

Ordaz to sign a treaty returning a small piece of disputed land on the Rio Grande, the Chamizal, to Mexico. The compromise package was accepted, and one thousand representatives of Mexicano community organizations throughout the country were invited to El Paso.

These delegates, however, were disappointed that the meeting would not be held at the nation's capital. Moreover, Johnson alienated them by excluding many of their most outspoken and radical leaders, including Corky Gonzales and Reies López Tijerina. César Chávez, a zealous Kennedy supporter, was asked to attend, but he turned down the invitation because the El Paso conference refused to deal with farmworker issues.

The meeting was held as scheduled on October 27–28, 1967. Gonzales, Tijerina, and other uninvited radicals, intent on embarrassing the administration, chose to have their own meeting in El Paso, in the Mexicano barrio on the southside. The radicals were joined by a number of representatives who had attended the official meeting but walked out in protest, among them Ernesto Galarza. At the alternate meeting, labeled *La Raza Unida*, the Johnson administration was roundly condemned, and delegates resolved to set up a nationwide organization that would represent Chicano interests in the coming elections. Finally, the delegates endorsed the *Plan de La Raza Unida*, a manifesto affirming Chicano solidarity. A follow-up meeting of *La Raza Unida* was held in San Antonio in January 1968. It drew twelve hundred delegates representing fifty organizations, both middle-class and student-oriented groups.

The emerging party was mainly the brainchild of José Ángel Gutiérrez (1944–), still another of the key leaders of the Chicano movement. While Chávez and Gonzales might be considered transitional figures from the Mexican American Generation to the Chicano Generation, Gutiérrez, because of his younger age, was firmly rooted in the latter—the idiosyncratic Tijerina belonged in a category all his own.

Gutiérrez was born in the Texas town of Crystal City, in the heart of the Winter Garden area. A dedicated student, he earned his BA at Texas A&I University in Kingsville (now Texas A&M University-Kingsville), before moving on to graduate studies at St. Mary's University, a Catholic college in San Antonio. In 1967, while still in graduate school, he became one of the founders of a Chicano student association, the Mexican American Youth Organization (MAYO), "unquestionably the prime mover of the Chicano movement in San Antonio and Texas during this time."³¹ Two years later, having established more than forty chapters across the state, Gutiérrez and other MAYO leaders, including Mario Campeán and Willie Velásquez, initiated the Winter Garden Project, a Ford Foundation-funded campaign to maximize Tejano political power in a ten-county area along the Rio Grande, centered in Crystal City. Concurrently, Gutiérrez and his MAYO confederates were among the most