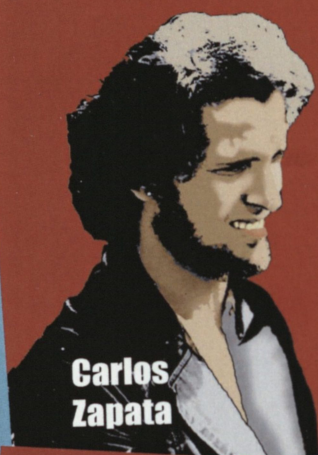


LA

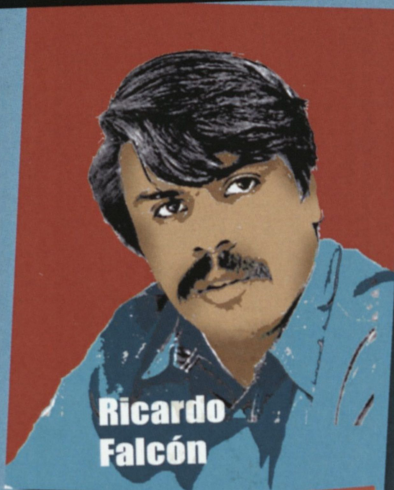
CUCARACHA

Special Edition
May 31, 2014

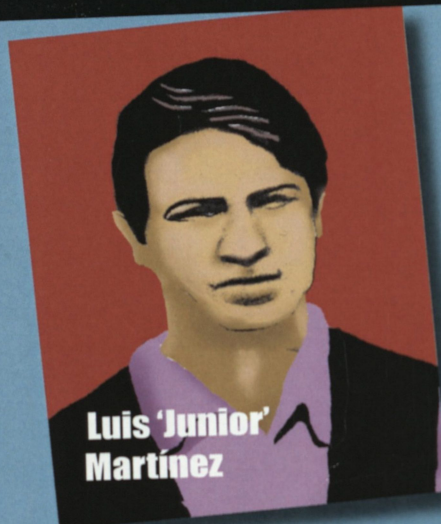
SYMBOLS OF RESISTANCE • CHICAN@ MOVEMENT • COLORADO



**Carlos
Zapata**



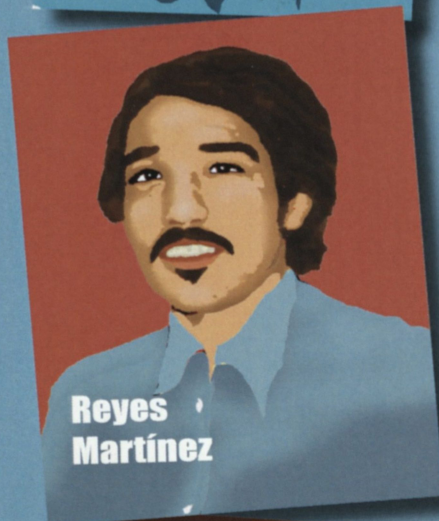
**Ricardo
Falcón**



**Luis 'Junior'
Martínez**



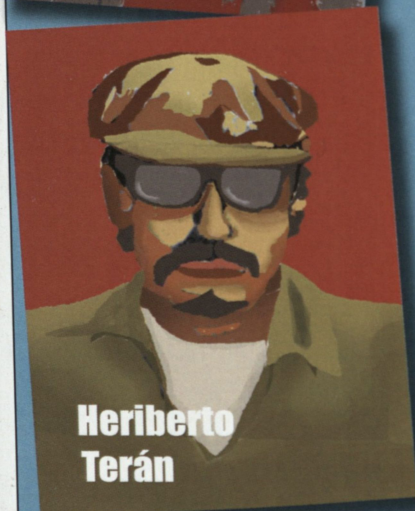
**Neva
Romero**



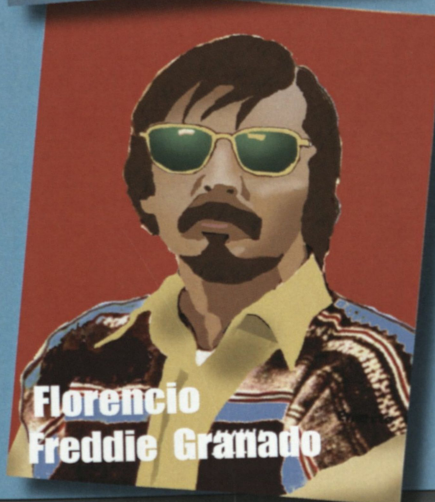
**Reyes
Martínez**



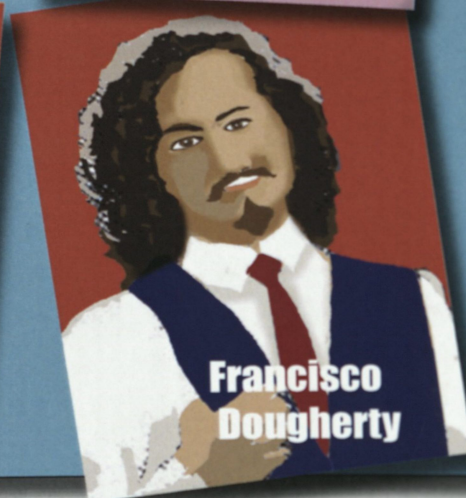
**Una
Jaakola**



**Heriberto
Terán**



**Florencio
Freddie Granado**



**Francisco
Dougherty**



Remembering our history of struggle

On behalf of the Organizing Committee for this 31 May, 2014, Memorial Event honoring the Simbolos de Resistencia of the Chican@ Movement in Colorado, welcome. Thank you for honoring this event with your presence.

This weekend marks 40 years that our pueblo lost six of its brightest stars – Los Seis de Boulder – Neva Romero, Una Jaakola, Reyes Martínez, Florencio Granado, Heriberto Terán and Francisco Dougherty. Together with Ricardo Falcón, Luis “Junior” Martínez and Carlos Zapata, they are remembered as the Simbolos de Resistencia • Chican@ Movement • Colorado. The Simbolos are remembered and have been commemorated regularly by those who struggled with them against racism, discrimination and national oppression. The historical era and events that took their lives were headline news in their times; yet, it is only in recent years that interest in those incidents is being rekindled.

As a statewide coalition that organized this event, we became aware that some young people have considerable knowledge of the events surrounding the deaths of the Simbolos de Resistencia. It also became apparent that many members of later generations know only in vague terms that something incredible happened to a family member or paisano. We also learned that some of the Simbo-



los de Resistencia’s families and contemporaries have distanced themselves from the history about the deaths of their loved ones. It is also obvious that many people who came of age during that era have been irreversibly molded by the Chican@ Movement. They have continued practicing and teaching - at work, at home and in their community - the values and lessons they learned as activists in the Chican@ Movement. Many activists from that era yet have strong feelings about the Simbolos de Resistencia and they have come forward to support this event in many different ways.

The Chican@ Movement emerged and played a historical role that is yet being studied and

evaluated. The last act has not been played nor has the final chapter been written. Time and events subsequent to the tragic incidents that took the lives of the Simbolos de Resistencia have given us an opportunity to give some proportion and perspective to those incidents. We are only beginning to appreciate the significance of those incidents and their deaths. In recent years there have been written, video and artistic works treating the topic of the Chican@ Movement in Colorado.

Yet, none of them has taken on in a sincere and scholarly fashion, the issue of the Simbolos de Resistencia. Incidents such as those that took the lives of the Simbolos de Resistencia do not happen very often.

Since that era, our pueblo has matured politically and taken new directions. Our history is a duality of the history of Mexico and that of the United States of North America. Our children and our children’s children have now come of age and they demand to know more. As they learn more about that era they will have their own opinions because - most of all - this history is their history. We trust this event and this publication will contribute to that process.

¡Que vivan Los Simbolos de Resistencia!

The Organizing Committee

The following comprise the organizing committee for this 40th Anniversary Event

Sujeith Barraza
Don Francisco Coca
Juan Espinosa
Priscilla E. Falcón, Ph.D.
Ricardo Falcón, M.D.
Florencio Granado, Hijo
Alejandra Jurado
Al Kaoru Kawanabe
Raquel G. López
Dario Madrid
David A. Martínez, Esq.
Emanuel Martínez
Francisco “kiko” Martínez
Marco & Joe Martínez /Familia de Luis “Junior” Martínez
Rita J. Martínez
Rita L. Melgares, Attorney
Deborah Mora Espinosa
Pablo Carlos Mora
Antonio Moreno
José Esteban Ortega
Ray H. Otero
Roberto Padilla
Rigo Rangel
Andrea Renteria
Nelson Rodriguez
Ricardo J. Romero
Robin Romero
Shirley Romero Otero
Anabelia Salazar
Monica Salazar
Daniel Salcido
Freddie “Freak” Trujillo
Al Frente de Lucha
La Cucaracha
La Gente - Pueblo
MEChA - Univ. of No. Colorado
Movimiento de Liberación Nacional Mexicano
Nat’l Cmte To Conserve & Honor The Memory of Los 6 de Boulder
Resistencia Mexicana
Revolutionary Anti-Imperialist Movement
UMAS y MEXA de CU Boulder



Hola,

This Special Edition of La Cucaracha is the first since the Pueblo-based community newspaper folded in December 1984. When plans were announced to commemorate the nine Symbols of Resistance, former members of La Cucaracha staff offered to publish this commemorative edition.

La Cucaracha began publishing in Pueblo, Colo., on May 5, 1976, as an alternative voice to the mainstream media. Most of the founding members of the staff met as students at the University of Colorado in Boulder and worked on other newspapers including El Diario, Ahora, El Malmcriado and other Chicano publications affiliated with the Chicano Press Association.

In 1973, we helped Florencio “Freddie” Granado start El Escritor del

Pueblo a community newspaper in Denver. Before his death in May 1974, Granado had planned to move his newspaper to Pueblo, that’s why he added “Del Pueblo” to the name of his newspaper.

As young reporters, the future staff of La Cucaracha covered many of the stories included in this Special Edition, beginning with the firing of Ricardo Falcón from UMAS-EOP at CU to his death while en route to La Raza Unida Conference in Texas. Other stories we covered four decades ago in-

clude the police attack on the Crusade for Justice resulting in the death of Luis “Junior” Martinez, the occupation of TB-1, and the deaths of Los Seis.

Because of our early involvement in reporting the news from a Chicano perspective, it is appropriate that we regroup to publish this souvenir edition. Working on this issue has reminded us of the many battles that were fought in the Chicano struggle for self-determination and the personal sacrifices made by the Symbols of Resistance and dozens of others who put the needs of our people above their own. We are humbled by their examples and honored to help document their contributions.

“Una Cucaracha en cada Casa”

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Chicano Press Association



SIMBOLOS DE RESISTENCIA

PROGRAM OF ACTIVITIES

SU TEATRO PERFORMING ARTS THEATER

31 MAY 2014

3:00 Denver Art Society,
734 Santa Fe Drive, Denver.

Reception, Artwork Exhibit,
COINTELPRO 101 viewing

Program – Part 1

4:30 Welcome

“Cuarenta Ocho Horas”
by Su Teatro
Opening Ceremony
by Len Foster,
Dine Spiritual Advisor
“Corrido de Los Seis de Boulder”
written by Agustin Cordova

Neva Romero Scholarship
Presentation

Acknowledgements

DJ Cavem

Poem:

“Aztlán Esta de Luto”
“Tragedy of Ricardo Falcón”
recited by Café Cultura

Speaker: Marco Martínez

Elena Klaver & David Young
Performance

Intermission

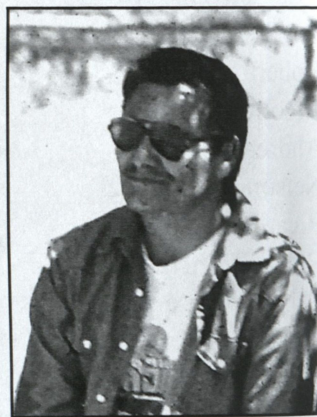
6:00 Chicano Movement Video
by Juan Espinosa

Program – Part 2

6:30 Welcome Back

Speaker: Ricardo Romero

An 11th-generation Coloradan, Ricardo Romero grew up in Brighton and Denver. In the 1960s, he was a founding member of the Crusade for Justice, served as the National Coordinator of the Poor People's Campaign in Washington, D.C., and also a founding member of Escuela Tlatelolco in Denver. He also helped found the Mexican National Liberation Movement. He was arrested while taking part in the 1970 Los Angeles Moratorium against the Vietnam War. In 1977, he served time in prison for refusing to testify before a federal grand jury. In 1984, he again was sentenced to prison for refusing to cooperate with a federal grand jury empaneled in New York. He was part of the Tierra Amarilla land takeover in 1989 in defense of the Tierra Amarilla Land Grant in New Mexico. He protested immigration raids in 2006 at a Greeley, Colo., meatpacking plant and continues his work defending the rights of community people.



Panel Discussion

Opening Remarks:

Dr. Priscilla Falcón
Deborah Mora Espinosa

Moderator:

Priscilla Falcón:

Panelists:

Deborah Mora Espinosa
Ray Luc Levasseur
Rafael Cancel Miranda
Kathleen Cleaver
Michael Deutsch
Len Foster

Concluding Remarks:

Rita Martínez de Melgares
Senor Francisco Coca y
Familia Coca



Rita L. Melgares

Melgares is a parent and grandparent who as an attorney has championed the rights of children and families. Melgares has been involved in precedent-setting cases in trial and appellate courts. She is an older sister to attorneys Reyes P. Martínez and Francisco E. Martinez. When the state unleashed its campaign of repression and terror against Colorado's Chicano Movement in the early 1970s, Ms. Melgares, together with her brother Reyes, rose to defend the life, freedom and rights of their sibling Francisco. After Reyes' controversial death in 1974, Rita became the face and spokesperson for the Martínez Family in its clashes with the state and the media. Ms. Melgares was instrumental in the successful, decade-long legal defense of Francisco against politically motivated criminal charges. A much-sought-after speaker, Ms. Melgares lives in Omaha where she is active in professional and community organizations.

Francisco Coca y Familia

A native of Aguilar, Colo., Francisco Coca is the head of a musical family whose roots go back deeply in the Southern Colorado region. He and his family have played their special style of music at numerous community gatherings, weddings and other occasions, and Chicano events such as El Cinco de Mayo and El Dies y Sies de Septiembre. He and his family run a successful ranch in Huerfano County where their goat cheese is highly prized. The goat operation has sustained the family for several generations.

Program Activities Continued

Symbols of Resistance Tribute

Moderator:
José Esteban Ortega

Speaker:
Ray Otero

Presentation to the Families of
Symbols of Resistance

Roll Call – ¡Presente!

Performance:
"Yo Soy Chicano"
Juanita Dominguez
Francisco Coca
accompanied by Familia Coca
and others

Lyrics by:
Juanita Dominguez —



Juanita and Emilio Dominguez traveled to Phoenix, Ariz. with hundreds of others to encourage Cesar Chavez to end a hunger strike in June 1971.

Juanita Dominguez

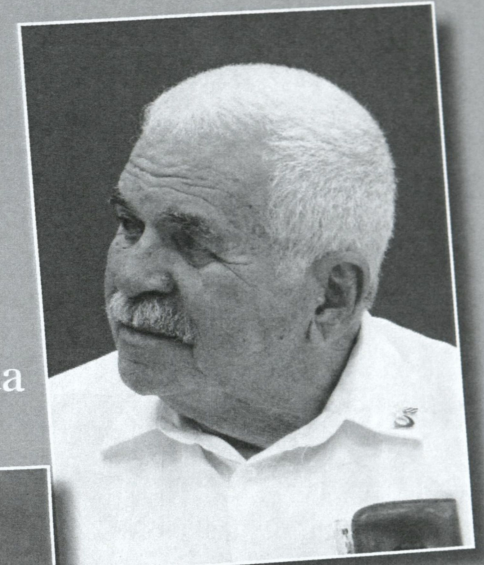
Hailing from the San Luis Valley, Juanita Dominguez has demonstrated her commitment to the Chicano Movement over the decades. In 1968, Dominguez penned new lyrics to a traditional Mexican revolutionary tune, "La Realera," and thus was born the anthem "Yo Soy Chicano." She was inspired to write the song while traveling on a bus to the Poor People's March in Washington, D.C. Because of the many people gathering for the march, she wanted to express her special pride in being Chicana at a forum with so many diverse groups.

PANELISTS

Kathleen
Neal
Cleaver



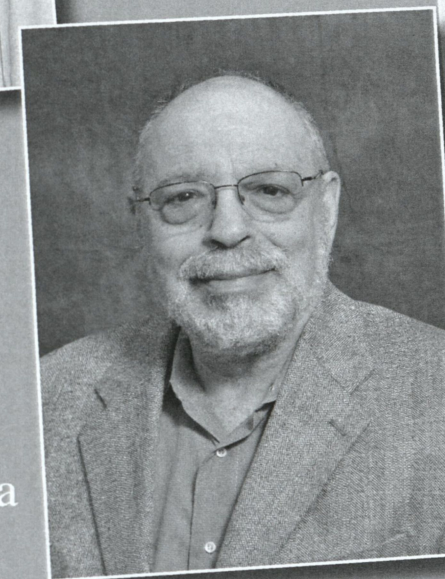
Rafael
Cancel
Miranda



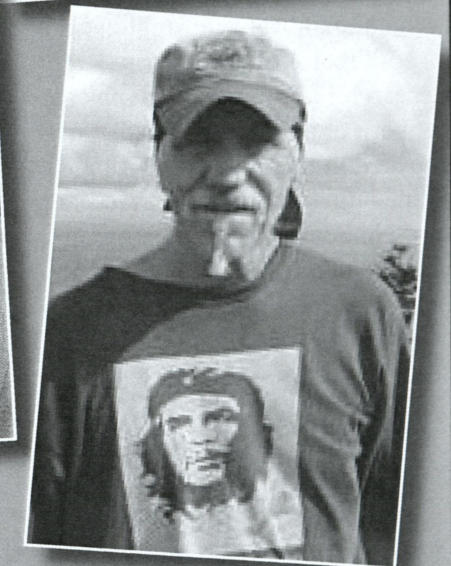
Priscilla
Lujan
Falcon



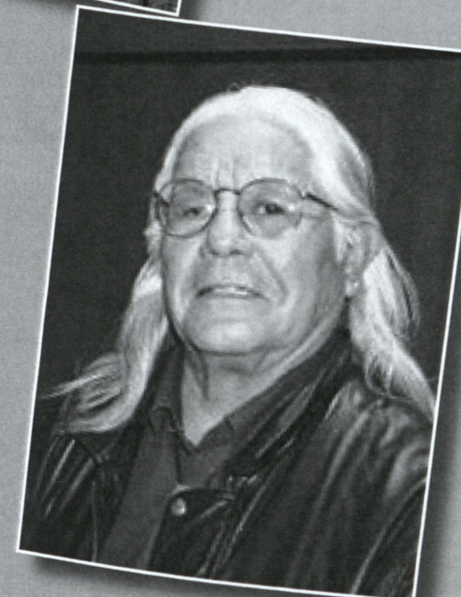
Michael
Deutsch



Ray Luc
Levasseur



Lenny
Foster



Deborah
Mora
Espinosa



She has devoted many years to defending the former Black Panther leader Geronimo (Pratt) ji Jaga, who was framed on murder charges and finally released after 27 years in California prisons.

Kathleen Neal Cleaver

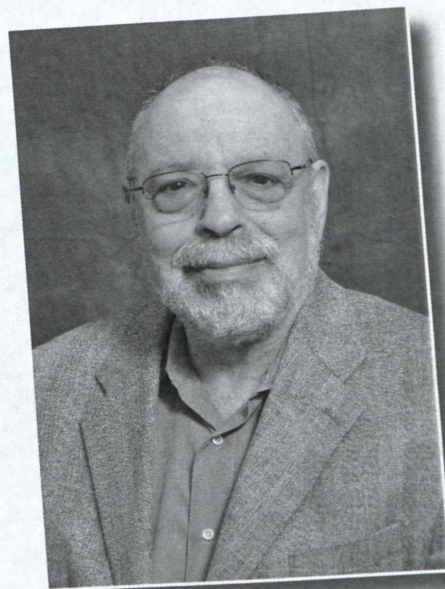
This dynamic attorney and professor has spent most of her life participating in the human rights struggle. Cleaver is co-director of the Human Rights Research Fund, which belongs to a network of anti-racist organizations engaged in documenting violations of the human rights of U.S. citizens who challenge the racist and military policies that injure their communities. Currently, she is a member of the Emory Law School faculty and a senior lecturer in the African American Studies Department at Yale University.

Cleaver dropped out of Barnard College in New York during 1966, to work full time with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) where she became active in their Campus Program. At a conference SNCC hosted in Nashville, she met Eldridge Cleaver whose writing had inspired a group to agitate for his release from prison in California. In the fall of 1967, she moved to California to help Cleaver prevent the execution of Huey Newton, the leader of the Oakland Black Panther Party for Self Defense. They were married in Los Angeles, and in 1968, Kathleen became the first woman on the party's central committee, working as the first Communications Secretary until 1970. After sharing years of exile with her



husband, they returned to the U.S. during 1975.

Cleaver graduated summa cum laude from Yale College with a B.A. in history in 1984, then enrolled in Yale Law School. After graduating in 1988, she practiced law at a New York firm until 1990. She then clerked for federal Judge A. Leon Higginbotham. In 1992 Cleaver joined the faculty at Emory Law School. She has devoted many years to defending the former Black Panther leader Geronimo (Pratt) ji Jaga, who was framed on murder charges and finally released after 27 years in California prisons. Cleaver worked to free other political prisoners, including the late Marilyn Buck. She also



participated in numerous cultural and political activities to support political prisoners and encourage awareness among youth of the long struggles for social justice and human dignity.

Cleaver has published numerous articles in magazines and newspapers, including Transition, The Black Panther, Ramparts and the Village Voice. Her writing has been published in several scholarly books, including "The Promise of Multiculturalism," "The Black Panther Party Reconsidered," and "Critical Race Feminism." She and George Katsiaficas co-edited Liberation, Imagination and the Black Panther Party (Routledge, 2001). She edited the collection of Eldridge Cleaver's writing in "Target Zero: A Life in Writing" (Palgrave, 2006).

Cleaver has devoted decades to working on her memoir, "Memories of Love and War," for which she has received numerous fellowships, including the W.E.B. Du Bois Fellowship and the Bunting Institute Fellowship at Harvard, and a fellowship given by the Center for Scholars and Writers of the New York Public Library. The book will be published by Random House upon completion. Eldridge and Kathleen Cleaver had two children who were born while he was a fugitive from the United States. She currently has 13 grandchildren.

Michael Deutsch

This extremely talented litigator has been representing political activists for over 45 years. He works with the People's Law Office in Chicago and was a past legal director of the Center for Constitutional Rights (CCR). Among his clients and cases were the rebelling Attica Prisoners, the Black Panthers, Puerto Rican Independentistas, and Palestinian-Americans falsely accused of terrorism. He has also represented grand jury resisters, including Mexican-Chicano activist Ricardo Romero. He has written and lectured extensively on political repression, prisoner rights and international law.



Deborah Mora Espinosa

Former Director of El Pueblo History Museum for History Colorado, Deborah Mora Espinosa gained recognition as one of a few Chicana museum professionals in history.

Born in Gunnison County in 1951, Espinosa earned her educational credentials through the University of Colorado in Boulder; and Colorado State University-Pueblo, graduating with a B.S. in History. She received her Master's degree in nonprofit management at Regis University, in Denver, as a Colorado Trust Fellow.

While attending CU, she was an active member of the United Mexican American Students and the Farm Labor Task Force. In the summer of 1973, she and her husband, Juan Espinosa, were recruited by Cesar Chavez to work at the headquarters of the United Farm Workers Union in La Paz, California.

The couple traveled throughout the Southwest and Mexico during those years as he worked with such publications as El Diario de la Gente, Boulder, El Malcriado, La Paz, Calif., and La Cucaracha Pueblo. These travels provided her the opportunity to witness and experience the struggles of the Chicano Movement under various leaderships. Espinosa would often say

She was among the students who occupied the CU campus-building TB-1 in 1974. The occupation ended after deaths of Los Seis in two separate car bombings.

during those years, that they were students of El Movimiento. Both Juan and Deborah were among the students who occupied the C.U. campus-building TB1 in 1974. The occupation ended after the deaths of Los Seis in two separate car bombings.

She also experienced first hand the injustices of the court system, as a witness in two federal political trials in Texas courts and in labor while working for the UFW in California, and on picket lines in Colorado. The Chicano and Indian Movements have been intertwined in her life as a student, mother, great grandmother and professional.

Before going to work for History Colorado — the state agency responsible for the collection, preservation and interpretation of Colorado history — in 1988, Espinosa spent three years as a community organizer, developing her own style of leadership in Pueblo.

While at El Pueblo History Museum, she championed the Chicana@ history and firmly established Chicana@s as significant founders of Pueblo and contributors to Colorado. In the process, she expanded El Pueblo History Museum's programs by building a clearer understanding of the city's true origins as that of being strongly Native American and New Mexican, not only European and American. As a result, she became an integral part in establishing the Chicana@s history and firmly established Chicanos as significant founders and contributors to Colorado.

The basis of this work has influenced Pueblo's recognition of the Arkansas River as a former interna-

tional border for Spain, France, the Texas Republic, the United States and Mexico. Under her administration she oversaw the relocation of the museum to downtown Pueblo, and during an interim of ten years worked with city planners and History Colorado on the master plan and final development of the current museum complex that opened in 2003.

In 2008, she produced the oratorio, "Song of Pueblo" and commissioned fifteen original compositions by playwright and musician Daniel Valdez, video and images by Juan Espinosa, and performed by the El Pueblo Ensemble. The oratorio teaches centuries of history to all audiences and is now in its fifth season.

Espinosa developed diverse educational programs and exhibits throughout the years. Her work brought attention to the role of colonial women on the Spanish and Mexican frontier and the establishment of Southern-Colorado settlements. As a historian, she has supported protests against Columbus Day and the myths that the national holiday is based upon. She also supported the Land Rights Council and the heirs to the Sangre de Cristo Mexican Land Grant in their fight to regain access and use of La Sierra in Costilla County.

Over the years she has been recognized for her leadership, activism, preservation, and the inclusion of the performing arts.

Espinosa retired from History Colorado at the end of February 2014, but has since agreed to co-curate an exhibit on the Chicano Movement scheduled to open in February 2015 at the new Colorado History Center in Denver.

Priscilla Lujan Falcón, Ph.D

Dr. Falcón's family roots are in Northern New Mexico; a cradle of civilization and a crucible of las tres culturas. Her ancestors joined other Mexican clans that migrated north into what would later be referred to as Colorado's San Luis Valley. These Mexican clans fanned out on the valley's eastern and western flanks on the Sangre de Cristo and San Juan Mountain Ranges in the early 19th century. Dr. Falcón's ancestors founded the settlements of La Plaza de Los Valdezes and Agua Ramón on the headwaters of El Rio Bravo de Norte which is also known as the Rio Grande River. These settlements were annexed to the United States of Northamerica after the 1846 war of conquest against Mexico.

Her father, Teodoro Luján, was a cowboy, farmer, precious metal prospector and decorated World War II veteran. Her mother, Josie Luján, managed the household and was charged with overseeing the social and spiritual development of their eight children. Dr. Falcón is the oldest. Josie Luján graduated from college while raising her children. She was a special education teacher for many years. Recognizing the disparities in school funding, Josie Lujan was the lead plaintiff in a 1977 lawsuit, Luján v. Colorado State Board of Education. The lawsuit claimed Colorado's method of funding public schools deprived them of equal educational opportunities in violation of the state and federal constitutions. This lawsuit resulted in a series of lawsuits and changes in the way Colorado funds public education.

After graduating from high school



Dr. Falcón enrolled at the University of Colorado in Boulder. She became active in the United Mexican American Students organization (UMAS). During the early 1970s UMAS was the most powerful student organization on campus. UMAS advocated for equal educational opportunity – effective recruitment, adequate financial aid and meaningful social support. This happened when university campuses across the continent were hotbeds of student radicalism. The University of Colorado's administration targeted UMAS for special treatment because it perceived UMAS as a catalyst of student unrest on campus in the spring of 1972. UMAS leaders were expelled from the university and banned from campus. Dr. Falcón and her partner, Ricardo Falcón, were part of this group. Later that year, Ricardo was assassinated in Orogrande, N. M. He was traveling to El Paso, Texas, to attend the national El Partido de la Raza Unida convention when he was murdered by an organizer for George Wallace's American Independent Party – an organization characterized by racism and chauvinism. The assassination provoked widespread discord. After a controversial trial the assassin was acquitted of Falcón's murder. Dr. Falcón became a widow and mother of an orphan son – also named Ricardo. Dr. Falcón spent years as a full-time community organizer working on is-

ssues such as education, police misconduct, health and women's rights. She participated in the statewide campaign against the English Only Movement. She worked to publicize and support federal grand jury resisters in Chicago and New York City who were being investigated because they supported Puerto Rican independence. Dr. Falcón's partner, Ricardo Romero, was criminally prosecuted for contempt of court and imprisoned for three years because he refused to cooperate with the grand jury witch hunt. During this period she obtained an undergraduate degree from Adams State College and a master's degree and doctor of philosophy degree from the University of Denver. Her areas of concentration were history and political science. Dr. Falcón has done research in and traveled to Mexico, Puerto Rico, Nicaragua, Honduras, Costa Rica and Turkey. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, Dr. Falcón supported the Consejo de Tierra Amarilla who was engaged in a 14-month-long occupation of land to recover part of the Tierra Amarilla Land Grant. During the EZLN (Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional) uprising, Dr. Falcón traveled to Zapatista Liberated Zones in Chiapas, Mexico, where she provided logistical, professional and moral encouragement. Since 2006, she has engaged in community campaigns against the arrest and deportations of immigrants by ICE (Immigration, Customs and Enforcement) in Greeley and Weld County.

Dr. Falcón is a tenured, award-winning professor in the Hispanic Studies Department at the University of Northern Colorado. Along with others, she staffs and helps operate the Ricardo Falcón Center. The Center provides various services to Greeley's Mexican and immigrant communities. She has three adult children; Ricardo a medical doctor, Xochi an educator and Socorro, the glue that holds the family together. Dr. Falcón and Ricardo Romero are raising a grandson, Enrique.

Ray Luc Levasseur

This Vietnam Veteran was born Oct. 10, 1946, and reared in the shadow of textile mills and shoe factories in southern Maine. His father and mother were from Quebec, all "French-Canadians" whose labor ran these mills and factories. He began mill work at age 17 before moving to Boston to work on the loading docks.

From 1965-1968, Levasseur served in the U.S. Army, including a one-year tour in Vietnam. After military service, he began his first political activism with the Southern Students Organizing Committee (SSOC) in Tennessee. SSOC's work focused on labor, civil rights and anti-war efforts.

During this period of activism, he was arrested for selling a small amount of marijuana and was incarcerated in the Tennessee State Penitentiary from 1969-1971.

The confluence of Levasseur's previous life experience with war and prison laid bare the fundamental contradictions of class and race

For 10 years, he disappeared underground and operated as part of an armed clandestine movement and was on the FBI's 10 most wanted list.

within the context of American society and empire. It fueled his political activism for decades.

In 1972, worked as a regional coordinator for Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW). In 1973-1974, Levasseur founded and was an active member of SCAR, a Maine-based community organization focusing on criminal justice issues. In 1974, he and other SCAR members operated the Red Star North, a radical bookstore. The Red Star North was harassed, raided and attacked by police.

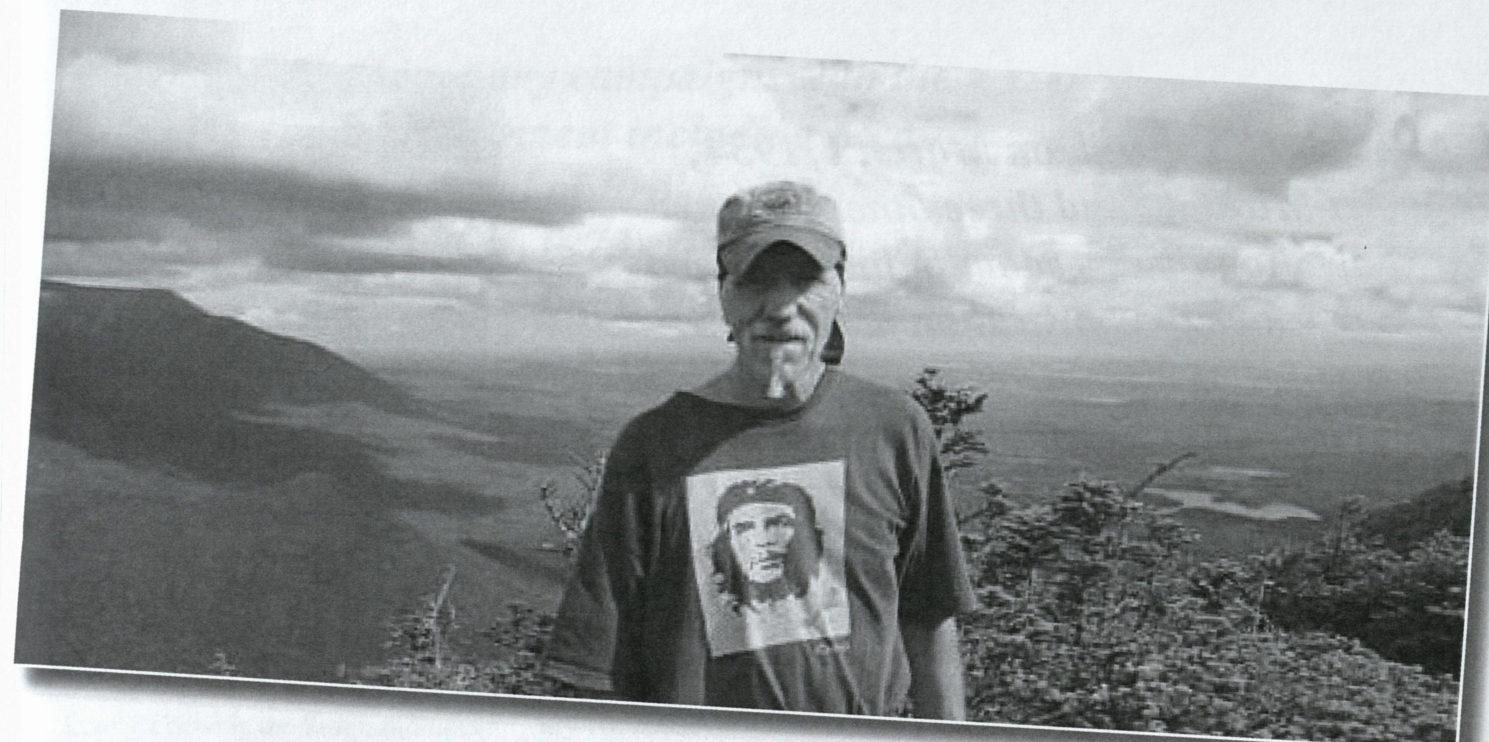
From late 1974 to late 1984, Levasseur disappeared underground and operated as part of an armed clandestine movement. He was on the FBI's Ten Most Wanted list most of these years and was captured on Nov. 4, 1984.

In 1985-1986, he was tried with six other comrades for United Freedom Front bombings in New York City. The bombings destroyed military, government and corporate properties. The purpose of these

actions was to support the growing anti-apartheid movement in South Africa, and to oppose ongoing U.S. military intervention in Central America. Levasseur was convicted and sentenced to 45 years imprisonment.

In 1986-1989, he and seven others were tried on charges of sedition (conspiracy to overthrow the government) and RICO (Racketeering and Corrupt Organizations Act) violations. Levasseur was acquitted of sedition. The RICO charges were dismissed when the jury failed to reach a verdict.

From 1984-2004, he was imprisoned, including many years of solitary confinement and isolation, at Marion and ADX. Released from prison in 2004, Levasseur returned to Maine where he worked as a carpenter, and remained politically active supporting political prisoners through the Jericho Movement, and in state prison issues via the Maine Prisoner Advocacy Coalition (MPAC).



After all efforts fail, on March 1, 1954, Cancel-Miranda and three other Puerto Rican Nationalist freedom fighters carried out an armed demonstration at the U. S. House of Representatives to call worldwide attention to the colonial situation of Puerto Rico.

Rafael Cancel Miranda

Rafael Cancel-Miranda was born in Mayaguez, Puerto Rico on July 18, 1930, son of Nationalist Party leader Rafael Cancel-Rodríguez and Rosa Miranda. His life-long journey for the defense of his country, Puerto Rico, began as early as 1937 when he was expelled from his first grade classroom for refusing to pledge allegiance to the U. S. flag, a few days after the Ponce Massacre. His formal affiliation with the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico began in the early 1940s, joining the Party's military arm, the Cadetes de la República. In 1943 and 1945 he participated with his father in the First and Second Congress for the Independence of Puerto Rico led by independence leader Gilberto Concepción de Gracia.

In 1947, he was again expelled from school, this time from the Mayaguez High School, for organizing a protest against the imposition of English as the official language of instruction in public schools. A year later he moved to San Juan to finish his high school studies. On a morning in October 1948, on his way to school, he was arrested by four FBI agents for resisting military conscription.

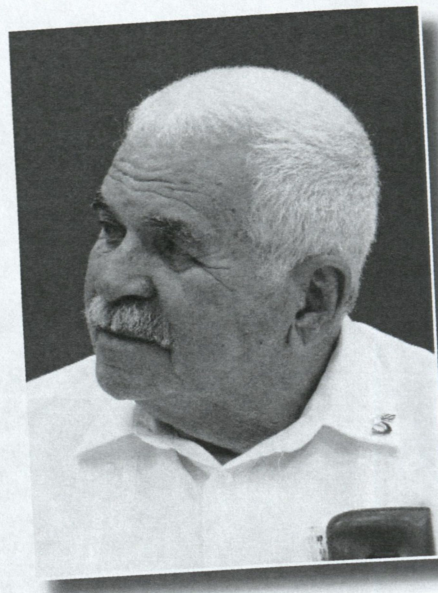
After serving a two-year prison sentence in Tallahassee, Florida, Cancel-Miranda returned to Puerto Rico in 1951 and was forced into exile in Cuba, where he lived 14 months until dictator Fulgencio Batista arrested and deported him under orders from the U.S. Embassy.

He returned briefly to Puerto Rico and arrived in New York City in December 1952, where he joined the NYC branch of the Nationalist Party. During his stay in New York, Cancel-Miranda lobbied at the UN against U.S. efforts to have Puerto Rico removed from the list of Dependent Territories. After all efforts failed, on March 1, 1954, Cancel-Miranda and three other Nationalist comrades carried out an armed demonstration at the U. S. House of Representatives to call worldwide attention to the colonial situation of Puerto Rico under U.S. rule.

For this action Cancel-Miranda was sentenced in Washington, D.C. to 75 years in prison. In New York City he was sentenced to six additional years for conspiracy to

overthrow the U.S. government and three additional years for contempt of court. His sentence totaled 84 years in prison. He was incarcerated for six years in Alcatraz; 10 years in Leavenworth Federal Penitentiary, where he spent the last five months in solitary confinement; and nine years in Marion Federal Penitentiary, where for 18 months he was placed in the Control Units of the Behavior Modification Program. While in this Program, his continuing relationship with the People's Law Office began. He served over 25 years of his sentence, until President James Carter – under increasing national and international pressure – was forced to declare the unconditional release of the four Nationalists in 1979.

Since then, Cancel-Miranda has actively continued in the struggle for the independence of Puerto Rico. He has been a guest lecturer at universities in the U.S. and Latin America, and an honored guest of progressive governments and organizations in Latin America and the Caribbean. He has also published seven books of poetry, historical essays and his reflections on his life and times.



He participated in many campaigns with the American Indian Movement including Alcatraz Island (1970); The Trail of Broken Treaties (1972); Wounded Knee (1973); The Longest Walk (1978 and 2008); and Big Mountain (1978-98).

Lenny Foster

Ki'yaa'aanii (Towering House) born for Dziltl'ahnii (Mountain Cove). Maternal grandfather is Ta'baaha (Water's Edge) and paternal grandfather is Hona'ghaa'hni (One who walks around).

Lenny Foster is the Program Supervisor for the Corrections Project with the Department of Behavioral Health Services for the Navajo Nation in Fort Defiance, Arizona. He is a spiritual advisor for approximately 2,000 Navajo and Native American inmates in 96 state and federal prisons across the United States. He has been a Spiritual Advisor for Native Americans, including juveniles, in the criminal justice system and has counseled families of Native Americans incarcerated since February 1981 when he was instrumental in the implementation of the first sweat lodge program at the Arizona State Prison in Florence.

Foster authored state legislation in New Mexico (1983 and 1993); Arizona (1984); Colorado (1991); and Utah (1995) that allows and permits American Indian spiritual and religious practices for prisoners. He worked on a legislative proposal in the New Mexico Legislature to hire a full-time Native Chaplain in the New Mexico Corrections Department and advocated for a Native American to be appointed to the Parole Board.

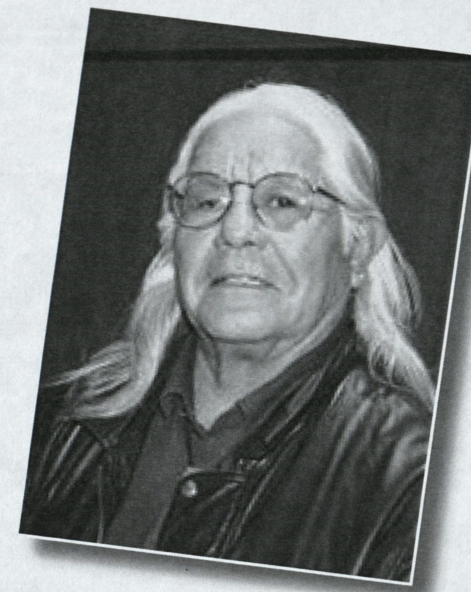
He has testified as an expert witness in U.S. District Court hearings; and provided testimony on the Native American Free Exercise of Religion Act before the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs hearings in 1992 and

1994 in Washington, D.C. He testified before the United Nations Commission on Human Rights in Geneva, Switzerland in 2000-2008. He testified before the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights in Albuquerque, New Mexico on January 10, 2003.

Foster is a Board Member of the International Indian Treaty Council; and the National Coordinator for the National Native American Prisoners Rights Coalition.

He participated in many campaigns with the American Indian Movement including Alcatraz Island (1970); The Trail of Broken Treaties (1972); Wounded Knee (1973); The Longest Walk (1978 and 2008); and Big Mountain (1978-98). He has traveled to Mexico, Canada, Cuba, Holland, South Africa, Switzerland, Guatemala, Chile, England, Germany, France, New Zealand and Panama with the International Indian Treaty Council.

Foster has received many accolades and honors for his groundbreaking work with indigenous prisoners' human rights. These include the Dr. Martin Luther King Civil Rights Award in Phoenix, Arizona (1993) and Kansas City, Missouri (1996); the Petra Foundation Human Rights Award in Washington, D. C. (1997) and the Citizen's Award for Commendation of the Governor's Religious Advisory Task Force in Salt Lake City, Utah (1997). His program received Honoring Nations 2003



Tribal Governance Excellence Award from Harvard University. He was awarded a fellowship by the Windcall Foundation in Bozeman, Montana in June 2004. He was the recipient of the Unsung Hero Award by the Utah Division of Indian Affairs on Indigenous Day, November 22, 2004 in Salt Lake City. He received the Volunteer of the Year Native American Spiritual Advisor from the Federal Correctional Complex in Tucson, Arizona in April 2009. He was the recipient of 2013 U.S. Human Rights Movement Builders Award in Atlanta, Georgia.

Foster has three children: Red Dawn, Warlance, and Arminda and has three grandsons, Wiyaki Luta, Blackhorse and Dog Soldier. He graduated from Window Rock High School in 1967 and was all-conference in basketball and baseball in 1966 and 1967. He was a member of the Arizona Western College baseball team 1968 and 1969. Foster received an Associates of Arts Degree from Arizona Western College, Yuma (1969) and a Bachelor's of Arts Degree in Sociology from Colorado State University; Ft. Collins (1975). He later worked on his Masters of Public Administration at Arizona State. He is a member of the Native American Church and is a Sun Dancer.



Photo by Juan Espinosa

In 1972, the firing of UMAS-EOP Assistant Director Ricardo Falcón triggered this march from the student center to Regent Hall on the Boulder campus. UMAS-EOP Director Pat Vigil also was fired a few days later.

Chicano Movement invaded CU Boulder

Compiled and Written
By Pablo Carlos Mora

The history of the United Mexican American Students organization at the University of Colorado-Boulder is intertwined with the history of the Chicano Movement in Colorado.

The 1960s were marked by social, political and economic upheaval on a global level. It was a time of intense self-examination in America. Why were things the way they were?

A strong civil rights movement made important inroads — at great cost — for minorities and women. Barriers to advancement toppled like so many dominos.

America's war on Vietnam fueled an intense division in the country and the world. Some historians contend the debate over the Vietnam War led

to the radicalization of college students, which may have been because any eligible male, including middle-class white college students could be drafted.

The Chicano Movement rose from a multitude of efforts to change the status quo. Cesar Chavez brought his campaign to improve the lot of farm workers to the forefront. Chicano veterans returning from Vietnam opened a new front in the anti-war movement. Chicanos organized to force reform in many arenas such as employment, education, health, police brutality, injustice in the courts, prison conditions, welfare reform, and land rights, and against institutional discrimination. The cry went up, "¡Viva La Causa!"

At CU Boulder, a handful of Chicanos on campus seized the opportunity

to strike. In 1968, there were fewer than 20 Chicano students out of a student population of 20,000, according to Phil Hernandez, then a CU Boulder student.

"I recall there were only six to eight of us who began meeting," Hernandez said. "(Remigio) Pete Reyes was an initiator of the group."

In March 1968, UMAS pushed a successful student referendum assessing all students \$5 a semester for 10 years to fund minority scholarships. (The scholarships would, ironically, become a major point of contention.)

With cooperation from university officials, the students began laying the foundation for what would become the Educational Opportunity Programs at CU.

(See UMAS, Page 14)

Student activism met with powerful enemies

The Chican@ Movement was a social movement in the 1960s and 1970s that advocated for equality and opportunity for persons of Mexican-indigenous ancestry in the USA. The Chican@ Movement was comprised of many organizations — some formal, others not so formal. The organizations operated autonomously. It was a common occurrence for several organizations to operate jointly from time to time. Activists in the Chican@ Movement operated in the large cities, towns and rural communities. They organized around issues such as jobs, education, health, police brutality, injustice in the courts, prison conditions, welfare issues, land rights, farmworker struggles and against institutional discrimination.

People were active all over the state of Colorado. The University of Colorado in Boulder was a hotbed of Chican@ Movement activism. UMAS chapters were being organized on university campuses across Aztlan which is how the Chican@ Movement referred to the southwestern part of the USA. History tells us that this part of the USA was part of Mexico until 1848, after the war against Mexico when the USA annexed the conquered territory.

The UMAS organization at CU Boulder was very active. The City of Boulder and the Regents of the University of Colorado have a history of social and political conservatism. The ultraconservative Coors Family has always had a big voice in the governance of CU Boulder.

When UMAS was building its base and organizing itself, the Coors Family perceived this as a threat to its influence. The Coors Family was joined in this perception by then CU Boulder president, Frederick P. Thieme.

By 1972 UMAS had become the most powerful student organization on the CU Boulder campus. UMAS spearheaded a campus initia-

tive to assess a student fee in order to create scholarship funds and to diversify the ethnic composition on campus. This accomplishment

was followed by a strategy to create "parity" on campus for students of Mexican ancestry. Parity meant (See Activism, Page 28)



Photo by Juan Espinosa

Students gather outside Regent Hall during the financial aid crisis in the fall of 1973.

First-person Account

Road of broken promises led to TB-1

By Juan Espinosa
El Diario founder

We thought we knew exactly what would happen the morning we took over Temporary Building-1 on the University of Colorado Boulder campus the morning of May 13, 1974, but we didn't.

We thought we would be arrested and would have to bail out of jail. We planned to use our court cases to shed light on the problems we were having with financial aid at the University and the University's agenda to stop the rapid growth of the Chicano student population and cut back on the current population.

That never happened. What took place instead were events that went beyond our imaginations. We were never arrested and the occupation dragged on for almost three weeks. Before it was over, one of the original occupants and five others would die in two car

bombings within a 48-hour period.

Forty years later, it still is hard to believe how it all played out. The chain of events that led to the occupation of TB-1 and the bombings began years earlier.

In spring 1972, Ricardo Falcón, one of the founders of UMAS, was fired from his position as assistant director of UMAS-EOP. In response to his firing, students marched on Regent Hall and staged a sit-in for most of one day.

In the wake of Falcón's firing and demonstrations that followed, an estimated 200 students were purged from the UMAS ranks. Many of them found their financial aid files had disappeared. These purged students included UMAS President Florencio "Freddie" Granado, who organized and led the demonstrations.

UMAS-EOP Director Patricio (See TB-1, Page 36)

(UMAS from Page 12)

One program that sought to address the lack of minorities on campus was the Student Tutorial Program.

"I was one of the STP students at CU in the summer of 1968," said Alicia Avila of metro Denver. "We were all 1968 graduates of four Denver high schools. They (university administrators) asked Pete Reyes and Mike Galvez to monitor the program."

All 24 STP participants stayed in one dorm, she said.

"There was a program for black students, too. Each of us was paired with a black roommate in Cockerell Hall," Avila said. "Our tuition was paid and lunches were free. It was our first experience in a college campus environment."

"After the first summer they said, 'Now you have college experience.' It was like candy!"

Other efforts to integrate CU Boulder included the Migrant Action Program.

In May 1969, Salvador Ramirez, an assistant professor in the CU Sociology Department, put together funding for the Mexican American Youth Adelante conference. The Great Western United Foundation granted \$10,140 for the May 7-10 gathering. An estimated 400 to 500 high school students, their counselors and others attended the conference.

Summer 1969 brought more than 350 Chicano students to Boulder. They were provided with dormitory rooms, tuition and fees, a stipend and other support. The summer classes were meant to bridge the gap between what students had learned in high school and what CU wanted from them.

Reyes, by then a second-year law student, moved to formalize UMAS at CU, Hernandez said. "Pete filed incorporation papers with the national UMAS organization, which had been created in California," Hernandez said.

According to one website, UMAS was founded on March 13, 1967, by



Photo by Juan Espinosa

UMAS students listen intently to legislator's promise to arrange a meeting between students reps and the governor in fall 1973

250 students representing seven Los Angeles colleges and universities.

Reyes was elected the first president of UMAS at CU Boulder.

In the book "Enduring Legacies" by Elisa Facio, Reyes said UMAS at CU was designed "to formulate a philosophy for our people and provide hope for future generations of Mexican Americans."

Hernandez, who became the second UMAS president, credited two university administrators, Roland Rautenstrauss and Ted Volsky, with "being instrumental in funding minority programs."

Five Educational Opportunity programs — UMAS, Asian, Black, Native American and the Migrant Action Program — were begun in 1969.

From the outset, the programs provided help with admissions, financial aid, counseling and tutoring. Boulder was a whole new world for many EOP students as was higher education.

Enrollment in EOP swelled during those early years. However, exact numbers remain hard to come by. A September 1969 article published in the Colorado Daily, a CU campus newspaper, quotes Mark Harmon, coordinator of the Office of Educational

Opportunity, as saying 73 minority students took part in the 1968 summer program and 375 came to campus in summer 1969.

(The Colorado Commission on Higher Education maintains enrollment statistics for two- and four-year institutions on its website. The numbers, however, are highly suspect, e.g., for the last school year, CU Boulder claims more than 2,500 "Hispanic" students on campus. When asked about such a claim, which does not jibe with even a casual glance about campus, a CCHE spokeswoman said the schools report their own numbers. A CU spokeswoman said students "self-report" their ethnicity and the claims are not verified.)

UMAS engaged students both on and off campus. EOP students had their own classes, counselors, tutors, financial aid staff and other support. The UMAS organization mobilized students to engage in the Chicano Movement with picket lines at the Boulder Safeway in support of the United Farm Workers' lettuce boycott and protests of Coors and Gallo products at local liquor stores.

In the dorms, UMAS hired resident

advisers to help students succeed. The University Memorial Center teemed with dances, topical speakers and many other activities. Students from far-flung parts of Colorado, Texas and other states mingled.

The academic environment engendered new forays into other activism. Students from Boulder traveled to Texas for the national La Raza Unida conference. Others lent their support to Native Americans at Wounded Knee. Everywhere, it seemed, CU UMAS members were engaged in learning about and supporting causes and spreading their commitment to progressive people and movements.

In January 1970, things changed. The City and County of Boulder have a long history of racism against non-whites, including Mexicans, Native Americans and African Americans. When these groups started to attend CU Boulder in larger numbers, they were met with discrimination in housing, employment and public accom-

modations like restaurants, night-clubs and retail establishments. CU President Frederick Thieme said the student referendum endorsing minority scholarships was a violation of the federal Civil Rights Act of 1964. Thieme said unless at least some of the money was given to caucasian students, the referendum was "racist."

"I'll be god-damned if I can see why it is necessary to adopt a racist view to support this program," Thieme is quoted as saying in the Jan. 21, 1970 edition of The Colorado Daily.

Regent Dan Lynch said it was "reverse racism." State Sen. Palmer Burch, R-Denver, threatened to revoke CU's autonomy (apparently the university's ability to use state appropriations as it saw fit) if money from the Minority Scholarship Program was given solely to minority students. Colorado Attorney Duke Dunbar said it was illegal

to give scholarships from the Minority Scholarship Fund only to minorities.

UMAS President Sal Peralta defended the scholarship program as did Gordon Dash of the Black Student Alliance.

The entire University of Colorado system was geared to special treatment of whites. Admission preference was given to "legacies," relatives of CU students. Football and other athletic scholarships were given to students who didn't meet CU's academic standards. Prior to EOP, CU had spent millions to subsidize the education of white students without a single university president or regent charging "racism."

In February 1970, CU began cutting EOP support staff. UMAS President Peralta and Pat Vigil, director of UMAS-EOP, said the university had assured them EOP would be fully funded. But, "I take this as they are just trying to burn us," Vigil said.

(See UMAS, Page 16)



Photo by Juan Espinosa

Florencio 'Freddie' Granado can be seen in lower left corner of this photo taken during an UMAS rally and demonstration in the student center fountain area in spring 1972. Granado was president of UMAS and was one of dozens of students kicked off of campus after Ricardo Falcón was fired.

(UMAS from Page 15)

The CU Faculty Council recommended the university increase minority enrollment to 15 percent of the student body by the 1974-75 school year.

On Feb. 29, 1970, an estimated 800 students and their supporters marched on Regent Hall to protest CU downsizing of the EOPs. Approximately 20 demonstrators were charged with disturbance for refusing to leave the hall (the charges were later dropped). The following Tuesday, the Colorado Daily reports, 1,000 people marched on Regents.

The university backed down, student Ricardo Falcón was quoted as saying in the May 3 Colorado Daily, but threatened EOP budget cuts the next school year.

In September 1970, Vice Provost Ted Volsky told the Silver and Gold Record that more than 1,300 minority students were enrolled at CU — 589 in UMAS; 89 in MAP; 324 in the Black Education Program; 31 in the American Indian Program and 43 in the Asian American Program. The total student population was put at 21,100.

UMAS students participated in the Sept. 16, 1970, Chicano Moratorium March in Denver. According to the Colorado Daily, UMAS President Andres Gavaldon said after conferring with the Denver-based Crusade for Justice, Student Mobilization Committee members would be allowed to march in Denver.

In October, CU regents announced a freeze in minority programs. The legislature had not appropriated funds specifically for minorities (so much for university autonomy), the regents said, therefore EOP would have to be frozen in place.

Marcella Trujillo, La Raza Unida candidate for regent and director of Mexican American Studies at CU Denver, said the regents were trying to kill minority programs and shunt minorities into the state's two-year colleges.

In The Denver Post, CU student Manuel Lopez spelled out the con-

spiracy between state legislators, other officials and university administrators to kill the EOPs.

Writing Oct. 17, 1970, Lopez said the regents could prioritize money from the legislature for bolstering minority education at CU but chose not to, instead claiming legislators would not grant more money for minority programs.

The scorched-earth campaign against

The university ignored the students and their community supporters. It fired Falcón and Vigil. It also expelled the UMAS leadership including Falcón, Granado, Heriberto Terán, Priscilla Falcón and several others.

minorities at CU united CCHE, the regents and the Colorado Legislature, both Democrats and Republicans

The basic tenets of their arguments:

- 1) Using minority scholarship funds for minorities was racist.
- 2) There was no money for increasing the number of students from minority groups at CU. Current numbers of minority students would be maintained if funding allowed.
- 3) Financial aid should be disbursed from a central state fund for all economically disadvantaged students, not just minorities, and for every institution of higher learning, not just CU Boulder.
- 4) Two-year colleges were a better fit for minorities than was CU Boulder. (These observations are distilled from

"UMAS by Chicanos," a compilation of news reports on events at CU Boulder.)

UMAS-EOP Director Pat Vigil called the campaign "a return to segregation."

In 1972, UMAS was headed by Florencio Granado and Ricardo Falcón. The administration geared up to oppose UMAS. Rather than meet the issue directly, the administration attacked UMAS leaders, UMAS-EOP administered student services and programs for Mexican students. Using the pretext of poor administrative practices by UMAS EOP, the university tried to force UMAS-EOP director Pat Vigil to fire Falcón. Vigil disagreed with the administration's allegation that Falcón was not doing his job. The administration then gave Vigil an ultimatum: Either fire Falcón or both of them would be terminated. Vigil stayed true to principle and denounced the administration's political tactic. When UMAS members learned of the underhanded tactic being used by the administration to undermine UMAS's parity campaign, they became enraged and organized protest activities in which they were joined by other sectors of the university community.

The University ignored the students and their community supporters. It fired Falcón and Vigil. It also expelled the UMAS leadership including Granado, Heriberto Terán, Priscilla Falcón and several others. All of them were banned from the campus.

The administration was not alone in its purge of UMAS' leadership. It was joined by some Chicano students and Chicano staff that either chose to go down a more politically conservative path, accept a material reward for participating in the purge or were ignorant because of their youth or political naiveté.

(The university action was unlawful. It took nearly a decade for the legal system to vindicate the UMAS leadership but by then the damage had been done to the organization.)

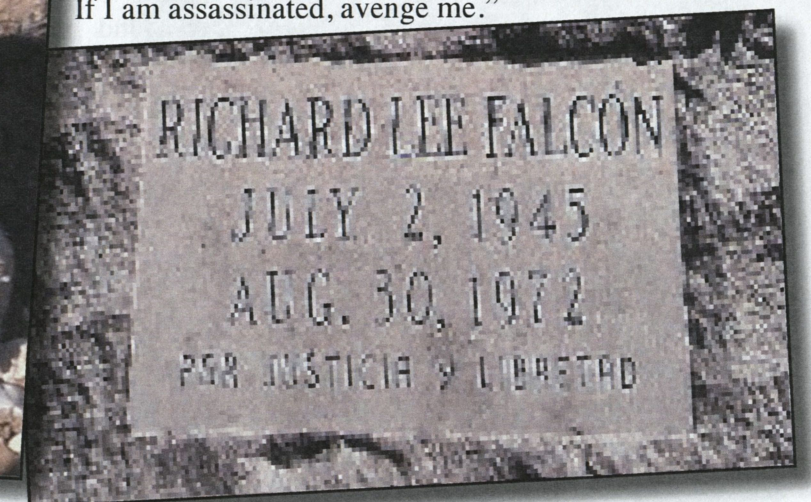
Symbols' legacies etched in stone



"If I advance, follow me
If I hesitate, push me
If I betray you, kill me
If I am assassinated, avenge me."



"Beloved son and Bro"



"Por Justicia y Libertad"



"Greater love hath no man than this that a man lay down his life for his friends."



"Murió por Motivos de Justicia"

Ricardo Falcón

(Editor's Note: The following story is based on evidence and witness statements that were taken from a larger investigation into the events leading up to and immediately following the death of Richard Falcón. The investigation was conducted by Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund attorney Kenneth Padilla, attorney Francisco E. Martinez and an investigator, Julius Martinez. Mario Obledo, national director of MALDEF, sent the three-man team to New Mexico immediately after hearing of Falcón's death.)

Historic Journey Ends in Tragedy

On Aug. 30, 1972, Ricardo Falcón and a delegation of La Raza Unida Party members left Fort Lupton, Colo. They were traveling to El Paso, Texas, to attend the first National La Raza Unida Convention.

Their 1961 Chevrolet began overheating as they entered New Mexico. The party stopped at a Chevron station in Orogrande, N.M., to tend to their car. Orogrande is in the desert, nearly 40 miles from Alamogordo and only 50 miles from El Paso.

As the car stopped at the gas pumps, Florencio Granado, the driver, jumped out and raised the hood. Station owner Perry Brunson, 54, began filling the radiator. As Brunson reluctantly helped Granado, several of the other passengers including Falcón left the car and went into the restrooms.

Granado asked the attendant to fill the gas tank and at the same time he continued to hose down the radiator. Brunson protested in a loud, insulting voice, "We don't waste water around here. It's expensive." Granado said the water didn't cost anything and a heated and loud exchange followed.

During this exchange, Falcón returned to the car. As he walked toward the two, Brunson said he was going to call the law. As Brunson slowly began walking backwards toward the entrance of the station, he was gesturing for Falcón and Granado to follow him. Falcón asked, "What do you want to call the law for?"

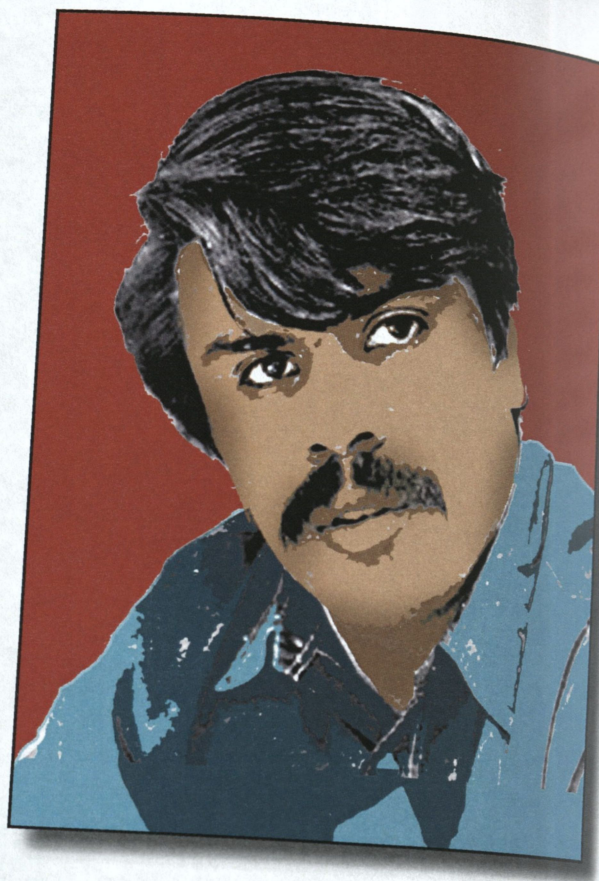
"Stick around and find out," Brunson challenged. As the two men were talking, Brunson had his right hand behind him in his back pocket.

"What are you going to do, shoot us?"

"Do you have a gun?" Falcón asked.

"Come here and find out," Brunson said.

(See Ricardo, Page 42)



Ricardo Falcón quizás fue el líder de la juventud más destacado del Movimiento Chicano de Colorado. Nació y creció en el Condado de Weld, supuestamente uno de los condados más racistas de Colorado. Cuando era joven, fue buen estudiante y mostró cualidades de liderazgo. Formó parte del primer grupo de Estudiantes Unid@s Mexico-American@s (UMAS) que matriculó en la Universidad de Colorado de Boulder. Enfrentado con el racismo y la discriminación de Boulder, surgía Ricardo como el líder estudiantil de la organización más poderosa del campo de la Universidad. UMAS protestaba contra la brutalidad de la policía, apoyó el boicot de la Unión de Campesinos contra la compra de las uvas meseras, y proporcionaba servicios educativos y sociales a la clase encarcelada. La policía se fijó en su apoyo y activismo militante. Ellos lo enfocaron y al fin y al cabo él fue expulsado y prohibido del campo en la primavera de 1972. Varios meses después, Ricardo fue asesinado en Nuevo México por un partidario del Partido Independiente Americano—el partido racista y segregacionista de George Wallace. Estaba casado y tenía un hijo infante cuando se murió.

Luis 'Junior' Martinez

Luis "Junior" Martinez was one of seven children raised by a single mother in a two-bedroom house in East Denver. He attended Cole Middle School, Manual High and later West High. He was closest to his older brother, Joe, and a younger brother, Mark. Poverty and oppressive living conditions inspired the brothers to become involved in the Chicano Movement.

As a youth, Junior joined the Cub Scouts and later a youth brigade which gave welfare recipient kids the opportunity to go into the mountains on camping trips. Junior looked forward to the summer camps and became a recognized leader as a counselor.

Back in the city, Junior eventually fell victim to the harsh realities of barrio life by getting into fights.

Junior's critical consciousness began to develop after he saw and felt discrimination not only in society in general, but in educational institutions as well.

According to his brother, Junior's developing consciousness was influenced by Jimmy Chavez, a man in the community who recognized the oppressive elements that plagued the youth in his neighborhood.

Chavez played an intricate role in redirecting Junior in the direction of the Crusade for Justice, organized and lead by Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales. This organization offered hope to barrio youth and encouraged involvement in community activism.

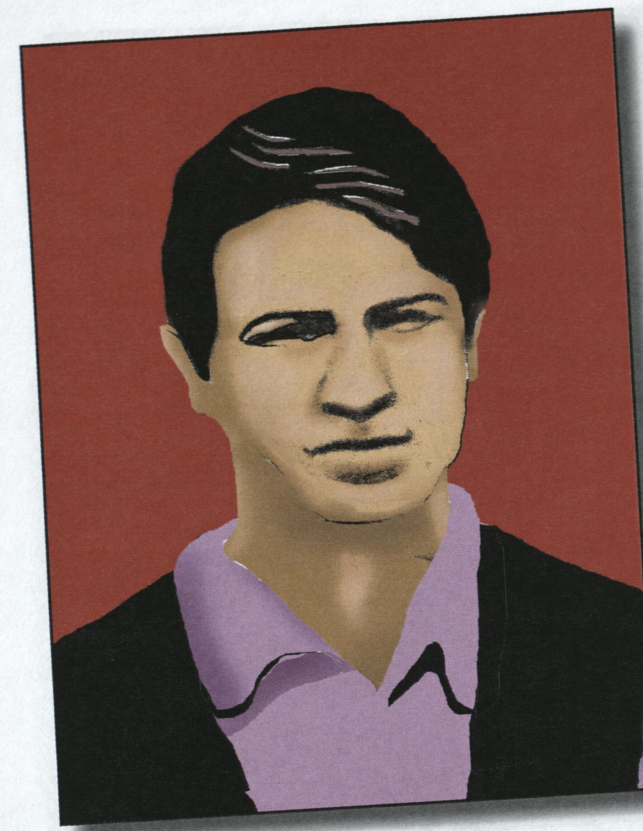
Junior traveled with the Crusade to the Poor People's Campaign in Washington, D.C. The journey led him to meet some of the most inspiring and charismatic individuals such as Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Bernardine Dohrn and Malcolm X.

Rocky Hernandez, a fellow member of the Crusade, Junior and a few others founded the Denver branch of the Black Berets.

At this time, Junior was 16. The Black Berets offered an alternative to gangs. It was a place to develop identity, cultural pride and power. The leadership of the Denver Black Berets developed its own qualities, in which discipline was stressed, and were reflected in their rules and regulations. The organization operated out of the Crusade for Justice and furnished a youth security force for community events.

It was organizations such as the Black Berets that broke some territorial boundaries set down by gang rivalries and fostered Chicano unity. Later the Black Berets played a critical role in the early protests, i.e.,

(See Junior, Page 41)



Luis "Junior" Martinez era un activista del movimiento Chicano a partir de sus años de adolescencia. Junior participó en La Campaña del Pueblo Pobre de 1968. Adquirió una agudeza y percepción política y así podía guiar a los jóvenes activistas. La juventud urbana tenía pocos lugares públicos donde podía pasar un rato sin experimentar el acoso policiaco. Eran personas de afuera quienes manejaban los centros de recreo y las piscinas. Despreciaban a los jóvenes "Vatos" mostrando una falta de respeto y hasta poniéndose hostiles. Los jóvenes urbanos organizaron una campaña para ganar control de estos espacios públicos. Se les opusieron los policías y los burócratas. Los jóvenes se mantuvieron firmes en sus calles del barrio cuando la policía los atacó. Al fin, pudieron liberar varios parques. Esto sucedió mientras el Movimiento Chicano desafiaba a las fuerzas poderosas. Junior era un consumado bailarín de ballet folklórico. Murió el 17 de marzo 1973 después de un tiroteo con la policía. Una explosión que destruyó un centro comunitario fue parte de esta batalla. En algunos círculos se conoce como la masacre del día de San Patricio.



Neva Romero fue una líder estudiantil tanto inteligente como amable. Era estudiante en la Universidad de Colorado de Boulder. Su familia fue conocida y respetada en su pueblo de Ignacio, Colorado. Mientras estudiaba en Boulder, Neva experimentó el racismo y la discriminación. Ella se convirtió en defensora por la justicia social y económica. Trabajaba a favor de democratizar la Universidad. Quería mejorar el sistema judicial. Gente poderosa se opuso a estos cambios. Trataban de silenciar a los activistas como Neva. Como respuesta, Neva y otros alumnos ocuparon un edificio de la Universidad. La ocupación resultó en un punto muerto. En mayo 1974, Neva se murió junta a otros cinco estudiantes en una de dos explosiones de coches. La causa de las explosiones nunca ha sido plenamente explicado.

Neva Romero

Neva Arlene Romero underwent a remarkable transformation at the University of Colorado in Boulder.

Her roots were in the San Luis Valley. She was born Jan. 5, 1953, in Alamosa. Her father, Joseph, and mother, Alice (Sanchez), moved the family to Ignacio where he worked as a schoolteacher.

According to an article published May 31, 1974, in The Denver Post, Neva flourished in the southwestern Colorado town. She was a cheerleader, student body head girl and homecoming queen at Ignacio High School.

Joseph Romero took his daughter on a tour of the CU Boulder campus. She was concerned about the small number of black and Chicano students on campus.

"She decided some day she would like to work for that end," he said.

In 1971, Neva enrolled at CU Boulder in the summer program sponsored by United Mexican-American Students Educational Opportunity Program.

As happened to many of the UMAS students, Neva learned of the many battles being waged as part of the Chicano Movement. She journeyed to Center, Colo., to support the United Farm Workers' boycott of head lettuce. Back on campus, she moderated a debate between UFW and Teamster farmworkers' representatives.

In 1972, she took part in the First Chicano National Congress for Land and Cultural Reform led by the fiery Reies Lopez Tijerina. She took over the podium, according to a news account, and led a move to force Tijerina out of the leadership. Tijerina stepped down.

By one account, Neva Romero considered herself to be tricultural, raised in a white/Chicano hometown adjoining the Southern Ute Reservation. She took American Indian Movement leader Russell Means to Ignacio to demand the school board reinstate a student who had been expelled for refusing to cut his hair.

Education was a constant theme in her life. She loved working with children and was pursuing a degree in bilingual-bicultural education at CU.

In early 1974, Neva and others, including students in CU's Migrant Action Program, took over a meeting of the Boulder Valley School Board after a bilin-

(See Neva Romero, Page 44)

Reyes P. Martinez

"Murio por motivos de justicia" ("He died in the quest for justice" – Epitaph on the tombstone of Reyes P. Martínez in the Alamosa Municipal Cemetery.)

Reyes is remembered today as one of Los Seis de Boulder. Los Seis were six activists who participated in the Chican@ Movement. Los Seis died in May 1974 in a pair of unsolved car bombings.

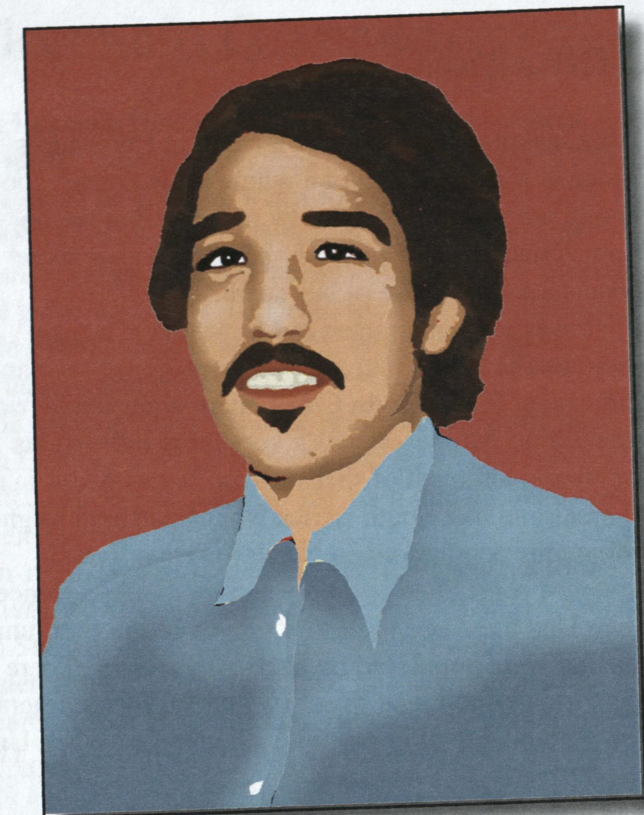
Reyes was born and raised in Alamosa. He was the fifth of eight siblings; two sisters and six brothers; their mother managing the household and their father a postal worker. Family folklore maintains that Reyes was born on the coldest day on record in always-frigid Alamosa; -48° F on March 05, 1948.

As a member of a large family, Reyes assumed chores at home at an early age. He chopped wood and crushed coal to heat the house in winter time. He helped with household duties such as washing and ironing clothes. His maternal side of the family had a ranchito where they kept barnyard animals and had a garden. By the time he entered junior high school he was delivering newspapers in the early morning hours. Later he worked in restaurants and in a neighborhood grocery store. He also labored in the agricultural fields that took him to Oregon where he worked harvesting cherries, beans and berries between his third and fourth years of high school.

Reyes was a dedicated and intelligent student. He had perfect attendance during his years in elementary school. While in junior high he was absent twice. He accumulated many academic honors including honors in Latin and French. Reyes competed for the varsity cross country and wrestling teams. Reyes was also a popular student. He was elected student body president in 1965-1966. He graduated in 1966 from Alamosa High School; academically, he ranked 8th out of 125 students.

When Reyes graduated from high school there were few prospects for Mexican students to attend prestigious universities. They weren't recruited and there was virtually no financial aid available to finance an expensive university education. What was possible for students like Reyes was to stay at home and attend the local state college. Reyes won an academic scholarship to attend Adams State College in his hometown. He lived in his parents' home, worked at a grocery store and continued to be an exceptional student.

(Reyes continued on Page 39)



Reyes Martínez fue un abogado que representó a los pobres y los oprimidos. También fue activista del Movimiento Chicano. En mayo 1974, Reyes dirigía una campaña de defender a su hermano mayor, Francisco "Kiko" Martínez—también un abogado—contra las acusaciones de una conspiración sediciosa. Aquellas acusaciones surgieron en el momento cuando el gobierno trataba de desacreditar, disturbar y destruir el Movimiento Chicano por todos lados. Esto fue parte de la operación COINTELPRO, una acción encubierta e ilegal del gobierno federal. Reyes fue acosado constantemente y encarcelado por la policía. Mientras una sublevación estudiantil en la Universidad de Colorado de Boulder, algunos rebeldes pidieron asistencia legal a Reyes. Cuando les atendía su ayuda legal, Reyes, Neva Romero y Una Jaakola—la novia de Reyes—se murieron en la primera explosión. Su hijo único le sobrevivió.

Una Jaakola

Una Jaakola is a well-known name in Colorado's Chican@ Movement. Not a whole lot is known about her and we would like to know more. What we do know is that she had a very highly developed social conscience at the time of her death.

Una was born and raised in Minnesota at a time when, unlike today, that state had very few Mexicanos. And except for the Twin Cities, there were few African Americans. Minnesota has a very large indigenous population but most of them live on reservations in rural areas and like South Africa when apartheid reigned, indigenous populations in North America live an existence segregated from the rest of society. Hence, when Una lived in Minnesota she lived in communities that were populated by Euro-Americans. There was virtually no racial diversity and very little interaction with people of color. This all changed when Una transferred from a state college in Minnesota to attend the University of Colorado in Boulder in 1971.

When Una arrived in Colorado, universities were undergoing a social transformation as were other sectors of North American society. Progressive formations on campuses everywhere were challenging the status quo. The relationship between students and paternalistic administrations was an issue. Students were demanding greater participation in policies affecting their education, curriculum, the decision-making process, discrimination against racial minorities and women. There were also larger contested issues such as the Cold War, North American foreign policy and its military operations in Southeast Asia, Latin America and the Middle East.

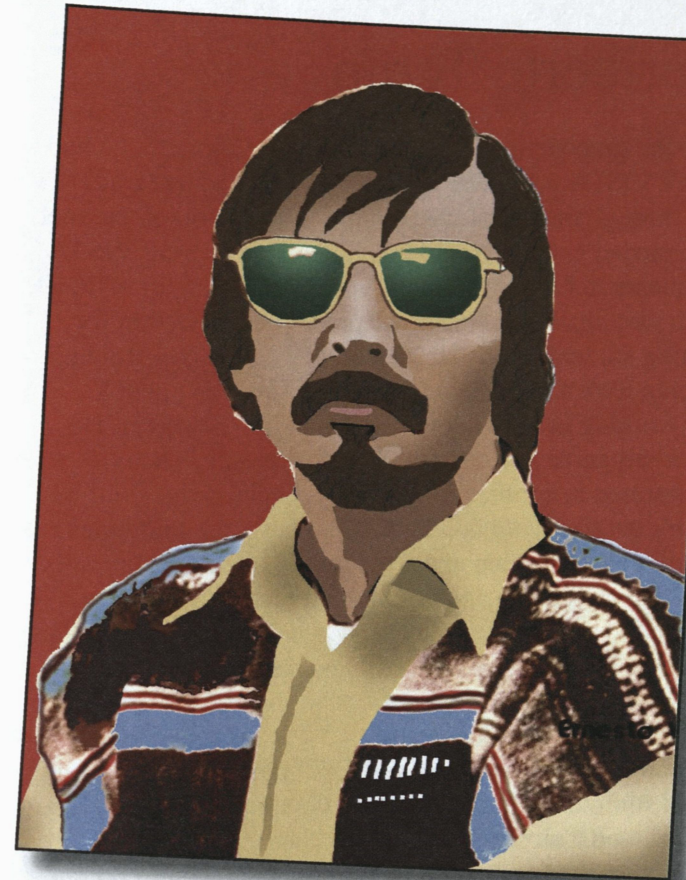
Of particular significance on the Boulder campus was the presence of a vocal and increasingly powerful student formation called the United Mexican American Students (UMAS). UMAS began in the late 1960s when a small group of Mexican American students – a term used by some activists before the term Chican@ became popular during that era – decided to petition the university administration to admit more Mexican American students and to provide supportive services in order to retain them and make it possible for them to graduate. Up to that point in time the University of Colorado had a terrible history when it came to the Mexican American community. By the time Una arrived in Boulder there were over 1700 Chican@ stu-

(See Jaakola, Page 44)



Una Jaakola y cinco

otros activistas del Movimiento Chicano se murieron en mayo del 1974. Son conocidos como Los Seis de Boulder. Se murieron como resultado de la lucha política que tenían con los administradores de la Universidad de Colorado en Boulder. Ella se había graduado de la universidad y vino a Colorado desde Minnesota donde sus padres eran profesionales. Una era conocida por ser simpática, amable y atenta. Ella tenía varios trabajos para poder mantenerse. Una, Neva Romero y Reyes Martínez se murieron en la misma explosión. Una y Reyes compartían una relación política y romántica.



Conocido por "Freddie,"

Florencio Granado era estudiante y líder comunitario. Vino a Colorado desde Tejas en 1970 para estudiar en la Universidad de Colorado. Fue elegido presidente de "UMAS" o Estudiantes Unid@s Mexico-American@s. UMAS llegó a ser una organización estudiantil poderosa contra el racismo y la discriminación existente en la política y la práctica de la Universidad. Enfrentado con oposición de los oficiales universitarios, UMAS se volvió militante. La Universidad intentó apagar a los activistas por expulsar y prohibir a Freddie y otros líderes estudiantiles. Pero Freddie siguió organizando la comunidad. Publicó un periódico y ayudó con el esfuerzo de revocar a un consejero de Denver que fue poco popular. Hubo otra sublevación en la Universidad en 1974. Freddie apoyó esta sublevación y le costó la vida. Falleció en mayo del 1974 cuando el auto en que estaba viajando se explotó. Estaba casado y tenía hijos.

Florencio Granado

Florencio "Freddie" Granado was many things — leader, editor, father, and husband, to name a few. The night he died, he was a soldier.

He was born Jan. 17, 1942, in Texas' lower Rio Grande Valley, a region sharply divided between rich and poor, white and Mexican. McAllen and Brownsville exist next to South Padre Island and Harlingen — barrios and resorts.

He grew up poor working in the fields. Years later, in a Boulder trial, he testified that he had a distrust for police officers because he had seen one hit his mother when he was a child.

In 1970, he was one of the Tejanos attracted to the University of Colorado by the United Mexican American Students. A few years older than most of the other students, he used his quick wit and intelligence to become a recognized leader. Beginning in September 1971, he served as UMAS president and led the protests and take over of Regent Hall the following year when UMAS-EOP Assistant Director Ricardo Falcón was fired.

It was during this crisis that Granado discovered the power of the press. On a suggestion from UMAS Publications staff, he collected \$250 to pay for a press run of a special edition of "Somos Aztlan" newspaper to tell Falcón's and UMAS-EOP's side of the story.

Granado was with his close friend and ally when Falcón was gunned down by gas station owner Perry Brunson in Orogrande, N.M., in August 1972. Falcón's death haunted Granado until his own.

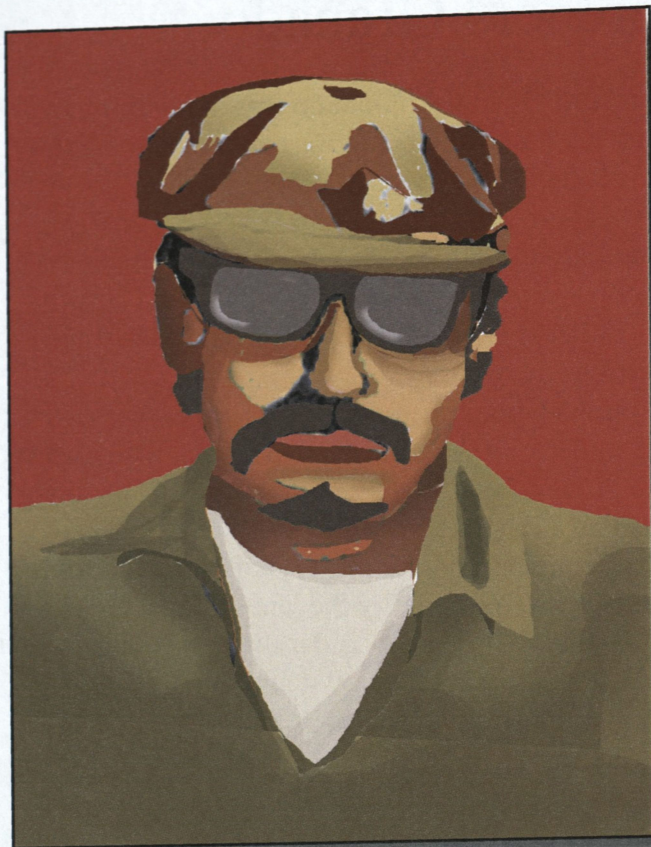
One result of the protests over Falcón's firing was that Granado and at least 100 other students were purged from the CU campus. On April 24, 1972, the Faculty Disciplinary Committee placed an injunction on him, then imposed a two-year probation on him.

Granado moved his family to Denver's West Side and went to work at the Platte Valley Action Center as a community organizer.

For the next year, Granado maintained contact with UMAS and continued to develop his interests in newspapers by helping with "El Diario," a Chicano student newspaper that picked up where "Somos Aztlan" left off.

In 1973, he started publishing his own newspaper, "El Escritor Del Pueblo." Though he had little journalism training, he organized a cadre of volunteer writers,

(See Granado, Page 40)



Originalmente de Tejas,

Heriberto Terán era una persona con mucha experiencia. Trabajaba en la agricultura, era un voluntario de VISTA, estudiaba en la Universidad de Colorado de Boulder y era poeta cuyas obras habían sido publicadas. A él le encantaba organizar a la gente con motivo de enfrentarse a la injusticia social y económica. Terán participaba en las sublevaciones estudiantiles. Fue expulsado y prohibido del campo de la Universidad de Boulder. Después del asesinato de su camarada Ricardo Falcón, Terán se juntó al esfuerzo de exponer el asesinato. Como consejero, trabajaba para ayudar a reintegrar a los ex-convictos a la sociedad. Terán estaba casado y tenía un hijo infante cuando se murió en una de las dos explosiones de auto en Boulder durante una rebelión estudiantil en mayo del 1974.

Heriberto Terán

By the time Heriberto Terán arrived in Colorado, he had been a VISTA volunteer, earned his GED and had traveled through many states as a migrant farmworker. He met and married Lee Johnson while both of them were VISTA volunteers in Laredo in 1968-1969. In the summer of 1969, Terán participated in a summer preparatory program for aspiring students at the University of Colorado in Boulder.

Terán took a sabbatical from his studies and spent a year working in Utah supervising VISTA volunteers. He helped organize a chapter of Brown Berets. His activities resulted in conflict with VISTA officials who claimed Terán's activities did not conform to program guidelines. Terán left the program and went on the road to reclaim his roots. He traveled to Mexico and witnessed the poverty, misery and oppression of the common people. It was at this time that Terán realized poverty and oppression aren't only race-based but also class-based. After his travels in Mexico, Terán returned to Colorado.

Upon returning to Colorado, Terán landed a job working with a summer program sponsored by the Colorado Migrant Council and Colorado Rural Legal Services. The program's purpose was to form teams of health workers, community organizers and legal workers to identify issues in migrant farmworker communities needing change. Issues such as housing, health concerns, food stamp advocacy, wage and hour violations and unlawful work conditions were addressed. Following the summer of 1971, Terán resumed his studies at CU Boulder.

Student activism was in high gear at CU during the 1971-1972 academic year. There were campaigns to empower students in matters involving employment decisions in the administration of student programs and student activities. Establishing Chican@ Studies programs was a central concern of student organizations. Within the United Mexican American Students (UMAS) there were internal struggles for control of the organization and its policy-making power. As the progressive student formations consolidated their power, these campaigns did nothing to endear the students to the university administration.

The conflict between the students and the university administration came to a head in the spring semester of 1972, when university administrators ordered the director of UMAS-EOP, Pat Vigil, to fire Ricardo Falcón who had emerged as an influential student leader. There were false allegations that Falcón's performance of his duties did not meet required standards. Vigil disagreed with this assessment and refused to fire Falcón. In retaliation university officials fired both Vigil and Falcón. Some students rallied in support of Vigil and Falcón while others either cowered in fear and did nothing or lined up behind the administration and endorsed Falcón's and Vigil's ouster. Falcón's and

(See Terán, Page 32)

Francisco Dougherty

Francisco "Pancho" Dougherty was born Sept. 16, 1951, in El Barrio de la Guadalupe in Laredo, Texas. As a young boy, he helped his family by going out onto the streets to sell newspapers, shine shoes or anything else that helped ends meet.

He was a medic in the 173rd Airborne Brigade in his tour of Vietnam. After seeing the death and destruction, he wrote in a diary translated from Spanish, "Although I did not die in battle, they've killed my tranquility. These fragmented memories bother me and torment me; they make no sense and have no reason."

After his tour, he attended college to become a doctor. He received his associate's degree from Laredo Junior College. Dougherty also attended an Institute for minority students at the University of Texas Medical School in 1973.

He helped contribute to the development of El Centro Servicios Sociales Aztlan in Laredo. He also helped La Raza Unida Party in various capacities.

Dougherty performed in Chicano teatro numerous times and believed theater was one of the most effective means of social communication.

According to an unidentified friend, Dougherty "loved life and he hated those things that crush men's spirits, because he himself had felt them pressing him down."

Francisco Dougherty and Antonio Alcantar were visiting their paisano from Tejas — Heriberto Terán — in Colorado in May 1974. The three of them along with Florencio "Freddie" Granado were in a car in Boulder when it exploded killing all of them except Antonio, who was permanently injured.

All six died in a 48-hour period causing many to believe they were murdered.



Francisco Dougherty

y Antonio Alcántar estaban con su paisano de Tejas, Heriberto Terán aquí en Colorado en mayo del 1974. Los tres de ellos, junto con Freddie Granado, viajaban en el mismo coche en Boulder cuando explotó, matando a todos ellos, menos Antonio quien quedó permanentemente mutilado. Francisco había fallecido igual que los otros cinco en el mismo periodo de 48 horas, lo que dio a pensar a muchos que fueron asesinados. La historia se refiere a ellos como Los Seis de Boulder. Francisco, un activista de la comunidad, era conocido por estar involucrado en el teatro callejero. Él era veterano militar y estudiaba para una carrera médica.

Carlos Zapata

It is said that character and principles comprise the ultimate standards by which to measure the commitment one has to a movement or struggle. It is from this perspective that we look at Carlos Zapata to understand his commitment to the Chican@/Mexicano struggle and the discipline that he brought to the Mexican community and to the Mexican Movement.

Carlos grew up in East Denver, where growing up in the barrio, he came to know and understand the social problems and racism facing the Mexicano and black people living in that particular area of the city. Carlos worked at the Five Points Community Center for two or three years in the heart of the black community in Denver.

Carlos joined the Marines. He served in Vietnam and upon his return, he realized that the conditions in his community were no better than when he left.

In 1970, Carlos began attending Fisherman's meeting at the Crusade for Justice. He gave a rap about all the problems facing youth in the Eastside of Denver such as drugs, unemployment, school push-out rates, lack of decent housing and gangs.

Carlos was attending the Community College, Red Rocks campus, where he became active in the student movement. He also joined the Brown Berets. Carlos became active in martial arts and became an excellent kick boxer. Through martial arts, he acquired his deep sense of discipline. He put into practice the philosophy of Bruce Lee – "Knowing is not enough, we must do."

Along with all of his attributes, Carlos became an ardent follower of Malcolm X and the Black Muslim movement. He would quote Malcolm X for hours on end, and he would explain how everything Malcolm talked about paralleled the conditions within the Mexican community.

Zapata died May 22, 1978, in an explosion that occurred outside the Veterans of Foreign Wars office on West Ninth Avenue and Bannock Street in Denver. As in the case of Los Seis de Boulder, police theorize Zapata was a victim of his own action.

At the time of his death in 1979, Carlos was working as a community developer at the Platte Valley Action Center, still carrying out his commitment to create better conditions for his people.



Se recuerda a Carlos Zapata

por ser amable y generoso; él ayudaba amueblar las casas de los ancianos Chicanos después de una inundación. Carlos era todo apasionado y disciplinado. Ejercía los artes marciales y fue veterano de la guerra de Viet Nam. Carlos participó en el grupo revolucionario Chicano, Los Brown Berets, y también estudiaba en un centro de estudios comunitario. Creció en un barrio donde los Afro-American@s y Chican@s vivían, trabajaban y jugaban juntos. Influenciado por las enseñanzas de Malcolm X, Carlos puso en práctica esas lecciones a la lucha Chicana contra la falta de educación, el alojamiento inferior, el desempleo, el abuso de drogas y el pandillerismo delictivo. Como los otros "Seis de Boulder," Carlos se murió de manera sospechosa cuando se detonó un aparato explosivo.

Aztlán Esta de Luto

By Heriberto Terán

5/28/1974

DEDICADO A LOS TRES SOLDADOS DE BOULDER

suenan de nuevo
los tambores de entierro
Aztlán esta de luto,
los gritos de color
vuelan con el aire
tres madres lloran por sus hijos
porque Aztlán esta de luto de nuevo
se repite la horrible y desgraciada
comeda
una escena sin fin,
hay cuerpos destrozados
en el nombre
de una justicia blanca.
y están los cuerpos
en to solar-

tres cuerpos tendidos
también
los millones de antes
todos en tu solar
es tu funeral-vistete de negro
que Aztlán esta de luto
nos revientan
y nos matan
nos entierran
entre el odio y racismo
de una sociedad enferma
y se burlan.
en cada ventana
hay caras sin numbers
se burlan,
hay tres cuerpos tendidos
a ver
son tus hermanos
tu madre esta vestida de negro
porque
AZTLÁN ESTA DE LUTO

TERAN's Books

- "Vida de Ilusiones" 1971
- "Espejo de Alma Y Corazon" Posthumously



Heriberto Terán

La Tragedia de Ricardo Falcón

salieron de Colorado
casi pá la amanecera
para una junta muy grande
que tenían que atender.

salieron con mucha prisa
de colo para tejón
con la delagación venía
el soldado Richardo Falcón

como pasa muchas veces
el carro se calentó
en Oro Grande pararon
y Falcón se abajo.

empezaron echar aqua
pues se querían arrancar
con rumbo El Paso, Tejas,
pues ellos querían llegar.

el gringo del estación
por la agua se el canto
como era Falcón Chicano
del gringo no se dejó.

se hicieron de palabritas
y hasta chingazos llevo
y aquel desgraciado gringo
su pistola se saco.

dos balazos en el pecho
el gringo le disparo
matando aquel hombre noble
que a mano limpia pelio.

el asesino fue gringo
y a la carcel no fue adar
pero le jura la gente
que así no se va quedar.

así acaba mi corrido
así acaba me canción
estas son las mananitas
para el carnal Falcón.

un corrido como un
homenaje a la memoria
de Ricardo Falcón

por Terán

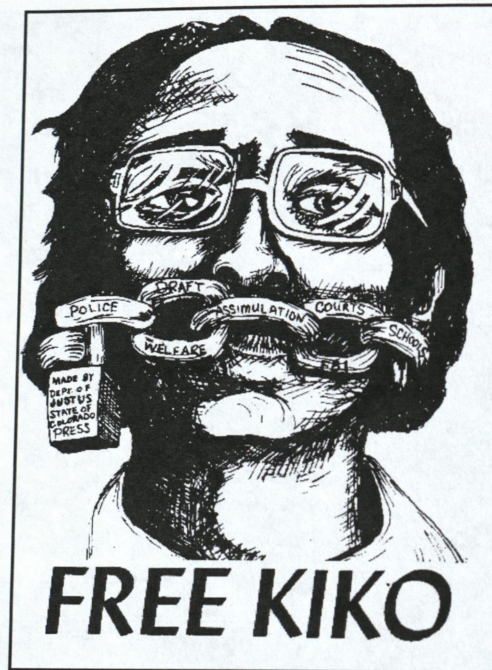
(Activism - From Page 13)

that the percentage of Mexican students on campus should reflect the percentage of Mexicans as a part of the state of Colorado's population. The Parity Campaign became quite controversial and UMAS locked horns with the university administration.

The university ignored the students' voices and their community supporters. It fired Falcón and Vigil. It also expelled the UMAS leadership including Falcón, Granado, Heriberto Terán, Priscilla Falcón, and several others, nameless here forever more. All of them were banned from the campus. It took nearly a decade for the legal system to vindicate the UMAS leadership but by then the damage had been done to the organization.

Of particular concern to Chicano Movement activists was the relationship between the police and the movement. Historically the police have been used by the state and powerful individuals to repress political dissent. It was no exception during the Chicano Movement era. Police were frequently present at protests, marches and demonstrations. At the slightest opportunity or after a police-sponsored provocation, the police would try to break up the public manifestation by attacking the crowd with tear gas, clubs and arrests. This became so frequent that police misconduct became a major theme in the Chicano Movement. Instead of being controlled, the police were given free rein to smash the Chicano Movement.

The police conducted a full scale intelligence gathering operation against the Chicano Movement, not only in Colorado but across the continent. The police had acquired quite an arsenal of tactics and experience. It was later learned that there was a well-financed, expertly-orchestrated and highly-motivated national program to beat down social and economic justice movements in the USA. This national program was known



as COINTELPRO – an acronym for Counterintelligence Program.

The governments – federal, state and local – coordinated their efforts to “discredit, disrupt and destroy” social movements advocating for economic and social justice. This included the Chicano Movement in Colorado. On the CU Boulder campus, the FBI and university police started collecting names, taking surveillance photos and preparing dossiers on UMAS activists. A collection of these documents can be found in “Los Seis de Boulder – XX Aniversario – 1974-1994” published by the National Committee To Conserve and Honor The Memory of Los Seis de Boulder. What followed was an undeniable campaign of repression including false criminal accusations, slander against the UMAS leadership and some members, planting criminal provocateurs, expulsion of students, firing university employees and eventually the deaths of Los Seis.

Despite the 1972 purges UMAS found a way to withstand that onslaught. In the fall of 1973, UMAS students once again found themselves besieged by the university administration. The students were on the verge of being forced off campus because the financial aid they had been awarded was not released by the administration.

For several weeks UMAS students tried to resolve outstanding issues with the administration. The administration had other plans and refused to negotiate with the students. When the administration refused further dialogue on the issues the students decided to engage in an act of civil disobedience. In an act of open defiance the students occupied what was known as TB-1 (Temporary Building -1). TB-1 housed student organizations and services. The students barricaded themselves inside and prepared to stay there until the administration agreed to resolve their grievances.

The administration's position of non-negotiation and not yielding to the students' demands was supported by the Board of Regents and the state government. In the early hours of the occupation, attempts were made by university personnel to get the students to leave TB-1. The students held steadfast and refused.

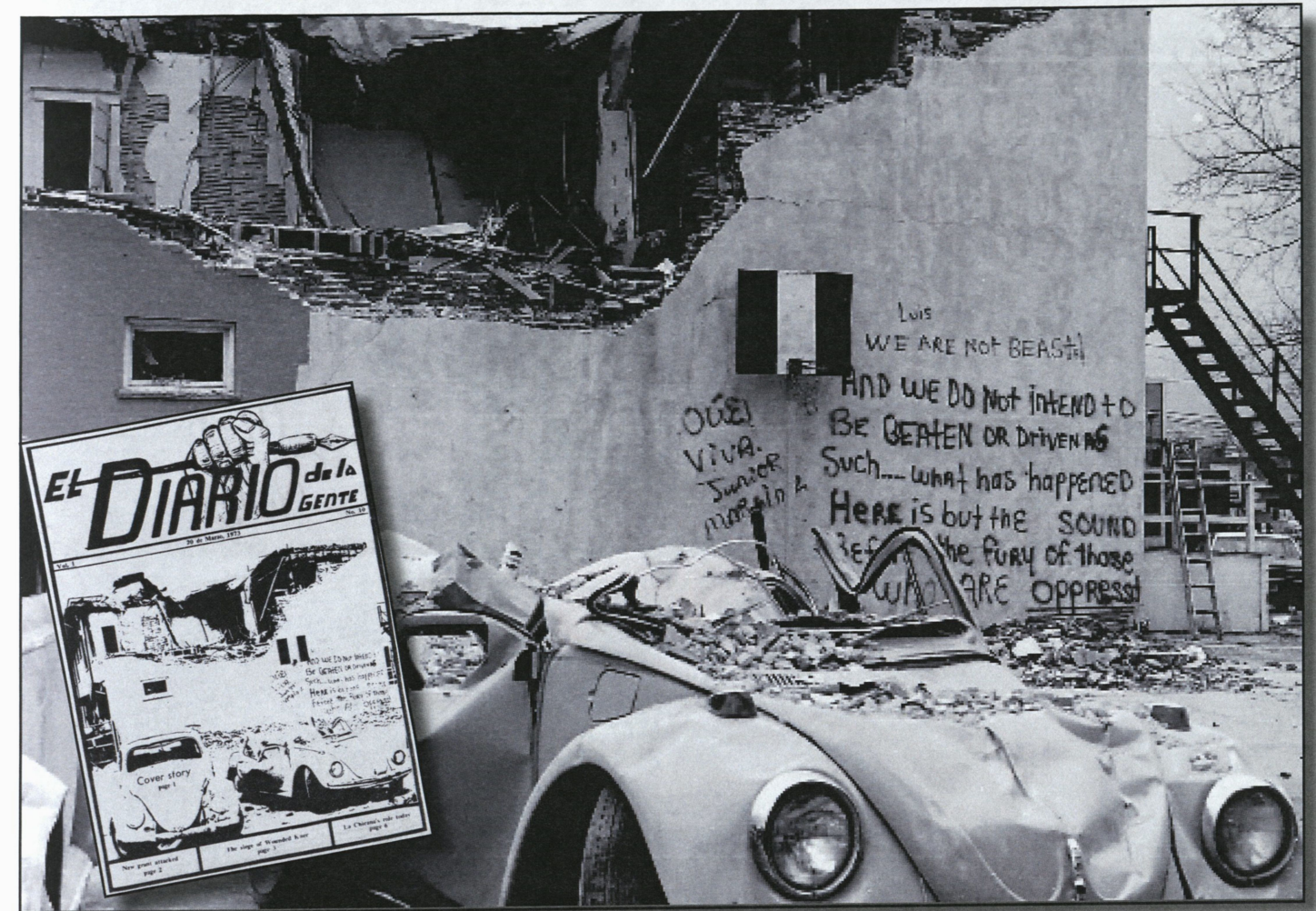
When the standoff appeared to be incapable of resolution as neither side was willing to yield ground, the administration started threatening to use the police to evict the students. The students, aware of the university's 1972 conduct, realized this was a serious threat so they asked for support from the community.

As part of its “law and order” program and COINTELPRO, the Nixon administration made federal funds available to city and state police agencies. Ostensibly funds were being awarded to stop and prevent crime. A more ominous purpose of the program was aimed at crushing dissent and the political activism of persons opposed to the Viet Nam war, civil rights activists, and others opposed to the social, economic and foreign policies of the Nixon administration and the United States of America.

The city of Ft. Lupton built its new police station with federal funds and it became of symbol of the fascist-like manner in which the city was run. A dynamite bomb destroyed the new

(See Activism, Page 33)

CHICANO MOVEMENT IN PHOTOS

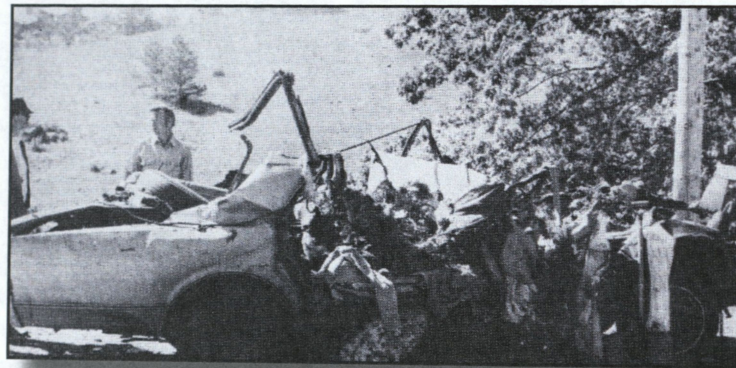


Above: Ruins of Crusade for Justice apartment building destroyed during a police attack in 1973, during which Luis “Junior” Martinez was killed. Insert is of El Diario cover published the week of the attack. Below: Police in full riot gear prepare to break up an anti-war demonstration in 1972 in Boulder.

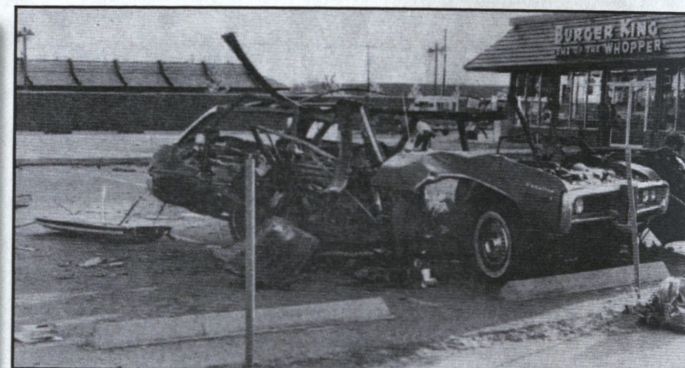




Thousands marched in Denver on the first anniversary of the death of Luis "Junior" Martinez on St. Patrick's Day 1974.



Above left: The remains of Reyes Martínez's car following the May 27, 1974 explosion in Chatauqua Park.



Above right: Gutted remains of the car involved in the second explosion on May 29, 1974.

Right: Investigators sift through the rubble and crater left in the aftermath of first of the two explosions in Boulder in May 1974.



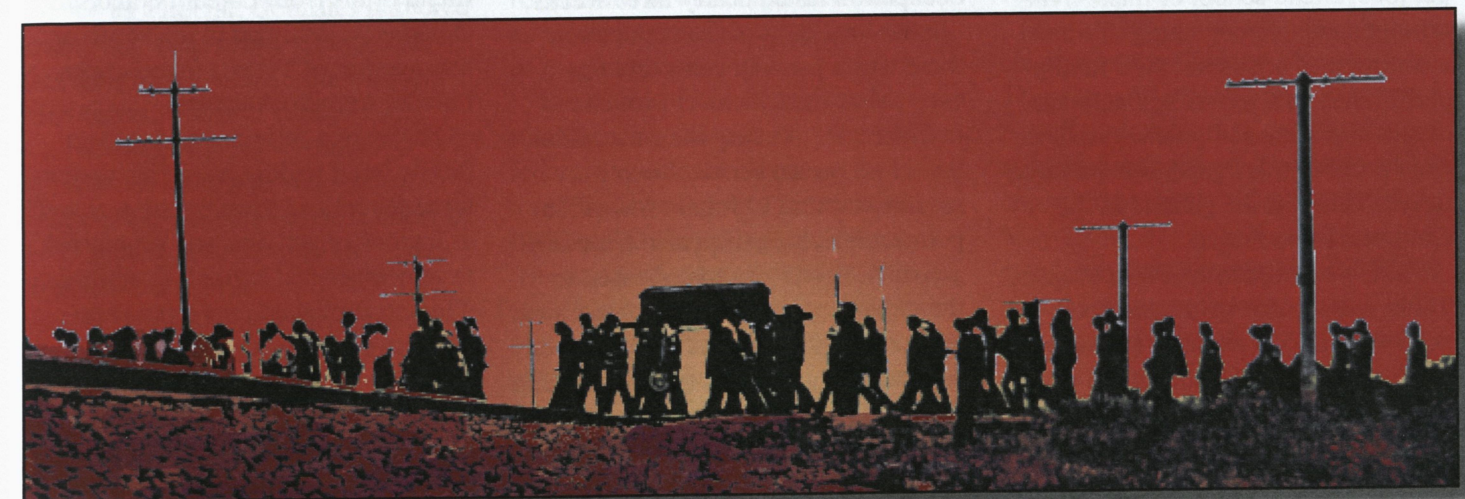
Mural of Los Seis de Boulder painted by Pedro Romero in the late 1970s in the CU Student Center that was destroyed when the center was remodeled a few years later.



Left: UMAS students gather on the steps of TB-1 during the 1974 occupation.

Above: Graphic of Los Seis by an unknown artist.

Below: Illustrated photo of Ricardo Falcón's funeral procession in September 1972.



(Terán, From Page 24)

Vigil's more vocal supporters, including Terán, were themselves subjected to disciplinary proceedings. By the end of the Spring 1972 semester, all of them were expelled from the university and banned from campus.

Following his expulsion and banning from the CU campus, Terán returned to his hometown in Laredo, Texas, and worked with El Partido de La Raza Unida during the 1972 general election. While he was engaged in this activity his good friend and comrade Ricardo Falcón was assassinated in late August 1972 in Orogrande, N.M.

In October 1972 Chican@ activists from Colorado, New Mexico and Texas traveled to Alamogordo, N.M., to witness the trial of Falcón's assassin. They marched from the murder site to the courthouse over the course of several days. Terán joined the marchers and acted in several capacities. While engaged in the trial of Falcón's assassin, Terán penned the poem "La Tragedia de Ricardo Falcón."

Following the trial and acquittal of the assassin, Terán returned to Colorado with his wife and infant son where he along with others organized La Academia Ricardo Falcón.

Like many independent schools started at that time, La Academia was short-lived. Terán joined efforts to help recently released prison inmates. In Colorado the prisons were full of Chican@s. Upon their release there were few opportunities for them to get jobs, attend school or make living arrangements. Recognizing this need a coalition of prisoners, their family and friends, and movement activists obtained private and public grants to fund programs designed to meet these needs. This was the genesis of the Colorado Pinto Project.

While working for the Pinto Project, Terán was a grant writer and counselor who helped recently released prisoners find jobs, educational opportunities and other resources that enable them to reintegrate into the community.

Poems by Terán on Page 23

The Catholic parish in Brighton, Colo., had built a new church and the old church was not being used. Chican@ activists were in need of a building to use as a center for their activity so they petitioned the Archdiocese office in Denver for permission to use the old church. The archbishop's office denied the request. After repeated refusals the Brighton Brown Berets and their supporters occupied the church and asked to negotiate an agreement for use of the building. Negotiations were successful and the Brown Berets gained use of the building. It became the Ricardo Falcón Center and served the community for many years thereafter. Terán was involved in the negotiations and volunteered at the center while he continued working at the Pinto Project.

Although Terán would never again be a student at the University of Colorado, he continued to follow campus events and support student activists. In the spring of 1974, UMAS students occupied TB-1, which housed the UMAS-EOP offices. They barricaded themselves inside and refused to leave until the program director and assistant director were terminated. This occupation lasted nearly three weeks.

In the final days of the occupation there was a pair of events that forever shook the Chican@ Movement in Colorado. During the occupation there had been a series of bombings in northern Colorado for which police authorities suspected Chican@ activists. Police records released to the public many years after these events demonstrate that the police were actively surveilling and pursuing Chican@ Movement activists in an effort to disrupt their organizing work and community-building efforts. In-

dividuals the police had on their lists included Terán.

While the TB-1 occupation continued police activity increased. On the evening of May 27, 1974, an explosion rocked Boulder's Chautauqua Park. The police investigation revealed that three persons died in that explosion. Within a day the deceased were identified as Neva Romero, a student leader involved in the TB-1 occupation, Una Jaakola, a Euro-American CU graduate who sympathized with and supported the Chican@ Movement, and Reyes Martínez, a CU law graduate and attorney known for representing Chican@ Movement activists and controversial matters.

Martínez was also the brother of attorney Francisco "Kiko" Martínez, who the police had named in a federal criminal indictment as the suspect in an armed propaganda campaign involving several bombings in the Denver area. Police documents show Martínez was under heavy police surveillance making it unlikely the police were not aware of his comings and goings. Following the deaths of these three activists Terán inked his poem *Aztlán Está de Luto* (*Aztlán is Mourning*). The poem eulogizes Neva, Una and Reyes. Little did Terán realize that this poem would also be his eulogy. Terán died 48 hours after the first bombing when the car he was in exploded and killed him along with Florencio "Freddie" Granado and a friend of his from Laredo, Francisco Dougherty. Maimed in the bombing was another of Terán's friends from Laredo, Antonio Alcantar.

The son of a religious and modest family left a widow, a son, his parents, three sisters and three brothers as well as legions of activists and supporters to remember and honor his sacrifice. The accomplished poet left us two published books of poetry and memories that will not soon be forgotten. The activist created a legacy that will only become stronger as time passes and the years validate his activism.

(See Activism, Page 28)

police station. It became a federal case because federal funds were used to build it. The FBI and Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms conducted an investigation of UMAS at CU Boulder. Intimidation became the order of the day. Some UMAS members were threatened with prosecution if they did not cooperate while others were offered money for their cooperation. Two UMAS students, Anselmo "Elmer" Peralta and Ray Roybal were charged. Falcón, Granado and others were named as suspects. When it was all over, everyone walked away from the case. Peralta and Roybal entered guilty pleas to misdemeanor charges for failing to cooperate with the investigation. They didn't go to jail. The prosecution did, however, serve to divert UMAS' energy and resources from its primary purpose of recruiting and helping students graduate from college. It also served to cause the police to ratchet up its repressive apparatus against UMAS and other supporters of the Chicano Movement. Francisco "Kiko" Martínez was part of the legal defense team that represented Peralta and Roybal.

Another incident that figured into the state's intense dislike for and intent to destroy UMAS was the disruption of a speech by Henry Gonzales. Gonzales was a Democrat who represented a San Antonio congressional district in the U.S. House of Representatives. Although regarded as a liberal, Gonzales harbored strong anti-communist feelings and this colored his view of the Chicano Movement, which at various times was accused of being communist-influenced. Gonzales was invited to speak at CU Boulder in the summer of 1973 shortly after 12-year old Santos Rodriguez had been murdered in the back seat of a Dallas police squad car. Rodriguez' death resulted in widespread protests across the Southwest, including Colorado. Before Gonzales took the stage to speak at CU Boulder, he had been asked by UMAS mem-

bers to address the issue of Santos Rodriguez' death. Gonzales refused. The students had announced that if Gonzales persisted in his silence on the Santos Rodriguez murder and his denunciation of the Chicano Movement, that he would not be allowed to speak. When Gonzales walked to the podium the audience began to boo and hiss him. University officials tried to quiet the crowd but the disruption became more intense. Gonzales did not speak that night. The university apologized to him and put in motion a plan to crush all remaining UMAS activity. Criminal charges were filed against several persons present during the Gonzales incident. Francisco Martínez was representing Francisco "Frankie" Luevano. All of these incidents were the backdrop to the deaths of Los Seis.

Police harassment of UMAS members intensified. The Boulder campus was rife with student activism.

These were the times when the Watergate crimes were front-page news. U.S. intervention in Southeast Asia and Latin America provoked widespread, domestic and international opposition. The U.S. and the USSR were threatening nuclear war and had divided the world into two blocs: NATO and COMECAN. Bombs were exploding everywhere including Colorado; on university campuses, in the barrios, at the manufacturing plants of war contractors and at police stations. The state singled out and accused formations in the Chicano Movement as being responsible for these armed propaganda campaigns.

In October 1973, Francisco Martínez became the primary target of a federal investigation bent on initiating a seditious conspiracy prosecution. Sedition is advocating the violent overthrow of the government. Martínez was named in state and federal indictments with sending letter bombs to various public officials. Rewards were offered for his capture. The community rallied to support him. The police unleashed a reign of terror

against his friends and family. He was forced into political exile. His brother Reyes and others were forced to take up the defense of Martínez's life and freedom.

From the time Martínez was formally accused until Reyes' death in May 1974, Reyes was arrested four times and stopped many times over by the police; ostensibly because they believed him to be Francisco but most often to keep an eye on him and deny Francisco the support of his most trusted and valuable ally. This was the climate the night Reyes, Una Jaakola and Neva Romero died.

By this time Reyes had divorced. Una and Reyes had a personal as well as a political relationship. Neva was a CU student senator involved in the TB-1 takeover along with her advocacy for bi-lingual education in public schools; something that was novel in those days and fiercely opposed by those who had political and economic power. They were riding in Reyes' automobile in Boulder's Chautauqua Park neighborhood when the car exploded. Their bodies were mangled beyond recognition; the twisted steel of the car became a symbol of the Chicano Movement and its best sons and daughters. Forty-eight hours later another car bombing took the lives of Florencio Granado, Heriberto Terán and Francisco Dougherty. These bombings signaled the change that had arrived: The velvet glove covering the state's iron fist had been removed.

History has yet to write the final chapter on the Chicano Movement. There are different narratives adopted by different sectors to explain the events of that period. It matters not to conclude precisely what happened in May 1974. What matters is to understand why those events and the Chicano Movement were necessary. For only by understanding that will we be able to face the tasks awaiting us today and be capable of confronting the challenges tomorrow promises.

Education, hope for Chicano Movement

Author requested anonymity

Throughout the history of the Chicano Movement, education has always been the hope for the future of the movement, inspiring pride in our culture, language, and history. The Chicano education begins for many young Chicanos while on college campuses across the country. Lost in our Land, Education is our Stand.

I have been teaching in Denver Public Schools for 15 years. My dream as a young girl was to teach my people in the city I loved. I began fulfilling the Chicano philosophy of giving back to my community. The first three schools I taught at had several things in common. First, they all were on the north or west side of Denver, serving students from housing developments (projects). They all had a high population of Chicano students. In addition, all three went through major educational restructuring having been defined a "struggling school" by the district, two schools prior to my arrival and the third while I was teaching there. An increase in the micromanagement and focus on test strategies occurred at each of these schools, as the district began dictating the education practices. For those not familiar with education language, there are four current turnaround interventions for schools deemed "failing." The first, "transformation" deals with program change. "Turnaround" replaces the principal and most staff. "Restart" phases out an old school and phases in one or more new schools. The last, "school closure" is the most drastic. Currently all the schools I previously taught at continue to go through the cycle of turnaround interventions. One has to ask what this does to the psyche of an already oppressed group of students?

When I first started teaching, CSAP (Colorado Student Assessment Program) was just being introduced in Colorado. Schools began being compared and ranked, according to the School Performance Framework (SPF). As the years progressed the Denver Plan emerged and more educational programs were purchased and implemented. These programs took the classroom control away from teachers. Testing curriculums were imposed, as were planning guides for literacy, more scripted programs that told teachers what to say and how to teach. Teachers were given directives to devote increasing amounts of classroom time to test preparation. Most of the time if a school's

scores did not show growth the school was threatened with punitive actions. Today, the situation is even worse as the publishing company Pearson has cornered the education market and stands to gain money when schools are deemed failures and need to purchase more of their test preparation materials to teach to the test.

CSAP has been phased out and replaced by the Transitional Colorado Assessment Program (TCAP) as many states prepare for the Partnership for Assessment of Readiness for College and Careers (PARCC). Districts and schools will need to update technology at a greater pace and pay more money to administer the test. Now, with Obama's

Race to the Top, districts and states compete against each other to get millions of dollars. With the reform movement's reliance on data, more tests are being given without time to adequately implement effective teaching strategies to teach what students need. It is estimated that Denver students spend at least 20 days a school year taking different standardized tests. This data overload comes at the same time that the Common Core State Standards (CCSS) is being rolled out nation wide. With the new standards there is little emphasis on cultural experiences, on regional histories, and other interests teachers and students had been successful at integrating into the curriculum.

What is happening at many of these schools in predominantly Chicano communities? Most marginalized communities have never had a voice in public education, but stand to lose even more now as children are seen as numbers associated with dollar signs. Communities are not empowered to



Photo by Juan Espinosa

Chican@s from throughout Colorado gather for a Youth Conference in Montrose in 1972.

advocate for our most valuable resource, our children. Schools are more racially and economically segregated, as more charter schools and innovation schools compete with traditional public schools. The School Reform Movement has created a national trend to privatize schools. As a community we need to start voicing our demands for where the money for our children should go. As it stands right now many charter schools are able to move into the neighborhood and make money for their investors at the expense of our students. Charter schools do not have to accept every student, so students with discipline problems can be removed and returned to traditional public schools. Many second language learners are not accepted. The

Denver Alliance for Public Education points out that in the past nine years of reform in DPS, the number of charter schools has increased from 5 to 41. During that same period, 29 innovation schools have been added. Charter and innovation schools are not obliged to obey the collective bargaining agreement between the Denver Classroom Teachers Association and DPS. Charter and innovation school teachers are at-will employees. This makes it all the more difficult for anyone to advocate for integrity and the students. The past several years have witnessed an increase in highly successful teachers retiring or getting out of education because of the stress and lack of support they receive. Many teachers of color who advocate for necessary resources for students also find themselves being attacked.

There have been countless studies and rumors stating how the Department of Corrections looks at test scores from early elementary years to plan for prisons that need to be built in the future. There is

(See Education, Page 45)



Photo by Juan Espinosa

Years before he would become old enough to drink beer, this young man joined a picket line of Coors Boycott in 1972.

TB-1, from Page 13

Vigil also was fired and replaced by Joe Franco. The summer of 1972 was turbulent, but events outside of UMAS and the CU campus defused the situation.

In August 1972, Falcón was shot and killed in Orogrande, N.M., in an argument over water to cool an overheated car. Falcón and a group including Granado were en route to El Paso, Texas, to attend the national La Raza Unida Conference.

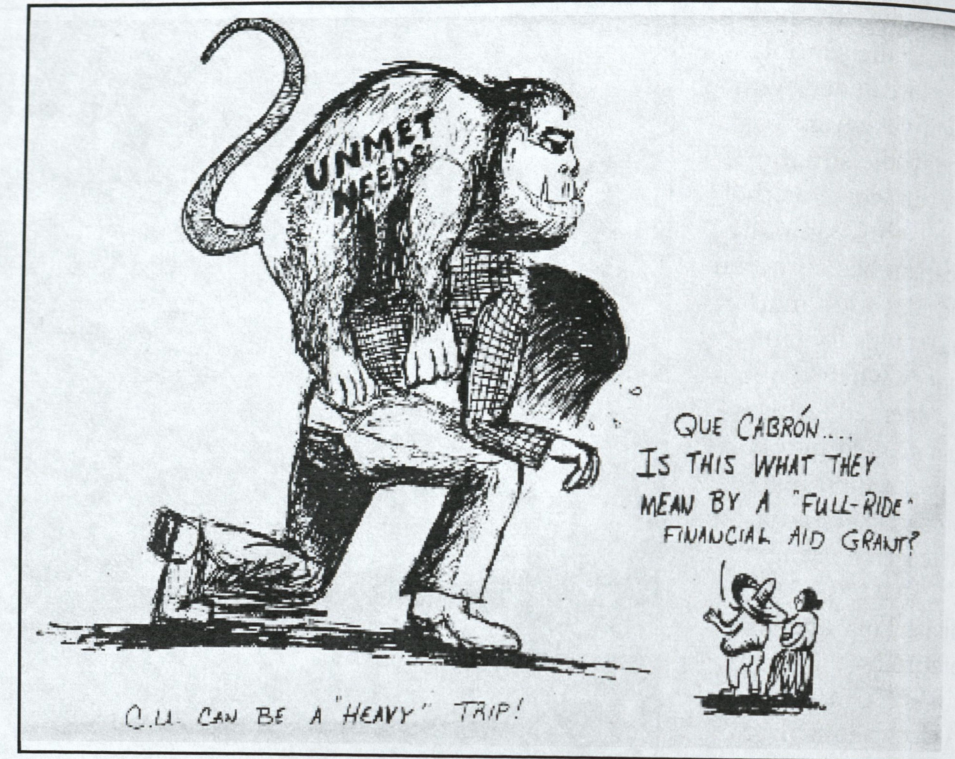
Despite the university's efforts to deter more Chican@s from enrolling in the Educational Opportunity Programs, Chican@s continued to flock to Boulder and by the fall of the 1972-73 school year, there were an estimated 1,400 students in UMAS-EOP and the Migrant Action Program.

On March 17, 1973, Denver police attacked the Crusade for Justice. The confrontation started with a report of a loud party in the apartment building where many of the Escuela Tlateloco students were housed. When police arrived, Luis "Junior" Martinez, a leader of the Crusade's Black Berets security group, crossed the street to see what they wanted. When police attempted to arrest Martinez for jaywalking, he bolted from the patrol car and was chased into a narrow alley. A shootout resulted in Martinez's death and the wounding of a police officer.

Though the attack on the Crusade didn't occur on the CU campus, students were keenly aware that Chican@ activists were being targeted by law enforcement.

When the semester began in the fall of 1973, the University renewed its efforts to purge students from the campus. More financial aid files were lost; stipend checks were delayed and many students found themselves unable to pay tuition, buy books, pay rent, or even food. A month into the semester, demonstrations were organized to protest the financial aid delays.

On Oct. 29, 1973, a handful of students took over an office in Regent Hall. After a brief standoff, the



students agreed to march to Macky Auditorium to meet with Vice President James Corbridge and State Rep. Sandy Arnold. There, Arnold promised to arrange a meeting with Gov. John Vanderhoof.

At the meeting with the governor, Vanderhoof left the office within five minutes. The UMAS students briefly entertained the idea of taking over the governor's office, but were escorted out by more than a dozen state patrol officers who had been waiting in an adjacent room.

The crisis ended after the University began issuing the long overdue stipends and financial aid checks.

That next spring, CU continued to be a hotbed of activism. A group of anti-war students took over Old Main and were arrested. UMAS students marched in Denver.

In early May, the Black Student Alliance staged its own protest over the delays in financial aid. Several hundred UMAS students turned out to support BSA and joined the protest.

It was this BSA demonstration in the UMC student center fountain area that sparked the TB-1 occupation. Jim Sandoval, a member of the UMAS Planning Council, carried a sign that

read, "Dump Joe," referring to Joe Franco, the director of UMAS-EOP. Dave Madrid, a Franco supporter, confronted Sandoval. The two agreed to settle the matter with their fists and a group of us followed them to TB-1 where they went to blows. It wasn't much of a fight. Sandoval quickly got the better of Madrid and the fight ended.

But the cat was out of the bag. Soon after, 15 to 20 students met in a meeting room in the UMC to discuss the rift within UMAS. It was the first time that any of the protests had focused on another Chican@. Up until that day, the University administration had always been the target, but Sandoval had zeroed in on Franco. During the ensuing discussion, several students talked about how Franco and his assistant director, Paul Acosta, seemed to go along with the University's purging of the most active students. The final straw may have been when a secretary in Franco's office told us that while we were involved in the financial aid crisis in the fall of 1973, Franco had used UMAS-EOP funds to take 60 to 80 students on skiing trips to Aspen or Vail.

That was it. We decided that Franco

and Acosta had to go.

On Sunday, May 12, 1974, about 20 of us met at our apartment in student housing. That's when we decided to move on Franco the next morning. Eight of us would arrive at TB-1 at 7:30 a.m. and barricade ourselves on the third floor of the building. The eight included: Neva Romero, Freddy "Freak" Trujillo, Jose Esteban Ortega, Jess Vigil, Judy Sandoval, Teresa Gallegos, Phil Roybal and myself.

TB-1 Occupation — May 13, 1974

We barricaded ourselves in the third-floor offices of UMAS-EOP by shoving a half-dozen large desks down the wide stairway and sliding a large bookshelf across the only entrance. Anyone coming up the stairs to reach us would have to come single file and we took turns guarding the narrow opening with an aluminum baseball bat.

By 8 a.m., the staff began to arrive for work and stood around in front of the building. As news of the takeover spread across campus, UMAS students began to gather on the steps of TB-1. Joe Franco didn't come until about 10 a.m. and was wearing white shorts and was looking for his tennis racket and balls. We found them and threw them down at him.

I read a statement I had prepared titled, "UMAS is Dead." In our preparation, we planned to have a symbolic coffin for the now dead UMAS organization. A small wooden cross was erected at one end of the cardboard coffin. After Franco and his handful of supporters had arrived, Randy Esquibel and Phil Roybal set the coffin on fire.

Sometime in the early afternoon, law enforcement arrived. I don't know if it was the Boulder police or the Boulder County Sheriff's Department, but an officer with a megaphone made several appeals for us to come out. We jeered them and vowed not to go without a fight. We were given a 6 p.m. deadline to leave peacefully, or they would come in and get us.

By late afternoon, a crowd had gathered outside the building. The phones inside the building were working and we made calls to Jose Calderon in Greeley and the Crusade for Justice in Denver for back up.

As the deadline approached, the backup from the surrounding community began to show, including Florencio Granado. Granado urged the crowd to occupy the first floor of TB-1 saying that if the police were going to come after us, they would have to go through the larger crowd first. By 6 p.m., there were only eight of us on the third floor, but there were also another 60 to 80 supporters on the lower floors.

A bus filled with officers with helmets and batons pulled into the parking lot, but they didn't come into the building. Officers with what appeared to be rifles could be seen on the roofs of some of the surrounding buildings. It was a standoff, nobody budged.

Night fell and many in the first floor began to leave. Dora Esquibel and other women brought food that first night.

During the night, we thought we heard people on the roof of the building and we went into the attic to investigate. There didn't seem to be anyway a person could enter the building from the roof. What we found in the attic were boxes of old program records and a dusty public address system with a turntable.

We took the P.A. system into the office area and began tinkering with it to see if we could get it to work. Through the night, we expected the police to rush the building at any time.

Morning came and we were still there and the police were gone. Students began to return and we had a working P.A. system. Soon we were talking to our supporters with 250 watts of power and could be heard for several blocks. We called it "Radio Free Aztlán." Sometime during that second day, UMAS President Mike Carranza came clutching something to his chest. It was "Mestizo," a new LP

by Daniel Valdez. When we weren't making political speeches, we played Valdez's album and it became the soundtrack of our occupation.

It became evident that the University wasn't going to send in the police and we might be there for a while. We set up a make-shift kitchen in one room on the third floor where we found a hot plate and a coffee pot. That second night people brought pots of food and fed as many as 60 people.

Within a few days, we had the run of the entire building. There were a few attempts to set up negotiations with the University, but it was always Franco and Acosta who showed up. They demanded that we leave the building and we demanded that they resign. We remained at a stalemate.

Within a few days, we started slipping out, one by one, to go to our homes to shower and get clean clothes. By the end of the first week, our families moved into TB-1 with us. I had Deborah and our 16-month daughter Catalina with me and we set up a bedroom in one of the smaller offices.

Every night, Dora and others brought food and we did a lot of cooking in the building. During the evenings, the guitars would come out. It was not terrible, but nothing was happening and tension was building.

Franco and his supporters stopped coming. The University had set up temporary EOP offices across campus in Willard Hall. It was the end of the semester and it became obvious their plan was to wait us out.

We organized a march to Willard Hall with the intention of taking over the temporary offices. We got to Willard Hall, but the University had Denver Bronco-sized security at the doors and we didn't get inside. We retreated to TB-1.

Felipe Roybal and I graduated that semester. Commencement was held in the football stadium. Felipe snuck out to put on his cap and gown to receive his diploma. I didn't go.

(See TB-1, Page 38)

(TB-1, from Page 37)

After graduation and finals, the campus got really quiet. Most of the students left for the summer and at times it seemed like we were the only people on campus.

We began talking about ways to bring the occupation to an end. The University was not interested in talking to us about it. Our phones had been cut off and we were without any connection to the outside world. We were demoralized, but determined.

On one of these nights, someone said Neva Romero had a pistol in her bag. Before taking the building, we agreed that we would not bring in firearms. We feared that just the knowledge that we were armed would be enough to give police the justification to use deadly force to evict us. Neva admitted to having a pistol and showed it to us. She refused to send it out of the building and vowed to use it if the police came in after us. "It is a good day to die," she said.

That was the last thing said about Neva's gun.

A few days later, it would not matter. The last time I saw Neva, she was sitting on a large stone on the road behind Mackey Auditorium. Debbie and I were returning to TB-1 after going to our apartment to get a change of clothes and something to eat. We noticed she seemed to be deep in thought and I either whistled or honked to get her attention. She looked up and gave us a weak smile and a little wave. Debbie and I commented how she looked like she was a million miles away.

After dark that same night, we heard a loud bang followed by many sirens. In the distance, we could see fire trucks, ambulances and police cars driving past the campus toward Chautauqua Park.

We knew that something bad had happened, but it wasn't until about 3 or 4 a.m. the next morning that we knew how bad. Eileen Torrez and Mike Carreras came running breath-

lessly to TB-1. They said they had been held at gunpoint for several hours while police had ransacked the apartment they shared with Neva. They said that there had been a car explosion and three people had died. Neva's ID card had been found at the scene and that's why police had gone to her address.

Within hours we learned that it was Neva and Reyes Martinez and his girlfriend Una Jaakola who had died in the bombing. We were in shock and disbelief.

That night, about 60 people showed up at TB-1. It was a solemn gathering. Heriberto Teran, a former UMAS student and an aspiring poet read a poem, "Aztlán Esta Deluto," he had written in honor of Reyes, Una and Neva. He was with Florencio Granado, who was livid. He said Chican@ blood had been spilled and it was time to take action.

The next day the silence was shattered once again with the sound of a loud explosion. This one sounded even closer than the first.

As the sound of sirens again filled the air, we listened to the police scanner we had obtained after the first bombing. This time the explosion was on 28th Street near Burger King. There were at least three victims, maybe four. The car had been a station wagon.

By morning, we knew Granado, Teran and Francisco Dougherty had been killed and Antonio Alcantar was in critical condition at a local hospital.

Later that day, the phone rang at TB-1. It was someone from the University and they wanted to negotiate an end to the occupation. With the help of several law students we drafted a proposal which included:

- Franco and Acosta be removed from their positions
- UMAS-EOP would be restructured and there would be an elected student co-director and a staff co-director, selected from the existing staff.
- Everyone involved in the occupation would be granted amnesty from

criminal prosecution

Manuel "Manny" Lopez, a law student, and I represented the TB-1 occupants and Vice Chancellor James Corbridge represented the university. He agreed to our demands and the occupation ended.

After the Occupation

Later in the 1970s, CU administrators downsized the separate EOPs into one program with four units: access and recruitment, counseling, academic affairs and program research. Fewer services were available for students of color.

In the 1980s, CU Opportunity became the new "umbrella" name of the EOP. EOP then merged with CU's Counseling Services and named the Multicultural Center for Counseling and Community Development. With so much downsizing of staff, student peers and services, students of color were forced to search for other resources across campus to help support their needs. The Ethnic Student Support Program was the new name of the center servicing diverse students after the staff of "old-EOP" struggled and were able to de-merge from the Counseling Center.

In the 1990s, administrators changed the name of ESSP to the Cultural Unity Student Center. In 1997, the University tried to merge CUSC with the Student Academic Services Center, Disability Services and the Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, and Transgender Center. Students of color fought back and put a halt to the merger. Staff decided to drop the "student" out of CUSC and the department is now known as Cultural Unity Center featuring African American Student Services, American Indian Student Services, Asian Pacific American Student Services, Latino/Chican@ Student Services, with the fifth, Multiracial Student Services, following soon after.

In 2004, the name was changed to the Center for Multicultural Affairs with addition of Multicultural Graduate Student Services.

(Reyes, from Page 21)

In the tradition of many Mexicans in Northern New Mexico and Southern Colorado, the Catholic Church was an institution that helped instill values, faith and tradition in Reyes. Reyes was raised in the Catholic faith by his parents. Throughout his formative years Reyes fulfilled his religious obligations as a faithful attendant and communicant at mass. He became invested in the sacraments as they became available to him. He dutifully attended religion classes and was an altar boy until graduating from high school. His parents especially impressed upon him what are referred to as the corporal works of mercy: Feed the Hungry, Give Drink to the Thirsty, Clothe the Naked, Shelter the Homeless, Visit the Sick, Visit the Imprisoned and Bury the Dead.

Reyes graduated with honors from Adams State College in 1970 where he majored in political science and philosophy. He applied to law school at the University of Colorado and was awarded a scholarship. He moved to Boulder and took with him his new bride, Vida Adams. In May 1971 their daughter Viana Marie was born. They lived in university housing and Reyes worked as an intern at Colorado Rural Legal Services (CRLS).

CRLS was a War on Poverty program designed to deliver legal services to low-income persons in the rural areas of Colorado where low-income persons were, historically, shut out of the market for legal services. It was modeled after similar programs in California and Texas.

When Reyes attended law school in Boulder there were more Mexican law students on campus during a single year than had graduated from the law school throughout its entire history. This reflects more the fact of so few graduates than it reflects such great numbers in attendance in 1970. This was the sort of institutionalized racism that existed and which the Chican@ Movement was trying to break. The law students had formed an organiza-



Reyes Martínez and his late mother Pauline L. Martínez are seen here at a 1970 wedding reception.

tion to enhance the legal education and job prospects of Chican@ law students. The Chican@ Law Students Association was also active in the community. They sponsored, obtained funding for and staffed a Centro Legal in Longmont. The Centro Legal delivered legal services to Mexicans in the Longmont area. The Centro Legal was a valuable resource to the Longmont community as it battled against racism and discrimination. To this day there are community members who recall the valuable services rendered by the Chican@ Law Students. This is another example of the uplifting and positive activity for which the Chican@ Movement was known.

Reyes graduated from law school in 1973 and took the bar examination that summer. His exam was successful and he was admitted to the Colorado bar that fall. He immediately threw himself into the legal challenges that faced the Mexican communities across the state. He represented many persons facing criminal charges because of their political activity. It was a frequent occurrence for Chican@ Movement activists to be charged with trespassing, interference, disobedience of lawful orders, rioting and other crimes. All of this was designed to discourage activists from pressing their well-founded grievances and complaints.

By May 1974, Reyes Martínez was a very public figure. Not only was he an

attorney involved in representing individuals and organizations associated with the Chican@ Movement but his family was involved in a bitter conflict with federal and state police agencies.

Three of the Martínez siblings became attorneys. Rita graduated from Creighton, Francisco from Minnesota and Reyes from Colorado. Francisco, or "Kiko" as he was known in Chican@ Movement circles, started practicing law as a Reginald Heber Smith Fellow with Colorado Rural Legal Services. Francisco represented prisoners, community activists and students. He helped defend UMAS president Florencio Granado in a 1972 felony case in Boulder. Granado was accused of assaulting a Boulder policeman after being unlawfully stopped on Flagstaff Mountain. Granado disarmed a policeman who was about to pistol-whip him. The policeman then pulled out a hidden pistol in violation of police regulations. Luckily, a more reasonable policeman arrived and defused the situation. A jury refused to believe the policeman's story and acquitted Granado.

In October 1973 Francisco Martínez became the primary target of a federal investigation bent on initiating a seditious conspiracy prosecution. Sedition is advocating the violent overthrow of the government. Francisco Martínez was named in state and federal indictments with sending letter bombs to various public officials. Rewards were offered for his capture. The community rallied to support him. The police unleashed a reign of terror against his friends and family. He was forced into political exile. His brother Reyes and others were forced to take up the defense of Francisco's life and freedom.

From the time Francisco was formally accused until Reyes' death in May 1974, Reyes was arrested four times and stopped many times by the police; ostensibly because they believed him to be Francisco but most often to keep an eye on him and deny Francisco the support of his most trusted and valu-

(See Reyes, Page 40)

(Reyes, From Page 39)
able ally. One time a police officer stopped Reyes on the street and aimed his pistol at Reyes. He challenged Reyes by asking him, "Are you Kiko or are you Reyes?" Reyes knew the officer had a brother so he replied, "Are you Nyle or are you Gerald, and walked away. Reyes continued to practice law but most of his time he was consumed trying to ward off police attacks against

(Granado, From Page 23)
artists, photographers and editors to help him. "El Escritor" became a credible alternative newspaper in West Denver.

Issues and stories covered by "El Escritor" ranged from the assassination of Salvador Allende in Chile to the recall of Denver City Councilman Eugene DiManna; and from the Wounded Knee Occupation to the Symbionese Liberation Army.

Granado was as volatile as the issues he covered. He was known to carry a pistol and sometimes used it. During the summer 1973, Granado was charged with shooting Richard Castro, then director of Denver's West Side Action Center. Castro was a rising political star at the time and went on to be a state legislator. At the time of his death, Granado was out on a \$10,000 bond.

The dispute between Castro and Granado reportedly involved the efforts to recall DiManna. Granado was one of the La Raza Unida Party leaders who organized the initial recall. Challenges to the recall petition resulted in enough signatures being disqualified to nullify the recall effort. Castro, a Democrat, wanted to circulate new petitions. La Raza Unida Party appealed the disqualifications and the courts

the Martínez Family and its supporters. This was the climate the night Reyes, Una Jaakola and Neva Romero died.

By this time Reyes had divorced. Una and Reyes had a personal as well as a political relationship. Neva was a student leader involved in the TB-1 takeover along with her advocacy for bi-lingual education in public schools. They

were riding in Reyes' automobile in Boulder's Chataqua Park neighborhood when the car exploded. Their bodies were badly mangled. Two days later another car bombing took the lives of Florencio Granado, Heriberto Terán and Francisco Dougherty. These bombings signaled the change that had arrived: The velvet glove covering the state's iron fist had been removed.

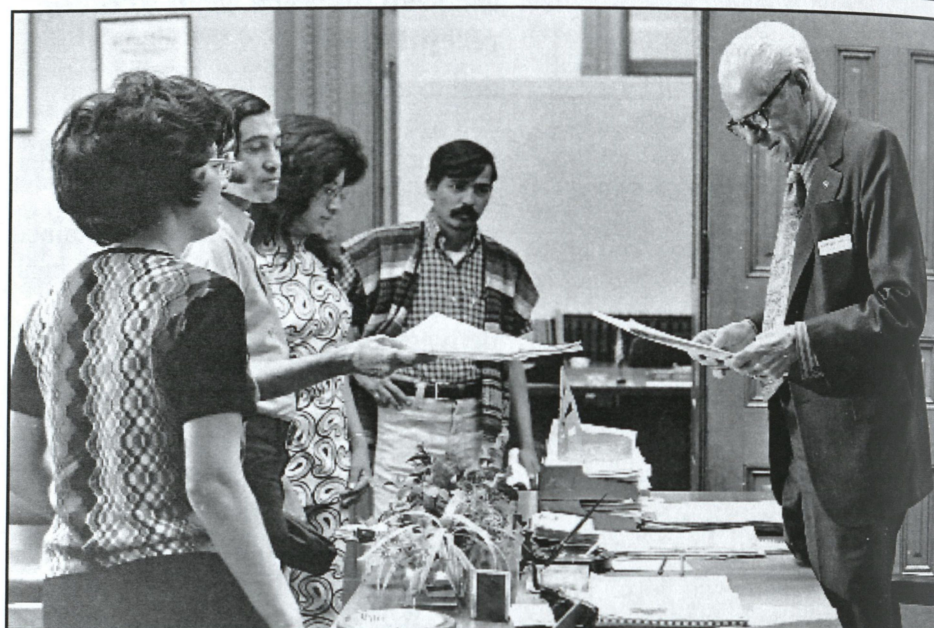


Photo by Juan Espinosa

Florencio Granado (center) looks on as members of El Partido La Raza Unida present nomination petitions to Secretary of State Byron Rogers. Granado was a candidate for a seat on the CU Board of Regents in 1972.

eventually agreed with them and the recall was a success.

When UMAS students took over TB-1 at CU Boulder, Granado was one of the community leaders they called for support. He was one of the first to arrive.

For the remainder of the occupation, Granado returned frequently. On May 28, the day after the car bombing that killed Reyes Martinez, Una Jaakola and Neva Romero, Granado returned.

From the passionate talk he gave that night, it was clear that he believed the three were vic-

tims and had been targeted because of their activism.

That night, on the steps of TB-1, Granado declared that Chicano blood have been spilled. As he often did, he paraphrased Che Guevara, "If I advance, follow me. If I hesitate, push me. If I betray you, kill me. If I am assassinated, avenge me."

Granado died 24 hours later when the car he was in exploded. Also killed in the blast were Heriberto Teran and Francisco Dougherty. Antonio Alcantar was severely injured.

(Junior, From Page 19)

the West High blowouts, which are considered a landmark in early Chicano activism.

With Junior's continuing political growth he also gained an appreciation for his cultural identity. When Junior and other community members traveled to Mexico to study dance, he attained a sense of cultural pride that inspired him to begin speaking Spanish.

They established a Mexican dance troop through the Crusade for Justice known as the "Baile de Chicano de Aztlan." The introduction of Mexican dancing in his life had a profound impact on his life.

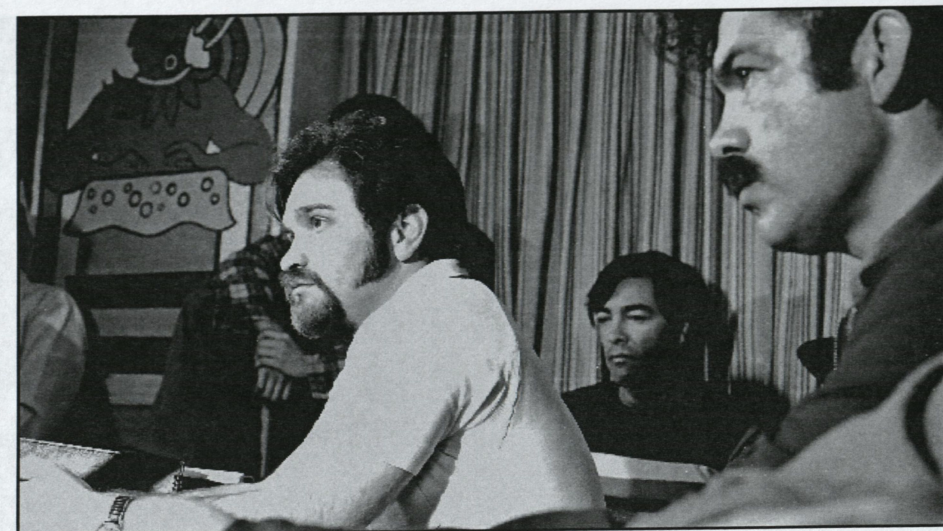
His love of dance contrasted sharply with the Berets, who pledged to combat discrimination and oppression by any means necessary.

Joe once confronted Junior on the issue of carrying a weapon. He warned Junior that if he was armed, he would be killed. Junior replied that the police had threatened to kill him and he had no choice but to carry the gun for his own protection. It was something that the brothers agreed that they knew Junior did not want to do, but it was forced upon him.

On March 17, 1973, Junior saw the police cruiser parked across the street from the Crusade for Justice. Police later said they were driving by to investigate a complaint of a loud party at that location.

Junior crossed the street to ask the officers what they wanted and the officers arrested him for jaywalking and placed him in the back seat of the cruiser. Junior bolted from the car and two officers chased him into a narrow alley between buildings.

After an exchange of gunfire, Junior was fatally wounded. One



Lawyer Kenneth Padilla (center) and Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales answer questions at a press conference held after the police attack where Junior Martínez died. Jose Martínez, Junior's brother, is in the background.

police officer had been shot in the face, but survived. The police reacted with more force. Several members of the Crusade were beaten, Ernesto Vigil was wounded and one corner of the apartment building that was a dormitory for Escuela Tlatelolco was blown out with an explosive charge.

Mario Vasquez, who was in the room where the explosion occurred, was arrested.

Junior's death during the armed confrontation against the police marked a critical juncture in the movimiento. Until that moment, it was easy for people to talk the talk, but walking the walk was a different story. The death of Junior caused his brothers to move away from Chicano nationalism and toward militancy.

Junior's brothers, Joe and Mark founded El Centro LUIS — Latinos United in International Solidarity. The purpose of El Centro was directly linked to the Chicano reality of living in an occupied territory.

Centro LUIS became an alternative to the Crusade. El Centro

served as an outlet for Chicano collaboration with other revolutionary nationalists and progressive whites who held an internationalist viewpoint.

During the late 1970s, the Mexican National Liberation Movement (MLNM) continued the Mexicano/Chicano struggle as part of a third world liberation struggle. Ricardo Romero, a co-founder of the MLNM, was one of the people instrumental in starting study circles. The purpose of these study circles was to help the movement progress from an abstract to a more clear ideology.

The idea of self-determination began to flourish through El Centro's community activities. Programs such as food drives, neighborhood Halloween parties, Christmas baskets, photography classes, video camera operation, job training, carpentry, plumbing, electrical training, tutoring, dances, painting murals, and reclaiming their parks helped to provide for the social and educational needs of the community.— *Angelo Vialpando contributed to this article.*



Ricardo Falcón (middle row, right of center) is one of a group of prominent men and women memorialized in mural-size tile mosaics that adorn exterior walls of the Colorado Convention Center in Denver.

(Ricardo, from Page 18)

While Brunson was at the station door, Falcón came out two feet from him. Brunson gestured with his head toward the office and then he walked in saying, "You Chicano mother fuckers are all alike."

Granado had turned to return to the car and thought Falcón was going to follow, but Falcón followed Brunson into the station. Brunson drew a .38-caliber police special pistol and fired four consecutive shots.

Granado ran into the station to find Falcón and Brunson wrestling for the gun. Brunson was down on his back and Falcón was on top of him. Granado grabbed the gun and told Falcón to get to the car. Granado then told Brunson to give him the gun.

"Hell no! I'm not giving you the gun," Brunson said.

"At least empty the damn thing," Granado said.

Brunson with Granado's help opened the chamber and he and Granado shook the cylinder of any other shells. Granado turned and found Falcón lying on his stomach just outside the front door.

Granado ran to Falcón's side and turned him over. He then yelled to someone to call an ambulance. Since Brunson was still in the station, Falcón's companions ran to nearby businesses and asked for the use of the telephone. They were refused.

During this time, Brunson called the police, reloaded his revolver, and ran next door to his home.

According to police reports, Falcón's party arrived at the station at 4:05 p.m.; Falcón was shot about 4:10 p.m.; police received Brunson's call at 4:17 p.m.; the

first officer was on the scene at 4:20 p.m.; and an ambulance arrived at 5 p.m.

The first officer at the scene was New Mexico state policeman John Cunningham. When he arrived, he ordered Granado and the others who were attending Falcón to step away from him. Falcón was still breathing and had a pulse. Granado asked the officer who was carrying a first-aid kit to help Falcón. Without checking his pulse, Cunningham pronounced Falcón dead. Granado continued to insist that the officer give first-aid to Falcón and call a doctor. He also asked that Brunson be arrested. Cunningham responded by threatening to arrest Granado.

At 4:25 p.m., a second police car arrived. The officers began asking Falcón's companions for statements. They were questioned as

if they had been the killers. They became fearful and on Granado's advice, refused to give statements. They were then threatened with arrest.

Brunson gave the officers a short written statement at the scene.

The ambulance arrived from Alamogordo without siren or emergency lights. At 5:15 p.m., the vehicle left with Falcón's body. At no time was Falcón examined by a doctor before he was taken away.

The next morning, the investigating team was sent to New Mexico. They arrived in El Paso on Aug. 31 in the afternoon. They met with Falcón's widow, Priscilla, who had arrived from Colorado earlier in the day. She told the investigators that she had been treated rudely by officials in Alamogordo and that they had refused to give her information concerning her husband's death.

Early the next morning, Friday, Sept. 1, Mrs. Falcón, Granado and the three investigators went to Orogrande. There, Granado recounted the events that led to Falcón's death. After taking photographs, the party continued to Alamogordo where they were to meet Otero County District Attorney Norman Bloom.

During the meeting, it became apparent that the DA was not interested in Falcón's death. Bloom admitted knowing Brunson and patronizing his service station. Bloom did not object to the immediate personal recognizance bond granted Brunson the same night of the shooting. Bloom had filed manslaughter charges against Brunson only two hours after the shooting and before any official reports or written statements were in.

Judge Nelson Naylor disqualified

himself after he refused to set bail for Brunson. Naylor admits being a close friend of Brunson. The judge owns a service station near Brunson's. Naylor's station attendant also refused Falcón's friends the use of his telephone.

Magistrate Robert Bradley introduced the motion to have Brunson released on his own recognizance. Even though he did not know any of the facts in the case, Bradley stated that he knew Brunson and that he was a good standing member of the community and could be released on his own recognizance bond.

At that meeting, the attorneys asked Bloom to appoint a special prosecutor and without hesitation, he immediately refused.

Bloom also prejudiced a grand jury called to investigate the killing by telling its members that they should charge Brunson with manslaughter rather than murder. Throughout the meeting, Bloom was impolite and rude toward Mrs. Falcón. At no time did he offer any condolence to her.

Bloom also stated that there are no racial undertones in the case, although he does admit Brunson called Falcón a "Chicano mother fucker."

The proceedings of the grand jury were irregular in that Bloom attempted to proceed before witnesses arrived from Colorado. The witnesses also were refused advice of counsel during the hearings.

On Sept. 1, the investigators visited the county coroner's office. There they learned Dr. William LaBarre had signed Falcón's death certificate. LaBarre ordered the embalming and the autopsy without notifying Falcón's immediate family.

LaBarre appointed Dr. O'Brien to do the pathology test on Falcón. LaBarre knew that O'Brien was not a pathologist. O'Brien performed the autopsy after the body had been embalmed, thus eliminating several tests which must be performed prior to embalming.

O'Brien also testified to the grand jury that Brunson had received injuries at the site of the shooting. He refused to provide the investigators with proof of these allegations.

When the investigators went to LaBarre's office, he loudly stated that he did not want to discuss anything with them. He threatened to call the police and then ordered the investigators and Mrs. Falcón out of his office.

Brunson was a local organizer for the American Independent Party, whose extreme rightwing and racist policies are well known and documented. He had a petition for the party in his station which had been signed by persons related to the Falcón case. The petition called for having the American Independent Party placed on the ballot.

The names on the petition included Brunson and his wife, Charlotte Cunningham, wife of the investigating officer, and Jerry Hamilton, a patrolman with the New Mexico State Police.

Another irregularity in the case involves District Attorney Robert N. Miller of Greeley, Colo. He has voluntarily helped Bloom in his attempt to defame Falcón. He offered information that Falcón was out of state illegally as a condition of bond.

Brunson was acquitted of all charges in a trial conducted by Otero County District Judge Forrest Sanders.

(Neva Romero, From Page 20)

gual-bicultural education program in three of its elementary schools was not approved.

She told board members they must "sensitized" to the needs of Chicanos.

"I'm sure that whatever she did was for the betterment of her people," Joseph Romero told the Post.

On May 13, 1974, the occupation of Temporary Building 1 started.

"Neva was at the meeting the night before the occupation began," said Jose Esteban Ortega, a CU student at the time. "She took a leadership role in the occupation."

On May 27, Neva Romero died



Neva Romero

when the car she was in was destroyed by a bomb at Chautauqua Park in Boulder.

New Scholarship to honor Neva Romero

A scholarship has been established to continue Neva Romero's legacy by a group of young women from Pueblo, Colo., all named "Neva."

The scholarship will assist in the education of an individual working towards positive social change, through community work and service to others.

Donations to the scholarship are being requested as are applications for the 2015 award.

Send donations or inquires to: Neva Romero Scholarship, 607 Bellevue Pl., Pueblo, CO 81004, nevaljmo@hotmail.com.

These children from Migrant families were enrolled in a summer school program in Boulder in the early 1970s. Many of their parents were students in the University of Colorado's Migrant Action Program.



(Education, From Page 35)

a definite correlation for the "school to prison pipeline." Just this year, I witnessed how the administration is not willing to provide educational supports or psychological supports to students in need. Societal problems have manifested themselves in public education, a lack of respect creates issues when enforcing discipline in schools. Today with the transition to online databases like the Portals in Denver Public Schools, data is readily available. Many teachers are having to document every aspect of their practice for their own protection but in doing so are creating records that will follow the student for the rest of their educational experience. These records are scrutinized by administrators and educators making it all the more difficult for a child to rid themselves of past indiscretions or reputations. This information is used to profile and track students. This then becomes the "school to prison pipeline."

The issues surrounding the education of today for Chicanos is not that startling, when we examine the history of education in this country for Chicanos. Most Chicanos have not had a pleasant experience with education. Our grandparents and even parents were prohibited from speaking their language in school, one reason why many of us lost the ability to speak Spanish. Education as it exists, has never taken our needs into consideration. There has always been institutional racism that has pushed back against Chicanos getting an education. A federal report, issued in April of 2014, found that Adams District 14 (Commerce City) had been failing to comply with federal civil rights laws because the district had

created a hostile environment for Mexicanos/Chicanos and failed to communicate effectively with Spanish speaking parents.

The only real way to change the future and make sure we are set for future generations is to value education. All parents want a quality education for their students. For this to happen parents need to get involved. Go into your child's schools and speak with the principals and teachers. Volunteer your services at the school, participate in the Parent Teacher Association (PTA) or on the Collaborative School Committee (CSC). Do some research and follow the money that is being circulated for education. There is a growing national movement begun by parents and teachers to opt students out of testing, meaning that parents fill out the necessary paperwork so that their children do not take the state mandated testing. Other groups are springing up around the city of Denver with the goals of reclaiming public education.

It is time for us to stand up for our kids. We cannot let the educational reform path keep our kids from receiving the education they deserve. Pride comes from an education that embraces all students and their experiences.

Once social change begins, it cannot be reversed. You cannot un-educate the person who has learned to read. You cannot humiliate the person who feels pride. You cannot oppress the people who are not afraid anymore. We have seen the future, and the future is ours.

-Cesar Chavez

(Jaakola, from Page 22)

dents on campus and some of them were militant.

Una studied psychology and sociology. These disciplines gave her greater insight into the dynamics of North American society and its relationship with oppressed minorities. Boulder gave Una the opportunity to make friends and get to know people of color. She had Chican@ roommates, classmates and friends. Una was known as a friendly and congenial person. Like many other Euro Americans during that era, Una soon found herself understanding the social context of their lives and the discrimination they suffered. Una be-

came empathetic and in solidarity with the UMAS and the Chican@ Movement. Una graduated from CU in 1973 and planned to attend law school.

UMAS and student body leader Neva Romero was a close friend of Una's. By May of 1974 Una had formed political and personal relationships with Reyes Martínez. Una was with Neva Romero and Reyes Martínez the night the car they were riding in was blown to pieces by a powerful bomb. One of Una's roommates was Veronica Vigil. Vigil is best known as the first Chican@ Movement grand jury resister. Vigil became a grand jury resister and was jailed

as a result of the police dragnet and witch hunt following Una's death and the deaths of Los Seis de Boulder in May 1974. Una's family and friends were shocked by the event and their loss. Una's parents, both professionals, wrote a letter to the editor of the Boulder Daily Camera in which they made an impassioned plea for human love and understanding and an end to prejudice of all sorts and to violence. We would like to learn more about Una and encourage those who knew her to come forward and share what they know so that information can be incorporated into future documentation about the Symbols of Resistance.





Within days of the two Boulder bombings that killed Los Seis, families and friends gathered in front of TB-1 to commemorate their lives and console one another in their grief. In the foreground, right, are members of Neva Romero's family, including her father, sister and brother.



Family and friends of Reyes Martínez and Los Seis gathered at Zapata Park in Alamosa, Colo., in May 2004 to mark the 30th anniversary of their deaths. For the past four decades, the Symbols of Resistance have been commemorated in May throughout Colorado including, Pueblo, Boulder, Denver and Alamosa.

¡Gracias! Thank You!

Listed below are individuals and organizations that made this event possible with their generous contributions of ideas, work, material resources, and cooperation. Any omissions are not intentional and we offer our apology. Sincere thanks to all of you!

- Adams State University - CASA
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- La Gente Youth Sports
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- David A. Martínez
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- Joe Martínez
- Marco Martínez
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- Martínez Family – New Mexico
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- Ash-Lee Woodard Henderson
- Jim Zapf
- Members of the Organizing Committee

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The following roll call is composed of individuals, who during the era of the Chican@ Movement in Colorado, made extraordinary contributions in our efforts to achieve some of our objectives. The list is incomplete and is a work in progress. Any omissions or errors are not intentional. We ask your help in updating/correcting this listing.

Those Who Were Imprisoned:

- José Calderón
- Rudolfo Gonzales
- Eddie Guerrero
- Juan Haro
- Cheryl Navarro
- Ramón Pérez
- José Reynoso Diaz
- Ricardo Romero
- Brian Sánchez
- Mario Vásquez
- Ernesto Vigil
- Veronica Vigil

Those Who Defeated Criminal Prosecutions:

- Antonio Archuleta
- Leo Archuleta
- Bernardo Escamilla
- Dora Esquíbel
- David Bryon Young (f.k.a. Randy Esquíbel)
- Gary Garrison
- José Gonzales
- Florencio Granado
- Alberto Gurule
- Chuck Koehler
- Francisco Frankie Luévano
- Baltasar Martínez
- francisco e martínez
- Juan Medina
- Madeline Navarro
- Ray Otero
- Anselmo Elmer Peralta
- Ramón Pérez
- Reymundo Pérez
- Anthony Quintana
- Luis Ramírez
- Ray Roybal
- Albert Trujillo
- Ernesto Vigil

Those Maimed or Permanently Injured:

- Antonio Alcantar
- Danny López
- Francisco Frankie Luevano

Those Who Resisted Grand Juries:

- Georgeanne Archuleta
- Freida Bugarin
- Juan Espinosa
- Guadalupe Granado
- Rita Montero
- Madeline Navarro
- Ray Otero
- Ramón Pérez
- Ricardo Romero
- Lee Johnson Terán
- Veronica Vigil

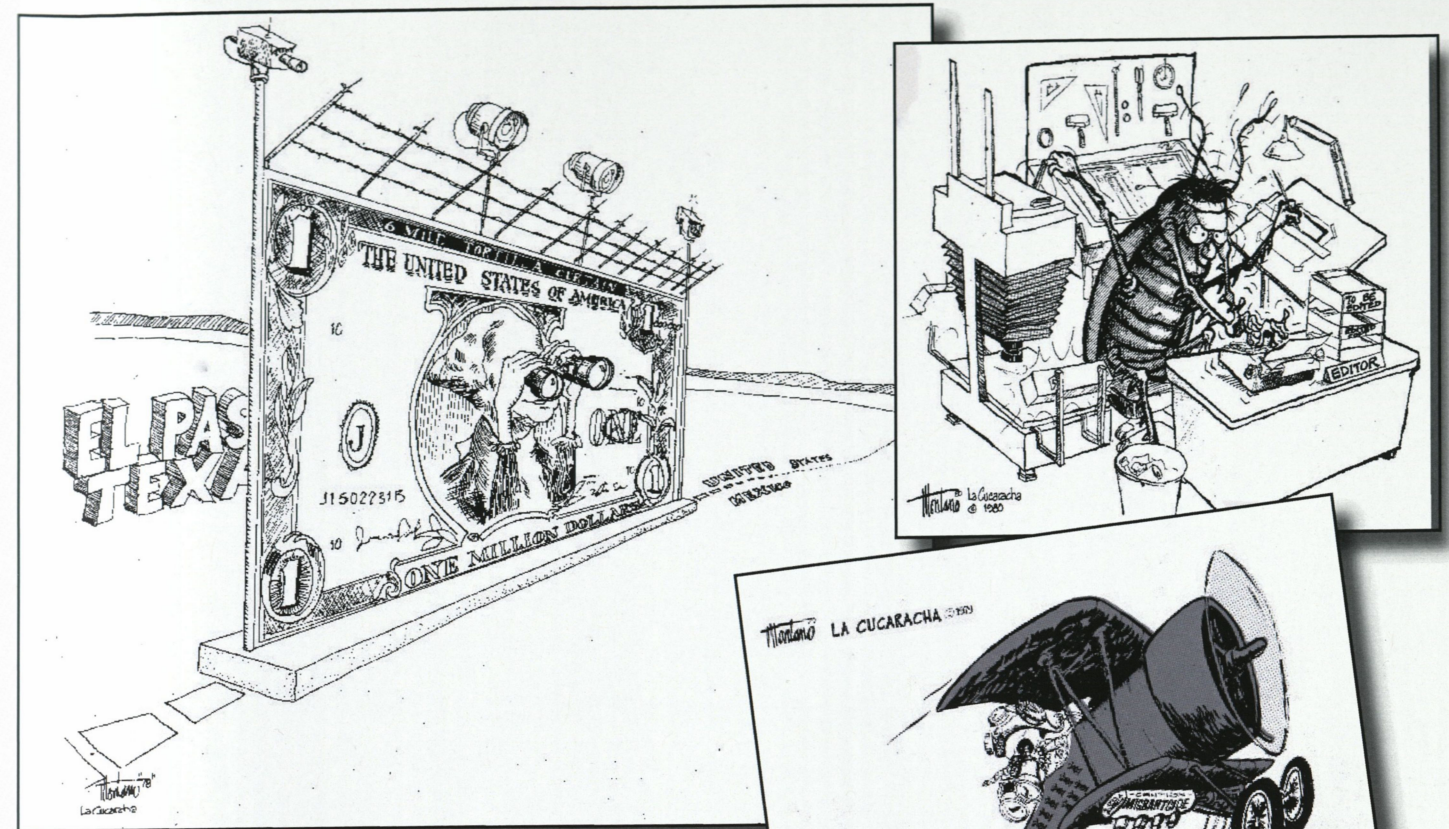
National Days of Remembrance:

- Tierra Amarilla Courthouse Raid – June 05, 1967
- School Walkouts – 1968
- National Chican@ Moratorium Against The War In Southeast Asia – August 29, 1970
- Assassination of Ricardo Falcón – August 30, 1972
- Murder of Luis "Jr." Martínez – March 17, 1973
- Deaths of Los Seis de Boulder – May 27 & 29, 1974
- Death of Carlos Zapata – March 21, 1978

Special Thanks To The Following:

- Those who fought in the streets to liberate parks and other public spaces
- Those who occupied buildings and other spaces to create political space for el movimiento
- Those who endured state/police harassment, insults, detention, arrest, interrogation, surveillance, beatings and brutality
- Those who organized armed resistance against state violence, state-sponsored vigilantes, and thugs

¡La Lucha Sigue!



A few Rich Montano cartoons published in La Cucaracha between 1976 and 1984.

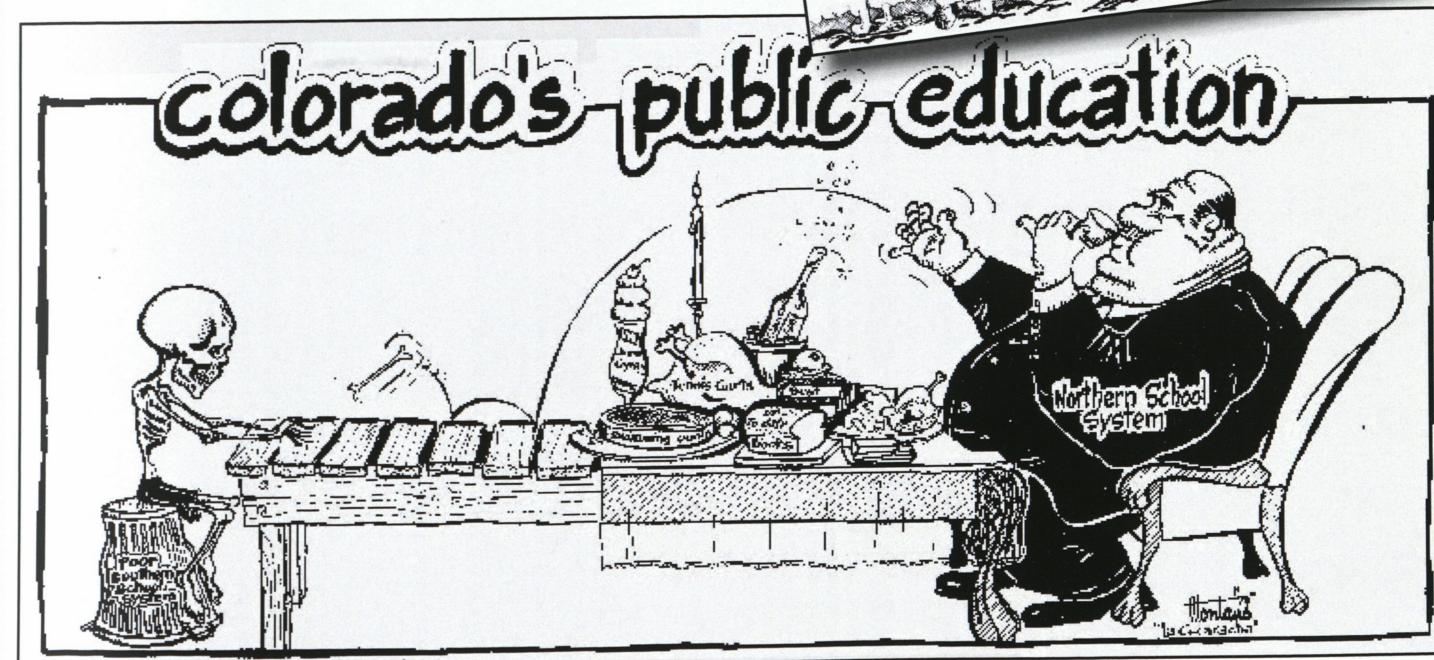




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www.symbolsofresistance.org