

Lucha entre Demócratas



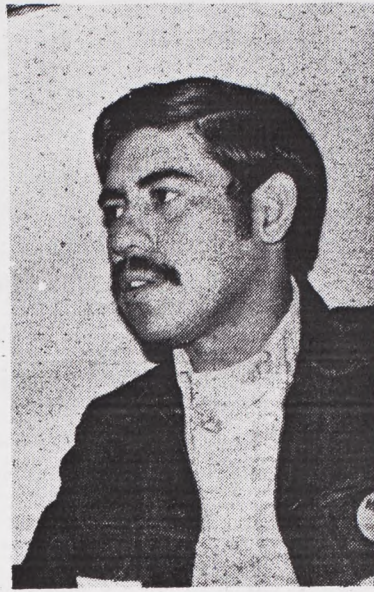
PUENTE: No lucho contra Chacon. . .Lucho contra su política negativa.



CHACON: Actual diputado del distrito 79. No respondo.



RIOS: Republicano en San Diego. No hay comentarios al problema.



BACA: Si la lucha es a favor de la comunidad, es positiva.



VILLALPANDO: Puente no tendrá oportunidad. Ganaremos en la primaria.

Duras Críticas de Puente a Chacón

Fiesta En Honor De Moretti

Esta fiesta fue patrocinada por los amigos de Moretti y fungio como anfitrión el representante del Distrito 79 Peter Chacon, por la ciudad de San Diego.

El viernes primero de febrero, La Junta Secreta Democrática aquí en San Diego, en unión con amigos de Moretti, dieron una fiesta en su honor, en el Hotel Le Baron, con el fin de anunciar la candidatura oficial de este último, y darlo a conocer ante la gente chicana.

El baile estuvo amenizado por el Mariachi "Gusto" y la banda de "Chicano Generation."

El fin del baile, además de ser un homenaje a Moretti, tuvo el fin de anunciar la apertura de las oficinas para la campaña del mismo aquí en San Diego.

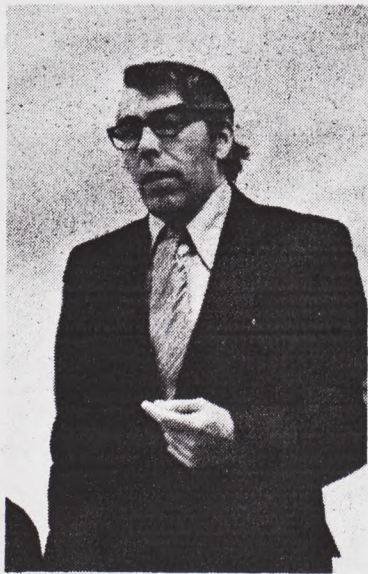
Según Daniel Munoz, fue algo de suma importancia, porque fue el primer día en que el

pueblo tuvo la oportunidad de conocer personalmente al candidato a gobernador del Estado Bob Moretti.

Dijo Munoz, "El quizo estar con nuestra gente, porque el vino para que la gente pudiera verlo y conocieran al candidato por el partido Demócrata."

Esto es debido, agregó Munoz, "porque si la gente analiza a todos los candidatos, estamos seguros que votaran por Moretti, y creimos que un baile de este tipo, sería lo ideal para que la gente lo conociera."

Afortunadamente, todo salió bien, dijo Munoz, ya que tuvimos una concurrencia de más de 600 personas que vinieron de diversas partes del Condado, con



DANIEL MUNOZ: Representante de Bob Moretti en San Diego. No tengo nada que decir.

el único fin de conocer a nuestro candidato.

"Fue una gran oportunidad, y creemos, finalizó Munoz, que con la ayuda de nuestra gente, ganará la primaria, puesto que un candidato no puede ganar solo."

El Sr., Alberto Puente, sorprendió a la comunidad al anunciar su inscripción e intención de jugar para el puesto de diputado por el distrito 79, mismo al que pertenece Chacon.

El desconcierto llegó a republicanos y otros partidos, pero fue más fuerte aun en el demócrata, sobre todo para Peter Chacon que pretende ser reelecto y no esperaba contrincante en este distrito.

Esto es más significativo, debido a que el 6 de febrero y hasta las cinco de la tarde, fue el último día para inscribirse como posible candidato a las elecciones populares del Estado de California an este año.

Sin embargo, aun queda la fecha decisiva del 8 de marzo, en la cual los posibles candidatos deben decidir y anunciar su candidatura oficial y formalmente. Esto quiere decir, que algunos que han anunciado su intención o tentativa pueden arrepentirse y no jugar.

En una entrevista telefónica con El Sr., Puente, el dijo al "Papel."

"Cuando yo trabaje para la elección de Peter

Chacon, fue porque creia en su filosofía y en sus calificaciones. Pero ahora esta controlado por grupos de procuradores de intereses especiales y por Bob Moretti en Sacramento. Como consecuencia, no puede responder a las necesidades de su distrito."

El Sr., Puente hizo mas cargos a Chacón diciendo, "que muchas de las funciones que caen dentro de su jurisdicción, siempre las ha desarrollado fuera de su distrito, y que la gente de su area, no puede pagar el precio para asistir."

El Sr. Puente agregó, que "el Titular, simula tener una mesa consejera, que incluye uno de cada 'uno'-mujeres, ancianos, chicanos, negros, etc., etc. -pero que en realidad la mayoría de estos 'representantes' viven fuera de su distrito. Como consecuencia la gente de su area no lo controla."

"El no esta muy seguro de si 'mismo' senalo Puente, "Ya que tituvea en sus puntos de vista y después de sus cambios no da una razón justificable acerca de ellos."

Tardeada de San Diego

El día 10 de Febrero próximo, se llevara a cabo una gran tardeada en la Iglesia de Nuestra Sra., De Guadalupe, ubicada en 1770 Kearney, San Diego.

Si usted quiere

divertirse en grande asista de 5 de la tarde a las diez de la noche y baile al compás del Chicano Generation y sabore deliciosos antojitos mexicanos. Los boletos están a la venta y

solo cuestan \$2.00 por persona comprados con anticipación y \$2.50 en la puerta.

Para más información llame a la Srita Silvia Murgía al 233-3838.

Requisitos Para Obtener Ciudadania

1. Una persona debe tener por lo menos 18 años de edad para poder solicitar la naturalización.
2. Solamente pueden naturalizarse los extranjeros que hayan sido admitidos legalmente a este país como residentes permanentes. Esto significa que el extranjero debe haber recibido un permiso legal para residir permanentemente en este país como inmigrante.
3. Después que un solicitante ha sido admitido como residente, tiene que vivir en los Estados Unidos por lo menos durante cinco años seguidos inmediatamente antes de presentar su petición de naturalización ante el tribunal.
4. Una persona casada con ciudadanos tiene que vivir en los Estados Unidos solamente tres años antes de poder presentar su petición.
5. A menos que este incapacitado físicamente para hacerlo, el solicitante de naturalización debe poder hablar y comprender el inglés sencillo, así como leerlo y escribirlo. No obstante, la persona que tiene mas de 50 años el 24 de diciembre de 1952 y hasta ese momento habia vivido en los Estados Unidos durante 20 años por lo menos, pueden hacerse ciudadanos aunque no pueda hablar, leer ni escribir el idioma inglés.
6. Toda persona que solicite su naturalización, tiene que pasar un examen para demostrar que tienen algun conocimiento de la historia y la forma de gobierno de los Estados Unidos. No hay

excepciones a este requisito. El examen sobre estas materias y el de inglés los realiza el examinador de naturalización en el momento en que el solicitante presenta su petición. Las preguntas que hace el examinador están formuladas en un inglés sencillo y para poder contestarlas solo es necesario conocer las materias con las que está familiarizada cualquier persona que haya realmente tratado de aprender.

COMO SOLICITAR LA NATURALIZACION

1. El primer paso es obtener una solicitud, y con excepción de niños menores de 14 años de edad, una tarjeta de huellas digitales y una forma de Información Biografica en la oficina más cercana del Servicio de Inmigración y Naturalización.

2. El día que el solicitante regrese su petición ya completa tiene que pagar \$25.00 al secretario del Tribunal de Naturalización. Estos son los únicos derechos de naturalización que hay que pagar.

3. El Servicio de Inmigración y Naturalización le notificara por correo al solicitante cuando y donde tiene que ir a someterse al examen. El día del examen se ayudará al solicitante a llenar y presentar el documento legal, llamado petición de naturalización, en el Tribunal de Naturalización.

IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICES

2223 El Cajon Blvd.
San Diego, CA 92104
293-6750

Cartas

Antes que nada, quiero felicitarlo por su buen periodico, El Papel, así para al mismo tiempo, animara a otros a leer los finos articulos que han publicado en lo que se refiere a la escena politica local.

He terminado de leer su columna, "Politica 74," en la Edición del 27 de enero de 1974, por lo cual quiero dirigirme a algunas de las afirmaciones que hicieron algunos de sus entrevistados en ese articulo.

Los Srs., Baca y Montoya, deberian hablar en favor de algunas personas, en sus puntos de vista del proceso político y libertad, con lo cual ellos ciertamente harian escuchar su voz en el diálogo con la prensa y por lo tanto con la comunicación media que ellos escojan.

El Sr., Munoz por su parte, dijo (en su referencia a SSPA), que "cualquier organizacion que trabaje para el mejoramiento de los de habla española, debe ser positiva, y que la SSPA, tiene su fin apropiado si tiene el liderato apropiado." El Sr., Munoz, replica a la pregunta de que si SSPA., fuera sin partido o bipartidista (el Sr., Munoz, "yo uso la palabra no partido y bipartido igual"), podría el participar con SSPA, otra vez, "por supuesto, porque ellos no pueden endorsarse, y por lo tanto son inefectivos."

El Sr. Munoz, debe dar una disculpa publica a la gente, y por mi parte, exijo que esta sea por medio del "Papel." Puede sentirse libre de publicar mi nombre como un miembro del SSPA., que ha sido afectado.

Jess R. Macias
3963 Ashford St.
San Diego, Calif.

Criticas...

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El Sr., Puente se refirió al asunto de la Pena de muerte, en la cual Chacón "cambio su posición cuando Moretti también lo hizo."

En su campaña Chacon hizo muchas promesas a la gente dijo Puente, entre ellas, "las leyes para controlar drogas, bajar los impuestos, asegurar que los bancos y asociaciones de ahorros y prestamos paguen sus impuestos honrradamente, alivió de impuestos a los dueños de propiedades y promoción de mejores programas para la gente que sostiene que se cumplan las leyes." De todo esto enfatizó Puente, "Chacon no hizo nada."

El Sr., Puente agrega que "No cree que el Titular este limpio de reproches. Y viendo que ninguna otra persona ha hecho intenciones de remplazarlo, yo declaro mis intenciones, basado en la creencia de que Chacón no merece ser reelecto. Pero antes tengo hasta marzo 8, para hacer una encuesta en la comunidad y ver como piensa la comunidad de mis oportunidades."

Puente dice "Que Chacon tiene el peor record de todos los representantes del Condado de San Diego y posiblemente de todos los de California en su actuación. Solamente ha obtenido que pasen cinco medidas en cuatro años en que ha representado a ese distrito y aun algunas de ellas son cuestionables."

El "Papel" por su parte se intereso en conocer más a fondo la reacción de los lideres de la comunidad con relación a este asunto, incluyendo naturalmente la oficina del Representante del Distrito 79, Peter Chacon.

Hasta los últimos momentos de cerrar nuestra edición, Peter Chacon no habia contestado las insistentes llamadas de nuestro periodico.

Daniel Munoz, Vice-presidente de la Junta Secreta Chicana del Partido Democrata en el Sur de California, así como coordinador de la campaña de Bob Moretti en San Diego, dijo que no tenía comentarios al respecto.

Pete Rios, presidente del Comite Mexico-Americano del Partido Republicano en el Condado de San Diego, estuvo en el mismo caso y dijo "No hay comentarios."

Otro se que se nego a hacer comentarios, fue Jess Macías, presidente de la Asociación Política para los De Habla Hispana (SSPA).

Sin embargo, otros lideres políticos de la comunidad Chicana, hablaron abierta y francamente a favor o en contra de la actuación de Al Puente.

Herman Baca por ejemplo, dijo "Es muy saludable si la campana se juega dentro de los problemas que afectan a nuestra comunidad. Es un paso positivo, ya que participa mas gente en el proceso político."

Continuo "Ha habido mucha insensibilidad por parte de Chacón. Miremos por ejemplo su posición en el pasado en lo que se regiere a la ley Dixon-Arnett; la cual afecta a los ilegales dentro de los E.U., pero que a la vez es discriminatoria - sobre todo para los México-Americanos, que tienen que andar mostrando sus papeles siendo ciudadanos. Y Esta Ley, fue apoyada por Chacon y después de que la Suprema Corte de Los Angeles la declaro inconstitucional, Chacon ataco esa decisión."

Agrego el Sr. Baca que "Su cambio en la posición de la pena de muerte, que afecta más que a nadie a los chicanos y otras minorias, porque su número en la fila de muerte es mayor, también fue apoyada por Chacon."

"Su apoyo leve y sin fuerza, a los problemas de los campesinos, es una desgracia, como lo fue su posición en el asunto de los arrestos y acosos constantes de que fueron obrato los chicanos, bajo el pretexto de esculcar ilegales, en lo cual nunca dijo nada. Sin embargo, pidió una opinión al abogado general de California, sin

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Criticas...

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tomar para ello en cuenta la opinion o punto de vista de ningun chicano que estuviera envuelto en el frente de las manifestaciones."

Despues, agrego Baca, "En el nombre Sagrado de la Unidad Chicana, los verdaderos problemas que afectan en realidad a la comunidad, han sido olvidados. Quien va pronunciar claramente los problemas que afectan a nuestra comunidad? Y el mismo se responde, porque tener un diputado ya no es una novedad, 1 Tenemos cinco en California! y sin embargo, nada."

Para finalizar, sentencio "solo aquellas cuestiones que fueron promovidas por el partido demócrata, fueron apoyadas por los legisladores chicanos. El intercambio de votos chicanos por leyes demócratas, no han sido justos."

Mario Palomino Presidente de la Asociacion Demócrata Chicana, dijo, "Segun nuestras guias de orden en la Asociacion Demócrata Chicana, se identifica a aquellos chicanos demócratas, titulados y calificados para las posiciones y los promueve y apoya. Pero en este caso, donde los dos son chicanos, no se que desidira nuestra organizacion."

Gus Chavez, Director del Programa de Oportunidades Educativas en la Universidad del Estado de California en San Diego, y anteriormente

Federacion Chicana-Chacon tambien fue presidente de esta organizacion - afirmo: "Mi reaccion es una sorpresa positiva. Pero espero que esta clase de entrada en este juego, llegue a una determinacion fiel del pensamiento de la comunidad."

"Considero que el Sr., Puente, tiene muchos simpatizantes que en otras ocasiones han votado por el (60 mil votos), y en mi opinion es una gran cantidad. Su experiencia politica dara una representacion propia a ese distrito."

Para finalizar, Chavez expreso, "Si fuera otra persona, uno que no hubiese estado envuelto, yo estaria apurado por su lideato, pero el Sr., Puente agregara un elemento de responsabilidad al juego politico en el partido demócrata."

Vic Villalpando, Oficial de Asuntos para Mexico-Americanos, del Condado de San Diego: "Es un hecho desafortunado, que Al Puente haya firmado su intencion de ser candidato. Esperamos ganar en la primaria."

"Yo espero que todos esten de acuerdo que Peter Chacon, ha sido un legislador de gran altura."

"Y este acto no hace tono ni razon. Tendremos dos Mexico-Americanos destrozandose con hachas. Porque tenemos que derramar sangre chicana?"

Y uno mas que por lo visto no quiere a Chacon, agrego, "Este juego va a bajar a Chacon de las nubes y le va a quitar lo sangroncito."

The World's Greatest Stereo Guide, by James Boyk

Why Joan Crawford Was Not a Nice Person

ONE DOLLAR

SEPTEMBER 1977

NEW WEST

The Decade of the Chicano

California's
Emerging
Third World
Majority



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GOMEZ

Chicano Power

**There is one inevitable fact.
By 1990, California will become
America's first Third World state.**

By Jonathan Kirsch

M

ario Obledo's voice is soft, almost sorrowful. The delegates to the Sacramento convention of the Mexican-American Political Association (MAPA) lean forward in their folding chairs to catch his quiet words. They've witnessed a long and noisy parade of endorsement-seeking candidates—Jerry Brown and Yvonne Burke, Merv Dymally and George Deukmejian—but Obledo is different. As the highest-ranking Chicano in state government, he has come to embody the aspirations as well as the frustrations of California's growing Hispanic community.

"Just stop and reflect on the number of people we have in California, the number of people coming in," says the beleaguered secretary of health and welfare. "We're such a unique people. We don't have to depend on others to lead us. We can do it ourselves. Not only here but across the country. Just think of the *power*—" His voice falters, and he seems to stutter over the word: "The *power*, the *power*, the *power* to turn the state around. And it would be a new day for all of us."

A moment later, the *Mapistas* are on their feet, applauding, shouting, whistling. Then one young man sets the beat, and the applause resolves into a single thundering sound, all hands clapping in unison, all feet stamping in unison, faster and faster, until the sound reaches a crescendo and then dissolves into a breaking wave of new applause.

"*Viva la Raza!*" cries a single voice, and a half-dozen other voices answer: "*Viva!*"

There is one central, inevitable fact. As Lieutenant Governor Dymally told the *Mapistas*, "If the present trends continue, the emerging ethnic groups will constitute more than half the population of California by 1990, and we will become the country's first Third World state."

The approaching majority of minorities may be the key to political power in California in the next decade. Today, despite a flawed 1970 census that undercounted the minority population and the substantial number of undocumented immigrants, we know that at least a quarter of our

population—about 6.3 million—is of black, Hispanic or Asian background. Dymally, who is already staking out a coalition of minorities as his political turf, sponsored a study that places the total minority population as high as 8.4-million, a solid 33 percent of the California population.

But the real impact will be felt over the next generation as rising birthrates and continuing immigration, both documented and undocumented, turn California's ethnic and racial minorities into a cumulative majority. The demographic evidence is already available: In the Los Angeles Unified School District, for instance, more than half the births in 1976 were Hispanic and another 18 percent were black. Enrollment in the public schools over the last decade shows a fairly stable black population, but the rising Hispanic curve has already crossed the falling Anglo curve. By 1980, the Anglo population of Los Angeles County—which stood at 71 percent only twenty years ago—will slip into the status of a numerical minority.

The biggest variable in the demographic equation is the flow of immigration. According to a University of Texas study, if overall birthrates continue to decline, immigration will account for all increases in U.S. population after the year 2000, and more than two thirds of the new immigrants will be Hispanic or Asian. And the "legal" immigrants—about 400,000 a year—may be outnumbered by the so-called illegal aliens. Although the total number of immigrants without documents is probably unknowable, between 4- and 12 million are already here and between a half million and 2 million more are entering every year. If even a fraction of these immigrants obtains citizenship and thus voting rights, it will add to the political potency of a potential Third World majority.

"It's going to be tough, it's going to take a lot of patience and hard work, but we've got to build a coalition of blacks, Chicanos and Asians, gays and women and senior citizens," Dymally explains in the West Indian accent that emphasizes his ethnic orientation. "Win or lose, I have dedicated myself to the issue of coalition politics."

So far, Dymally's two efforts toward coalition-building—the Democratic Minority Coalition and the Council on Intergroup Relations—are mostly paper organizations, but he has succeeded in tapping into the current of ethnic self-identification that has become so powerful in the post-*Roots* era. "We invited representatives of all races and ethnic groups to join the council," Dymally explains. "We have a black. A Puerto Rican. A Korean. A Samoan. An Indian—I don't mean an American Indian, I mean a real Indian Indian. And an American Indian, too."

Of course. But Dymally's dream of a minority coalition is not shared by every politician of color. Republican Senator S.I. Hayakawa admits to knowing far more about jazz than Japanese music. Secretary of State March Fong Eu wouldn't know how to read the Chinese ballot that her surname entitles her to receive. And racial identity tends to evaporate in the intense heat of politics outside the ghetto. "As a black elected official, I'm not interested in representing only a minority base—I'm interested in getting into the mainstream of government," says Assemblyman Julian Dixon, who defeated a black city councilman and a black state senator for his new congressional seat. "And I think that's happened with March Fong Eu, Wilson Riles, Tom Bradley—they

Today Chicanos are in the midst of a revolution of self-discovery.

represent majorities."

Another serious structural flaw in the engineering of a minority coalition is the sheer diversity of ethnic allegiances on which such a coalition must be founded. The simplistic Anglo perception of a few monolithic minorities—the blacks, the Hispanics, the Asians—quickly crumbles into a polyglot of Haitians and West Indians, Peruvians and Puerto Ricans, Vietnamese and Taiwanese.

"At some point, the dominant cultural group will have to understand the nuances of difference among the minorities," insists Luisa Ezquerro, a community leader in San Francisco's Mission District, where a Latino is more likely to be Nicaraguan or El Salvadoran than Mexican. "To the Anglo, we may all look alike, and they may think we all vote alike, but it doesn't work that way."

Minority affluence and assimilation, minority competition for affirmative action funds and administrative appointments, minority autonomy and allegiance—all of these factors make it difficult to forge a coalition. But only one barrier to coalition is insurmountable; only one minority holds the power to decide whether or not Dymally's dream of a minority coalition will come true. It's not up to March Fong Eu or Wilson Riles or Sam Hayakawa; it's not up to the West Indians or the Nicaraguans or the Vietnamese. In a real sense, it's up to the Chicano.

Only the Chicano, by the simple weight of numbers, can decide if there will be a coalition that might turn California's emerging minorities into a Third World majority. Mexican-Americans already constitute the single largest minority in California—some 4 million, almost 18 percent of the population and more than twice the size of the black minority—and the continuing immigration of undocu-

mented Mexicans swells that number by a million or more.

Los Angeles already has the largest urban Mexican population outside of Mexico City, and some 29 percent of all Hispanics in the U. S. lives in California. According to some optimistic business projections, the Chicano community in California boasts a median family income of more than \$13,000, an annual spendable income of \$7.7-billion, and a growing middle class of 400,000 households. A rising curve of Hispanic births and immigration, a renaissance of community development in the barrios, and a new level of political sophistication among young Chicanos in law, government and education assures them of a decisive role in any political scenario over the next generation. The primacy of the Chicano attracted a parade of candidates to the MAPA convention in August. "You're the leading minority in the Southwest," Jerry Brown told the *Mapistas*. "It's your turn in the sun and I want to be a part of it." Said Merv Dymally: "*Mi corazón es Mexicano.*"

The *Mapistas* dutifully endorsed the Democratic candidates who had made the pilgrimage to Sacramento: "We didn't do so bad," cracked one delegate. "We endorsed two blacks and a Brown." They turned down the only Republican candidate who showed up in person, state Senator George Deukmejian, as well as the fiery college professor who is running for governor as the candidate of La Raza Unida Party, Andres Torres. Embittered by the lack of a single Chicano candidate for statewide office, frustrated by the apparent complacency of the Democratic leadership, and disenchanted with the Republicans who sought their endorsement ("If Jesus came down and ran as a Republican," said one delegate, "I still wouldn't vote for him"), the *Mapistas* paid attention to the words of Andres Torres.

"We have to think beyond the swing vote," he exhorted them. "I'm 44, I've spent a lot of my life on the outside, and I'm tired of it. We've allowed others to speak for us, and what do we get? A few more Chicano judges who can send some more Chicanos to jail. We've got to begin to see what we can do by and for ourselves. And history is on our side."

The goal of Torres's symbolic gubernatorial campaign is the qualification of La Raza Unida on the ballot; he needs 100,000 signatures on a petition and then 2 percent of the vote at the general election. But his message was far more than symbolic to the young men and women who echoed his sentiments in whispered conversations during George Deukmejian's droning remarks.

"We are tired of being taken for granted and treated like aliens in our own land," said one *Mapista*. "We haven't burned down any buildings, we haven't been on television getting our heads bashed, and so we haven't called attention to our needs. And a lot of politicians have always assumed that they have us in their back pocket. But we're in a new era, and the Anglo leadership can no longer operate in the context of the sixties and the black civil rights movement. The next decade is the era of the Chicano."

The framed black-and-white glossies are the icons of the barrio's political orthodoxy, and they are as common on office walls as street murals and gang graffiti are on exterior walls. Frozen hugs, frozen handshakes, frozen smiles tell the story of the Chicano's political heritage:

Ed Roybal, the founder of MAPA, the first Hispanic to serve on the Los Angeles City Council, and the first to represent California in Congress. Cesar Chavez, a community organizer who studied under Saul Alinsky and Fred Ross, sharpened his skills in the Oxnard barrio, and then went on to become the redeemer of the exploited and disenfranchised rural Hispanic. And the Kennedy brothers, any or all of them: John, the first Roman Catholic president; Robert, the politician who captured the blessing of Chavez

and the hearts of the Chicanos; and now Edward, who, as chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, has substantial power over the Carter immigration proposals that have galvanized Hispanics across the country.

The icons remain, but the politics of the barrio are changing. "We respect what our parents' generation accomplished," says Beatriz Molina, a 26-year-old MAPA activist who, like many of her fellow Sacramento Chapter members, supervises a government social service program. "But we have the opportunity to hold positions of power that were denied to the previous generation. We have more people working in the system. We're at a point where we're viable enough to do things for ourselves."

Today, the Chicano community in California and throughout the Southwest is in the midst of a revolution of self-discovery and self-definition. Its rich cultural heritage is on display in museums and galleries. Its contemporary history is enacted on the stage in plays that honor the suffering of the exploited farmworker as well as the martyrdom of the urban youth. And its destiny is being decided by a new generation of men and women that will not compromise on its future. "The leadership has changed," says San Francisco Supervisor Robert Gonzales. "The cocktail-and-banquet-circuit type has gotten older, gotten tired and gotten out. They have been replaced by the activists."

"Whether it's politics or business or education, the Chicano community is trying to give that extra push to get kids into those roles," says 32-year-old Assemblyman Art Torres, who taught politics at Harvard and served as legislative director for the United Farm Workers of America before running for the Legislature from a district that includes Chinatown, Little Tokyo and the East L.A. barrio. "We need to give the stroke to the kids to show that it can be done rather than their languishing in the neighborhood. That's the energy that makes me want to move and move."

Still, despite its energy and enthusiasm, the new Chicano leadership must overcome the inertia that has paralyzed the Hispanic community for generations. Unemployment in the barrio ranges two or three times higher than the state average. Poor English language skills and a scarcity of educational opportunities make it difficult to create a large cadre of young leaders. Voter registration is low, and so is voter turnout.

The lack of political clout is an embarrassment that's impossible to ignore. Despite its large Chicano population—as high as 28 percent—Los Angeles has neither a city councilman nor a county supervisor of Hispanic origin. An effort at reapportionment after the 1970 census put an Anglo incumbent councilman, Arthur Snyder, in a newly created district with a population that is two thirds Spanish-surnamed. But the level of Hispanic voter registration is only 40 percent, and so Art Snyder remains in office despite a grassroots recall effort and challenges from a candidate backed by Representative Ed Roybal and assemblymen Art Torres and Richard Alatorre. Now the Chicano politicians have given up on defeating Snyder at the polls; instead, they are actively lobbying the governor to appoint Snyder to the bench and thus lift him out of the district.

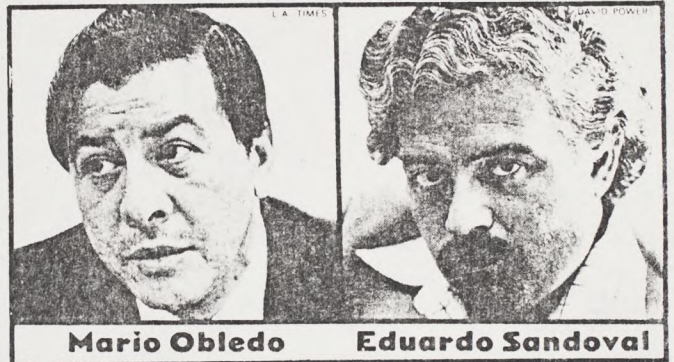
A similar embarrassment exists in San Francisco, where a Jewish woman represents the Mission District on the Board of Supervisors, while the board's first Chicano was elected on a precarious 21-vote margin from a district that is only 3 percent Latino and some 48 percent black.

"We can't win an ethnic campaign because of the consistent pattern of gerrymandering," complains David Lopez-Lee, a young University of Southern California professor who walked Art Snyder's district and almost singlehandedly collected the signatures that prompted the recall election. "When Democrats cut up elective offices, they slice up the

Hispanics who are traditionally Democratic voters."

The incumbent Anglos bristle at the suggestion that their districts somehow belong to the Hispanic community. "There are seeds of racism in the perception that every Mexican-American can be counted upon to salivate every time you say *La Raza*," says Snyder. "It's patronizing to think that Hispanics are incapable of using the power of selection to choose the best candidate rather than turning down a qualified person to vote for someone with a Spanish surname."

But the longing for political power among Chicanos is too deep to be satisfied with Anglo officeholders, no matter how well qualified or well intentioned they might be. "We've reached a point where our drive toward full economic and political participation is irreversible," declares Eduardo Sandoval, a former community organizer who opened a law practice in the Mission District and now serves as president of MAPA. "If you're organized for power—if you're organized with discipline, unity and intelligence—you're going to have leverage everywhere, not only in Sacramento but in local cities and counties, too." And organizing for power has taken on a very specific meaning within the Chicano community: "The only things that a politician



understands are votes," says state Senator Alex Garcia of Los Angeles. "That's the key, and that must be our priority."

The forging of a political weapon out of the raw numbers of Hispanics in California will be a long and complex process, but the first step has already been taken. Door-to-door voter registration is being carried out in the East Los Angeles area by the United Neighborhood's Organization—a grassroots movement with ties to Saul Alinsky's Industrial Areas Foundation as well as the Catholic Church—and on a statewide scale under the direction of the Southwest Voter Registration Education Project. The Texas-based organization was invited into California by Chicano leaders who saw the potency of the franchised Hispanics throughout the Southwest.

Other leaders are looking beyond voter registration to the looming issue of the 1980s and the subsequent reapportionment of California's local, state and federal political districts. The Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF), which sued to invalidate the 1970 census on the basis of inaccurate counting procedures that overlooked some 643,000 Hispanics in California alone, is already preparing to monitor the next census. A more accurate census will mean more federal funds, more opportunities under affirmative action programs, and—above all—more Hispanic seats in local and state government.

"Mexican-Americans must be there when reapportionment comes around in 1980," warns one state official. "Not marching, but learning how to sit down and draw districts." Vilma Martinez, MALDEF's president and general counsel, has already mastered the intricacies of accurate census-taking, and she can be counted on to crack the mystery of reapportionment, too: "We will be watching the 1980 census

with great care," she promises, "and we hope to be there when they start drawing the lines."

The growing sophistication of the Chicano leadership in matters of voter registration, census-taking and reapportionment is one measure of a change. But nothing symbolizes the new consciousness quite so sharply as the expressions of solidarity with Mexico and especially the undocumented Mexican immigrant.

"We used to be embarrassed and even slightly hostile toward the Mexicans who came here without documents," says one Chicano leader. "But we've grown to recognize that the Southwest has been Mexican for centuries, and it doesn't really matter on what side of the border we were born. We can no longer be ashamed of ourselves, our own people, our own culture. And we're much more psychologically sound because of it." As MAPA's Ed Sandoval says: "We've made the Mexican connection, and that's the key."

It's the key to a number of links between Mexicans throughout the Southwest. MAPA leaders will travel to Mexico in November, seeking the cooperation of Mexican celebrities in sponsoring a fund-raising *espectáculo* in Los Angeles or San Francisco; the proceeds would enable

They are forging a political weapon out of their raw numbers.

MAPA to hire a full-time professional organizer to work the barrios up and down the state. Leaders of the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULACS), which represents 100,000 Hispanics across the nation, have met several times with Mexican President José Lopez Portillo; today, the Mexican government sponsors a \$10 million LULACS scholarship program that brings Americans of Hispanic descent to Mexican universities. And the benefits of the Mexican connection flow in both directions: "It's no different than the Jewish lobby for Israel," explains one Chicano leader. "We have to stand up for the interests of Mexico at home."

Above all, the Chicano leadership has united behind the issue of the undocumented Mexican immigrant. When Jimmy Carter moved boldly into the no-man's-land of immigration policy, he appointed an Hispanic as commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, but the appointment didn't insulate him from the fury of Hispanics who condemn his immigration proposals.

Under the Carter plan, the so-called amnesty provisions would extend only to those who were residents before January 1, 1970—a group that includes less than a half-million undocumented immigrants. Those who came to the United States between 1970 and 1977 would fall into the new category of temporary resident aliens—a twilight zone in which they can work and pay taxes for five years without the right to vote or receive welfare benefits. Carter also proposed the expansion of the Border Patrol, and the imposition of sanctions on employers who rely on undocumented workers.

"The implementation of hostile immigration policies has

begun to awaken our people and make them aware that it's an attack on all Spanish-speaking, brown-skinned people," insists Bert Corona, head of the National Committee to Unionize Undocumented Workers. "I think the policies are part of a general concern that the large numbers of Spanish-speaking people constitute a potential source of strength, influence and, finally, political power. The consequences are feared by some—and welcomed by others."

Critics of the Carter plan in the Chicano community point out that the new category of alien status creates a subclass of rightless workers who can be deported en masse after five years: "It's legalized slave labor," says one Chicano leader. Critics warn that sanctions against employment of undocumented workers may prompt employers to discriminate against all brown-skinned or Spanish-speaking workers. They distrust any expansion of the Border Patrol and fear an increase in violence against undocumented workers along the border. Instead, they support a substantial increase in the number of visas allotted to documented Mexican immigrants and a faster processing of applications by undocumented immigrants for the status that puts them on a five-year track toward full citizenship.

"It's our position that there should be an unconditional amnesty for any person who is presently working or is a dependent of a jobholder," insists Herman Baca, chairman of the Committee on Chicano Rights. "Let's stop the whole racist game of talking about an amnesty that's going to make slaves and second-class citizens out of undocumented workers. If they're good enough to work then they're good enough to have some rights."

The sense of outrage over the Carter plan extends from Ed Sandoval's Mission District law practice to Herman Baca's National City printshop to Vilma Martinez's Geary Street office. "In the 1930s, when we had a depression, we said it was the Mexicans' fault and we repatriated them," Martinez says. "In 1954, we had a recession and they said: 'Oh dear, it's these illegal aliens again, they take away our jobs, we must ship them back to Mexico.' Then in 1974 we had another recession, and we had an attorney general saying that the reason there weren't enough jobs was the illegal aliens. And my point is: *Grow up!* We share a 2,000-mile land border with a sovereign power called Mexico that has its own problems. At the end of World War II, Mexico had 25 million people, today it has 65 million, and by the end of the century it's going to have 125 million people—and some of them are coming here. Mexico must deal with the problem, and we must help. If we were willing to help Germany with the Marshall Plan after they killed our people in a war, why can't we deal with Mexico?"

Among the oldest delegates to the MAPA convention was Bert Corona, a veteran organizer who helped start the International Longshoreman's and Warehouseman's Union in 1937 in Los Angeles and served on the Sleepy Lagoon Defense Committee after the Zoot Suit riots in the 1940s.

The youngest person in attendance was a handsome three-year-old boy who played in the aisles, hung from the doors, and, finally tiring of his Chewbacca and Artoo-Detoo dolls toward the end of the afternoon session, burst into loud tears during Bert Corona's speech.

Nobody seemed to mind.

"The Mexican culture focuses on the family, the fact that you have to support your family," says Ed Sandoval. "In the fifties, before the Chicano movement really developed, we were content to build our families, to be responsible in our jobs, and to sit on the sidelines as far as the political process was involved."

Today, a concern for the family is still mentioned by almost all Chicano political leaders as one of the important

qualities that will characterize future Chicano leadership. Mario Obledo, for instance, asked his bachelor boss to schedule Cabinet meetings during the day so that he could spend more time with his family.

The other qualities of the Chicano community may come as a surprise to Anglos who expect all militant minorities to be radical. Abe Tapia's campaign for the Democratic lieutenant governor nomination won the endorsement of antiabortion activists. Al Garza—the first Hispanic city councilman in the history of San Jose—is perceived as the conservative in his race against incumbent mayor Janet Gray Hayes; he is running a pro-growth campaign, and his endorsements include the Building Trades Council, and the police and fire unions. "I was raised conservatively," says Garza. "My family was poor, and we always had to count pennies."

Another important factor in the Chicano culture is the Roman Catholic Church, which has always played a dominant role in the spiritual life of its Hispanic parishioners, but is only now taking an active role in organizing them for social change. In the barrios of Los Angeles and San Jose, the church has joined with other religious denominations and professional organizers from the Industrial Areas Foundation to create a grassroots movement with enormous political potential.

The notion of a church-linked community organization was brought to California from San Antonio by Bishop Juan Arzube of the Los Angeles archdiocese. "I always felt that one of the errors of leadership in dealing with minorities is paternalism—giving them the programs that we think are good for them, treating them like peons rather than letting them work at it themselves," says Bishop Arzube. "In San Antonio I was very impressed by the fact that the people who were speaking out for their rights were not the rebel types but the ordinary people."

Although the organizing efforts are just beginning in San Jose, the United Neighborhoods Organization (UNO) of East Los Angeles has already won significant victories in its community, including a partial end to the practice of insurance red-lining and an improvement in response time by sheriff's deputies to calls for help. UNO consists of 22 parish-based "strategy committees" that each represent about 1,000 neighborhood families; a staff of four full-time organizers are teaching the techniques of community organizing to the representatives of each parish.

Priests and nuns are active participants in the organizing process, and the "action issues" are seen as an appropriate function of the church. "Preservation of the family is one of our goals in UNO," explains Bishop Arzube. "By relieving the different types of pressure—whether economic, political or social—we have given the family a better chance to live. By serving the people in their most basic needs, they see the church as a real factor in their lives."

Aside from these spiritual goals, a well-organized community within the barrio is also an awesome political factor in the balance of power. "There is no question that UNO is a major political force," says Peter Martinez, a professional organizer who serves with UNO under a contract with the Industrial Areas Foundation. "But it will not be based on conventional party politics. We're in a position to write the political agenda on our own, and to the extent that our network of neighborhood organizations is visible to the politicians, they will have to deal with it."

Who are the inheritors of the urban Chicano's legacy of political power?

Some Anglos are quick to suggest Cesar Chavez as the charismatic leader who could unite the scattered Hispanics of California into a single political movement. But Chavez demurs. "I see my role as a supporter, not one of leading or

organizing," says Chavez.

Mario Obledo was often mentioned as a candidate for the lieutenant governor's race in 1978, but his martyrdom at the hands of a hostile press seemed to silence those rumors. An odd bit of investigative reporting in the *Reader's Digest* attempted to link Obledo—as well as state Senator Alex Garcia and Assemblyman Richard Alatorre—with the Mexican Mafia. Although all three Hispanic leaders were declared innocent of any criminal wrongdoing by the state attorney general in May, the exoneration received far less attention in the press than the original charges. And a shaken Obledo is now more interested in a return to teaching than the dirty fighting of politics.

The soul-weary Obledo is also burdened with the image of a Cabinet secretary imprisoned by his own bureaucracy. His agency is charged with the thankless, perhaps impossible task of dealing with mental hospitals, prisons, the juvenile justice system, and the drug rehabilitation programs—a task made doubly difficult by the resistance of some entrenched bureaucrats to Obledo's affirmative action commitment. "Obviously the press doesn't understand the internal fighting that takes place when you have a Mexican-American for the first time dealing with a cadre of civil



servants who've been there for years and bridle at supporting minority programs now," says Assemblyman Art Torres.

In fact, Mario Obledo is a quietly competent administrator who served as assistant attorney general of Texas, general counsel of MALDEF, and law professor at Harvard before joining the Brown administration. And he remains unsullied in the eyes of the Chicano community. Some 2,000 supporters gathered in Sacramento last year to show their faith in Obledo, and a Los Angeles solidarity dinner in March drew 5,800 paying guests, including the entire roster of ranking Chicano leaders and most of the top-ranking Democratic officeholders. "He is the greatest hero the Chicano community has seen in this generation," enthuses one of the many young Chicanos who joined the government under Obledo's affirmative action programs. "He has catalyzed everything that is happening among Chicanos in California."

Scandal and rumors of scandal seem to shadow Chicano politicians on their climb to power. The taint remains long after the mud is washed away by apology or exoneration. "If you print a story often enough," says Obledo, "people start saying: 'Sure, I know Mario, but maybe there's something to it.'"

And even when the rumors are reduced to provable charges, there is room for speculation about motives and timing. Councilman Jess Haro, the first Chicano to serve on the San Diego City Council, recently pleaded guilty to one misdemeanor charge of misrepresenting the value of goods that he brought across the border from Tijuana in 1973. The U.S. attorney's office did not file criminal charges against Haro until after he took his seat on the City Council, and a U.S. District Court judge sentenced him to a 90-day jail term that caused him to forfeit the seat.

"It's a glaring example of racism and political expediency on the part of the U.S. attorney, the City Council and the press," storms Assemblyman Richard Alatorre, the 36-year-old former professor who represents a large portion of the East Los Angeles barrio. "It could have been handled as a civil matter, but there was an ambitious U.S. attorney who wanted to make his name at our expense. We're energetic, we're expanding politically and economically—but what better way to stop us than going after **our** leaders? And I can't find a better word than conspiracy to explain it."

Ironically, the Chicano leader who makes himself accessible to his constituency may invite innuendo from his critics. "Almost every large Mexican family has a friend or relative who has had a problem with law enforcement," says Obledo. "To avoid talking to them is to separate oneself from the community." Says Alatorre: "I grew up in East Los Angeles, and some of the people I grew up with have become involved with the criminal-justice system. Now what am I supposed to do when a woman from my neighborhood comes into my office and asks for help for her son or daughter? Nobody helped her before, and where can she go now if I throw her out?"

"The Chicanos have been excluded from power for so

They affirm their Mexican roots and their American future.

long that anyone who gets in a position of power is watched much more closely than a non-Chicano," says Herman Sillas, who twice ran unsuccessfully for statewide Democratic nominations before accepting an appointment as director of the Department of Motor Vehicles under Jerry Brown and then as U.S. attorney under Jimmy Carter's administration. At the moment, Sillas is directing an investigation into allegations of misconduct by members of the Legislature. "The Chicano community itself watches closely—there's a feeling of hope that the person they identify with will do well, and when criticism comes, whether justified or not, they react to it. And the conduct of an official that would have been accepted if he were an Anglo is questioned when he is a Chicano."

Still, the adverse headlines have not silenced the fiery Richard Alatorre, who openly ponders a run for statewide office in 1982. Other oddsmakers are putting money on the assemblyman from the neighboring district, Art Torres. "I've looked at the governor's race in 1982, and I'm optimistic—either one of us can articulate the issues that will appeal to all Californians," says Alatorre, who wears the traditional *guayabera* and carries a Gucci wallet. "Sure, we're late in the political process, but look at the progress we've made in the last ten years."

A decade has brought a Garcia and an Ayala to the Senate, a Torres, an Alatorre, a Chacon and a Montoya to the Assembly. And it has brought even more names, even greater numbers, to the invisible but often crucial pressure points that will mean even more political power in the next decade.

Ten years ago, for instance, Herman Baca was a block captain in the Nixon presidential campaign. A journeyman

printer who moonlighted on a small press in his garage, Baca took to reading the pamphlets that he printed for Chicano student groups. By 1971, he had organized the Committee on Chicano Rights to protest police treatment of undocumented Mexicans. In 1975, he organized a recall drive against the City Council of National City over its failure to fire a police officer who had been involved in the shooting of a young Hispanic. Three City Council members were recalled, 2,000 Chicano voters were registered, and the membership of the Committee on Chicano Rights began to spread throughout the Southwest and across the nation.

"We take on the issues that nobody else can because of their government-funding guidelines," says Baca, who sits in the darkroom of Aztec Printers, which serves as the committee's headquarters. "Our whole agenda is politicizing, educating and franchising our community."

Ten years ago, Ed Sandoval was a community organizer who applied the techniques of Saul Alinsky and Fred Ross in dealing with the problems of the Mission District. He went on to study law and opened a neighborhood law practice in the heart of the Mission. Today, as president of the 5,000-member Mexican-American Political Association, he is bringing the same spirit of activism to the once staid organization. Only a year ago, the Sacramento MAPA chapter was defunct; today, its roster includes 85 young Chicanos—architects, lawyers and other professionals. And he is making plans to expand MAPA into a national organization.

"We are structuring MAPA to be a grassroots organization with viable chapters on the local level," says Sandoval. "Our purpose is to advance the interests of the Mexican, and if we have to turn our backs on the blacks or the Anglos or the Democrats on certain issues, then we're going to do it. We've got to provide creative, farsighted, moral leadership."

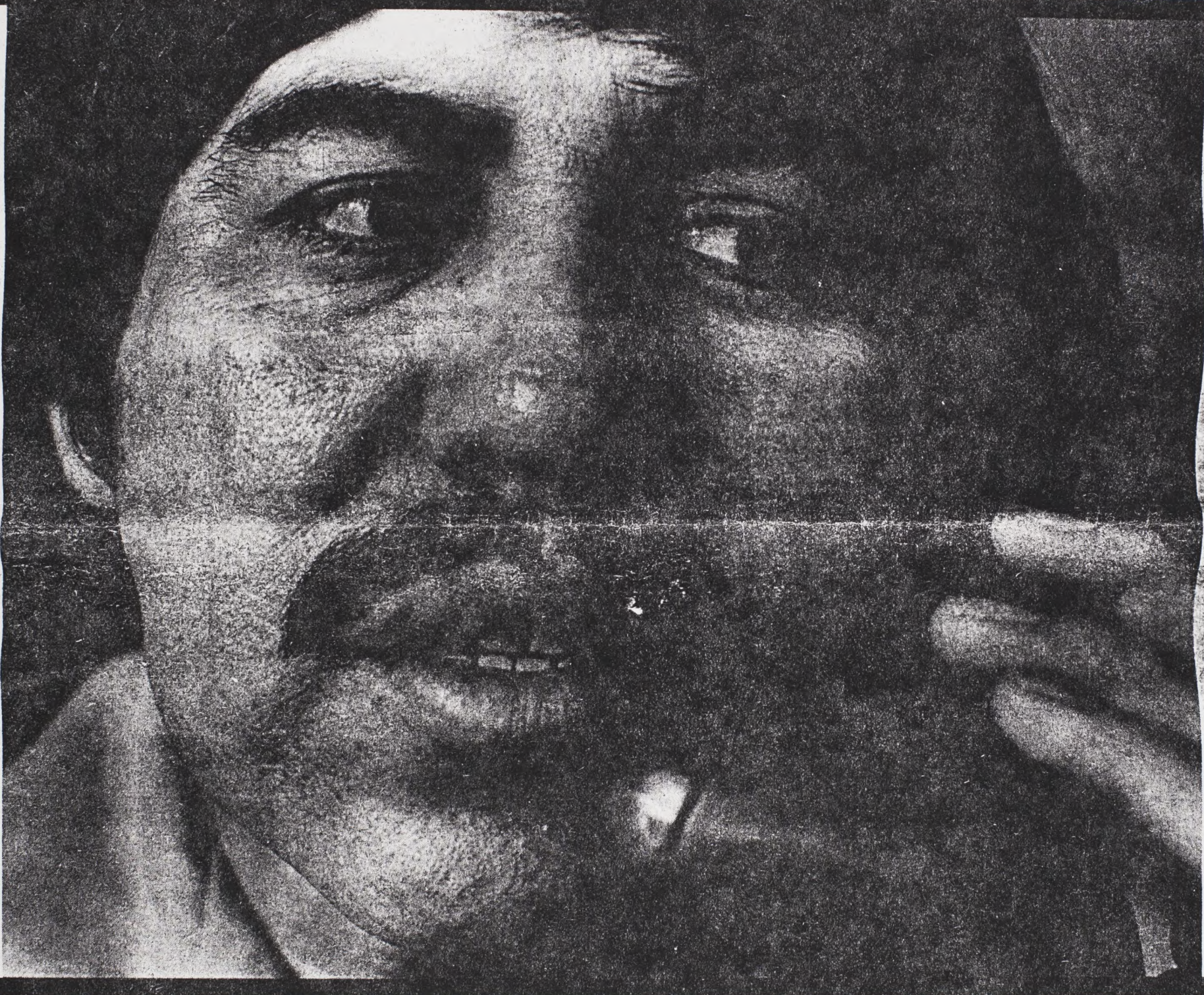
Ten years ago, Vilma Martinez was fresh out of Columbia School of Law. Today, at 34, she directs the efforts of MALDEF in championing the human rights of Hispanics in the courts and government agencies at the local, state and federal levels. And she still finds the hours and the energy to serve on the Board of Regents of the University of California, the President's Advisory Board on Ambassadorial Appointments, the California Judiciary Selection Committee, and the Census Bureau's Advisory Committee on Spanish-Origin Population.

"Knowledge is power," says Martinez. "Money is power. Votes are power. And we are very slowly beginning to understand it, to articulate it, and to have access to it."

Twenty-four hours before Mario Obledo's poignant appearance at the MAPA convention in Sacramento, a spirited crowd of young lawyers gathered in Los Angeles for a benefit performance of Luis Valdez's *Zoot Suit* sponsored by the Mexican-American Bar Association. Like the *Mapistas* in the Sacramento convention center, the Chicano lawyers who filled the Mark Taper Forum may have come from the barrios, but they have reached the halls of academe, the halls of justice, the halls of government. And they responded with pride and passion when the play's *El Pachuco*, a zoot-suited martyr of the barrio, exhorts an imprisoned gang leader to show courage in the face of the Anglo cops who seek to crush him. The Chicanos in the audience wore pin-striped suits and Phi Beta Kappa keys, not zoot suits and dangling chains, but the metaphor was not lost on them.

"The barrio needs you, *carnal*," says *El Pachuco* in the clipped, almost cutting street dialect of the urban Chicano. "Fight back. Show the world a Chicano has balls. Stand up to them with some style. Hang tough and take it. *pachucayo!*"

SOME PEOPLE IN THIS TOWN DON'T LIKE HERMAN BACA



Photographs by Robert Burroughs

AND HE DOESN'T CARE

Herman Baca, the Chicano activist from National City, arrived at the University of Southern California to give a speech one gray evening in early May. He was wearing Levis and a work shirt with embroidery on the chest, the same clothes he'd worn the previous night for a speech in the half-darkened cafeteria at Southwestern College in Chula Vista. He doesn't look as fearsome in person as he sometimes does on television news programs. In social encounters his manners seem old-fashioned. He rises to shake hands, even in a bar, and excuses himself when leaving a group of people. He is short and stout — as lean, really, as anyone with a fondness for Budweiser can expect to be. His hair is completely without gray, which seems odd.

Four years ago he came home to find a bullet hole in his window, and last year found "KKK" spray-painted in blue on the driveway and wall of the house that he rents from his father on National City's comfortable east side.

He was accompanied to USC by a bodyguard and an aide-de-camp, Richard and Ralph Inzunza, respectively. They are fellow members of the Committee on Chicano Rights, a group Baca helped to organize in 1970 as a temporary committee, and which was legally founded last year as a nonprofit corporation. Both Inzunzas are longtime friends of Baca. Indeed, the committee seems more like a group of friends than a cadre of activists, for Baca's aptitude is in organizing his

By Joe Applegate

(continued on page 8)



HERMAN BACA

(continued from page 1)

friends. At Sweetwater High School in the late Fifties, he was president of "Los Solteros" ("The Bachelors"), a club of boys from National City's west-side barrio. The club's usual activity was to hang out at Bob's Coffee Shop at Seventeenth Street and National Avenue, and maybe sling a bottle across the street at the Anglos — the lettermen and Key Clubbers — who hung out at Oscar's hamburger stand. As president, Baca suggested something new. The club should sponsor dances — rent the National Armory, arrange for tickets, publicity, hire a band. "We had two bands sometimes," said Luis Natividad, a "Soltero" who later chose the route that Baca didn't, from Chicano activist to government employee. "Even in those days," he said, "Herman could put things together."

After checking in at USC's office for Chicano students, Baca and his companions were conducted a short way to a classroom in the university's Methodist church (a lovely brick relic that dates from 1880, when USC was founded as a Methodist school). Richard Inzunza went straight to a seat against the yellow wall that faced the audience and the door. Baca took a chair in the front row and folded his hands. He was weary with a cold, and with having just returned from the national conference of MECHA, the organization of Chicano students, in Denver. His speeches, which deal mainly with the Mexicans who sneak into the United States to work, are fairly well known in San Diego because his language is so harsh.

Perhaps a hundred years from now his style will be appreciated as "Renaissance Sixties," but in this decade it is considered bad form. Border patrolmen view Baca the way Israel views Yasser Arafat, leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization. "We do not recognize him and therefore we have no comment," said Muriel Watson of the National Border Patrol Council. San Diego Police Chief Bill Kolender calls him "terrible, irresponsible"; and Kile Morgan, the mayor of National City, told the *San Diego Union*, "I don't understand his cause, and I think most of the Mexican people don't believe in him." Tom Ridley, the owner of La Jolla Offset, where Baca was employed in 1967, said, "That guy makes my blood curdle every time I see him on TV." Ridley fired Baca one afternoon when he suspected him of pilfering chemicals, which Baca denies.

Baca begins a typical speech these days by calling immigration "the slave issue of the Twentieth Century." He calls "illegal alien" a slur that the racist news media invented to exploit the American fear of foreign workers. And when he calls the Border Patrol a reincarnation of the old Texas Rangers, whose unofficial duty was to "make sure the Mexicans didn't get uppity"; and accuses the patrol of "innumerable beatings, rapes, and murders"; and says "the human rights of Mexicans, Chicanos, and Mexican-Americans are routinely violated at the border and at Border Patrol checkpoints," he is being lenient. He sometimes calls the patrolmen Nazis. The moral climate of San Diego, he adds, resembles that of Germany when ordinary people peeped from behind their blinds to see the Jews led away, and conspired in the holocaust by remaining silent. "If two Jews in Russia had been handcuffed together and shot, you would have heard a cry of indignation from all over the world," he said at Southwestern, referring to an incident on March 17 in San Ysidro, where patrolman Dan Cole killed Efrén Reyes and wounded Benito Rincon after handcuffing them together. "Here that happens and not one newspaper, not one church, not one politician or businessman stands up to protest. But we protest, be-

cause we're the ones getting killed . . . and when the net falls, every one of us is going to be in it together."

Preparing the audience for a message like this is one of the jobs of Ralph Inzunza. He describes himself as the committee's "media specialist." An instructor in Chicano Studies at Southwestern, he spends his free time arranging Baca's schedule, writing press releases, and talking with news editors and reporters. "The way we work with the media is second to none," he told me. To preface Baca's speech at USC, he'd arranged for a videotape showing of *Illegal Aliens: A Different Perspective*, the half-hour television documentary that Channel 39 had broadcast on April 4, the eve of Baca's thirty-sixth birthday. If any documentary could faithfully express the committee's views on Mexican immigration, it should be this one; for Baca and Inzunza helped to write it. They reviewed the narration script as it was being written; they counseled the producer, Maria Velasquez, on what should be inserted, what left in, what taken out.

"I was really scared going into this project," Velasquez said. "I didn't know anything about immigration and the Committee on Chicano Rights . . . and I felt that showing them the script was the only way of getting it right." She added that when she had approached Baca with the idea of the documentary, he was not in the position of giving favors. "Let's face it," she said, "he didn't owe us a thing." And who, after all, is going to tell Baca and the CCR what to do? The committee receives no money from the government; its annual income of \$15,000 (the figure was supplied by Inzunza) comes from tax-free contributions and from dances held occasionally at Club 21 in National City. Because the committee pays its own way, it can speak out on issues that social service agencies must hold their tongues about, as their governmental contracts call for public services and not statements to the press.

Bilingual education, law enforcement, immigration law — the committee keeps a Navy-gray filing cabinet stocked with reports and newspaper clippings on these topics. Baca reads them all. Two years ago, when President Carter announced his desire to appoint Leonel J. Castillo as commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Baca flew to Houston and jawboned with Castillo. Baca, at the time, could inform him on the

fine points of INS procedure: the effective use of an "H-2" program, for example. "Baca knows the immigration issue," said Gus Chavez, who directs the Educational Opportunity Program in San Diego. "He's not qualified to speak on every issue, but he's not too bad on immigration."

Efficient in putting out press releases, diligent in returning phone calls, Baca and the CCR have a reputation for being, at the least, convenient sources of quotes for news stories. About a month ago I called the Chicano Federation, the community service group, to request an interview with executive director José Moreno. A secretary answered. "Mr. Moreno isn't here right now," she said. I gave my name and telephone number and told her I was a reporter. "Oh, maybe you want to talk to Herman," she said. "Do you know Herman?"

He was ten years old when he took the Greyhound bus to join his father and mother in National City. They'd left him with his grandmother in Los Lentes, New Mexico, the family home for four generations. Nick Baca, a plasterer, had left for lack of work. Los Lentes at the time had no electricity; the heavy work was done by livestock and windmills; and household water was fetched from an outdoor pump, sometimes by a toddler who lived in fear (as Baca was) of the feisty backyard rooster. The Rio Grande could be seen from the edge of town, and the slopes of the high, rocky valley were perennially shadowed with piñon. In the winter the men worked in nearby Albuquerque, and in the summer most families raised crops. "I was happy," said Baca the other day in the darkroom of his print shop, which smelled of hyposulfite. "There weren't a lot of what you would call 'urban pressures.' Everybody had a role. Mine was chopping wood, carrying water, bringing in eggs, and doing what I was told."

The family resettled in a brown stucco house on McKinley Avenue in National City's Oldtown. Today the house stands about forty feet from the river-green embankment of Interstate 5, but at the time it was part of an ordinary Mexican-American neighborhood, where Herman spent an ordinary adolescence. He hawked the *Evening Tribune* in restaurants after school, and sometimes missed a school day altogether when one of the local slaughterhouses needed boys to load cowhides on a gloomy boxcar, bound for some distant tannery.

Reading *Times* and *Newsweek* during study hall was one of his favorite pastimes at Sweetwater High. He never intended to enter a university — he says his counselors didn't encourage him — and although he resents the system that guided him and his friends to wood shop, auto shop, and metal shop, he never objected at the time. He graduated in 1961 with a diploma and a 1952 Ford.

His car qualified him for employment delivering blueprints for Graphic Trades Company in National City. He stayed four years, working his way into the back shop and eventually learning the basics of the printing trade. Meanwhile, he'd married Bobbie Watts, seventeen, an Anglo girl he'd met after his family moved out of Oldtown and bought a house on the east side. Their first child was born in 1964, when Baca, twenty-one, was on his way to becoming a conventionally successful young man. He left Graphic Trades for a higher-paying job as a cameraman at Merlin Printers in Imperial Beach, where he stayed two years, learning on his own time to operate a commercial press. Unknown to his employers, he asked the National Labor Relations Board to review the firm's books to determine if the employees were eligible to form a union. They weren't. Soon Baca was looking for another job. He says he was fired; his employers — Rex M. Foster and Jake Immings — say he quit. In any case, he worked for a number of shops during the next four years, impressing his employers — even Tom Ridley — as a steady and competent worker whose ambition was to open his own shop.

"Back then I saw myself as an individual who had 'made it,'" Baca said the other day. "I had come out of a barrio-type environment, and out of all the friends I grew up with, a couple were already dead, a couple were in jail, and some had gone

over to Vietnam and were just getting back, while here I'd started as a delivery boy and had worked myself up to printer. I was even driving the Car of the Year, a 1968 Pontiac LeMans." This was the year in which he got involved with politics. He volunteered as a block captain to muster votes for the president-to-be, Richard Nixon. "I wasn't surprised that Herman worked for Nixon," said Charlie Vazquez, a friend from high school and now a member of the CCR. "We grew up in the tradition of our parents. We were Democrats, but basically conservative. We didn't know what the world was like. You could say we didn't know any better."

His nascent political interest drew Baca to the Mexican-American Political Association, which then was concerned with registering Mexican-Americans to vote and with teaching them the basics of the political system. A charter member, Baca became the group's president in 1969, just at the time that Mexican-Americans in National City were beginning to swing elections. Ernie Azhocar won a seat on the Sweetwater High School District Board, the first Mexican-American to do so; as did Oscar Cañedo on the board of the National City Elementary School District. "We started to feel confident," said Luis Natividad, also a charter member of MAPA, "and confidence was something new for Chicanos in politics."

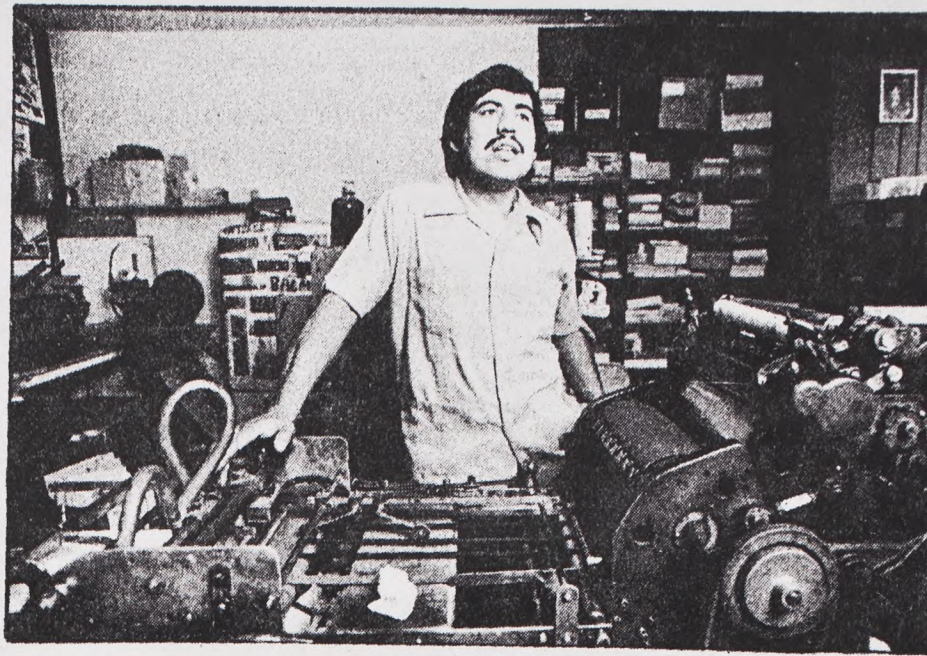
Something new for Baca at the time was his social attitude, which was less materialistic. "I had thought that my minor achievement — being a self-made man — was something spectacular," he said. "But it didn't mean anything. Some people [Chicanos] get a little bit of money and change their name from Montez to Montay; or some people tell you that they never eat Mexican food anymore — nothing for them but roast beef. That's crazy. If you're Mexican, that's it and there's no denying it."

Between 1968 and 1970 Baca became, in his own words, educated and politicized. He said, "When you're a kid, you accept the conditioning. We used to think that if the police didn't stop us at least twice a week, then they didn't care about us. We never questioned why they were always stopping us. And what we're doing now, in the [Chicano] movement, is stopping and saying, 'I'm through with all that conditioning.'"

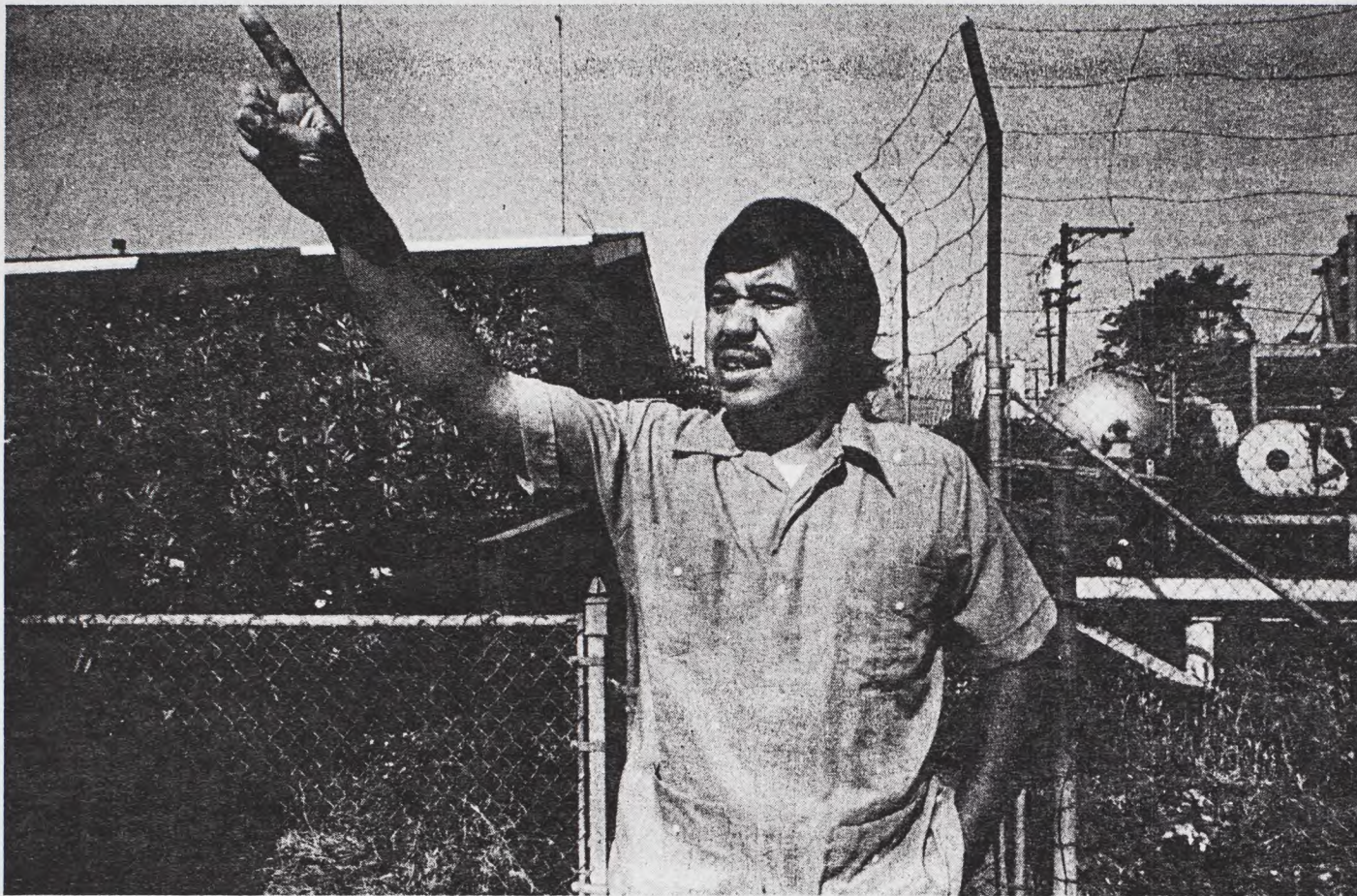
As a born-again Chicano, so to speak, Baca volunteered to aid Pete Chacon in 1970, when the school teacher entered the Democratic primary for the state assembly seat of south-central San Diego. Bringing in some friends from MAPA, Baca took charge of Chacon's Logan Heights office, where, despite a lack of money, he managed to execute a variety of jobs and arrangements. The campaign went so well that days before the election Chacon escaped from his position as an underdog; his victory in the primary was not so much a surprise as it was a relief. The surprise was hearing Baca tell a few friends on election night that he was dropping out of the runoff campaign. No one close to Chacon — not attorney Ramon Castro or Dr. Gil Oddo, who were co-chairmen of the runoff campaign, nor aide José Diaz — said that Baca was asked to leave. Diaz said, rather, that Baca had urged Chacon to run an ethnic campaign — playing up his Chicano background — which Chacon refused to do. His opponent was former San Diego Councilman Tom Hom, who was indicted just before the election in a scandal involving the Yellow Cab Company. Chacon, who'd run a "straight" campaign, was boosted into office and became San Diego's first Chicano assemblyman.

Baca's associates viewed their victory in the primary as a good-bye kiss from the Democratic Party. "After we won, the party came in and said, 'Get rid of the radicals,' meaning us," said Vazquez. "For us, the Chacon election was the turning point away from traditional party politics."

Now Baca belongs to an unofficial party that exists only in name: La Raza Unida. He votes in every election, but is the kind of voter who, when he was given a choice between Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter, decided "not to vote for either of the two evils."



(continued on page 10)



HERMAN BACA

(continued from page 9)

Baca himself has said he won't run for political office, which in National City is like a blind man saying he won't become an optometrist *after all*. Baca is dead politically. But his political soul lives; he builds on defeat. After leaving Chacon's campaign, he helped organize the Ad Hoc Committee on Chicano Rights, a coalition

of local Chicano leaders, who were united in a jangling way, like keys on a ring. The group's purpose was to speak with one voice on issues concerning all Chicanos. The voice turned out to be Baca's. As chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee, Baca transformed it by luck or veiled design into a fixture around himself.

In 1974 a Chicano youth named Tato Rivera was shot while fleeing a policeman in National City. A hundred or more people came to Baca's print shop in the weeks following the incident. They wanted to join the Ad Hoc Committee, which staged a special election against the city council for refusing, at first, to reveal the policeman's name (Craig Short). It was a showcase election in which the Ad Hoc

Committee, sponsoring as candidates the well known Oscar Cañedo and Jess Ramirez, fell right off the platform, having drawn the whole county's attention, then losing by a margin of two to one. Baca could not deliver the votes, and he still can't. Last year, when San Diego Councilman Jess Haro was imprisoned (for evading customs taxes), Baca called a "community convention" to nominate his successor. Of course the San Diego City Council was going to choose a successor on its own, but Baca declared that the council was "not going to be able to ignore" the convention's choice. It did seem likely that the council would appoint a Mexican-American to replace Haro, the first Hispanic councilman in the city's

history. But the council instead chose Lucy Killea (who speaks Spanish), and Baca declared a boycott of her office until the primary election this September. Killea speaks of that boycott as if it never really happened. "It would not have bothered me because Herman lives in National City," she said one day during the council's lunch break. "He's not a resident of San Diego, much less of my district."

What Baca dragged out of the ruinous election in National City was a permanent committee capable of staging a "community convention." (Killea spoke at that convention and "enjoyed it very much.") The *Ad Hoc* part of the committee's name has fallen away, and today, with forty members, the group still attracts a few fresh volunteers. Among them: Dave Oddo, son of the political scientist who took Baca's job on Chacon's campaign.

Even the problems in Baca's home and business seem to have settled themselves in a way that accommodates him as spokesman for the committee. His marriage dissolved in 1972 (Baca kept his two sons and his Car of the Year), and two years later he married a Chicana he'd met at a conference on immigration. His business appears to exist for the committee and not for his profit, so that people who detest his politics have to admit that he doesn't use his notoriety as a feedbag. He said his income last year was \$6000, and whether that's true or not, it's certain that his business is slow. He seldom prints more than half a day at a time.

Because his organization is self-supporting, Baca usually has a bad word for his former activists, especially Chicanos, who have merged their community involvement with a government job. (A line from one of his speeches: "Remember the War on Poverty? Lyndon Johnson paid all the activists to shut up, and the next thing you heard, no more poverty.") Augie Bareño was the president of the Mexican-American Political Association after Baca was, and today he

(continued on page 30)

HERMAN BACA

(continued from page 10)

works for the City of San Diego, in the citizens assistance office, and is a planning commissioner in National City. He said, "I have taken the approach that when you help a kid out in Pony League or in boxing, or when you help somebody get his property rezoned, that what you've done is just as important as Herman's work in publicizing the issues."

The reference to Pony League is apt. Bareño runs the National City league where one of Baca's sons plays third base (for a team called Howard's Furniture; Baca's younger brother George is the team's coach). From time to time, Bareño sees Baca at the baseball field, just standing there watching the boys play, enjoying a benefit of middle-class life as provided by persons who accept society about as it is. What's surprising is how neatly Baca fits into suburban society. Not only does he jog, but his morning route takes him past a shopping center, then a city park, then a

hospital, then a private school, and last along his own street where flagpoles stand in front of seven patriotic houses. It isn't a high-class neighborhood (one fireman down the street took the hitch off his motorboat's trailer to prevent its being stolen easily), but it's the kind of street where a former engineer at Rohr Industries hired a gardener to cut his lawns and later learned that the gardener was a Mexican who worked here illegally. This engineer had heard of Baca, but didn't know he lives a hundred yards away.

Baca says that Mexican-Americans, as a people, have been "colonized," severed from their culture, and dominated by a class that profits from them. Yet Baca himself doesn't seem much damaged by this colonization, not outwardly at least. On an ordinary day, when he's finished his jogging, he sees his oldest boys off to high school and junior high, then has a cup of coffee with his wife, Nadine. She hears his schedule and maybe decides what kind of lunch she'll take to him at noon, or whether to let him call out to a restaurant. At work he moves between his presses (an A.B. Dick and a Multilith), listening to the radio, and occasionally going to the fat white refrigerator for a beer. When a reporter calls, Baca usually goes to the curtained darkroom at the back of the shop, sits at an oaken desk that looks like a school teacher's, holds onto the telephone cord that's limp from being twisted between his fingers, and delivers such a

line as, "Justice in the Anglo community means exactly that — 'just-us.'" Baca is somewhat like the Wizard of Oz (in the movie version): A likeable man behind a curtain who projects an alarming image of himself with thunderbolts blasting around his ears.

"Why does he do it?" said Lowell Blankfort, the former publisher of the *National City Star-News* (Baca's antagonist). "Why is Herman Baca always throwing a tantrum?"

Baca says he speaks out because nobody else does. Put another way: His message is the *act* of speaking out. Once, when he was describing the case of George Olmos — the boy from Logan Heights who shot himself in the head with a gun he thought was unloaded, and later, unconscious, was denied entry to University Hospital because he appeared to be a poor Mexican — Baca used the word "racist" four times in less than a minute. One questioned if he were more interested in calling names than in solving problems. But witness the major institution in charge of reasonable debate. The *San Diego Union* printed the story of George Olmos on April 17, two days after the event, in an article that appeared at the bottom of page B-1, below an illustrated story about a spelling bee. The follow-up article appeared the next day on the front page, again at the bottom; and an editorial ran on April 24, nine days following the incident. Just the day before, University Hospital issued a press release which de-

manded a state investigation into "the general problem of public access to emergency health-care service." But the release said nothing about George Olmos, whether he was still alive (he is), or exactly why he hadn't been allowed to enter the hospital after preliminary treatment had been administered at Paradise Valley Hospital in National City. "There are two processes of change," says Baca. "There's the legal and political process, which you've got to go through whether you like it or not, and there's the process where Herman Baca gets up there and starts yelling and screaming so that the media can react to it."

One afternoon I was talking with Baca in the back of his shop when the telephone rang. It was Harold Keen calling from Channel 8. He had tried to set up a televised debate between Baca and somebody from the Border Patrol, but nobody would agree to appear on TV with Baca. This was a few days after May 18, when District Attorney Edwin Miller announced he had no grounds on which to prosecute patrolman Cole for the shooting of Reyes, the Mexican. "Hey, so the fight fell through," said Baca, winking at me, teasing Keen for being some kind of a boxing promoter. Keen must have said something funny because Baca leaned his head against the wall and laughed. Baca missed a chance to speak on TV. They'll never believe this at city hall, I thought. Over there they call him Herman *Boca*. □

S.D. UNION

3/13/77

S.D. PROFILE: HERMAN BACA

Chicano Builds On Freedom Dreams

By **GEORGE RAMOS**

Staff Writer, The San Diego Union

Herman Baca is an intense man who does not like to stray from the "issue."

"There are 250,000 Chicanos in San Diego County. There are three million in California and 15 million in the United States," said Baca. "But there is no justice for our people.

"The issue is freedom, justice and equality for everyone, including Chicanos. Because of the current interest over the illegal problem, our raza (people) is now facing its greatest crisis of its history."

Joins Rights Group

The intensity of Baca's commitment to the issue has been evident recently through his association with the National City-based Ad Hoc Committee on Chicano Rights, which just incorporated itself into a nonprofit group:

— **The group initiated** a recall move

against three members of the National City council, charging they were insensitive to the needs of the Chicano community, which represents nearly half of the city's 44,000 population. The effort last year, however, failed.

— **A community-organized** demonstration was staged last year with the group's help in the wake of the shooting by National City police of an alleged purse snatcher, Luis "Tato" Rivera.

— **The group's repeated** protests over discrimination practices it says are exercised against Chicanos by local governmental agencies.

Baca, 33, has been at the center of controversy whenever he speaks out on issues that are deemed important by the Committee on Chicano Rights, Inc. He has been vilified by opponents and not always loved by many within the Chicano community.

"I don't understand his cause," National

City Mayor Kile Morgan notes. "I think most of the Mexican people don't believe in him.

"But I've never quarreled with what he's doing. That's his right."

Many within the Chicano community privately say that Baca does not speak for a good-sized segment of the Spanish-surname population here. But, they also concede Baca represents a point of view that must be taken into account.

Concedes Not Most Loved

Said San Ysidro tax consultant Alberto Garcia: "If what he does results in good for the Chicano, then I'm for him."

Baca concedes that he is not, perhaps, the most loved person despite the fact that he regularly speaks out in favor of Mexicans — U.S. citizens, Mexican citizens who work here legally and those Mexican citizens who enter the country illegally to work here.

(Continued on B-4, Col. 1)

The San Diego Union

CAN'T AVOID 'ISSUE'

Justice For Chicano Goal Of Herman Baca

HOME
EDITION
...

(Continued from Page B-1)

That unpopularity does not appear to bother him. He points out, however, that such talk detracts from the issue. "Let's deal in issues," he said. "I don't deal in personalities."

Accordingly, the National City activist reluctantly talks about himself. He would rather tell his listener about the "crocodile tears" being shed as concern by governmental agencies over the illegal alien issue. Even the term "illegal alien" disturbs Baca.

Prodded, Baca could be persuaded to forego conversation about the "systematic exclusion of Chicanos from active participation in this society" and discuss instead the personal side of his life.

Baca's involvement in "el movimiento" dates back to 1968. At that time, Republican Richard Nixon battled Democrat Hubert Humphrey for the presidency.

Baca — a self-described conservative Democrat at the time — worked for the Nixon campaign as a block captain in the election day get-out-the-vote effort. He voted for Nixon because, he said, he was not yet aware of the 'issue' that would eventually steer him in the opposite direction politically.

A printer by trade, he worked for several firms and gave his time to some friends who needed literature printed for their 'issue.'

"We just started talking



HERMAN BACA
'... issue is freedom'

(in 1969) about our philosophy," Baca said. "We agreed and disagreed." It was then that Baca decided he was not politically aware. "I was not looking at the situation (the status of Chicanos in the United States) as it really existed," he said.

That was when Baca, in his own words, became aware. He became involved with 'the issue.'

He and others formed the local chapter of MAPA — the Mexican-American Political Association. The more and more he became involved, he became convinced that he had to speak out.

He lost one job with a printing firm because of his outspoken views. He also re-

mained active in local Democratic party circles.

He managed then educator Peter Chacon's successful 1972 Democratic primary win for a seat in the Assembly. "We accomplished something great, but I felt it was time to do different things," he said.

Chacon went on to win the November election, becoming the first Chicano to be a state legislator elected from San Diego County.

Since that time, Baca said, things politically have changed. The Democrats and Republicans, he said, take the Chicano vote for granted.

Baca is now a registered member of an issues-oriented political party for Chicanos, El Partido de la Raza Unida.

His family moved here from New Mexico in the mid-1950s. Baca went to schools in National City and Chula Vista. He had always been interested in history and civic government classes in school, which he said were part of the seed that later bloomed into active political awareness.

Baca in school remembers the racism that many Chicanos say exist in public schools. "Are all you tacos in line?" he remembers an instructor asking a group in his gym class.

Baca now owns his own print shop, Aztec Printing, on Highland Avenue in National City and while it is not a booming business, it does help pay the bills. He and his wife are the parents of a 3-month-old son. He also has two other sons, ages 13 and 11, by a previous marriage.

He even admits to an outside pleasure — an occasional trip to the race track "for a play on the horses."

It is doubtful, Baca said,

CP. UNION
3/13/77

1981: Chicano Of The Year Headliners

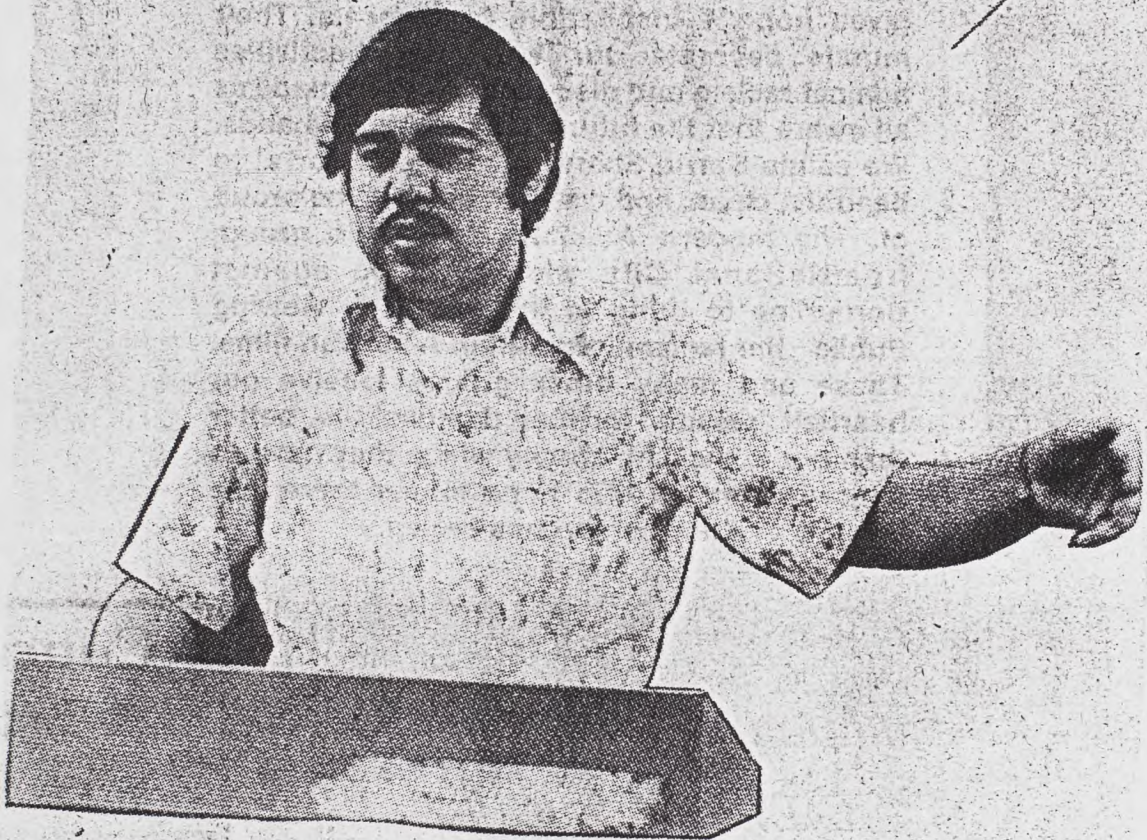
La Prensa San Diego

Dec. 31, 1981

1981—"Chicano Headliner of the year"

We proudly salute those "Chicanos" who through their efforts, dedication, and participation have advanced the forward movement de "nuestra gente". There are the movers" who have forced into consciousness the synergic, electric growth of La Raza de Bronze. Nurtured in the 50's tried in the 60's and flowered in the 70's, the Chicano headliners represent "la nueva onda" which together make up "el movimiento" of Americas most vital force...Los Chicanos!

HERMAN BACA
Chairman
Committee On Chicano Rights



We salute Herman Baca for his consistent dedication in the cause of civil rights. Be it police brutality, INS infringement of constitutional and civil rights, or institutional denial of civil and human rights of the Chicano/Latino communities, Baca and the Committee on Chicano Rights has consistently been in the forefront to right a wrong, call into account the heavy hand of the law, or in demanding accountability from the members of the Border Patrol or the INS. From San Diego, to Washington; Mexico to Germany, Baca and his committee have become champions in the protection of peoples constitutional civil and human rights.

Weather
Variable cloudiness
through tomorrow. High
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Details: D-8

Los ANGELES

HERALD EXAMINER

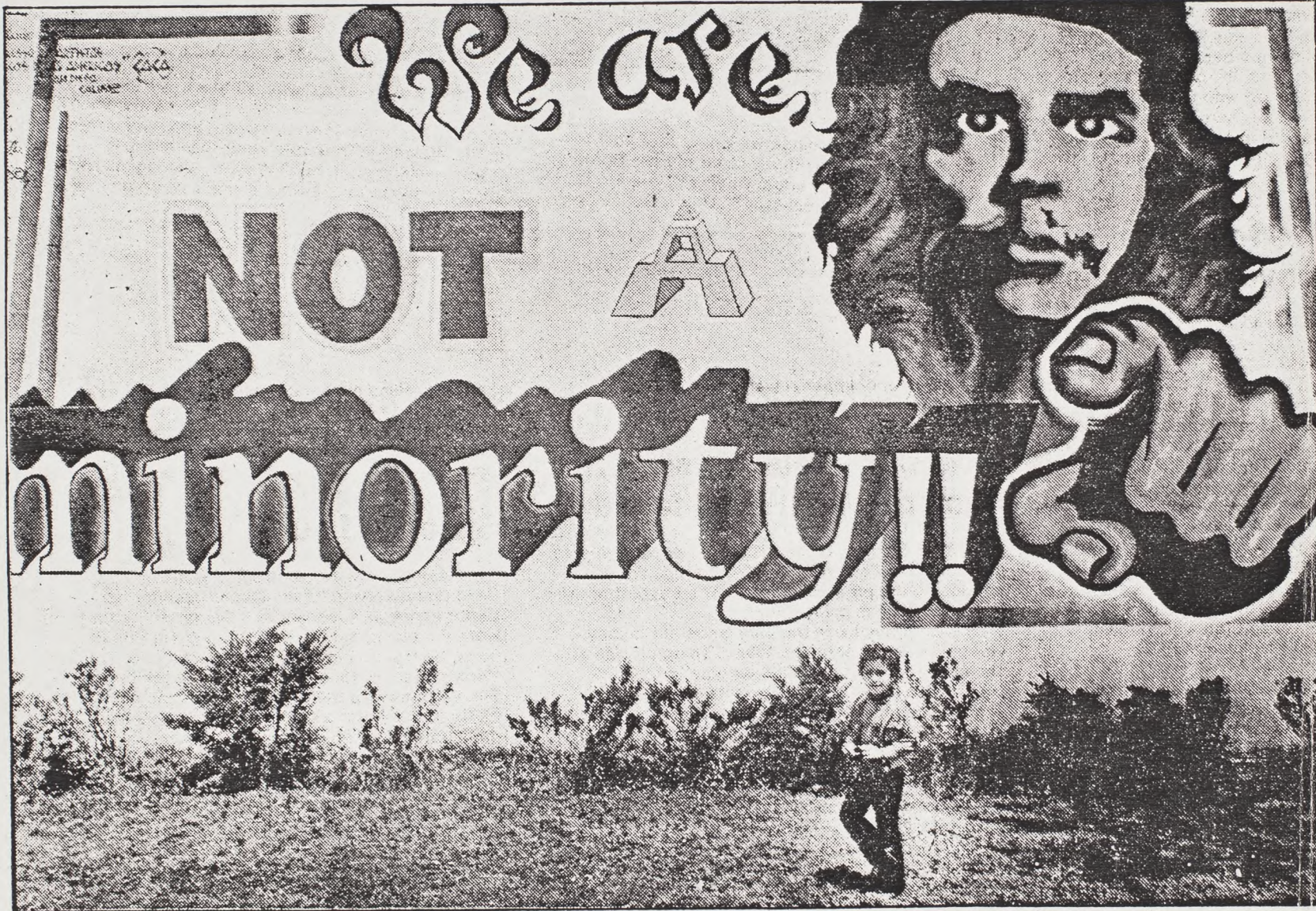
Thursday
May 29, 1980

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25 cents

California's very own separatist movement



A mural at the Estrada Court apartments in Boyle Heights reflects Hispanic pride.

Hispanics talk about 'reclaiming' the land

By Merle Linda Wolin
Herald Examiner staff writer

Anyone who thinks the idea of political separatism is just popular among French Canadians in Quebec these days ought to speak with Mexican-Americans right here in *Aztlan*, the ancient Nahuatl Indian name for California and the Southwest.

Many Mexicans and Chicanos — political leaders, community organizers, artists, professors, everyday workers — will tell you that the

idea of one day reclaiming their ancestral territory is still alive. After all, they say, this land — California, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, Utah and parts of Nevada — was taken from Mexico by the United States in the war of 1846 (the Mexican-American War), and they are tired of being treated as a subservient class in what should be their country. They also include Texas, which won its independence from Mexico in 1836, and which they claim was annexed by the United States in 1844.

Some Chicano activists will go so far as to say that if economic and political conditions do not improve for Mexican-Americans under the current system of government, a full-scale separatist movement to get the territory back will emerge here as it has among French-speaking Canadians in Quebec.

Eric Sevareid, the former CBS commentator whose somber prognoses of national problems have earned him three Peabody awards for distinguished broadcasting, said recently in an interview with the Minneapolis Tribune that he believes the trend toward economic consolidation by big corporations will create a stratum of Spanish speakers in the Southwest who will agitate to build a separatist movement.

"I have the feeling that white-black biracialism is nothing like the threat to the cohesion of this country that the English-Spanish bilingualism is," he said.

"What is the country going to look like? ... I think if we are to have a second language coterminous with a piece of territory, like the Southwestern states, you could get a political separatist movement, like Quebec.

"I may be just foolish about this, but this to me has got the seeds of terrible trouble for this country.

A14 Los Angeles Herald Examiner, Thursday, May 29, 1980

Separate

Continued from page A-1

and we ought to watch this very carefully."

Sevareid's fears seem justified by interviews with Chicano cultural and political leaders who time and again speak about seceding from the union as "inevitable," and "a timely topic." Separatist sentiment is also constantly reflected in street murals and popular songs with refrains like:

*"I'm no Gringo or stranger,
On this land on which I stand,
California belongs to Mexico,
Because God wanted it so."*

Rudolfo Acuna, a professor of Chicano studies at California State University at Northridge and the author of "Occupied America, the Chicano Struggle for Liberation," believes that a Mexican separatist movement could begin in the next 10 or 20 years "if there are not dramatic changes in this society."

"The real talk of secessionism is going to come when you have shrinking resources and rising expectations," said Acuna, a Chicano who can trace his own roots to the 1700s in what is now Arizona. "I can't think of any reason to stay within the country. Carter gives appointments (to Hispanics), but you can't eat appointments. The economy is worse, there is less of a future for poor people. The structure alienates people and forces them out, pushes them into a situation where they have no alternatives. I say, if you're the majority, why not rule?"

Acuna believes that a separatist movement will spring from Mexican indignation over the U.S. conquest of Mexican territory more than 130 years ago.

"The (Mexican-American) War took away over 50 percent of Mexico's land and over 70 percent of her arable land," he said. "It's quite clear that the U.S. ripped off the land.

"We have historical roots here. Mexicans, when angry, say they have a right to be here. If I've heard it once, I've heard it 100 times. And Chicanos feel the same way."

The historical precedent for an irredentist movement (named after an Italian political party in the 19th century that sought to regain control of Italian regions that were under foreign control but inhabited largely by Italians) of Mexicans in the Southwest goes back, at least, to 1915. On Jan. 6 of that year, a liberation manifesto called the *Plan de San Diego*, named after San Diego, Texas, where the scheme originated, was widely distributed in the Lone Star State. Mexicans from the United States and Mexico planned to reconquer lost territories and establish an independent republic that possibly would be reannexed to Mexico.

In very specific military language, the plan called for a general military uprising on Feb. 20, 1915, at 2 a.m. that, in the words of the document, would "proclaim the independence and segregation of the states bordering upon the Mexican nation ... of which states the Republic of Mexico was robbed in a most perfidious manner by North American imperialism." The document also specifically addressed the problems of blacks in the United States who were promised "liberty" from the "Yankee tyranny which has held us in iniquitous slavery since remote times." American Indians, too, were guaranteed the return of their lands "to the end that they may assist us in the cause which we defend."

But Texas Rangers and U.S. law enforcement officials discovered the plan in late January and moved to squash the operation. Despite their efforts, however, armed bands of between 25 and 100 Mexican-Americans began to raid the Lower Rio Grande Valley, destroying bridges and seizing some towns. For eight months, a virtual state of war existed between Anglos and Mexicans in South Texas that ended only after U.S. and Mexican border patrols were increased and the economy of the area had been destroyed.

Today, the idea of political separatism is reflected in California and the Southwest in contemporary Mexican and Chicano culture and in political thought. In the last five years, for example, book titles like "El Gran Despojo" (The Big Rip-Off) and Acuna's "Occupied America, the Chicano Struggle Towards Liberation" appeared in the Latin section of bookstores, large and small.

The refrains of other popular folk songs go: "*In this year of complaints,
Of strikes and much suffering,
Many suffer injustices,
While others drown in riches,
And although they call us foreigners,
Because we speak Spanish,
The U.S.A. is another name,
For occupied Mexico.*"

On street walls in Latin neighborhoods, huge, brightly painted murals teach cultural pride through history. The message: "This is ours and don't forget it!"

When Chicano friends who live in the Southwest write each other, a letter could, for example, be addressed to Phoenix, *Aztlan*, — and the U.S. post office delivers it. And U.S. travelers in Mexico often hear California and the Southwest referred to as "The Other Mexico." Some Mexican-Americans in Los Angeles joke about "the silent recovery of a lost territory" or tease Anglos about issuing them a green card when they regain control of the state. The list goes on.

Separate/A-14, Col. 1

Carlos Almaraz, a well-known Los Angeles Chicano painter who exhibits with a group called Los Four, says that separatism is inevitable as long as Mexicans and Chicanos are excluded from "mainstream" culture.

"Not being allowed into the system means you have to form another system to combat it," he said. "For example. I recently went to the L.A. Institute of Contemporary Art. One of the directors reviewed my work and that of my colleagues and says, 'We're not into that Chicano stuff.'"

"In a city with over one-fourth of the population Latino, all this young man can say is: 'We're not into that Chicano stuff!'"

"I ask you. Had I been Marc Chagall, would he have said, 'We're not into that Jewish stuff'?"

He went on: "The idea of separatism is not dormant. On (L.A.'s) East Side, we see ourselves practically as a separate country. And we see *gabacho* (Chicano slang for Anglo) as a foreign culture."

Tito Larriva, a young songwriter and lead vocalist of Los Plugs, one of Los Angeles' most popular Chicano punk bands, went so far as to say he believes a separatist movement is already under way. "It's happened in an inner way," he said. "I feel the same in downtown L.A. or in Mexico City."

Larriva said he believes a political separatist movement is "highly unlikely because of the government" but that if there were an uprising, he would surely support it.

"This has always been Mexico," he said, "and there is nothing that is going to keep us out. It's like salmon going to their home upstream by instinct, though many die on the journey. That's how it is here (with Mexicans). In order to stop it, the government would have to kill us all."

Corky Gonzalez, a longtime Chicano activist and poet who heads the militant Crusade for Justice in Denver, said in a telephone interview that Chicanos and Mexicans in the Southwest will "look toward self-determination ... if the majority system does not allow for our growth."

"The idea of secession seems very dramatic and impossible," he said. "But nothing is impossible. The seed is planted. It all depends on how society develops, what are the economic conditions. Our children are not going to be breaking down the door to fight for the corporations and for the oil and be heroes in the war. Latinos will begin to identify with colonization and repression, and that's where the movement will emerge."

When asked if he believed a separatist movement would seek to reannex *Aztlan* to Mexico, he replied, "Any future idea of autonomy would be a new nation of *Aztlan* or *Chicanismo*, a new national concept. We should be identifying with oppressed and revolutionaries ... not the one-party, anti-democratic process of Mexico."

Even established Chicano political leaders who do not believe a separatist movement will ever take hold will not discount the possibility.

The head of California's Health and Welfare Department, Mario Obledo, the state's top Chicano politician, after waffling a bit in a telephone interview, said that it ought to be taken "in a serious vein." He added:

"I don't doubt that there will be a movement reclaiming this area (in the next 20 years). They could probably articulate a sound argument that this land still belongs to Mexico. But I don't believe it will ever come about."

Then, he paused and said: "Call me back tomorrow, maybe I'll have changed my mind."

Quick Study Of A Chicano Advocate

By: Charlie Ericksen

Militancy is like the military. You can join up for short hitches or long ones. Or you can make it a career.

With Herman Baca, being a Chicano is a career.

This month he came to Washington to revalidate his credentials.

Still boyish at 38 in spite of an imposing black moustache, Baca glowered at a roomful of reporters in the National Press Building and announced his call for a national campaign of resistance to President Reagan's "guns and barbed wire importation of foreign labor to the United States since the forced immigration of Black slaves from Africa." He then proceeded to elaborate on the analogy.

Herman Baca was born in Los Lentos, New Mexico — a state which seems to breed Hispanos leaders. At 12 he moved with his family to National City, Calif., a blue collar town between San Diego and the Mexican border. He's still there.

As a teenager, Baca walked precincts for Richard Nixon before he started challenging the political structure he was attempting to become part of. After graduating from high school, he went to work in a print shop, but lost his job at age 26 for becoming too engrossed in running the successful initial primary campaign for California Assemblyman Peter Chacon. So he opened his own print shop.

The shop has led a struggling existence ever since, but it has proven invaluable in his efforts to

communicate the messages of the parade of Chicano community issues he has seized upon.

The first one was to halt the development of an industrial park in National City.

"We lost," he remembers.

As head of the Committee for Chicano Rights, he launched into issues at the rate of one or more a year: police brutality, jury exclusion, local rezoning, treatment of Chicano students, harassment of low riders, bilingual education, Border tactics, employment discrimination....

With equal fervor, he attacked the KKK and other Hispanos whom he felt sold out. Over the last dozen years, he has developed an ability to carve around the subtleties of an issue and cut directly into its heart.

Undocumented workers, he decided long ago, were "the slave issue of the 20th century." The Southwest is America's "new Vietnam." Chicanos who live there are "playing poker with no chips." Whenever a Mexican American issue flared, regional media checked with Baca for a reading. More recently, reporters from national and international publications — West Germany, Mexico City, and Sweden among them — walk up the driveway of the modest home where he's lived since 1966.

"The name Herman Baca triggers a reaction from our readers like no other name," admits San Diego Union associate editor Peter Kaye. "Nobody's neutral about Herman."

Baca's wife and four children

con't on page 3



Herman Baca receives national recognition.

Con't from pg. 1

QUICK STUDY OF A CHICANO ADVOCATE

have shared in the price he pays for such notoriety. Their home has been shot at and vandalized. A cross has flamed on their front lawn. His teenage boys have been harassed and threatened.

"But they know that I'm doing it for them," he explains. "I'm just doing my bit, like a lot of others who work with them.

"If we don't try to change things, the Chicano will never be a complete human being."

The Committee for Chicano Rights has become the grass roots agency of last resort for any Chicano with a problem. Unlike government sponsored agencies, it's not selective about whom it tries to help.

It continually sponsors dinners, dances, and other functions to raise money for one cause or another. Last May, it hosted the National Chicano Immigration Conference, whose resolutions Baca brought to Washington this trip. He has also collected thick book of affidavits and testimony alleging atrocities by members of the U.S. Border Patrol, against U.S. citizens as well as non-citizens. Those he delivered to the White House and to Mexico

President Jose Lopez Portillo prior to his June meeting with Reagan.

Baca continues to spend more than half of his walking hours in pursuit of Chicano rights. Last year, his print shop netted under \$10,000, he says.

Will he ever "retire" as an activist?

"How can you even think about it?" he asks. "Things are worse now than they were 10 years ago. A few individuals have moved up and out, but the community's gone backwards. It's poorer than ever, more disenfranchised, with fewer remedies and fewer outside people willing to help."

Will his anger ever subside?

Baca just laughs.

"My anger? How can white people be so naive? All those goody-goody Hispanics and Latinos who are so nice, who white people think are not like Herman Baca -- just give them a few beets, turn the mariachi up a little louder, and they'll make Herman Baca sound like a moderate."

(Charlie Ericksen is editor of Hispanic Link News Service.)

PICKET LINE!

The Lowriders Car Club Council has announced that a picket will be held Tuesday, August 25th, at 6p.m., in front of the National City Administration building to demonstrate concern over the continued harassment of Chicano Lowriders on the Street of National City. The

Committee on Chicano Rights, sponsors of the council is requesting that all who wish to participate to join with them at 6p.m., on Civic Center Ave., and National City Blvd. The picket will be a peaceful demonstration. For further information call 477-3800.

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CHARLIE ERICKSEN

Dear Herman —

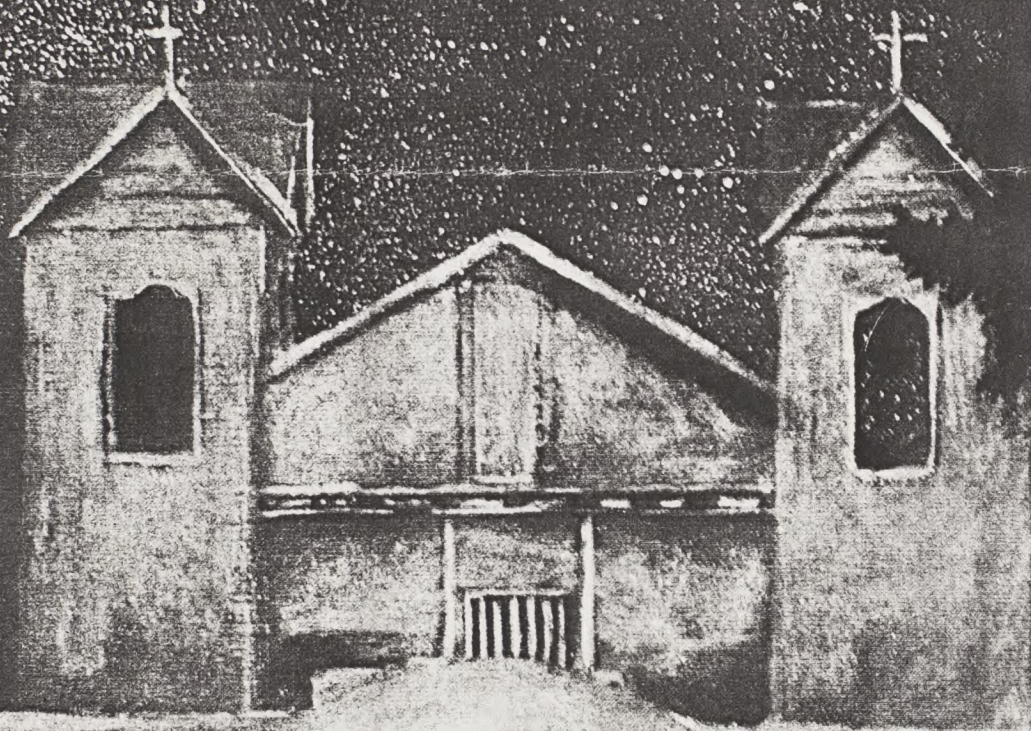
Couple of old clips
for you — Charles

DICIEMBRE 1981

\$1.50

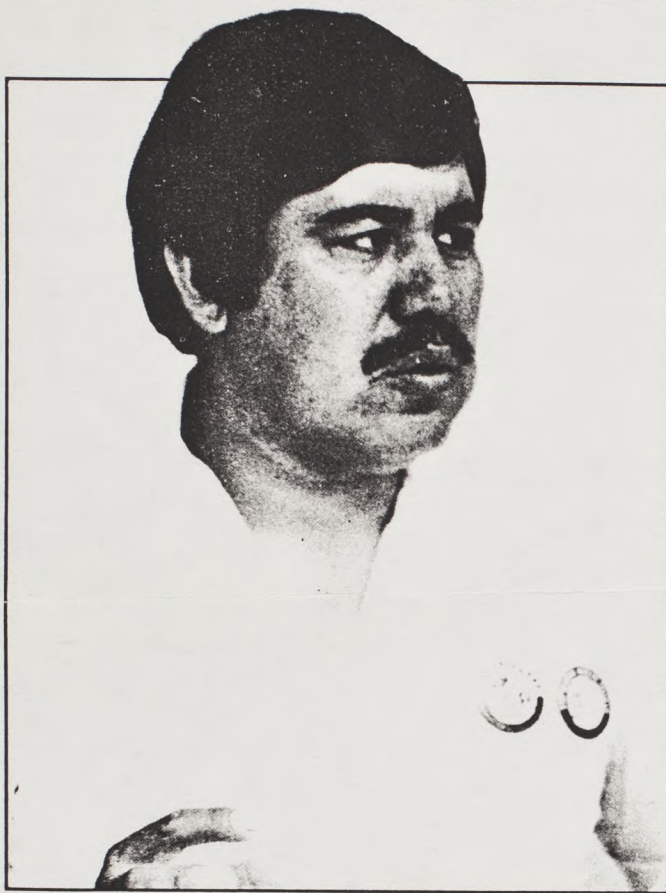
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LA REVISTA PARA LA COMUNIDAD HISPANA



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Forjador de Noticias

Un retrato de un activista chicano

La militancia es como el servicio militar. Se puede firmar por espacios de tiempo cortos o largos. O se puede hacer de ella una carrera.

En el caso de Herman Baca, ser chichano es una carrera para él.

Fue a Washington para revalidar sus credenciales.

Todavía de aspecto juvenil a los 38 años, a pesar de un bigote negro impresionante, Baca lanzó una mirada furiosa a un salón lleno de reporteros en el Edificio Nacional de la Prensa y anunció su llamada a una campaña nacional de resistencia al plan de inmigración del Presidente Reagan, de "fusiles y alambre de púas." "Si se promulgara", advirtió, "el plan resultará en la

mayor importación de mano de obra extranjera a los Estados Unidos desde la inmigración forzada de esclavos negros desde Africa." Y a continuación procedió a extenderse acerca de la analogía.

Herman Baca nació en Los Lentos, Nuevo México—un estado que parece ser cuna de dirigentes hispanos. A los 12 años de edad se mudó con su familia a National City, California, un pueblo de "cuello azul" entre San Diego y la frontera mexicana. Todavía está allí.

En su edad adolescente, Baca recorrió los precintos electorales en favor de Richard Nixon antes de que comenzara a desafiar la estructura política de la que estaba tratando de formar parte. Después de graduarse en la escuela secundaria, fue a trabajar en una imprenta, pero se quedó sin trabajo a la edad de 26 años por haberse involucrado demasiado en participar la campaña primaria inicial, que tuvo éxito, en favor del Diputado de California Peter Chacón. De modo que abrió su propia imprenta.

Su taller ha llevado una existencia precaria desde entonces, pero ha probado ser valiosísimo en sus gestiones para comunicar los mensajes del desfile de problemas de la comunidad chicana en los que se

ha fijado.

El primero fue detener el desarrollo de una urbanización industrial en National City.

"Perdimos", recuerda él.

Como dirigente del Comité por los Derechos de los Chicanos, se lanzó dentro de los problemas a razón de uno o más al año: Brutalidad de la policía, exclusión de la participación en los jurados, rezonificación local, tratamiento a los estudiantes chicanos, hostigamiento contra los conductores de autos modificados ("low riders"), instrucción bilingüe, tácticas fronterizas, discriminación en los trabajos . . .

Con fervor semejante atacó al Ku-Klux-Klan y a otros hispanos de quienes él creía que se habían vendido. Durante la última docena de años, ha desarrollado la capacidad de soslayar las sutilezas de un problema y llegarle directamente al corazón.

Los trabajadores indocumentados, decidió él hace mucho tiempo, fueron "el problema esclavista del Siglo Veinte." El suroeste es el "nuevo Viet-Nam" de los Estados Unidos. Los chicanos que viven allí están "jugando al poker sin fichas." Cuando quiera que surgía un problema mexicano-americano, los medios de comunicación regionales acudían

a Baca para asesorarse con él. Más recientemente, los reporteros de publicaciones nacionales e internacionales—de Alemania Occidental, Ciudad México y Suecia, entre otros—recorren la entrada para automóviles del hogar modesto en que él ha vivido desde 1966.

"El nombre de Herman Baca suscita una reacción por parte de nuestros lectores como no lo hace ningún otro nombre", reconoce el editor adjunto del San Diego Union, Peter Kaye. "Nadie se mantiene neutral acerca de Herman."

La esposa y los cuatro hijos de Baca han compartido el precio que él paga por tal celebridad. Su hogar ha sido víctima de tiroteos y vandalismo. Han quemado una cruz en su jardín delantero. Sus hijos adolescentes han sido hostigados y amenazados.

"Pero ellos saben que lo estoy haciendo por ellos," explica él. "Yo sólo estoy haciendo mi parte, como lo hacen muchos otros que trabajan conmigo.

"Si no tratamos de hacer que las cosas cambien, el chicano nunca será un ser humano completo."

El Comité por los Derechos de los Chicanos se ha convertido en la entidad popular de último recurso

(Pase a la página 33)

Forjador de noticias

(De la página 19)

para cualquier chicano que tenga un problema. A diferencia de las entidades auspiciadas por el gobierno, no se fija quién trata de ayudar.

Continuamente auspicia cenas, bailes y otras funciones para allegar fondos para una u otra causa. En mayo pasado, sirvió de anfitrión a la Conferencia Nacional Chicana sobre Inmigración, cuyas resoluciones trajo Baca a Washington en este viaje. También ha reunido gruesos volúmenes de declaraciones juradas y testimonios que alegan atrocidades por parte de la Patrulla Fronteriza Estadounidenses contra ciudadanos y no ciudadanos de este país. Entregó los primeros a la Casa Blanca y al presidente de México, José López Portillo.

Baca sigue empleando más de la mitad de sus horas diurnas en la consecución de los derechos de los chicanos. El año pasado, su imprenta le dejó un producto neto inferior a \$10,000, dice él.

¿Se “retirá” él alguna vez como activista?

“¿Cómo puede Ud. siquiera pensar eso?” pregunta él. “Las cosas están ahora peor que lo que estaban hace diez años. Unos pocos individuos se han movido hacia arriba y hacia fuera, pero la comunidad ha retrocedido. Está más pobre que nunca, más separada de la corriente principal, con menor cantidad de remedios y de personas de fuera dispuestas a ayudar.”

¿Se le calmará alguna vez su enojo?

Baca se limita a sonreír.

“¿Mi enojo? ¿Cómo es posible que las personas blancas sean tan ingenuas? A todos esos hispanos y latinos gazmoños que son tan agradables, de quienes la gente blanca cree que no son como Herman Baca—denles solamente unas cuantas cervezas, alcen el volumen del mariachi y harán que Herman Baca suene como una persona moderada.”

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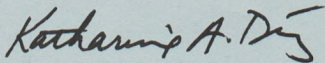
**Si ha cambiado
de residencia,
favor de mandarnos
su dirección nueva.**

IN THIS ISSUE OF CAMINOS

Enclosed please find the most recent issue of CAMINOS. Read about yourself on pg. . 18

I am sure our over 160,000 readers, made up of professionals, educators, elected officials, families, etc., enjoyed the piece as much as we did.

Thank you for your interest in CAMINOS. Your continued support is much appreciated.



Katharine A. Díaz
Editor/Associate Publisher

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CAMINOS

2nd Annual Mexican Restaurant Guide

IT'S NOT ALL
RICE & BEANS

THE UNDOCUMENTED
EL INDOCUMENTADO

*Responses to Reagan's Proposed
Immigration Policies*

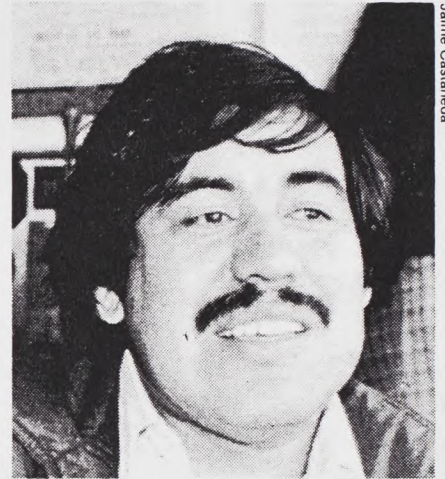
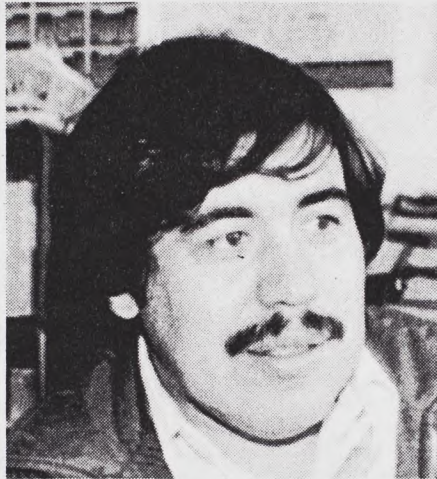
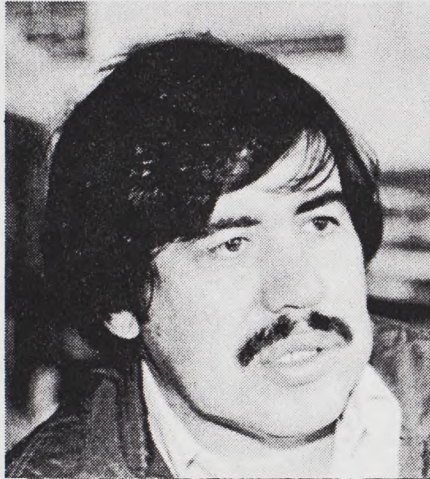
*Frank & Lucy Gasado
from El Adobe Cafe*

¡SEGUIN! PREMIERES

JANUARY 1982 \$1.25

CRC's HERMAN BACA ON THE ISSUE

by/por Robert Quinlivan



Jaime Castañeda

The regulation of the flow of people desirous of gaining entrance and beginning new lives in the United States has been a controversial issue since the inception of Federal Immigration Laws. Renown for its melting pot composition, the U.S., in recent years, has been unable to promulgate a coherent immigration policy consistent with its standing in the international community. In April of this year, Attorney General William French Smith was appointed by President Reagan to chair a blue-ribbon panel charged with the task of formulating a new policy regarding immigration and refugees. The proposal was released in detail by the Justice Department in July, and efforts by the President and members of his administration to pass it into law have already begun.

Opponents of the proposal are labeling it as discriminatory and racist, and Chicano and *latino* groups have coalesced to block its passage. Herman Baca, chairman of the San Diego based Committee on Chicano Rights (CCR), recently spoke in Washington D.C. on behalf of over 200 groups and called for a campaign of national resistance.

Interviewed in San Diego, Baca

attacked Reagan's plan point by point, and likened it to the slavery issue of the 19th century. "The plan is a colossal attempt by the Reagan Administration to subsidize the interests of big business which will be the only group benefiting from it."

If enacted into law, the proposal would give legal status to certain undocumented aliens currently living in the U.S. Any alien living in the U.S. prior to January 1980, could apply for a new status of "renewable term temporary resident," and become eligible to work. While the administration is calling this amnesty, Baca defines it as the Bracero program.

"The temporary resident will have to wait 10 years before applying for permanent residency status and another five years before they would be eligible for U.S. citizenship. During this period they would be required to pay all taxes but would be denied food stamps, welfare, federally assisted housing and unemployment compensation," contends Baca. "Additionally, while current immigration law is based on the concept of family reunification, the temporary resident would not be allowed to bring their wives, children, or families into the country."

The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) would process the applications for citizenship on an individual basis. Baca feels that only the "hardest working, most compliant and least complaining workers will be allowed to stay. Those who complain of poor wages and conditions will be black balled and deported." This, plus the fact that "temporary resident" workers will be required to pay taxes but be denied the benefits and political representation that their money pays for will create conditions that have led to violence in the past. Baca states, "Taxation without representation was a cause of the American Revolution."

A second major element in Reagan's plan concerns the experimental use of 50,000 Mexican Nationals in the secondary labor sector; agriculture, hotel-motel service, and the garment industry. The temporary "guest workers" would be permitted 12 month stays, normal wages and working conditions would apply, but they would be ineligible to receive welfare, unemployment compensation, and federally assisted housing. Again, the temporary workers family would be unable to emigrate to the U.S.

Baca scoffs at the guest worker

program and insists it is a latter day version of the Bracero program, a federally conducted project which imported Mexican labor from 1944 to 1966. Lee G. Williams, the U.S. Labor Department Executive who directed the program, said the Bracero program was "legalized slavery." In an interview with the Dallas Morning News last year, Williams went on to say that the program was a way for big corporate farms to get a cheap labor supply from Mexico under government sponsorship. Baca claims the new proposal would create more devastation than the previous one.

According to research studies, the U.S. overall zero population growth will necessitate 5 to 15 million foreign workers in the labor force to maintain present economic growth. The Reagan Bracero program is nothing more than a taxpayer subsidized project to provide big business an easily exploitable labor force," asserts Baca.

The third major element of the proposal involves sanctions against employers who knowingly hire one or more aliens. The law would impose civil fees of \$500 to \$1000 for each offense on employers of at least 4 employees, with repeat offenders being subjected to injunctions from the Justice Department.

The provision which delineates employer sanctions is loaded with loopholes, argues Baca. While

employers may be fined, the proposal provides a "good faith defense" to offenders if they ask for INS documentation, or two other specified identification cards. "Everyone knows that fake I.D. cards are available along the international border for \$5 or \$10. It gives the employer great discretion."

"However, if you want to see the proof of the pudding on employer sanctions, there are 9 or 10 states that have employer sanctions laws at the present time. To this date, there has only been one conviction in the last ten years, and that was for a fine of \$250," concludes Baca.

The INS would be in line to receive an additional \$150 million to enforce this program, with the greatest portion being used to hire an additional 1,000 officers to the existing force of 3,115. The Labor Department would be allocated \$13 million to employ 300-500 additional investigators to enforce minimum wage and overtime laws. This may result in higher wages for the workers, but consumers would feel the pinch by seeing prices for fruits, vegetables, and clothing climb.

Herman Baca easily defines the inequalities of the Reagan Administration proposal, but is equally capable of examining the entire issue of immigration and offering solutions to it. "Immigration is as old as man. We see historical

examples in the Bible with the fleeing of Jesus, Mary, and Joseph from Judea into Egypt. They were illegal aliens, they had no papers. It's ironic that in this nation of immigrants, the biggest problem, outside energy, is immigration."

The abolishment of the Immigration and Naturalization Service is paramount in the development of an equitable system, feels Baca. "We need to create an agency which will be just, humane and fair. The secondary labor force must be cleaned up to lessen the disparity between U.S. citizens and Mexicans."

"As Chicanos, we must find the solution in our community. We can't expect the government to do it for us. There is a great need to organize, educate and politicize."

"An open border would be beneficial to Mexicans only if it is done with equality and respect for people. Historically, people were allowed to become citizens if they were working and paying taxes," declares Baca.

The Committee on Chicano Rights and other Chicano activists groups will be watching the development of this proposal as it moves through the legislature. Currently in the judiciary, Baca fears President Reagan's fantastic batting average will strongly affect it's potential success for passage. ■

español

El reglamento de la corriente de personas deseadas de entrar y comenzar nueva vida en los EE.UU. ha sido un asunto de disputa desde el principio de las Leyes Federales de Inmigración. Renombrados por su carácter de crisol, los EE.UU. en los últimos años no han logrado promulgar una coherente política de inmigración de acuerdo con su puesto en la comunidad internacional. En abril del presente año, el Ministro de Justicia William French Smith, fue nombrado por el Presidente Reagan para dirigir una comisión especial encargada de la tarea de formular una nueva política tocante a la inmigración y a los refugiados. En julio el Departamento de Justicia publicó detalles de la propuesta y ya comenzaron los esfuerzos del Presidente y miembros de su administración para convertirla en ley.

Los que están en contra a la propuesta la nombran como discriminatoria y racista y unos grupos chicanos y latinoamericanos se

han combinado para cerrarle el paso. El presidente del Comité de Derechos de los Chicanos (CCR), Sr. Hermán Baca, ubicado en San Diego, discurrió recientemente en Washington, D.C. por parte de más de 200 grupos y pidió una campaña de resistencia nacional.

Entrevistado en San Diego, el Sr. Baca atacó punto por punto el plan de Reagan, comparándolo con la cuestión de esclavitud del siglo XIX diciendo que "Este es un plan colosal tentativo de la administración de Reagan para subvencionar los intereses del alto comercio, el cual será el único grupo que le saque beneficio."

La propuesta una vez hecha ley, otorgaría estado legal a ciertos indocumentados que actualmente viven en los EE.UU. Cualquiera extranjero viviendo en EE.UU. antes de enero de 1980, podría pedir una nueva estadía llamada "residente temporal de término renovable" y estar legalmente capacitado para trabajar. En cuanto a que la administración llama esto amnistía, Baca lo define como el Programa de

Braceros.

"El residente temporal tendría que esperar diez años para aspirar a la residencia permanente y otros cinco para poder aspirar a la ciudadanía. Durante este tiempo se le exigiría pagar todos los impuestos, pero se les negaría estampillas de comida, ayuda pública, alojamiento subvencionado por el gobierno federal y remuneración de desempleo," sostiene Baca. "Además, mientras que la ley actual de inmigración se basa en el concepto de reunir a las familias, al residente temporal no le sería permitido tramitar la entrada al país de su esposa, sus hijos o su familia."

El Departamento de Inmigración y Naturalización (INS), procesaría las peticiones de ciudadanía individualmente. Baca cree que solo "a los trabajadores más diligentes, más cumplidores y menos quejosos les sería permitido quedarse. Los que se quejan de malos pagos y condiciones se les echará bola negra y serán deportados. Además de esto, los

Dear Herman,

Have you seen
the article about you?

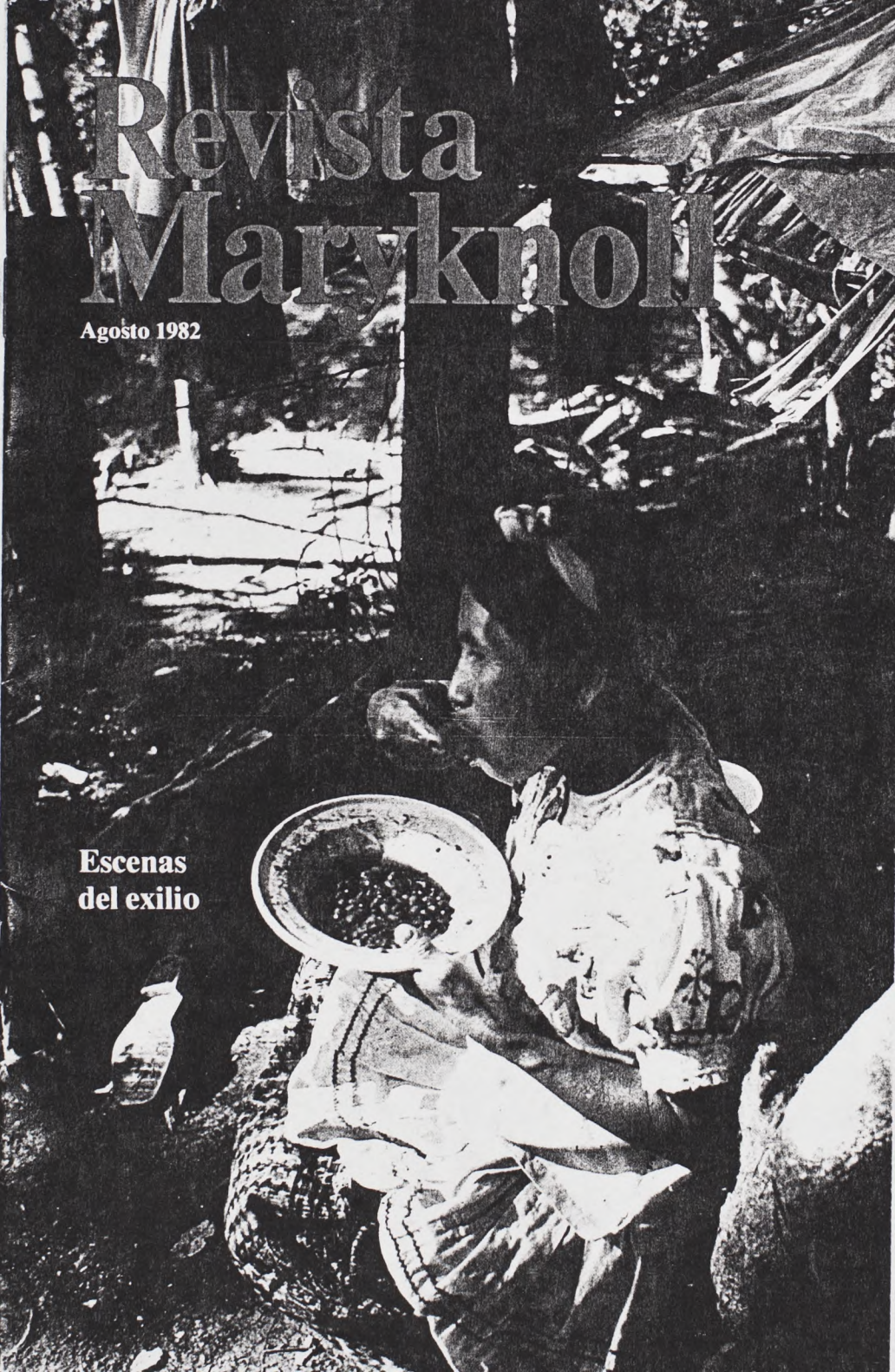
Mine.

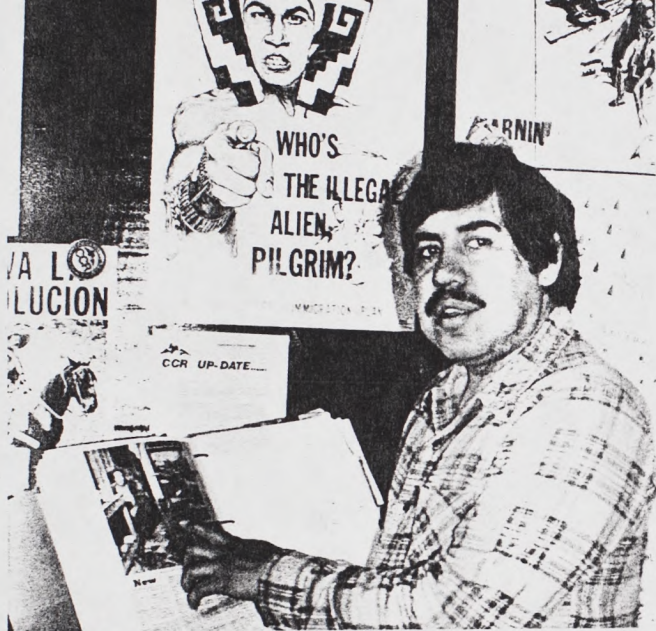
Sara Merritt

Revista Maryknoll

Agosto 1982

Escenas
del exilio





Herman Baca works for the rights of the Chicanos.

Texto de Carmen Fernández-Aguinaco
Entrevista y foto de Alicia Salcido

Una solución nuestra

**En defensa de los chicanos,
trabaja para que su pueblo
tome conciencia de su historia**

¿Quién culparía a María, José y el Niño por no querer morir y emigrar a Egipto? Herman Baca, presidente del Comité para los Derechos de los Chicanos, cree que las causas de inmigración son siempre políticas, económicas y religiosas. Y nadie, siente él, deja su tierra porque quiera. Los inmigrantes siempre tienen que pagar un precio de discriminación y menguadas posibilidades de educación. Baca mismo, nacido en

Los Lentes, México, inmigró a los Estados Unidos cuando sólo tenía once años y sufrió las mismas consecuencias. En la escuela, recuerda "si hablabas español, te daban un cachetazo."

Como tantos otros, Baca pasó por todas estas circunstancias tomándolas como algo inevitable. Fue a finales de los años 60 cuando, al conocer el Comité para los Derechos de los Chicanos, empezó a tomar conciencia de la situación de su pueblo. Cuando se interesó, leyó y reflexionó, la injusticia dejó de ser sólo una palabra. El comenzó a trabajar y puso a disposición su energía

Una solución nuestra

iniciativa y hasta los locales de su recién inaugurada imprenta "Aztec," que al presente es el centro de operaciones del Comité.

Los objetivos fundamentales de este grupo son: "proteger los derechos constitucionales, civiles y humanos de la 'Raza' ". Se quisiera conseguir que todos los chicanos se dieran cuenta que son "una continuación de la historia de nuestro pueblo, luchando contra formas de racismo."

Influir en la opinión pública

A partir de su compromiso con el Comité, Baca ha visto confirmaciones de su propia experiencia y de todos los problemas que trae consigo una política de inmigración desfavorable: millones de deportaciones; brutalidad de la policía, abusos y violaciones de mujeres por los patroleros de la frontera. . . . El Comité se esfuerza por ser la voz de todas estas personas que no pueden defenderse por sí mismas y provee ayuda legal a los que no pueden conseguirla de otra manera. Pero sobre todo, el Comité, a través de presentaciones en universidades, acontecimientos públicos y publicaciones, despierta la conciencia de muchos e influye sobre la opinión pública, para después tener representatividad en las decisiones legislativas.

En sus once años de trabajo, Baca ha visto que muchos chicanos han permanecido en la tarea que respalda el Comité. Hay más

chicanos en posiciones políticas, en escuelas. Hay más obispos y monjas. "Pero todo esto es un paso en un viaje de mil millas; hace falta más representatividad; más conciencia de nuestra cultura; más organización y unión. Y la Iglesia también tiene que hacer más reconociendo que un 90% del pueblo chicano es católico."

Tenemos que tomar liderazgo

También hay atrasos que lamentar: la presente política, que las disposiciones sobre los braceros; las recientes deportaciones, incluso de niños que ya son ciudadanos norteamericanos; y el hecho de que los grandes poderes siguen controlando la economía.

Baca, con la filosofía fundamental del Comité cree firmemente en la auto-determinación. "Yo sólo veo," termina, "una solución que salga de nosotros mismos (los veinte millones de chicanos y latinos en Estados Unidos). Tenemos que tomar el liderazgo en esta lucha y comunicar los principios básicos de una humanidad que cree en la democracia y en la justicia." □

The President of the Committee for Chicano Rights, Herman Baca works to protect the interests of his people against prejudice and discrimination. The Committee also seeks to make Hispanics aware of their own identity and to encourage their leadership in the solution of the problems of Chicanos in the areas of immigration, education and employment.

3-3-83

City Lights

The Way You Look Tonight

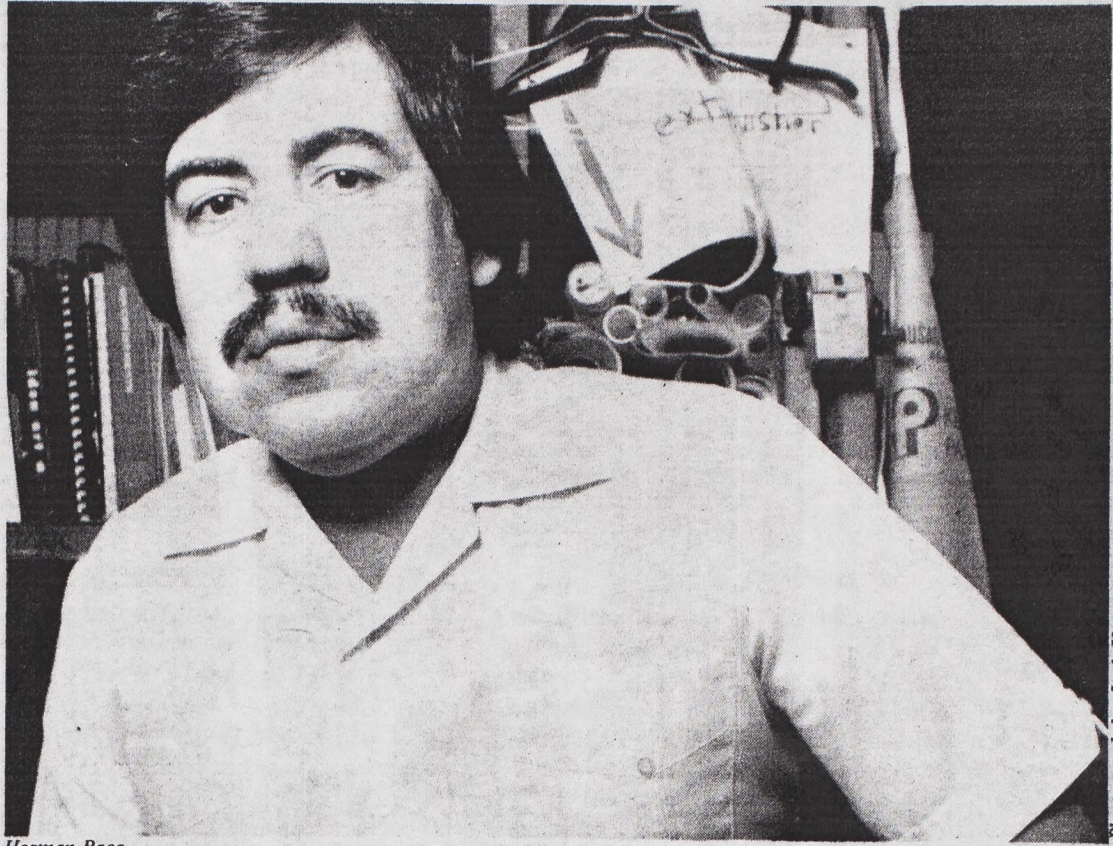
When Herman Baca calls the National City Police Department "the worst in the county," police chief Terry Hart doesn't even wince. Chief Hart has heard it all from Baca, head of the Committee on Chicano Rights and easily the county's most fiery minority rhetorician. But now Baca's telling reporters that National City police aren't only the worst, "they're the dumbest, and they're gonna get caught, sooner or later."

Baca doesn't like the fact that National City police help the U.S. Border Patrol round up suspected Mexican illegals. He's now waving a 1978 memo from former U.S. Attorney General Griffin Bell that orders local police departments "not to stop, question, detain, arrest, or place on immigration hold" anyone who simply looks like an illegal immigrant. Such inquiries, argues Baca, can only be made in the course of investigating a suspect in a local crime. But on January 10, Baca saw two young men stopped, handcuffed, and arrested by a National City officer. A Baca associate followed up on the arrest, and learned the men were turned over to the border patrol and presumably escorted back into Tijuana.

At least two other such detentions were logged last month. Chief Hart doesn't contest Baca's claims, and admits that no records of the interrogations are kept, a practice Baca charges is "behind-the-woodshed law enforcement."

To keep patrolmen wary, Baca has asked fifty members and associates of his committee to notify him should they ever be stopped and questioned by a National City cop who incorrectly guesses they are aliens. That would be just the sort of "dumb goof-up" Baca's waiting for, and he says a false arrest suit would be filed quickly by his attorneys and the local ACLU. The controversy has already been discussed before the city council, and the local semiweekly newspaper, the *Star News*, came down in support of Baca's stance. Hart, one of the county's more media-savvy police chiefs, agrees that his officers mustn't stop people solely because they may be illegals, and he's now promised to issue a written departmental policy on the subject. The chief also says every patrolman will fill out a "field interview slip" noting why suspects are stopped and eventually questioned about their citizenship.

But Hart won't compromise further. He says the field interview reports will never be turned over to Baca's group for review, and reiterates that his officers don't have to tell any



Herman Baca

Photograph by Jack Yon

suspect why he or she is being stopped and questioned or what crime they may be suspected of. Hart also doesn't apologize for the fact that his officers stop more Hispanics than Anglos. "The one thing no one here wants to talk about is that our population is heavily Hispanic [about forty percent], and most of our descriptions [of crime suspects] are Hispanics," he says. The police chief also says Baca is overreacting. Hart remembers the days seven or eight years ago when South Bay police routinely went alien hunting and turned over illegals to the border patrol. For their trouble, the cops got a bounty of three or four boxes of practice ammunition.

— P.K.

EL SURENO

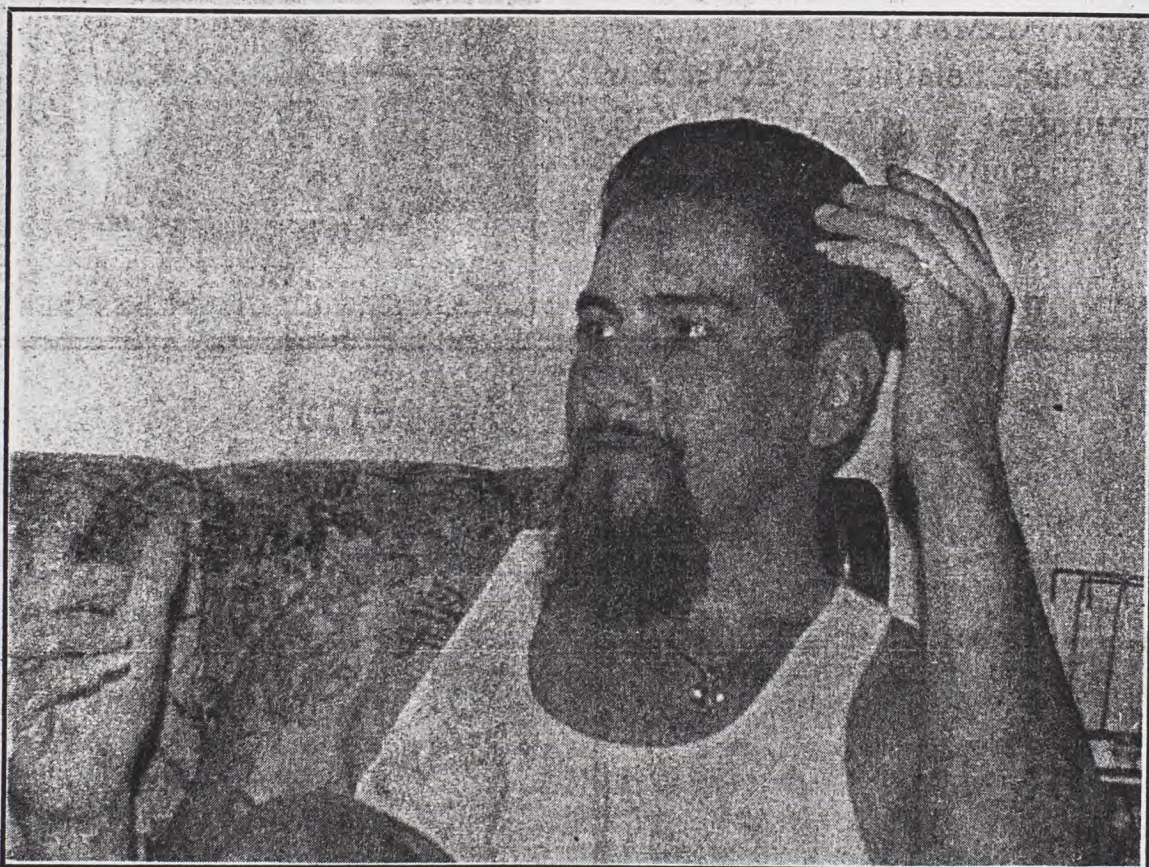
Gratis/Free

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La Revista del Sur

October 1987

Oscar Esqueda: Victim of Police or Circumstance?



- Entrevista con Herman Baca
- Looking For Mr. Garza
- Educación Bilingüe: Una Desilusión

Premiere
Edition

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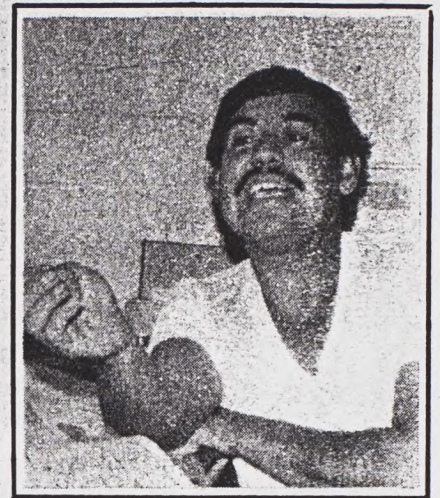
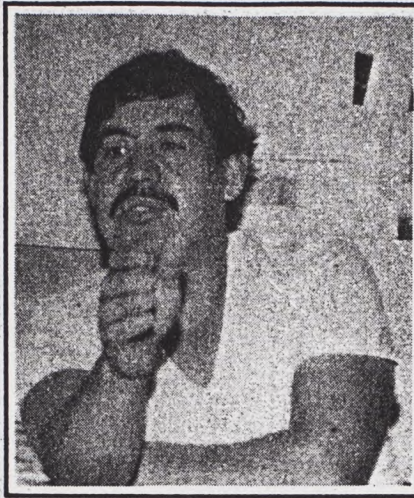
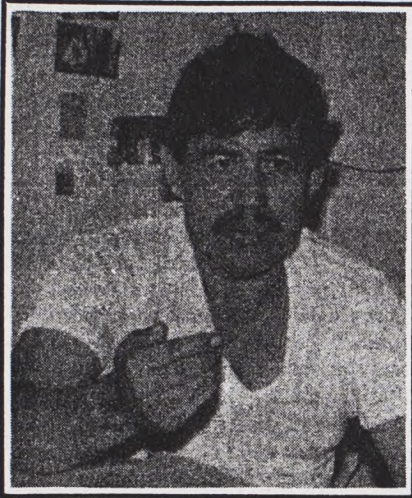
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La Lucha De Un Activista

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- Su historia e ideales
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-

Por Mike Apan

En la parte posterior de su imprenta, en National City, Herman Baca tiene más o menos una docena de cajas de cartón llenas de fotografías y artículos de periódico de los años 60's y 70's. En casi todas las fotos se ven personas en manifestaciones frente a oficinas de administración pública, marchando durante protestas en la frontera México-Estados Unidos, esperando el llamado a la acción durante juntas de la comunidad, y gente que ha sido lesionada por la policía. Los artículos de periódico sencillamente dibujan con letras muchas de esas imágenes.

En realidad, el contenido de las cajas se

refiere al período en que Baca inició sus declaraciones contra la discriminación y el racismo institucionalizado de la sociedad estadounidense. Fué en ese entonces cuando él, junto con miles de otros chicanos, comenzó a participar en las primeras etapas del movimiento chicano, un estallido activista basado en fundamentos históricos que exigía respeto a los derechos políticos y civiles. Baca recuerda que este despertar, que se dió en la parte suroeste de Estados Unidos, produjo indignación entre los chicanos y a la vez unió a la comunidad, preparando el camino para cambios de largo alcance.

Hoy, a los 44 años, comenta que él aún está indignado porque, aunque la población chicana/mexicana ha crecido drásticamente, la conciencia política que existía en la comunidad en aquellos tiempos ha disminuido a niveles muy bajos, y son escasas las personas que aún perciben los viejos problemas.

"Ahora, en 1987, ¿cómo es posible solucionar los problemas cuando la gente ni siquiera sabe que los hay?" se pregunta Baca, presidente del Comité Pro-derechos Chicanos (CCR).

Baca considera que "cuando se tiene

Lea La Vuelta



EN 1971: Manifestando en frente de la cárcel de San Diego. Aquí, Baca confronta a un oficial del Departamento del Sheriff del Condado de San Diego.

conciencia política no es posible retirarse (del escenario activista), porque los problemas no sólo afectan a las personas de las que uno se preocupa, sino también a la familia y obviamente, a uno mismo. Como dice el dicho, puedes correr pero no te puedes esconder”.

Señala factores que, en su opinión, contribuyeron a reducir el nivel de conciencia política, creando, en 1979, una encrucijada o división dentro de la comunidad. Según Baca, en ese año mucha gente que ocupaba posiciones importantes decidió abandonar los fundamentos de independencia y autodeterminación, buscando alguna oportunidad favorable a sus intereses personales. Estas personas, agrega Baca, son un ejemplo de los “problemas internos” que todavía afronta la comunidad chicana.

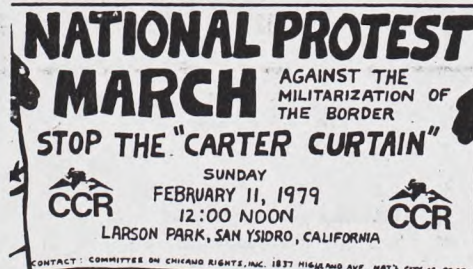
Para él, esta encrucijada es en realidad resultado de un “nacionalismo limitado, regresivo”, que reinó entre 1968 y 1979. Durante esos años, “si una persona era morena, era suficiente” dice Baca, refiriéndose al razonamiento que generalmente se usaba para juzgar la capacidad de las personas como representantes o líderes de la comunidad. Así es que, durante 11 años, varios individuos “que nunca quisieron ser chicanos, tomaron puestos de representación debido a su educación o a su agresividad”.

“En consecuencia, después de un tiempo, se comprometieron y traicionaron esos fundamentos que se habían sostenido durante las primeras etapas del movimiento chicano”. El concepto de que para cada acción hay una reacción, él dice, es útil para comprender el “problema externo” que afrontaba el movimiento chicano, y que todavía está presente.

Como reacción al impulso político de

la comunidad, muchos líderes “honestos y progresistas” fueron encarcelados o asesinados a fines de los 60’s y a principios de los 70’s. Al mismo tiempo, otros líderes se “comprometieron y en algunos casos se vendieron” al conseguir trabajos con buenos sueldos, empleos dentro de la estructura política del país, becas, etc., o porque se les puso en una situación “donde el sistema tenía todo el poder y el individuo nada”.

Menciona que muchas personas que, de alguna forma, traicionaron los fundamentos históricos del movimiento chicano, son las mismas que se autonomban “hispanos”. Aclara que él no tiene problemas de semántica, pero que se pregunta ¿cómo es posible que nos representen los “hispanos”, cuando rinden cuentas al sistema anglo en lugar de rendirlas a la comunidad chicana”?



Como ejemplo, cita el apoyo de los políticos hispanos y sus partidarios locales a la Ley de Reforma de la Inmigración Simpson-Rodino, a la cual él se opone.

“Ellos traicionaron abiertamente los intereses históricos de su propia gente, porque no están en contacto con la comunidad chicana,” él dice. “Más bien le rinden cuentas a otros”.

Baca agrega: “La clase obrera chicana no se identifica con el término ‘hispano’”. Ejemplifica este punto con un “chiste político”: “En realidad, el término ‘hispano’ ni siquiera existe y si de veras lo quieres calar ve a una cantina de la vecindad y dí que eres ‘hispano’. Seguramente a la burla seguirá una lluvia de botellazos”.

Solamente con el tiempo sabremos qué pasará dentro de la comunidad chicana, él dice, pero ofrece una posibilidad en lo relativo al bajo nivel de conciencia política, la falta de mano de obra en Estados Unidos, y el crecimiento de la población chicana/mexicana. Puede ser que esta “filosofía hispana del ‘Yo’ nos

“En consecuencia, después de un tiempo, se comprometieron y traicionaron esos fundamentos que se habían sostenido durante las primeras etapas del movimiento chicano.”—Baca

lleve a una situación similar a la de Sudáfrica, donde unos cuantos (hispanos) serán elegidos a que ejercen el poder”.

Mientras tanto, el CCR, que aparte de Baca tiene cuatro miembros (David Avalos, Ralph Inzunza, Art Martínez y Carlos Vásquez), mantiene el mismo tipo de activismo con el cual comenzó. Para Baca esto significa hablar claro, tanto en entrevistas con los medios de comunicación locales, nacionales e internacionales, como en eventos donde cree que sus palabras son bienvenidas o necesarias.

“Estamos haciendo lo mismo que hacíamos en aquel entonces,” dice Baca. “No es tan dramático, no está tan acentuado, debido al clima que existe en la comunidad”.

Hace poco participo como orador en Fresno, Calif., durante una conmemoración de la Moratoria Chicana del 29 de Agosto. Y en una de sus acciones más recientes, el CCR acusó

de incompetencia al Departamento de Policía de National City (DPNC) por la manera en que se llevo a cabo la evacuación de residentes, en su mayoría chicanos/mexicanos, que viven en el oeste de la ciudad, debida a un incendio tóxico que ocurrió hace dos meses. El CCR exigió una investigación sobre el desempeño del DPNC, señalando que puso en peligro las vidas de algunos residentes. Este asunto, según él, sigue peniente.

El CCR fue creado en 1970, como una coalición de líderes chicanos locales que enfocó su atención hacia asuntos de importancia para la comunidad. En 1974, durante una serie de protestas por la muerte del puertorriqueño Luis "Tato" Rivera, de 18 años, balaceado en la espalda por un policía de National City, el CCR se estableció como una organización permanente. Actualmente, la organización sigue dependiendo de eventos para recabar fondos y contribuciones individuales, con el fin de mantenerse en pie.

A través de los años, el CCR ha denunciado la brutalidad policiaca, la exclusión jurídica, la reubicación de los barrios, el trato que se les da a los estudiantes chicanos, el hostigamiento a los "lowriders", la calidad de la educación bilingüe, las tácticas empleadas por la Migra, y la discriminación laboral, entre otras cosas.

Al tema de la inmigración le ha puesto mucha atención el CCR. Y al darle a Baca la oportunidad de hablar sobre este problema, podría, como dice él, pasar varias horas proponiendo preguntas políticas e históricas—tratando de poner a la vista las sutilezas de la retórica del Servicio de Naturalización e Inmigración (SIN), de una forma, quizás, tan perspicaz como los rayos de los helicópteros patrulleros que convierten la noche en día.

En San Diego se le considera como uno de los críticos más incisivos a la legislación de inmigración de Estados Unidos. También es un crítico agudo de las personas que colaboran con el SIN y con el programa de amnistía de la nueva ley Simpson-Rodino. Comenta que no comprende cómo alguien de ascendencia mexicana puede hacer "buenas migas" con el SIN.

"Las mentiras del SIN son patológicas, sin embargo la sociedad acepta sus versiones como verdad bíblica," dice él. "...Yo no les tendría confianza, así como un negro no puede confiar en el Klan, o un judío en la Gestapo".

Cuando se refiere a las personas que no ven lo que él percibe que hay detrás del programa de amnistía—un programa de brutos, de "esclavitud"—el enojo y la frustración se mezclan en el tono de su voz.

"Esto es lo que me irrita de la gente que ha compartido la cama con el SIN, y tratan de engañarse olvidando su historia y de convencer a los demás de que la olviden," Baca dice. "Luego aparecen en los medios de comunicación diciendo que 'el SIN no juega limpio'. Bueno ¿sabes

"...Luego aparecen en los medios de comunicación diciendo que 'el SIN no juega limpio'. Bueno, ¿sabes que?, si duermes con perros, se te van a pegar las pulgas...y ya se les pegaron."—Baca

que?, si duermes con perros, se te van a pegar las pulgas...y ya se les pegaron. ¡Y yo no quiero pulgientos en mi casa!"

En ocasiones sus palabras atrevidas han resonado en su casa de National City, donde vive con su esposa Nadine, y cuatro de sus cinco hijos (el mayor está en la Navy). Un día, en 1975, una de las ventanas de su casa fue balaceada. Tres años después le dejaron otro recado: pintaron "KKK" en una pared de su casa. Hoy día, dice que recibe cartas y llamadas telefónicas llenas de odio, que le siguen recordando que sus puntos de vista no son muy populares dentro de la sociedad estadounidense.

Uno de los muchos funcionarios que públicamente se han opuesto a sus puntos de vista, es el jefe de la policía de San Diego, Bill Kolender. En una edición de 1979 del *Reader* de San Diego, Kolender se refirió a Baca como "terrible e irresponsable." Recientemente comentó que no sabe que ha pasado con él, pero lo describe como un agitador.

"Siempre ha sido crítico," dijo Kolender a *El Sureño*. "Nunca lo he escuchado decir algo positivo. Siempre ha dicho: 'Hay que deshacernos de la policía, deshacernos de la Patrulla Fronteriza'...Algún día me gustaría ver cómo llega a resolver la situación".

En respuesta a Kolender, Baca hace una pausa y, sonriendo, dice que si los oficiales públicos siguen tratando de descreditar su activismo "es posible que todavía esté haciendo algo bueno".

Más tarde, al buscar fotografías en una de las cajas de cartón, Baca encuentra una de "Kolender" (asi pronuncia su nombre). Toma la foto y la agita en el aire.

"Mira," comenta sonriendo, "nadie puede decir que no me cae bien el Sr. Kolender".

En la entrevista que sigue, Baca da sus opiniones de ciertos aspectos del programa de amnistía de la ley Simpson-Rodino:

Sureño: ¿Cuál es la postura del CCR respecto a la ley de Inmigración Simpson-Rodino?

Baca: Nos parece que es un insulto histórico. Un insulto porque pasamos de ser dueños de la tierra a ser definidos como criminales, que necesitan cierto tipo de perdón - la amnistía. Aquí la pregunta es histórica: ¿Perdón porqué? - ¿por desempeñar trabajos que nadie mas quiere?, ¿para ser explotados? ¿para que se nos degrade, sencillamente porque queremos trabajar y enriquecer a este país, como ha sucedido a través de la historia, y al mismo tiempo ser manipulados por sus poderes económicos y políticos?

Segundo, específicamente en relación a la Simpson-Rodino, no se trata de una ley de Inmigración. Es legislación laboral, e historicamente es otro esfuerzo encaminado a seguir manipulando la mano de obra mexicana. Los investigadores consideran que debido a que Estados Unidos está a punto de alcanzar una tasa de crecimiento del 0 por ciento, tendrá que importar entre 5 y 15 millones de trabajadores. Esta es una de las razones por la cual la ley Simpson-Rodino se formuló y fue aprobada.

Sureño: ¿Crees que existen otras razones que hicieron posible la ley Simpson-Rodino?

Baca: Nosotros somos la segunda razón. Cuando el sistema habla de inmigración, no se refiere a eso, sino a nosotros, personas con antepasados mexicanos - mexicanos, chicanos, latinos - y a que hacer con nosotros.

Sureño: ¿Qué tan difícil será para los indocumentados obtener la residencia permanente en Estados Unidos, a través del programa de amnistía?

Baca: El SIN ha dicho y declarado públicamente que un 95 por ciento, si no es que el 98 por ciento, de la gente que se ha presentado en sus oficinas, ha sido aceptada. Eso no es verdad. Hasta ahora lo único que han recibido son permisos de trabajo. Ni siquiera han llegado a la segunda etapa, la residencia temporal, a la categoría de residentes permanentes, lo cual, supuestamente, les daría el derecho de permanecer en este país, y la oportunidad de, eventualmente, solicitar la ciudadanía. Sin embargo, muy poca gente llegará a eso. Permíteme hacerte una pregunta ¿Sabes cuantos peregrinos llegaron a Plymouth Rock? Bueno, esa es una de las preguntas que tendrían que contestar los que soliciten la residencia permanente. Tendrían que aprender inglés. Nosotros como chicanos tenemos

Baca

problemas con el inglés, por eso existen los programas de educación bilingüe... También tenemos, dentro de las preparatorias, de la comunidad chicana, una proporción muy elevada de personas que abandonaron los estudios. Si no podemos responder a esas preguntas, ¿cómo les irá a estas personas que probablemente, solo cursaron hasta tercer año?

Sureño: Tu has dicho que la amnistía esta relacionada con la esclavitud ¿cómo se da esta relación?

Baca: A final de cuentas, esta relación amorosa con la señorita amnistía llegará a su fin. La gente se dará cuenta de que se les tendió una emboscada, y de que lo único que se ha creado es un programa de braceros. El excomisionado del SIN declaro que los programas de braceros de los años 40's, 50's y 60's no fueron mas que una forma de esclavitud legalizada. Ahora tendremos la misma situación, un programa de esclavitud para los trabajadores mexicanos.

Sureño: ¿Cuáles serían los efectos más importantes de un programa de esclavitud?

Baca: No es posible tener esclavos sin tener un mecanismo que aplique las leyes, asegurando que éstos se queden en los campos, y que no lleguen personas a desequilibrar el "status quo". Aquí surge el gran dilema para los chicanos... la Simpson-Rodino legítima el concepto que los chicanos/mexicanos son un problema político, y la solución propuesta se da a través de métodos policiacos o militares, utilizados contra nosotros desde la guerra de 1847 entre Mexico-Estados Unidos.

Sureño: ¿Quién obtendrá los mayores beneficios del programa de amnistía?

Baca: Según la retórica del SIN, 4 millones de personas solicitarán la amnistía, si lo multiplicas por 185 dólares (lo que el SIN cobra a cada persona por procesar su solicitud) obtendrás un resultado de \$720 millones. Bien, si le agregamos los \$400 millones que el congreso destinó este año al SIN/Patrulla Fronteriza, te darás cuenta de que existe una agencia, que históricamente ha oprimido a las personas de ascendencia mexicana, que se convertirá en una de las agencias policiacas más grandes del país. Entonces, estamos hablando del crecimiento de un mecanismo, de una infraestructura, que se inmiscuirá diariamente en nuestras vidas.

Sureño: A final de cuentas, ¿cuánto dinero va a generar el programa de amnistía?

Baca: Sólo hay que sumar lo que cobran

las agencias (de servicio social), los notarios públicos, coyotes, fotógrafos, los que toman las huellas, doctores y quien sabe cuantos más; todos los que estén involucrados en este fraude. Calculamos que antes de que termine este programa se despojará al indocumentado de entre 3 y 7 millones de dólares. Eso implica muchas cosas. Como dije anteriormente, la mayor parte llegará a manos del SIN/Patrulla Fronteriza. ¿Qué harán con el dinero? Hemos visto la militarización de la frontera Mexico-Estados Unidos, o sea, de las comunidades chicanas, porque, ¿dónde está la frontera? Esta es la pregunta política que debemos hacernos. ¿Dónde está la frontera? ¿En San Ysidro? ¿En El Paso? ¿En Caléxico? ¿Dónde está? Yo creo que la frontera está en cualquier lugar en donde haya personas de ascendencia mexicana.

Sureño: ¿Cuál es tu opinión sobre las organizaciones nacionales, de servicio social, y grupos religiosos que apoyan al programa de amnistía?

Baca: Los de estas organizaciones, son unos tontos, estúpidos o quieren su parte del botín. Son tontos porque ignoran la historia de esta agencia (SIN). Estúpidos porque no saben, a pesar de los hechos frente a sus ojos... Tienes que ser un estúpido para no entender el papel de esta agencia, y el trato que, a través de los años le ha dado a los mexicanos. O en el fondo, quieren participar en este robo. Mucha gente dice, 'Así como al SIN también nos va a tocar nuestra tajada'.

La mayor desgracia de todos los que están involucrados, en esto de la amnistía, y tienen antecedentes políticos, es que han abandonado el terreno político. Se han convertido en agencias "servicio social". Ahora comparten la cama con el SIN/Patrulla Fronteriza, y es una desgracia, porque muchas preguntas sobre lo que pasará después, en el futuro, quedaron sin respuesta... Antes de que se aprobara la ley todas las organizaciones, tanto de izquierda como de derecha, se oponían a ella. Todavía no se había secado la tinta en el papel (la ley), después del 6 de Noviembre del año pasado, cuando estas organizaciones ya estaban peleando entre si, para meterse a la cama con el SIN. Mi pregunta es, ¿Qué pasó con su posición política? y mas importante aún, ¿Qué pasará ahora que han abandonado el terreno político?

Sureño: En tu calidad de activista político ¿Qué le recomendarías a un indocumentado, considerando los problemas que has señalado?

Baca: En general, solicitar la amnistía es una decisión personal. Lo que recomiendo es que examinen su conciencia. Es una decisión, pero no es un problema de "yo" sino de "nosotros". Si por mi fuera les daría amnistía sin condiciones, no como la que les estan ofreciendo llena de 1,060 obstáculos y vericuetos. Si las personas trabajan bien, sudan, pagan impuestos y benefician a esta sociedad, deberían tener los mismos derechos que los demas. ●

Bilingue

Viene de pagina 9

determinada escuela la calidad del programa no excede al de otra escuela-al grado de limitar la educación de los estudiantes de la región.

A pesar de ello, en una evaluación anual, de los Programas de Segundo Idioma de las escuelas de la ciudad de San Diego, correspondiente a 1985-86, un maestro bilingue opinó que actualmente "existe un gran vacío en la comunicación entre la escuela y el Departamento de Segundo Idioma en el Centro de Educación". Por otra parte, todo indica que si no se logrará establecer un programa concreto, esta falta de comunicación seguirá creciendo hasta que, finalmente, no exista continuidad entre las escuelas y el Programa Educativo de Segundo Idioma.

La información estadística correspondiente a 1985-86, del Departamento de Evaluación Escolar de la ciudad, indica que los estudiantes chicanos/mexicanos de séptimo o doceavo grado que han ingresado a cursos en inglés tienen problemas de

comprensión de la lectura, pero son un poco más competentes en matemáticas. Considerando la habilidad para la lectura en una escala del 0 al 100, tenemos que generalmente, las de los estudiantes chicanos/mexicanos son menores al 21 por ciento. Más aún los alumnos del séptimo grado obtuvieron un 21 por ciento, mientras que los de onceavo grado bajaron hasta el 11 por ciento. Los resultados varían un poco en matemáticas: los estudiantes de doceavo, calificaron hasta un 43 por ciento, mientras que los estudiantes de noveno y onceavo obtuvieron un 35 por ciento.

Otro factor que debe considerarse en los programas de educación bilingue es la transición académica que muchos estudiantes hispanoparlante enfrentan al llegar desde otro país.

Sheila S. Ibarra, maestra bilingue de la escuela Primaria Lowell comento que "si algún alumno que no habla inglés recibe educación formal en su idioma nativo, se establece una base con la cual podrá aprender inglés más rápidamente, y de esa forma el estudiante podrá competir con sus compañeros".

Continúa en pagina 21

Herman Baca, the Chicano Leader From the Sixties

By Raoul Lowery Contreras

A favorite *dicho* (saying) of my octogenarian grandfather before he died a couple years ago was: "Put 10 Mexicans into a room, and you'll have 11 opinions."

Never has this been clearer to me than in an interview with a small print-shop owner with whom I do business.

Since he founded the Chicano Rights Committee in 1970, Herman Baca has become a familiar face on Southern California television with his numerous complaints against police and federal agencies.

It is not unusual to see Herman Baca quoted on the front pages of Mexico City's influential newspaper *Excelsior*.

"What problems do we face as Mexican Americans?" I asked.

"We don't know who we are," Herman replied.

"Who are we?"

"Before the Chicano movement, where I grew up in New Mexico, there were people who called themselves Hispanos, Hispanics, Mexican-Americans, Mexicans and Latinos. No one knew exactly what they were.

"The birth of the Chicano movement in the 1960s, the Chicano Consciousness, gave us identity. It gave us a philosophy."

"A philosophy?"

"Yes. A philosophy based on the premise: This land (the Southwest) is our land, it was stolen from us by the Americans. All of our problems started with the piece of paper that set the theft in concrete, the Treaty of Guadalupe (1848)."

"Herman, do you really believe that today's 40 percent Mexican American dropout rate is caused by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo?"

"All our problems stem from the treaty."

"Do you really believe that 25 percent of our people, those below the poverty line, can blame their status on the treaty?"

"Yes. The treaty disenfranchised and emasculated our people."

"How?"

"Our people have no economic power because they're not allowed to participate in this so-called 'Free Market.'"

"We don't have political power because we're gerrymandered and pushed around so white Democrat incumbents can get re-elected every two years at our expense."

"Twenty percent of the country's employers admit to discriminating against our people on job interviews and hiring, and no one does anything about it."

"The Migra, Immigration, kicks in doors and busts everyone with brown skin in sight, even if they're American, and deports them faster than you can say *enchilada*."

"Sometimes I'm ashamed to be an American. That's why I call myself a Chicano."

"How, Herman, do you account for 75 percent of our people living above the poverty line? How do you account for more than half of us owning our own homes? How do you account for the 50 percent increase in those of us making over \$50,000 in the last few years? How do you account for a doubling and tripling of Hispanic business owners in the '80s?"

"How, Herman, how?"

"Bones. They throw bones to us."

"How do you explain that we have more officeholders than ever before and, in fact, increased another five percent in 1990?"

"Bones. They make it very difficult for us to register to vote, so they can keep us down."

"Difficult? Herman, to register, all you need to do is fill out a postcard, sign it and mail it to the Registrar's office. You don't even need a stamp! Herman, you don't even have to prove you're a citizen!"

"That's too difficult. We should have registration at the polls on Election Day."

"Herman, as easy as it is to register today, fewer than 30 percent of our people bother to register. Isn't apathy the real problem?"

"Our people don't register because it doesn't do any good. What votes we cast are diluted by the establishment with at-large elections and with gerrymandering."

"They want us powerless and poor, the Reagans and Bushes."

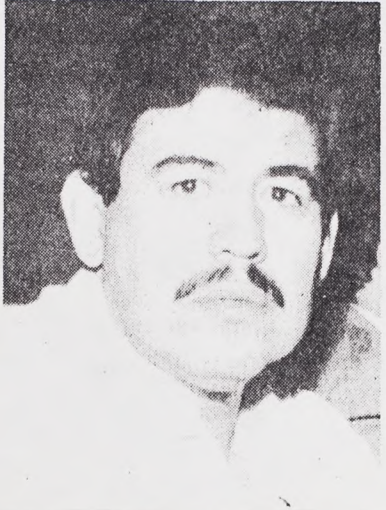
"Herman, you're as wrong as you can be. I disagree with almost everything you've said."

"Herman, about the only thing we agree on is that the Americans stole this land from us. It was President Polk who secretly ordered American troops onto disputed Mexican territory with instructions to draw a Mexican attack."

"Congress was tricked into declaring war on Mexico by President Polk, so he could annex territory for his slave-owning friends."

"See, we agree on something," Herman triumphantly stated.

As my grandfather said, put 10 Mexicans into a room and you'll have 11 opinions. But, he also used to say, first, you have to get 10 Mexicans to agree to enter the same room. *Creators Syndicate*



Herman Baca

EL HUSBAND (SAC.)
10/2/91



TEZZY AWARD FOR CIVIC POLITICAL ACTIVISM

Herman Baca, Chairman Committee On Chicano Rights

Political activists normally have a short life span. They shine brightly for a moment and quickly fade. Such has not been the case for Herman Baca, National City resident who has been actively involved at one level or another in the political life of the Chicano community since 1960. What sets Herman Baca apart from the general public has been his utter dedication to the political determination of the Chicano community.

At a time, when most Chicanos, have set aside their political activism for more prosaic interests such as making money, gaining status, or achieving acceptability within the major White community, Baca has not wavered from his basic driving principles: To emancipate the Chicano, Latino community from what he sees as political subservience.

A fighter for the Civil and Constitutional rights of the Mexican American and other Latinos, Baca has sacrificed everything, including his family's economic well being, his peace of mind and tranquility in order to stand up for those whose rights are being trampled on by a system that he sees as determined to maintain the Chicanos in a position of 2nd class citizenship.

Since the 60's, Baca has, in one form or other, made his mark upon the political scene of America. He organized the Committee on Chicano Rights (CCR) to become a vehicle against the racism directed at Mexican people solely on the basis of their color. He eventually became one of the few Chicano leaders to meet regularly and plan responses to attacks against our community with the likes of Corly Gonzalez, Tijerina, Angel Gutierrez, Cesar Chavez, Bert Corona, Abe Tapia, to name a few. Instrumental in the formation of MAPA, CASA, CCR, he joined with statewide and national

leaders to formulate the political plans to engage our people in the political life of our society and country.

Baca's print shop became the heart of his operation. Much like the Revolutionary leader Benjamin Franklin, who literally was the intellectual Godfather of the revolution. Baca wrote and printed flyers and pamphlets that would later become the bible of later day Chicano politicians.

La Prensa honors Herman Baca as much for his past as for the present where Aztec Printers is still the magnet that draws those who are oppressed by society and have neither the means nor the ability to response to the civic and political oppression they face. Baca responds and fights for the causes of others even though he now says "I am a general with no army"! Perhaps not, but Baca still commends the statewide and national attention for his vision and political wisdom that he still expounds.

Some of the past leaders of the movement have either died or unfortunately have been co-opted by a pervasive political structure that controls our very lives. Their voices have been stilled... but not Baca's.

As other past Chicano leaders who led the movement, Baca deplors the lack of new political leadership and the failure of development within our youth. He, however, keeps talking, meeting and continuing to talk to our people for he knows that failure to do so will be disastrous not only for the Chicano community but for the state and country that will eventually have to depend on the Mexican American-Latino citizens to provide the nations leadership in the political arena as well as in the military, social, business and governmental fields.

La Prensa San Diego awards Herman Baca its first TEZZY AWARD for his positive leadership and continued participation in our political and civic life.

La Prensa Recognizes Outstanding Latino/Hispanos

La Prensa San Diego is proud to honor the following members of our Hispanic community for their dedication, commitment, and efforts to improve the lives of our people. Les mandamos un saludo and a well done!

We salute and honor our ancestors, our people, who have during their entire existence struggled to civilize, settle and bring humanity and our reality on earth and now is space. We ask all Americans to join us in this quest.

HERMAN BACA

If National city has any claim to fame, it is that it has as one of its long time residents Herman BACA, founder and Chairman of the Committee on Chicano Rights. Baca has been in the thick of the battles for civil rights, equal justice and political equality. He picked up the gauntlet in 1965 and has never been able to quite set



Herman Baca

it down. At a time, when most of the old warriors are parked in an old peoples home, Herman still keeps fighting for what he feels in his heart is just. He still simmers and stews at what he sees as racism, bigotry and discrimination. But now he has shifted from active street action to fighting with his intellect. "There is a time to act and a time to become the local street philosopher" he now says. We salute Herman for still being willing to engage the issues but on a different level. "The battle isn't over until its over. For Herman Baca the battle is enjoined for life and for that we salute and honor him. Many have fallen by the wayside but his lamp is still lighting the way.

HERMAN BACA

Junto al Rio Grande, en el valle de Albuquerque, New Mexico, nacio el dia 5 de abril de 1943, hijo de Don Nicolas Baca descendiente de los primeros pobladores del Estado de Nuevo Mexico, y Dona Eloisa Carrasco de Baca. Herman fue el mayor de sus hermanos; Jorge, actualmente egresado de San Diego State es Asesor de Programas Educativos.; Rosalia, Cosmetologista, Amarante, fallecido y Roberto en un puesto Ejecutivo con el Gobierno de California.

En 1953 la familia Baca, en busca de mejores empleos se traslado a San Diego, lo que le permitio asistir a la escuela Chollas Elementary, a la Kimball elementary, Junior High y al Sweet Water graduando en 1961. NATURAL CITY ST. HILCK

~~En 1962 contrae matrimonio con Roberta Watts con quien tuvo dos hijos, Nicolas, actualmente dedicado a la Mercadotecnia y Marcos, a la elaboracion de Programas Sociales.~~

Herman, empezo a trabajar en la Imprenta Graphics Trades permaneciendo hasta el ano de 1965.

Con su experiencia en imprenta, trabajo para varias companias, entre ellas Merlin Printers, P.S.A. Printing, la Jolla Offset, Pionner Printers, Overnight Printers, Noyenesch Printers, siendo despedido de la mayor parte de ellas debido a su inclinacion natural por proteger los derechos obreros contra el abuso de los Patrones.

Fue en esa epoca cuando inicio el movimiento Chicano, las huelgas que encabezaba el lider Cesar Chavez, Reyes Tejerina, Bert Corona, Corky Gonzalez, Abe Tapia etc, debido al racismo discriminacion y mal trato en el Suroeste de Estados Unidos.

La lucha empezo en los Campos, logrando que despertara del letargo el resto de la poblacion Mexico-Americana

Para 1968, Herman habia logrado consolidar su situacion economica, ya contaba ~~con familia~~ una modesta residencia, automovil, tres empleos y ademas una pequena imprenta que operaba en su garage.

El movimiento, negro encabezado por el lider de color Marthin Luther King y las juventudes marchaban en protesta contra la Guerra del Vietnam, todos estos actos impactaron la vida del Pais que empezo a sentir cambios en su estructura debido a las protestas.

Herman, lider de nacimiento se adhirió al movimiento, contribuyendo con la impresion de los volantes y manifiestos que se realizaban en su modesta imprenta casera, lugar de reunion de los lideres del movimiento,

La reaccion fue inmediata, fue despedido de sus empleos, y decidio abrazar la causa, arriesgando su hogar, ~~matrimonio~~ estabilidad al formar parte del bloque de protesta como activista.

Herman tomo parte en el grupo MAPA, Mexican -American Politics Asociation, y organizo la Campana de Pete Chacon, candidato para la Asamblea de el Estado de California en 1969. trabajando cerca de 7 meses.

En 1970, instalo Imprenta Azteca, sede del movimiento Politico Chicano.

Formo el grupo Raza Unida como una alternativa de defensa contra los partidos Demócrata y Republicano resistiendo hasta 1974 ya que paulatinamente sus miembros eran absorbidos por otros grupos.

En 1971 confrontó la Ley Dixon -Arnett propuesta contra los ilegales, logrando echarla por tierra. En 1974 rehace su matrimonio casando con Enedina Alderete de Fresno California con quien procreo tres hijos, Andres estudiante del San Diego State; Adrian, fallecido y Sara, estudiante. *Nicolas, Genes, M. Nuevo Camino.*

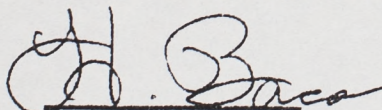
Desde 1977 ha sido Presidente de el Comité Pro Derechos Humanos de protección de personas de ascendencia Mexicana. Ha sido Director del partido Raza Unida, y Presidente de Casa Justicia, Presidente Ad-Hoc temporal de Chicano Rights agrupando 30 organizaciones, en 1976 lanzo la campana para remover los miembros del Consejo de la Ciudad y alcalde de National City,

En 1977 enfrento el plan Carter que sancionaba a patronos por emplear trabajadores mexicanos, la implantacion del programa bracero, la patrulla Fronteriza, y la intervencion de KuKuxKlanes en la Frontera, en 1981 lucho contra la Ley Simpson/ Massoli, y en 1987 contra la Ley Simpson /Rodino haciendo protestas y marchas a la Ciudad de Mexico y Washington.

Los esfuerzos de Herman Baca no han sido en vano, ahora existen representantes hispanos, atencion escolar,, educadores, Maestros, Consejeros, Principales ,gracias a este movimiento que vino a derrumbar con sus protestas, Boycotts y manifestaciones, la muralla separatista, que ha costado vidas, y encarcelamiento para muchos.

Baca ha logrado con su esfuerzo aliviar un poco la situacion que ahora disfrutamos.

TEXTO APROBADO
AUTORIZADO PARA IMPRIMIRSE



HERMAN BACA

GET AQUAINTED WITH HERMAN

PACKET

APRIL 7 1980

OR "HEREEE'S HERMAN"



HERMAN BACA





Committee on Chicano Rights, Inc

MARCH 28, 1981

The purpose of this information packet is to acquaint you with Herman Baca Chairman of the Committee on Chicano Rights (CCR).

The CCR is a grass roots organization dedicated to the promotion of the civil, constitutional and human rights of La Raza. As CCR Chairman, Herman devotes much of his time and energy communicating the committee's position on such important political issues as immigration. Herman speaks directly to groups as small as two or three and as large as two or three thousand, and indirectly to millions thru the mass media of newspapers, television and radio.

This packet includes a partial list of past speaking engagements and media interviews as well as examples of articles which have appeared in newspapers and magazines. It is hoped that this packet illustrates the day-to-day efforts of Herman Baca and CCR in their struggle for human rights and dignity.

HASTA LA VICTORIA!
Publications Committee

SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA



TOUGH TALK — Chicano leader Herman Baca denounces a threat by the Ku Klux Klan to patrol border areas in search of illegal aliens. He said

any such action by the klan will bring an immediate response from Chicano communities throughout the nation. — Tribune Staff Photo by Joe Holly

Klan receives Chicano warning

By PAUL VAN NOSTRAND

Any attempt by unofficial organizations to apprehend aliens illegally crossing the border will be vigorously resisted, a Chicano spokesman said yesterday.

In a statement obviously aimed at the Ku Klux Klan, Herman Baca, of the Committee on Chicano Rights, said, "The 15 million Latinos in these United States will not sit idly by while extremist groups take the law into their own hands."

Klan leaders said Sunday they plan to patrol the border, possibly armed where it is legal.

"These extremist, racist vigilante groups have declared their intent to roam the border areas, armed, with the stated purpose of apprehending Mexican-looking individuals," Baca told a press conference yesterday.

"We are here to state today that

Chicano communities from the United States will not tolerate or meekly submit to terrorist harassments, intimidations or interruption of our daily lives."

He said any action taken by such groups "against our people will call forth an immediate response in kind."

Baca said more than 20 local religious, civil rights and minority organizations have signed a statement supporting his committee's stand. He added other support has been

received from state and national organizations and individuals active in the civil rights movement.

Asked if Chicanos would resort to violence in opposing any unofficial enforcement activity along the border, Baca said Chicano groups would take whatever steps are necessary to defend themselves.

"When we defend ourselves, we do not consider it violence," he said.

Returning to a recurring theme of the past several years, Baca blamed

See **BORDER, A-10**

Violence Grows in 'Combat Zone' Along U.S. Border Near Tijuana

By JOHN M. CREWDSON

Special to The New York Times

SAN YSIDRO, Calif., Aug. 16 — Scarcely a night goes by that the beleaguered agents of the United States Border Patrol do not encounter gunfire or barrages of stones from across the rickety chain-link fence that divides this hamlet from the bustling border city of Tijuana, Mexico.

Donald Cameron, the Border Patrol chief here, calls the boundary he oversees, traditionally the most heavily used gateway for legal and illegal entrants, "the 16 hottest miles of border in the world." Herman Baca, the head of a local Chicano rights group, says he sees the area as "the Vietnam of the Southwest."

Border a Combat Zone

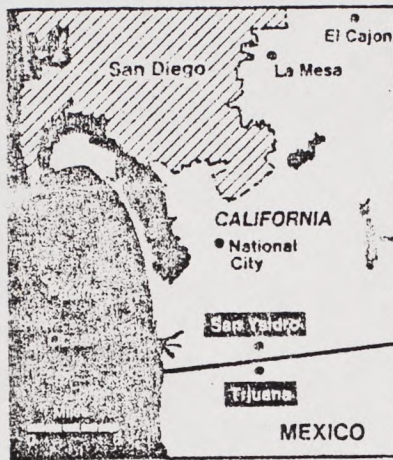
Their comparisons may be somewhat overdrawn, but both sides have evidence to show that from the Pacific Ocean eastward through the California desert until the terrain becomes mountainous, the American side of the border has become a combat zone.

As John Munch, a young Border Patrol agent working the 4-to-midnight shift, wheels his lime-green cruiser through the rugged foothills outside of town, he remembers with a shudder the night last week when he and two other officers were pinned against the fence by stone-throwers.

They were not hurt, but other agents have been, and badly. One has a steel plate in his head, and there are places along the boundary where Mr. Munch is now afraid to drive, even though he is far from alone.

Above him, Border Patrol helicopters, searchlights blazing and loudspeakers blaring the warning "go back" in Spanish, dip and wheel in the inky sky. All across the hills behind him other agents, many of them veterans of the Vietnam War, peer at the border through special night-vision scopes.

At patrol headquarters, red dots on a room-size map wink and computer screens blink as electronic sensors buried along the border record the tentative footsteps of one illegal entrant, then another, and then, as their own scouts give the signal "all clear," a small army of them.



San Ysidro is the busiest crossing point on the United States-Mexico border, which makes it the busiest overland port of entry in the world. There are 40 million legal border crossings here each year, and every day, close to 1,000 more are caught trying to enter illegally. Officials estimate that for every alien captured, five to 10 slip by.

One problem is that at this point there is nothing between the United States and Mexico — no river, no mountains; no physical barrier of any kind, just the decrepit fence that, in some places, is no more than a steel cable suspended between posts. Five miles of the fence are now being replaced with a new, tougher barrier, but the border patrolmen joke about it and even its builder acknowledges that it will not hold back the tide for long.

Tijuana, with a million residents the largest city along the border on either side, is also the fastest-growing. Thirty thousand men and women arrive there every month from the Mexican interior, hoping to make their way across the border illegally in search of work, and those who are not successful do not often go back home.

Since the beginning of the year the violence against the patrol here has been the worst in memory. There have been sporadic outbreaks at El Paso and Calexico, Calif., as well, but none of them have approached the severity of those at San Ysidro, where Border Patrol cars have been attacked by bands of aliens and brush fires have been set along the border.

In June, said Mr. Cameron, the Border Patrol chief here, "our people were getting shot at nearly every night," prompting what he termed "a minirevolt" by his

officers, who refused to set foot in a 300-acre zone next to the border or to go out on patrol except in pairs.

Temporary reinforcements were quickly brought in from around the country and nearly 200 new, permanent agents are due to arrive here next month.

The tension, officials say, stems in part from a new, more aggressive breed of alien, one who knows the limits of the law and knows, too, that there is almost no chance of being prosecuted if caught. Aliens have even been found bearing handbills of unknown origin advising them of their rights and urging them to resist arrest or attempt to escape if captured.

The troubled situation improved a little here last month after the authorities in Tijuana began to round up some of those believed to be behind the violence — smugglers of aliens and "border bandits" who prey on their own countrymen attempting to cross the border illegally. But the Mexicans, Chief Cameron said, made it clear that they had "no interest in helping shut off the flow of Mexican nationals into the United States," only in reducing the violence perpetrated by Mexicans against other Mexicans.

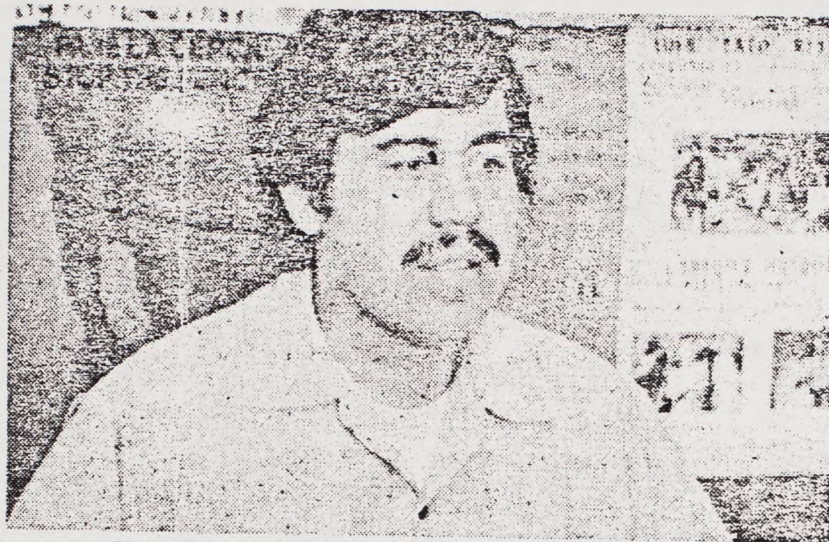
By and large, the bandits and stone-throwers are not border-crossers themselves but gangs of unemployed youths who live in and around Tijuana. Officials here believe that much of the gunfire and other violence is orchestrated by the smugglers and bandits to divert the Border Patrol and create holes in its defenses.

The patrol's methods of dealing with this onslaught are drawing criticism. At least six aliens have been shot by the patrol so far this year. There have been allegations of beatings and other mistreatment. Mexican-American groups and even the local Federal Public Defender's office are growing increasingly angry at what they see as the patrol's unwarranted response to threats against it.

Ku Klux Klan Rallies Support

Perhaps the most outspoken defenders of the patrol are local members of the Ku Klux Klan, who have held rallies supporting patrol efforts and have even sent out some "patrols" of their own to hunt down illegal aliens, though without noticeable success.

In March, after learning that the bodies of 50 aliens had been discovered along the border in adjacent Imperial County last



Herman Baca, head of the Committee on Chicago Rights.

'Combat Zone' at Border Near Tijuana

year, Leonel J. Castillo, then the Commissioner of Immigration, ordered a study of the violence. Mr. Castillo is resigning his post in October.

Among other things, the recently completed study suggested that increasing numbers of aliens streaming across the border, combined with the belief shared by many Border Patrol agents that the United States was less than totally committed to stopping them, had produced "frustrations" that resulted in incidents of violence.

Number Down in July

In July, as the Mexican effort proceeded, the number of aliens flowing across the border actually decreased, as did the incidence of violence. But lately the Mexican police have become preoccupied with the search for a couple of Tijuana bank robbers, and the violence is on the rise once again.

Nearly all illegal aliens who are captured are permitted to return voluntarily to Mexico without penalty, a practice

that, the Castillo report said, "makes illegal re-entry almost certain" and contributes still further to the level of frustration within the Border Patrol.

Attrition at San Ysidro is the highest of any station in the Immigration Service. Border Patrol officers are transferring or simply resigning at a rapid pace — there were nearly a dozen departures last week alone, and the average term of service here is down to 19 months, compared to five years or more at other posts.

The Castillo report also found concern within the service over the "quality, dedication and maturity" of the new recruits who are replacing the journeymen patrol officers, and it suggested that in addition to stricter hiring standards applicants be "psychologically tested as to their suitability" for such work.

2 Handcuffed Aliens Shot

The need for such testing, critics say, is made evident by the violent reactions of some patrol officers. The critics are

particularly enraged by an incident here last March in which two illegal aliens were shot by a Border Patrol agent after he had arrested them about 30 yards inside the United States and handcuffed them together. One of the aliens died of the wounds.

The Border Patrol said that the agent had acted in self-defense after the two men had tried to strangle him with the handcuffs that bound them. But the San Diego District Attorney investigated and found instead that the aliens had been shot while attempting to flee back into Mexico.

The District Attorney declined to file charges, however, noting that the Border Patrol officer had been on duty "in a combat-zone atmosphere." Nor has the United States Attorney in San Diego taken any action against any of the officers involved in such incidents, prompting several lawyers in the Federal defender's office to label the Justice Department "a washing machine" from which allegations against the Border Patrol "come out clean."

Chicano Activist Has Lifetime Hitch In Movement

Thursday, April 3, 1980

(The author of the following article is an editor with the Hispanic Link news service in Washington.)

Charlie Ericksen

WASHINGTON — Militancy is like the military. You can join up for short hitches or long ones. Or you can make it a career.

With Herman Baca, being a Chicano is a career.

He started in the '60s with thousands of others, but few of those who established reputations as spokesmen for pure Chicanismo remain.

"I can think of two," Baca says, eliminating all of those who gained political office or took jobs with the government or profited from affirmative action efforts in the private sector. "There's Bert Corona and Corky Gonzales."

Patriarch Corona, a founder of the Mexican American Political Association in 1959, remains active today in immigration issues.

Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, now past 50, heads the Denver-based Crusade for Justice, an organization he founded in the mid '60s. He is credited with resurrecting and popularizing the term "Chicano."

Baca, the baby of the trio at 36, walked precincts as a teen-ager for Richard Nixon, but in 1968 started questioning the political structure of which he was trying to become a part. He helped organize a MAPA chapter in National City, Calif., situated midway between San Diego and Tijuana.

BORN AND RAISED there, he learned the printing trade after graduating from high school. When he lost his print shop job in 1969 for becoming too engrossed in running the successful initial primary campaign for California Assemblyman Peter Chacon, he opened his own shop. It has led a struggling existence ever since, but has proven invaluable in his efforts to

communicate the messages of the parade of Chicano community issues on which he has seized.

The first one was to halt the development of an industrial park in National City.

"We lost," he remembers. "The system is a powerful creature."

Then, as head of the Committee for Chicano Rights, he launched into issues at the rate of one or more a year: police brutality, jury exclusion, local rezoning, treatment of Chicano students, harassment of low-riders, bilingual education, Border Patrol tactics, employment discrimination . . .

With equal fervor, he attacks the behavior of the KKK, which has attempted its own border patrols, or former Immigration and Naturalization Service Commissioner Lionel Castillo, whom he still calls a "coyote," a word normally reserved for alien smugglers.

WHENEVER A Mexican-American issue is brewing, the media automatically checks with Baca for a reading. Over the years he has developed an ability to carve around the subtleties of the problems and cut quickly to the core.

Undocumented workers are "the slave issue of the 20th century," he says. Chicanos are "playing poker with no chips," trying "to out snow the snowman."

It used to be just the local press that would call on Baca. But now there are reporters from national and international publications, most recently from West Germany, Mexico City, and Sweden, walking up the driveway of his modest home, where he's lived since 1966.

"The name Herman Baca triggers a reaction from our readers like no other name," admits San Diego Union associate editor Peter Kaye. "Nobody's neutral about Herman."

His wife and four children have shared in the price one pays for

such notoriety. Their home has been shot at and vandalized. A cross has flamed on their front lawn. His teen-age boys have been harassed and threatened.

"But they know that what I'm doing is for them," he explains. "It's just doing my bit, like a lot of others who work with me."

"If we don't try to change things, the Chicano will never be a complete human being."

The Committee for Chicano Rights has become the agency of last resort for many Chicanos with a problem. Unlike government agencies, it's not selective about who it tries to help.

IT CONTINUALLY sponsors dinners, dances and other functions to raise money for one cause or another. In May, it's coordinating an immigration conference that is attracting national attention.

Baca spends more than half of his waking hours in pursuit of Chicano rights, he estimates. Last year, his print shop netted him just \$6,000, he says.

Will he ever retire as an activist? Step aside?

"How can you even think about it?" he asks. "Things are worse now than they were 10 years ago. A few individuals have moved up and out, but the community's gone backwards. It's poorer than ever, more disenfranchised, with fewer remedies and fewer outside people willing to help."

Will his anger ever subside? Baca just laughs.

"My anger? How can white people be so naive? All those goody-goody persons of Latino ancestry who are so nice to them, who white people think are not like Herman Baca — just give them a few beers, turn the mariachi up a little louder, and they'll make Herman Baca sound like a moderate."

THE ARIZONA REPUBLIC
Saturday, February 21, 1981

Hispanics to show support for Hanigans' prosecution

A group of Hispanics is staging an around-the-clock vigil, a "run for justice" and a candlelight procession to show support for the prosecution of the Hanigan brothers.

The National Coalition on the Hanigan Case has planned a week-end of demonstrations and fund-raising events.

The activities were to begin Friday evening with a run to carry a torch from South Mountain Park to the Federal Building at 230 N. 1st Ave.

A group planned to camp outside the building with the torch until the two juries inside reach their verdicts, coalition spokesman Ben Miranda said.

The juries began deliberations Friday in the cases against Thomas and Patrick Hanigan. The brothers are accused of robbing and torturing three undocumented Mexican laborers Aug. 18, 1976.

The juries may deliberate through the weekend. Regardless of whether the juries reach verdicts by Sunday evening, the coalition is planning a 5 p.m. Mass for that day at St. Anthony's Church, 909 S. 1st Ave.

The candlelight procession from the church to the Federal Building is scheduled for 6:45 p.m. Sunday.

At a press conference Friday, a San Diego Chicano leader said the Hanigan case represents a "crossroad for the United States" in its treatment of undocumented aliens and in its immigration policies.

Herman Baca, chairman of the Committee on Chicano Rights, said that crossroad is whether the nation "will begin to resolve the immigration issue in a humane, just, sane and rational manner, or whether it will continue to give vigilante groups and law-enforcement groups the 'green light' to take the law into their hands."

Feb. 20..... Herman Baca spoke to 300 students (high school and college) at the state-wide MECHA conference (Arizona). Herman denounced the term "hispanic", as a label imposed upon us by the anglo system. The conference was held at Carl Hayden High School Phoenix, Arizona.

Feb. 27..... Sacramento, California. Bert Corona (National Immigration Coalition), Ricardo Torres (Sacramento Immigration Committee), and Herman Baca (Committee On Chicano Rights) criticized the findings of the president's Select Committee on Immigration. The organizations called for a campaign against policies they said would perpetuate "20th century slavery." The immigration conference was held at the La Semilla Cultural Center.



HERMAN BACA

Chicanos rip immigration policies

By MICHAEL ACKLEY
SACRAMENTO UNION STAFF WRITER

A group of Chicano activists called Thursday for a campaign against immigration policies they said would perpetuate "20th century slavery."

Representatives of three organizations held a press conference at La Semilla Cultural Center to criticize findings of the president's Select Committee on Immigration.

Spokesmen Ricardo Torres, Herman Baca and Bert Corona decried what they termed a "law-enforcement approach to a social, political and economic problem."

Torres represented the Sacramento Immigra-

NEWSPAPERS

Hernan Baca has been interviewed by dozens of newspapers including large U.S. metropolitan dailies, the foreign press, alternative media, student tabloids and Chicano newspaper.

- | | |
|---------------------------|--|
| New York Times | El Debate de Culiacan, Sinaloa, Mexico |
| Chicago Tribune | El Dia, Mexico City |
| Dallas Times Herald | Uno Mas Uno, Mexico City |
| Los Angeles Times | ABC, Tijuana, Mexico |
| Sacramento Bee | Dagens Nyheter, Sweden's largest daily |
| San Diego Union | Helsingin Sanomat, Finland's largest daily |
| Excelsior, Mexico City | Liberation News Service |
| El Sol de Sinaloa, Mexico | La Prensa San Diego |
| | El Foro Del Pueblo |

MAGAZINES

- | | |
|--------------|----------------------------|
| US. Magazine | U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT |
| NUESTRO | NEW WEST |

T.V. RADIO

- | | |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| CBS NATIONAL NETWORK | ARD-German Radio Network |
| KFMB-TV CBS San Diego | WOGO Chicago |
| KGTV-TV ABC San Diego | Radio America, Alhambra |
| KCST-TV NBC San Diego | Radio Express, Los Angeles |
| KVIA-TV El Paso Texas | KPBS- San Diego |
| KMJ-TV Fresno California | KQPO- San Diego |
| Canal 13 Mexico City | KGB- San Diego |
| Channel 34 Los Angeles | KCBQ- San Diego |
| KWEL-TV San Antonio | KFMB- San Diego |

UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES

- | | |
|---|--|
| Universidad Autónoma de Sinaloa, Culiacan, Mexico | |
| Stanford University | University of California, Santa Barbara |
| University of Southern California | University of California, San Diego |
| University of California, Riverside | Mesa Community College, San Diego |
| San Diego City College | Grossmont Community College, San Diego |
| Palomar Community College | Southwestern Community College, Chula Vista |
| San Diego State University | Saddleback College, San Juan Capistrano |
| San Jose State University | University of Arizona at Tempe |
| SPEAKING ENGAGEMENTS | metropolitan State College, Denver, Colorado |

Conferences:

- National M.E.Ch.A. Conference, Denver
- California State M.E.Ch.A. Conference, Fresno
- Banquet 78, Towards a New Immigration Policy, Los Angeles
- National Workers Conference for the Rights of Undocumented Workers, Washington D.C.
- World Council of Churches Immigration Conference, New York
- National Federation Of Priests Ecumenical Immigration Conference, El Paso
- National Haninigan Coalition Trial Vigil
- Arizona State M.E.Ch.A. Conference
- El Primer Simposium (sobre causas y efectos de la Migración en Mexico y los Estados Unidos)

NEW WEST

Chicano Power

**There is one inevitable fact.
By 1990, California will become
America's first Third World state.**



Herman Baca

Ten years ago, for instance, Herman Baca was a block captain in the Nixon presidential campaign. A journeyman printer who moonlighted on a small press in his garage, Baca took to reading the pamphlets that he printed for Chicano student groups. By 1971, he had organized the Committee on Chicano Rights to protest police treatment of undocumented Mexicans. In 1975, he organized a recall drive against the City Council of National City over its failure to fire a police officer who had been involved in the shooting of a young Hispanic. Three City Council members were recalled, 2,000 Chicano voters were registered, and the membership of the Committee on Chicano Rights began to spread throughout the Southwest and across the nation.

"We take on the issues that nobody else can because of their government-funding guidelines," says Baca, who sits in the darkroom of Aztec Printers, which serves as the committee's headquarters. "Our whole agenda is politicizing, educating and franchising our community."

NUUESTRO

SEPTEMBER 1979 \$1.25

THE BORDER

Border Story

San Diego. It could be 1954 all over again. In a wave of McCarthy-era xenophobia 25 years ago, Immigration and Naturalization Service and other law enforcement officials drew an alarming picture of a "brown tide" of undocumented workers from Mexico sweeping into the U.S., taking precious jobs away from legal residents, adding to the welfare rolls and generally threatening to shred the country's social fabric. This was no peaceful invasion, they warned, pointing to riots by *braceros* that broke out on the Mexican side of the border after Mexico closed the gateway to curtail illicit immigration. The border, according to hysterical pronouncements reported in southern California newspapers that year, was becoming a war zone.

That painfully familiar rhetoric is returning here. Once more, border patrol spokesmen are issuing solemn warnings that unless policing of *la frontera* is beefed up considerably, the nation will be overwhelmed by Mexicans slipping across the border in search of work.

The "brown tide" talk of 1954 was followed by "Operation Wetback," an INS-conducted roundup of undocumented workers in California and the Southwest that saw 1,035,000 Mexicans expelled from the U.S. that year. Now, Latino activists here are worried about what is to follow the current border patrol warnings.

They were given a partial answer early this summer with the start of construction on a six-mile-long ten-

foot chain link fence on the border to help keep out unwanted Mexicans.

Herman Baca, chairman of the Committee on Chicano Rights, says of the \$3.5 million barrier, "What concerns me most about the fence is that it represents the escalation of a policy that has been repressive for our people." Even California's staunchly conservative U.S. Sen. S.I. Hayakawa called the fence a symbol reminiscent of Nazi Germany.

Border patrol officials for their part said they feared the building of the barbed wire-topped fence would spark violence from the Mexican side of the border. But so far it has been undocumented workers who have been the victims of border patrol violence this year. Three Mexicans have been wounded and one killed after being shot by *la migra*. In one incident late last winter border patrol officer Dan Cole shot and killed Efrén Reyes and wounded Benito Rincón after handcuffing them together. U.S. officials refused to prosecute.

Baca says that the inflammatory *migra* rhetoric is helping create an increasingly hostile environment for Latinos in California and the Southwest. "Many of our barrios are under siege," he says. "Just walk around San Ysidro (a small city on the border near here) and you'll see how fearful the people are. They never know when they or their family members will be whisked away."

Large scale deportations have already begun, he says. In 1969, 201,000 undocumented Mexicans were caught and sent home. Last year the figure went up to 1,033,000. "They just keep tightening the net year by year," says Baca.

Latinos concerned with the border situation have also been dismayed by Baja California Gov. Roberto de la Madrid's agreement with U.S. officials to increase Mexican patrols of the border. Says a Chicano political

activist, "De la Madrid is giving his consent to the continued policy of handling the question of undocumented workers as merely a police matter. That has meant nothing but problems for our people."

Another problem is that politicians opposed to gains made by Latinos in the last few years are seizing on the issue of undocumented workers to take away those gains. "Already you can see that bilingual education is being called a give-away for illegal aliens," Baca says. "And there is a move in the state senate to do away with bilingual ballots, supposedly because they allow illegal aliens to vote."

As in past crackdowns on undocumented workers, says Baca, racism and economic instability are to blame for the current repression. "Our people have once again become scapegoats for U.S. economic hardships," he adds. "Despite all of the studies done showing that our people put more into the economy than they take out, the charges persist that illegal aliens drag down the economy."

Just how brutally inhumane the U.S.'s frontier-guarding policy can be was made tragically evident this summer. U.S.-born Manolo Agustín Alberto, 18 months old and suffering from an intestinal disorder he contracted in El Salvador where he lived with his mother, was twice refused permission to enter the country with two women relatives. Border patrol officials, despite the gravity of the child's illness, gave the women two dollars to buy milk and sent them back to Mexico.

The boy's relatives in Tijuana tried for two days to get him admitted to a U.S. hospital before U.S. officials called to tell them the child would be accepted at a San Diego hospital. The call came ten minutes after Manolo died. Latinos fear that it will not be the last tragedy in the *migra*'s bid to tighten its grip on the border.

—Ricardo Chavira



¡Horale Gente! Only two months plus 9 days and the Election will be upon us! With el Pueblo de Tijuas now in the hands of the PRI'stas we can't afford to have nuestro Pueblo de San Diego fall in the hands of our own "Right Wing" PRI'stas! Pues let just see what our own homegrown Republicanos are saying:

From *Sylvia Rios*, E-mail, she claims **Democratic Presidential Candidate Senator Edward Kerry and his wife, Maria Teresa Thiersten Simoes-Ferreira Heinz Kerry** are supporting the "Barrio Warriors" a supposable radical Hispanic group whose primary goal is to return all of Arizona, California, New Mexico, and Texas to Mexico! My, my Sylvia, for a person who claims ancient Aztec roots how did you sell that piece of misinformation to your Republican friends? Better yet, are you the latest incarnation of **la Malenchi**?

PREGUNTA: Just who are the "Barrio Warriors"?

Our very own **Mayor Dick Murphy** will talk to the Rancho Bernardo Republican Women on the 24th of August. He is going to do something he has never done for the citizens of San Diego...He is going to present his **vision for San Diego's future**. Should be interesting, more like the blind leading the blind! San Diegans have been waiting for nearly eight years for the Mayors vision of anything! Republicans getting desperate when they break out the Mayor as their **SPEAKER ON VISION** of anything!

Attorney Mike Aguirre Must be shaking in his boots. His opponents Leslie Devaney will be having an "Evening in Italy" September 11th, at an Italiano restaurant by the name of "Simple Italian", located in "Little Italy". It is rumored that the Italian Dons will be there. Something wrong here Leslie is being supported by the Right Wing Republicans!!! Oh, they want you to cough up \$150-\$250 to enter and eat your Pizza!

CAMBIO DE PASO: For all of Tezzy's Gringo friends that means "for a change of pace"... El Jefe received a notice from **Norma Cázares** that a "**Dia de La Raza Tardeada**" will be held Saturday, Oct. 9, 2004, from 1:00-5:00 P.M. at U.C.S.D, La Jolla California. The occasion to celebrate an historical event: The U.C.S.D. acquisition of the **Herman Baca Archives**. The collection will be permanently

housed at the **UCSD Geisel Special Collections Library**. The Archives will be made available to students, educators, "historians, researchers and the community at large! **THE Herman Baca Archives** are the only comprehensive collection of documents chronicling over 35 years of **San Diego County's Movimiento**. **The Committee on Chicano Rights** has finally earned its rightful place in the history of "**El Movimiento**"! The special celebration will be a "todo dar"! For further info, Norma Cázares may be reached at (619) 422-0432 or ncazares@aol.com.

PREGUNTA: How long is the "ONION" going to be hyping Arnold Schwarzenegger? All the hype doesn't mean anything. He still just another playboy movie person who lives in an unreal world where we are treated like 3rd class citizens, even if we founded this country and were here 350 years before the English arrived with their boat load of misfits. Kind of strange isn't it, that Arnold hasn't been able to change his Germanic ways of speaking what you trying to say Guv? Habla Ingles or not?

Adios Councilman Charles Lewis, We know how tough life was for you. Being Black is not an easy burden to carry all your life. Being any color other than white is to carry the burden of the cross on your back and soul all your life. Adios Charles, we shall see each other in another life. God sees no color. Perhaps, we shall all find peace then.

Pregunta: When are the "Boca's Grandes of the Copley Press going to stop trying to force "ENLACE" down our throats? Give it up. We all know Enlace is just a mouthpiece for the Union. It has nothing to talk to our people about. Why doesn't the Union Tribune for once try to meet its responsibilities to the citizens of the County? The Union may not like La Prensa San Diego.... but, acknowledge the fact that for 28 years, we have provided a voice to a large segment of the population that has no voice in the pages of the Union Tribune. Enlace is a bastard child of the Union Trib. And can never be anything else.

P.S. This not to deny that from time to time *Union Tribune* Staffers have extended a helping hand knowing the financial burden that *La Prensa* has suffered in its struggle to give a voice to the Mexican American community of San Diego. *La Prensa San Diego* appreciates your morale and professional concerns for the importance of having a free press in our country. *La Prensa* will continue to do its best for the sake of our heritage.

LA ^{Prensa}
8-13-04

Adios por ahora
Tezzy

October 12, 2004

Media Contact: Paul K. Mueller, (858) 534-8564 or pkmuller@ucsd.edu

On Dia de la Raza, UCSD Announces Acquisition of First Major Chicano Collection, the Archives of Chicano Rights Activist Herman Baca

Today, known throughout the Americas as Dia de la Raza – Day of the People -- a prominent figure of the Mexican-American community has been honored by the University of California, San Diego Libraries, which have announced their acquisition of the archives of Herman Baca.

Baca is the founder and prime mover of the Committee on Chicano Rights (CCR), an organization active in the South Bay and throughout California for the last 40 years. The acquisition of his archives is UCSD's first major Chicano collection.

Baca has been at the forefront of organizing efforts in underserved communities in National City, Chula Vista and greater San Diego county, and has worked closely with many of the leading figures of the Chicano movement during the Vietnam War era, including Cesar Chavez, Dolores Huerta, Reies Lopez Tijerina, Rodolfo Corky Gonzales and others. He became a key player in the creation of La Raza Unida political party during the early 1970s, and continues to be a respected expert on immigration and social justice issues.

UCSD University Librarian Brian E.C. Schottlaender said that the acquisition by the Mandeville Special Collections Library of Baca's archives – containing numerous documents, photographs and original graphics – is of significant historical import.

“Herman’s papers are the first archival collection of Chicano materials to be acquired by UCSD,” Schottlaender said, “and a major archival collection, at that. We at UCSD place a great significance on these materials and their importance in illustrating the contributions of the Chicano community to San Diego, to California, and to our nation.”

According to Lynda Corey Claassen, director of the Mandeville Special Collections Library at UCSD, the Baca materials are a “tremendous” addition to the libraries. “We believe scholars of Mexican-American history and the San Diego/Tijuana region will learn a great deal about the relationship of Spanish-speaking communities to other groups and interests,” she said. “Baca’s long personal involvement in the major events of contemporary Mexican-American history makes him and his collected papers invaluable resources for future study.”

Jorge Mariscal, director of UCSD’s Chicano/a – Latino/a Arts and Humanities Program, said that the university’s acquisition is “the beginning of an improved relationship” between the campus and surrounding Spanish-speaking communities. “Without exaggerating its potential impact, I feel confident that the collection will have a number of positive consequences for improving real diversity at UCSD,” Mariscal said.

Claassen said the UCSD Libraries are proud to become the home for the archives of Baca and the Committee on Chicano Rights. “It was my pleasure over the past months to work with Herman, his family, and his colleagues to achieve this archive, and I look forward to our continued collaboration,” she said. “These unique materials will be used in instruction and research, enabling the creation of new works and new thinking about the spirit and the struggle of a movement – and the people who are that movement.”

###

Herman Baca's archives go to UCSD library

Activist's lifetime work documents development of Chicanismo

By **Fernando Romero**

The news brought wide smiles to many in the Latino community: UC San Diego announced it was acquiring the archives of Chicano leader and National City resident Herman Baca. The important documents detail the birth of the Chicano movement and its development as a force for economic, social, educational and political change.

Never in the history of local academia had an institution of higher learning acknowledged in such a way the importance of Chicanismo in the development of the Latino community here and elsewhere.

Never had a Latino been so honored by an institution of higher learning with the acknowledgement of his work and contributions to his community, and the social and political development of that community through Chicanismo, a socio-political movement aimed at bettering conditions within the community and presenting a credible front for demands on behalf of that community.

Lynda Corey Claassen, director of the Mandeville Special Collection Library at the Geisel Library at UCSD, recipient of the Baca archives, said the library will provide these documents "as the raw materials of future scholarship — unique materials that will be used in instruction and research, enabling the creation of new works and new thinking about the spirit and the struggle of a movement, and the people who are that movement.

"Thank you, Herman, for entrusting (these archives) to UCSD."

Baca, 61, long-time chairman of the Committee on Chicano Rights (CCR), a pro-community organization, has been one of the most outspoken Chicano leaders in San Diego since the mid-1960s.

Born in Albuquerque, N.M., Baca and his family moved to San Diego when he was 11.

Since his youth, Baca's life has been one of activism, whether organizing the National City chapter of the Mexican American Political Association (1968), or the Committee on Chicano Rights (1975); leading a protest of 10,000 undocumented workers in Los Angeles (1972) or organizing the community in protest against right-wing attacks (1990); organizing a campaign and boycott against the San Diego Chargers football team for naming their defensive line the "Border Patrol" (1994), or organizing a National City community campaign (2003) against the mayor and council members for increasing their salaries by 18 percent while at the same time increasing trash fees and doubling sewer rates, this in one of the poorest cities in the country.

Baca has done all this and more with the zeal of the True Believer. And while some may not like his brash style or outspoken ways, it seems no one can question the honesty of his message, of his intentions, of his work for the common good.

In an interview with *El Sol de San Diego*, Baca talked at length about the community and the work to be done.

He says that despite the obvious increase in the number of Latinos in the United States, that does not represent progress. "Those at the bottom are still disenfranchised," he says, the old activist spirit reappearing.



HERMAN BACA

*Since his youth,
Baca's life has been
one of activism*

See BACA Page 3

from page 1

Moreover, he adds, despite the fact that certain things have changed — demographics that show the Latino community surpassing the African American



Herman Baca's life has been one of activism.

community as the largest minority in the United States, for example — Latinos still do not have the social, economic and political infrastructure they need to succeed, something the Jewish community has had in place for many years.

"They understand history," Baca says.

Politicians, he says, especially those who come from the Latino community, court Latinos for their votes, but do little for them in return. "I wouldn't give you five pesos for a politician," Baca says in contempt.

He calls those who would approach the Latino community with an outstretched hand not in friendship but seeking its support while offering only promises in return, "poverty pimps."

And he asks why aren't Latinos in better social and economic conditions. "Where is our infrastructure? Our great leaders?"

However, even Baca recognizes that Latinos will continue to grow in numbers and that

sooner or later Latinos will turn the corner. "They will be like the Rio Grande," he says with conviction, "and you can't stop the Rio Grande."

And he warns those who would ignore the signs, "You better wake up and smell the menudo!" a reference to that most Mexican of dishes.

Of his gift to UCSD, Baca says he's glad to contribute to the history of Latinos in the United States, of leaving part of their history "for posterity."

"Those documents are going to be there for history," he says. And they show, he explains, that Latinos have struggled to get where they are, "but there is still much to be done."

In an explanation written in his biography, Baca writes: "I have attempted to leave for posterity a historical record of the Chicano/Mexicano people's struggle, a struggle rooted in the historical principle of self-determination. I want future generations to learn from our successes and mistakes — to build on the successes, and not condemn them to repeating the

mistakes."

Testimonials from prominent Latinos laud Baca's gift to the university. Among them, one that speaks of Baca's integrity.

South Bay Forum president Norma Cazares says, "The (Baca) archives are important yet at another level... because of the personal costs. While many have benefited directly for their involvement, Herman has been active at the grassroots level for nearly 40 years with absolutely no compensation but with great costs to himself and his family.

"Because of his involvement, he has received death threats, his family, including five children, has been threatened with bodily harm, his home and business have been vandalized, and he has never generated enough income in his small business to buy a home. Nevertheless, he always managed to have the flyers or posters announcing the next rally ready for distribution and any attempts to credit him for his work (result) in

his usual response, 'I'm just a printer.'"

The South Bay Forum is a non-partisan political organization aimed at informing the community of issues affecting it. Cazares belongs to the distinguished family of lawyers and judges that is the pride of the Latino community.

Another prominent Latina, Gracia Molina de Pick, whose deep involvement with the community as an activist and educator has earned her a special place among Latino leaders, said in her testimonial, "(Baca) challenged the professional leadership of the Chicano/Chicana Movement to join forces with the Committee (on Chicano Rights) and stand up in the defense of our community. His work inspired all of us to be militant and courageous in the struggle for justice.

"Herman Baca's archives constitute a unique and authentic source to document the history of the (community) struggles in the '60s and '70s."

Activistas de San Diego en contra de la represión en México

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For Democrats it was a Question of Transportation Over Schools

see Commentary, page 6

El arte de la colaboración

Art Rivas encontró mentes similares en
"Walkout"

vea página 10



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Latino residents form a human rights group

By Martha Sarabia

The situation in a North County community where very few Latinos hold decision-making positions, the relationship with the sheriff's department is not the best after the killings of three young Latino males in the hands of deputies, and the apathy of those eligible to vote to exercise their right is immense has started to change.

This change in the city of Vista has started through the creation of a human rights committee, which had its first meeting a couple of days ago.

"The purpose of this meeting is to form a human rights committee. We need people to participate in this committee to help with the all needs of the community," said Yesenia Bal-

iff deputies to act as immigration agents. However, we've been going to the city council meetings to present our side of the story," said Balcazar making reference to the members of the anti-immigrant group.

The attendees mentioned that immigration is one of the most popular topics due to this year's elections. For that reason, Balcazar explained that local community representatives went to Washington, D.C., to meet with senators and talk about this region's topics such as immigration and lack of low-income housing as well as to express their disapproval of HR 4437.

"HR 4437 says that any undocumented person living in this country will be treated as a criminal. It's a very strong law that would affect our

Herman Baca: A life dedicated to la causa

UCSD honors the local activist as part of tribute to Cesar Chavez

By Pablo Jaime Sainz

Herman Baca and Cesar Chavez first met in 1972, at a worker strike in San Ysidro. From then on, both leaders developed a strong political relationship that lasted until Chavez's death, in 1993.

Baca's admiration for Chavez continues to this day.

"Cesar's great contribution was that before he came we (Chicanos, Mexicanos) didn't exist," Baca said. "He gave our people a national, even international, stature."

On April 6, Baca will receive a recognition from University of California, San Diego, Chancellor Marye Anne Fox, as part of the university's month-long tribute to commemorate Chavez's legacy.

(see Baca, page 7)



Herman Baca (left) and César Chávez, St. Anthony's Hall, Old Town National City, CA, YES on "14" Rally - 1976. Photo Credit: Herman Baca Archives.

Baca honored at UCSD

(con't from page 1)

“(The award) is proof that the Movement is alive and well,” Baca said from his printshop in National City. “People are still looking for answers in people who struggled, like Chavez. This award is not only for Herman Baca: It is for all people who have struggled.”

Baca is the founder and prime mover of the Committee on Chicano Rights (CCR), an organization active in the South Bay and throughout California for the last 36 years.

Baca has been at the forefront of organizing efforts in underserved communities in National City, San Diego County, the U.S. Southwest and the U.S.-Mexico border regions, and worked closely with many of the leading figures of the Chicano movement during the Vietnam War era, including Cesar Chavez, Dolores Huerta, Reies Lopez Tijerina, Rodolfo Corky Gonzales and others.

Last year, UCSD Libraries acquired, for an undisclosed amount of money, Baca’s and the CCR’s archives, containing numerous documents, photographs and original graphics from the Chicano Movement.

“The archives were just lying around in the CCR office. The rats were having a nice feast,” Baca said. He added that he wanted to organize the archives and secure them for future generations.

“So now students and future generations will have access to all these documents. They can look at the details of the struggles from the past to use them in the present and future,” he said.

UCSD University Librarian Brian E.C. Schottlaender said that the acquisition by the Mandeville Special Collections Library of Baca’s archives is the first archival collection of Chicano materials acquired by UCSD.

“We at UCSD place a great significance on these materials and their importance in illustrating the contributions of the Chicano community to San Diego, to California, and to our nation,” he said.

Jorge Mariscal, director of UCSD’s Chicano/a-Latino/a Arts and Humanities Program, said that “without exaggerating its potential impact, I feel confident that the collection will have a number of positive consequences for improving real diversity at UCSD.”

Baca said that the archives will officially open to the public this July.

“I have attempted to leave for posterity a historical record of the Chicano and Mexicano

people’s struggle,” Baca said, “a struggle rooted in the principle of self-determination.”

Indeed, self-determination for Chicanos and Mexicanos is what has inspired Baca throughout the 40 years he’s been a civil rights activist.

After witnessing the fatal shooting of Luis “Tato” Roberto Rivera in the back by a National City police officer, Baca’s life was changed.

“I became involved out of anger, but anger only gets you so far, then you have to start explaining yourself. You have to tell people what you are protesting for and make them understand,” he said. “In order to resolve a problem, you have to know that there is one. You have to learn your history. You have to learn what has happened.”

Baca was part of the Chicano Movement during the late ‘60s and early ‘70s. He was there to protest police brutality. He was there to protest the unhumane conditions of farmworkers in the California fields. He was there to protest the deaths at the border.

But most of all, he was there to organize and help the community help itself.

“We’re the problem, we have to be the solution. That’s the basis of self-determination. Our problems will not be resolved by anybody else but ourselves.”

Unfortunately, Baca said that the original ideals of the Chicano Movement changed – in a negative way. He said that after the ‘70s, the Chicano Movement was replaced by what he calls the “Hispanic Movement.”

“Chicanos are worst than in 1970. Now I see that there’s less conciencia in our community: Less political conciencia, less social conciencia,” he said. “For the most part, the Chicano Movement only benefited individuals. Line up all your Hispanic politicians for me to buy and I wouldn’t give you five pesos.”

But just like in 1970, some of the most important issues that Chicanos and Mexicanos in the U.S. are facing are immigration, police brutality, and political representation, Baca said.

“Today we have different times, different technology, different perspectives,” he said. “Every generation brings something new to the struggle.”

Baca said that it is time for Chicanos and Mexicanos to retake the ideals of the Chicano Movement and apply them to today’s world.

“Very little, if anything, has changed. But one thing nobody can’t deny is that the demographics have changed. We’re not longer the silent, invisible minority. We’re now a 10,000 pound gorilla walking around neighborhoods.”

The struggle, Baca said, continues.

“As long as there are problems in our community, there will be a Movimiento.”

Herman Baca: Una vida dedicada a la causa

UCSD honra al activista local como parte de tributo a César Chávez

Por Pablo Jaime Sainz

Herman Baca y César Chávez se conocieron en 1972, en una huelga de trabajadores en San Ysidro. De ahí en adelante, ambos líderes desarrollaron una fuerte relación política que duró hasta la muerte de Chávez en 1993.

La admiración de Baca por Chávez continua hasta este día.

“La gran contribución de César fue que antes de que él llegara nosotros (chicanos, mexicanos) no existíamos”, dijo Baca. “Le dio a nuestra gente reconocimiento nacional, hasta internacional”.

El 6 de abril, Baca recibirá un reconocimiento de la Rectora de la Universidad de California, San Diego, Marye Anne Fox, como parte del

tributo que rendirá la universidad durante un mes al legado de Chávez.

“(El premio) es prueba de que el Movimiento está vivo y en buen estado”, indicó Baca desde su imprenta en National City. “La gente aun sigue buscando respuestas en las personas que lucharon, como Chávez. Este premio no es sólo para Herman Baca: es para todas las personas que han luchado”.

Baca es el fundador del Committee on Chicano Rights (CCR), una organización activa en el sur de San Diego y por todo California durante los últimos 36 años.

Baca ha estado al frente de los esfuerzos por organizar a las comunidades menos privilegiadas en National City, el condado de San Diego, el suroeste de E.U. y la frontera,

y ha trabajado de cerca con líderes del Movimiento Chicano durante la Guerra de Vietnam, como César Chávez, Dolores Huerta, Reies Lopez Tijerina y Rodolfo Corky Gonzalez.

El año pasado, las bibliotecas de UCSD adquirieron, por una cantidad de dinero que no fue revelada, los archivos de Baca y del CCR, que contienen numerosos documentos, fotografías y graficas originales del Movimiento Chicano.

“Los archivos estaban regados en la oficina del CCR. Las ratas se estaban dando un buen banquete”, señaló Baca. Añadió que quería organizar los archivos y asegurarlos para generaciones futuras.

(vea La Causa, página 7)

La Causa

(con't de página 1)

“Ahora los estudiantes y las generaciones futuras tienen acceso a todos estos documentos. Pueden ver todos los detalles de las luchas del pasado y usarlas en el presente y en el futuro”, dijo.

Brian E.C. Schottlaender, bibliotecario de UCSD, dijo que la adquisición de los archivos de Baca son la primera colección de materiales chicanos que adquiere la universidad.

“En UCSD le damos mucha importancia a estos materiales y su significado al ilustrar las contribuciones de la comunidad chicana a San Diego, California y nuestra nación”, afirmó.

Jorge Mariscal, director del programa de Artes y Humanidades Chicanas y Latinas, dijo que “sin exagerar el potencial impacto, me siento seguro que esta colección tendrá un número de consecuencias positivas para mejorar la diversidad real en UCSD”.

Baca dijo que los archivos serán abiertos oficialmente para el público en julio.

“He tratado de dejar para la posteridad un archivo histórico de la lucha de los chicanos y los mexicanos”, dijo, “una lucha enraizada en el principio de la decisión propia”.

Sin duda, la decisión propia de los chicanos y los mexicanos es lo que ha inspirado a Baca durante los 40 años que ha sido un activista.

Después de ser testigo de la muerte por la espalda de Luis “Tato” Roberto Rivera en manos de un oficial de la policía de National City, la vida de Baca cambió.

“Me involucré debido a mi enojo, pero el enojo sólo te lleva hasta cierto punto, después tienes que explicarte a ti mismo. Tienes que decirle a la gente que es lo que estás protestando y hacerlos entender”, dijo. “Para resolver un problema, tienes que saber que existe. Tienes que aprender tu historia. Tienes que aprender lo que pasó”.

Baca fue parte del Movimiento Chicano a finales de los '60 y principios de los '70. Estuvo

ahí para protestar la brutalidad policíaca. Estuvo ahí para protestar las condiciones inhumanas de los trabajadores del campo en California. Estuvo ahí para protestar las muertes en la frontera.

Pero más que nada, estuvo ahí para organizar y ayudar a la comunidad a ayudarse a sí misma.

“Somos el problema, debemos ser la solución. Esa es la base de la decisión propia. Nuestros problemas no serán resueltos por nadie más que nosotros”.

Desafortunadamente, Baca dijo que los ideales originales del Movimiento Chicano han cambiado —de manera negativa. Dijo que a partir de la mitad de los '70, el Movimiento Chicano fue reemplazado por lo que él llama el “Movimiento Hispano”.

“Los chicanos están peor que en 1970. Ahora veo que hay menos conciencia en nuestra comunidad: menos conciencia política, menos conciencia social”, afirmó. “En mayor parte, el Movimiento Chicano sólo benefició a individuos. Pon a todos tus políticos hispanos en una fila para que yo los compre y no te daría ni cinco pesos”.

Pero al igual que en 1970, algunos de los temas importantes que enfrentan los chicanos y los mexicanos en E.U. son la inmigración, la brutalidad policíaca y la representación política, dijo Baca.

“Hoy tenemos diferentes tiempos, diferente tecnología, diferentes perspectivas”, afirmó. “Cada generación trae algo nuevo a la lucha”.

Baca indicó que es hora de que los chicanos y los mexicanos retomen los ideales del Movimiento Chicano y los apliquen al mundo de hoy.

“Muy poco, si es que algo, ha cambiado. Pero una cosa que nadie puede negar es que los movimientos demográficos han cambiado. Ya no somos la minoría silenciosa, invisible. Ahora somos un gorila de 10 mil libras caminando por los barrios”.

La lucha, dijo Baca, continua.

“Mientras existan problemas en nuestra comunidad, habrá un Movimiento”.

Mexicanos viviendo en Estados Unidos enfrentan problemas al votar en Tijuana

vea página 2

“Todas las religiones creen en la justicia”

vea página 5

Voodoo Glow Skulls' inspires a cult addiction

see page 10



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30 YEARS
of Publication
1976-2006



Ay, ay ay ay, Canta y no Llores... UCSD Gets Herman Baca Chicano Archives

Forty Years of San Diego's Chicano Activism Included

By Raymond R. Beltrán



Mexican fans in Germany did their best to cheer on their team.



Kimberly Schwenk often spends her time dwelling on the past, at times, in an almost 60 degree temperature warehouse, with big metal hand wheels that open into vault-like corridors leading to a library of files, where anyone could imagine being close to the secret behind JFK's assassination or Jimmy Hoffa's disappearance. Although here, Schwenk's cloaked in documents of recent history, because, in actuality, it's her job.

She is an Archives and Manuscripts Processor at UCSD's Mandeville Special Collections Library, spending her time organizing a web of historical documentation for people as prolific as San Diego journalist Neil Morgan. But this past year, she's delved into a historical four decades of a more underserved community in taking on the recently purchased archives from long time Chicano activist Herman Baca.

On a complexity scale of one to ten, this University of Purdue grad gives Baca's archives a solid nine.

"Nothing I've done has taken this long (one year)... Herman didn't have an administrator. He organized everything the way he'd know how



1979 - SanYsidro, U.S./Mexico Border, "Time for Resistance March" Left to right Armando Navarro, Corky Gonzales, Herman Baca, and Bert Corona. Photo Credit CCR Archives.

to find things," says Schwenk, who spent days with Baca sifting through piles of disarrayed photos, notes, and news clippings at his business, Aztec Printing in National City, where Baca stored all of his collection.

Baca's role in political activism, reflected in the archive, dates back to the mid-60s during the birth of the

Chicano movement. He co-organized and chaired local chapters of prominent political organizations like MAPA (Mexican American Political Administration), La Raza Unida Party, and the CCR (Committee on Chicano Rights). He attended rallies with some

(see Baca, page 5)

Baca

(con't from page 1)

of the most prominent figures in the Chicano community like Bert Corona and Corky Gonzales.

His history also intermingles with the roots of contemporary groups like MAAC Project (formerly the Mexican American Advisory Committee), and on his journey, he collected any and everything he got his hands on, hence, the archive.

“Really, it was a seniority thing I guess,” says Schwenk about taking on the collection, “I had the most experience dealing with the complexity of the archive, but I have my own personal interest for progressive politics too. I think they (UCSD) knew that.”

As opposed to chronological order, Schwenk prepared the collection in groups of series, or topics. Included in the total fifteen series, to be released July 15, is biographical material on the Baca family, meeting minutes, correspondence, and membership materials for La Raza Unida Party, a political party engaging Chicano participation, and an art series containing original ink prints by painters David Avalos and Victor Orozco Ochoa as well as Chicano Park Day posters dating back to 1981.

Baca says, in jest, that some collected pieces are just a product of bad habits, specifically, decades-old newspaper clippings, crammed into his cabinets, about immigration, police brutality, and racism from journals like *The San Diego Union Tribune*, *The Star News*, and *La Prensa San Diego*. But in reality, it was a way for him to reference documented issues in order to be an accurate and effective combatant of social injustice.

Just two years ago, National City almost elected Police Officer Craig Short as chief. Baca got wind of it and referenced a 1975 *Star News* clip, now part of the archive's fourteenth series, pinpointing Short as the officer who recklessly shot a twenty year old Luis “Tato” Rivera, killing him. He began an email campaign, calling attention to the outrage, which ultimately changed the



Herman Baca in his print shop in National City.

collection is, he honestly states that even he doesn't remember what's in the archive, but as an entire entity relating to social justice, it's all relevant.

For the Herman Baca Archive Committee, a community organization that helped in the sale of the collection, a major concern is what the scope of accessibility will be.

Currently, the library is working on an internet register for the archives on the library's online search engine, Roger, which is similar to Google. The school will also be conducting interviews with Baca this summer for an audio documentary in addition to the collection.

“We don't collect things with the intention of throwing them away ten years later, they're staying here,” says Lynda Claassen, Director of Special Collections at UCSD who prides the collection for being an addition to the Chicano Studies Program and Ethnic Studies Department.

Chairwoman of the archive committee, Norma Cazares, says,

All involved also agree. Schwenk is currently archiving documents from the American Friends Service Committee's U.S. Mexico Border Chapter, and Baca says it's time to begin writing a book about his experience in the Chicano struggle.

It's the particular moments in the movement, he says, that get erased most of all, parts he'd like to write about, the parts that build camaraderie and make experiences much more personal, like ...

Four Chicanos attend a 1977 rally, protesting Ku Klux Klan operations along the border. As they stand on a hill looking down at the crowd, Armando Navarro asks Corky Gonzales, “How many people do you think are down there?” Corky says, “Maybe five-thousand,” and tosses the question back. “Ten-thousand,” Navarro replies. They look at Baca and ask, “What do you think?” He responds with “fifteen-thousand.” They all ultimately look at Bert Corona for the final tally, and he answers, “Hell, since we're all

city's decision.

"These papers are enriched because they're written by people in the community ... the source, and they're not in print," says Schwenk, as she points out browning corners of 1970s journals like El Grito, Zeta, El Mexicano, Nuestra Lucha, and Sin Fronteras.

The archives were purchased by UCSD for \$25,000, and Baca said the decision was made for two reasons, mice and the weather. It was only a matter of time before the papers would disappear due to one or the other.

"We also wanted to leave it to the community, historians, scholars and students, to learn what was done right and what was done wrong in trying to franchise our people. None of us walk on water," he says.

When asked what the most crucial information within the

"We also want to encourage institutions of education to look at other parts of our communities ... our struggle in education, our parts in the wars and the military, and the gay and lesbian community. It's those kinds of histories that enrich San Diego's history."

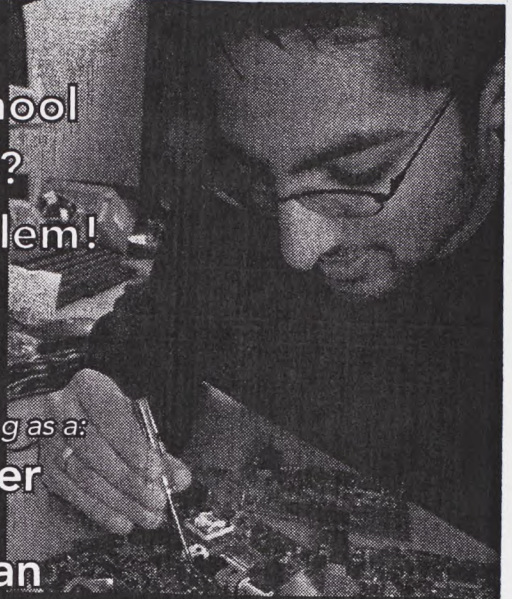
lying, why don't we go ahead and make it fifty-thousand."

The Herman Baca Archive Committee is currently organizing a July 15 celebration commemorating the public release of the archives at the UCSD Price Center Plaza.

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Library Unveils First Major Chicano Collection

Herman Baca Papers Chronicle Decades of Chicano Movement in San Diego County

By Brook Williamson | July 15, 2006

Despite the record heat, hundreds of people including Lt. Gov. Cruz Bustamante turned out at the Price Center Plaza on July 15 to celebrate the unveiling of the Herman Baca Papers, the University's first major Chicano collection.

The comprehensive collection of documents chronicles more than 38 years of the Chicano movement in San Diego County.

The opening celebration featured music by Chunky y Los Alcacranes, spiritual Aztec dancers and a program of speakers including Herman Baca himself and Chancellor Marye Anne Fox.

"This is an important day for our community," said Chancellor Fox. "We look forward to increasing our Chicano collections and strengthening our ties to all segments of the Chicano community."

"We place great significance on these materials and their importance in illustrating the contributions of the Chicano community to San Diego, to California and to our nation," said University Librarian Brian E. C. Schottlaender.

This invaluable resource not only documents the past, but also provides a historical record to educate future generations about the struggle of the Chicano people.

Lt. Gov. Bustamante applauded UCSD for accepting the Herman Baca Papers and said Baca will now be a part of an institution, one of the greatest in the world. "That is something not just of a man, but of a movement that provided an opportunity for an entire community."

Baca made a point of telling the crowd the archive is made up of their history too, and he joked, "Whether you like it or not, most of you are in those archives."

"As we leave your history at UCSD, this history is yours, your children's and your grandchildren's," Baca said, adding that no one can take that history away, unless the archive is ignored.

Who Is Herman Baca?

Herman Baca was born in New Mexico in 1943 and moved to National City with his family in 1954. He's a Chicano activist who's spent his life addressing social justice issues. Among his accomplishments, Baca:

- 1968 Organized the National City chapter of the statewide Mexican-American Political Association (MAPA).
- 1969 Established a private business, Aztec Printing.
- 1970 Served as San Diego County organizer for the La Raza Unida Party, a Mexican-American national third-party.
- 1970 Organized Casa Justicia, a community-based social service agency supporting undocumented persons dealing with immigration issues.
- 1975 Organized the Committee on Chicano Rights (CCR).
- 1981 Helped organize the Chicano National Immigration Conference Tribunal in San Diego.
- 2000 Campaigned against the U.S. Census Bureau's labeling of Chicano/Mexico/Latinos as White.

Herman Baca at a 1980 rally.

"We have come a long, long way, but as a people, we have a long way to go. We need to educate ourselves about our history."

Baca not only documented the Chicano movement in San Diego, he has also been personally involved in addressing issues affecting the Chicano communities' civil and constitutional rights. He was a key organizer in the creation of the La Raza Unida political party in the early 70s and was the founder of the Committee on Chicano Rights. He also worked closely with many of the leading figures of the Chicano movement, including Cesar Chavez. All that time he was stashing away documents and mementos, which are now pieces of history.

The UCSD Mandeville Special Collections Library acquired the collection two years ago for \$25,000, through a special gift from the Friends of the UCSD Libraries. It's taken months to sort through and catalog all of the extensive materials. The archive includes thousands of pages of papers, hundreds of photographs, news clippings, posters, fliers, press releases, memos and newsletters.

The archive is now available to researchers, educators, historians, students and scholars.

Selections from the collection will be on display through the first week of September at Giesel Library.

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COMMENTARY/OPINION PAGE:

Afterthoughts on UCSD's purchase of the Herman Baca Collection

By Jorge Mariscal

The purchase of National City activist Herman Baca's collected papers by UCSD was celebrated last Saturday by San Diego's Chicano community and rightly so. One chapter in the history of San Diego's Chicano community has been saved for our collective memory and the archive will be an important resource for scholars and students. Saturday's celebration was a huge success.

And yet we must be honest with ourselves and ask to what degree the one-day presence of over three hundred Raza at UCSD can affect change for future generations. Is an archive not in fact evidence that the militancy of an earlier moment has passed and is therefore no longer a threat to the status quo? What impact will the location of the archive in the bowels of UCSD's central library have on campus life for Chicano/Mexicano/Latino communities? How will it affect the institutional character of the La Jolla campus?

In his remarks at the celebration, Lt. Gov. Cruz Bustamante emphasized UCSD's status as an elite university. He told the audience that it should take pride in the fact that such a prestigious institution has accepted the papers of a Chicano activist. But he said nothing about the deplorable conditions for Chicano faculty, staff, and students at UCSD.

He said nothing about the fact that Chicana/o professors make up only 1% of the overall faculty (fewer than in 1978), that there are no Chicanas or Chicanos in the highest ranks of campus staff, that the discipline of Chicano Studies is not given adequate support or recognition, that there is no public art on campus that reflects Chicano culture, and that Chicana/o undergraduates make up only 8% of the overall student population.

Bustamante showed up, performed a street-savvy political pirouette, and blew out of town. Of course we do not need Bustamante to tell us where we stand. The issues before us have not changed in over forty years. They are well understood and in many specific cases viable solutions to long-standing inequities have been identified. But an ossified bureaucracy and upper-level administrators with no knowledge and little interest in the Chicano/Mexicano experience make meaningful reform in 2006 as difficult as it was in 1966.

No one doubts that UCSD Chancellor Marye Anne Fox is sincere when she says she is committed to creating a campus climate conducive to all of California's communities. And yet among those administrators who actually make the everyday policy decisions that affect students, faculty, and the curriculum there is no one who has demonstrated the vision and courage necessary to overturn existing habits and structures that impede the transformation of campus life in order to improve UCSD's relationship with Chicanos.

There is no need to impute personal biases or motives to these administrators. The problem is institutional in nature. In other words, the collective mentality of those who have made campus policies since the early 1960s reveals still today a shared commitment (unconscious in most cases?) to limiting the empowerment of Black and Brown communities on campus in order to maintain what they consider to be the elite institutional character created by UCSD's founders.

The expansion of Chicano access to policy-making in academic and student affairs, the growth of Chicano academic programs, or the tripling of the number of Chicano/a students (from 8% to 24%) might so alter the "nature" of the campus that it would become unrecognizable to those who created it and more important to those who govern it today. The unspoken institutional message? A new archive and a one-day celebration are fine. Major reforms are not.

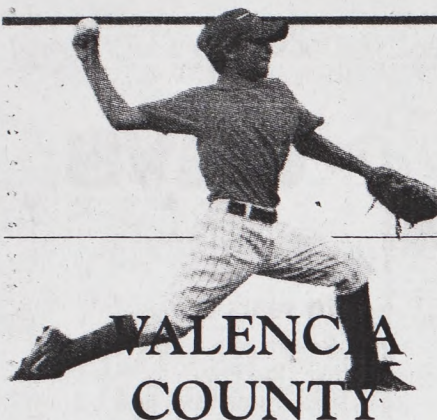
History teaches us that entrenched bureaucracies never reform themselves from within. Outside pressure together with decisive leadership from the top must work together to break the stranglehold of unquestioned attitudes and practices.

Chancellor Fox should be congratulated for attending last Saturday's event as well as for being present at recent Chicano graduation ceremonies. Unlike her predecessor, current University of California president Robert Dynes, she has displayed a willingness to engage in a serious way with Chicano community and student groups. But she may be as trapped as the rest of us by the structural impediments built into the institution.

Moreover, Chancellor Fox is new to California and to a statewide university system whose track record with Mexican Americans is one of neglect and tokenism. One can only dream of following scene — the same 300 Chicanos and Chicanas (including Lt. Gov. Bustamante) who were present last weekend for the Baca celebration are transported to Oakland to confront UC President Dynes about the university's lack of accountability to the Chicano community.

Until a complete overturning of the UCSD status quo has begun, the university will continue to court small well-heeled sectors of the "Hispanic" community while grassroots and working class communities receive occasional pats on the head and the majority of Chicano/Mexicano youth are locked out. Don't be surprised if in the year 2026, when projections suggest that "Hispanics" will comprise over 45% of the state's population, UCSD announces the purchase of another Chicano archive and then quietly reports that the number of Chicano/a undergraduates remains steady at 8%.

Jorge Mariscal, Professor of Literature and Director of the Chicano/a-Latino/a Arts and Humanities Minor Program at UC San Diego.



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News-Bulletin

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News digest

Los Lunas High School mails student packets

Registration for Los Lunas High School is beginning, with packets being mailed to students the week of July 26. Student IDs, parking permits and schedule changes may be made from 7:30 a.m. to 11 a.m. and 11:30 a.m. to 2:30 p.m. on Friday, Aug. 6, for seniors; Monday, Aug. 9, for juniors; Tuesday and Wednesday, Aug. 10 and 11, for sophomores; and Thursday and Friday, Aug. 12 and 13, for freshmen. All students must return these documents signed by parents in order to receive their IDs: emergency card, technology form, nursing form, student accident brochure form. Students who drive to school must provide vehicle registra-

Hawkes exchanges his robe for fatigues

BY CLARA GARCIA
News-Bulletin Staff Writer
cgarcia@news-bulletin.com

BELEN
Danny Hawkes has been a civil servant since he was 19 years old; first as a police officer and then as a



Sewer rate increase requested

BY JANE MOORMAN
News-Bulletin Staff Writer
jmoorman@news-bulletin.com

RIO COMMUNITIES
New Mexico Water Service Company filed an application with the State Public Regulation Commission on Friday for a rate increase for its 1,700 sewer customers.

The company mailed information about the proposed rate increase to its sewer customers on Friday in an effort

Baca honored as civil rights' activist



Brandy-Slagle-News-Bulletin Photo

Political organizer for social justice Herman Baca says he credits his childhood in Los Lentes as his model for working for Chicano rights.

BY BRANDY SLAGLE
News-Bulletin Staff Writer
bslagle@news-bulletin.com

When Herman Baca left Los Lentes as a young boy of 11, he didn't imagine returning as one of the town's most prestigious political sons.

Baca said his father had hoped to find more work in California as a plasterer. The family made their new home in National City, where he first encountered culture shock.

"All I could think was, 'Why are these houses so close together?'" he said.

But, as time passed, Baca became aware of other differences that were far more disturbing.

"There was nothing politically, socially or economically for Chicanos. There were no judges, no educators. We were not represent-

ed anywhere. We weren't in colleges. We weren't in law enforcement. We were the silent, invisible and forgotten minority," he said.

In school, Baca looked for inspiration from his culture and met with disappointment.

"In school books, all I could find was the Alamo, but what are my people known for doing there?" he said.

"Killing Davy Crockett. My people didn't know what they had contributed. I started looking deeper, finding books on history and reading about the Mexican Revolution."

It was then, he said, he discovered that his people were saying the same things, making the same basic demands and fighting for the

■ See **Activist**, Page 11A

Activist

from PAGE 1A

same rights as they had for decades.

Baca began to involve himself with political organizations such as the Mexican American Political Association (MAPA). He became county chairman of La Raza Unida Party.

Baca corresponded and organized protests with leaders such as Cesar Chavez and Bert Corona in hopes of raising social awareness and promoting justice and equality.

After viewing the fatal shooting of Luis "Tato" Roberto Rivera in the back by a National City police officer, Baca became outraged. His fury led him to becoming the chairman for the Committee on Chicano Rights (CCR) in 1975, a non-profit grassroots organization aimed at protecting human, civil and constitutional rights in trans-border California.

Baca said much of his inspiration and moral ideals of right and wrong he owes to Los Lentes and New Mexico.

"When I was a child, I remember the fiestas. If you had a problem with someone, you would settle the score there, and afterwards you'd dance the night away. You had to see these people and work with them the next day. Everyone was close. It was a community.

"I also remember election nights. We would eagerly await the election returns because, if your party lost, you were out of a job and that was true for everyone from the congressman to the janitor," he said. "All of what I experienced in Los Lentes never left me. I have always had a deep appreciation for my family. Their way of thinking has contributed a lot to my own."

Baca said he remembers the Chicano precinct captains, the justices of the peace and even senators and mayors from his county. In New Mexico, he said, he was free to dream. Many Californians were not so lucky.

"I met a 75-year-old man who told me that, when he was a kid, his ambition, his great aspiration in life, was to be a janitor. He said that everyone else had jobs where they were dirty all of the time, like in the fields. The janitor was the only position where he could have been clean," he said.

Baca's time with CCR was spent organizing protests against brutality, racism and harassment. He organized boycotts and led marches.

Through it all, he carried a deep love that compelled him to collect information, slides, videos and newspaper clippings.

"People ask me why. Why did you save all of this information? Why have you done this? It was all a love of history. I always loved history. Sure, I became involved out of anger, but anger only gets you so far, then you have to start explaining yourself. You have to tell people what you are protesting for and make them understand," he said. "In order to resolve a problem, you have to know that there is one. You have to learn your history. You have to learn what has happened."

Baca said he worries about the number of Chicanos enrolled in college. He said if people do not educate themselves, there will never be any change.

Recently, the University of California, San Diego, became aware of Baca's archives. After several discussions, Baca agreed to donate his material, more than

125 boxes, to the university to preserve his work for future generations to analyze. Baca is also donating some correspondence with political leaders such as Cesar Chavez to the University of New Mexico.

"They will show future generations what we have done that is good, and what we have done that is not good. We are a young people, and, like all young people, we make mistakes. We are growing up," he said.

With those donations, Baca went from a being history lover to becoming a part of it.

"We had to fight for every right that we have. About 50 years ago, signs in windows, not so far from here, used to read 'No Dogs or Mexicans.' It has always been a struggle," he said. "To escape discrimination, people began to call themselves anything else. 'I'm not Mexican, I'm Latino' or Spanish or Hispanic, and some of them were. The majority just didn't want to deal with the stigma."

Baca said Chicano was the first name the people of his culture gave to themselves.

"We no longer existed as they defined us, but how we define ourselves," he said.

While the well-developed sense of history Baca found in

his New Mexican childhood led him to crusade for social justice, he said his new hopes are for Chicano youth to rise to the challenge.

"Nobody makes life better than you. There is no free ride. You have to do it yourself. You have to take an interest in the schools, in your government. You know they say the reason we stand so tall is because we are standing on other people's shoulders," he said. "I have done my small part."

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PRESERVING PRIDE

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By Edward Alvarez
Assistant News Editor

Herman Baca's family has lived in the New World since 1598, but he still has a hard time convincing some folks that he did not just sneak over *la frontera* near Tijuana. His ancestors, he will tell you, were American before there was an America and Mexican before there was Mexico. They were always *la raza*.

Herman's American odyssey pushed him to the forefront of the Chicano movement of the late 1960s and 1970s. Operating out of his modest business, Aztec Printing in National City, Baca created memorable Chicano posters and publications. Those he did not print himself he collected. After nearly 40 years his collection was enormous.

UCSD historians and Chicano activists asked Baca four years ago if he would house his

collection at the university. Baca agreed, and this summer UCSD became home to one of America's most diverse collections of historic Chicano items.

Not bad for a Southwestern College dropout, said Baca with a wry grin.

Baca said he never started out being a firebrand or revolutionary. Actually, he admitted, he wanted to earn decent money so he could have a nice ride.

His father, Nick Baca, moved the family to National City in 1954. Young Herman went to Kimball Elementary School, graduated from Sweetwater High School, and attended Southwestern College for three months when it was operating out of Chula Vista High School before the present day campus was built.

"After Sweetwater I probably went to Southwestern for around three months and didn't know what the hell I was doing," Baca said. "Most of the classes I had had in junior high and high school were shop classes, so I had no idea what 'higher education' was supposed to do."

Baca took various jobs until he landed a printer's apprentice position. He worked in numerous print shops throughout San Diego until establishing Aztec Printing in 1969.

"The reason I got involved [in the Chicano Movement] was because I used to have a printing press in my garage," he said.

Mexican-Americans and other minorities in the 1960s began to actively speak out against discrimination in school, the economy and society.

"You would go to school and your name was Jorge," Baca said. "By the end of the first day of school your name would be George."

Though Baca and members of his family had tasted discrimination, he said he did not initially plunge into the Chicano Rights Movement. He was happy, however, to print their colorful posters and hand bills.

"Chicano activists knew I had a printing press so they would ask me to print out the fliers for MEChA meetings, for demonstrations and pickets, and I used to get into political

RIGHTS ICON HERMAN BACA TES ARCHIVE TO UCSD

arguments with them, you know, from the opposite side, and I used to tell them, 'I got the car of the year, man. I got three jobs, what are you guys talking about? If I came from Old Town National City that had no opportunities, what's your problem?'" It was not until Baca attended one of the first MEChA student conferences at SDSU that he seriously began thinking about politics, he recalled. He joined the Mexican-American Political Association (MAPA) shortly thereafter, but eventually discovered that most of the problems plaguing the Chicano community were not so easy to fix.

"We found out that the problem had been here before we got here, and it probably was going to be here after we left, because of the institutional racism and discrimination that had been imposed upon our people since the end of the U.S.-Mexican War of 1850."

In the 1970s, Baca's efforts lead him to organize Casa Justicia (1970), and the Committee on Chicano Rights (1975). Even so, many individuals, including law enforcement officials, first considered Baca to be "extremely radical," said Jesse Navarro, public affairs officer to the district attorney. Navarro, who was a young police officer at the time, said he now realizes that Baca was doing the right thing. Baca was successful organizing numerous high-profile demonstrations including a picket outside of Southwestern College in the 1970s which lasted for a few months protesting what he called the "lack of Chicano students and staff." He also battled campus police officers for turning over "undocumented students" to the Border Patrol. America swung rightward in the 1980s but Baca turned up the pressure. He became a vocal critic of the Border

Patrol and local police departments for their treatment of Latinos.

Baca brought national attention to the Border Patrol in 1983 when he protested deportations of Latinos who were American citizens—including small children.

In 1985 he led a 17-mile march through the South Bay to the border to protest the proposed Simpson-Mazzoli Immigration Bill. From Logan Heights to the Mexican border thousands protested legislation that would militarize the border.

"It took place to inform and to voice opposition to those kinds of proposals, to resolve the so called immigration issue," Baca said. "You know it was supposed to be a carrot/stick-type approach. They were talking about amnesty for the undocumented. We opposed it, because amnesty means you did something illegal and the system has forgiven you. So what did they do wrong? Get exploited?"

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Baca

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Fiery Chicano leader donates his archives

Baca served as campaign manager for Ben Moreno, the first Chicano governing board member at Southwestern College.

Police brutality has also been a controversial issue and one that Baca feels very strongly about.

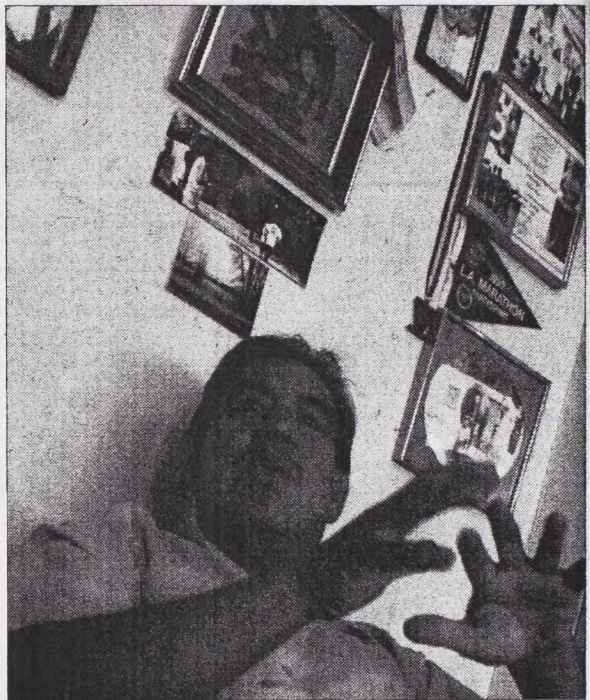
"The issue of police brutality manifested itself blatantly when they shot Luis 'Tato' Rivera back in 1975. Shot him in the back with a .357 Magnum, supposedly for stealing a purse," Baca said. "There was police brutality before I ever came on the scene, and there is going to continue to be police brutality until there's power in the community to make sure it doesn't happen."

Asked if things are better now for Chicanos than they were in 1968, Baca answered with a strong "No." Demographics have dramatically shifted since 1968 in such a way that the minority is quickly becoming a majority.

"Now people will say, 'Well things have changed, there's more elected politicians,' but the problem there is their names might as well be Jones, Smith, Walker, Bush, Wilson," said Baca. "What's lacking in the Chicano community is power. We don't have the economic, social and political power that reflects our numbers."

This is one reason for the archive, which portrays a history of struggle through the years. The archive first came to UCSD's attention through SWC counselor Norma Cazares, chairwoman for the Baca Archive Committee and Transfer Counselor. Cazares said she first noticed boxes and boxes of material piling up in Baca's print shop and convinced him to donate them to an institution of higher learning. The archive has been a four-year process, three years to acquire the material and one year for UCSD Archives and Manuscript Assistant, Kimberly Schwenk, to carefully catalogue each and every item. Future plans for the archive include a traveling display that will visit the Southwestern College Library before moving to other community colleges in the area.

"One thing that we want UCSD and other institutions of higher education to understand," said Cazares, "is the importance of having this kind of material available for student research, because without this, there's a big piece of history missing."



MARIANA RICALDE/STAFF

CHAIRMAN OF CHICANOS: Herman Baca created the Committee on Chicano Rights and has been an outspoken advocate for civil rights for nearly 40 years.

Cazares said the archive is the first of its kind and continues to be a work in progress. Oral history interviews of Baca, led by UCSD graduate student Jimmy Patiño, are currently underway.

The cultural significance of the oral histories is immense, Patiño said.

"I think the oral histories will fill gaps that the various documents might leave open," he said. "Further, the oral histories will answer important questions directly from the experience of the participants themselves."

Baca said he hopes that the oral history of the archive will "leave a more complete picture for future generations that are interested in trying to resolve and seek solutions for some of the problems that not only this generation but other generations have had to deal with."

Baca's future plans include writing about his experiences.

"I'd like to write a book, basically about what's in those archives. That's what I could speak of, you know."

But for now, he is happy to have contributed his part to history, both as a participant and a collector.

Herman Baca's collection will help UCSD

VP Charles Steinberg felt the Padres' "Keep the Faith" slogan would be a perfect fit in Boston. But they were reluctant to use it during their first and second seasons. "After we lost the American League Championship Series to the Yankees in 2003, it was irresistible," says Steinberg. "So we went with it this year, and the fans' faith was tested and rewarded." And San Diego had something in common with the World Series contender . . .

Pat Albert, who grew up in

the Massachusetts Berkshires before relocating in Carmel Valley, has long been an ardent Red Sox fan. Even before the Fenway Park team became 2004 American League champs and World Series participants, Pat and his wife, Jamie, demonstrated ultimate loyalty. When Jamie had twins late last month, they gave their son, Chase, the middle name of Fenway.

(Chase is lucky his dad didn't grow up in San Diego. Imagine "Chase Petco Albert" . . .

Junior Sean was a marriage broker at the recent Miami/Pittsburgh football game. Sean tossed an autographed football to Maria Rodanis as the supermarket executive escorted guests onto the field for pre-game ceremonies. On the other side of Junior's signature, Rodanis spotted her boyfriend Derek Brou's handwriting.

"Will you marry me?" After reading the ball, she turned to see Brou's on bended knee offering her a diamond ring. The couple promise to set the wedding date *after* football season, so Sean can attend.

San Diegians link

A San Diego-area resident has made *Barron's* list of the nation's top 100 financial advisers. Bill Gurtin, a newcomer to Rancho Santa Fe, ranked eighth on *Barron's* list in total assets managed and 22nd overall. He and his family, along with his main Gurtin Group office, just relocated here from Chicago. Gurtin was introduced to San Diego during a visit to a Morgan Stanley office here. "It was love at first sight," he reports. . . . UCSD's Mandeville Library has acquired its first major Chi-

cano collection — the archives of local human rights activist Herman Baca. He founded the Committee on Chicano Rights about 40 years ago, helped form *La Raza Unida* political party in the early '70s and has been an advocate for decades. The library's special collections director calls Baca's papers invaluable for future study, thanks to his involvement in major events of contemporary Mexican-American history.

SDPD bulletin

SDPD "911" dispatcher Chuck Rickman wants to make sure people don't confuse the department's operations center for major emergencies with the 911 communications center, which handles everyday emergencies. Although the former was the recent beneficiary of a communications update

through a wildfire fund grant, the 911 facility at SDPD's downtown headquarters remains "outdated and cramped," says Rickman. Department spokesman Dave Cohen stresses that technology has changed dramatically since the department's 911 system was installed several years ago. "We need an entire new communications system."

Hurricane aftermath

Hurricane Ivan touched a San Diego construction company in an unusual way. Dave Konstantin, owner of K-CO Construction Inc., in Claremont, went to New Orleans to accept an International Torch Award from the Better Business Bureau there. The Louisiana seaport had been spared major damage when the hurricane veered off on a different

Diane Bell

TV's one way to keep up on the wedding plans



Every Wednesday Joan and Ben Widmer avidly watch NBC's "Today" show. It's one way the Carlsbad couple can

to decide on some component of the wedding — invitations, bridesmaid dresses, bridal gown, groom's attire, wedding locale, etc. This week it's the cake. The only downside is, with the British West Indies having been selected as the wedding site, the Widmers probably won't be able to attend the actual ceremony. But at least they can watch it on TV.

After they left the Padres and joined the Red Sox, former President Larry Lucchino and

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keep up with the wedding plans of their 26-year-old grandson, Army Cpl. Buddy Butler, of Kentucky. He and his fiancée, Nikki Hensley, are the lucky couple "Today" viewers chose for a wedding on the show Nov. 19 and on the house. Each Wednesday, viewers are asked

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path, but Ivan, nevertheless, made an imprint on the awards ceremony. K-CO's trophy was lost in transit somewhere along Ivan's path, so Konstantin received a "stand-in" award — the hotel's "Employee of the Month" trophy.

Diane Bell's column appears Tuesdays, Thursdays, Saturdays. Fax items to (619) 260-5009; call (619) 293-1518; e-mail to diane.bell@uniohio.edu; or mail to The San Diego Union-Tribune, Box 120191, San Diego 92112-0191.

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