



Special Edition

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Boulder, Aztlán

Sculpture honors six killed by 1974 bombings

Artist focuses on what Los Seis lived for, rather than how they died

By **JUAN ESPINOSA**
El Diario de la Gente

When she first heard the story that six young civil rights activists were killed in two car bombings in Boulder 45 years ago, Jasmine Baetz wondered why.

Not so much why did they die, but why had she never heard of Los Seis de Boulder (Boulder Six), as they are known in the Chicano community. In the ensuing two years, she has searched for the answers to both questions.

She learned of this history in the fall of 2017 when she attended the screening of "Symbols of Resistance," a documentary film about Los Seis and others in Colorado who died as a result of their involvement in the Chicano Movement.

Produced by Freedom Archives of San Francisco, "Symbols" documents the events of the early 1970s which saw a perfect storm of activism with the Anti-War Movement, Women's Liberation, Chicano Student Movement, Black Panthers, American Indian Movement, United Farm Workers Union and others filled the streets with demonstrations for equality, equity and self-determination.

The film concludes that the deaths of Los Seis are shrouded in mystery and suggests that the



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FBI's COINTELPRO (Counterintelligence Program) may have played a role. FBI investigators at the time theorized that the two car bombings separated by 48 hours were the result of accidentally detonated bombs the victims had planned to set somewhere in the community.

"It wasn't lost on me that if I hadn't seen that film, I could have easily finished my degree here at

CU without learning about Los Seis," Baetz said in recent interview.

"After the screening, a member of the audience asked students present what we were doing to contribute to the legacy of Los Seis — who were fighting for educational opportunity and parity — which prompted to me to think about how I might be able to contribute," Baetz said.

She was shocked that Los Seis are essentially unknown at CU Boulder and set out to change that. "I was grabbed by the courage and activism of these students who advocated for themselves and others."

Baetz, a graduate student in the Department of Art and Art History, decided to design and build a memorial monument in their honor.

"I was hugely impacted by the Symbols of Resistance film, so I hoped the presence of this sculpture could extend that impact for others who didn't have an access point to this history," she said.

Before she could design the sculpture, she wanted to learn the history behind Los Seis. First stop was Dr. Priscilla Falcón, a Northern Colorado University professor and widow of Ricardo Falcón, considered one of the symbols of resistance. Baetz had heard Dr. Falcón speak on a panel after the showing of the "Symbols" film.

Dr. Falcón and Baetz began their research at Norlin Library where they went through files about the United Mexican American Students, UMAS, Colorado Daily and El Diario newspapers.

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History, Overview of El Diario – '72- 83



First edition, Summer '72

El Diario was An independent Chicana publication founded by CU Boulder students in the summer of 1972. It published information especially important to Chicana and other disenfranchised students. It served as an editorial, photo, and print product education tool while covering stories and presenting accurate information that no other news outlet published.

GENESIS: The spring semester of 1972 found the University of Colorado at Boulder campus locked in a no-holds-barred contest between the United Mexican American Students (UMAS) and the University administration. A few CU faculty and staff members supported UMAS while a

They wanted a Chicana Studies curriculum, a fully-funded UMAS-EOP program, parity of Chicana students on campus that mirrored the statewide Chicana population. . .

minority faction of UMAS cuddled up to the CU administration. Florencio "Freddie" Granado was the UMAS president. Ricardo Falcón was a director of the UMAS Educational Opportunity Program (UMAS-EOP). UMAS-EOP recruited, financed and provided support services to Chicana students at CU. Frederick P. Thieme was the CU president who led the charge against

UMAS. The Vietnam War, the criminal Nixon presidency and widespread social activism were the background of the student unrest at CU.

Like many "War on Poverty" and Affirmative Action"

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How we made the sculpture for Los Seis

BY JASMINE BAETZ

Since the sculpture for Los Seis was installed in front of TB-1, we've been patching it, we've been inscribing it, we've been washing it, we've been bringing people to it, we've been sitting near it. And when we're there, people ask us: did you make this sculpture?

The answer for me is not "yes," but instead "yes and." And: the first voice of encouragement: Lucero Aguirre. And the researcher, Dr. Priscilla Falcón. And the planner, Kiko Martínez. And the digital designer, Lupe Avalos. And the brilliant painter, Celina Tovar. And the meticulous worker, Ciprie Ramos. And the arranger of tiles, Carlos Sandoval. And the art historian, Gladys Preciado. And the sculptor, Phoebe Scott. And the person who fed us, Joseph Frigault. And everyone who responded to an email or phone call. And the dozens who sat in the studio and brushed glaze onto tiles so they would be ready for the next community day. And the hundreds of people who came to one of four community days. And the families who gave their time and thoughtfulness to an artistic process that sought to engage with a terrible tragedy in their lives. And the activists who have kept this history and knowledge



Photo by Jasmine Baetz

Students and volunteers form tiles during one of several workshops held in recent months as part of Los Seis project.

alive in a place that would have it die.

We combed the archives, we made notes on what was there and what wasn't, we scanned with our phones to create a counter-archive. We visited the archives that fled to Pueblo. We talked with people who knew things and people who felt things, and compiled lists of symbols and ideas. We asked others what clay would survive the weather, and mixed it and fired it and soaked it and boiled it to test it. We mixed big batches of it, then pressed it with rolling pins and from the slabs cut tiles, first with five sides, then with whatever number of sides, then curved to make hair, then measured precisely to fit

certain areas of the sculpture. We took the symbols and drew them on a screen, then milled them into foam, then made a plaster mold. We pushed clay into the plaster, casting hands, typewriter keys, bullhorns, figures, and books. We found the signatures of Los Seis and collected our signatures, scanned them, laser cut them into wood (inverted), and stamped them into clay (reverted). We smoothed out the edges, laid the tiles flat on kiln shelves, and fired them. We found a good base glaze, then tested until we had a greyscale. For the background tiles we wanted brown, so we mixed frit with Alberta Slip. We painted each tile and fired it again. We made piles of each

color and kind of tile. We printed six portraits, on which each tile was placed, and re-placed, and re-placed, until together they created a likeness of each of the students who we were remembering together.

When we learned the sculpture had, ostensibly, to be temporary, we made molds to cast concrete panels in, rather than building a solid form. We spread thinset onto the concrete panels, and raked it. We picked the tiles up in sections with thick tape, and stuck them down. We peeled back the tape and grouted the big tiles and small tiles together. We took our concrete panels to TB-1 and snapped them together. Then we sealed it.

We wrote an inscription dedicating the sculpture to Los Seis, and to the occupiers of TB-1, and to those who fight for equity in education, and to the original indigenous peoples of this land we occupy: live on, learn on, walk on, fight for justice on, make sculptures on. We laid out the inscription on a screen and we cut it into a thick sheet, and we punched out all of the letters, and we stuck it onto the concrete, and we blasted 150 pounds of sand at it. We painted the letters black so you could see them.

The sculpture was installed July 6..

Baetz from Page 1

Founded in 1968, the UMAS Educational Opportunity Program had opened the doors of the university to Chicanos through state and federal grants. By 1972, there were more than 1,000 UMAS and Migrant Action Program students. Alarmed by the rapid growth and their politicization, the university See purged roughly 100 students from campus including UMAS President Florencio Granado. The UMAS-EOP leadership, director Patricio Vigil and assistant director Ricardo Falcón were replaced by Joe Franco and Paul Acosta. By 1973, UMAS students marched to Regent Hall because their financial aid checks were two months late. In May of the next year, a group of students occupied TB-1 (UMAS-EOP administrative offices) and demanded the firing of Franco and Acosta.

"She (Priscilla) helped me understand the broader context of the deaths of Los Seis, and she connected me with Kiko, brother to Reyes Martínez," she said. Reyes died in the first bombing on May 27, 1974, along with his girlfriend Una Jaakola and Neva Romero. Kiko is Francisco Martínez, an Alamosa attorney.

A second explosion on May 29, 1974, took the lives of Florencio Granado, Heriberto Terán and Francisco Dougherty

Through Martínez, Baetz contacted family members and close friends of Los Seis and told them of her plan to build a monument. After numerous

Rather than dwelling on the mystery of how they died, Baetz's research has focused on how they lived..

phone calls, letters, and personal visits, she gained invaluable support.

"It surprised me that they trusted me," she said. "Given everything that has happened, I didn't take that for granted."

Rather than dwelling on the mystery of how they died, Baetz's research has focused on how they lived.

"My experience has been that the task of trying to uncover some final truth about the circumstances of the deaths of Los Seis distracts from the fact that we had a vital, nationally-significant civil rights movement here on our campus, during which six young activists died," she said.

Baetz, whose mother is an immigrant from a religious minority group in India, and her father's family came from Germany and England during the period of 19th century settlement and violent displacement of indigenous populations in Canada, was so impressed with the work that Los Seis and those around them were doing, "I wanted them to be acknowledged, remembered and celebrated in a visible way on our campus."

Her research has led to reflection and observations from a new perspective. The story of Los Seis needs to be recognized as part of Boulder's and CU's history.

"I came here to attend a nationally ranked ceramics program, because I wanted to have a job when I graduated," Baetz said. "But when I got here, I thought: there's something wrong with this place. I was observing the same sort of covert racism that I grew up with, in a small town, two decades ago. So in learning this story, I felt like I'd learned one of the keys to how this place operates. The relative erasure of this story given its national significance was the thing that got me."

In contrast to attempts to forget Los Seis, she made comparisons to the deaths of four Kent State students who died at the hands of the National Guard during an anti-war rally are nationally recognized and memorialized.

Days after the Kent State deaths, Phillip Lafayette Gibbs, a college student, and James Earl Green, a high school student, were shot and killed by police at Jackson State during another anti-war protest

"Both students were young black men, and this history is less frequently taught than the Kent State shootings," she said.

At South Carolina State in Orangeburg, college students Henry Smith and Samuel Hammond, and high school student Delano Middleton, were shot and killed by law enforcement officers.

"Similarly, these three young black men were killed while protesting ongoing segregation in 1968 are not as well known as they should be. These histories of Jackson State and Orangeburg don't have the same national prominence of Kent State," she said.

Despite the lack of national prominence, both Carolina State and Jackson State openly remember the student deaths on their respective campuses, with buildings and spaces named after these students, to honor their lives and ensure that future generations understand their inherited history.

"I don't know what George Norlin would have to say about Los Seis, but given his words above the main library doors, I think he would lament our ignorance of their — our — story," Baetz said.

Norlin's quote is, "He who knows only his own generation remains always a child."

"Being an outsider in so many ways, has given me a different handle on the big picture," Baetz said. "Knowing this story helps make sense of this campus; what it looks like; what it feels like; who we see here; and who we don't see here. I thought that if more people could see what had happened here, and reckon with it rather than running from it, that we might build a shared experience and trust between the larger CU Boulder population and the minority populations the university has deliberately excluded or conditionally included."

'Los Seis died for education'

Volunteers who attended the workshops organized in connection to Los Seis sculpture received a bonus educational opportunity — to learn about the events of May 1974 from one who was there.

Deborah Espinosa was a junior at CU in 1974 and is a retired museum director. She attended the first workshop held in February. Espinosa talked about the occupation of TB-1 and the days before the explosions.

Many students had endured financial hardships for most of the 1973-74 school years, she said. In the fall, financial aid checks were months late, some financial aid files had been lost and many Chicano leaders had been purged from campus



Deborah Espinosa

"Some students had taken over Regents Hall more than once," Espinosa said. "They got to speak with the governor, but when he met with them, he walked out in five minutes and the students were escorted out."

After the meeting with Gov. John Vanderhoof failed, the students decided to take over the UMAS-EOP offices at TB-1 as a last resort to force university officials to resolve the issues.

"The university ignored us," she said. "Students went home and graduations took place."

The handful of students who took over TB-1 expected to be arrested that first day and hoped to bring public attention to the university's indifference through court cases. The occupation dragged on for more than two weeks.

"In the middle of the night, there was a blast," Espinosa said. "The people who were awake at TB-1 were told by Neva's roommates that the police had just been to their apartment. They had searched the apartment and they were held at gunpoint. They said they were on their way to TB-1. We just gathered in the main hallway and we were grieving

and in shock and we just talked. But the police never came."

Even after the first bombing, the university made no effort to contact the students at TB-1.

"They refused to talk to us," She said. "The police didn't come, so what's up with that? Why? You have to ask why? Were we set up? Was this what they wanted? That students would die in some bombings? We don't know what happened. We never got an answer. To this day we've never gotten answers."

"I don't care if you suspect they were terrorist or doing good on behalf of people — just know that they died for education. They died so that more students could come to this university. You're here because of actions like that."

THANK YOU!

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reforms, federal, state and university officials refused to put their money where their mouths were. They never fully funded UMAS-EOP programs and the students found themselves in an ongoing struggle to finance their education. People of color faced not only economic struggles but also cultural challenges on theretofore primarily "white" university campuses. In the face of such adversity the UMAS students fought back. They wanted a Chicax Studies curriculum, a fully-funded UMAS-EOP program, parity of Chicax students on campus that mirrored the state wide Chicax population, more Chicax professors and staff, and a City of

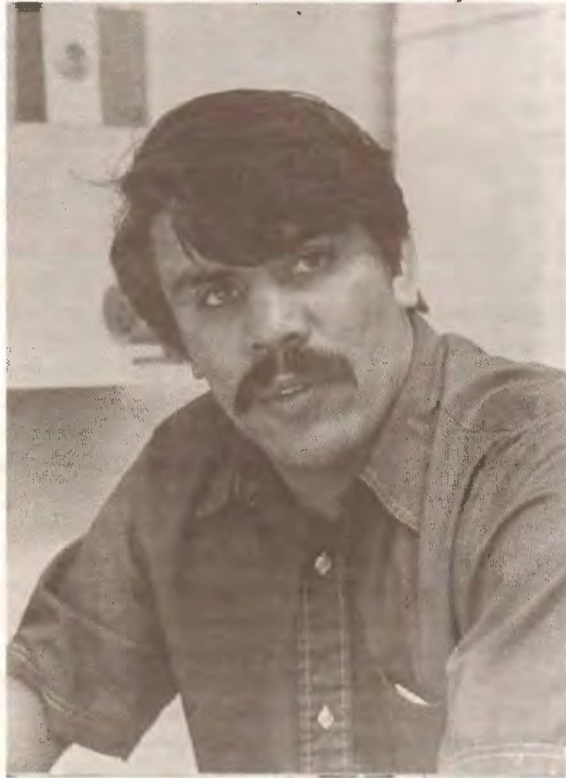


Photo by Juan Espinosa

Ricardo Falcón was targeted by CU administrators as a "Jesus" figure who placed student needs ahead of the university's politics.

Boulder that was more friendly towards Chicax students.

FBI documents released in June 2019 include a June 1972 interview with then CU President Thieme. Thieme told the FBI that "certain persons have gained control of UMAS and have utilized it as a political organization attempting to gain control of the university and operations of the federal government." Thieme went on to say, "Falcón is looked up to by the Chicanos as a 'Jesus' who was causing trouble in schools and attempting to get students to revolt against the schools. This is the same sort of language J. Edgar Hoover used when the FBI launched a COINTELPRO operation against Martin Luther King Jr. The FBI's objective was to prevent the rise of a "Black Messiah." And this is what Thieme had in mind in the spring of 1972: Get rid of UMAS, Falcón, Granado and other UMAS leaders. Finally, Thieme, without producing any proof, went on to tell the FBI that he believed Falcón and Granado were responsible, either directly or indirectly, for several explosions on campus. Thieme never took credit for conspiring in the campaign of police repression — beatings, tear-gassing, arrests and filing of criminal charges — against UMAS students. Thieme referred to UMAS as a "junior mafia." He told the FBI that he was convening a meeting of other presidents of colleges and universities in Colorado who were also having UMAS-type problems. In 1973 the faculty overwhelmingly voted no-confidence in Thieme.

As the campaign for adequate student funding and meaningful change in Euro-American culture on the CU campus

unfolded, the university tried to rein in the UMAS majority lead by Falcón and Granado. Motor pool privileges were restricted, job demands were increased, academic scrutiny was maximized, financial aid requirements became burdensome and police accusations and arrests of UMAS students on and off campus skyrocketed. The students mobilized and energized their group by engaging in marches numbering in the hundreds and staging protests outside and occupying spaces inside university venues such as Regent's Hall and Thieme's university residence. Falcón and Granado became Thieme's principal targets.

Events moved rapidly that spring and before the semester ended the university fired Falcón on trumped-up assertions that he failed to properly perform his UMAS-EOP duties. Falcón's supervisor, Patrick Vigil, was also fired when he refused to bow to Thieme's order to fire Falcón. Vigil believed Falcón was properly performing his job duties. Granado was expelled and banned from the CU campus by a student disciplinary committee based on his leadership of the students' assertiveness and protest activities.

At that time UMAS did not have its own media outlet for news, opinions and announcement of events related to UMAS activity. Juan Espinosa was a CU journalism student with newspaper experience. This was before the advent of the internet and social media. Print media like newspapers and magazines and electronic media like radio and television were the means of mass communication. Espinosa approached Granado with the idea of starting an UMAS newspaper. Granado instinctively understood the power of the press and told Espinosa to move forward with stories for an inaugural issue while Granado literally "passed the hat" to raise funds with which to publish the newspaper. This was the beginning of *El Diario de La Gente*, and for some CU journalism majors, a career as Chicax mass communications specialists.

INAUGURAL ISSUE: The first issue of *El Diario* as it became known was published October 20, 1972 and was billed as an "Election Special." Leading *El Diario* were Juan Espinosa and Pablo Mora. The "Election Special" covered the UMAS campaign to elect some of its members to the student government, Associated Students of the University of Colorado (ASUC). The UMAS leadership during this period stated that it had abandoned the direct-action politics of the Falcón-Granado era and would instead engage in student government to reform the University of Colorado Boulder. One of the UMAS candidates was Neva Romero. Running as part of a coalition with other progressive



Photo by Juan Espinosa

UMAS President Florencio Granado speaks to protesting students during occupation of Regents Hall in 1972.

sectors of the CU student body several UMAS students won student senate seats. Neva Romero was victorious and became a powerful force in student government.

By the time the inaugural edition of *El Diario* was published, Falcón, Granado and their main supporters including Heriberto Terán had been kicked off the CU campus. Granado had moved to Denver where he was organizing community issues such as the DiManna Recall and community-based schools for barrio youngsters. Falcón had been murdered in Oro Grande, NM, while he traveled to El Paso, Texas to participate in the First National Convention of *El Partido de La Raza Unida* scheduled for the Labor Day weekend of 1972. Granado was traveling with Falcón and witnessed Falcón's death. The second issue of *El Diario* published October 27, 1972, contained a eulogy and tribute to Falcón's leadership, sacrifices and memory. Terán's poem *La Tragedia de Ricardo Falcón* graced the back cover of the issue.

MAJOR THEMES COVERED. A review of the *El Diario* issues available online at Colorado Historic Newspapers Collection will inform readers about the topics and themes covered by *El Diario*. General police violence (death, beatings, filing of criminal charges, jailing and imprisonment) against people of color and other marginalized sectors of North American society is a staple today as it was yesterday. *El Diario* informed its readers about the police murders of Luis "Junior" Martínez on March 17, 1973, Linda Montoya (Labor Day 1973 Santa Fe police attack) and 12-year old



Photo by Juan Espinosa

Several hundred UMAS students march out of UMC Fountain area to protest firing of Ricardo Falcón in spring of 1972. The students took over Regents Hall for most of the day before leaving peacefully.

Santos Rodriguez in Dallas, and the beatings of three Mexican farmworkers by the Hannigan Brothers in Arizona. Articles were published about war, threats of war and violence in Vietnam, Cambodia, the Americas and in Africa. *El Diario* reported on UMAS students' fight against hiring, training and promotion discrimination at the student recreation center and their work study assignments. The criminal prosecution of students and other activists was regularly in the news: Dennis Banks, Carter Camp, Bellecourt Brothers, Russell Means and other American Indian Movement members (1973 AIM occupation of Wounded Knee), Margie Covarrubias and Pete Escobedo (CU student government melee), Dora Esquibel (possession of explosives and weapons), Randy Esquibel and Judy Sandoval (felony political graffiti), José Gaitan and Roger Abeyta (prison murder), Inez García (woman who killed rapist's accomplice), David Gonzales, Luis Ramirez, Mario Vasquez and Ernesto Vigil (assaulting police during March 17, 1973 police raid), Juan Haro and Anthony Quintana (conspiracy to bomb Denver Police Station), Francisco "Frankie" Luevano, José Calderon, Charles Koehler, Jess Vigil (protest against Henry B. Gonzales CU appearance), Francisco "Kiko" Martínez (use of explosives), Leonard Peltier, Bob Robideau and Dino Butler (FBI deaths while attacking AIM camp), Anselmo Peralta and Ray Roybal (Ft. Lupton police station bombing), Ricardo Romero (grand jury contempt/refusing to testify), Brian Sánchez (border guard assault), and, Veronica Vigil (grand jury contempt/refusing to testify).

El Diario had stories about newsworthy issues and organizations such as the Coors Boycott; United Farm Worker (UFW) grape and lettuce boycotts; campaign for bilingual/bicultural education; border and immigration; affirmative action and the U.S. Supreme Court "Baake/Reverse Discrimination Decision"; Colorado, New Mexico and Texas land grant activity; *La Raza Unida* political party; election irregularities and dirty tactics used against UMAS student government campaigns; 1977 raid and seizure by federal agents of records and documents belonging to the recently founded *Producciones Estrella Roja/La Cucaracha*; environmental controversies; the struggles of minority women against racism in the women's movement; student activism on other university and college campuses in Colorado and elsewhere; CU law students accused a law professor of discrimination when he failed four minority women law students in one of his classes and, they back-downed a Colorado Supreme Court justice who said that minority lawyers were not competent and expressed a distaste for affirmative action; UMAS opposed tenure for a Chicano faculty member they accused of trying to divide Chicano students in favor of university officials following the May 1974 explosions; as well as poetry, film and music reviews, history essays and stories about regional affairs.

There was an editors' squabble between *El Diario* and a Chicano reporter for the now defunct Rocky Mountain News pertaining to the manner in which the media covered the police killing of a Chicano. The reporter was criticized by *El Diario* for relying exclusively on official information for his report and failing to interview family and community members to garner their perspective of the killing and police-community relations. The Chicano reporter should have known better, *El Diario* wrote. *El Diario* editors argued that reporters have a duty to report not only official versions of events but also to report community perspectives which is what Los Angeles Times correspondent Ruben



Photo by Juan Espinosa

For almost three weeks in May 1974, UMAS students and supporters occupied TB-1. University officials refused to negotiate until after deaths of Los Seis.

Salazar had received acclaim at the time of his controversial death in August 1970 during the National Chicano Moratorium March Against the War in Vietnam.

COVERAGE OF TB-1 TAKEOVER DEATHS OF LOS SEIS de BOULDER: The June 11, 1974 issue of *El Diario* provided detailed coverage of events on the CU campus during the 1974 spring semester. All semester students had been trying to find a remedy to financial aid problems they were having. Many students were unable to pay their rent, buy books, pay tuition and pay for other educational expenses because their financial aid was not being released to them. Some were forced to disenroll from school. UMAS-EOP administrators were not responsive and upper echelon university officials turned a deaf ear to the students' appeals. Trapped between futile appeals to officialdom and incensed by indifference to their plight some of the students decided to once again engage in direct action.

A group of UMAS students barricaded themselves inside Temporary Building 1 (TB-1) on May 13, 1974. The occupation of UMAS-EOP offices lasted 19 days. University officials refused to meet with the

students to negotiate a resolution of the students' demands which were: Ouster of the program director and his assistant who had ceased being advocates for the students; greater student participation in UMAS-EOP decision-making process; and, increase the number of student recruits to offset the number of students who had been forced to drop out of school for lack of financial aid commitments being met by the university. José Esteban Ortega who was active in UMAS and student government affairs served as primary spokesperson for the occupying students. Only after the explosions on May 27 and May 29, 1974 did university officials agree to negotiate an end to the occupation and redress the students' complaints against the UMAS-EOP program. The UMAS-EOP directors resigned; an inquiry board was appointed; program files were secured and turned over to the inquiry board; recent-graduate Juan Espinosa and Kris Gutiérrez assumed directorship of the program and the occupying students were granted unconditional amnesty for their role in the occupation. *El Diario* covered the explosions with reports, photos, art, editorials and letters to the editor.

There are two competing theories for the deaths of *Los Seis*. The community held an intransigent and vindictive university administration and its allies responsible for their deaths. The official version contends that the occupants of the two vehicles were transporting explosives that detonated accidentally. The community was never given an opportunity to investigate the incidents. The official investigation has been criticized as deficient, alternative theories were never investigated and the physical evidence was destroyed before alternative analyses could be conducted. A federal grand jury impaneled to investigate the explosions turned into a witch hunt against the Chicano Movement. Persons subpoenaed to testify before the grand jury's secret proceedings refused to testify. Veronica Vigil, an UMAS student, was jailed for contempt after she refused to testify. Other than punishing Vigil the federal grand jury did nothing to answer the questions and concerns the community had about the deaths of *Los Seis*. Nearly a half century later there are yet no answers. What has been learned is that university officials, CU and City of Boulder police departments along with state and federal police agencies considered UMAS and many of its members to be a threat to the power exercised by the status quo. Holding this belief, they embarked on a course of repression to eliminate the challenge posed by the students to the accustomed manner of

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Photo by Juan Espinosa

Several memorial marches for Los Seis de Boulder were held during the summer of 1974. Here supporters carry symbolic coffins to a rally at Chautauqua Park bearing the names of the six who died.

¡VIVA LOS SEIS



NEVA ROMERO

Neva's family roots are in Southern Colorado's *Valle de San Luis* where her ancestors lived, where she was born and where her father attended college. Her life in her parents' home was in the Ignacio area where her father was a school administrator and city official. Early in life Neva learned about and was respectful of multiculturalism as Ignacio is the home of the Southern Ute Nation, *Mexicanos* and Euro-Americans. Neva felt at home in all those communities. Neva enrolled at the University of Colorado in Boulder after an outstanding high school career. She immediately became a student leader and vocal proponent of equal access to education for Chicanx students. She was elected to a position in the university student government. She threw herself as a proponent into the bilingual/bilingual education fray. Her years at the university were full of controversy and conflict. Society was evolving and so were the universities. Institutions do not yield any of their power willingly. It has to be taken from them. Neva was very skilled in the art of persuasion and argument. Persons having power resented her determined leadership and they wanted to remove her influence from the campus much as they had done in 1972 with Ricardo Falcón and Florencio Granado. The university-UMAS conflict in 1974 escalated much as it had in 1972. Both sides dug in their heels.



Neva was one of several students who occupied Temporary Building 1 in order to press their demands for financial aid and educational reforms at the university. University officials refused to negotiate. Then the first car bomb exploded at Chautauqua Park. Neva perished in that explosion. Forty eight hours later came the second explosion. As the Chicanx community mourned the deaths university officials offered to negotiate an end to the occupation of TB-1 under terms that were presented by the students when the occupation started. Neva's influence was strong and lasting. A documentary about her life, *Jamas Olvidados*, was created. Several activists named a child after her and a scholarship is awarded annually to an outstanding high school graduate.

REYES P. MARTÍNEZ

Reyes died in the car that exploded on May 27, 1974. He was an attorney based in Alamosa, his hometown. A graduate of the University of Colorado's School of Law, Reyes had clients all over the state. After federal and state prosecutors indicted his older brother on explosives charges, Reyes stepped up to defend his brother and the Martínez family against the campaign of intimidation, slander and false accusations hurled by the government and media against them. Authorities held the Chicanx Movement responsible for the chain of explosions



that convulsed Colorado during that era of generalized civil disorder in North America. With little evidence and a lot of media support, the authorities waged an unbridled counterintelligence offensive against Chicanx Movement activists. Activists were spied on; had their homes and vehicles searched; and, were subject to assaults, arrests, jail and criminal charges. Some went to prison. Several died. There were many forms of resistance taken by activists. Reyes became entangled in this flood of repression and resistance. His death was a consequence of this conflict.

UNA JAAKOLA

Una was a Minnesota native who became politically and socially informed while she studied and graduated from the University of Colorado in Boulder. Una's roommates were Chicanx and from them she learned about the history and the people of the occupied Mexican territories. Una supported and joined her male companion, Reyes Martínez, in his legal and political activity. She wrote memorable letters to Reyes' family consoling them for the harsh treatment they received from authorities and the media due to their children's radical activism. Una died with Neva Romero and Reyes in the first car bombing. She was cremated and her ashes were spread over Colorado's mountains that she loved.



Mural of Los Seis de Boulder was painted by Pedro Romero on a wall inside the UMAS office in CU's UMC. It was removed during a reconfiguration of the offices and taken in pieces to Pueblo by Freddy "Freak" Trujillo. It has now been installed at Pueblo Community College as part of the *El Movimiento de Colorado y Pueblo* exhibit in the library.

Photo by Juan Espinosa

DE BOULDER!



FRANCISCO DOUGHERTY

Dougherty and his childhood friend, Heriberto Terán, were *Tejanos* from Laredo. They died a joint death in the May 29, 1974, car bombing in Boulder, Colo. He had been in Colorado only a few weeks before he died. Dougherty was a Vietnam War veteran where he was a combat medic. His military experience instilled in him aspirations to become a medical doctor. To achieve that goal Francisco graduated from Laredo Community College and was transferring to the University of Colorado in Boulder to enroll in a pre-medicine curriculum. Francisco was a street theatre actor who loved to dance. His siblings continue to reside in Laredo.

HERIBERTO TERÁN

Terán's family migrated from state to state harvesting the food which finds its way to the dinner table of every American. "Terán" — as he was known to Chicano Movement activists in Colorado — was one of many *Tejano* students who were recruited and enrolled at the University of Colorado-Boulder in 1971-72. Terán had a way with words and was a published poet. He was involved in UMAS activism on the Boulder campus and became a close comrade of Ricardo Falcón and Florencio Granado. When university administrators released their force against UMAS activists Terán became one of the main recipients. He was expelled and banned from campus. He then went to work for an agency

providing services to people following their release from prison. He was involved in the short-lived community school founded in memory of Ricardo Falcón after Falcón was assassinated in August 1972. Terán died along with Florencio Granado y otro hermano *Tejano*, Francisco Dougherty, in the May 29, 1974, car bombing in Boulder. His partner and their child survived him. He is remembered as a person who always had a song coming out of his mouth and a poem from the tip of his pen. A real friend.

FLORENCIO "FREDDIE" GRANADO

Florencio was a *Tejano* (Brownsville) who arrived in Boulder to attend the University of Colorado as part of the United Mexican American Students-Educational Opportunity Program (UMAS-EOP). Florencio's personality and intellect were such that he was popular and well-liked by other students. Florencio soon became a student leader. He was elected to head the UMAS organization. Under the leadership of Granado and Ricardo Falcón, UMAS became the most influential student organization on campus. Those were years of widespread student radicalism. University administrators were impervious to UMAS pressure for more financial accountability to students and more student participation in the decision making process where it concerned them. Disagreements resulted in distrust, resentment and conflict. Florencio was constantly followed; he was arrested,

charged and acquitted on allegations he assaulted a police officer. His activity as a student and UMAS leader was investigated by authorities with the purpose of lessening his influence. When the university administration withheld financial aid in its effort to curb student activism, the students engaged in a course of action involving assertiveness and resistance. This infuriated the university administration causing it to initiate student disciplinary proceedings against Florencio and other student activists. In a 1972 purge several dozen UMAS students including Florencio were expelled and banned from campus. Florencio moved to Denver where he became a community organizer and published a community newspaper, *El Escritor*. In 1974 a new wave of student unrest arose on the Boulder campus. The withholding of student financial aid was again used to try and starve the defiant students into submission. The situation became tense and on May 27, 1974, three Chicano Movement activists died in a car bombing the details of which are yet controversial. Florencio in very public fashion denounced their deaths. Forty eight hours later his death along with that of his two friends, under nearly identical circumstances as the first car bombing, would become the source of intrigue and unexplained events surrounding the Chicano Movement. Florencio was an exciting and motivational public speaker who enjoyed a spirited debate and a good brew. Five children survive him.



Una Jaakola

Reyes Martinez

Nava Romero

Florencio Granado

Francisco Dougherty

Heriberto Terán

Hundreds of hands put together Baetz's ceramic sculpture — piece by piece



Photo by Juan Espinosa



Photo by Jasmine Baetz



Photo by Kate Hinshaw



Photo by Jasmine Baetz



Photo by Lupe Avalos



Photo by Maria Viera

HALLOWED GROUND



Photo by Juan Espinosa

TOP: Los Seis de Boulder Sculpture as seen from inside TB-1.

LEFT: Similar view of 1974 memorial service at TB-1 days after bombings.



Photo by Patsy Garcia

Los Seis Sculpture is personal on many levels

Los Seis de Boulder sculpture is personalized in many ways. People who attended the workshops were encouraged to sign their names in a large sheet of paper. Those signatures were transferred to tiles and embedded in the monument.

Each of the mosaic portraits bears a tile containing the subject's signature. In the background of each portrait are symbols taken from their lives. Artist Jasmine Baetz talked about other personal touches she incorporated into her design.

"For Neva, we put books, closed and open, to remember her relentless advocacy for bilingual education in a system that punished Spanish speakers for speaking their language," she said.

"For Heriberto, we put figures taken from a mural his brother, Robe, painted in the original UMAS office in the UMC to remember him and his family as artists and poets. One of these figures is a man in combat, which I see as a reference to Antonio Alcantar, the fourth victim of the second bombing. He was a veteran who served in Vietnam, and lost his leg in a bombing in Boulder, Colorado.

"For Francisco we put hands, to remember him as a healer and one who helped others, who served as a medic in Vietnam and who was studying to be a medical doctor.

For Una we put figures with linked arms, to remember her solidarity and love.

For Reyes we put keys cast from a Selectric typewriter, to remember him for his commitment to justice as a lawyer. He also has the mountains, to mirror back Boulder's mountains, and to reference the mountains in the San Luis Valley where he is from, and where the struggles for the land continue today.

For Florencio we put bullhorns, to remember him as a brilliant politician, calling out to a crowd. He also got some of Reyes' Selectric keys, since he had just started a newspaper called El Escritor del Pueblo.



EDITORIAL

We reconcile our spirit knowing they died for something worth fighting for in a civilized society: Access to equal education

In July 2019, a new and interesting piece of public art appeared on the University of Colorado-Boulder campus. Los Seis de Boulder Sculpture stands in front of Temporary Building 1 (TB-1). TB-1 is one of the oldest buildings on the Boulder campus and merits listing as a Colorado Historic Building. There is a bit of irony in the fact that the fifth oldest building on campus was and continues to be a temporary structure. The Los Seis de Boulder Sculpture has also only been given provisional status at its present site. Our hope/expectation is that its temporary status becomes one that, like TB-1, also spans more than a century.

TB-1 is a singular looking edifice on the Boulder campus. It is a somewhat small, faded red-brick structure saddled to a much different looking building on one side and dwarfed by its younger neighbors. Some refer to TB-1 as an ugly place. For many decades it has not been a favored place for an office, a program or classroom. Not being a favored place translates into the fact that very few people are aware it exists and even fewer can tell you where it is located. Nonetheless, it has witnessed much of CU's history. TB-1 and the Los Seis de Boulder Sculpture share a common history.

A major component of the mid-20th Century Civil Rights Movement in the United States was equal access to education. There is universal agreement that education raises the cultural and economic worth of a society. Education is considered a great social equalizer. In 1968 a full-fledged quest for equal access to education arrived on the Boulder campus. It arrived in the form of a small group of young, university-age Mexican-Americans (1968 nomenclature) who addressed the dearth of Mexican-American students who matriculated at and graduated from the University of Colorado Boulder. The would-be CU students found a few allies among CU faculty and staff. They also encountered many who opposed them. Those who favored more minority (again, 1968 nomenclature) students on campus worked diligently and in time they prevailed. More minority students were admitted and enrolled at CU Boulder.

Once the number of minority students on campus increased there was a realization that admitting students was only part of the equation in the quest for equal access to education. University communities develop their own culture that reflects the values, needs and objectives of its members. A university community can be oblivious to how it is perceived by those who have not participated in its creation and development. Members of minority populations had a physical presence on the CU campus as service employees (grounds, maintenance, food, cleaning, etc.) but that alone did not give them a voice in the development of the university culture. Most likely it created a stratified social structure where minority service employees were not regarded as peers; their concerns and opinions didn't matter. This was CU in 1968.

The CU administration was slow in addressing many of the concerns of the minority students. To give resonance to

their concerns the Mexican-American students joined together as the United Mexican American Students (UMAS). The students used their organization to advocate for their beliefs and needs so they could better contribute to a more enlightened society and world. They weren't alone. This period of history was replete with social activism in many sectors. Women were clamoring for broader roles in society. Other people of color were likewise engaged. The USA's foreign policy — consisting of war and financial domination — was being reexamined. All of this activism caused the dominant social forces anxiety and they reacted by trying to suppress it.

Notwithstanding the honest efforts by some institutions, the majority withheld its full participation in the campaign to reform society. They resisted social change and became impediments thereto. They cloaked their opposition by arguing society could not afford to pay for wholesale changes and that change should proceed at a slower pace. For a time most would not argue publicly that they felt their privileged position in society was being threatened. Their leading intellectuals were busy constructing a long range strategy to once again dominate the social and economic landscape. But that is straying from the mission of this missive.

Development and implementation of "educational opportunity program[s]" at CU were a non-stop source of tension between the minority students and the administration. There was never enough money and the pedagogy was always disputed. There was never peace. It was constant conflict.

There were two major UMAS student rebellions in the early 1970s. The principal sources of discord were deficient funding and pedagogical disagreements. In 1972 the university imposed its authority by

expelling and banning several UMAS students from campus. The "troublemakers" were gone but not the cause of the trouble. In 1974 the trouble once again came to a climax. This time the students occupied TB-1, which was where the UMAS-EOP office was located. (Recall the earlier statement herein reciting the least-favored status of tenants of TB-1.) The occupation lasted 19 days in May 1974. Tension was high on campus.

On Memorial Day Weekend two automobiles exploded in a span of 48 hours. Six Chicana and Chicano activists died. A seventh survived; disfigured and blind. The incidents continue to be cloaked in controversy, enigma and sadness. While we recognize that the puzzle of their deaths will not be solved, we reconcile our spirit knowing they died for something worth fighting for in a civilized society: Access to equal education — a pillar of the Civil Rights Movement nationally and advocated for by the Chicana Movement in Colorado.

This past spring a small group of family members and friends gathered in Chautauqua Park where three of Los Seis died. As they looked down on the City of Boulder and the CU campus they thought:

Una Jaakola, Neva Romero,
Reyes Martínez

Your decisive cry for
justice resounded from these heights on 27
May 1974

Forty eight hours later, in the
distance, an echo

Three more voices silenced:
Florencio Granado, Heriberto

Téran, Francisco Dougherty
The Los Seis de Boulder Sculpture merits a
permanent and prominent site on the
University of Colorado Boulder campus as a
tribute to the Civil Rights Movement and to
acknowledge the memory of Los Seis de
Boulder.

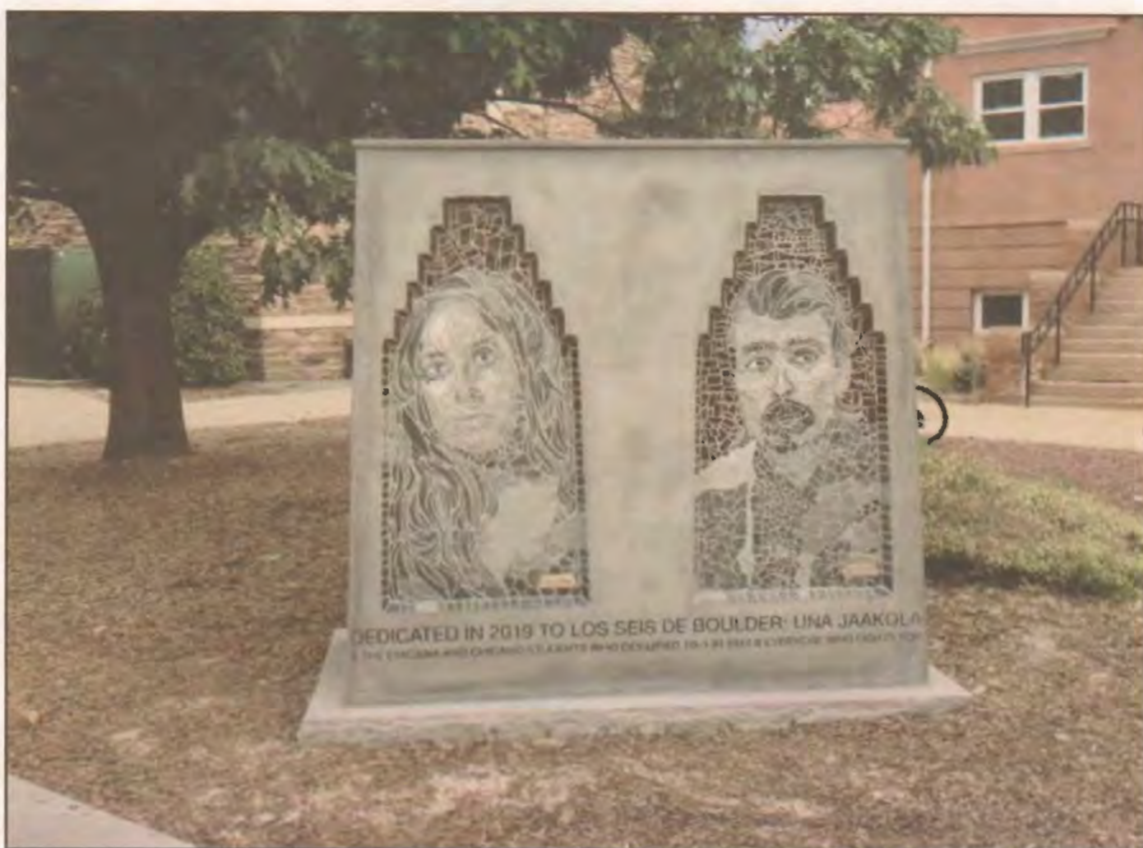


Photo by David Martínez

Two of Los Seis, Neva Romero and Florencio Granado, were recognized leaders of the Chicano student movement. Romero was a senator on the university's student government and Granado was publisher of *El Escritor del Pueblo*.

You Will Not Be Forgotten:

Documenting and Supporting Chicanx History in CU Boulder Archives

BY MEGAN K. FRIEDEL

Head of Archives
University of Colorado
Boulder Libraries



In 2018, the University of Colorado Boulder Libraries' Special Collections, Archives & Preservation Dept. made a special commitment to document and support the history of Chicanx students, staff, and faculty on the university's campus. This impetus for this commitment came last May, when students from UMAS y MEXA at CU, under the direction of community organizer Linda Arroyo-Holmstrom, approached the Libraries to help celebrate UMAS's 50th anniversary on campus. Over the summer of 2018, these students worked with archivist Jane Thaler and Head of Archives Megan Friedel to reach out to Chicanx alumni across Colorado to collect photographs, documents, newspapers, artifacts, and other materials documenting UMAS's social and political activities on campus for five decades.

These materials were then displayed in two exhibits: a one-night, pop-up exhibit displayed during UMAS y MEXA's official 50th anniversary celebrations in Norlin Library in September and a panel exhibit entitled *UMAS 50* that was unveiled in March 2019 and is now on display through December in the Ventana Gallery on the 3rd

floor of the library. Both exhibits were fully developed, designed, and curated by UMAS y MEXA students, with support from the Archives and other library staff. Norlin Library was chosen by the students as the home for both exhibits because the library functions as the most public place on the university's campus – and thus, the best place to publicly celebrate and document the enduring and vibrant presence of Chicanx students at CU.

At the outset of the UMAS project in 2018, the CU Boulder Archives recognized publicly that, for many years, it did not do an adequate job of documenting the presence of underrepresented students on campus — particularly Chicanx students. Archives staff remain sensitive to the fact that many Chicano/a alumni, especially those who attended during the 1973-1974 school year, have not felt comfortable in the past with allowing material documenting their history to be made available to the public in CU's archives. As our Chicano/a elders have helped us learn more about their history on campus, we in the Archives have come to understand and respect the reasons behind that discomfort.

Since we began work with UMAS y MEXA in 2018, the staff of the CU Boulder Archives are committed to addressing that significant gap in our archives and ensuring that the history of Chicanx students at CU is represented in the records of the university

in perpetuity. To this end, in the winter of 2018-2019, the Archives collaborated with the Colorado State Library to digitize all past issues of *El Diario de la Gente* and make them publicly and freely available online on the Colorado Historic Newspapers Collection database. Now, K-12 and university students around Colorado can access the rich history documented in the essays, articles, and photographs in *El Diario* from 1972-1983. The Archives has also continued to collect new collections of photographs and personal documents from Chicanx alumni, and staff are actively searching for more alums who would like their stories documented in the archives. We are also committed to teaching the history of Chicanx students on campus. We regularly integrate issues of *El Diario* and selections from our Chicanx and UMAS y MEXA collections into our Special Collections & Archives instruction sessions, using these materials to get CU students to think about the campus's relationship with race and ethnicity, the silences in archival collections, and how archivists, current students, and alumni can work together to better document Chicanx history. Our work at the CU Boulder Archives to so this work is ongoing. If you'd like to be involved, please contact Megan Friedel at sca@colorado.edu.

DEDICATED IN 2019 TO LOS SEIS DE BOULDER: UNA JAAKOLA
& THE CHICANA AND CHICANO STUDENTS WHO OCCUPIED TB-1 IN 1974 & EVERYONE WHO FIGHTS FOR

¿Solo seis? Temporary memories of Boulder Latinx history

BY JUAN GARCIA
OVERVIDES

PhD candidate
Spanish and Portuguese
CU Boulder



Many may be puzzled by the new sculpture recently installed between the Stewart Hall and the rec center. The monument was the result of collective participation under the guidance and vision of Boulder MFA artist Jasmine Baetz and it is the only outdoors public piece of art on display that commemorates the Latinx history of Boulder. The future of this piece remains uncertain beyond this academic year, since its status as a temporary installation means that it will be removed once this period is over.

The story surrounding Los Seis de Boulder is still full of questions, but recent efforts like the 40-year commemoration in Denver, the Boulder County Latino History initiative and the 2017 films *Neva Romero: Jamas Olvidados* by Nicole Esquivel, and *Symbols of Resistance* by Freedom Archives have sought to clarify some of those lingering questions about the origins and deadly fate of the group. Perhaps what's more striking is that to this date the

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history of the group, which originated in CU Boulder's UMAS (United Mexican American Students), remains largely invisible to the larger CU Boulder community.

This semester, the campus will have the opportunity to correct this situation by providing the much needed platform in the shape of a monument. The piece itself stands in front of the Temporary Building 1, which was an iconic place of resistance for the group. This semester, the CU Boulder community will be invited to find out about this important period of its own history and to reflect on the ways our University supports and promotes the visibility of our Latinx communities.

One year after the campus began to draft the IDEA (Inclusion, Diversity and Excellence in Academics) plan, it is clear that the monument directly addresses the

main directive of the plan, "making the university a place where everyone feels a sense of belonging and where everyone can succeed" by building key institutional infrastructure that addresses the historically underrepresented and underserved members of our community. Artistic and public infrastructure that directly addresses the issue of historical representation is a key component to meet these ambitious goals that we have placed upon ourselves as a campus.

The still standing, TB-1 was originally meant to be demolished shortly after it was built. The building itself is tied to the history of resistance and resilience of our CU Boulder Latinx community, and just as importantly, it shows that the positive impact of some structures carry more weight than their formal designations suggest. If our community is able to recognize the opportunity this monument brings as a powerful reminder of our history, our mistakes and our potential, we may be one step closer to achieving the much lauded and needed principles of Inclusive Excellence in our University. The question of whether or not we should keep this monument as a permanent, communal asset on our campus is an easy one: it should stay.

Looking for a home

TB-1 has yielded slices of Chicano Movement history



BY GLADYS PRECIADO

The public sculpture of *Los Seis de Boulder*, made by the community and facilitated by ceramicist Jasmine Baetz,

provides a counter-narrative to the one that is currently told through the artistic facade of Boulder and Colorado University. It is not hard to spot the brightly colored public works that dress the small college town, that range from memorializing certain individuals or history to abstract and nature-themed murals. The bench dedicated to Charles Sawtelle (September 20, 1946 – March 20, 1999), a guitar player and vocalist of the band Hot Rize, commemorates Boulder's edgy musical history. It is in Chautauqua Park, where many other memorials commemorating white men can be found. Another example is the Ekstrand Sculpture Plaza that's located at the south entrance to the Old Main building on the CU-Boulder campus. The sculpture depicts poet Robert Frost, gazing out in mid-thought, as if he is waiting for the next burst of inspiration to continue writing a poem. This memorial is dedicated to a former vice chancellor for academic affairs and CU Boulder faculty member. Robert Frost was his favorite poet, and so this memorial was done by artist George Lundeen in honor of Mr. Ekstrand. It is easy to find public art that works to preserve the usual narrative told at academic institutions: to memorialize the white man in America and his greatest achievements. That is not to say that there are not any public works that deviate from this story, for instance the community mural by renowned muralist Raphael Lopez on the side of the Made in Nature at Thirteenth Street and Arapahoe Avenue. Together the Boulder County Arts Alliance and One Action Arts & Immigration brought Lopez who worked with students whose family stories served as the main inspiration for the beautifully and brightly colored piece. Though there are public memorials that are not centered around the usual narrative of celebrating the "white man," there are just not enough given the rich and diverse history of Colorado that include Indigenous folks, people of color, and the LGBTQI community.

As an art historian, my best advice is to look at the world through a critical lens, and always ask "what is missing?" Though there are many instances in history, and people that should be commemorated but are not, the sculpture for *Los Seis de Boulder* reclaims a history that CU and Boulder have intentionally tried to erase. So, if one asks what kind of representation is missing from the CU Boulder campus, a good answer would be the resilient Chicano history in Colorado that persists today. The Chicano Movement's roots in Denver run deep. Its leaders, such as Rodolfo Corky Gonzales and the Crusade for Justice, who began the "Crusaders for Justice," started a nationwide civil rights movement in the sixties and seventies. It was in the midst of the fight for justice and combat against discrimination of Chicano students that a series of events resulted in the unjust deaths of Los Seis de Boulder: Una Jaakola, Neva Romero, Reyes Martínez, Florencio Granado, Heriberto Téran, and Francisco Dougherty, and the severe injury to a seventh person, Antonio Alcantar. Some of these students occupied Temporary Building 1 (TB-1) on

CU's campus to protest the unjust treatment of students by CU's administration. During this turbulent time for the community, precisely in 1974, the six activists were killed in their cars by two separate explosions. One explosion happened in Chautauqua Park and the second by the Boulder mall. Through the efforts of UMAS y MEXA, student activists, and those few faculty who care to preserve this part of history, the story of Los Seis has been told and passed down. The university and the City of Boulder have not given this history the proper attention it deserves, and there have been attempts to intentionally erase it.

The *Los Seis* sculpture decolonizes and reclaims space, and provides a counter-narrative to the story that is currently told through existing CU memorials that are mostly dedicated to white men. A counter-narrative is an alternative message that goes against another message. CU's current aesthetic facade upholds the erasure of the prominent Chicano activism that has taken place in Denver and Boulder, since it is void of any true representation of this kind of history. *Los Seis* reclaims a history that the current facade CU attempts to mask. The sculpture is six feet tall and six feet wide; it is not a small inscription on a plaque placed in a niche that is difficult to spot. Its strategic placement physically and metaphorically reclaims a space that has been denied to Chicano students. For one, it is placed outside of the main entrance of TB-1, the building that activists occupied in 1974. This placement honors and calls attention to the efforts for equality and justice that the activist students fought for which has since been ignored by the university. Second, its diagonal placement is symbolic. Both ends point toward the two locations where each bombing occurred: Chautauqua Park and the mall. The sculpture also decolonizes the institution by creating the space and support to take back what has been taken away from the Chicano community. Almost fifty years later, there has still not been any justice for Los Seis de Boulder. This sculpture not only brings awareness but marks space that has been previously denied to the community.

The most revolutionary aspect about this memorial, however, is the community aspect that is radically different than most memorials. It is not individualistic in its conception, making nor representation. For instance, the aforementioned bench and sculpture memorialize *one* person. They were also made by *one* artist. These follow a western or European tradition. For instance, the Thomas Jefferson Memorial, Mount Rushmore and the Lincoln memorials are examples of famous western memorials that bolster nationalistic pride through white men. It is important to remember that there are many exceptions, and that there are memorials that have deviated from this. *Los Seis* is another memorial that deviates from the traditional eurocentric sculpture that we usually see at CU. The conception of the sculpture is radical in itself because of the many hands that collectively authored this piece, rather than attributing it to one sole artist. Baetz organized community days once a month for four months. During these days, community members were invited to work on the piece together by making, cutting, placing, and organizing tiles and molds for the mosaics that make up each person. There was food,



Los Seis Sculpture is placed outside of the main entrance of TB-1, the building that activists occupied in 1974. This placement honors their calls for equality and justice.

music, laughter, and bonding. UMAS veterans from the seventies were present during the events and forged bonds with current UMAS y MEXA members as well as other students and community members.

The sense of solidarity that permeated the room was incredible. The coming together of different generations to work on the sculpture transcended boundaries that some artists are not even willing to negotiate. Working in community is an act of resistance. Within this aspect of community lies the potential for healing. It brought together old friends and family members of Los Seis, and other students and community to continue to mend the damage from 1974. (Individual healing is a Western concept, whereas community healing is not). **To heal wounds inflicted by white supremacy and colonialism, the community has to heal together so that the next generation is healed.** Together, the individuals who worked on this project helped preserve the legacies of Los Seis. The conversations that were had by community members while working on this project allowed people of different generations to collectively express their concerns regarding the tragic event that resulted in the deaths of the student activists. This collective bonding instilled hope in everyone. For the older generations it attests to the persistent legacy of Los Seis, it will not be forgotten. For the younger generations, the sculpture is a permanent reminder of those who fought for liberty, justice and education of the Chicano community.

The *Los Seis* sculpture is an incredibly important piece that should remain at CU. It is a radical act of resistance because it memorializes six activist students who fought and paved the way for a better future for the Chicano students on campus. This is the story of Los Seis told by members of the respective community, and not by intellectuals, professionals or scholars outside of that community who, at times, rearrange certain facts to suit the alternative narratives they wish to tell. Our voices are not only important, but they are *needed*. **This sculpture will hopefully provide a sense of belonging, hope and a feeling of resiliency to future students of color, Indigenous students, LGBTQI and students of other marginalized communities who are made to feel invisible within academic institutions.** Our histories are important too, as well as our representation and contributions. This sculpture fills a gap: it reclaims a Chicano history of Colorado that institutions have tried to silence. It decolonizes, reclaims and provides a counter-narrative to the current aesthetic and intellectual facade of CU.

Gladys Preciado has a Masters in art history with a focus in survival of Indigenous traditions in colonial Mexican art.

Chautauqua Park, others plan Los Seis de Boulder memorials

The Chautauqua Foundation Building and Grounds committee has approved the placement of a memorial marker for Los Seis de Boulder near the site of the first car bombing.

The memorial, a slanted low lying natural stone, will be placed on the east side of the auditorium just north of the site of the first bombing. This location, which looks out onto the city of Boulder and the University of Colorado, will provide a place to remember and honor Los Seis.

The inscription will include the names of Los Seis de Boulder: Una Jaakola, Reyes Martínez, Neva Romero, who died in the first car bombing, May 27, 1974,

and Florencio Granado, Heriberto Terán and Francisco Dougherty who died in the second car bombing, May 29, 1974, at the current Boulder 29th Street Mall. Information about the memorial stone will be included in the educational guide for the park. Fundraising to cover the cost of the memorial will begin once the inscription is approved by the Building and Grounds committee. A date for completion of the memorial has not been established. Look for more information as it becomes available.

The Dairy Arts Center, located one block from the site of the second car bomb that killed Heriberto Terán, Francisco Dougherty, and Florencio Granado, will mark the celebration for the

sculpture on CU Boulder campus, with six portraits of Los Seis created for the campus project wheat-pasted on a large exterior wall of their building. The portraits face the location of the second car bomb and will have explanatory text and descriptions.

The Museum of Boulder, founded as the Boulder Historical Society in 1944, has acquired one of the sculpture molds that created the concrete panels for their permanent collection. They plan to include it as their most recent acquisition in their October 2019 - March 2020 exhibition, "Archive 75," which celebrates their institution's 75th anniversary with 75 artifacts representing the history of Boulder.

EDITOR'S NOTE:

It is a great honor for *El Diario de La Gente* ("El Diario") to be part of this historic *Los Seis de Boulder Sculpture Celebration*. When the folks organizing the *Los Seis de Boulder Sculpture Project* asked us to publish a special edition of *El Diario* we agreed to undertake the calling with a measure of humility, enthusiasm and pride. Humility because the example and sacrifice of *Los Seis de Boulder* are far greater than anything any of us contributed to the struggle for social and economic justice during the era of the Chicano Movement.

It is with great enthusiasm that we publish this Special Edition of *El Diario*. And, we are especially proud to be part of the ongoing effort to give memory and render respect for the dignity, dedication and selflessness with which *Los Seis de Boulder* went about the work of challenging the burdens imposed on sovereign people by

war, conquest, colonialism, racism, prejudice and discrimination. We hope the articles in this Special Edition revive the memories of those who participated in *El Movimiento* and that it is instructive for those whose knowledge of that history is limited. Finally, this Special Edition serves to leave additional footprints that our generation tread across a matchless lifetime of history. Thank you for joining us this afternoon as we celebrate the installation of the *Los Seis the Boulder Sculpture*.

Why Chicanx?

A note about the term Chicanx. Over the past 100 years, we have evolved from being called Mexicanos, Hispanos, Spanish-Americans, Spanish surnamed, Mexican-Americans, Chicano/as, Chican@s, Mestizos, Hispanics, Latinos and Chicanx. When *El Diario* began publishing in 1972, we called it a voice for the Chicano community and UMAS — United Mexican-American Students. Five decades later, the

terms for our identity continue to evolve with changes in human history.

Chicanx reflects the awareness and respect for the LGBTQIA+ community within the "Chicano/a" cultural and political identity. Chicanx was coined to include everyone, because it is not a gendered word as "Chicano/a" is, it reaches further into our indigenous roots by not letting the gendered tongue of our Spanish colonizers define those who can and cannot identify within the Chicanx community.

Contemporary writers most often use the terms Hispanic, Latinx and Chicanx. We prefer the later because it most closely identifies with the original meaning of Chicano — a mixture of Indigenous and Spanish cultures. The terms Latino and Hispanic ignore the indigenous aspect and emphasize the European influence. Hispanic is a word that was coined by the United States government to encompass not only Mexican-Americans, but includes Puertoricanos, Cubans and others from Latin America.

In Memoriam of individuals who were involved with UMAS in the 1970s who have passed on.

Larry Alire

Clyde Breedlove

Jonathon B. "Skip" Chase

Benjamin Cordova

Dora Esquibel

Ricardo Falcón

Bernardo Gallegos

Sam Gallegos

Cleo Jaramillo Estrada

Pierre Jiménez

Marina Esther Jiron

Marcella Lucero Trujillo

Angie Luevano

Francisco "Frank" Luevano

Julius Richard Martínez

Sidney Naranjo

José Esteban Ortega

Raymundo "Tigre" Pérez

Ron Quintana

Salvador Ramirez

Remigio Pete Reyes

Felipe Roybal

Brian Sánchez

Louie Sandoval

Danny Vallez

Lupe Vallez

Patrick Vigil

Jim Zapf

Entrevista con la Artista del Monumento

Cuando escuchó por primera vez la historia de que seis jóvenes activistas de derechos civiles fueron asesinados en dos atentados con coche bomba en Boulder hace 45 años, Jasmine Baetz se preguntó por qué.

No tanto por qué murieron, sino por qué nunca había oído hablar de Los Seis de Boulder (Boulder Six), como se los conoce en la comunidad chicana. En los dos años siguientes, ella ha buscado las respuestas a ambas preguntas.

Se enteró de esta historia en el otoño de 2017 cuando asistió a la proyección de *Symbols of Resistance*, una película documental sobre Los Seis y otros en Colorado que murieron como resultado de su participación en el Movimiento Chicano.

"Después de la proyección, un miembro de la audiencia preguntó a los alumnos qué estaban haciendo para contribuir al legado de Los Seis, que luchaban por la oportunidad educativa y la paridad, lo que me llevó a pensar en cómo podría contribuir", dijo Baetz.

Ella se sorprendió de que Los Seis sean esencialmente desconocidos en CU Boulder y se propuso cambiar eso. "Me atrapé el coraje y el activismo de estos



estudiantes que abogaron por ellos mismos y por los demás".

Baetz, un estudiante graduado en el Departamento de Arte e Historia del Arte, decidió a diseñar y construir un monumento conmemorativo en su honor.

Los Seis son: Reyes Martínez, su novia Una Jaakola y Neva Romero murieron en un coche bomba el 27 de mayo de 1974. Una segunda explosión el 29 de mayo, tomó las vidas de Florencio Granado, Heriberto Terán y Francisco Dougherty. "Mi experiencia ha sido que la tarea de tratar de descubrir alguna verdad final sobre las circunstancias de la muerte de Los Seis distrae del hecho de que tuvimos un movimiento de derechos civiles vital y de importancia nacional aquí en nuestro campus, durante el cual seis jóvenes activistas murieron", dijo Baetz.

"Ser una extranjera de muchas maneras me ha dado una idea diferente del panorama general", dijo Baetz. "Conocer esta historia ayuda a darle sentido a este campus; como se ve; Qué se siente; a quien vemos aquí; y a quien no vemos aquí. Pensé que si más personas pudieran ver lo que había sucedido aquí, y considerarlo en lugar de huir de él, podríamos construir una experiencia compartida y confianza entre la población más grande de CU Boulder y las poblaciones minoritarias que la universidad ha excluido deliberadamente o incluido condicionalmente."

La Historia de el periodico El Diario de la Gente

El Diario de La Gente fue un periódico publicado por estudiantes Chicax en la Universidad de Colorado en Boulder (CU) entre 1972 y 1983. Los estudiantes estaban motivados para publicar El Diario ya que se dieron cuenta de que otras fuentes de medios no cubrían temas de la gente Chicax y si proporcionaban cobertura, estaba parcial a favor del oficialismo y se ignoraron las perspectivas de la gente Chicax. Esta parcialidad y falta de cobertura se hizo evidente durante la crisis financiera y educativa de 1972 que los estudiantes de Chicax enfrentaban en el campus de CU. El presidente del CU, Frederick P. Thieme, acusó a la organización estudiantil de Chicax, United Mexican American Students (UMAS), de ser un líder y llamó a uno de sus líderes, Ricardo Falcón, "Jesús", lo que implica que los estudiantes Chicax tenían un fe ciega en su liderazgo. La administración de CU creía que UMAS se había politizado mucho y quería obtener el control del programa de ayuda financiera, UMAS-EOP y la universidad. Los funcionarios de CU acusaron a los líderes de UMAS de mala administración y despidieron a Falcón y otros. Los estudiantes, dirigidos por el presidente de la UMAS, Florencio "Freddy" Granado, demostraron su apoyo a Falcón. Para detener las protestas, los funcionarios de la CU expulsaron a Granado y a muchos otros miembros de la UMAS y los prohibieron del campus.

Falcón estaba muerto antes de que se publicara la primera edición del Diario. Fue asesinado por un partidario racista de George Wallace en agosto de 1972 mientras viajaba por Nuevo México en camino a El Paso para asistir a una convención del partido político La Raza Unida. La primera edición del Diario cubrió la campaña del gobierno estudiantil CU en la que se eligieron varios estudiantes Chicax. La próxima edición cubrió la muerte de Falcón. Durante los siguientes dos años, El Diario informó sobre historias que fueron importantes para los Chicax:



los trabajadores agrícolas y las luchas por la tierra; violencia policial contra la gente Chicax; procesamiento penal de activistas del Movimiento Chicax; falta de ayuda financiera adecuada para estudiantes de CU; racismo en el campus de CU y en la ciudad de Boulder; educación bilingüe/bicultural; así como noticias culturales como artes visuales, danza, poesía, ensayos, cine y música.

En 1974 hubo otra crisis financiera y educativa para los estudiantes Chicax en el campus de CU. La administración de CU ignoraba sus quejas, por lo que los estudiantes se hicieron cargo y ocuparon el edificio que albergaba las oficinas de UMAS-EOP. Los funcionarios de CU continuaron ignorándolos hasta que dos explosiones a fines de mayo mataron a seis activistas: Los Seis de Boulder. La universidad y los estudiantes llegaron a un acuerdo que no era muy diferente de lo que

los estudiantes habían propuesto poco después de que el edificio fuera ocupado. Las explosiones y muertes dispararon un gran parte de la energía estudiantil. Las cosas no estaban necesariamente mejorando, pero los tiempos estaban cambiando. Otros temas se hicieron prominentes y las personas cambiaron su enfoque.

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dealing with minority groups: Top down; no questions asked and punish those who resist. The ultimate wrath of those in power against those who resist is death.

CHANGING OF THE GUARD

The original founders and producers of *El Diario* graduated or left school soon after the tumultuous period of 1971-1975. Many of them went on to have successful careers in mass communications as reporters, editors, columnists and photographers.

Many collaborated in *Movimiento* publications such as *La Cucaracha*, *Ya Basta* and *Tierra y Libertad*.

The students who followed continued to publish *El Diario* for several years. Gradually the frequency of publication declined and the last regular issue was published in 1983. The times and passions changed and this was reflected in subsequent issues of *El Diario*. With time the university reasserted its control over student organizations and reined in rebellious students.

From time to time since then there have been eruptions of student unrest; some of them quite militant. But to date none of them has exhibited the energy, intensity and unremitting nature of the 1970-1975 era.

Those are times not to be forgotten and those who sacrificed their careers, freedom and lives must be remembered. You often hear critics say if you don't like what's in the newspaper start your own — that is what *El Diario* did.

En Nuestra Opinion

Los Seis de Boulder deben ser recordados por su dedicación de igualdad de acceso a la educación

En julio de 2019, se instaló la escultura, Los Seis de Boulder, cerca del edificio temporal 1 (TB-1) en el campus de la Universidad de Colorado en Boulder. TB-1 fue construido en 1898 y ha sido una estructura "temporal" durante más de un siglo. La historia vincula TB-1 y la escultura Los Seis de Boulder. El Movimiento de Derechos Civiles en los Estados Unidos incluyó el acceso a la educación igualitaria como un objetivo principal. El Movimiento Chicano en Colorado fue parte del Movimiento de Derechos Civiles. En 1968 solo había un monto pequeño de estudiantes mexicoamericanos matriculados en CU. Formaron los United Mexican American Students (UMAS) para

reclutar más estudiantes mexicoamericanos. Tuvieron éxito, pero pronto descubrieron que esto era solo la mitad de la batalla. Después de que los estudiantes mexicoamericanos llegaron al campus se encontraron con desafíos culturales y académicos. Se vieron agobiados por dificultades financieras cuando la promesa de la universidad de una ayuda financiera adecuada no se cumplió. Esto causó conflictos entre los estudiantes y los funcionarios de la universidad. Hubo dos rebeliones estudiantiles importantes de la UMAS en CU-Boulder durante esta era. En 1972, la universidad sofocó la rebelión expulsando y prohibiendo a los "alborotadores": líderes

de la UMAS. Pero el "problema" no desapareció. Provocó otra rebelión de UMAS en 1974. Esta vez, los estudiantes ocuparon TB-1 para protestar contra las políticas y prácticas universitarias. La ocupación duró 19 días en mayo y terminó en un acuerdo negociado después de que seis activistas murieron y un séptimo resultó herido en dos coches bomba con 48 horas de diferencia durante el fin de semana del Día de los Caídos. Aunque sus muertes continúan sumidas en la controversia, deben ser recordados por su dedicación al principio de igualdad de acceso a la educación. La escultura Los Seis de Boulder merece un hogar permanente y prominente en el campus de

Sculpture Deserves Permanency on CU Boulder Campus

The Los Seis sculpture by CU graduate student Jasmine Baetz is a dynamic work of art in its creativity and content, complemented by the community support incorporated into the creation of the work.

The work was done as the final art project Baetz needed to complete credits to earn her Master's Degree in Fine Arts at CU. Beyond the conceptualization, identification, solicitation and procurement of resources -- namely financial support -- was the execution in this dynamic sculpture's creation. Baetz' community-based approach involved soliciting help from local community organizations, fellow CU art students, family members of Los Seis and Los Seis supporters. She organized community gatherings where people of all ages gathered and cut small pieces of clay that were later fired, colored and placed appropriately to give the dramatic facial features of each individual displayed in the work.

As a measure of her character, Baetz met with family members of each martyr represented in the sculpture prior to going forward with the project. She determined that

if such a project was to be done, it had to have support from each family who experienced the tragedy of the death of their rising star and gallant activist in 1974. Without such agreement from those six families, she determined that in good conscience she could not go forward.

Beyond the historical importance of Los Seis to the Chicano community and its continuing struggle for quality education for children of all colors and ages, the University of Colorado at Boulder, as the state's flagship institution of higher learning, could do no better than commit permanency to this incredibly beautiful contemporary piece of art. The location of its unveiling in front of TB-1, in the middle of a small patch of green space near a campus walkway, holds much historical significance to this sculpture — **And would be the ideal location for its permanency.** That is the site in the spring of 1974 where Chicano students

occupied TB-1 to fight cutbacks to critical financial aid to Chicano and other students of color, in their quest for higher education attainment.

It was during this occupation of TB-1 that Los Seis passed, leaving many unanswered questions about the circumstances surrounding their deaths.

Not only would permanency on the Boulder campus display a uniquely contemporary historical monument, but it would also bring acclaim to its Art Department and one of its talented graduate alumni, while hopefully serving as an impetus for future students of color to pursue degrees in higher education. Plus anyone seeking out more information about any of the individuals depicted in the sculpture would find that each martyr left a personal commitment to higher education and social justice as their legacy. Such a monument would only bolster CU's academic integrity.



This issue of El Diario de la Gente is an Independent Chicano newspaper published by former CU students and contributors.

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El Diario de la Gente and La Cucaracha newspapers are available online.

It's as easy as 1, 2, 3.

1. Google "Colorado Historic Newspapers."
2. In the box labeled "Search the Collection" type in either La Cucaracha or El Diario.
3. In the middle of the screen in the box "Limit Search by Title", scroll down to Cucaracha, La, or Diario de la Gente, El and click.
4. You are now in the collection you chose. In the search box at the top of the page, enter a name or topic of your interest. Once you learn your way around this site, you can see virtually every article these two publications ever published.

Los Seis Sculpture Dedication Program



LENNY FOSTER. Dineh (Navajo) Nation). American Indian Movement/ Wounded Knee 1973 veteran. Spiritual/religious advisor to scores of indigenous prisoners across the continent including Leonard Peltier and Lezmond Mitchell whose scheduled execution in December will be the first following the federal government announcement it will resume executions. will resume executions.

DENVER SINGERS is a Native American Drum Group that originated in the 1970s in the Denver Metro Area. The Denver Singers consists of singers from various tribes. Due to the Relocation Act of 1956, the original singers came to urban areas to provide more for their families The Denver Singers is now on their second generation and look forward to singing for future generations



ISABEL GARCÍA: Deep-rooted native of *Pimeria Alta* (present states of Southern Arizona & Sonora). García is an attorney who until recently headed the Arizona Public Defender Office in Tucson. For decades Isabel has been on the leading edge of and has received recognition for her advocacy on issues related to the present Mexico-USA border.



MALAQUIAS MONTOYA: Professor emeritus of art at the University of California Davis. Montoya honed his artistic skills – he is also a talented musician – when he participated in United Farm Workers' activity. Montoya is credited by historians as one of the founders of the social serigraphy movement in San Francisco in the mid-1960s.



PRISCILLA E. FALCÓN: Dr. Falcón is a tenured professor of history and Hispanic Studies at the University of Northern Colorado. Well known for her off campus as well as her campus activities Falcón has been instrumental in the Tierra



JAQUELINE RANGEL: An Aquetza Alumni, majoring in Neuroscience with a minor in Ethnic studies at CU Boulder. She hopes to do her part in bettering underprivileged communities, and spreading awareness on the issues we face today.



JESSICA VALADEZ : An Aquetza Alumni who is currently a senior at Longmont High School. She is passionate about the arts, and hopes to create accurate media portrayal of marginalized communities. She plans on majoring in Film and Television production.



MAGNOLIA LANDA-POSAS : Graduated from CU Boulder in spring of 2017. During her time at CU, she was actively involved with UMAS y MEChA, and she co-founded the Aquetza Summer Program. She now works for Denver Public Schools, and is actively involved with the Latino Task Force of Boulder County.

Sept. 6, 2019 SCHEDULE

2:00 p.m.: Temporary Building One (TB-1) west of the rec center; site of Los Seis de Boulder Sculpture: Lenny Foster, Denver Singers, and Grupo Azteca Tlahuitzcalli

3:00 p.m.: March from Sculpture through Visual Arts Complex exhibit, to CASE building for refreshments.

3:30 p.m.: Center for Academic Success and Engagement (CASE) Auditorium (south of the Visual Arts Complex): Jaqueline Rangel, Isabel García, Jessica Valadéz Fraire, Malaquias Montoya, and Magnolia Landa-Posas

4:30 p.m.: Light refreshments and entertainment with Conjunto Hermanos Coca

5:00 p.m.: Screening of Symbols of Resistance documentary; discussion to follow with Priscilla E. Falcón