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LEAD Original Programming

"Chicano Rights Movements: Then and Now" (2014)

START – 00:00:00

[Music]

>> Bienvenidos and welcome to the next installment of Lead Media Programming from Studio 54, Campus of California State University, San Bernardino. The digital media platform for inspired educators, leaders, and community activists and advocates taking our message directly to the people, to the gente. Thank you for sharing our common interests in the analysis, discussion, critique, dissemination, and commitment to the education issues that impact Latinos. I'm your host, Dr. Enrique Murillo Junior, and this episode is a syndicated replay from season 5 of the Lead Summit 2014. The theme that year was Latino Male Crisis in the Educational Pipeline and we found it obligatory that we always maintain a historic perspective. This keynote address by Dr. Jose Angel Gutierrez was entitled Chicano Right's Movements Then and Now. Jose Angel Gutierrez, one of our lead padrinos is a pivotal figure and one of the iconic founding fathers of the Chicano rights movement. He has spent a lifetime organizing and fighting for educational equity and liberation. Continue and enjoy the full value and complexity of this episode. We extend our appreciation to all our lead sponsors and partners, planners, volunteers, speakers, panelists, production team, affiliates, and all our town hall chapters. We commend them all for lifting their voice and uplifting the plight of Latinos in education. Thank you. Gracias. [Foreign language] .

>> Okay. I'd like now to share how honored, I am really because this keynote address is our capstone presentation. So, we saved it for the end. And so, this is a very exciting and special occasion for us. We had been working on this address maybe for a couple of years. We've been corresponding, going back and forth, and truly the attendance of our special keynote speaker is only made possible because we were fortunate that we had some funding provided by the intellectual life and visiting scholars committee, here at CSUSB academic programs. Before we introduce our folks up here, please direct your attention to the big screen.

>> Just days after the grand opening of Hemisfaire, Chicano high school students like their Los Angeles counterparts staged walkouts, first in San Antonio, then in 39 towns across Texas. Eventually, they spread to nearly 100 high schools in 10 states. The mastermind behind much of this activism was Jose Angel Gutierrez, son of a local doctor and a graduate student in political science from a small town southwest of San Antonio called Crystal City.

>> Crystal City where I grew up was simply like an old colonial plantation. It was a segregated town. Anglos had paved streets, sidewalks, lights, we had none of that.

Polio was rampant, tuberculosis was rampant, everything around you was just simply disheartening.

>> Like many south Texas towns, Crystal City had been shaped by racial violence, much of it perpetrated by the Texas Rangers, a 150-year-old autonomous police force with a history of intimidating, even killing Mexicans. As a young boy, Gutierrez often witnessed the aftermath of this brutality.

>> My father's medical practice was in our home. And it would not be unusual for us at night, in the middle of the night to hear thumping on the door and there's a body. They had been pistol-whipped, they had been beaten by the police.

>> The police department at the time was just about 100% Anglo. And they pretty much enforced, you know, whatever the ruling class needed to have enforced.

>> Gutierrez blamed Gringos, the Anglo authorities in South Texas for keeping Mexican Americans down. He was determined to help Chicanos gain political power.

>> We recognize that the barriers to our integrating into the society and to uplifting ourselves is the Gringo, the Gringo who's put the barriers, who makes us, you know, drop out of school, who keeps us in bad health, who doesn't pay us good wages, who prohibits our unions, and so on and so on and so on. And so, until we get rid of those elements, we're not going to progress, we're not going to be free. So, yes, the Gringo must go.

>> This press conference became known as the Kill the Gringo press conference because that's the way the newspapers portrayed it. But what Jose Angel Gutierrez meant was kill the Gringo supremacy, you know, not the individual but the system.

>> In a television interview, Henry B. Gonzalez denounced Chicano activists like Gutierrez and what he called their campaign of hate.

>> I picture my own role as having a responsibility to smoke out and to expose these false and mistaken voices of hatred. I feel that I fought against those in the majority who were preaching the same hatred 12 years ago in a different context that I have the same responsibility to expose it among the minority, even if it is a minority from which I emerge.

>> Henry B. Gonzalez, in my estimation, had a view of America that bought into the melting pot scenario and our movement said, no, we reject that. We don't have to give up our language, we don't have to give up our culture, the extended family, all those things that make us who we are. We're not going to erase those just to buy into this, to your notion of what it is to be an American.

>> Back in his hometown of Crystal City, Gutierrez organized yet another high school walkout. After eight long weeks, the students won their demands but that was not enough for Gutierrez.

>> In the school walkout, you have to go back the next day, lest you settle to the same teacher, to the same principal, the same superintendent, the same school board. Well, the only way to change is to have a political revolution electorally, vote them out of office so that you can hire the correct principal and superintendent, and so on.

>> If we can take over, you know, a school and be successful and get what the students and their parents want, why can't we just become a county commissioner, why can't we become the sheriff, why don't we become the county judge? So, we formed the political party.

>> They called their new party La Raza Unida, the United People. Gutierrez spent weeks going door to door encouraging Mexican Americans who made up 80% of the population to run candidates in the upcoming elections.

>> When you saw Jose Angel Gutierrez walk into a Crystal City barrio, he knew how to talk to people. He could speak to our grandmothers, he could speak to our mother, to our uncle, to our father, and he could articulate their concerns. He was very committed to the poor, to the working class, he understood their needs, he knew how to organize people.

>> That way we were going beyond high school walkouts, now we're really going to take on the system here.

>> We feel that 16 candidates in three counties that won 15 school boards and city councils.

>> The elections in April of 1970 saw an unprecedented victory for Chicanos. Gutierrez was elected county judge and La Raza Unida now controlled, not only the school board but the city and county government as well.

>> Before you knew it, we had Chicano teachers and principals, and superintendents. I mean, this was just incredible. You know, you walked into the county courthouse and you would smell chorizo. We would be speaking in Spanish in the courtroom, you know, and tell the Anglo lawyer, "You need an interpreter."

>> And, of course, the Anglo Texans were beside themselves. There's thinking that this is the real revolution, except that all that's happening is that Mexican Americans are exercising their political will.

>> La Raza Unida would grow into a national party running candidates from California to Michigan. As Chicanos began flexing their political muscle.

[Music]

And in the largest demonstration of Chicano solidarity ever seen in the US, on the morning of August 29th, 1970, over 30,000 took to the streets of East Los Angeles demanding an end to the war in Vietnam.

>> The war was really becoming such a heavy presence in our lives and no one could ignore it. At that time, we were about 6% of the population in the country, and 20% of the casualties in Vietnam

[Music]

>> I recall there were miles of people.

[Applause]

>> I'd like to now turn this over to Mary Valdemar. Mary is Vice President of the Latino faculty staff and administrator's association for the San Bernardino Community College District and is co-founder, core team, and volunteer support staff for ChICCCAA -- they are out there. There you go.

[Applause]

ChICCCAA stands for Chicano Indigenous Community for Culturally Conscious Advocacy and Action. I stop. Mary?

[Applause]

>> Thank you. Thank you very much. It is my pleasure to introduce Dr. Jose Angel Gutierrez and he's a pivotal figure and one of the iconic founding fathers of the Chicano Rights Movement, as you've seen in that video there. He's an attorney that hails from Dallas, Texas and a professor of political science at the University of Texas at Arlington. He is also the founder of the Center for Mexican American Studies there. Dr. Gutierrez along with Cesar Chavez, Reies López Tijerina, and Corky Gonzalez stands out as among the most important and influential leaders of the Chicano movement in the late 1960s and 1970s. He was founding member of the Mexican American Youth Organization, MAYO, in 1967, one of the first student activist groups of the Chicano Movement and founding member, and past president of the political third party La Raza Unida Party which left its mark on the political scene challenging Democratic and Republican parties alike to court the ignored Mexican American and Latino voter. Dr. Gutierrez was one of many activists working to change public education on a local level in the 1960s and '70s. Born in Crystal City, Texas, educated in local schools, he's what I'd call homegrown. Gutierrez mobilized the community to demand equal treatment for Chicano students. He was the lead organizer of the Winter Garden Project, the project which led to the now-famous walkout of 1969. Dr. Gutierrez has been organizer, founder, and co-founder of several other organizations such as the Mexican American

Unity Council, Ciudadanos Unidos, Obreros Unidos Independientes, Oregon Council for Hispanic Advancement, Northwest Voter Registration and Education Project, and Grupo del Pollo para Emigrantes Latino Americanos. He has been a subject of many articles and film documentaries, including the PBS video series Chicano, the Mexican American Struggle for Civil Rights. And is mentioned in many Chicano history and political science books. He was also featured as an innovator in the PBS documentary series School, the Story of American Public Education. Most recently, Dr. Gutierrez was featured in a segment of Prejudice and Pride, the Chicano Movement which was part of the PBS series Latino Americans. Please join me in welcoming our keynote speaker and a visionary, an incredible inspiration to myself and many other new Chicano leaders, Jose Angel Gutierrez.

[Applause]

>> All right. Let's get busy because we don't have a lot of time.

[Laughter]

I feel like a baseball player. The fourth person up the bat is usually the cleanup batter, you're supposed to hit a grand slam home run and bring all the runs in because it's about over. And here we're going to be awfully here by five. And so, that leaves about 20 minutes here to cover 60 years of what happened then and what is happening now. So, I'm going to reverse what I was going to do and just give you part I. And since you're coming to San Antonio, I expect to deliver part II.

[Applause & Cheering]

Because I will not be made to go in a hurry. All right. I know that I'm in California and I know that you have a favorite son that comes out here or maybe started here, Bill Maher, and he's on TV and he's funny and he's on our side, you know, progressive. Yet, he's never had a Chicano or a Chicana on the show. But that's okay. He does have a little segment where he talks about new rules. I want to start by telling you about Gutierrez's old rules. Because I always get in trouble when I address a group and there's taping done and then somebody gets a piece and says look at what he said now. Let me start out with rule number 1, Gutierrez's old rule number 1. I am a Chicano.

[Cheering & Applause]

That doesn't mean you have to be. But let me tell you what it does mean, that when I espouse and I say that I'm pro-Chicano, that does not make me anti-white. That does not make me anti-black. And it doesn't make me anti-Latino. I am fighting for our interests, for our vision, and for self-determination for people like me. The others can carry on their fight. I'm not here to fight for them. Rule number 2. He who defines wins, now they call it framing. So, I'm going to tell it to you from the Chicano perspective of what we thought we were doing and why we were doing what we did. Let me start off with the fact that we were a generation comprised basically of second- and third-

generation immigrant children. I know some of you are sitting there, saying, well, I'm second-generation, I'm third-generation but I don't call myself Chicano. All right. Let's go back with a little history. The Treaty of Velasco ended the Anglo rebellion, the white rebellion in Texas led by a bunch of illegal aliens from Tennessee, Kentucky, Georgia, and other places. They broke their rules, they broke their promises and they told they would be given some land and that they would be loyal to Mexico, not bring slaves, and be Catholic. And they lied on every one of those three items. So, that insurrection ended up in the loss of Texas, the Treaty of Velasco is what ended that, signed. While Santana was hostage, he was made to sign that treaty and a letter issuing an order to his commanders to leave the territory, which they did. Had they not done so, they probably would have been able to overcome the small number of revolutionaries who were there at the time in San Jacinto but that didn't happen. A few years later, 1846, the United States invaded Mexico again. And this time by 1848 took half of that territory. That ended with another treaty, the one of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Now, the Mexicans who were not killed during those times and survived, then faced a period, a prolonged period of Mexican removal, pushing us out of our areas. Very few stayed, very few stayed, about 88,000. And it wasn't until the outbreak of the Mexican Revolution, 1910 to 1930, by the time they got normalized that about a million Mexicans crossed over into what then became the United States, back into our homeland. That's why I said that my generation, going back to that time, was a second and third generation. And that's important to know because, by that time, many of us were beginning to finish school. And the school that we were made to attend, as you've heard, was a school that prohibited you speak Spanish, took you about four years to get out of the early grades. You started out with a set of vola, that was great, and then you went to primero bajo, and then you were promoted to primero alto, and then segundo bajo, and segundo alto. By that time, you had a mustache and the underarm stank.

[Laughter]

And we were in segregated communities, and segregated schools, as you saw some of the streets. I attended a school that was called Airport Junior High. Airport Junior High was a former Japanese concentration camp. Earlier another speaker referred to that as the detention camp or relocation center, they were concentration camps. And that's where we went to school, the Mejicanos did. So, we learned that we were a little different than the regular schools, and we learned what was happening in our school system was an attempt to try to make Anglos out of all of us. Angela Valenzuela in her book Subtractive Learning says -- as some other speakers have mentioned, I think it was Mr. Teyo -- "We arrive whole at the school when we are a beginner. And immediately, the subtracting begins. Taking away our language, taking away our values, and our customs, and our heritage, and making liars out of our parents. Because the minute they tell you don't speak Spanish, that's a bad language, what do you think is spoken at home? And so, what happens with the other kids that are there? I remember like my peers, that still goes on today. The teacher asks the question and, you know, you're the chicanito that's got the answer, you raise your hand, and your own razita says [Spanish language] .

[Laughter]

You think you're smarter than me, ese? So, we have dumb down syndrome. And so, we kind of keep quiet, can't answer. And what happens is that when you go home, you're Mexican. You have to be, that's what your parents demand. When you're at school, you've got to be an Anglo. And when that bell rings and you step outside and you walk down those unpaved streets, you're Chicano. Three people in one. And you learn early how to be and wear those hats instantly. So, we can survive in those worlds. That's kind of what I was telling you about second- and third-generation. When we would be taken home to ancestral Mexico to visit the parientes, I was taken to Torreón, I was taken to Guerrero, I was taken to Monterrey, and I became the "gringito". My Mexican relatives would call me [Spanish language] , criticized me for my Spanglish, my Chicano talk. And that I liked Elvis Presley and the Everly Brothers, and I wore blue jeans. Now, if the Anglos don't like you, and your own Mexicans don't like you, we opted for the only other course, we loved ourselves. And we began an attitude that said, "I'm Chicano. This is who I am. You don't like it, you've got a problem. ¿Y que?" When we were confronted with that racism about, well, little kid or Jose, if you don't like it here, why don't you go back to Mexico. Out of our mouth instantly was, "Pendejo, we are in Mexico."

[Laughter]

We were reading the same books they were reading. It's there, shamelessly it's there but we don't internalize that as the lost land. So, our generation became an activist generation. The first group to say we don't particularly want to assimilate, we don't want to become Anglos, there's nothing wrong with us, to begin with. There's no subtraction needed here. I'm whole. And I usually say that my mother told me that I was born right. I believed it. And my mother like your mother doesn't lie about any of us. So, why do we have to face this contradiction that somehow we're deficient when we enter the public school, when the history that's written is distorted that we've become the villains and the bad people. So, we began searching for answers and couldn't find any and so we created space for and in pursuit of that dignity and that respect. Our generation calls leadership renewal. What you see beginning today, the generation before wanted to assimilate, they thought that the answer would be becoming Anglo-like, speaking English, enunciating carefully, requiring citizenship to join Au Lac and the American JefArmy. Anything else, you have to be a citizen and speak English. To this day, it's in those constitutions. The majority of us couldn't speak Spanish -- I mean, English correctly and a good number of us like my parents and my grandmother, they were not US citizens. So, we were deliberately cutting off our legs and trying to run a relay and a marathon competing in the American system. Not until 1960 with the creation of PASSO and in California MAPA, the precursor to the Community Services Organization that somebody, a generation of Mejicanos started to say, you know what, unlike what my grandmother says or my father says, we aren't going back to Mexico. That's what they always said, they were going to go back to Mexico manana, and they never did. You hear it from the immigrants today. They're going to go back to Vietnam, they want to go back to Cuba, they want to go back to Honduras, they want to go back to Mexico. And they don't do that. So, that generation, ours included, began to realize we're here. And

second radical thought, second Gutierrez old rule, this is our homeland. We are the hosts.

[Applause]

Everybody else is a guest. So, don't accept any other kind of treatment. And unlike what another person presented and said, I think it is important to say to people like we did then, especially today how you treat us today, we will treat you like that tomorrow. That should get them to thinking about how their policies and the effects of those policies reflect on us and our generations. Now, at my time, also in terms of leadership change and leadership renewal, youth like myself stepped forward and said, you know, we want to have a say. This is the era of the poll tax, this is when you are not a man until you're 21 and couldn't speak. Women have no rights whatsoever. This is when we stepped forward. This is when women said, "You know, we're tired of this also. We want to have our right." So, women started being assertive and aggressive as well. And the farmworkers said, you know, we're tired of you people going to San Antonio or Denver or LA and having a meeting in a big hotel that we can't afford and requiring us to speak English and to be citizens. So, the farmworker movement, the poor people started organizing. So, the poor people, the women, and the youth became the leadership of that generation at that particular time, coinciding with the voting power, that MAPA and PASSO were creating at those moments with those presidential elections. Now, we didn't forget the power of the vote. We didn't quite understand that it wasn't just important to vote for a president, and we still haven't learned this lesson very well. We have a black and white hybrid president. In Dallas, they call him the black Anglo-Saxon president. And among immigrants, they call him the worst person ever because he's well over deporting 2 million of our people. Now, what we did not learn then and we still haven't learned completely today is that we need a transition team, we need to be involved from the campaign get-go of who is going to be in that White House, who is going to be in those positions, we need to demand those kinds of places so that we can impact the policy once they take over as presidents. We haven't done that and that was the fault and the problem that MAPA and PASSO faced in 1960. But those of us watching, those of us who were not 21 years of age yet in '60 said, "When it's our turn, we will change all this." So, we started arguing and protesting for the elimination of the poll tax, lowering the voting age. And at first, we were able to appeal that. Now, in all these walkouts, what you saw here at the beginning of the clip, that was Gutierrez's old rule, if you're going to have a party, and I'm not invited, it isn't going to be a very good party for you.

[Laughter]

You can't just make us your piñata, you can't just beat us like a piñata, and expect us not to want some other benefits from that piñata. What do I mean by this? In all these walkouts, there was always some exclusionary rule. And the one featured here by Crystal City has said you couldn't be a homecoming queen candidate unless your parents, plural, had graduated from Crystal City High School. That is the old grandfather clause revisited. We said, no, you're not going to crown anybody on that football field

because we're all going to be on that football field. Well, they did crown the homecoming queen but in a packing shed of spinach elsewhere. There was no homecoming queen at that time. When the University of Texas said, "We don't want to have Chicano studies." I hoped that the dean of the library is present. Be careful, Carlos. When we were told we could not have a Chicano studies program at the University of Texas and we were only a handful, we said, okay. We think we're going to visit the law library, we think we're going to go visit the pharmacy library, we're going to go over to engineering and visit that library, and we're going to rearrange some books. If you rearrange a book in the library, they can't ever find it. And in those schools, we were not present. So, we were not harming ourselves. This is the reference to if we're not invited to this party, you can't have that party because the land that was stolen from us, the royalties that they've accrued since then to now, or the subsidy for the tier one research institutions in Texas, University of Texas system beginning with Austin and the Texas A&M system beginning with Collin station. Our money from our inheritance goes to subsidize those places that didn't even allow us to go to school at certain times. And then when we were able to go school wouldn't let us in in sufficient numbers. Now, today, today that same system, that same Texas is talking about seeing the problem and wanting to close the gaps. They weren't talking about this for 10 years now and they can't close the gap. There is not a single spool that is met their goal. Is it because they're stupid? No. Is it because they don't have resources? No. It is because there's no will to change that. And they know that we don't have enough power to make them change that. But we're coming, we're coming. Now, back then we had values in our movement and our generation. We talked about Chicanismo. In this part of the country, you don't see many nopales. You might see some bamboos but -- I know you see sequoias. We're talking about the concept of Chicanismo from seed to tree. These sequoias that you see here are tall. And the winds come and everything happens and they don't fall down. Because underneath, from that little seed to the time that sapling starts coming up and starts growing, growing, growing, underneath their roots are all tied together. Well, nopales is the same way. These matorral de nopales grows, and grows, and grows, and they don't fall over. Yet, their little base is just like this because all the roots are intertwined. Chicanismo, man, putting it in the lexicon of some of the young people that I've got your back. We protect each other, we're here for each other. That's why those trees don't fall down, the sequoias, that's why the nopales don't fall over, and that's why bamboos are skinny as hell but they go up and up and up and they don't fall over when the wind comes. We need that network of support. Or as Chicanos would say, "yo te hago esquina." Meaning in English, I've got your back. You expect people to defend and support you when you're going to be the lead person in a fight and a struggle. And that was Chicanismo, we were all in this together. And like it was reported here about the pipeline the prison. At the height of the Chicano Movement, there was very little gang warfare. At the height of the Chicano Movement, the pushout rate was diminished, and drop-ins begin to occur. Kids came back to school because we were pushing, not only for a curriculum that was quality but we wanted Chicanos studies as well. We wanted to study about ourselves. Why is it we have to study about everybody else but can't study about ourselves? Why is it that we have to learn everybody else and not our own language, except when we call it a foreign language? Why is it that voting political parties and we have the vote, we have the vote for the

Republicans or for the Democrats? Two parties that are the same thing. Why can't we vote for a party that belongs to us? Why can't we vote for someone that looks like us, talks like us, and speaks to our interests like us? Very simple questions. Well, that was Chicanismo, that was what we were trying to do. One of the things we found out was that in talking this way, a lot of people would not understand what we were looking for. So, Gutierrez's old rule, number four. When you lose something, you immediately start looking where did I leave it, where is it. And then you find it. When you lose something because somebody stole it, you look even harder to figure out who stole it. And then you go see them. Our land has been stolen. Our heritage has been stolen. We need to find it and get it back. Now, let me tell you what other things shocked people back in our day. We didn't just say as Reies López Tijerina used to and I think last time he did about the loss of land from the land grants. All that is true. But what you don't hear about is good President Abraham Lincoln. African Americans think he's their great hero because of that executive order of emancipation. And they're right on target. But we should not praise that guy because that president during that Civil War passed the Homestead Act. Millions and millions of their cultural cousins from Ireland, Poland, Finland, anywhere else were given our land. And millions and millions and millions of acres of land was given to them free. And those people now tell you they pulled themselves up by their bootstraps. And they don't believe in welfare or subsidies. And Lincoln didn't stop there. Lincoln pushed for the transcontinental railroad, and on that one, they gave sections of land, 640 acres this side, 640 acres that side and that side, they subsidized the people that were going to build a railroad with land, our land. And it didn't stop there. Let's talk about another president. Teddy Roosevelt. Teddy Roosevelt discovers the beauty of Yellowstone. And rightfully so, he says, you know, I want my grandkids to be able to see this natural wonder. I think I'm going to begin a program to establish national parks. And did. And the states followed suit. And I want to challenge you to open a map on paper, not Google, not Earth Google, an old paper map and look and see that west of the Mississippi, two-thirds of the land that they didn't give away to railroad companies, and they didn't steal from us to give to settlers is now in federal and state parks. That's our land. So, I don't have to tell you where to go find it, it's right there. And it's in your books if you just read it. Those are the individuals who have caused us great harms, structural harm, harm forever. Now, one of the last things that we learned was that we needed our own voice. Back then, we used to refer to people who were speaking for us as the ventriloquists, one of the uses is the dummy. So, we have our own voice. We can speak for ourselves. We can say these things whether you like it or not. And today, we kind of face this problem again. It's in a different way. We're going to the Cesar Chavez movie. Now, and we are, yes, and Chavez is great. And again, remember being pro-Chicano doesn't make me anti-Latino or anything else. Okay. None of the major actors or a director are Chicanos. Banderas plays Pancho Villa. Lou Phillips Diamond played Ritchie Valens. Don't we have any Chicanos or Chicanas that can play these roles? That we see them in nuestras películas that you saw at novelas, more importantly, don't we ever get an opportunity to show that we can do this? We have no talent? Or is someone else interpreting and speaking for us still yet? Now, these things make people uncomfortable because we're not supposed to say these things but I'm telling you that this is a problem. We need to speak for ourselves. We need to talk about what is of our interest. Now, the last thing I want to mention because I'm almost out of time. Now, I've

got part II later in San Antonio but for now, I'm going to stop here. Ah, you want it, you want it, you want it. Geography, geography. You know, we realize that the border is moving. We know that, we knew then we were critical mass already. You heard the statistics. In the hometown back in 1969/'70 when we were doing that walkout, we could count. We knew that we had enough Mexicans that if we got them registered to vote, we could outvote the opposition. And we did. Not just in Crystal, in 15 races we won and we lost just one. And we ultimately ended up having influence in 26 counties. The last week, there was a primary in Texas, Wendy Davis is the darling of the Democrats, she's running for governor. A fine outstanding state senator, a good speaker, a good presenter, and a good representative on women. Ray Madrigal, Chicano, ex-La Raza Unido ran also for the Democratic party. Of course, he was asked why are you running, here's Wendy Davis --which is what we were asked when we formed La Raza Unida Party. Why are you against the Democrats? We run for ourselves. So, Ray Madrigal says, "I'm not running against Wendy. I'm running for me." And exactly as if this was a flashback, Ray Madrigal carried the same 26 counties last week that we did way back in the 1970s. That is the concentration of Mejicanos, that's the critical mass we have. The border has already moved. Okay. Now, the border is not moving like you see in this Hollywood version of A Day Without a Mexican, you know when the mist comes and all it just happens. No. This is happening every day. You know the statistics. I don't have to elaborate. The border is moving every day. In 1960, we stopped being a rural community and became an urbanized community. By 1980, we had a critical mass in many different places including the metropolitan areas. Now, in the 1980s, we began to realize that we were one-third of the population, that African Americans were the other third, and whites were another third. They hadn't all completely gone to the suburbs. One-third, one-third, one-third. Now, in order to win, when you don't have enough numbers, you've got to form coalitions. So, who should we form a coalition with? Should we hook up with the Anglos against the blacks? Should we hook up with the blacks against the Anglos? Or should we just remain bien chicanotes and let the blacks and the whites continue working together against us? Hard choices. Now, if we wait long enough, and this has always been the problem since 1970 to now about single-member districts that we challenge those at large systems where we lose or we just wait out for another 10, 15 years where we can win it all? Sometimes them all that people in the southwest the voter people say, no, go for the single-member districts, get a district now. Well, in those places, it has become institutionalized that is the only Chicano seat you get. So, the tsunami is coming. The border is moving. The problem is -- and I'll close with this. The problem is we don't have a plan. It's sad, it's really sad. We had a plan back then. We had a focus. We knew what we were doing. We implemented that plan. We didn't let other people define us or dissuade us. We don't have that now. As of May 15, 1977, the Office of Management and Budget like they had done one time before, prior to 1940, they would look at us and say, "We don't know what those mangulos are." You know, they don't look white, they don't look black, they don't look Indian. Well, some of them do. Now, we can't tell what the hell they are so let's just classify them as other race. And that's what we were until 1940, then magic happened, the Easter Bunny came and said, "Make them white." So, we were sprinkled with Holy Water and we became white. And we've been white since 1940. Problem number one, when you have 800 years of Muslim rule in Spain and then they come over and impose

500 years of conquista on our indigenous great-great- great-great-great-great grandmothers and we were born who's white. Give me a break. But in 1977, on top of this white business, they said now that there were only four races in the United States, white, black, red, and yellow. But for Hispanics. Look it up. Hispanics, we are now the only ethnic group left in the United States. There's either Hispanics or non-Hispanics. Now, some of you, including the founders of this project said, no, I'm not Hispanic, I'm Latino. Well, Mr. Murillo, with all due respect, trading Carlos Quinto for Napoleon III is no change. It's still another European colonizer. We're neither Hispanic nor Latinos, we're rut-gut Mexicans, that's what we are. And in 1960 --

[Applause & Cheering]

In 1960, it was very clear, it was very clear, in 1960, we started paying Cubans to come. We fast-tracked them to citizenship, we validated their credentials. Puerto Ricans have been citizens since 1917. And at that time, there was a handful of Puerto Ricans in New York, in New Jersey around there. Another handful of Cubans in Florida who were tobacco factory owners, that was it. But they started coming. And then in 1980, we got our Central American cousins to come. They came under temporary protected status. Now listen carefully again, right now the clamor is immigration reform now. And our Democrats are following and being the cheerleaders encouraging us, let's do it now, this is the best we can do. That is the most draconian law that the Senate has passed and they're asking the House to approve. And you tell me how we can have solidarity when we have to choose between four races, claim to be Hispanic and are divided from within and without as an example immigration reform. The Cuban is paid to come. The Puerto Rican is a citizen from birth. The Central Americans here have protected status. They're in limbo if you're a Catholic. They're not in purgatory, they're not in hell, they're in limbo. And the Mexicans get hunted. How are you going to put us in a room and expect us to agree? We do not have a shared history. We have shared colonizers. We do not have the same interests. And that doesn't mean we shouldn't work together. That doesn't mean we shouldn't form a coalition of all these different peoples and all different groups. They're our cultural cousins, we have more in common with them than we do with African Americans or Anglo Americans. But we do have separate issues, beginning with our dismemberment of our homeland. This is our homeland. None of these other immigrants have that same scenario. None of these other immigrants have such a draconian immigration policy aimed at them. None of them get deported because of being or not being the historic enemy that we have been. And we have been the historic enemy. Now, the tsunami is coming. But do we have a plan? Do we have a plan? Perhaps we should drop the words Latino advocacy, education and stick with just the acronym because that's a beautiful one. Why don't we plan on leading? Why don't we plan? If we've got the numbers and it's coming, that's the future. You know, for example, right now it's 5:10, the future is at 5:11. We don't know what's going to happen. We don't know what's going to happen at 5:30. Tomorrow is another day, that's the future. We are living in the future. We are our own future. And if what's at stake are fundamental questions such as do you want to continue being governed or do you want to try being governors. Do you want to control your self-determination?

[Applause]

Do you want to speak for yourself? Do you want to reclaim and redo all the past wrongs? You've got to have power. Let's have plans. Let's have a plan. I propose as you come into Texas that we work together from now on in joining the powers that we have in California and Texas because we're still the majority in the Southwest, and California and Texas have the majority, the political power, why don't we start working together and getting prepared to govern? Thank you.

[Cheering & Applause]

>> Questions. Questions from the center.

>> If people want to ask questions, there's a mike in the center there, you can get in line behind the mike to ask a question.

>> Questions, questions.

>> Okay. Right in the middle.

>> There's one over here.

>> Yo soy Tejana también. And I'm the fifth generation. So, how can I fight for my land? I know that my grandfather, my great-grandfather was born in Uvalde, Texas. But I have no idea how to fight.

>> All right. There's three answers to that. The first one is, there are associations of land grant claimants. I don't know, you know, you said you're from Uvalde, I don't know if you are part of the family that has inheritance and so on. So, there are associations that are looking and there have been litigations, some successful, for example, in South Padre Island, the land was lost, okay, the court decided that it was too late. But in those land grants, in those transferred lands, there was no discussion ever, it wasn't even conceivable of oil and gas. So, the Balli family, and you can look it up, balli.org. They've got a website and you can keep track of that litigation. They got awarded the oil and gas rights. So, that's one answer. The second answer is move back to Uvalde and take over the county, and then you set the taxes, and you set the rules, and you get the sheriff, you know. When I was county judge, we had an Anglo grower who liked to hire Mexicans and on a payday give them a bogus check. The consul from Mexico came to see me and said, "You know, we've got all these checks. This is thousands and thousands of dollars." So, the sheriff went, the Chicano sheriff, the one that cooked chorizo in the courthouse.

[Laughter]

He went and brought him. And we told the grower, the farmer, and said, "We're going to charge you individually for each one of these things. So, you're going to be in the county

jail here for the next 30 years unless you pay tomorrow. And he said, "Well, I want to go to the bank." No. You can call the bank, let them bring the cash, you're still in jail. So, if you have the power in the county government, and that's where your land was, you can go back and right that wrong there. Third, you know, you can do what Tijerina suggests we do, you know, we start talking about this and start clamoring about this and maybe go do a citizens arrest. That is part of the second amendment as well. So, there are things you can do.

>> We have time for one more.

>> Eric, do we have a question from Eric?

>> Yeah.

>> Yes, go ahead.

>> I don't hear anything.

>> Hello. As a brown beret and Chicano activist here in San Bernardino, I was -- and having you as a historian, somebody who was in the Chicano Movement when you were my age or our age, there's still some Chicanos around here, some activists that were once your age. What kind of words of wisdom would you give to us? That's what we're looking for especially from the older cats, you know, people who have been there in the '60s. What words would you give us?

>> Okay. My wife here is filming me. [Spanish language] . And she hates when I talk like this. [Spanish language] . So, she's going to hate me for saying this but look, it's very simple. The question is, you know, what can we do. I really can't tell you exactly because you didn't pose the concrete example like she did. But you know you're going to die.

[Laughter]

Every one of you is going to die. What do you want people to say about you when you were alive? What did you do to better your community? What's going to be on your obituary when you were born and when you die, how many kids you left? So, the answer is there. Let's work backward. How do you want to be known for what legacy you're going to leave? Choose up what it is you're going to do but your job is as somebody else has already said this before, our job I think as human beings is to make a better world. In another publication, answering you in another way, you know, it's in The Chicano Manual on How to Handle Gringos. Okay. The earlier one that you have and incidentally I gave Dr. Murillo some copies to use in any way he wants to, the original Gringo Manual, which was about powerlessness. But the Chicano Manual is about a semblance of power. And in that first one essay, in the first chapter, it says there's three fundamental questions you need to answer. Number one, how does the world work? Now, the world is contextual because, at the beginning, it's your family,

your neighborhood, your school, your town. You know, I bet you this kid in San Bernardino had never been in LA, this kid is in LA who had never been outside of East LA. So, you've got to learn how the world works. And then those of you smart people [Spanish language] .

[Laughter]

You're answering the second question, how do you make the world work for you. Most of our folks middle-class are there. They're happy. They're comfortable Hispanics. I belong to an organization called TACHE. Forty years of history. And my wife and I have just finished writing that book last December. Dr. Murillo has a copy of that. You can Google it. TACHE, the Texas Association of Chicanos in Higher Ed. Some of the critics -- and I'm beginning to think this way too, I think we ought to change our name. The Texas Association of Comfortable Hispanics in Education. Because we've figured out how to make the world work for us and stop there. But there's a third question alluding to the obituary, the reference that you're going to die, the third and most important question facing all of us is how do we make a better world. Next question.

[Applause]

>> One more question.

>> Let's do one more.

>> Just to let you know, I'm Salvador Esendiz from the Hispanic in the Chamber of Commerce, we are organizing and I was born in Mexico, Torreon Vuelos, you mentioned Torreon. Anyway, we are organizing as the Chambers of Commerce and some of the Hispanic Chambers of Commerce have pacts but we're also at the state level. So, we have the California Hispanic Chambers of Commerce, we have the MAC. And within the Chambers of Commerce nationwide, California and Texas are the strongest. And now, we're organizing, we just need a pendulum that you have. Okay. Our reachings are of the chamber, okay, can be heard or listen to the plan that you have so if we can tell the community and get organized. Because we have now the power and money because of the businesses, education, and that's why we're looking for the young ones and also a goal that we want for our future. Thank you.

>> All right. Here's the challenge for you since that wasn't a question. You're right. We are the fastest-growing economic engine for the United States. We also are the largest small business producers in the country and of those small business producers, they are mostly females. Now, they're taquerias, panaderías, tortillerias, cantinas, villares. I just saw one it's got the biggest cakes. It says Pancho Villares.

[Laughter]

But here's the challenge that I offer you because you're right. You know, we've got some growing economic power. Why don't we start thinking about since there's no

regulation whatsoever forming an electronic bank, an e-bank, or just simply a bank that will finance us to acquire all the franchises? I said all of them, not some of them. All of them. This is critical thinking, this is planning for the future, not just that we've got to pack. I'm not trying to put you down, you know, because we don't have enough candidates for office. Who are you getting the money to? And then, you know, we don't hold our politicians accountable because we don't elect them with money. They just want our votes to be validated, but they're really not accountable to us. They do what they want. Look at the Democrats. They're pushing for immigration reform. That's crazy. Read the damn thing. It's horrible. Yes, yeah. Okay. We continue, so we continue.

[Applause]

>> No, don't go too far, don't go too far, stay right here.

>> Dr. Gutierrez. Dr. Gutierrez, for your commitment to education, your advocacy, activism, your scholarship, they embody the ideals that really drawing from your legacy led to the creation of this summit. So, we are very honored that you came here in person. I myself in a lot of ways have modeled myself after this gentleman here. So, I'm very humbled. We want to award you our Medallion of Honor.

[Applause]

Gracias.

>> I feel like I've been knighted. I'm a Son of Lee.

>> There you go. We're your sons. Next, I want to invite Armando Zepeda. Armando is our artist in residence and we want to present you with a special gift.

[Applause]

>> Thank you. Jose Angel Gutierrez, it's my pleasure to present you with this poster that I was commissioned to do for you. And this is a poster of Jose Gutierrez, right there. And I wanted --

[Applause]

Read what it says. There's two versions of a poster.

>> Let's take a poll.

>> Okay. There's a poll. There's two versions.

>> I know you can't see this far but this one has that picture and says Raza Unida Party and my name. And at the bottom, it says the Chicano legend. This one is got Raza Unida, the same poster, my name, at the very bottom it says melón chingon.

[Laughter]

The only reason I'm the melón chingon is because I'm the only one left alive.

[Laughter]

Well, he's not very much in the public arena still. Thank you very, very much.

>> We have a limited supply of these, only 40 on that table back there if anybody is interested in them. Okay. Thank you.

>> Thank you.

>> Okay. Let me sign off and then we'll do pictures. Let me sign off and we'll do group pictures. Okay. We need to sign off and then we'll take our pictures. Okay. So, friends and colleagues, we're signing off now. We're going to send it over to our folks. Again, thank you to our sponsors, partners, town hall events, panel speakers, translators, exhibitors, all the folks, creative media services, latinograduate.net, our food services, hospitality. The on-demand viewing will be available in a few hours so you can watch this online in a few hours from now. Okay. Thank you again to our padrino Julian Navo. Thank you to each and every one of you for spending the day with us. And we hope -- gracias. We hope to have added yet another grain of sand, un granito más de arena. Muchas gracias. Y con esto, nos despedimos. Colorín colorado este cuento se ha acabado. Gracias.

[Cheering & Applause]

END – 01:03:02