Latin America, people were engaged in wars of liberation. The heroes of the time includes Mao Tse-tung, Ho Chi Minh, Che Guevara, Patrice Lumumba, Fidel Castro and Frantz Fanon.

The Vietnam War brought the reality of "death for no just reason" home, causing the "radicalization" of a large sector of young white America. The Vietnam War gave birth to the "new Left" peace movement and the "counter-culture" hippie movement.

At the same time, the massive rebellion of the African (Black) people educated and inspired other oppressed peoples to look toward what was needed to end their own oppression. Most notably, the Black Panther Party played a critical vanguard not only for African people, but for all who were struggling against oppression and toward self-determination.

During this period, the Chicano Movement and the American Indian Movement (AIM) had reached an intense level of struggle. Close to 100 AIM members were killed by federal agents in struggles throughout reservations (concentration camps) in occupied America. The Alianza, under the leadership of Reis Tijerina, was under attack by U.S. Military forces, who went so far as to use tanks in their efforts of destruction in Nuevo Mexico. In South Texas, La Raza Unida Party (under the leadership of organizers such as Angel Gutierrez, Ramsey Muniz, Vicente Carranza, and others) was gaining political power in several towns, as well as establishing chapters throughout Aztlan, running



Beginning of the march, Beverly Blvd., August 29, 1970.

candidates for office and providing Raza with an alternative to the gringo-colonial political parties. In Colorado, the Crusade for Justice (led by Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales and others) was advancing revolutionary nationalism and was viciously attacked by the pigs in which members were killed, injured and arrested after several confrontations. In California the Brown Berets (under such key figures as David Sanchez, Carlos Montes and David Rico) had established units in over 30 cities in other parts of Aztlan and as far east as Chicago, Detroit and Kansas City, with a combined membership of over 5,000. The

farm worker struggle, under the United Farm Workers (UFW) leadership of Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta, had organized thousands of workers and raised the consciousness of Mexicans to their working class roots; literally hundreds of Chicano youth joined the UFW as community and field organizers. MEChA and Chicano Studies programs were organized at every college where Raza could be found; in many campuses Raza students were participating in sit-ins and walk-outs, demanding quality and relevant education. Hundreds of "underground" Chicano publications easily reaching 70,000 copies per month were being



Members of La Raza Unida from San Antonio, Texas.



"Just Married" couple join La Raza in the march.

"Government can't give us anything without depriving us of something else.

Henry Hazlitt in *The Freeman*

circulated, with *La Raza* being of particular influence and quality.

The politics of this period were based on self-determination and self-reliance centered around attempts by our movement to build independent institutions that would compete with the racist, gringo-controlled social, political and economic institutions. This led to the establishment of independent political organizations (LRUP), economic institutions (UFW, food co-ops, credit unions, etc.) and social institutions (Escuela Tlatelolco, centros culturales, Chicano Press Association, etc.)

This line of thinking can perhaps be best summed up by this quote from *La Raza* (Vol. 1, #5, 1970):

"The schools still remain alien to our children. Their mothers and fathers continue to be exploited by their bosses, the local markets, the car lots, the department stores and the multitude of other businesses they are forced to deal with in the barrio. And they continue to get harassed and arrested by the police. They see the poverty programs and question of what relevance are they, other than to provide good salaries to a lot of individuals who proceed forth with programs of pacification, wait until next year, and hope in the Ford Foundation to solve all the community's problems. And at the slightest hint that their funding sources give that they are too community involved, they proceed to develop meaningless programs which will ensure the perpetuation of their incomes... Never mind the fact that the police are murdering your people, or that a family on welfare receiving 22 cents per meal is made to feel like thieves, or the sweeps of the Immigration Department through our barrios... This, coupled with the inability to drive down Whittier Boulevard without being stopped by the police, your car torn apart, insulted... a crack on the head, and charge of resisting arrest, has led many to believe that change will not be brought about through submission of proposals to Father Ford or Rockefeller, but only through violent confrontations with the system and its army of oppressors, the law enforcement agencies."

This growing movement toward Chicano Mexicano liberation gave birth to the National Chicano Moratorium Committee (NCCMC) in 1969. Conscious of the illegal and brutal colonial war in Vietnam and angry at the continuing oppression of Raza here at home, the

**CHICANO
POWER!**

National Moratorium Committee called for a national campaign of anti-war events which would culminate in a massive demonstration in East Los Angeles, home to over 3 million Chicano Mexicanos.

Again to get a real feel for what Raza were thinking, we quote from a publication of that period, *La Causa* (political organ of the National Brown Berets, 2/28/70):

"...the Vietnamese who have had a long history of resisting external aggression by their many would-be conquerors, have turned the tables on the crumbling puto western civilization and it is only a matter of time before they free their land of the gabacho invader. Let us learn from their example that to resist is to survive a free man and to submit is to be a puto and thus a slave. DARE TO STRUGGLE, DARE TO WIN— ¡HASTA LA VICTORIA SIEMPRE!



Viva La Raza.

The NCCMC was not only attempting to organize the largest anti-colonial demonstration of Chicano Mexicanos ever to be held, but by recruiting the most committed and politically advanced militants of the movement, was laying the foundation for a truly national organization which would be the vanguard our struggle needed. The United States government could not allow this to happen and had, in fact, established through the FBI the Counter Intelligence Program (Cointelpro) designed to destroy all movements arising out of the oppressed peoples within the country.

Months before the scheduled August 1970 march, police began a campaign to destroy the NCCMC. Twice in November



Protestors display signs against draft for Vietnam.

1969, the "Special Operations Conspiracy Squad" of the L.A. Police Department had raided the offices of the NCMC, arresting members and destroying files and equipment. Also, the police had infiltrated the NCMC by planting the informant, Frank Martinez, within the organization. After spreading "rumors" and slanders, agent Martinez was able to oust Rosalio Muñoz and place himself in the leadership position. (The final chapter on the role that infiltrators such as F. Martinez and Manny Lopez who infiltrated the San Diego Berets, played during this period has yet to be written). Therefore, in retrospect, our analysis shows that the violent attack against the 1970 Chicano Moratorium should have come as no surprise.

On December 2, 1989, as a result of a nation-wide call by La Raza Unida Party and Unión del Barrio, an historical event took place—the 1990 National Chicano Moratorium Committee (NCMC) was formed. The NCMC presently has two objectives: to insure a truly "national" commemoration and to continue working after the commemoration in building the necessary organization our movement desperately needs. The hundreds of activists currently working on the 20th Commemoration are convinced that a successful organization of this event will lead to a new era of struggle centered around community-based, self-determination politics and would bring about a more active and unified movement, serving as a turning point in the nature of politics of this present period of struggle.



Another chapter of La Raza Unida from El Paso, Texas.

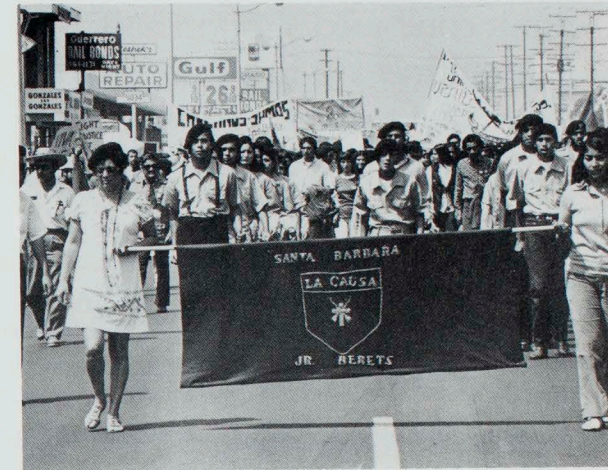
The objective of this year's march and rally is not to simply commemorate an historical event, but more importantly, to draw attention to the actual conditions and situation facing the overwhelming majority of nuestra Raza. Conditions confronting La Raza are worst than they were 20 years ago while the ability of the movement to defend Raza rights is presently extremely limited and in most areas of the U.S. no such organization exists!

We have witnessed the elimination of Chicano Studies (especially at the high school level); attacks on bilingual education with "English Only" laws; the most brutal and racist migra raids; ever-increasing police terror; klan/skinhead attacks against La Raza; the most degrading and low quality

service given to Raza at Arab and gringo stores; young Raza full of self-hatred killing each other in barrio violence; over 50% high school "pushout" rates which have designated whole generations of Mexicans to menial, low-paying, slave labor; growing prison population in which 1 out of 8 Mexicans is under some form of police control (jail, probation, etc.); the dumping of toxic chemicals and industrial waste in hundreds of barrios across Aztlan leading to a high rate of cancer and other deadly diseases; and CIA/FBI imported drugs pumped daily into our communities. Lack of organization does not allow us to effectively respond to our oppression or to support the struggles being waged by our Indio brothers and sisters at Big Mountain, or Raza fighting the genocidal, fascist oppression of U.S. colonialism in Central America. We believe that the 20th commemoration can give birth to a level of struggle necessary to effectively defend our people's rights.

Since it's founding on December 2, 1989, regional committees have been formed in Los Angeles, Santa Barbara, San Fernando, San Diego, San Francisco, North San Diego County, Orange County, Fresno, Phoenix, Pueblo, Denver, El Paso and Corpus Christi, Tejas. Several regions are in the formation stage. For the last seven months, the regions have centered their work around the building and mobilizing for the August 25 event which has included fund-raising, rallies, community meetings, presentations, publication of newsletters and the dissemination of thousands of flyers. The National Committee has been able to draw some of the most active and committed activists our movimiento has

produced. In fact, no other Chicano Mexicano formation in the United States can claim the high caliber activism and large membership which is presently found in the National Chicano Moratorium.



Brown Berets marching.



In solidarity with Puerto Rico.

Thank you for your participation in the 20th Commemoration of the National Chicano Moratorium.

But, please, don't stop now. Your continued support and commitment to El Movimiento is needed to forge a stronger and more unified organization.

¡HASTA LA VICTORIA!
¡VIVA LA RAZA!



Brown Berets proudly marching.

1990 NATIONAL CHICANO MORATORIUM COMMITTEE

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Chicano being strangled at Laguna Park.



Above photos: Over 20,000 marchers on Whittier Boulevard protesting the Vietnam war.



A young Chicano beaten and arrested at Laguna Park.

POLITICAL PRESENTATIONS

Keynote Speakers

Ernesto Bustillos (National Coordinator, NCMC)

A 20-year veteran Chicano Mexicano activist from San Diego, who participated in student walkouts, the building of Chicano Park, and all major demonstrations and marches in the San Diego area. Past membership: MEChA, Brown Berets, La Raza Unida Party, Committee on Chicano Rights. Co-founder and member of Unión del Barrio.

Dr. Rodolfo Acuña (Professor, Cal State University, Northridge)

An activist for over two decades, Dr. Acuña submitted a proposal in 1969 that led to the founding of the Chicano Studies Department at Cal State University, Northridge, currently the most comprehensive in the nation. He is a renowned Chicano author and historian.

Nita Gonzales (Crusade for Justice)

Chicana Mexicana veteran activist from Denver, Colorado. Active leading member of the Crusade for Justice, and foremost spokesperson for Chicana and Chicano issues throughout Aztlan.

Dolores Huerta (United Farm Workers of America)

First Vice President of the United Farm Workers of America. Co-founder with Cesar Chavez, and member of the Executive Board with over 30 years of trade union activism. A mother of 11 children, she is an inspiration to many farmworker men and women. During the course of her work, she has personally led many of the UFW labor actions.

Heberto Castillo (PRD, Mexico)

Historical leader and organizer of opposition to the Mexican government. A highly respected critic of the Mexican government's oppression and corruption.

Solidarity Speakers

Gustavo Acosta (Frente Farabundo Martí de Liberación Nacional/FMLN)

Julio Cardoza (Nicaraguan Cultural Center)

Juana Gutiérrez (Mothers of East L.A.)

Ernie Peters Longwalker (Four Directions)

Patricia Marín (MEChA)

David Sánchez (former Brown Beret)

Omali Yashitela (African People's Socialist Party)

CULTURAL PRESENTATIONS

Los Alacranes Mojados

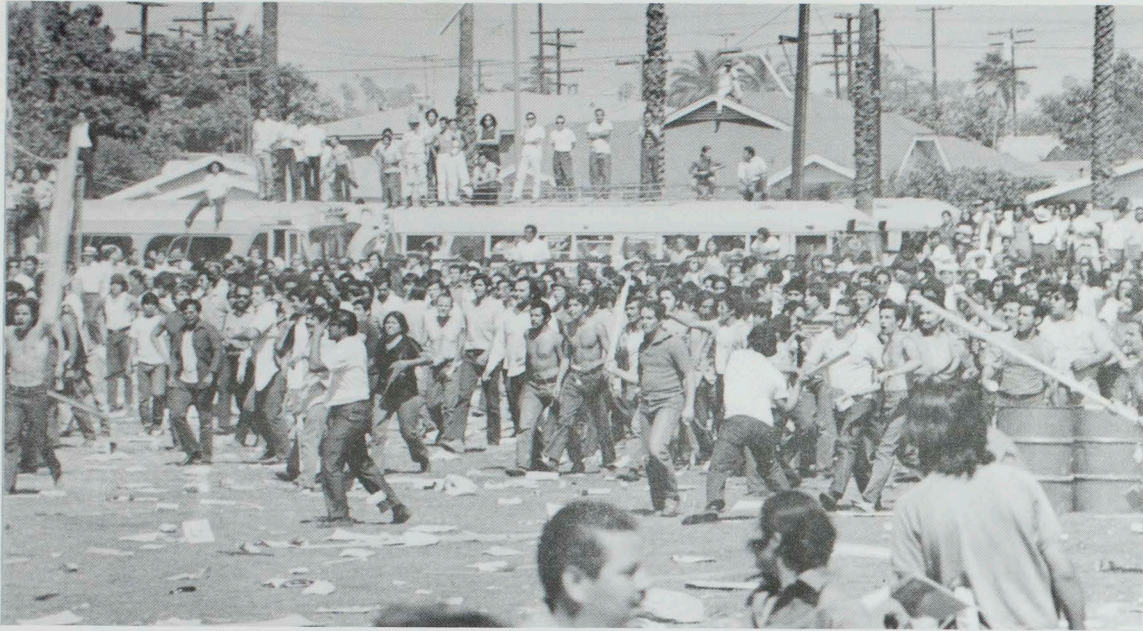
Culture Clash

Agustín Lira

Malo

Los Perros del Pueblo

Special thanks are extended to Raul Ruíz for use of the photographs in this program.



Chicanos ready for war at Laguna Park.



Chicanos fighting back and attacking the Sheriff's deputies.



"Custard's" last stand.



Whittier Boulevard burns.



Police teargas Chicanos on Whittier Boulevard.



Squad car burns in the aftermath.

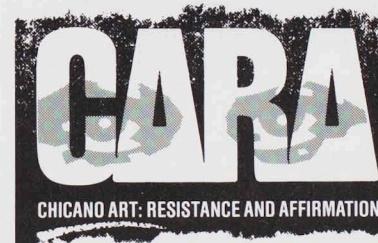
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U.S. Committee
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**CISPES EN SOLIDARIDAD
CON LA MORATORIA CHICANA
— 1990 —**



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Saturday, September 15, 1990
9:30 a.m.—12:00 p.m.

UCLA WIGHT ART GALLERY, upper level

Elementary and secondary teachers from throughout Southern California are invited to hear Project Coordinators, **Holly Baret-Sanchez** and **Marcos Sanchez-Tranquilino**, give an introduction to the CARA exhibition. In addition, artist/educator **David Avalos** will discuss his work and the museum education staff will give an overview of the curriculum packets developed for the exhibition. The CARA exhibition will be open for viewing through 6:00 p.m. For more information call (213) 825-1461.

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Teacher Assistants Organizing Campaign
con
1990 National Chicano Moratorium
Unidos en la Lucha

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JESUS JIMENEZ, International Representative

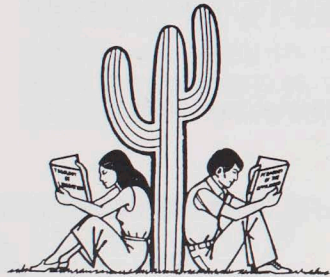
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en 1970 que nuestros hijos e hijas
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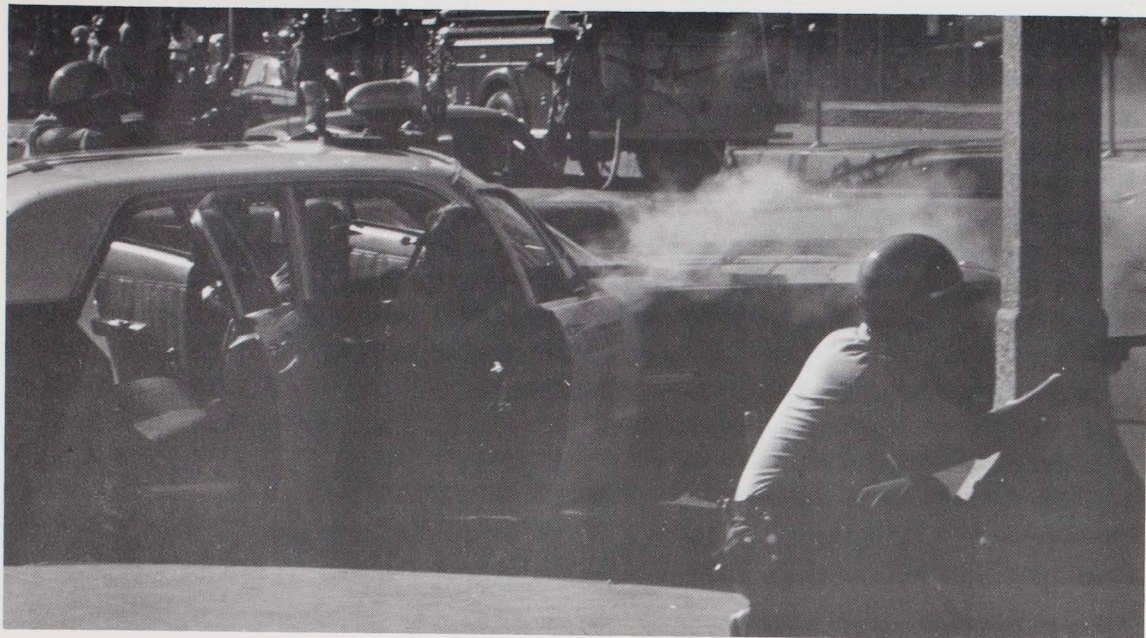
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Deputy Thomas Wilson (center facing front), the killer of Ruben Salazar.



Ruben's crew attempts to get out of the bar, but is pushed back by Sheriff's deputies.



Deputies fire into the Silver Dollar.

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La Raza magazine presents a photo retrospective:

The Chicano Moratorium 20 Years Later

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and to all Chicanos who struggle
for the liberation of our people.

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¡QUE VIVA LA MORATORIA CHICANA!

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For more information on hosting this exhibit,
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Photo by Raul Ruiz

¡CON UNIDAD-HAY LIBERTAD!

Chicano Mortatorium 2002
C/o Rosalio Munoz
Los Angeles, California

Rosalio:

As per your request, below is my personal, political and historical narrative of what I remember happened at the August 29, 1970 Anti-War Moratorium. Hopefully, this will help you in the upcoming commemoration and will provide you documentation to your effort. If I can help you with anything else, call me. Suerte.

Sinceramente,

Herman Baca

THE DAY THE POLICE RIOTED! REMEMBERING 32 YEARS AGO!

**BY: HERMAN BACA
COMMITTEE ON CHICANO RIGHTS
NATIONAL CITY, CALIFORNIA**

AUGUST 15, 2002

AS I APPROACH THE AGE OF 60 YEARS, I CAN STILL VIVIDLY REMEMBER WHAT HAPPENED (PERSONALLY AND POLITICALLY) ON AUGUST 29, 1970 WHEN 20,000 TO 40,000 CHICANO'S TOOK TO THE STREETS IN LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA TO PROTEST THE WAR IN VIETNAM.

CHICANO'S IN THE LATE 60'S AND EARLY 70'S WERE KNOWN AS THE "FORGOTTEN, INVISIBLE, OR SILENT," MINORITY TO U.S SOCIETY, ITS POLITICANS, POLICY MAKERS, AND SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS. BUT THINGS WERE STARTING TO HAPPEN AND RAPIDLY CHANGING IN MEXICAN AMERICANS COMMUNITIES. THE SO CALLED "SLEEPING GIANT" (AS CHICANO'S WERE REFERRED TO) WAS STARTING TO AWAKEN.

- CESAR CHAVEZ AND THE UNITED FARM WORKERS UNION HAD LAUNCHED A BOYCOTT OF TABLE GRAPES IN AN EFFORT TO ORGANIZE THE HISTORICALLY UNORGANIZED FARMWOKERS.**
- BERT CORONA, WAS ATTEMPTING TO ORGANIZE THE TRULY UNORGANIZABLE...THE MEXICAN UNDOCUMENTED WORKER.**
- ABE TAPIA, PRESIDENT OF THE MEXICAN AMERICAN POLITICAL ASSOCIATION (MAPA) WAS URGING CHICANOS TO BECOME POLITICALLY INVOLVED.**
- JOSE ANGEL GUTIERREZ, IN TEXAS HAD ORGANIZED A THIRD POLITICAL PARTY, LA RAZA UNIDA.**
- RODOLFO "CORKY" GONZALES IN COLORADO HAD DECLARED THAT CHICANOS WERE A NATION (AZTLAN).**
- REIES TIJERNA IN NEW MEXICO HAD PICKED UP THE GUN (AND WAS BEING CHASED BY THE U.S. NATIONAL GUARD), OVER THE ISSUE OF LAND!**

- **THOUSAND OF CHICANO WERE PROTESTING, MARCHING, AND BOYCOTING OVER ISSUES OF RACISM AND DISCRIMINATION.**

IT WAS AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND THAT THE AUGUST 29 CHICANO MORTATORIUM AGAINST THE WAR IN VIETNAM WAS BORN, AND HOW I BECAME PART OF IT.

IN 1970, I WAS 27 YEARS OF AGE, MARRIED, HAD TWO CHILDREN, AND WAS A PRINTER. I HAD BEEN POLITICALLY INVOLVED IN THE CHICANO MOVEMENT FOR 2 YEARS AND WAS PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL CITY CHAPTER OF MAPA. MY INVOLVMENT UP TO THAT POINT HAD BEEN IN ORGANIZING PROTESTS FOR THE BOYCOTT OF GRAPES IN SUPPORT OF THE UNITED FARM WORKERS, WORKING ON LOCAL ISSUES (POLICE BRUTALITY, IMMIGRATION, ZONING, YOUTH) AND ELECTORAL POLITICS.

SINCE MAPA WAS THE ONLY POLITICAL ORGANIZATION WE ORGANIZED AND RAN A LARGE NUMBER OF CAMPAIGNS FOR LOCAL CANDIDATES. DURING THAT PERIOD, I ALSO MANAGED THE INITIAL SUCESSFUL CAMPAIGN TO ELECT PETER CHACON TO THE CALIFORNIA STATE ASSEMBLY.

IN 1965, PRESIDENT LYNDON JOHNSON HAD DECLARED A POLICE ACTION IN VIETNAM. DARK AND FOREBODING WAR CLOUDS (JUST LIKE TODAY) WERE PRESENT IN EVERY CHICANO BARRIO THROUGHOUT THE SOUTHWEST.

CHICANOS, AT THAT TIME COMPRIZED BUT 6% OF THIS NATION'S POPULATION, BUT MADE UP 20% OF THE CAUSALITIES IN VIETNAM! YOUNG WHITES STARTED TO RECEIVE COLLEGE DEFERMENTS, AND WHITE CONTROLLED DRAFT BOARDS BEGIN TO DRAFT (IN RECORD NUMBERS) POOR PEOPLE, BLACKS, AND ESPECIALLY CHICANOS FOR VIETNAM.

AFTER FIVE YEARS OF WAR, REALITY FINALLY HIT HOME. YOUNG CHICANOS WERE DYING IN OBSCENE NUMBERS, AND NUMEROUS "BODY BAGS" CARRYING YOUNG DEAD CHICANOS WERE BEING RETURNED TO THE HOMES OF GRIEVING FAMILIES THRUOUT THE U.S.

THOSE OF US WHO WERE INVOLVED IN THE CHICANO MOVEMENT RECOILED IN ANGER AND CALLED FOR PROTESTS AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT'S POLICY IN SENDING OUR YOUNG PEOPLE TO DIE IN VIETNAM. IT HAD ALWAYS BEEN THE MOVEMENT'S POLITICAL POSITION THAT THE WHITE RACIST SYSTEM HAD MADE CHICANO'S STRANGERS IN THEIR OWN LAND, PLACED THEM LAST IN JOBS, EDUCATIONS AND RIGHTS, BUT HAD ALWAYS PLACED THEM FIRST TO DIE IN ITS WARS!

AT THE BEGINNING, THERE WAS A "GENERATIONAL" DIVISION IN OUR COMMUNITY, OVER THE ANTI-WAR POSITION. BITTER DISCUSSIONS AND ARGUMENTS IN COMMUNITIES AND FAMILIES FOLLOWED. STRONG OPPOSITION TO THE ANTI-WAR POSITION CAME MAINLY FROM THE MEN WHOM WE ADMIRERD, AND LOOKED UP TO, OUR GRANDFATHERS, FATHERS, UNCLES AND OLDER BROTHERS. THERE WAS A HISTORY, AND A LONG PROUD TRADITION OF MILITARY SERVICE IN THE CHICANO COMMUNITY. MANY HAD PROUDLY SERVED (MY OWN FATHER INCLUDED) WITH DISTINCTION AND HAD DIED IN WORLD WAR II AND KOREA. MEXICAN AMERICANS WERE THE MOST DECORATED AND HAD WON THE MOST MEDALS OF HONORS OF ANY ETHNIC GROUP. TO THE MEN OF THOSE GENERATIONS, (WHO HAD NEVER BEEN POLITICAL), SERVICE IN THE MILITARY EQUATED, "MACHISMO." MANY OF MY OWN FRIENDS SERVED AND DIED IN VIETNAM. THE OLDER GENERATION COULD NOT UNDERSTAND WHY (IF WE WERE MEN) WE WERE NOT GOING TO ENLIST AND SERVE (AS THEY HAD) IN VIETNAM. AS THE WAR WORE ON, MANY OF THE SAME VETERANS WHO HAD OPPOSED THE ANTI-WAR POSITION CHANGED, AND SUPPORTED OUR POSITION.

IN SAN DIEGO AS IN OTHER AREA'S, NUMEROUS MEETINGS, CONFERENCES AND "MINI" DEMONSTRATIONS WERE HELD TO PREPARE FOR LOS ANGELES.

FROM THE BEGINNING, THE DEMONSTRATION WAS TO BE A PEACEFUL PROTEST, TO SEEK REDRESS FROM THE U.S. GOVERNMENT, UNDER RIGHTS THAT WERE SUPPOSEDLY, PROTECTED AND GUARANTEED BY THE U.S. CONSTITUTION AND BILL OF RIGHTS.

AUGUST 29, 1970 FINALLY ARRIVED, WE (THREE OTHER INDIVIDUALS AND MYSELF) ARRIVED IN LOS ANGELES ON SATURDAY MORNING AROUND 7:00 A.M. THE FIRST THING I WITNESSED, WAS SOMETHING THAT I HAD NEVER SEEN BEFORE. THOUSANDS UPON THOUSANDS OF CHICANOS FROM ALL OVER THE U.S., SOME FROM NEW MEXICO, TEXAS, COLORADO, ARIZONA, AND THE MIDWEST, WHO HAD ALL GATHERED FOR A POLITICAL EVENT. FIVE HUNDRED TO ONE THOUSAND PERSONS FROM SAN DIEGO ATTENDED THE DEMONSTRATION.

DEPENDING ON WHOM YOU SPEAK TO TODAY, TWENTY TO FORTY THOUSANDS CHICANO'S (PARENTS, CHILDREN, STUDENTS, SENIORS, WORKING PEOPLE, AND ACTIVISTS) FROM THRUOUT THE U.S., (JOINED BY PERSONS FROM MEXICO AND PUERTO RICO) MARCHED ON THAT DAY.

THE DEMONSTRATION TURNED OUT TO BE THE LARGEST PROTEST TO BE ORGANIZED BY CHICANOS IN THEIR 130 YEARS HISTORY AS A CONQUERED PEOPLE IN THE U.S.

I REMEMBER THAT THE MARCH STARTED LATE (AROUND 10:00 OR 11:00 A.M.), AND THAT IT WAS A VERY HOT DAY. AS WE WALKED, SOME PEOPLE WERE BEHIND THE BANNER OF THE VIRGIN DE GUADALUPE; OTHERS CARRIED MAPA, BROWN BERETS, MECHA, CRUSADE FOR JUSTICE, UFW, ETC, BANNERS. WE ALL WALKED IN UNITY, AND I FELT THAT MOST OF US WERE MARCHING TO END A WAR THAT WAS DESTROYING OUR MOST PRECIOUS HERTIAGE -OUR YOUTH.

ALONG THE ROUTE PEOPLE ON THE SIDES WERE YELLING WORDS OF ENCOURAGEMENT, AND MANY JOINED THE PROCESSION. AFTER 5 LONG MILES WE ARRIVED (AROUND 2 OR 3 P.M.?) AT LAGUNA (NOW SALAZAR PARK). PEOPLE WERE TIRED AND WERE RESTING ON THE GRASS. THE SCENE APPEARED TO ME, TO BE JUST LIKE A GIANT FAMILY PINIC. PEOPLE CONTINUED TO POUR INTO THE PARK AND ALL WERE WAITING FOR THE CULTURAL EVENTS AND SPEAKERS TO BEGIN.

WHILE WAITING, I ASKED A FRIEND IF HE WANTED TO GO AND GET SOMETHING TO DRINK. WE JOURNEYED TO A LIQUOR STORE BY THE PARK AND WHILE THERE WE NOTICED THAT SOME INDIVIDUALS WERE LEAVING THE STORE WITHOUT PAYING FOR THEIR MERCHANDISE. AS WE TRAVELED BACK, I REMEMBER POINTING OUT TO MY FRIEND THAT HUNDREDS OF SHERIFFS' AND POLICE OFFICERS WERE STATIONED ACROSS THE STREET ON WHITTER BLVD. BEING NAIVE, BOTH OF US THOUGH IT ODD, BUT NOT THREATENING SO WE CONTINUED INTO THE PARK.

AS WE SAT DOWN WE HEARD AND THEN SAW A COMMOTION COMING FROM THE DIRECTION WHERE WE HAD JUST LEFT. WE COULD SEE THAT THE SHERIFF AND POLICE WERE STARTING TO LINE UP. SUDDENDLY WITHOUT ANY PROVOCATION THE SHERIFF AND POLICE BEGAN TO ADVANCE ON THE PEACEFUL CROWD. AT THE TIME, MOST OF THE CROWD, WHICH WAS IN FRONT OF THE PARK, HAD ABSOLUTLEY NO IDEA OR KNOWLEDGE OF WHAT WAS HAPPENING.

AT ONE POINT, SECURITY (THE BROWN BERETS) RUSHED FORWARD AND ATTEMPTED TO EXPLAIN TO THE POLICE THAT EVERYTHING WAS UNDER CONTROL. BUT IT WAS NO USE; A FULL FLEDGED INSTIGATED POLICE RIOT WAS NOW UNDER WAY. THE BROWN BERETS WERE ATTACKED AND BEATEN.

AS THE POLICE ADVANCED, I WITNESSED SCENES THAT I WILL NEVER FORGET. BEFORE MY EYES, HUNDRED'S OF OUR PEOPLE, CHILDREN, WOMAN, YOUNG AND OLD PERSONS WERE BEING BEATEN, TEAR GASSED, MAIMED, AND ARRESTED.

THE POLICE AND SHERIFF DEPUTIES APPEARED TO BE TOTALLY OUT OF CONTROL AND CRAZED WITH A DESIRE TO HURT, MAIM AND KILL CHICANOS.

MANY OF US REMEMBERED THE ZOOT SUIT RIOTS, AND IT WAS 1940 ALL OVER AGAIN!

IN SELF DEFENSE CHICANOS, WITNESSING WHAT WAS HAPPENING, AND SUFFERING FROM 130 YEARS OF OPPRESION, RACISM, AND DISCRIMINATION STOOD UP, AND FOUGHT BACK.

I REMEMBER AT ONE POINT THE BRIGHT SKY SUDDENLY TURNING BLACK BECAUSE OF THE NUMBER OF OBJECTS THAT WERE BEING THROWN BACK AT THE POLICE. PEOPLE WERE THROWING BOTTLES, CANS, DIRT, STICKS AND ANYTHING THEY COULD GET THEIR HANDS ON TO PROTECT THEMSELVES.

PEOPLE WERE MAD AND THERE WAS FIERCE HAND-TO-HAND FIGHTING. YOUNG CHICANOS WERE GOING UP TO THE POLICE, LANDING ONE GOOD BODY BLOW KNOWING THAT THE POLICE WOULD IMMEDIATELY CLUB THEM DOWN. A LOT OF PEOPLE WERE BEING MAZED, BEATEN AND ARRESTED.

FOR A WHILE THE CROWD APPEARED TO HAVE THE UPPER HAND AND PUSHED (TWO OR THREE TIMES) THE POLICE BACK. HOWEVER AFTER WHAT SEEMED TO BE AN HOUR THE POLICE REGAINED CONTROL.

IT WAS THERE THAT I LEARNED A LESSON THAT I HAVE NEVER FORGOTTEN TO THIS DAY. EVEN THOUGH THERE WERE THOUSANDS OF CHICANOS, AND ONLY HUNDREDS OF THE POLICE, THEY HAD SOMETHING WE DIDN'T... ORGANIZATION.

AS I STOOD IN THE PARK AROUND THE LITTER AND MAYHEM, I SAW THAT THE POLICE WERE LINING UP IN FORMATION AND SEEMED TO BE WAITING FOR SOMETHING TO HAPPEN. LATER I FOUND OUT, THAT THE POLICE WERE SIMPLY GAUGING THE DIRECTION AS TO WHICH WAY THE WIND WAS BLOWING. WHILE I STOOD THERE I SAW WHAT APPEARED TO BE A CAN, LAND 3 OR 4 FEET FROM ME. I REMEMBER STARING AT THE CAN, AND SECONDS LATER, THE CAN EXPLODED. IMMEDIATELY I KNEW WHAT IT WAS, TEAR GAS. I REMEMBER AFTER THE TEAR GAS CAN EXPLODED, THAT IT MADE EVERYONE, INCLUDING MYSELF; CRY UNCLE. PEOPLE THEN STARTED TO RETREAT TO A RESIDENTIAL SIDE STREET, WHERE PEOPLE AT THOSE HOMES WERE PULLING OUT GARDEN HOSES TO ALLOW THOSE OF US WHO HAD BEEN TEAR GASSED TO WASH THE POISON OF OUR FACES.

AFTER WASHING UP, WE LOCATED EVERYONE IN OUR PARTY, AND PROCEEDED TO WHITTER BLVD. FIERCE FIGHTING WAS STILL GOING ON. I REMEMBER, A BLACK AND WHITE POLICE CRUISER TRAVELING ON WHITTER BLVD. AFTER IT HAD TRAVELED ONE SHORT BLOCK; THE CAR HAD BEEN COMPLETELY DESTROYED BY THE ANGRY CROWD.

SINCE WE HAD NO IDEA WHERE WE WERE AT, OR HOW WE WERE GOING TO GET BACK TO OUR CAR, WE STARTED TO WALK DOWN WHITTER BLVD. HUNDREDS OF PERSONS WERE ALSO WALKING. WHILE WALKING, WE STARTED TO SEE UNDERCOVER POLICE COMING OUT FROM THE SIDES OF THE STREETS WITH GUNS DRAWN, SHOOTING UP IN THE AIR, OR AT PEOPLE. AFTER WALKING A DISTANCES, A KIND HEARTED INDIVIDUAL WHO I BELIEVE WAS FROM TEXAS ASKED US IF WE NEEDED A RIDE. WITHOUT HESITATION ALL OF US PILED IN. WE ASKED HIM TO DRIVE US TO THE MAPA HEADQUARTER ON BROOKLYN AVENUE.

UPON ENTERING THE MAPA OFFICE, I REMEMBER ABE TAPIA CALLING ME INTO A ROOM IN THE BACK AND INFORMING ME THAT A PRESS CONFERENCE TO DENOUNCE THE "POLICE RIOT," WAS GOING TO BE HELD SHORTLY. IN THAT SAME ROOM I SAW BERT CORONA SPEAKING TO RICARDO ROMO (ENDORSED BY MAPA) WHO WAS RUNNING FOR GOVERNOR OF CALIFORNIA UNDER THE PEACE AND FREEDOM PARTY. RICARDO HAD A BANDAGE ON HIS HEAD AND WAS BLEEDING PROFUSELY FROM A HIT ON THE HEAD.

AT THE PRESS CONFERENCE BERT CORONA, AND ABE TAPIA LAMBASTED THE POLICE FOR THE UNPROVOKED ATTACKS OF OUR PEOPLE, AND THE POLITICAL SYSTEM FOR THE DEATH OF OUR YOUTH IN VIETNAM. IT WAS THEN THAT I HEARD THE NEWS THAT PEOPLE HAD BEEN SHOT AND 3 INDIVIDUALS, (ANGEL DIAZ, LYNN WARD, AND LA TIMES JOURNALIST RUBEN SALAZAR), HAD BEEN MURDERED BY THE POLICE AND SHERIFF'S DEPARTMENT.

OUR GROUP CONTINUED OUR INQUIRES, TO DETERMINE IF ANY OF OUR PEOPLE FROM SAN DIEGO WERE MISSING, ARRESTED, OR HURT. AFTER MAKING SURE THAT EVERYONE WAS SAFE, WE DEPARTED FROM LOS ANGELES AT AROUND 6:30 P.M. I REMEMBER AS WE GOT ON TO INTERSTATE 5, TO HEAD BACK TO SAN DIEGO, THAT I LOOKED BACK AND SAW THAT EAST LOS ANGELES WAS BURNING.

WE ARRIVED IN SAN DIEGO AT APPROXIMATELY 9:30 P.M. SHORTLY AFTER, I RECEIVED A PHONE CALL FROM A LOCAL TV STATION (CHANNEL 10), ASKING IF I COULD COME DOWN TO THE STATION TO DO AN INTERVIEW, AS TO WHAT HAPPENED IN LOS ANGELES. ON TELEVISION I DENOUNCED THE ATTACK OF THE MARCHERS BY THE POLICE, LABELING IT A "POLICE RIOT," AND CALLED FOR AN END TO THE WAR IN VIETNAM.

I REMEMBER THAT AFTER THE AUGUST 29, 1970, "POLICE RIOT," THINGS WERE NEVER THE SAME FOR CHICANO MOVEMENT ACTIVIST. MANY INDIVIDUALS FEARFUL OF POLICE VIOLENCE AND GOVERNMENT'S SURVEILLANCE LEFT THE MOVEMENT, AND NEVER RETURNED. A LARGE NUMBER, SIMPLY BUCKLED DOWN (TODAY'S HISPANIC MOVEMENT) AND STARTED TO "WORK WITHIN THE SYSTEM." WHILE OTHER'S, WHO WITNESSED THE EVENTS OF THAT DAY, BECAME ANGRIER, LOST THEIR FEAR, AND HAD THEIR POLITICAL RESOLVE, STRENGTHEN, AND CONTINUED THE STRUGGLE.

AS FOR MYSELF, I CONTINUED WITH ORGANIZATIONS SUCH AS LA RAZA UNIDA, CASA, COMMITTEE ON CHICANO RIGHTS, THAT DEALT WITH THE AGE OLD ISSUES OF POLITICS, IMMIGRATION, POLICE BRUTALITY, ETC. TODAY I AM STILL A PRINTER, MARRIED AND STILL RESIDE IN NATIONAL CITY, CALIFORNIA. ALONG WITH A FEW OTHERS, WE CONTINUE (IN A DIFFERENT WAY) TO FIGHT THE SAME POLITICAL STRUGGLES WE HAVE FOUGHT FOR THE LAST 35 YEARS.

32 LONG YEARS HAVE PASSED SINCE THE AUGUST 29, 1970 MORTATORIUM. FOR OTHER'S, AND MYSELF THE POLITICAL QUESTION REMAINS, HAS ANYTHING CHANGED? OBVIOUSLY, SOMETHINGS HAVE CHANGED. WE ARE NO LONGER THE "SLEEPING GIANT," OR A "FORGOTTEN, INVISIBLE, OR SILENT," MINORITY. IN FACT, IN THE VERY NEAR FUTURE WE WILL BE THE LARGEST ETHNIC GROUP IN THE U.S. ALSO, IN 2002 WE HAVE MORE "HISPANIC" INDIVIDUALS IN "SYSTEM" POSITIONS, SUCH AS POLITICANS, PROFESSORS, PRICIPALS, COUNSELORS, PHD'S, STUDENTS, ETC., THAN EVER BEFORE.

AND YET FOR ALL THE "COSMETIC" CHANGES, THINGS TODAY FOR THE MAJORITY OF PERSONS OF MEXICAN ANCESTRY ARE WORST THAN IN 1970. THE THOUSAND'S OF "HISPANIC" POLITCANS ARE NO BETTER THAN MEXICO'S "PRI" POLITICANS. WE ARE THE POOREST ETHNIC GROUP IN THE U.S. OUR YOUTH ARE STILL FORCED OUT OF SCHOOLS AT A 50% DROP OUT RATE, AND OUR MEDIUM EDUCATION IS EIGHTH YEARS. IN FACT, WE HAVE MORE OF OUR YOUTH IN PRISONS THAN IN COLLEGES. THE AGE OLD PROBLEMS OF UNACCOUNTABLE POLITICANS, POLICE BRUTALITY, HIGH UNEMPLOYEMENT, YOUTH, SENIORS, HOUSING, LACK OF MEDICAL CARE, DEATH AT THE U.S./MEXICO BORDER AND GROSS VIOLATIONS OF OUR RIGHTS CONTINUE TO PLAGUE US.

TO ME, AS I LOOK BACK AT THE AUGUST 29, 1970 MORTATRIUM WAS BOTH A HISTORICAL AND DEFINING EVENT IN MY POLITICAL AND PERSONAL LIFE. THE DEMOSTRATION WAS ALSO A POLITICAL LESSON OF OUR PEOPLE CONFRONTING A PROBLEM (THE WAR), WITH THE SPIRIT OF SELF-DETERMINATION. FOR THE CHICANO MOVEMENT IT WAS, AS ACTIVIST/AUTHOR ERNESTO VIGIL STATED, "THE MORAL HIGH GROUND."

TODAY, AS CHICANOS PREPARE TO COMMEMORATE THE MORTATIUM, I FEEL IT IS INCUMBENT UPON THOSE OF US WHO MARCHED TO REMIND TODAY'S GENERATION... THAT IF CHANGE IS GOING TO BE MADE FOR OUR PEOPLE, IT WILL REQUIRE THE TYPE OF SPIRIT, SACRFICE AND STRUGGLE THAT WAS PRESENT 32 YEARS AGO ON AUGUST 29, 1970, IN LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA!

-END-

Rosalio has asked us to write out our remembrances of August 29th, putting the event into the context of our personal experiences. Without a doubt, the Aug. 29th demonstration has taken on historic proportions, formed largely by the collective memory of the participants. At the time of the march, I was a professor at San Fernando Valley State College, and the Chicano Studies Department there had just completed the first year. The department had been established in the spring of 1969 as the result of student activism and I had the great fortune of being its first chair. As part of an agreement between the administration and the students, 350 Chicano students were recruited for fall 1969, more than tripling the number of Mexican American students at SFVSC. The first year was difficult because of the militancy both outside and inside the campus.

SFVSC was at the time one of the most militant campuses in the region. Apart from a very active Black Student Union led by African American activist such as Archie Chapman and Jerome Walker, the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) had various factions with leaders such as Mike Klonsky, Marc Cooper, Mike Lee and others. In fall 1969, because the district attorney had indicted many black student leaders for the Nov. 4, 1968 take-over of the administration building, there was a void in the student leadership. The sudden presence of a critical mass of Chicano students filled the vacuum. The incoming Chicano students were a mixture of young high school graduates, lumpen elements, and a core of students from Los Angeles City College. The latter group was very important because the mix socialized younger students. For example, the LACC contingent had published *El Machete* and they along with Frank Del Olmo founded *El Popo*.

Like on most campuses, the war in Vietnam occupied much of the discourse on campus. Professors discussed the war in classes throughout the college and professors such as Warren Furumoto, a biologist and faculty adviser to UMAS (United Mexican American Students), ran study groups. We also had community people who would bring peace literature to the campus such as Pierre Mandel and Lester Baylock. Jimmy Gonzales had been active in the Valley Peace Center since at least 1968 and also brought in informational material. I had participated in antiwar demonstrations since about 1965 through MAPA and was influenced by faculty at Valley City College where people like Art Avila, Pat Allen and Farrell Brailowsky were very visible. The students also brought in their own networks. For us, it was significant that the start of the program coincided with Rosalio Munoz refusing induction on Sept. 16, 1969 because it gave the struggle a Chicano face and thus a link to the greater struggle. By spring 1970 students had taken part in the various antiwar demonstrations on campus as well as those led by Rosalio and the berets. After this point it seemed as if Bobby Elias was living on our campus. Representatives from the committee were present at many MECHA meetings, and it appeared as if they were effectively using the colleges, universities and sometimes the high school networks to get out the word. Chicano student newspapers also advertised the mobilizations that were taking place at the time. MECHA leaders such as Jose Galvan and Maria Teran became important conduits. Also, former students such as Evie Alarcon frequently visited the campus. On campus, Irene Tovar was the most visible, and pushed the mobilization at her SFVSC community center. Irene had a core group of students working for her. Moreover, we cannot overestimate her personal network and organic links to the community. Irene brought in much of the more established community leaders. Carlos Reyes also played a key role both on campus and in setting up the security for the moratorium. It was through Carlos that I became a monitor.

The single event that politicized most of the Chicano students was the burning of the Chicano House on May 5, 1970. Spring 1970 had been especially eventful and the killing of four students at Ohio's Kent State University on May 4, 1970 polarized students nationally. The shootings occurred on the fourth day of protests by Kent State students following Nixon's announcement that he was sending U.S. troops into Cambodia. National Guard troops tear-gassed hundreds of students on the campus. (May 14, 1970 marked the tragic climax and shooting of black students at Jackson State). Kent State brought an immediate reaction and unleashed a demonstration at SFVSC, with police brought in when MECHA students pulled

down the American flag and burned it. That night, on el Cinco de Mayo, unknown persons burned down the Chicano House. The next day most of the Chicano students met in front of the department and marched silently through the campus. Chicano students succeeded in closing down the campus, and the administration suspended most classes for the semester. This single event prepared students for the moratorium by personalizing the issue.

I went to a few meetings during the summer of 1970; however, most of the time was spent on campus. Some administrators had taken a tough line and wanted to penalize the program and myself for shutting down classes. For months we straddle that line that separates the road from the canyon. Most of the people in my circle were nervous because relations with police had been worsened as a result of several killings in the county jail and shootings in the community. The war was inseparable from these and other issues.

When I arrived at the demonstration, I remember that it was hot. I saw Carlos Reyes who stuck out, or should I say towered over everyone. Carlos guided me to where the sizeable San Fernando Valley contingent had gathered and put a monitor armband on me. I surmised that he was placing us among people we knew and in that way insure that there were no problems. The march as usual was a bit late in getting started. Its size surprised many of us and we were even more surprised when we reached Laguna Park (now Salazar Park). Throughout the march the participants were orderly yet very spirited. The youth of the participants struck me whom I assumed a majority to be between 16 and 20. They also seemed to come from throughout the Southwest and even the Midwest. During the march, I often fell behind because of my bad knee, and several students would fall back with me, leading me to question who was or were the monitors.

Once at the park everyone settled into a picnic atmosphere. The Trio Aztlan from SFVSC played, and the presence of the college was heavy (as they used to say). Rosalio was on stage; however, his elves seemed to be everywhere. Bobby Elias and Gil Cano floating in and out. After an hour or so, I settled in and then prepared to leave. Mickey and Silvia de la Pena, one a former student of mine at USC and the other at Cal State Dominguez Hills, had gotten married and I wanted to go to the reception and relax. When I finally made my move to leave, I saw some youth running toward the northwest section of the park. The festivities and speakers continued. I walked back into the park and rushed toward where the youth were running. At this point, I saw sheriff deputies and police in black (presumably LAPD) forming a line ready to enter the park. I identified myself as a college professor and an official monitor and told them that there was no need for them to be there. Students later falsely accused me of pulling out my Ph.D. diploma and showing it to the officers. Evidently my credentials did not impress the police and they closed ranks and began to come onto the park with their batons drawn. The monitors and some of the spectators also closed ranks and we locked arms hoping to slow the deputies down. At that point, the monitors had everything under control and except for a few individuals everything was peaceful. Many of us kept telling the police that there were small children in the gathering. However, they did not listen and suddenly rushed the monitors, knocking us to the ground. Although I later discovered bruises on my body, I frankly do not remember getting hit--I was in shock. I saw mothers and fathers looking for their infant children and at one point saw Ruben Salazar who was in the midst of the storm. I remarked that this was terrible, the children were getting gassed. Salazar replied that they could not blame us this time--the attack was unprovoked.

I wandered around, washed my eyes with open water hoses running on the lawns of homes on the Eastside perimeter of the park. I briefly hooked up with Oscar Castillo whom I asked to take a picture of a deputy who had threatened others and me. By this time, George and Eddie Nunez had joined me; they were students of mine from the Fresno area. We were attempting to help some of the injured people and help others find their children. I remember seeing Bert Corona and talking to him briefly. Suddenly, George hollered that police were arresting him. I was at the time talking to Father Henry Casso, and I naively identified myself to the deputies and told them who I was and that Father Casso could vouch for me. The

deputy shouted for me to shut up or he would arrest me for inciting a riot. I attempted to re-engage him and he threw me on the hood of the squad car and he and three other deputies put plastic cuffs on me. This encounter left my left shoulder weak for years (I was recently operated for a torn tendon that over the years separated from the rotor cup). As I already explained, I had and have a bad right knee of which I informed the deputies. However, they threw us to the ground, and then piled eight of us into a squad car and drove us to the Belvedere Substation where they hand cuffed us and put us in buses.

The sheriffs kept us on the buses for several hours. At one point I saw Frank Del Olmo who was doing an internship with the Los Angeles Times and had him call my son. Many of those arrested were as young as 14 and 15. Sammy Garcia of Oxnard was about that age, and he was bleeding from a head wound. Gil Chavez, not much older, later with the band Califas was also there. They kept us in the bus for what seemed several hours. The heat was well over 100 degrees in the buses. Yet when the students started complaining and they yelled at the deputies, they shot mace into the buses on three separate occasions, forcing us to close the windows to stop the gasses from entering, which made things worse because of the heat. Several of us older detainees (we were in our 30s) complained to the deputies that there were minors on the bus and that they needed medical attention, the deputies denied these requests for medical attention.

The deputies then took us to the Central jail. There they made us wait in a large room. They instructed us to strip completely, and made us shake every piece of clothing by the numbers. At one point, I shook my left sock instead of my right sock and they berated for my stupidity. After what seemed to be over an hour in the nude, they took us to the showers where they showered us, deloused us, and gave us a rectal examination for drugs. They then fingerprinted us, gave us two baloney sandwiches and a cup of coffee after which they coerced us into taking blood tests in what I considered an unsanitary environment. They then assigned us cells. I was separated from the group. When I saw the officer assigned to my block of cells, he asked me if I hadn't been on ABC the week before on a program I appeared with Bert Corona and Vicky Carr in which many of us criticized the police. I shrugged my shoulders and was assigned to what I assume to be the only cell without Chicanos in the entire Central Jail.

I do not know whether at this point or sometime before the jailers had pulled me out to see an attorney; however, from what I remember Irene Tovar's legal team quickly brought the attorneys into the process. I was one of the first to be interviewed. She was a young black lady, small in stature. I felt very good seeing her, and during the interview she asked me where I worked. When I told her, she responded that she was going to get me out as soon as possible because the press would have a field day. She was also concerned that this would affect my job status. The attorney assured me that the youth had been separated from the arrested adults. I remember returning to the cell and one of the black inmates asked me for what I was in jail. I responded for demonstrating, and he said he had heard about what had happened at Laguna Park, and told me that they had killed a Chicano reporter. Ruben Salazar did not come to mind at the time but Frank Del Olmo did and I fretted about this possibility.

Somehow I was lost for two hours, and my name came blaring out over the loudspeaker. They could not find me. The black inmate told me to keep my hands away from the bars because they liked opening the doors suddenly to break the anxious inmate's hands. Like Columbus, they discovered me, and they released me about 6:00 a.m. My sister and son picked me up. The experience politicized me. I was from a Catholic High School and although streetwise, still believed that there was a justice system. I believe that the Moratorium experience contributed greatly to the tone of the first edition of Occupied America. Stanley Mosk's brother took my case, however, they dropped charges. I immediately returned to SFVSC and prepared for the entering semester. The experience convinced me that we were under siege, which at times was the case. For example, the campus police along with the LAPD were found wire tapping a statewide MECHA conference in the SFVSC cafeteria. During CAPA vs. PDID we learned during discovery that at least two officers, Joe Ramirez and Augie Moreno spied on MECHA and took Chicano Studies classes on

which they reported. The discovery phase also revealed that there were probably more officers and informants involved. Officer Sumaya had attempted to infiltrate UMAS.

In retrospect, Rosalio and the dozen or so people around him, along with the berets, accomplished the impossible. Aug. 29, 1970 probably would not have been possible in 1969. The colleges and youth themselves were politicized by the times and ready by the summer of 1970. In retrospect, some scholars have criticized the movement of the times for being overly nationalistic. This, however, is presentism and ignores the dialectics of the times when identity played a great part in all groups, i.e., black power, feminism, etc. The Moratorium was a coming of age for many of us. The only thing that was missing was the end game, and we cannot blame the establishment for everything that went wrong. It had a lot of help from the true believers who did not fall behind the leadership of Rosalio and others. We cannot dismiss the egos.

Voces Unidas



DANGER

ORGANIZED!

Inside:

Rethinking
Economic
Development:
Democracy

Environmental
Injustice:
Stericycle vs.
Wells Park

Community
Centers:
At Risk

SWOPview:
Intel Inside
New Mexico

Youth
Power:
Investing in
our future

Just
Transition:
Strategies for
Workers and
Communities

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Please send us your change of address and help us save on the ever increasing costs of mailing. Clip out your mailing label and send it to us with your new address!

Message to readers:

"I need another officer on the street dammit, not another community center." Mayor Martin Chavez

Over the past several years, SouthWest Organizing Project has conducted nearly 2000 open-ended door-to-door surveys asking residents to identify the strengths and weaknesses of their neighborhoods. Many key issues identified related to economics: poor job opportunities, rising property taxes, lack of adequate community services.

More recently we conducted a survey to learn more about residents' understanding of the City budget process. Not surprisingly, most people were unfamiliar with the budget and how we can participate in deciding priorities for our neighborhoods. Participation in government budgeting is fundamental to democracy, yet the majority of people are completely disenfranchised from the process. The result has been the continued trend of corporate and development interests outweighing community interests. A shift in tax burden from big industry to small businesses and citizens has been well documented and exposes government priorities.

Tough on Crime?

At the same time, public officials such as Albuquerque Mayor Martin Chavez have campaigned with promises to crack down on crime, assuring voters a well-funded, well equipped police force. This political dinosaur approach has been given a recent shot of life due to people's new safety concerns.

What has become lost in the Mayor's and others' rhetoric is the issue of prevention as a strategy. There is no real discourse about crime in the city of Albuquerque - it's causes and ways to address them. Without real, broad community discussion about crime, public safety is reduced to soundbites and immediate and costly fixes like the need for more jails and police. This has opened the door for politicians like Martin Chavez to scapegoat our young people; imposing curfews, revising the state Children's Code to take away legal rights of young people, criminal prosecution of graffiti artists, expansion of the city's gang unit, and support for city council efforts to eliminate cruising.

Two fundamental issues also get lost in the mayor's rhetoric. First of all, the victims of crime in Albuquerque tend to be young people. Secondly, young people are not responsible for the majority of crime in the City. While the mayor and City Council are imposing martial law on our youth, what are we providing in return as positive alternatives? Where is the safe space for young people?

Community Centers Tell the Story

We view our community centers as one indicator of priorities in the distribution of common resources. They were established with public monies to provide space and programs for our young people and elders. SWOP decided to find out from the people who are best able to judge the performance and adequacy of our community centers - the staff themselves. The condition of our centers is dismal. They are not provided with the resources to fulfill their mandates. Quality, proactive programs are far from the radar screen as center staff struggle to keep centers operating on a very basic level. Parents, young people and staff clearly do not feel ownership over the function of the centers. Some young people and parents are even forced to lie to the centers because some programs do not serve youth over the age of 14.

No one can claim to be serious about fighting crime as long as we continue to spend the city's dime defining our young people as criminals. We have tried everything over the past couple of decades to reduce youth crime except to invest in our young people. SouthWest Organizing Project offers *The State of Albuquerque's Community Centers: Community Perspectives and Recommendations* (available at www.swop.net) to the city of Albuquerque with caution. This report is not to be used as a tool for political posturing and opportunism by our public officials. We sincerely hope this report sets the stage for a real, deep, broad based, community discourse on crime prevention, the vision of our communities, and the need to provide for our young people.

It's Time for an Economic Development Strategy

by Michael Leon Guerrero - michael@swop.net

Editor's note: The following op-ed appeared in local papers.

Have you seen the City of Albuquerque's economic development strategy recently? If not, you're not alone - for a very simple reason: There isn't one. Two recent reports contracted by the City of Albuquerque highlight a painful and tender achilles heel in Albuquerque's economic policy. Business consultant Adam Prager and UNM's Dr. Teresa Cordova were contracted by the City of Albuquerque to study and provide recommendations to the City Council on the City's Industrial Revenue Bond (IRB) program.

The study idea was the result of years of work by the SouthWest Organizing Project and other community and labor organizations to build accountability and performance standards into our IRB program. Albuquerque Economic Development, a private, non-profit group and the City Office of Economic Development have held a fire sale for two decades using IRBs to give tax breaks to corporate giants like Royal Philips and Sumitomo Corporation. In exchange, these companies promised hundreds of new jobs to Albuquerque. Many local residents naively assumed that by giving these tax breaks the companies would actually be expected to provide jobs. To our amazement in some cases new jobs were not created and old jobs were cut.

Corporate welfare disciples claim we did not lose anything because the company would not have located here if not for the tax breaks. First of all this theory has never been tested, because to our knowledge the City has never refused an IRB request and assumes there are no possibilities to create locally owned smaller businesses who pay property taxes - an assumption not challenged due to a lack of a coherent economic development plan. Second, there are costs. In the case of companies like Royal Philips Corporation, they import up to half of their workforce, mostly the high-paying management jobs. Who pays for the extra school needs, roads, sewer, water, police and fire services, etc. for thousands of new families? Not the company. Local workers are often

poorly paid or hired as temp workers. In many cases workers receive no benefits. Who pays the costs of healthcare for these workers?

All of this came to a head in 2000, when Royal Philips Corporation, as SWOP predicted, came back for another round of IRBs. Five years after receiving \$30 million in tax breaks and cutting 500 jobs, the company returned for more handouts. Even though the company's property was already exempted from the tax rolls for another 15 years, the Dutch company asked to extend this exemption and get \$70 million in other benefit. What did the company commit in return? Nothing - zip, zilch, nada, nichts. No new jobs. What did we actually get in the 18 months since? 250 jobs cut!



Dr. Teresa Cordova authored the report, *Albuquerque's Industrial Revenue Bond Program: Community Stakeholder Perspectives and Recommendations*. Read Teresa's column, *A Sense of Place*, on page 13.

Public pressure forced the City to negotiate for \$200,000 each year from Philips in lieu of taxes, a commitment stating Philips would pay back the tax breaks if the plant closed, and a bill by Councilor Greg Payne to commission the study on the IRBs.

This brings us to the present time. Albuquerque contracted with Adam Prager from a firm in Illinois. Despite his unabashed defense of corporate tax breaks and his condescending tone towards IRB critics, Prager validates a few primary concerns of SWOP and others:

1. The IRB program is tailored for recruitment of big corporations. Small, local businesses need not apply, because

See Rethinking on PAGE 11

SWOPview

plática:

"This is what we do. We eat our own children, and we do it faster and faster." - Andrew Grove, then Intel CEO (now Chairman of the Board), January 27, 1994 at announcement of what they were calling the 'successor' chip to the Pentium

"Dr. Barrett, I'm the holder of a thousand shares of Intel. I've got Intel inside my computers. AND, as a resident of Corrales, a community below your Rio Rancho plant, I've got Intel inside my lungs and my well. In your speech you spoke about corporate responsibility. I'd like to ask you what measures your corporation is taking to mitigate the company's serious impact on residents' air and water." - Martha Egan to Craig Barrett, current CEO of Intel, at the Greater Albuquerque Chamber of Commerce annual luncheon and meeting in July 2002

SWOP Protests Intel CEO

On July 12, 2002, residents of Corrales and SWOP members met Intel CEO Craig Barrett at the Sheraton Old Town with signs demanding Intel clean up their act. Barrett was to speak at the Greater Albuquerque Chamber of Commerce annual meeting and luncheon.

Since Intel was granted minor source status by the New Mexico Environment Department, SWOP has called for Intel to pay to monitor pollution leaving Intel's plant in Rio Rancho, NM.

For years, while piling up revenue and siphoning tax dollars from the state coffers, Intel has refused to be held accountable to surrounding communities suffering from Intel's pollution.

Last year, Intel recorded over \$2.6 billion in revenues and Barrett received over \$1.65 million in bonuses and salary.

"Intel is one of the wealthiest corporations in the world," comments SWOP Co-Director Jeanne Gauna. "Paying for monitors is their cost of doing business - and wouldn't make a dent in their wallet."

Left: "Old McBarrett had a chip-farm, E-I-E-I-O; and on that chip-farm he had some Acetone, E-I-E-I-O. With some Acetone here and some Benzene there..."



2002 Intel Inside NM - a timeline

2001 - NM State Supreme Court hears SWOP arguments to overturn Intel's new air permit

2000 - NMED grants Intel minor source status from major polluter status - removes accountability

1998 - Intel wins first annual Irbie Corporate Welfare awards after receiving over a half billion dollars in IRBs in 1997

1997 - Intel's request for water transfer denied - SWOP organizes opposition

1996 - Intel applies to transfer water rights from Socorro Co. to Sandoval Co.

1995 - \$8 billion in IRB's

1994 - Intel applies for new air permit - calls for 'minor source' status

1993 - \$2 billion in IRB's

1990 - \$500 million in IRB's

1989 - \$240 million in IRB's

1985 - Five years after arriving in NM, Intel's total tax breaks reach \$250 million - including Property, Sales, and Income abatements stemming from IRB packages.

1984 - \$60 million in IRB's
- + \$3.5 million

1981 - \$29 million in IRB's

1980 - Intel first arrives in NM

- First Industrial Revenue Bond *
- \$1 Million

Bare Figures 83

Number of 'noxious', toxic chemicals Intel is permitted to release from their plant in Rio Rancho, NM

897.28

Number of hours Intel's 'pollution control' equipment was known to be broken during the year 2000

225

Number of hours Intel's 'pollution control' equipment is known to have been broken as of June 2002

223.9 Billion

Number of dollars in net revenue Intel has gained worldwide since 1992

8 Billion

Number of dollars Intel received in corporate welfare in 1995

0

Number of dollars Intel has paid in Property taxes to NM

* find out more about IRB's at www.swop.net

Right: SWOP youth met a delegation of South African young people from the South African Exchange Program on Environmental Justice on their way through El Paso, Texas in June '02. The trip included stops in Boston, Atlanta, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Arizona and California. While in El Paso, the group toured the Border Agricultural Workers Project and met some Campesinos from the area.



Participants also taught each other different languages - Spanish and many native South African languages.

Buy a Share In Our Communities' Health!

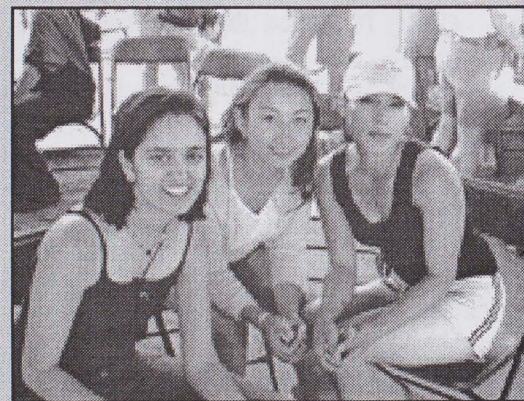
Intel and the New Mexico Environment Department have refused to pay to monitor the air in the communities surrounding Intel's Rio Rancho plant. SWOP has started a new program to help raise the money needed for an air monitor for the community of Corrales, NM. **You can join us in the effort by being a Shareholder in the air monitor.**

This is a different kind of shareholder program. Here's how it works. Shares cost \$10 each. The shares are not redeemable for money. Shareholders will receive a certificate acknowledging the number of shares they own, bi-annual reports from SWOP on the performance of the monitor (including monitoring results and analysis from technical experts), and ownership in monitoring health hazards in our communities.

Call SWOP at 505.247.8832 or go online at www.swop.net and donate today! Be sure to tell us you are donating to the monitor. The donation is tax-deductible. We are close to our goal of \$100,000. Be a part of a winning campaign to hold Intel accountable to the communities it pollutes.

Pajarito Mother's Day Festival

Right: Enjoying the food and music at another successful Mother's Day event at Pajarito Mesa. **Bottom right:** Maria performs a song. Many young people performed at the Festival, including many summer '02 interns.

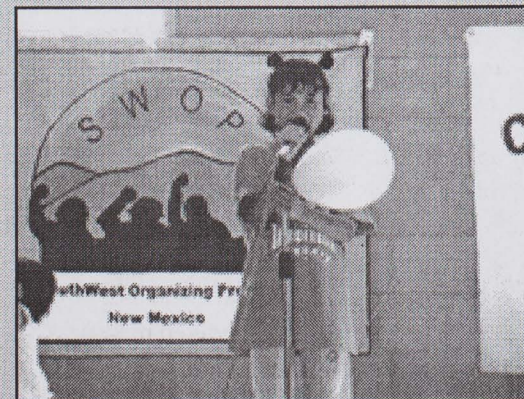


Next year's Mother's Day is shaping up to be the best yet. Come out and enjoy the Mesa every year, the Saturday before Mother's Day.

PAJARITO MESA ON THE AIR 89.9 FM ALBUQUERQUE

Colonias: New And Old Towns of the West is a groundbreaking radio documentary series exploring new settlements in Arizona, New Mexico and Texas. Join journalist Kent Paterson on a tour of colonias including New Mexico's own Pajarito Mesa.

The English version will be broadcast every Friday during October at 8:30 am. The Spanish version narrated by KUNM News Director Marcos Martinez will air every Saturday at 4:30 pm on Raices. Check local public radio outlets for times in your area.



Albuquerque Community Centers Underfunded

While Mayor Martin Chavez claims a dedication to Albuquerque's youth, the city's community centers remain at a minimum operating level, a survey reveals. The survey of directors of 12 city centers, highlights the centers' inability to carry out city mandated programs programs.

The survey, conducted by SWOP staff, is part of a study on community centers and the city budget which demonstrates the need for community members to participate in the budget process. The full study, *The State of Albuquerque's Community Centers: Community Perspectives and recommendations*, will be available online soon at www.swop.net.

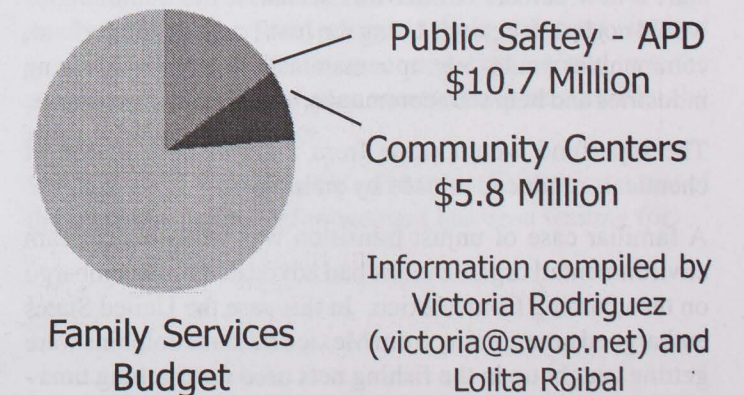
The survey reveals directors often manage more than one center, and may serve as activities coordinators and provide janitorial services. Center staff say they receive no overtime, and have had to cut staff - sometimes from 15 to 4 due to budget cuts. Many centers cannot afford basic supplies. In some cases, programs survive on salvaged materials donated by local businesses, community members or the directors of the centers themselves. Community Centers serve around 2.5% of the city's youth and in most cases do not offer programs for ages 14 and up.

According to versions of the city budget available to the public, while Albuquerque Police Department (APD) receives 22% of the total city budget, the Gang Unit takes \$1.2 million from Family Services monies, which also funds community centers.

Young people at SWOP have criticized the use of Family Services monies for the Gang Unit, a primarily punitive program of APD which some feel is merely a mechanism for racial profiling.

Neither city officials nor APD have satisfied repeated requests to provide a definition of gangs or gang members.

"Using Family Services money to fund the Gang Unit unfairly criminalizes young people," says SWOP youth organizer Fernando Abeyta. "[Family Services] monies are set aside by the public to offer services for families and crime prevention programs, not to fund 10 police officers who profile young people as criminals for wearing baggy pants."



Just Transition: Strategies for Workers and Communities

Editor's note: An interview with Jose Bravo, Just Transition Alliance coordinator. Jose lives in San Diego, California with his three daughters and wife, Cynthia. Jose has been a long-time liason for the EJ movement between Tijuana and San Diego. Jose is a former chair of the Border Justice campaign of the SouthWest Network for Environmental and Economic Justice.

Voces Unidas: Jose, what do you do?

Jose Bravo: I coordinate the Just Transition Alliance's involvement at several sites around the country. My job is to see each site is running smoothly and sticking to their organizing plans. I also help bring resources such as training and attention to the sites.

VU: What happens at a site?

JB: Workers and community members come together to organize around environmental and worker justice issues.

VU: What is Just Transition?

JB: I will first explain what an unjust transition is; maybe this will help put it in perspective. In the environmental justice and worker justice movement there have been situations where industries use up resources and pack up and move to other parts of the world to evade regulation or paying higher salaries, leaving contaminated sites and dislocated workers.

Under a Just Transition, they would not get off so easily. First, all industries would pay in to a Just Transition superfund. The superfund would be used for workers and communities impacted by an industry. The dislocated workers would earn a justice based salary for a period of years. Meanwhile they would have the opportunity to re-train and go into an equal paying or higher paying job. They could also go to school and start a new career. Under this scenario, the communities would not be left behind. Using the Just Transition superfund, communities would clean up contamination caused by runaway industries and help start community based business ventures.

The superfund would come from a tax of each gallon of chemicals produced or used by an industry.

A familiar case of unjust transition was when mainstream environmental organizations had advocated for an embargo on tuna coming from Mexico. In this case the United States embargoed tuna coming from Mexico because dolphins were getting caught up in the fishing nets used for catching tuna -

dolphins were dying. Most of the tuna fishing in Mexico was done by family-owned cooperatives and as a result of the US tuna embargo these small cooperative organizations were destroyed. Soon after, multi-national corporations moved in from Japan - they used nets that could separate the dolphin from the tuna - and now these multinationals do most, if not all, of the tuna fishing in Mexican waters. The family-owned cooperatives could have stayed in business if the technology, or in this case the dolphins safe nets, could have been available to the cooperatives with low cost loans or incentives from both governments - either the US and/or Mexico.

So while many of the so-called more progressive, and in some cases they might even call themselves grassroots (but still mainstream), environmental organizations, are trying to curb the negative impacts of globalization, some of the measures they've taken actually may open the door for multi-nationals to move in, of course swallowing small businesses and cooperatives in the process. All the while, [multi-nationals] use resources at an unsustainable pace.

VU: You mentioned negative impacts of Globalization; can you expand?

JB: I have heard people doing grassroots organizing say the United States and other rich countries have set up models of exploitation which in most cases were first tried out on communities of color here in the US and are now being refined and exported across the globe. So what we're seeing is people in other countries put into the position to have to make the same choices between unsafe jobs and unjust salaries or not having work at all. Poor countries are taking in polluting industries at whatever the cost to the environment. I think the term is called economic and environmental extortion.

Multi-nationals and governments are refining these models in the name of global trade packages and free trade. Communities of color and workers have been the most impacted by this type of exploitation here in the US.

So to bring it back to Just Transition, we feel that it's very natural for workers and communities to work together to hold multi-nationals accountable to everyone's interests - not just corporate interests.

VU: Some would argue labor and environment can't work together. What would you say to them?

JB: We need to be clear about what we're talking about. We are working as labor and environmental justice organizations. When we say environmental justice organizations we mean grassroots, people of color led organizations. People working on EJ are people who actually live with this problem day in and day out, 24 hours a day - that brings a different perspective to the table than those whose environmental concern is from 9 to 5 and have multimillion dollar budgets.

There has also been a rocky history behind EJ and Unions.

Not too long ago, in 1994, when the North American Free Trade Agreement was an issue, you had some unions referring to Mexican truck drivers as lazy, illiterate, drugtraffickers who more than likely would run your son or daughter over on a US highway. Other unions abandoned women workers in their fight against Levi's. So there is still a way to go, but that's not to say it's a lost cause. Right now we're seeing a lot of unions filling their ranks with people of color and realizing that this is where the pavement hits the road - they can see that the people who are impacted, front-line workers and fence-line communities, have the most at stake. Now that there are more people of color joining unions there's more leadership of color in unions, and the most progressive unions - the ones dealing with issues of environmental justice and worker justice - just happen to be the ones attracting the most people of color.

"So maybe I am biased, but I feel that Just Transition is one of the solutions that the EJ movement has been waiting for."

VU: Can you give us an example of successes of this alliance?

JB: The community of Rillito, Arizona sits near a cement plant owned by Arizona Portland Cement. The community has been there since the early 1900's and most of the people who live there were sharecroppers who came from Texas and Mexico - African Americans and Latinos. When the plant came in you would think the plant would offer jobs - that's usually the case. But what we have found out is that [Arizona Portland Cement] has a very poor community hiring record. Some people in the community have said that no one from the community has ever worked at the plant.

So what we have in Rillito is that workers have agreed to work on issues of environmental justice and the community has agreed to support and help the workers in their struggle for a collective labor agreement or contract. Before Just Transition went into that site the workers had been there for four years working to get a contract, a collective bargaining agreement. A few months ago, they achieved the collective agreement and the workers attribute that to the help they got from the community. Just Transition usually works with locals affiliated with Paper Allied Industrial Chemical and Energy workers International Union (PACE), and before a merger took place the Just Transition labor partner was the Oil Chemical and

Atomic Workers Union (OCAW).

VU: So exactly what happens when the Just Transition Alliance goes to a site?

JB: It's a lot of work. We do a site visit where we give people a sense of Just Transition. We attend meetings with representatives from the labor local and the impacted community. Once the two entities come together, we conduct trainings that help workers understand environmental justice and likewise to the community so they understand issues that face workers. Then organizing plans get developed around issues that are identified.

VU: That is important. Just getting people to understand each other's issues is an important step.

JB: Yes, it is the crux of the relationship I believe.

VU: How would you work with non-union industries?

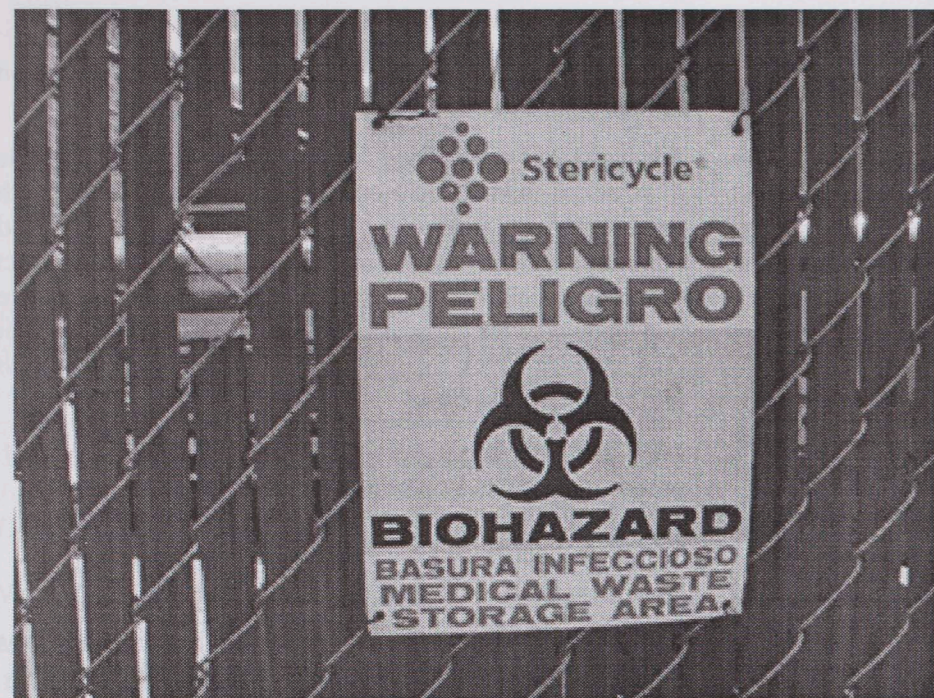
JB: The invitation to work with non-union industrial sites would probably come from one of our member EJ networks. In this situation we would still try to unionize the job site, even if it would be with a different union that are not partnering with or an independent union. We are in the process of inviting other unions to be members so that we can become even stronger.

VU: How do you see Just Transition fitting into the EJ movement?

JB: Well, first, our membership is made up of five recognized and experienced EJ networks: Asian Pacific Environmental Network (APEN), Indigenous Environmental Network (IEN), Farmworker Justice Network, Northeast Network for Environmental Justice (NNEJ) and the Southwest Network for Environmental and Economic Justice (SNEEJ). And our labor members are the PACE and the Communication, Energy and Paperworkers of Canada (CEP).

Secondly, I feel that the alliance with workers and EJ is something that we had to formally seek. I came from the EJ side of the equation and I can say from experience that EJ organizations for many years have done a tremendous job of taking on people's fights against corporations. But readers may remember times when during an action outside a plant, workers inside were not necessarily on our side. I feel this was because of two reasons: one, we never or rarely invited workers to learn about our issues or to join us, and two, the plant managers were quick to turn the workers against us by using job fear as a wedge.

So maybe I am biased, but I feel that Just Transition is one of the solutions that the EJ movement has been waiting for.



WELLS PARK VS. STERICYCLE

by staff
swop@swop.net

It started with a phone call. Fred and Jessie Sais of the Wells Park Neighborhood Association had a problem. Stericycle, a medical waste disposal company had moved into their neighborhood and planned to modify their facility to process infectious wastes including needles, dental wastes, blood stained garments and human body parts—as much as 900 tons per month. Stericycle will process almost all of the medical waste from the state of New Mexico and a large percentage of the waste from western Texas. The company is also international and has stated they are likely to bring wastes from other states if other Stericycle facilities are temporarily closed.

The Wells Park neighborhood is one of the oldest in Albuquerque. Nestled between Downtown and the North Valley, Wells Park is a community rich in culture and history—and home to five-time world boxing champion Johnny Tapia. Yet it has also carried the heavy burden of housing most of the city's homeless shelters and substance abuse programs. Additionally, the residential character of the neighborhood has been eroded by encroaching heavy industries seeking the convenience of nearby Interstate 40. This has created a challenge of maintaining balance between the needs of the residents, social service providers and businesses.

The Wells Park Neighborhood Association has worked hard at organizing their community to participate in the decisions that affect them. They are an active Neighborhood Association that has worked democratically to identify the needs of the residents and create a vision for the future that will ensure those needs continue to be met for generations to come. They

are discussing locating an open air market on Fourth Street, as well as other beautification projects such as revitalizing and expanding a local park, facade improvements, and adding trees, sidewalks, bus benches and lighting. However, these projects are shelved when residents spend precious time and resources to keep Stericycle's medical waste processing facility from setting up shop.

The story of the people of Wells Park vs. Stericycle is all too familiar to working class communities of color. Approximately 70% of the residents are people of color, mostly Chicanas/os. Clearly, this is a case of Environmental Racism. And the residents of Wells Park have good reason to be concerned about Stericycle's operation. A report published by Health Care Without Harm documents incidents of negligence at Stericycle facilities around the country including the mishandling of waste and exposing workers to dangerous pathogens. In 1997 at a Stericycle facility in Morton, Washington, tuberculosis was diagnosed in three workers. Although Stericycle claimed no fault for workers contracting TB, an investigation by the Journal of American Medical Association concluded exposure to waste was the most likely source of transmission for at least one of the workers.

The phone call from Fred and Jessie Sais led to an in-face meeting in which SWOP joined their struggle to stop Stericycle. A community meeting was organized where residents joined with other organizations such as the Albuquerque Partnership, the Southwest Research and Information Center, the New Mexico Environmental Law Center and members of adjacent

[Continued at top of next page]

neighborhood associations. A coalition formed and a response to Stericycle's proposal was initiated. Residents spoke to their neighbors, T.V. cameras and reporters about why Stericycle should not be permitted to operate in the neighborhood. A petition netting over 400 signatures was collected and submitted to the State Environment Department. And when the permit hearing carried into the wee hours of the morning, they stayed to give their public comment.

Companies like Stericycle prey on low income people and communities of color. They look to site their facilities where they figure they will encounter the least amount of resistance. Working class communities of color often lack the infrastructure, organization and resources to participate in permit hearings requiring technical experts and attorneys. Or they are given the choice between the jobs polluting industries offer and the pollution they emit. However, people are organizing themselves in Wells Park and communities all across the nation. They are standing up, fighting back and getting better at it every day.

Rethinking Economic Development

from page 3

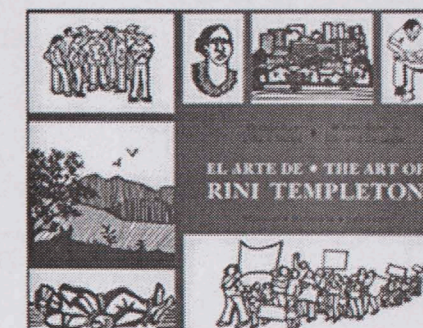
they do not have the resources to petition for such subsidies. Applying for an IRB requires a bond attorney, lots of paper, and pampering by AED and the City Office of Economic Development.

2. The City needs a clearly articulated economic development strategy. As was mentioned earlier, there is no such thing.

Dr. Cordova's study focused on interviews with local stakeholders. Her interviews dispel some narrowly held myths by IRB cheerleaders:

1. Critics do understand how the IRB process works. Dr. Cordova's study found that criticisms are not based on ignorance, but are reasoned, informed, and widely held.
2. No one is advocating abolishing the tax incentive program. The recurring theme is that the program should be transparent, accountable to the public, and should foster local economic development. Even Adam Prager acknowledges that companies should expect that performance is tied to receiving subsidies.
3. The community needs to define criteria and standards for companies receiving IRBs. Beneficiaries need to pay livable wages, protect our environment, invest locally, and provide for an organized, trained workforce.
4. IRBs or other economic development tools need to be provided for local businesses, and finally:

On the Cover:



The art of Rini Templeton,
books available from SWOP
online at swop.net or by
phone @ 505 247 8832.

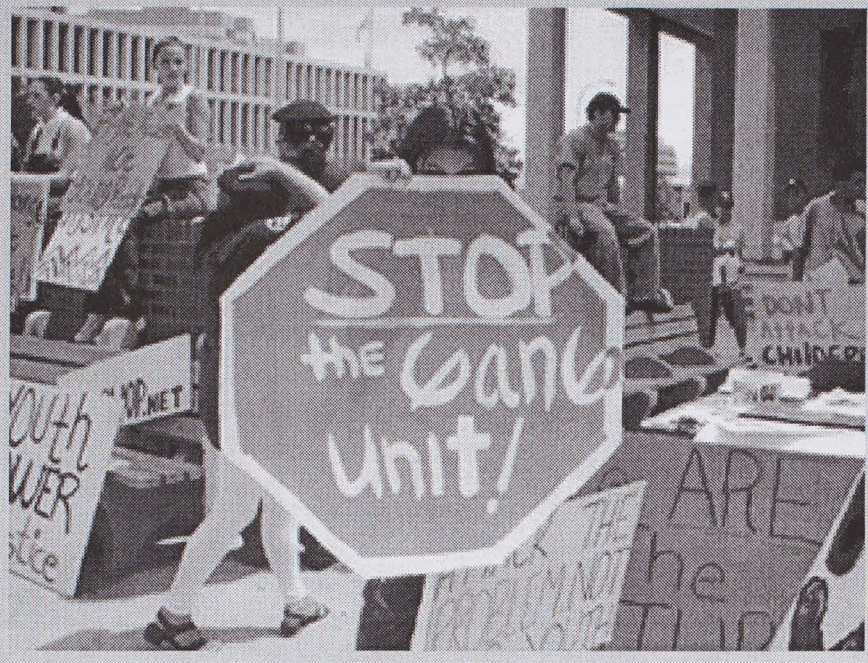
5. The City needs a clearly articulated economic development strategy.

It's about time. The economic development strategy provides a great opportunity for broad-based public participation. The strategy should define our long-term and short-term goals for economic development. This should include increasing Albuquerque's real wages to livable standards over time, and defining what kind of industry we want to develop locally and what kind of industry to recruit.

The strategy should also define the economic development tools that we want to use for our strategy. What kind of resources, incentives, and programs can we provide to allow local and small businesses to flourish? How and when do we use IRBs in a way that provides the maximum benefit to the community and that builds accountability into the process? What are other ways that we can harness capital and other resources that already exist locally and how do we keep these resources here? What are other creative ways that we can draw capital and resources to Albuquerque without making huge trade-offs?

Who should be involved in developing Albuquerque's economic development strategy? Everyone. Economics is something that affects all of us in just about every aspect of our lives. We all have a right and a role in deciding the economic future of our community. It's time for our political leaders to set the table with room for everyone to have a seat.

Young People
Say No to
Anti-Youth
Agenda
Youth Symbolically
Charge Mayor with
Abuse, Assault



"According to our research, one police officer's overtime pay was more than two community center's annual budgets combined," says Victoria Rodriguez, a mother and organizer at SWOP.

Young people, troubled by what they're calling the Mayor's anti-youth agenda, rallied in front of City Hall on Wednesday, July 31, 2002 at noon. Summer Interns from SouthWest Organizing Project organized the rally to highlight Mayor Martin Chavez' anti-youth record.

Interns from SWOP are concerned about the Mayor's insistence on an unconstitutional curfew for young people, his attack on the New Mexico Children's Code and the use of APD's 'Gang-Unit' to profile young people of color. Young people are also concerned about the Chavez' rhetoric when it comes to the city's youth.

"We symbolically charged [the Mayor] with assault for saying he would 'spank' graffiti artists, and reckless child endangerment for using Family Services money to fund the Gang-Unit, a primarily punitive program of APD," says Ryan House, a summer intern at SWOP.

A group of the young people went up to the Mayor's office and hung crime scene tape around the office. The youth also hung satirical posters depicting the gang unit and the Mayor as gangsters themselves. (You can see the satirical posters online at www.swop.net)

"The Mayor can't argue he's tough on crime if he continues to spend the City's dime on criminalization," says Fernando Abeyta. "We've had inflated police and corrections budgets for years and crime still rises - it's time to put our money into

programs designed to prevent crime and give young people something positive to do. The only thing we haven't tried is actually investing in young people."

Those at the rally presented the mayor with 500 signatures of people who see the 'Gang-Unit' as a mechanism for racially profiling young people of color and as a waste of 'family services' monies.

Mayor Chavez claims the 'Gang-Unit' only goes after 'criminal activity.'

"There are many other so-called task forces to deal with crime," says Celia Fraire, also an intern at SWOP. "Without a definition of a gang, the Gang Unit's only job is to harass and profile young people of color."

Since the rally, Mayor Chavez has resorted to name-calling. At many speaking engagements he has referred to SWOP as dangerous and has even implied people in the organization are terrorists.

"Marty likes to label people who don't agree with him - in some cases he calls people 'radicals', other times he goes to extremes," says Michael Guerrero, SWOP co-Director. "This time he's gone too far - it is reckless for a city official to make targets of young people who merely disagree with his policies."

"I know we're going to be made out to be against the cops, but it just isn't the case," adds Fraire. "This campaign is about the safety of our communities and putting an end to the Mayor's anti-youth agenda."

A sense of Place

by Teresa Cordova

In fall 2000, the Albuquerque City Council, in response to pressure from local citizen groups, particularly SWOP, commissioned an independent review of its Industrial Revenue Bond (IRB) Program. IRBs have become controversial in the region since SWOP's mid-90s campaign against Intel Corporation's receipt of multi-billion dollar incentive packages. It carried forward this effort in its challenge to bonds received by Philips Corporation despite layoffs and unfilled promises. Still asking, "who pays, who benefits", community groups question the impact of Albuquerque's economic development policy on community stakeholders. The IRB Report, in two parts, includes an assessment of stakeholder perspectives and recommendations regarding Albuquerque's primary economic development tool.

Job generation has been the primary stated goal of economic development professionals in their pursuit of industrial revenue bonds for corporations they recruit. The benefits of the IRB policy, however, are not clearly evidenced. Given that household wealth has not increased during periods of job growth, stakeholders make the argument that the current approach to economic development is not reflected in quality jobs with possibilities for training and advancement.

Stakeholders analyze the economy and the impacts of economic development policies including issues of availability and quality of jobs, the conditions under which a corporation receives tax advantages, corporate citizenship, and cultural and social aspects of quality of life. Perhaps most importantly, the debate over IRBs raises the issues of who makes economic development decisions: is it only developers and economic development professionals or does it also include the citizenry and elected and appointed government officials?

Stakeholders argue that a few "key actors" monopolize economic development policy and that the process and discourse should be opened to allow for a wider range of interests to be represented. An effective economic development plan requires the creation of a comfortable space and opportunities for inclusion. A clear plan will provide criteria and conditions for an effective industrial revenue bond policy. The city must engage in good business practices in the use of this tool. Defining a projected outcome and measuring the performance are a minimum. This is only possible with efficient and consistent record keeping and monitoring.

Broader perspectives from community stakeholders bring forth the debate over the kind of city Albuquerque will become. Is it a city of rapid growth and job creation paralleled with exacerbated inequality, quickly building wealth for some,

but not for others? Or will Albuquerque become a city that prides itself on meeting the social, economic, and cultural needs of its residents and creating a special sense of place? Beyond the question of "Do the incentives really result in good economic development outcomes" Albuquerque, if it is to respond to all of its residents including long standing communities, must continue to ask, *What kind of city do we want Albuquerque to be, in whose interests, and with what impacts?*

These are some of the questions that emerge when reviewing the perspectives of elected and appointed government officials, unions, community organizations, neighborhood associations and advocacy and service groups. The City Council is in a very important position to create the space for these issues to be discussed further and to be settled in a way that makes Albuquerque a better place in more broadly defined terms. It is important, therefore, to create the forums where these questions can be addressed and where a range of people can participate comfortably and effectively.

In the mid-1990s in a period of prosperity, municipalities were generous in giving tax breaks to corporations. Now with economic slowdowns, they are experiencing a shrinking tax base. Cities throughout the country are reconsidering their economic policies of the 1990s and beginning to be more selective and more strategic about how they pursue economic activity. So while

What kind of city do we want Albuquerque to be, in whose interests, and with what impacts?

Albuquerque is not unique in its review of tax and economic development policies, it can be very unique in how it reviews those policies - who it allows to be part of the discussion, which factors it considers relevant, and how patient it is willing to be.

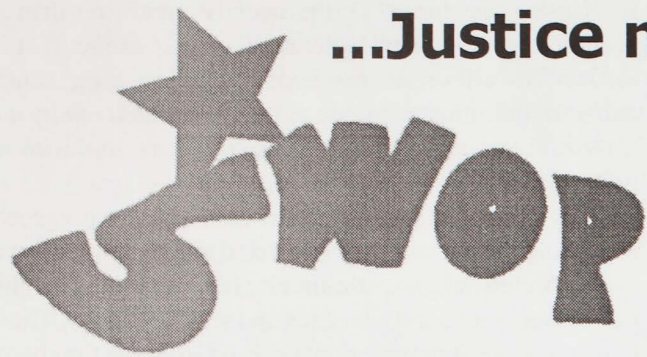
Because this review of Industrial Revenue Bonds is inseparable from a discussion of economic development strategies and their impacts on creating the city, stakeholders took us into a discussion of the economy, economic development, taxation policies, decision making, the role of the government, corporate citizenship, and urban meaning. Specific to IRBs, community stakeholders also provide recommendations for improving the program on the decision making process, selection criteria and due diligence, reporting and monitoring, conditions for granting an IRB, and penalties for non compliance of agreements and conditions.

A centuries old sense of cultural tradition is Albuquerque's most important, yet most fragile asset. Stakeholders value their "sense of place" and do not want careless development to destroy the cultural landscape. Economic activity should build upon assets of the community including its family based culture.

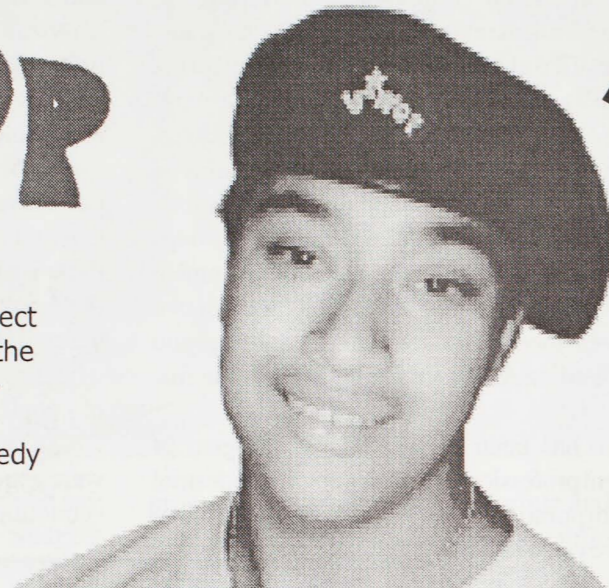
Dr. Teresa Córdoba is a professor in the School of Architecture and Planning at the University of New Mexico. She authored the report, *Albuquerque's Industrial Revenue Bond Program: Community Stakeholder Perspectives and Recommendations*

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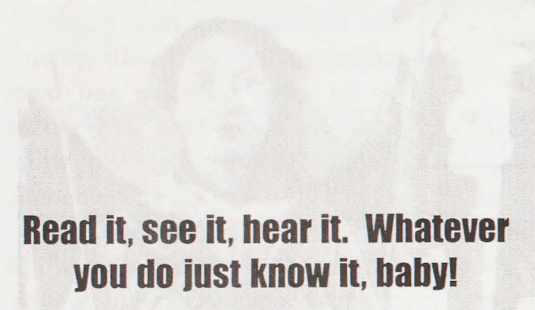
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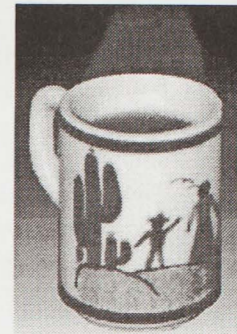
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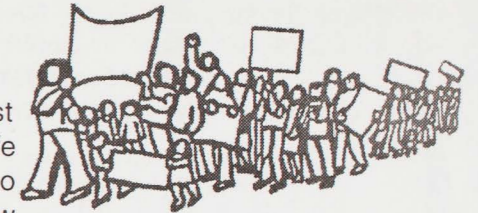
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March: The Revolution of Spirit and Mind

(Cont'd from pg. 1)



MAPA, and Gov. candidate Ricardo Romo, along with hundreds of other organizations marched.



Police riot in 1970 stampeded la gente.



1970 "Chicano Moratorium March" brought the people together.



Nothing remained but trash, the hurt and the police.

the audience, "just as we have a right to be here in San Francisco. We are a new generation of Chicanos and Latinos. What we are celebrating, actually, was the first revolution of the spirit and of the mind of the Chicano...A revolution which said 'no mas'. No longer will we accept passively the role of the willing victim of an uncaring society!

Today we are once again facing a similar threat to our existence. The new 'Vietnam' for our gente! Once again, we face a crisis where thousands upon thousands of Mexicans and Chicanos are being victimized, degraded and dehumanized by government!

"We must confront this new crisis with the same courage and

fearlessness that the generation of the '70s had. The threat today, however, is far more serious. It is a threat to our basic survival. If the policies being proposed by this country's legislature to solve the immigration problems (Simpson-Mazzoli Immigration bill) are passed, 20 million Chicanos/Latinos will be irrevocably condemned to slow extinction,"

Baca said.

"The politicians who have proposed the Simpson-Mazzoli bill and other immigration plans are not talking about controlling immigration. They are talking about an insidious legal mechanism to control, contain, and eventually, destroy the social, political and economic fabric of this nation's Chicano/Hispanic

population!

"Their proposals to create national identity cards, to have employer sanctions, to provide a false amnesty, to increase the Border Patrol (the only national police force created to persecute a segment of this country's population) and to install a bracero program are all mechanisms to control and eliminate our

people!"

Baca, as well as other national leaders and organizations such as MALDEF, LULAC, The American G.I. Forum, and The National Council of La Raza, have all pointed out the fact that the U.S. Government admits that of the 1 million persons apprehended by the INS/Border Patrol, 95% are of Mexican ancestry. This, in spite of the fact that the U.S. Census Department in 1980 reported that less than 48% of the undocumented aliens are persons of Mexican ancestry.

"This is why we, as Chicanos, have been unable to look at either the Democratic or the Republican Parties for a solution. Both have been a party to the creation of the INS/Border Patrol," said Baca.

"One has only to look at San Diego, the 'Vietnam of the southwest', for an immediate example. Here, we have one of the top Democratic liberal representatives in the state, Congressman Jim Bates, who voted for the Simpson-Mazzoli plan. He was only 1 of 2 in the entire state to vote for Simpson-Mazzoli. But, he was not the exception. The top Democrat of the nation, Tip O'Neill, and his Democratically controlled House voted to approve the Simpson-Mazzoli bill! This is a complete betrayal of the 20 million Latinos of this country," Baca told the crowd.

"Presidential candidate Mondale, and his running mate, Geraldine Ferraro, attempted to bamboozle us into believing that they opposed the Simpson-Mazzoli bill. Yet, before the vote in the House, and in the Senate, neither one once raised their voices in opposition! This is why Chicanos have to move beyond the cheering section of the political arena. We witnessed the hypocrisy of the Hispanic delegation coming from the cheering section at the Demo-

(See: Speeches End, pg. 8)