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Voz Fronteriza

¡Muerte al gobierno anti-popular del PRI!

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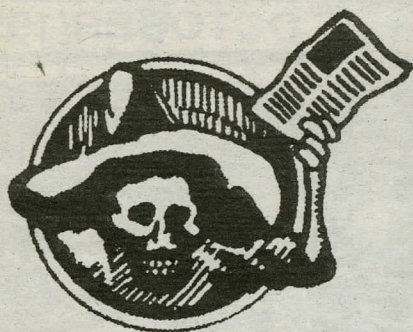
La Masacre Recordada



**Tlatelolco
2 de octubre 1968**

VOZ FRONTERIZA

• 21 Years of Chingazos •



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Voz Fronteriza is a quarterly Chicano Mexican student publication founded in 1975 and is recognized as an official campus print media by the Associated Students Media Board of U.C. San Diego.

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Voz Fronteriza may be re-printed in whole or in part, or used in any other way to advance the Chicano Mexican Movement and the Anti-Imperialist Struggle.

A word from the almighty University

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Chicano Press Association



From the Editor:

Our Voices Must Never Be Silenced

Q-vole Raza! Once again we find ourselves at this university trying to accommodate our educational goals, some of us for the fourth year while others have only begun to get our feet wet.

The Staff of Voz Fronteriza would like to take the time to welcome all returning and new Raza to UCSD, as well as to welcome back our readership from throughout the occupied tierras of Aztlán. In the tradition of carnalismo (brotherhood/sisterhood) we once again make the invitation for all to continue to pick up the banner of resistance and not give up the struggle, whether that's at this university campus or in any other sector of our comunidades. For as long as there is resistance to the forces that try to invalidate us as a people and as human beings there is hope for a more equal and just future. Voz Fronteriza will continue to give voice to the peoples who have been rendered silent, to those who have been marginalized and to those who continue to combat any manifestation of oppression.

The Movimiento for self-determination, the struggle to speak for ourselves, to act for ourselves and to think for ourselves must never be given up. No one but ourselves knows the ills that plague our familias, our schools, our workplaces, our comunidades and even ourselves.

Even though such struggle for self representation must at times look itself in the mirror and reflect upon itself it must never fall victim to its blemishes. This process of self analysis can at many times be a difficult process but one which yields a clearer and more solidified movimiento and struggle in the end. Although we understand that our struggles are as varied as the individuals that make up La Lucha, and while at times it may be necessary to focus on one aspect of the struggle over another, one can never seek to put at stake and to undermine the power of unity - especially a unity that has been the result of a five hundred and four year legacy of oppression and vicious attempts to separate us from our heritage as Indigenous peoples to these lands; lands which our forefathers once held, both in right and in culture and language. History and culture binds us as one people and as it has been said before, our alliances many times are not a matter of good will but of same fate.

We should never stop advancing forward. Let us not be defeated by our mistakes but instead seek to defeat our mistakes. The fact that we still stand and still continue to struggle attests to the fact that we were never conquered in spite of the fact that we were colonized. Our rich history of resistance, of struggle, and of survival has been kept alive by many, some of which were willing to give up their lives so that we may live. Our voices must never be silenced, our cultura and our native languages never shunned away. Appreciation for our roots and our heritage can only enhance our intellect in the struggles which history unfolds upon our people. No longer are we facing the hooves of the horses of the Colonizadores but the bayonet of a political machine that keeps on taking stabs at our people, from the student sector with proposition 209 to the working class familias with proposition 187, the Clinton Crime Bill, the Welfare Reform Bill, the various "English Only" legislations. To give up the struggle now is to give up on the struggles of all the oppressed peoples. While we cannot fight the struggles of our fellow brothers elsewhere in the world we can lift our voices here where naked oppression makes itself visible one more time. Let the sleeping giant wake from its five hundred year old sleep.

¡Que Viva La Raza, Que Viva La Mujer Y Que Viva La Revolución!

¡Hasta La Victoria - Siempre!

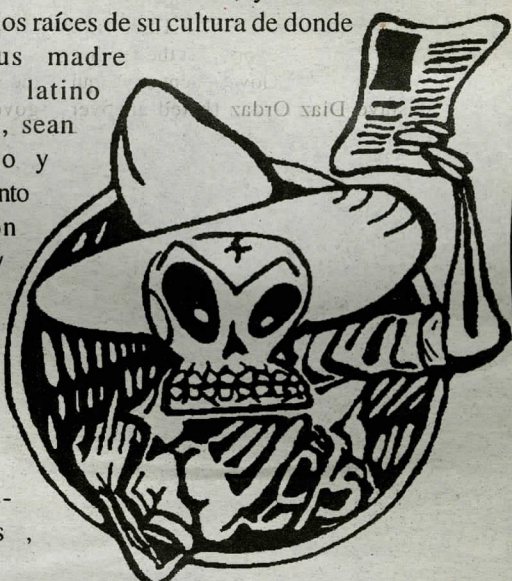
MESSAGES FROM THE ENEMY

The following messages were left on Voz Fronteriza's answering machine over the Summer break. This is just a sample of the hate messages that we get. We thought we should share them with our readers.

MESSAGE #1 The welfare bill passed today. No more food stamps for your people. No more food for your people. No more scum sucking, leach, blood sucking beaners. Mexicans if you don't know what that means, because you are a stupid, stupid race. English is the only language is going to pass. No more Spanish. Deny education to legal immigrants. No more education for your fucking children. Time to go back to Mexico. No more benefits for you or your fucking stinking scum sucking brown race family. Thank you for being here while you were here my mexican fuck face friend. I see you in the street I run you over. If you no compendo. Muchas gracias.

MESSAGE #2 Llamaba a avisarles que mi opinión personal es que son un grupo de, como dicen en México, de pendejos, de pinche huevones, ridículos, acomplejados. Acomplejados y intelectualmente inferior, al nivel de cualquier mierda que anda en la calle con su mentalidad estúpida y quisiera que se larguen a su países de origen, no se cual serán, o mejor vayense a una isla allí vivan

con sus traiciones su complejo de inferioridad en una isla y entre ustedes matense ya que son una gente incivilizadas e idiotas y sin ningun criterio. No los queremos ni en Sud america ni en Latino america, ni en los Estados Unidos. No merecen estar en el continente, son simplemente una vergüenza para tanta la cultura Latino americana, hispana y Estados Unidos los americanos. larguensen a otro continente vayense a la mierda, o en lo contrario, portensen bien aquí en los Estados Unidos, y sean un ejemplo en los raíces de su cultura de donde vienen, sus madre patrias latino americanas, sean un ejemplo y comportamiento y en acción intelectual y física, ustedes no lo son porque son idiotas. Son imbeciles, larguense.



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THE RAZA RIGHTS COALITION

MAKE A DIFFERENCE IN OUR STRUGGLE...

Get Active in Our Community,
Go to the Raza Rights Coalition Meetings.
 Meetings are held every first and third Wednesday of the month at 6:30 P.M. at

Centro Aztlán
2207 Fern St., San Diego
For more information call 619/280-8361

We do not forget, nor forgive, the crimes against our people:

¡Justicia para los Mártires de Tlatelolco!

The following article was originally published under the title, "Reflecting On Tlatelolco: 27 Years Later, La Lucha Continua" in the July-Sept 1995 issue of LA VERDAD! Some minor editing has been made.

October 2, 1996 marked the 28th anniversary of the massacre of students in México City by the Mexican army in the Plaza de las Tres Culturas (Tlatelolco). While much has been written about this atrocity against el pueblo Mexicano by the PRI (Partido Revolucionario Institucional) government through the years, it is necessary to understand its role in our struggle today as Mexicans on both sides of the militarily imposed border. Rather than see it as an isolated incident or an aberration (as many PRI apologists make it out to be today), we must see the massacre at Tlatelolco as a de-masking of the PRI government's barbarism toward our gente and toward the popular, democratic movement for the transformation of Mexican society.

The Tlatelolco Massacre Was The Pri Government's Response To The Growing



Consciousness Of The Mexican Students And The Mexican Masses

We must understand that the massacre of the students in the Plaza de las Tres Culturas on October 2 was the response of the neo-colonial, vendido PRI government to the growing consciousness of the Mexican People. This was a movement that went far beyond just the reaches of the University; and the Government of yanqui puppet Gustavo Diaz Ordaz (hated all over México and openly called el Chango) knew that all too well. It was a part of the historic movement of las masas Mexicanas for self-determination and for liberation from European colonialism. This was in fact unique among the "student" movements that took place throughout the

portunism that had white youth protesting the war not in solidarity with the heroic Vietnamese people as were Africans, Chicanos and other Native and colonized peoples (who were in fact dying in record numbers) - but so that they would be able to protect their narrow asses from gunfire. For this reason, the movement of Mexican students during the summer and early fall of 1968 stands apart from the convulsions that shook universities all over Europe and the U.S. during this time period.

by hand-picked, bought-off worker and campesino "leaders." It was the constant, relentless exposure of the true, repressive, anti-democratic, greedy nature of the PRI government that scared Diaz Ordaz and his cronies in government and the military to no end.

The Spark For This Tragedy Was The Suffocating Repression That Existed On All Levels Of Mexican Society But Was Hidden From The World

In fact, the spark that touched off the demonstrations and eventually the repression would appear minor. We must understand, however, that it was part of the struggles that were going on in México during the sixties not only from students, but from workers, and campesinos to form their own organizations and challenge the PRI dictatorship.

In fact, the demonstrations began in May of 1968 when the Granaderos (a special unit of the military which exists to repress demonstrations), more specifically los Halcones (a special unit of the Granaderos created during the Diaz Ordaz administration) when they invaded the San Cosme Preparatory School (comparable to a high school) chasing students who had long hair. In doing so, they had violated the autonomy of the school (in certain Universities, Preparatories, etc., the word Autonomia-autonomous is attached because they are supposed to be free of government control, this implies that they cannot be invaded for any reason by any government or outside force).

Quickly, students of the Universidad Nacional Autonoma de México (UNAM) and the Politecnico joined the demonstrations against the repression and were in turn joined by the workers at the UNAM who were on strike for their labor demands. This became the spark that lit the massive movement. Almost before the PRI government knew what was happening, the movement had snowballed into a massive popular movement that was paralyzing the city, gaining popular support all over México, and exposing the repressive nature of the Diaz Ordaz regime.

In fact, the Diaz Ordaz regime had characterized itself as especially repressive. The fact that there were political prisoners was basically known by all. Despite the public relations job the PRI tried to do, resentment was boiling over from all popular sectors by 1968. More important, it was boiling over during the preparations for the Olympics which were to be held in México City that year.

The dictatorship in México was probably one of the best-kept secrets in the world. The PRI hid itself in the supposed civilian character of government and its supposed support

by hand-picked, bought-off worker and campesino "leaders." It was the constant, relentless exposure of the true, repressive, anti-democratic, greedy nature of the PRI government that scared Diaz Ordaz and his cronies in government and the military to no end.

The fact that México was hosting the Olympics that year was even more ominous. Generally put forth by the capitalist world as a success story and a showcase of democracy in Latin America, it's supposedly independent foreign policy and well nurtured facade of prosperity as well as its demagogic manipulation of the socialist principles on which the revolution was



U.S. which propped them up.

The Movement Of 1968 Had A Working Class, Popular Character

Important here is the class character of the movement. While the movement had support from all sectors of the student population, the bedrock of this struggle was grounded in the Mexican working class. The students of the Politecnico were overwhelmingly working class and they played a major role along with the UNAM workers in forming the CNH (Consejo Nacional de Huelga, National Strike Committee). Students of the UNAM who were of more comfortable circumstances were gaining consciousness every day and uniting with the demands not only for students and not only for the UNAM workers, but for a workers democracy in México and for an end to U.S. imperialism. The demonstrators carried banners with Che Guevara and slogans of revolution as well as the sickle and hammer. Far from just a call for better conditions and more academic freedom on the campus, this movement was part of the deepening consciousness of las masas Mexicanas during the sixties on both sides of the gringo-imposed border.

The movement of 1968 also had a striking parallel to the ferrocarrileros movement of 1958. The ferrocarrileros (railroad workers) had battled both the government and the bought off unions ten years prior to Tlatelolco, but had been repressed and ultimately defeated by the government. This was the first movement in ten years that had captured the imagination of all of México. It quickly exploded all over the country with university students as far north as Sonora supporting the demands and actions of the students in México City.

Mexican Society Had Been Building Consciousness Throughout The Sixties

We have mentioned the ferrocarrilero movement as a parallel with the movement of 1968. It is also important to understand that despite the public relations work of the PRI to give to the world the myth of social peace, struggle had been breaking out in all parts of the republic during the sixties.

During the sixties and before Tlatelolco, we can see evidence of intense and even armed struggle in various parts of México. In Guerrero, Genaro Vasquez and the Asociación Civica were beginning to organize for campesino demands and against the PRI repression in the region. Also, Lucio Cabanas would also form the Partido de Los Pobres which would take on armed struggle also and inspire all popular sectors of Mexican society. In Chihuahua, Arturo Gamiz formed armed bodies to take on families in the state who owned lumber companies and took land away from poor campesinos. In fact, his assault on a military garrison in the region which later led to his very death gave rise to the Liga Comunista 23 de Septiembre which would play a pivotal role in the struggle of las masas Mexicanas during the seventies.

All of these movements and mobilizations and others that took place throughout México bear mentioning to understand that the Student Movement of 1968 is not something in a vacuum to be analyzed apart from the rest of our gente's reality. The fact is that all of México was boiling below the surface with the indignation of eco-

built were enough to keep many off balance in their analysis of México. It was for these reasons that the Olympics of 1968 had so much importance to the PRI government and the ruling class in the

economic colonial violence and savage political repression. As the summer wore on, and the demonstrations and marches grew larger and broader - attracting more gente and paralyzing México City - tensions began to mount with the Olympics only weeks away. When a silent march was attended by thousands of people, the army and Diaz Ordaz and his clique were close to panic. This led them to the conclusion that the only way to stop the tide was through a savage repression that would supposedly break forever the will of our people to struggle.

We must say this to counter the age-old argument put forth by the tame Mexican left and the government and its apologists that the repression was caused by student violence. Throughout the summer of 1968, the participants and supporters had avoided studiously the provocation's of the Granaderos and the army. The Massacre on October 2 was planned weeks before and equals premeditated murder on a political scale.

The climax of this confrontation came on Oc-



tober 2, 1968 when the troops of the Mexican army in tanks and other vehicles armed to the teeth fired on students assembled in the Plaza de las Tres Culturas (Tlatelolco). A demonstration had ended when the Batallon Olimpia attacked first and shot into the crowd. This was the beginning of a massacre in which the students were corralled into an area from which no escape was possible, and shot down mercilessly. Those who managed to escape into the apartments around the plaza were hunted down ruthlessly by the army and different security forces. Journalists were attacked and anyone who was in the general area - whether they had anything to do with the demonstrations or the movement at all were shot and beaten. This savage repression caused some students to confront the army and they were met with more bullets. Ambulances that tried to



spring of 1968.

When we look at the "movements" that took place in Europe during this time period, we are looking at a white peoples movement to basically question some aspects of the world economy (capitalism) which gives them privilege at the expense of the rest of the peoples on the planet earth. This is the same phenomenon that drove white students to opportunistically try to define and lead the African, Chicano Mexicano and other colonized liberation struggles during the sixties in the U.S. and break with and slander them when they were not allowed to direct them. It was this same phenomenon of op-



get in to help the wounded were forcibly detained for hours by the army. The final result of this repression: thousands of Mexicans murdered, detained, wounded and tortured by the PRI dictatorship.

Tlatelolco Was Not An End, But A Beginning

Far from the end of the struggle that the army, the gringos, Diaz Ordaz and his cronies expected, the Student Movement and the massacre unlocked a new era in the liberation struggle. The massacre was the unmasking before all of México

Continued on pg. 7

From 1981 to 1996 Unión del Barrio continues it's work in defense of La Raza

Union del Barrio Commemorates 15 Years of Struggle para la Liberación Nacional del Pueblo Mexicano

By Angelica Ramírez and Brent Beltran

On August 31, 1996 Unión del Barrio commemorated its fifteenth year of existence en lucha for the national liberation of the Mexicano people. This commemoration was historical due to the fact that Unión del Barrio, an organization whose principles of national liberation for the Mexicano people has never been compromised and has survived for so long.

The celebration took place at the Centro Cultural de la Raza in San Diego and was attended by over one hundred gente, including many past and present members of Unión del Barrio, as well as numerous supporters of Chicano Mexican liberation. Banners from Unión del Barrio and its projects, including a 15th commemoration banner and a banner of compañera Patricia Marín done by artista Victor Ochoa, covered the inside of the Centro, as well as banners by artista Mario Torero of Zapata, Che and Fidel Castro.

The commemoration was opened up by movimiento musician Solo Hernández whose music of Chicano Mexican self-determination inspired all of the crowd to sing and clap their hands. The event was MC'd by Unión del Barrio members Consuelo Manríquez and Harry Barra.

After the música de Solo a presentation was given on the history of Union del Barrio. The history was read in three parts: the first part was given by Juan Parrino, one of the founding members of the Unión. The second part was given by Pablo Aceves, a member of Unión del Barrio's Central Committee, and part three was given by Erika Zamora from the Mesa Directiva of the San Diego chapter of Unión del Barrio. When the presentation of the 15 years of Unión's many years of events and dedicated struggle was shown to the audience, accompanied by music from Santana, Malo y otras.

Many gente y organizaciones came to the Centro Cultural de la Raza to give their respects to Unión del Barrio for its many years of commitment to la Raza. Among those who gave presentations were David Rico from the Brown Berets de Aztlán, Hector Muro from Mexicanos Unidos en Defensa del Pueblo (San Bernardino, CA), Antonio Marín from el Congreso Chicano de la Comunidad (El Paso, TX), Mario Torero from the Chicano Park Artists Task Force, Chairman Omali Yeshitela from the African People's Socialist Party (St. Petersburg, FL), and Penny Hess from the African People's Solidarity Committee (Oakland, CA).

A Tribute To Patricia Marín

A special part of the event was a tribute to Patricia Marín, a member of Unión del Barrio who passed away in December of 1995. Many members of Patricia Marín's familia came to San Diego from Orange County, to see the tribute to this righteous compañera.

The tribute to Patricia consisted of three parts. The first was a presentation given by Uniónistas Elba Alvarez and Judith de los Santos, outlining what Patricia Marín meant to Unión del Barrio, the movimiento and to her people. The second was a slide show tribute with background music that showed the many wonderful sides of Patricia. And the final part of the tribute was an emotional poetry reading by Rosalba Bustillos, daughter of Ernesto Bustillos, Chairman of Unión del Barrio.

The tribute was emotional to all of those present at the commemoration. Patricia meant a lot to the Unión and to many others.

She may be gone, but the legacy that she left will continue until la Raza is free. ¡Que viva Patricia Marín! Una mujer verdaderamente revolucionaria.

Standing Ovation For Chairman Ernesto Bustillos

The apex of Unión del Barrio's 15th Anniversary Commemoration came when Chairman Ernesto Bustillos took the podium. Chairman Ernesto was introduced by long time carnal Juan Parrino. Compañero Juan gave a humorous introduction full of anecdotes about their past growing up in the barrios of Sherman and Lomas during the Chicano Power Period. After the introduction the crowd gave Chairman Ernesto a standing ovation as he walked to the podium.

Chairman Ernesto started by thanking all of those present, especially those who came from out of town and those past and present members of Unión del Barrio who attended. He went on to talk about the history of the group and how the laws of social development affect the organization and the movimiento and how the Unión has adapted.

Chairman Ernesto finished his stirring presentation by saying, "Compañeros y Compañeras, Unión has a rich and honorable history in the struggle for Raza self-determination: A history which future generations will read about, learn from, and be proud of. If we continue to be honest, committed, willing to sacrifice, guided by a correct political line, nothing can stop our struggle for the liberation of la Raza, our lands, and the reunification of Aztlán and Mexico!!" With that ending came a roaring standing ovation by every single person present at this event, followed by many ¡Que Vivas! (For more on Chairman Ernesto Bustillos' presentation please read opposite page.)

After the Chairman's speech Los Alacranes took the stage and performed a handful of songs. During the set by Los Alacranes, Arturo "Bones" Rodríguez from the Crusade for Justice (Denver, CO) gave a statement of solidarity thanking the Unión for the many years of service that they have given to their people.

Ever since its founding in the summer of 1981 Unión del Barrio has been an organization whose roots are in the community and who continues to struggle for the national liberation of the Mexicano people. La Unión has gone from a local community organization to a national advanced political organization with chapters throughout Aztlán, without ever losing touch with nuestra comunidad.

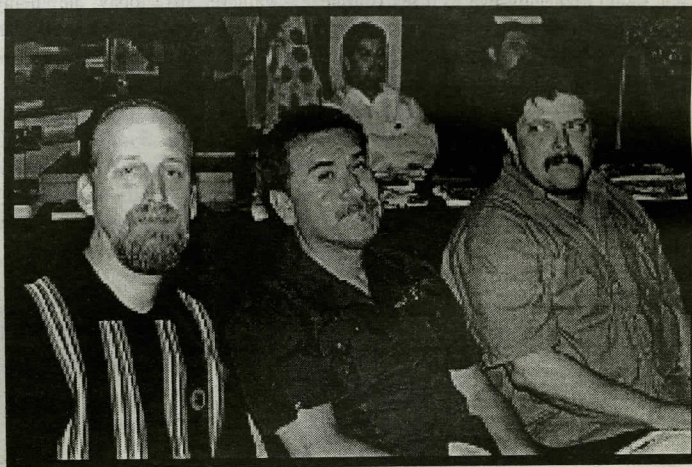
Principled, organized and dedicated struggle has been the hallmark of Unión del Barrio.

Unión del Barrio has not taken one single penny from corporations or from the U.S. government. Every dollar comes from the blood and sweat of its dedicated and disciplined membership. La Unión has continued to struggle para nuestra dignidad through projects such as Somos Raza, La Verdad Publications, Chicano Mexican Prison Project, Comité de Mujeres Patricia Marín, La Verdad Graphics, Brigadas de Seguridad, the Barrio Defense Committee and the radio show Oldies del Barrio in San Diego.

15 years is a long time for a movimiento organization to survive.

Yet, Unión del Barrio has not just survived, it has thrived. It has been the dedicated membership and a correct political line that has made the Unión survive for so long. Here's to the next 15 years. La Unión Hace La Fuerza.

¡Que Viva Unión del Barrio!



Unión del Barrio founding members Juan Parrino y Chairman Ernesto Bustillos and David Rico of the Brown Berets de Aztlán



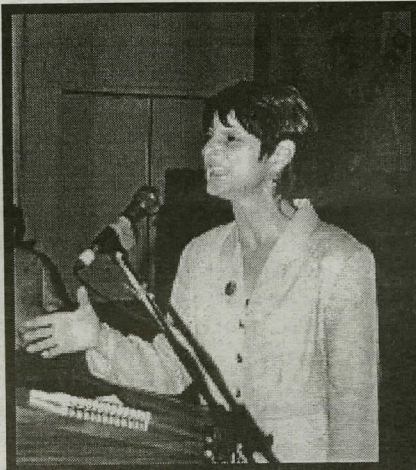
Judith de los Santos y Elba Alvarez of Unión del Barrio during tribute to Patricia Marín



Hector Muro from Mexicanos Unidos en Defensa del Pueblo.



Chairman Omali Yeshitela of the African People's Socialist Party.



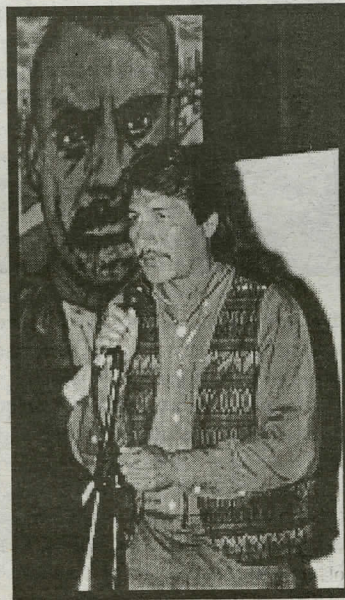
Penny Hess of the African People's Solidarity Committee.



Mario Torero of the Chicano Park Artists Task Force.



Solo Hernández opens the event with música Chicana.



Arturo "Bones" Rodríguez from the Crusade for Justice.



Chunky Sánchez y Los Alacranes played movimiento music at the end

Keynote address by Chairman Ernesto Bustillos of Unión del Barrio

Nothing Can Stop Our Struggle For The Liberation Of La Raza!



The following is a presentation made by Chairman Ernesto Bustillos of Unión del Barrio. This historic speech was given at Unión del Barrio's 15th Anniversary Commemoration held on August 31, 1996 at the Centro Cultural de la Raza in San Diego, Califas, Occupied México.

First of all, I would like to thank everyone who organized and helped put this commemoration together. I would especially like to thank Consuelo Manríquez and Judy de los Santos who were central to the organizing of this event.

I would also like to recognize Antonio Marín from the National Chicano Moratorium Committee, El Paso region, and Chairman Omali Yeshitela of the Africans People's Socialist Party. I would like to thank all our membership that is struggling for our people's liberation. A special recognition should go to Marcelino Frias who is one of the few members who has been with us since the organization's founding in 1981. I'd like to thank everyone who has supported us and stood by us. I would like to thank everyone present here tonight for coming out and help us commemorate 15 years of struggle.

I think we all know how important this commemoration is. It is important because it is not everyday we get together to celebrate the 15 years of a movement organization. Especially the kind of organization that Unión del Barrio is. Especially if we understand the difficult conditions in which La Unión del Barrio has existed in. Especially if we understand the many obstacles Unión del Barrio has had to go

through. Because whether they know it or not, the revolution is a response to the oppression and the misery in which people exist.

The revolution is nothing more than a movement to end oppression, to end exploitation, to end misery, to end poverty, and to destroy this system which enables one human to oppress another. So the enemy can kill a revolutionary, but the revolution is going to continue. We understand, that even as we are gathered here today, the enemy is killing people throughout the world, it is killing people throughout Aztlán-México, Latin America, Africa and Asia.

A Zapata Is Being Born In Latina America Compañeras y Compañeros

I think many of us are very much aware that even as we are gathered here, at this very moment, there is a Zapata being born in Latin America. There is a Malcolm X being born in Africa. There is a Ho Chi Minh being born in Asia - and there is not a damn thing that capitalism-imperialism can do about it.

This is what the law of social development is all about. We understand this and have come to terms with it. That's why we respect the laws of social development; that's why we are guided by these laws. The very existence of Unión del Barrio is based on these laws, because out of the destruction of our movement in the 1970s, Unión del Barrio was born in 1981. So while the enemy thought they had destroyed the Black Revolution, the African People's Socialist Party was born. While the enemy thought they had destroyed the Mexican Revolution, the Zapatistas were born. And when the enemy thought that it had "neutralized" or "contained" the Zapatistas, the Ejército Popular Revolucionario is born. This is what we understand the laws of social development to be.

We Survived!

Compañeras y Compañeros

Our organization has gone through some very hard times, periods of crisis and confusion. Periods in which only 3 or 4 people would show up to meetings. Periods in which many of us became demoralized and left the organization. Periods when members chose to leave the organization rather than deal with the many contradictions which existed. Periods when we could not see the fruit of our labor and made us question what exactly it was that we were doing. Periods of isolation - because the enemy had been successful in destroying or neutralizing our movement, and everyone was either in prison, demoralized, trying to survive and some had just plain "sold out."

Periods when people actually laughed at us and said that we were stuck in some historical time machine; that our political ideals and objectives were dead or not real. Periods in which personal contradictions caused by the enemy became unbearable, forcing some of us to give up struggle. But we survived. Compañeras y Compañeros

We survived because there has always been a core group of members committed to revolution. We survived because we never lost touch with the barrio, with our reality. We survived because in spite of all our contradictions, we are an honest organization.

We survived because, as weak as our political development was, we were fundamentally right in our understanding of what was coming down all around us. We survived because we were, and are, an organization based in the community - united with the poor and the working class and the oppressed masses. We survived because we have learned from our mistakes. We survived because we have learned from the struggles of our Raza's long history of struggle. We survived because we learned from the struggle of other liberation movements - we have learned from the Sandinistas, Frente Farabundo Martí, the Zapatistas, the Vietnamese National Liberation Movement, the Black Panthers, and the African People's Socialist Party.

The Reason We Can Stand Proud Today, Is Because Of The Movement

We survived because we are a product of the laws of social development, which teaches us that wherever the forces of oppression and exploitation exist - you will also find the forces of liberation and revolution.

But as hard and difficult as our organization's history has been, we have also had our share of successes. First of all, we must understand, that it has been the struggle which has made us who

we are today.

The struggle has humanized us, has made us men and women. The reason we can stand proud today is because the movement has given us the opportunity to do so.

Compañeras y Compañeros

We have to question, how other Mexicans can go to sleep at night knowing that the forces of oppression are working 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, 12 months a year, doing the most terrible things to our gente. Attacking our culture, attacking our children, keeping us in a state of ignorance, forcing us to live under the most violent conditions, importing drugs into our communities, keeping the majority of our Raza in a state of poverty.

We have to seriously question, how can people sleep at night and not do a damn thing about this oppression.

Unión has provided our Raza with the means in which to challenge this oppression. Unión has provided us with an answer to this question. Unión is a response to racism, violence, and poverty.

Compañeras y Compañeros

La Unión del Barrio has given us the opportunity to struggle against oppression. Everyone knows, even the most critical, even our worst enemies know, they all know that the most active, consistent, and revolutionary Raza formation in the occupied territories (Aztlán) is Unión del Barrio.

Anyone who is honest and understands the conditions in which we exist today will acknowledge that Unión del Barrio has played a significant part in the resurgence of our movement.

Unión Is Influential Throughout Aztlán

Many of the political ideals, the language and symbols used by Raza activists and cultural workers today, were things kept alive or developed by Unión del Barrio. Unión del Barrio has played a large part in the resurgence of a movement that we are witnessing in the 1990s, we can't go to any part of Aztlán and

not see the influence of Unión del Barrio.

¡LA VERDAD! newspaper, Somos Raza, La Verdad Graphics, Comité de Mujeres Patricia Marín, Unión del Barrio Security Brigades, the Chicano Mexican Prison Project, and the Barrio Defense Committee - are projects that are motivating, educating, and defending Raza throughout Aztlán.



Compañeras y Compañeros

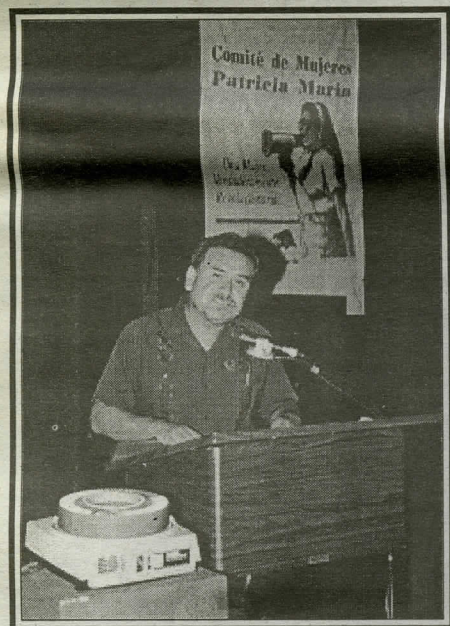
The future looks good for the organization. But we must understand that the road ahead is difficult. That our enemies, seeing our success, will intensify their movidas to destroy us.

Compañeras y Compañeros

Unión has a rich and honorable history in the struggle for Raza self-determination. A history which future generations will read about, learn from, and be proud of. If we continue to be honest, committed, willing to sacrifice, guided by a correct political line, nothing can stop our struggle for the liberation of la Raza, our lands, and the reunification of Aztlán and Mexico!!

¡Hasta La Victoria-Siempre!

¡Que Viva Patricia Marín! y ¡Que Viva La Raza!



through. And especially if we understand that most organizations have died out or have been destroyed trying to overcome these obstacles.

Our Enemies Thought It Would Be Easy To Destroy Unión del Barrio

Our enemies thought it would be easy to destroy La Unión del Barrio. In fact our enemies thought that we would not survive a year or two. But we survived because the enemy is so arrogant that it fails to understand and respect history and the laws of social development, which some of us call dialectical materialism. We survived because we are a humble organization; an organization who strives to understand the laws of social development. We survived because we respect and are guided by the laws of social development. We survived because we understand that in order for the enemy to destroy us, it must destroy the whole human race, including themselves.

All of us in this room know, that without us - the poor, the workers, and the oppressed people of the world - the enemy could not survive. We are the ones who make them rich. We are the ones who put food on their tables. We are the ones who make the products that they use and sell. We are the ones who clean their homes and the buildings that they own. We are the ones who create the music and the art they try to enjoy - I say "try", because I don't think they actually do. We understand that the racist capitalists live off the sweat and blood of our people.

The Enemy Can Kill Some Of Us - But They Can Not Kill The Movement

We understand, that the enemy can kill some of us, but they can not kill the movement. They can kill the revolutionary, but they can't kill the revo-

Gringo Media Openly Attacks Mexican Youth for Taking a Stand Against Racism

by Adriana Jasso and Francisco Romero

This past September, Ventura County newspapers openly attacked Raza youth who openly opposed the Republican Party. *The Herald* and *The Gazette*, two community newspapers of Fillmore, a city in Ventura County, have clearly demonstrated how far the gringo controlled media is willing to implement its campaign against the Mexican pueblo.

On September 27, 1996, only six weeks after the National Republican Convention in San Diego, Republican Vice-Presidential candidate Jack Kemp was sent by his superiors to the city of Fillmore, Califas to win over support for the Republican Party. Under the guise of a "birthday celebration" for Jack Kemp's wife Joanne, an ex "hometown" resident of Fillmore, a political rally was initiated to take place in the small downtown city hall area.

In the true spirit of resistance, local area Raza youth took a firm stand in protest of this political campaign rally. The Fillmore area youth proudly displayed paintings of Che Guevara, Emiliano Zapata and Pancho Villa while also carrying placards that read "Wilson is a Pig!" and "Abajo con los Republikkkanos!" The courage displayed by these righteous gente is tremendous, considering they walked into an ocean of local Republican Party supporters waving "Dole-Kemp" signs.

The courageous Raza yelled militantly "Chicano Power!" as Jack Kemp and his wife attempted to address the public. Outraged by Raza resistance, "concerned respectable" community members began to inundate the Raza with racist remarks such as: "Go back to Mexico", "Go back to your Mommys". All the while surrounded by FBI, Secret Service and mounted horse Sheriffs, the Raza youth continued to take a militant stand against this racist gathering of Republicans and their anti-Mexican agenda.

The protest by the Raza youth stirred "concern" and "outrage" within Ventura County. Two local newspapers took the leadership in convincing the public into attacking and degrading the Chicano Mexican youth. Doug Huff of *The Herald* and Martin Farrel of *The Gazette*, both wrote small articles addressing their "concerns about the bad manners" the protesters demonstrated. The two publishers presented totally biased and racist reports of the entire incident targeting the Raza youth.

Martin Farrel of *The Gazette* goes so far as

labeling Raza youth as "imbeciles", "brainless little band of bedwetters" and "ignorant band of racist yahoos". Farrel furthered his attacks by recommending that this country really needs to handle these "little roaches" with public administration of corporal punishment and the construction of "old fashioned public stocks for administering swats with an oversized paddle." This racist pig also shared his thoughts on recommending that Raza youth be required to publicly apologize for their "bovine behavior". This racist even offers to print the inquisition of apologies in *The Gazette*. How nice of him!!

Since the event many questions have arisen throughout Ventura County. What was the basis for these Raza to take such a militant stand against Kemp and the Republican Party? These gente's stand was unquestionably correct, since we constantly see that puerco politicos such as Kemp and the Republican Party clearly and obviously pushing anti-Mexican legislation such as: English Only, Prop. 187, CCR1, etc., which serve to keep Raza further in the mire of poverty, miseducation and exploited. The efforts of these kiss-ass Kemp supporters in Fillmore to welcome and display happy docile Mexicans, failed miserably as the Raza youth carried their militant direction and demonstrated the power to determine the direction of the September 27 rally.

Raza youth throughout the Ventura County, not only within the Fillmore area, have been criticized for being "too Mexican" or "anti-American" from the general gabacho community, to many of us, it came to no surprise that during the 1994 election period, and the birth of the genocidal Prop. 187, our youth were attacked and criticized for not carrying the American flag during the school walk-outs. Not only were our youth criticized but also blamed for the passage of Prop. 187 on the pretext that they carried too many Mexican flags during the protests. The reality is, however, that even if La Raza would have ran around Aztlán carrying the red, white and blue chones, the proposition would have still passed, due to the media's tactical manipulation of the general white population. The Raza youth in Fillmore had every right in not showing any love for Kemp and his supporters. Raza has clearly chosen the best direction by exposing and tearing the mask off of the Republicans and their anti-Mexicano agenda.

¡Que viva la juventud de Fillmore! ¡Adelante con La Lucha!

The CIA, the Contras and Crack Cocaine

The United States Government Continues Its War Against Mexicans and Africans

by Benjamin Prado

A recent article published by the *San Jose Mercury News* dated August 18, 1996, has revealed that the United States government and its Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) had conspired in pushing tons of crack cocaine into our communities. This was done by aiding a drug ring from south and central America to the Bay area and into South Central Los Angeles. This drug ring pumped thousands of tons of crack cocaine into the streets where the vast majority of the residents were Mexican and African.

This was done in an era when - then president of the United States - Ronald Wilson Reagan and his wife, Nancy Reagan, had promised to lead "the war against drugs," had in reality made the living conditions for Raza and Africanos extremely difficult. The attacks against our people - not only here within the imposed borders of the United States but in places like: Nicaragua, El Salvador, Panama etc. - intensified in the 80's when the U.S. financed the counter-revolutionary army in Nicaragua named the 'Contras'. To finance the CIA-led Contras, the United States government purposefully began moving tons of cocaine into our neighborhoods to sell for profit.

How was this operation set up? Who were the contacts between the U.S. government and the drug lords? How many of these drug lords were paid by the U.S. government?

Operations such as these by the U.S. government are illustrations of the systems continued attacks against Mexicans and Africans. This, in order to further the genocide, misery and oppression of our people. Oppression that we have suffered for over 500 years at the hands of European colonialism.

The following article is meant to give clarity to the role of the U.S. attacks against Mexicans and Africans. It will help show that the only path towards freedom and liberation can only come through our own independent efforts and struggle for self-determination. Self-determination which our people have a right and which calls for taking back our land, our resources and taking control of our own lives. This article is meant to expose the U.S. government's disinterest to the real needs of Mexican and African people. We clearly see the reasons why they want to continue to keep us confused and ignorant; it is precisely to safe-guard the wealth that is in the hands of a few rich people. This is the reason government operations against our people exist.

"The Wealth Of The World - Not Only Of America, But Of The World - Is Concentrated In The Theft Of Indio Mexicano Land And Resources, And The Enslavement Of African People."

-Chairman Omali Yeshitela of the Africans People Socialist Party

First, in order to understand our primary struggle here, we must expose the historical role that the U.S. government has played against our communities. It is necessary to recap the African and Mexican experience as it relates to "American" history.

We must understand that the United States of America has been built on the backs and off the blood and sweat of the African population. Through their forced kidnap from native Africa. Forced to work for white people on a foreign land, then forced to believe that somehow their history - the African's - started on some plantation or on some cotton field in Virginia (see *The Road to Socialism is Painted Black*, by Chairman Omali Yeshitela) when the truth is that the history of Africa and African people have a long and glorious past that dates back hundreds of thousands of years. The African population - before it was colonized by Europeans - lived as a self governing people and the means of sustenance was plentiful. You would never see the starvation and misery that exist today in Africa. You would never see bloated stomachs of children who suffer the misery that is caused by diseases that are curable. Africa, a continent that is the richest in natural resources,

and that has the potential to feed the world several times over, is suffering an agricultural, social, and economic depravity that lacks the ability to feed its native population. And why is this happening? It's happening because a few hundred years ago Europe and Europeans colonized the African continent, enslaved the African people and took all of Africa's wealth and resources. All these problems occurred when European people made colonies of Africa and took all the riches for a hand full of selfish white people. This is the truth of the matter.

What is even more profound for Mexicans is that European settlers came to our lands (Indio Mexicano lands) and like thieves scratched the name off and called it the United States of America.

These European settlers actually believe they have a rightful claim to our lands. They pretend as though they've been here since time began.

The truth is that 504 years ago a thief known as Christopher Columbus and his gang of Spanish thugs, came to this mass of land and killed, raped, pillaged and decimated our people. They introduced disease, hate and white power by erasing our past and making us slaves to their social system.

The European settlers enslaved the indigenous people. Made animals of us, and had the audacity to call us inferior. They stole our land, took our lives, erased our history - all of this so that some European king/queen, can be rich.

Today we have these same people telling us (Mexicanos), that we are "illegal." Telling us that "welfare mothers are draining the economy" and that "Mexicans only come here to receive benefits," when the truth is that for over five hundred years the United States and its white settler population has been living off of our labor, our sweat and our blood, and it is they who are the real welfare recipients.

Historically the U.S. federal government has played a central role in destroying our capacity to live as dignified people. The U.S. government has historically done nothing but commit the most violent crimes against our people's. The U.S. has always lead a war against our people with agencies like the FBI, CIA, COINTELPRO, who do everything in their power to kill and destroy our capacity to organize our people in our own defense.

This hatred that the U.S. government has towards us continues with the massive importation of crack cocaine in our streets to keep us hooked on drugs that only serve to keep us confused and stupid so that we can be lied to, manipulated and confused, into accepting whatever this illegitimate government tells us is the truth.

The government says that by building more prisons instead of schools we are going to get out of the poverty that exists in our communities. Instead of building schools for our people the system builds concentration camps (prisons). For example, California which has the highest number of Mexicans, is first in prison construction and 46th in public school spending (see *North Coast Xpress*, Dec. 1995-Jan 1996).

The president of this twisted system, Bill Clinton, claims that by putting 100,000 more police - the white power army of Amerikkka - in our barrios and ghettos that our poverty will disappear. That the misery that is attributed to poverty, like desperation will work itself out if we put more police on the street. (see *The Clinton Crime Bill 1994*) We know that more police in our barrio means more of our gente being harassed, beaten down, incarcerated and killed.

U.S. Intervention and Nicaragua's Struggle For Self Determination

On December 1, 1981 Ronald Wilson Reagan gave the CIA the authority to build the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (Contras). This was done in order to suppress the righteous Sandinistas of Nicaragua - who sought self-determination and who expelled Anastasio Somoza from power (a tyrannical illegitimate dictator backed by foreign capital and U.S. interests).

The Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional (FSLN) fighting for their lives - due to extreme poverty that faced the vast majority of the population - resorted to rising up in arms to condemn the tyrannical dictator Anastasio Somoza and all his rich thug friends. The miserable conditions that existed in Nicaragua while Anastasio Somoza was in power, revealed to the overwhelming majority of the population that the wealth of the country needed to be redistributed in order "that Nicaragua's poor majority would have access to, and be the primary beneficiaries of public programs". (see *Turning the Tide: U.S. Intervention in Central America and the Struggle for Peace*, Noam Chomsky).

Reagan had allocated to the CIA a sum of \$19.9 million (see *San Jose Mercury News*, Aug. 18, 1996) to spend for paramilitary operations that would train, equip and lead the Contras, in attempts to stifle the ascending struggle of the popularly backed Sandinistas. Knowing that this was not going to be nearly enough to cover the cost of the Nicaraguan operation, the CIA resorted to other 'fund raising' activities. It is here that the 80's flood of crack cocaine and the drug ring had its origins.

The first steps that went into organizing this covert operation came when Danilo Blandon, a Nicaraguan and youngest son of a wealthy Nicaraguan slumlord owner, sought refuge in the United States in 1979. By 1981 Blandon had decided to actively raise funds in attempts to overthrow the Sandinistas. In his attempts to raise money, he testified in a 1992 report from the U.S. Probation and Parole Department, that he became "committed to raising money via illegal activity (cocaine trafficking for profit)." (see *San Jose Mercury News*, Aug. 18, 1996 and *San Diego Union-Tribune*, September 14, 1996).

With the help of other exiled Nicaraguans, some who were paid by the CIA such as Col. Enrique Bermudez - who had been Anastasio Somoza's liaison to Washington during his time in power - had received paychecks for decades until his death in 1992 (see *San Jose Mercury News*). Danilo Blandon had begun to participate in subversive operations along with the CIA to import cocaine from outside the United States. The cocaine would latter be manufactured into rock form - a cheaper form of cocaine - to be sold to Mexicans and Africans. The reason why the cocaine was manufactured into crack, was because cocaine, in its powder form, was too expensive for Raza or Africans to afford. The only people that could afford cocaine were doctors, lawyers, rock stars - basically rich people. By making the powder into rock form this would allow the poor communities to afford a 20 dollar high, all thanks to the CIA.

How did the Cocaine enter the United States? The CIA was helped by a well known DEA identified drug lord, Norwin Meneses, who was welcomed with open arms into the United States in 1979, as a political refugee, and was greeted with a work permit and visa. He settled in San Francisco and for the next six years he supervised the importation of thousands of kilos of cocaine into California. He moved the drugs with the assistance of the CIA into the United States aboard Salvadoran Air Force planes that landed at a Texas airbase. (see *San Jose Mercury News*).

It is important to note here that the United States government must have known of these landings. There is no way these planes could get past the sophistication of the military's radar devices. These planes could land - or for that matter fly in U.S. air space - only with full knowledge by the United States Military. There is no way a Salvadoran Air Force plane can land in the United States without the U.S. not knowing about it.

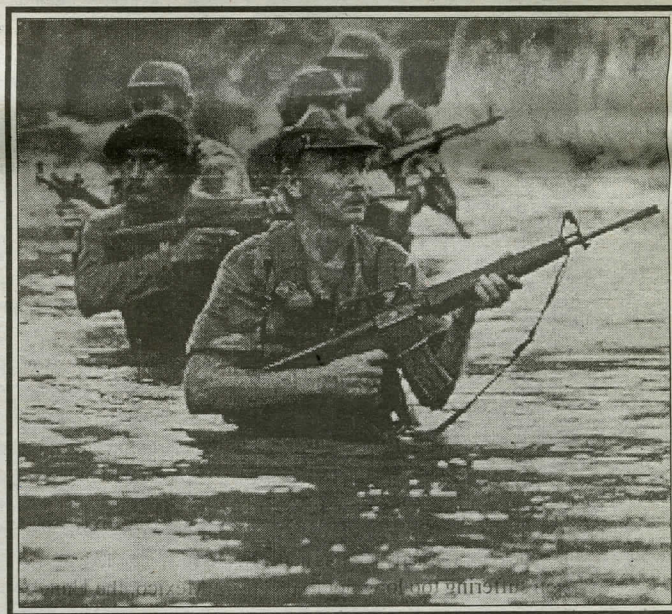
ing about it.

Therefore, it was the U.S. government that fundamentally fed the cocaine from Central and South America, past the so called U.S.-Mexico border, and into the barrios and ghettos where Africans and Mexicans live. Let there be no confusion, the United States has always fed drugs to people in order to confuse, distort, and manipulate the thoughts and ideas of oppressed people. This is why our people are so screwed up, because we've been lied to so much and made to believe we have freedom, and that there exists such a thing as justice for Mexicans and Africans within the U.S. justice system.

U.S. Involvement In Nicaragua Was Written With The Blood Of Mexicans And Africans

Nancy Reagan's hypocritical Drug Abuse Resistance Education (D.A.R.E.) program - which was designed to prevent drug consumption - was a disguise to make people believe that the government actually cared about preventing drug abuse. The reality is that it was precisely the U.S. government that knew, and in fact, made it possible for drug lords to set up drug rings that extended from Central and South American into cities such as Los Angeles, San Francisco, Miami, Oakland and other cities across the U.S.

The "war on drugs" in America, made popular by the Reagan Administration, simply translates into the war against Mexicans and Africans. When a system knowingly made efforts to put drugs into the neighborhoods of an already poverty stricken people (Mexicans and Africans), that means that the system cares nothing about Mexican and African people. The U.S. had no



CIA agent leads Contras through the jungles of Central America. The CIA funded the Contras by selling crack throughout the inner cities of the U.S.

intent of stopping drug consumption, since it clearly made millions of dollars for their secret wars against the Nicaraguan people. The truth is that crack sales would reach up to 2 to 3 million dollars in one day. Coincidentally those who were caught with crack cocaine in 1993, got three years imprisonment, while cocaine snorters got three months (see *San Jose Mercury News*). The reason for this was to incarcerate more of our communities rather than the rich upper class, and their obsession with powder cocaine.

The drug epidemic created by the United States represents the hatred that this system has against Mexican people and African people. This openly racist government tells the American public that Mexicans and Africans are the drug pushers, showing on the evening news pictures of a drug bust by Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) agents arresting some African or Mexican. Yet, all this time on the one hand we have the CIA, who put the drugs in our barrios and ghettos by the ton, and on the other hand we have the DEA/local police, taking drugs out by the ounce.

Just look at the evening news and you'll see Mexicans shooting Mexicans, Africans shooting Africans. Mexican and Africans shooting each other. Why? It was from these drugs that gang violence increased. Competition over control of the drug economy, by rival gangs, led

Continued on pg. 7

to territorial conflict. Since Africans and Mexicans often times live in impoverished areas, we saw an increase of racial tensions between Africans and Mexicans. As a result more and more Mexicans and Africans were being sent either to their graves or into prison for murder, theft or petty street dealing. This has made the general population (usually those of European descent) feel superior to us.

When the reality is that the general white population is so screwed up in the head that they kill each other, not because they're poor and the only way to survive is petty drug dealing, instead they'll go to jail because of molestation, rape, cannibalism, parents killing their children, children killing their parents, because they wouldn't buy them a BMW or something stupid like that.

The media portrays our communities like criminals, and so the general feelings that the white population have towards Mexicans and Africans is fundamentally antagonistic to us. The white population looks at us as though we are criminals. That is the essence of "American Values", here we have white people creating laws that are anti-Mexican and anti-African, day after day we see these racist rednecks -as well as these uncle tom and tio taco cops who - either "consciously" or "unconsciously"- administer white power justice on our people. Daily we see Raza and Africans being harassed, beaten down, kicked, raped, killed, treated like animals by the police/migra, and every other police agency that you can think of, eventually sending our people to either a jail cell or to a grave.

Shit, the system is so racist that even Mexican INS agents gets prosecuted for trying to break the drug monopoly that the CIA has. Arthur Garcia of El Centro was convicted on January 24, 1996 for knowingly allowing a load of cocaine to pass through his inspection lane at the Calexico border crossing. (see *San Diego Union-Tribune* January 25, 1996) The pigs thought that by stopping Arthur Garcia - who's a pig himself - this would allow the CIA to keep its monopoly on the drug economy and make bigger profits, since there would be no competition.

Coincidentally in June of 1996 there was a drug bust in Oceanside, California where there was 19 people arrested and charged on criminal allegation of conspiracy to "distribute cocaine base, distribution of cocaine base, possession of cocaine base with intent to distribute, and aiding and abetting. The maximum penalty for these charges were life imprisonment and \$4 million in fines." (see *San Diego Union-Tribune* June 14, 1996). What's was important to note here is that this drug bust involved the same Los Angeles based gangs that the *San Jose Mercury News* indicated was connected to the drug lords that the CIA helped in moving cocaine into the country. These L.A. based gangs are of course Africans.

We understand exactly what is happening, we've been suffering too long not to understand that the real enemy is not the homeboy or the homegirl on the corner pushing the \$5.00 high. It is the White House and their Administrative, Legislative, Judicial bodies that are the thieves, the liars, and the real criminals. The

White House is the real crack house and Uncle Sam is the pusher man.

Don't talk to us about laws, justice and freedom. There can be no freedom when a people (both Mexican and African) are suffering from curable diseases, suffering from hunger, suffering in the mire of poverty, suffering from the lack of education, etc. Don't talk to us about laws; those laws that are created by rich white people that only serve their selfish interest and that ends up putting more of our people in jail or in a grave. Don't talk to us about justice, when the U.S. government has historically committed the worst crime that can be committed against a people: genocide (that continues to this day with mass incarcerations and police/migra terror).

The Genocide Against Mexicans Moves Beyond Imposed Borders

The similarity between the Nicaraguan struggle in 1980's, and Mexico's struggle today are identical and the same. The tactics that were used in the repression of Nicaragua in the 80's is the same repression being carried out by the U.S. government today.

In response to the misery that exists today in México, where 85% of the population lives below the poverty line (see *La Opinion* week of July 1, 1996), the most marginalized sector of the population (the campesinos) rose up in arms against the anti-popular, anti-democratic, demagogic Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI) government. The PRI has made living in México unbearable for the Mexican people. Our people in México suffer the greatest poverty, suffer from curable diseases, suffer from illiteracy, suffer from hunger, etc., and the only response the PRI government gives our people is repression and massacres.

The PRI government offers the masses of Mexicans repression and death to those who seek to change the miserable conditions. In the most vende-patria way, the PRI government calls on its own military to kill poor, hungry, unarmed Mexicans in the jungles of Chiapas, Guerrero, Oaxaca, Veracruz. The southern regions of México, to date, have been on full scale military alert ever since the Ejército Popular Revolucionario (EPR) made it's appearance in June of this year during a commemoration of the 17 campesinos who were savagely gunned down in cold blood by members of the Procuraduría General de la República (PGR).

What we see happening today is an unprecedented amount of military aid that the United States government has given to the Mexican government. Shortly after the EPR uprising the PRI moved military troops to try and repress the rebel army. This militarization did not stop there. On September 18, 1996 the United States government made arrangements to give 70 military helicopters to the PRI government. The pretext for doing this was said to "stop drug trafficking". (see *La Opinion* September 18, 1996)

In addition to this U.S. intervention in México, the United States recommitted its Federal Bureau of Investigation to increase its overseas efforts to supposedly "combat international terrorism, organized crime and drug trafficking, by stationing agents in 46 cities and would raise the number of special agents to 129 as compared

to the 70 previously assigned special agents." This increase in FBI foreign operations will cost the U.S. government \$80 million dollars this next year. House Speaker Newt Gingrich said, "We...say, 'we have a reason to think you're not behaving correctly. You should convince us in 24 hours we're wrong, or we will take you out.'" (see *San Diego Union-Tribune* August 21, 1996) In other words submit to U.S. interests or we kill you.

When asked by reporters if the 70 U.S. aircraft were going to be used against the guerrilla groups operating in the south-eastern region of México, the Mexican Secretary of the Commission on National Defense of the Federal Legislature, Jesus Carlos Hernandez Martinez would not confirm whether or not they would or would not be used. (see *La Opinion* September 18, 1996) We see that the war against drugs is a fake campaign and in reality it is the war against Mexicans who seek justice, democracy and liberation.

We can clearly see that the United States has no interest in stopping the drugs from coming into the United States. The CIA has proven by their very actions that all they're interested in is keeping Mexicans and Africans doped out, so that we can't challenge the actions against our people in our own defense. All the U.S. wants to do is to protect it's money making interests by making sure that there's an abundant supply of cheap labor in countries like México and Nicaragua.

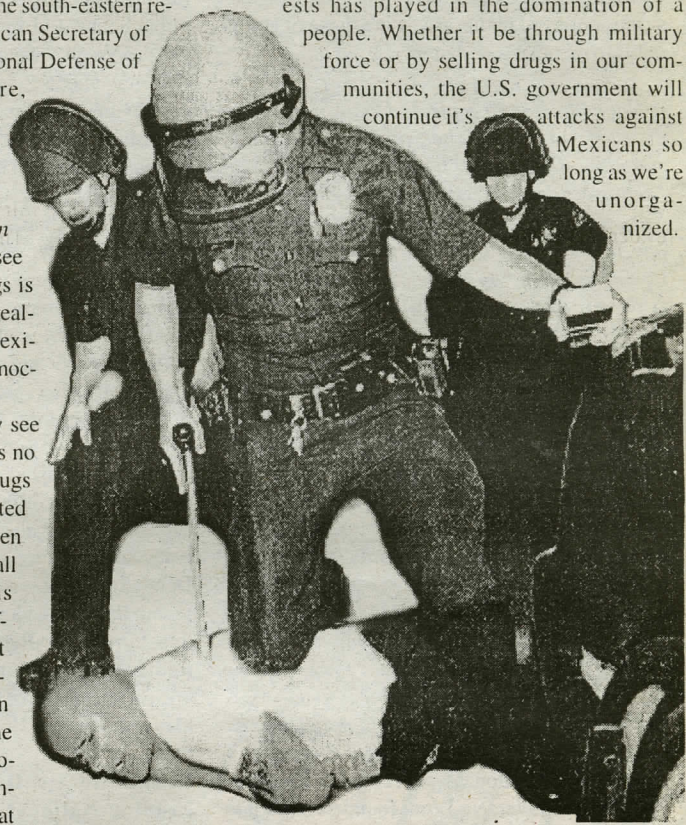
That's why NAFTA passed and that's why the U.S. suppresses and kills people in places like México and Nicaragua. This is so Mexicans and Nicaraguans would be so demoralized and scared that it allows the white ruling class in the United States to continue living off of our poverty. This is the reason why every major bank that has money invested in México is looking at what's going to happen next in México.

The number one question on the mind of every redneck banker in Wall Street in August - after the EPR declared war against the illegitimate PRI government - was whether the peso was going to devalue like it did in January of 1994 and then again in December of 1994, when the Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional (EZLN) rose up in arms in Chiapas (see *La Opinion* August 30, 1996). The interests the United States government has in maintaining the poverty that the overwhelming majority of Mexicans suffer in is precisely because it makes some capitalist richer.

Let there be no mistake, the United States government has historically maintained oppression as the number one item on their

agenda, precisely because it is in their gabacho capitalist interest to keep us poor, oppressed, demoralized, colonized and specifically, doped out on crack. By keeping our people in a state of confusion, we become unable to organize our communities in our own defense and take back what rightfully belong to us. Our land, our resources and control over our own lives is what we struggle for and this is what the U.S. government struggles to keep us from obtaining.

The militarization of México is a simple ramification of the legacy that U.S. interests has played in the domination of a people. Whether it be through military force or by selling drugs in our communities, the U.S. government will continue it's attacks against Mexicans so long as we're unorganized.



The importation of crack into our communities led to the criminalization and mass incarceration of our youth. There is now more Raza and Africanos in prison than in the universities.

The cocaine economy the CIA had in the 80's was done to further the misery of poverty that the courageous Nicaraguan people were fighting against, and it the same U.S. government that is causing the same kind of misery that the EPR and the EZLN are fighting against. It is no wonder that the cocaine continues to be plentiful in our barrios and ghettos. It would not surprise us that the same 'fundraising' tactics that the CIA used in the war against the Nicaraguan people in the 80's are the same 'fundraising' tactics used against the revolutionary fighters in México today.

We must be conscious of the fact that both the Republican and Democratic party have never done a damn thing to stop the violence that our people suffer. It is they who are the ones committing the violence against our communities, with the importation of crack and all other manifestations of violence attributed to this drug. We must have the courage to stand up and say ¡Ya Basta! And organize in our own defense.

¡Abajo con el sistema gringa!
¡Que viva nuestra lucha por libertad, justicia y auto-determinación!

Tlatelolco Continued

and the world of the PRI as a gang of fascist thugs who had betrayed the Mexican Revolution and were capable of any atrocity to preserve their power and the power of their gringo masters.

The movement of '68 also opened a new level of discussion in Mexican society. It challenged the carefully choreographed assumption that the president was above all criticism and untouchable. After this heinous act, attacks on Diaz Ordaz and his successors (including Luis Echeverria who, as secretary of government actually gave the order for the massacre) came under attack by the public as never before during the subsequent years.

The intended effect of shutting down all criticism and having the perfect Olympics was also shot. Protests continued to erupt. The Mexican and gringo government were then embarrassed as African athletes like John Carlos upheld the anti-colonial struggle and the demand for Black Power within the Olympic arena. Things could not have gone worse for Yanqui imperialism during the fall of 1968.

It was out of this heroic movement and repression in response to it that there flourished different armed struggles in the seventies which understood that peaceful struggle could only go so far and that armed struggle was not only justified to change the conditions but in fact a vital

component of the movement. It was in the post-Tlatelolco era that we saw the formation of the heroic formations such as the Frente Urbano Zapatista, the Partido de los Pobres (PDLP), the Liga Comunista 23 de Septiembre, Partido Proletario de la Union Americana, Partido Obrero Clandestino Unión del Pueblo (PROCUP), and other heroic formations whom, with all their errors, represented the struggle of Mexican people to be free of colonialism. We must say here that the Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional and the Ejército Popular Revolucionario are the logical extension of this struggle and that the tactics of the seventies in response to the PRI are more valid than ever today.

We must constantly say this to elements who try to push pacifism in response to the PRI dictatorship and to U.S. government attacks on our people on both sides of the border. The fact is that Tlatelolco is a lesson on how far yanqui imperialism and its stooges are willing to go to protect what they have stolen from us. We must never forget this.

Make No Mistake, The U.S. Played A Role In The Repression

It would be naive to believe that this repression went on without extensive coordination with the CIA. In fact, documents are being disclosed

now regarding the actual U.S. role in this atrocity. We must be clear that the massacre is far from something the Mexican government did in a moment of insanity. Rather, it was part of a forceful pacification plan by the U.S. government in Latin America.

It was part of the same plan that overthrew popularly elected president Jacobo Arbenz from power in Guatemala in 1954 to make that country safe for the United Fruit Company. It was part of the same plan that led to the assassination of President Salvador Allende in Chile. It was part of the same plan under which U.S. special forces and CIA operatives led the charge to defeat and kill Che Guevara and the insurgent movement in Bolivia. We must understand this or we cannot understand that what is really needed so that another Tlatelolco never happens again.

The Struggle Continues Today

28 years later, the struggle continues with a vengeance. At a time when repression of las masas Mexicanas on both sides of the US imposed border is at an all-time high, so is the combative spirit of our gente. Wherever we live, we see rebellion. Whether it is 3,000 Raza marching through the streets of East L.A., thousands of ambulatory vendors facing down the

Granaderos and occupying el Zocalo, workers from Sataur Ruta 100 taking on the government, the struggle of the 2500 political prisoners and the 810 disappeared, the struggle of Raza prisoners in the occupied territories, the struggle against migra/police violence and the racist Proposition 187 and Prop. 209, or the heroic struggle of the Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional, the PROCUP-PDLP, the Ejército Popular Revolucionario, or the independent mass movements, el pueblo Mexicano is mobilizing as never before.

Most of all, the Chicano Movement has a duty to strengthen its ties to the popular struggles south of the imposed border. The archaic, reactionary, chauvinistic, simpleminded notion that we have no business participating with these compañeros and that some imaginary line put there by the gringos should define our political boundaries is not only wrong, but dangerous. Now is the time to make deeper contact with honest forces, to foster transborder work, and to struggle against the isolationist and subjective notions of the past. We must all participate together in the struggle for the transformation of our patria.

¡Que Viva el Movimiento de '68!
¡Que Viva el EZLN!
¡Que Viva el EPR!
¡Justicia Para los Mártires de Tlatelolco!

David Sanchez and Jeronimo Blanco VS the Brown Berets de Aztlán

Former Activists Using the Colonial Judicial System Against the Movimiento

[The following article is reprinted from the April-August 1996 issue of *¡LA VERDAD!*, the political organ of Unión del Barrio. The following positions outlayed in this article are those of Unión del Barrio, not *Voz Fronteriza*.]

Unión del Barrio is pleased to print this criticism of David Sánchez and his side-kick, Jeronimo Blanco, who have formed a clique of "self-proclaimed" leaders of what they call the "re-commissioned National Brown Berets." For one, it allows us to struggle against a most reactionary ego-tripping clique whose claim to fame is their brief participation in the anti-colonial struggle of Mexican people during the "Chicano Power Movement" of the late 1960s and early 1970s. Secondly, it provides us an opportunity to sum-up what principled struggle and unity is all about; exposing in particular, how this reactionary clique is using the colonial (gringo) judicial/police system to attack and eliminate righteous Raza liberation fighters (specifically the Brown Berets de Aztlán). Thirdly, it enables us to win back the heritage of struggle of Mexicanos as something that belongs to nuestra gente and not the "property" of any one individual. And, fourthly, it enables us to advance the politics of national liberation by comparing it to the decadent tio-taco politics (brown democrats) pimped to our young Raza by Sánchez and Blanco.

As an organization deeply rooted in the "Chicano Power Movement," (our founders and some of our current members were active in La Raza Unida Party, Brown Berets, CASA, United Farm Workers Union, M.E.Ch.A., and other movement formations) our political objectives have, and continue to be; that of the Chicano Movement: the liberation of all Raza and our lands occupied by gringo colonialism. It is therefore Unión del Barrio's political responsibility to expose those charlatans (falsos) who, because of a short "stint" in the movimiento, go around claiming every progressive action and victory of the people as their own "private onda". This criticism, therefore, is our attempt to uphold our responsibilities and move our struggle forward.

We are conscious of the need to always bring up criticism in an "above board" political fashion, because by doing so, we make these differences useless to the police who would otherwise utilize them to spread rumors, slander, and misinformation. Moreover, those involved in the movimiento can see for themselves the contradictions which exist within our movement. With this knowledge, they can then make a conscious decision as to which side they stand on an issue (For more on this question, read "Handling The Differences And Contradictions That Arise Among Movement Forces", *¡LA VERDAD!*, Oct.-Dec. 1993.).

Brief History Of The Brown Berets

The Brown Berets have their origins in an East Los Angeles group called the "Young Citizens for Community Action" (YCCA). The YCCA, sponsored by an inter-faith church group, was co-founded in 1967 by David Sánchez and several other young Chicanos, including Alberto Rivera, Tolin Enciso, Hank Rivera, Carlos Montez and Manuel Parsens. As some of its members began wearing brown berets (berets were typical attire of militant formations during that time) they came to be "popularly" known as the Brown Berets, a name which became common, not only within the community, but even with the police as well. By 1968 the group officially took on this name. Its logo or "beret patch", which depicts two rifles and a cross, was designed by Manuel Parsens (who died last year in San Diego). The Beret slogan, *La Causa*, was appropriated from the United Farm Workers Union. Initially set-up as a group whose main function was to address problems facing youth using a peaceful-mainstream approach (problems such as police brutality, lack of social activities, and so forth), by 1968 it quickly attained the militant politics of Chicano Liberation.

This political transformation did not come about in a vacuum. The 1960's were a period of tremendous upheaval, both internationally and nationally. There were revolutionary movements taking place in Asia (most notably Vietnam), Africa, and throughout Latin America. The writings of great revolutionaries such as Mao Tse-

tung, Amílcar Cabral, Che Guevara, Fidel Castro, Frantz Fanon, Malcolm X, and others were raising the consciousness of the oppressed masses throughout world. In México, Lucio Cabañas and Genaro Vasquez were leading revolutionary guerrilla movements, and hundreds of Mexican students were massacred at Tlatelco in 1968 while protesting against the neo-colonial Mexican government and yanqui imperialism. Within the borders of the U.S., the Crusade For Justice (in Denver) and the Alianza (in Nuevo Mexico) led by Corky Gonzalez and Reies Lopez Tijerina, respectively, were organizing Raza in the barrios and the campos for self-determination and Chicano Power, while the Black Panther Party, under the leadership of Huey P. Newton, was taking the struggle against white-capitalist power to the streets of the African communities. Even within their own ranks, the U.S. ruling class was having its internal contradictions as Martin Luther King and Robert Kennedy were assassinated, and the organization, Students for a Democratic Society rioted outside the Chicago National Democratic Convention. It was their existence within this tremendous political atmosphere that transformed the Berets (and other formations) from a pacifist-reformist grouping - to one calling for the national liberation of the Chicano Mexicano people.

Brown Berets Become A Leading National Mexican Liberation Organization

By 1970, the Brown Berets had developed a "13 Point Political Program - To Unite All Our People Under The Banner Of Independence." Concentrating its organizing in the barrios and colonias (where most Raza live), their "fuck the marrano" and "mi Raza primero" militant politics attracted the most oppressed sector of the Chicano community; the homeboys and homegirls. Soon they had grown into a national organization with 90 chapters and over 5,000 members, making it the largest Chicano Mexican liberation-oriented organization that has ever existed. The Berets published a national newspaper called *La Causa*, which was disseminated throughout Aztlán. It led or supported "student blow-outs" (walk-outs) throughout southern Califas and other parts of Aztlán. It organized the Chicano Moratorium Committee and was central to the formation of the National Chicano Moratorium Committee which organized a massive anti-Vietnam war march on August 29, 1970. This march was viciously attacked by the Los Angeles pigs, killing three, injuring dozens, and arresting hundreds; one of the dead was a 16-year old Brown Beret named Lynn Ward. The Berets organized a take over of Catalina Island, claiming the land for México. They organized a "Marcha de La Reconquista" (1971) from Calexico to Sacramento as a way of raising the consciousness of La Raza and winning the people to the struggle for self-determination. In Casa Blanca (Riverside), the Berets shot down a police helicopter. Literally hundreds of demonstrations were organized, from Califas to Texas by the Brown Berets, many leading to clashes with the pigs, resulting in deaths and injuries of many of its members.

In San Diego, the Brown Berets were central (along with M.E.Ch.A. and other movement forces) to the take over of Chicano Park in April of 1970. Also during 1970, the Berets took over a social service center and turned it into the "Chicano Clinic" and assisted in the take over and founding of the Centro Cultural de La Raza. They published a newspaper entitled *El Barrio* which consistently jammed-up police mistreatment of La Raza and called for people to defend themselves by any means necessary.

Terrified By The Struggles Of The Masses, The U.S. Government Unleashes All Its Military-Police Forces Against The Movement

Like all liberation oriented organizations of that period, the Brown Berets were targets of the FBI's Counter Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO). Fearful of the mass uprising

of colonially oppressed people, the gringo ruling class unleashed its police pigs to attack and destroy any organization that adhered to liberation of the oppressed people, or those opposed to the U.S. system of capitalist exploitation.

In 1986, in order to get a grasp of the causes that led to the decline of the Chicano Power Movement (and other liberation movements), we summed-up our understanding in the following way:

"Any analysis of the history of the Chicano Mexican struggle for liberation must include, as central to its continuing inability to achieve its objectives, the overt and covert role of the colonial state [U.S. government]. The relationship of these forces to the movimiento during the last period [1965-1975] was their successful destruction of the militant Chicano Power Movement. Thus, it is of critical importance that today's activists thoroughly understand the tactics and strategies, overt and covert, of the CIA, FBI, etc. in order to counter the type of attacks that destroyed the movement in the last period of struggle. Key here, is the basic understanding of the various forms of colonial military repression, e.g. frame-ups, killings, beatings, intimidations, dis-information, and slander. Particularly effective was the counter intelligence program or COINTELPRO - with its "special" investigation units in police departments in every major city in occupied America (U.S.).

"Aside from the overt role the U.S. colonial military agencies have played in the destruction of the Chicano movement, we must also consider the covert warfare waged upon the struggle by the state. It is largely due to this mode of attack that we find that the movement was riddled by infighting, disinformation, and intimidation which resulted in mass confusion and demoralization. The bourgeois print and electronic media contributed tremendously to the undermining of the Chicano Movement through its consistent falsification of the objectives of movement forces. At this time we also witnessed the emergence of the Chicano petty bourgeoisie/vendido individuals and "tamed" agencies who quickly became the "legitimate" and "mainstream" representatives of the Chicano movement community. These opportunist perros, on the leash of the neo-colonial white power structure contributed in no small way to the suppression and neutralization of the liberation forces, by their siding with the colonial bourgeoisie in their attacks against the Chicano Nationalist movement." (see "Summing Up The Last Period: The Chicano Movement 1965 To 1975", *Unión del Barrio* pamphlet, June 1986)

David Sánchez Is Expelled From The Brown Berets

By 1972, many chapters of the Brown Berets had been infiltrated by the various police agencies. This infiltration led to the arrests of many of the Brown Beret's members as well as causing divisions between members and chapters of the organization. Some of the Brown Beret membership who lacked political maturity (didn't adhere to revolutionary ideology and practice) or brought with them into the organization petty-bourgeois (middle class) tendencies (ego trips, individualism, elitism, etc.), fell prey to the manipulation and confusion created by police infiltrators or informants. It is during the period in which these conditions occurred that we must analyze an article in the *Los Angeles Times* which covered David Sánchez's resignation and unilateral (without consulting the central committee or its general membership) dissolution of the



The Brown Berets, shotguns blasting, commemorating Chicano Park day in 1976. The Brown Berets were the largest Chicano Movement organization with over 90 chapters throughout Aztlán.

Brown Berets:

"The leader of the Brown Berets - once called the shock troops of the Chicano movement - announced Wednesday that the organization is dissolving.

"David Sánchez who helped found the group in 1967, said that the more than half of the national organization 'is involved with a dissolution plan.'

"He said he expected the entire organization - 90 chapters with a membership of 5,000 - would be dissolved within three months.

"He announced the phasing out of three Los Angeles-area chapters with a membership of 150, said the state forces is closing itself out, and said he was resigning as prime minister of the national group.

"The 24-year-old veteran of scores of demonstrations and confrontations with police said the Brown Berets were disbanding chiefly to avoid strife within the Chicano movement.

"He said different groups had been seeking to use the Brown Berets 'as a vehicle for their own purposes.' He said he feared violence between Chicano factions - violence he said he would disband the berets to avoid.

Dangerous Situation Cited

"Sánchez, who made his announcement at a news conference, would not elaborate. 'It is a dangerous situation,' he said.

"The Brown Berets, like the Black Panthers of the black community, were a paramilitary group highly vocal in complaints of alleged police mistreatment of members of minority groups.

"The Berets wore distinctive head gear and khaki and brown uniforms. Their membership was mostly youth in their teens and 20s.

"He said Wednesday, 'it is time to go into a new phase of organization, but didn't say what kind of organization might be developed.

"He answered most questions with rambling discourses filled with the dialectic of the militant Chicano. Newsmen were unable to get special details of why the organization was being dissolved." (see "Brown Berets Leader Quits, Dissolves Units," *Los Angeles Times*, Nov. 8, 1972)

Why did David Sánchez "quit" the Brown Berets and "publicly" dissolve the organization without consulting (therefore disrespecting) the rest of the leadership or members of an organization, to which hundreds of young Mexicanos had committed themselves to, and were prepared to die for? Was he "physically threatened" by other forces within the organization? Did the FBI or some other police agency, as part of COINTELPRO, force him to "publicly" call for the disbanding of the Brown Berets? Or was it a case of him losing control of the organization because of his ego-tripping and elitist tendencies many had come to notice? Whatever the answer, David Sánchez was not to associate himself again with the Berets or the movement until he surfaced 20 years later demanding to speak at a march organized in commemoration of the 20th anniversary of August 29th Chicano Moratorium held in Los Angeles in 1990. In the meanwhile, Jeronimo Blanco would be seen every couple of years wearing a Brown Beret uniform, usually



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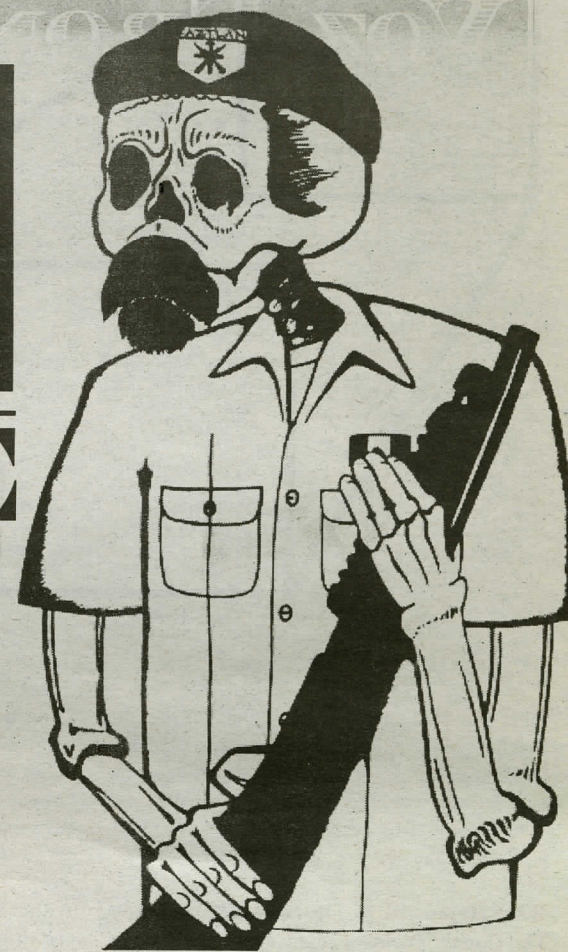
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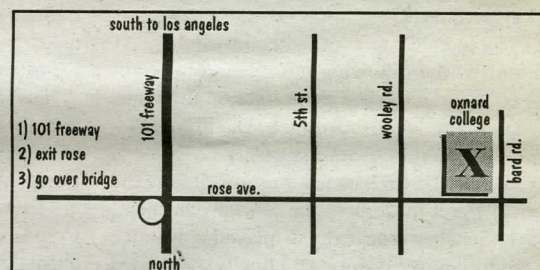
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Brown Berets Continued

9/18/95, *The Brown Book*, By Dr. Sánchez, Chief B.B.N.O., etc.)

David Sánchez And Jeronimo Blanco Use The Gringo Judicial/Police System To Attack Other Raza

On January 26, 1996, David Sánchez and Jeronimo Blanco did the most reactionary, traitorous, and "rata-like" act that anyone can do: they used the gringo colonial Judicial-Police System to attack David Rico and all of the righteous liberation fighters of the Brown Berets de Aztlán. In a suit filed in the gabacho court system, David Sánchez and Jeronimo Blanco, beg the gringo judicial system that they be paid for "medical expenses," "loss of earnings," "cost of suit," and "other relief the court deems just and proper," allegedly caused by the use of the name "Brown Berets" (see Summons, Superior Court of California, County of San Diego, case #696675, filed Jan. 26, 1996). How can these two vendidos claim to have any relationship to the Brown Berets when they have clearly violated the "Brown Berets 13 Point Program", specifically Point #5 which states:

"We want all Chicanos being held in all political jails released. No Chicano has ever had a fair trial in the racist U.S. Judicial system. All Chicanos being held are political prisoners" (see brown beret 13 point political program)

Why are David Sánchez and Jeronimo Blanco now using (and violating the Beret code of honor) the racist U.S. Judicial System to attempt to jail other Raza? Do they believe that the system is no longer racist or anti-Mexicano? How do they justify using the gringo Judicial-Police system on other Raza to the thousands upon thousands of Raza (and their families) doing time in la torcida? How do they explain their actions to those Mexicanos doing tiempo in Soledad, San Quentin, Folsom, Pelican Bay, Susanville, Calipatria, Indiana State Prison, Ironwood,

Donovan, Florence Arizona, Tennessee Colony-Texas, Gatesville-Texas, Corcoran, and the dozens of other pintas where nuestra Raza is locked down? We're sure the homeboys and homegirls in las calles (barrios) and in la torcida want to know why David Sánchez and Jeronimo Blanco are calling the pigs on their own Raza. We're sure those in the movimiento (the MEChAs, Crusade for Justice, the Movimiento de Liberación Nacional, La Raza Unida Party, Mexicanos Unidos, the Chicano Press Association, etc.) would like to know why David Sánchez and Jeronimo have become ratas and are calling the pigs on other Raza and still have the nerve to call themselves "Brown Berets".

Furthermore, we question who is behind the actions of Sánchez and Jeronimo? In our critique of Sánchez and Jeronimo, we must not let the hispanic lawyer, Carlos E. Castañeda off the hook. Castañeda, who claims he took the case "free of charge", must think the movement is stupid. Everyone knows how difficult it is to get a lawyer for "free of charge" no matter what the case might be (just ask any Raza in la torcida). This makes us believe that someone else "encouraged" Castañeda to take on this particular case. Knowing the history of Castañeda, who all the way through law school lived off of "poverty pimp jobs" (social service agencies who are supposed to help the poor, yet the only ones who benefit are the ones who administer the programs), it would not surprise us if a former supervisor pushed him into working against the movimiento. History has proven, that the major enemy of the people have been the sell-out neo-colonial puppets (lawyers, parole officers, wardens, principals, teachers, etc.) who do the "dirty work" for the gabacho ruling class.

So-Called Activist Who Wants To Instill Respect And Create Unity Among Raza Youth Practices The Most Sick-Vulgar Language

And Police Style Rhetoric To Attack A Movimiento Organization

Not satisfied with snitching on Raza to the judicial-police system, Jeronimo Blanco spews the most foul and degenerate language (No tiene respeto o vergüenza) when communicating with movement organizations. In a letter sent to Unión del Barrio, dated April 29, 1996, and titled "Your Holy Redness Has Chorro of the Mouth", this hypocritical low-life, while going around to the gringo media explaining how the main objective of the "national" berets is to instill respect in youth, turns around and uses trash to explain some silly problem he claims comes from our "camp". But worse than talking trash to explain his concerns was Jeronimo's reference to "communism" and "red", as these are the very same terms that the police used (during the Chicano Power period 1965-75) against the Brown Berets, La Raza Unida Party, Crusade for Justice, M.E.Ch.A., etc., as a way of "neutralizing" and keeping them from struggling in defense of La Raza. If Jeronimo is against "communism", then he must be for capitalism; the same system that is responsible for the occupation of Aztlán, the killing and raping of millions of Raza, the poverty in which most of our pueblo exists, and for the imprisonment of thousands of Mexicanos.

Unión del Barrio is not afraid (and never has been) to explain where we stand. We stand for the liberation of all Raza and our lands; the reunification of Aztlán-Mexico, the establishment of a socialist society based on the cultural and historical realities of the Mexican people; a society where there is no rich or poor, oppressor or oppressed, and everyone shares the wealth of the nation. If Jeronimo Blanco has a problem with this stance, then he should lay it out - as this is the fundamental question Unión is fighting for; not someone calling someone "Very White", or "pendejo", and so forth.

The Issue Of Sánchez And Jeronimo Blanco Has Nothing To Do With Unity, It Has To Do With The Struggle Between The Forces Of Mexican Liberation And Mexican Oppression

It is clear, by the action of David Sánchez and Jeronimo Blanco, that the whole issue between them and the Brown Berets de Aztlán, has nothing to do with a "split" in the movement or the question of unity, or a struggle between the National Brown Berets and the Brown Berets de Aztlán. Rather, it has to do with a struggle between two opposing forces. On one side you have the so-called National Berets (which is really Sánchez-Blanco) who push working with and assimilating within the system that is oppressing nuestra Raza; and on the other hand you have the Brown Berets de Aztlán, which see the system as the main cause of our oppression and who are committed to the total liberation of La Raza. Whether Sánchez and Blanco are cognizant or not, they are working with the system against La Raza. In the real world, Sánchez and Blanco as individuals mean little to us, since, unfortunately, all oppressed people have had their share of Vendidos. The problem for us, is that this reactionary tendency is rampant throughout our movement. We specifically feel for those young hermanas y hermanos who are blindly following these vendidos. We hope that after reading this article they can challenge Sánchez and Blanco and begin by asking them two important questions: "who elected them to the leadership of the National Brown Berets?", and "why are they using the sistema to attack other Raza?"

In closing, we call on all progressive and revolutionary forces to expose, denounce, and expel David Sánchez and Jeronimo Blanco from the movimiento. If you are about self-determination and liberation struggle, this is the only principled approach to this question.

¡Abajo Con Los Vendidos!

¡Y Que Vivan Los Brown Berets de Aztlán!

VOZ FRONTERIZA'S GUIDE TO THE 1996 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION



Bill Clinton and the Democratic Party:

Clinton Crime Bill: Put thousands of more pigs on the streets to harass, beat, kill, and incarcerate nuestra Raza;

Welfare Reform Bill: Will take food out of the mouths of Raza children and families;

More Border Patrol: Put thousands of more Migra at the frontera to harass, beat, rape, kill, and keep our gente from coming to Aztlán for a better life.

Helps Prop-up PRI Dictatorship: Bailed out the PRI narco-government by giving billions of dollars to help sustain the Mexican stock market and corrupt corporations.

Supplies Mexican Military: Sent millions of dollars in military aid to México to help suppress the righteous struggle of the EZLN and EPR.

North American Free Trade Agreement: Signed NAFTA that sent 85% of the Mexican masses below the poverty line.

Bob Dole and the Republican Party:

English Only: Will commit cultural genocide against non-English speaking people.

Proposition 187: Will deny basic services, such as education and health services to undocumented families.

Anti-Affirmative Action: Supports anti-Affirmative Action legislation that will deny Raza access to higher education.

National Guard at the Border: Supports idea of the continued militarization of the border by placing the National Guard at the frontera.

Cutting of Social Services: Will cut much needed social service programs.

Ross Perot and the Reform Party:

The most reactionary of the three.

The Democrats, the Republicans, and the Reform Party have never, and will never, represent the interests of La Raza. Anyone who votes for either party is continuing the attacks against our people. We must organize outside of the "Two-Party" (or is it 2 1/2 party?) system. We must organize on our own terms, under our own leadership.

Voz Fronteriza asks all gente not to vote for the established parties. Instead we would like to propose our own candidate: Comandante Ramona of the EZLN.



Comandante Ramona and the EZLN:

They will give our people the Justice, Liberty and Democracy that our people need. A true candidate and party of the people.

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Long Live The Anti-Imperialist Struggle!

¡La Revolución No Ha Terminado, Cabrones! ¡Viva el Ejército Popular Revolucionario!

MANIFESTO DE AGUAS BLANCAS

¡En México no existe un estado de derecho! Nuestra constitución política en los hechos es letra muerta, cotidianamente se violan las garantías individuales, el pueblo está al margen de las decisiones económicas y políticas, el Ejecutivo federal concentra el poder mayormente, subordinando a los otros poderes de la Unión y no respeta la soberanía del los estados. El actual poder usurpa la voluntad soberana del pueblo, siendo un gobierno ilegale ilegítimo sostenido fundamentalmente por las armas de los cuerpos militares y policiacos.

Frente a la violencia institucionalizada, la lucha armada es un recurso legítimo y necesario del pueblo para restituir su voluntad soberana y restablecer el Estado de derecho.

Hemos surgido de la tristeza de los huérfanos y viudas, de la ausencia de los seres queridos desaparecidos, del dolor de los torturados, del coraje de los encarcelados injustamente, de la incertidumbre de los perseguidos sociales y políticos, de la situación social que mata diariamente con represión, miseria, hambre y enfermedades, así como del abandono de los niños de la calle. Somos una parte de los miles de mexicanos que por caminos y montañas, pueblos y ciudades vamos forjando la conciencia de la necesidad de construir una nueva patria mexicana, de los que con su sudor riegan los campos mexicanos y extranjeros, de los que con su fuerza mueven las máquinas en las fábricas, de los que a diario sobreviven en las calles de las grandes ciudades, de los que en las aulas reciben y siembran las semilla del conocimiento, de los que en cualquier hogar resisten la falta de pan y trabajo, de los pueblos olvidados.

Nos asiste la razón y la justicia. Por eso, como mexicano inconformes con esta realidad nacional y al no dejar el gobierno otro camino, decidimos cambiar nuestras herramientas de trabajo por los fusiles libertarios que habrán de combatir y contribuir al derrocamiento del gran capital

y del gobierno antipopular. Hoy, movidos por las injustas condiciones de vida y trabajo, nos hemos decidido a luchar organizadamente para contribuir a la transformación democrática revolucionaria de nuestra patria y, con base en una actitud conciente y voluntaria, hemos conformado un instrumento más de lucha que llamamos Ejército Popular Revolucionario.

El Ejército Popular Revolucionario está integrado por hombres y mujeres de los diferentes sectores explotados y oprimidos del pueblo, que han comprendido la necesidad de organizarse contra la violencia reaccionaria de los explotadores y opresores, que durante décadas han intentado ahogar en sangre la lucha del pueblo mexicano por sus legítimas aspiraciones. Esto le da un carácter esencialmente popular porque en él participan hombres y mujeres sencillos del pueblo.

Nuestro Ejército lucha también por la transformación profunda de la sociedad, por medio de la vía armada de la revolución, como una forma más de lucha que el pueblo desarrolla en defensa de sus intereses y por la consecución de sus objetivos.

El EPR es uno de los destacamentos del pueblo que aspira a ser parte de las gestas libertarias y combativas que nuestro pueblo ha librado contra la explotación, la injusticia y la opresión a lo largo de su historia y que hoy se manifiesta en la lucha por la transformación democrática revolucionaria del país, que el pueblo desarrolla ante la política represiva de un Estado que, apoyado y financiado en lo económico y militar por el imperialismo, no escatima recursos para oprimir y masacrar al pueblo mexicano y seguir manteniéndolo sometido. Somos resultado de la determinación de luchar contra la política



demagógica del gobierno antipopular, que en defensa de la cúpula financiera y empresarial, así como de los intereses extranjeros en México, siempre se ha negado a satisfacer los reclamos de justicia, libertad y democracia del pueblo y que ha demostrado que jamás va a ceder a dichos reclamos, por lo que hemos decidido conquistarlos con la fuerza de la razón y de las armas.

Por ellos, nos planteamos luchar:

1. Por el derrocamiento del gobierno antipopular, antidemocrático, demagógico e ilegítimo al servicio del gran capital nacional y extranjero y de las fuerzas que los sostienen y por el establecimiento de un nuevo gobierno esencialmente distinto al que hoy detenta el poder.

2. Por restituir la soberanía popular y los derechos fundamentales del hombre. Este objetivo lo lograremos con la participación del pueblo y el establecimiento de una república democrática popular, ejerciendo el legítimo derecho del pueblo a alterar o modificar la forma de su gobierno.

3. Por la solución a las demandas y necesidades inmediatas del pueblo, realizando los cambios económicos, políticos y sociales que se requieren.

4. Por el establecimiento de relaciones justas con la comunidad internacional.

5. Por el castigo a los culpables de la opresión política, represión, corrupción, miseria, hambre y crímenes de lesa humanidad cometidos contra el pueblo.

Ante la escalada represiva que se vive en todo el país, el Ejército Popular Revolucionario llama a todas las organizaciones democráticas, populares, armadas, revolucionarias a estar en disposición de dar respuesta, desde sus trincheras de lucha, a cualquier agresión contra el pueblo y a conformar una sola fuerza política y sumarse a la lucha por la libertad, la democracia, la justicia y una vida digna.

Pueblo de México, levantemos las banderas de lucha de nuestros hermanos caídos por las balas de las fuerzas represoras del gobierno.

Luchemos contra la opresión y la injusticia, contra la humillación y el despojo, para defender la dignidad de nuestros hijos, mujeres y hermanos obreros, campesinos, indígenas, colonos, estudiantes, para

restablecer la legalidad y el derecho, para restituir la soberanía popular.

Que la indignación y el profundo dolor no se queden sólo en nuestra memoria y nuestros corazones, que el dolor y la nostalgia por nuestros seres queridos desaparecidos, torturados y masacrados, fortalezcan la convicción con que empuñamos el arma libertaria; que el dolor se transforme en espíritu de lucha para enfrentar al gobierno antipopular y sus fuerzas represoras, que la sangre derramada de los mártires de nuestro México no quede impune. Ya no más masacres contra el pueblo inerme, ya no más crímenes sin castigo.

Nuestra lucha es justa y legítima, es la expresión de la voluntad popular por recuperar la patria y construirla libre y soberana.

Llamamos a todo el pueblo a sumarse a la lucha democrática revolucionaria por la liberación de la nación de las cadenas del gran capital y del Estado opresor.

Llamamos a todas las organizaciones democráticas, sindicales, políticas, progresistas, armadas revolucionarias, a los luchadores sociales y personalidades progresistas y democráticas a unificar todas las formas de lucha en la lucha democrática revolucionaria por la conquista de la justicia, la democracia, la libertad y una vida digna para todos los mexicanos.

¡A INCORPORARSE A LAS FILAS DEL EJERCITO POPULAR REVOLUCIONARIO!

¡A FORMAR TRIBUNALES POPULARES PARA JUZGAR A LOS ENEMIGOS DEL PUEBLO!

¡A FORMAR GRUPOS DE AUTODEFENSA ARMADA!

¡ANTE LA REPRESION Y LA IMPUNIDAD, A EJERCER LA JUSTICIA POPULAR REVOLUCIONARIA!

¡A RESPONDER CON LA LUCHA ORGANIZADA A LA VIOLENCIA DEL GOBIERNO!

¡CON LA LUCHA POPULAR, EL EPR TRIUNFARA!

COMANDANCIA GENERAL
DEL EJERCITO POPULAR
REVOLUCIONARIO.

Aguas Blancas, Gro., México, 28 de junio de 1996

¡Concientización, Organización, Acción, y Liberación!

UNION DEL BARRIO

Advancing the Chicano Mexicano Movement

Unión del Barrio Eleven Point Program

Unión del Barrio is a pro-independence Revolutionary Nationalist organization. We have identified the following eleven points as central to our internal development and political direction, essential to the formulation of an independent Chicano Mexicano political line, and as a necessary source of practical clarity for organizations involved in the Movimiento for Chicano Mexicano Liberation.

1) MEXICANOS IN AZTLÁN ARE A COLONY OF THE U.S. ILLEGAL SETTLER NATION. 2) MEXICANOS IN AZTLÁN MUST SELF-DETERMINE OUR DESTINY. 3) AZTLÁN/MEXICO OCUPADO IS THE HOMELAND OF THE MEXICANO. 4) SOMOS MEXICANOS. 5) THE CHARACTER OF OUR MOVEMENT IS REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALISM. 6) MEXICANO INTERNATIONALISM IS AN INTEGRAL PART OF OUR MOVEMENT. 7) CONCIENTIZACIÓN OF OUR GENTE IS CRITICAL TO OUR LIBERATION. 8) COLLECTIVISM, ORGANIZATION BUILDING AND ACCOUNTABILITY ARE FUNDAMENTAL TO OUR STRUGGLE. 9) A UNITED FRONT IS CRUCIAL IN OUR STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION. 10) THE ABSOLUTE AND UNEQUIVOCAL LIBERATION OF RAZA WOMEN IS A FUNDAMENTAL COMPONENT OF OUR STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION AS A PEOPLE. 11) DIALECTICAL/HISTORICAL MATERIALISM IS KEY TO FORMING STRATEGIES AND TACTICS FOR OUR LIBERATION.



For more information on
Unión del Barrio, write to:
Unión del Barrio
P.O. Box 620095
San Diego, Califas 92162

Liberación Exige Organización

The Mexican Revolution is Not Over! Long Live the Popular Revolutionary Army!

MANIFESTO OF AGUAS BLANCAS

Translated by Ben Prado and Manuel Vélez

Rights do not exist in Mexico! Our political constitution is dead through the governments actions, individual rights are violated daily, our people find themselves in the margin when it comes to economic and political decisions, all power has been concentrated by the federal executive, subordinating all other powers of the union and disrespecting the sovereignty of the states. Actual power usurps the sovereign will of the people turning that government into an illegal and illegitimate one, fundamentally sustained by the arms of military and political bodies.

In the face of institutionalized violence armed struggle is a legitimate and necessary resource for the people to regain their will and sovereignty, and to reestablish their rights.

We have sprung forth from the sorrow of orphans and widows, from the absence of loved ones disappeared, from the pain of the tortured, from the anger of those unjustly incarcerated, from those who suffer from political and social persecution, from the situation which daily kills with repression, misery, hunger and disease, such as the abandoned children on the streets. We are a small part of the thousands of Mexicanos who through roads and mountains, villages and cities, forge a new consciousness of the necessity to construct a new Mexican patriotism, with those who's sweat irrigates the fields of Mexico and of foreign lands, with those whose strength moves the machines and factories, those who survive daily on the streets of our giant cities, those who in the classroom receive and plant the seed of knowledge, those who in every home resist the lack of bread and work, those people forgotten.

Reason and justice are on our side. Because of this, as Mexicans dissatisfied with this national reality and not allowing the government any other road; we have decided to trade in our tools for arms of liberation which will combat and contribute to the fall of big money and the unpopular government. Today, inspired by the unjust conditions of life and work, we have decided to struggle in an organized fashion to contribute to the revolutionary democratic transformation of our nation, and based on a conscious and voluntary act we have created an instrument of struggle which we call the Popular Revolutionary Army (EPR).

The Popular Revolutionary Army (EPR) is formed by men and women, from the different exploited and oppressed sectors of the people, that have comprehended the necessity of organization against the reactionary violence of the exploiters and oppressors, that for decades intended to drown in blood the struggle of the Mexican people and their legitimate aspirations. This gives it an essential popular character because of the participation of simple men and women.

Our army also struggles for the profound transformation of our society through the path of armed revolution as one more form of struggle that our people develop in defense of their interest and for the continuity of their objective.

The Popular Revolutionary Army

(EPR) is the sector of the people who aspire to be a part of the achievements of liberation and combats that our people have liberated from exploitation, injustice and oppression throughout its history and which today manifest itself in the struggle for democratic revolutionary transformation of the country, that the people have developed against the repressive politics of a state which is supported and financed economically and militarily by imperialism, there is no lack of resources to oppress and massacre the Mexican people and to continue to keep them down. We are the results of the determination to struggle against political demagogue of the anti-popular government

tions that plagues the entire country, the Revolutionary Popular Army (EPR) is making a call out to all the organizations that are popular, democratic, armed and revolutionary, to condemn aggressive action against the people, and to come together to organize and form one political front and struggle for liberty, democracy, justice and a life with dignity.

To the people of México lets raise the banner of struggle that our brothers/sisters have carried until their death at the hands of repression by the government.

We struggle against oppression and injustice, against humiliation and theft, in defense of the dignity of our children,

tion with which we clutch our arms of liberation; that the pain would transform into the spirit of struggle to confront the anti-popular government and its oppressive forces, that the spilt blood of the martyrs of México were not in vain. No more massacres against the people, no more crimes without punishment.

Our struggle is just and legitimate, it is the expression of the popular will to recuperate our nation and construct freedom and sovereignty.

We call on all the people to join our democratic revolutionary struggle for the liberation of our nation from the chains of capitalism and an oppressive state.

We call on all democratic syndicalists, political, progressive, and armed revolutionaries, on social activist and progressive personalities to incorporate all forms of struggle into the democratic revolutionary struggle for justice, democracy, liberty, and a dignified life for all Mexicans.

JOIN THE RANKS OF THE POPULAR REVOLUTIONARY ARMY (EPR)!

JOIN POPULAR TRIBUNALS TO CONDEMN THE ENEMIES OF THE PEOPLE!

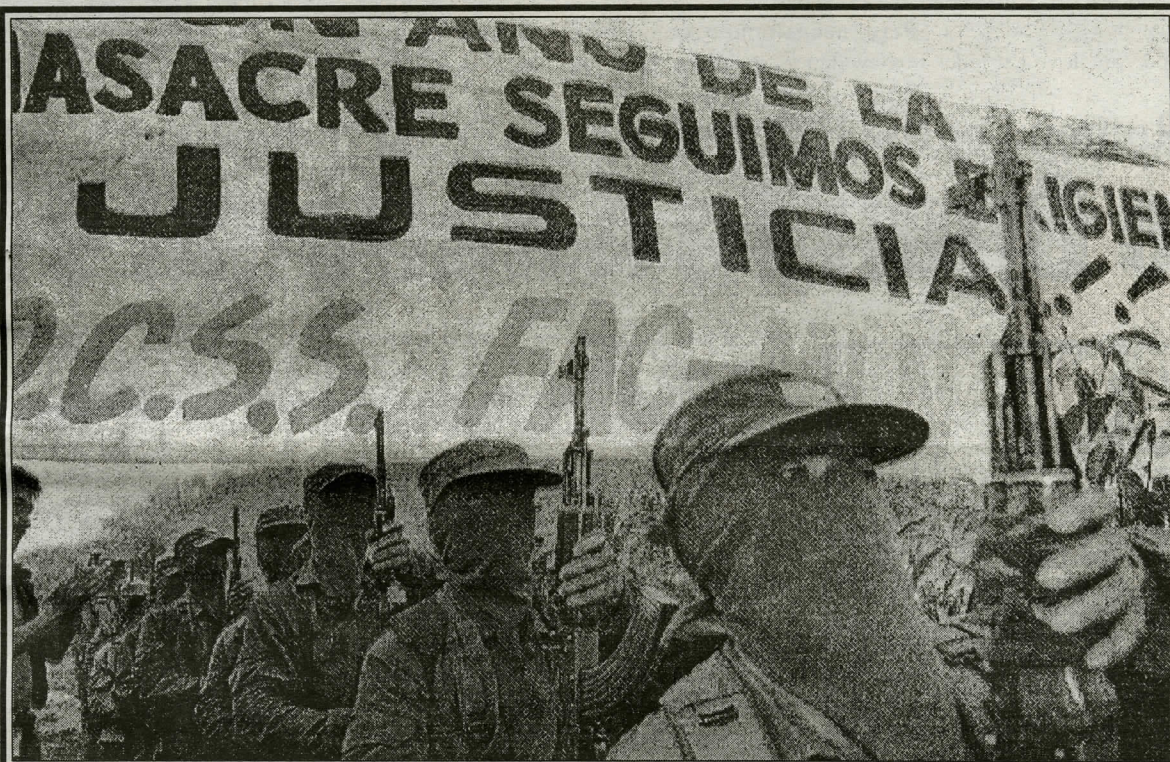
FORM SELF-DETERMINED ARMED FORMATIONS!

IN THE FACE OF REPRESSION AND IMPUNITY, EXERCISE A POPULAR REVOLUTIONARY JUSTICE!

RESPOND WITH ORGANIZED STRUGGLE TO THE VIOLENCE OF THE GOVERNMENT!

WITH POPULAR STRUGGLE THE EPR SHALL TRIUMPH!

GENERAL COMMAND OF THE POPULAR REVOLUTIONARY ARMY
Aguas Blancas, Gro., México, June 28, 1996



who in defense of the financial elite and of corporations, as well as the foreign interest in Mexico, has always neglected to satisfy the demands for justice, liberty, democracy of the people, and who has demonstrated that it will never bow down to such demands as such we have decided to defeat them with the strength of reason and arms.

For them we prepare to struggle:

1) We struggle to overthrow the anti-popular, anti-democratic, demagogic, and illegitimate government which works in the interest of national and international capital and those forces that sustain that capital. We struggle for the establishment of a new and distinct government from that which presently exists.

2) We struggle for the reinstatement of popular sovereignty and reinstatement of the fundamental rights of man. We will achieve this goal with the participation of the people and with the establishment of a popular and democratic republic upholding the legitimate right of the people to alter or modify their form of government.

3) We struggle for resolution and fulfillment of the immediate needs and demands of the people implementing the necessary social, economic, and political modifications to bring about these changes.

4) We struggle for the establishment of just international relations with the international community.

5) We struggle for the punishment of those responsible for political oppression, corruption, misery, hunger, and crimes against humanity.

The escalated repressive condi-

women, working class, farmworkers, indigenous, colonized, and students to reestablish order and rights, to reinstate popular sovereignty.

That indignation and profound pain are not left alone in our memory and in our hearts, that the pain and nostalgia for our loved one's who are disappeared, tortured and massacred, strengthen our convic-

FREE JOSE LUIS NOW!

The Chicano Mexicano Prison Project presents
a fundraiser and public forum on:

The Struggle in Defense of Raza Prisoners and the Free Jose Luis Aviña Campaign



Sat., November 23, 1996 at 6:30 pm,
Centro Aztlan
2207 Fern Street,
San Diego, California

Like so many other Raza prisoners locked down in United States prisons, Jose Luis Aviña has fallen victim to an anti-Mexicano judicial system designed to put our youth behind bars. Join us in calling for an end to the wrongful imprisonment of Jose Luis Aviña, and for justice for all Mexicano Prisoners.

For more information, call (619) 280-8361

Comandante Ramona del EZLN:

Estamos Dispuestos a un Diálogo Nacional

12 de octubre de 1996.

Al pueblo de México:

Hermanos y hermanas:

Por mi voz habla la voz del Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional.

Hoy hemos venido hasta aquí, hasta el centro de este país que se llama México, para decirle a todos los mexicanos y mexicanas unas cuantas palabras que tenemos nosotros los Zapatistas.

De por sí es muy pequeña nuestra palabra de los Zapatistas, pero su paso es muy grande y camina muy lejos y se entra en muchos corazones.

Estos corazones que nos escucharon son de hombres, mujeres, niños y ancianos que quieren un país democrático, libre y justo.

Estos corazones son los que nos ayudaron a llegar hasta el Zócalo de la ciudad de México.

Estos corazones quieren lo mismo que los Zapatistas queremos y lo que todos queremos.

Queremos un México que nos

tome en cuenta como seres humanos, que nos respete y reconozca nuestra dignidad.

Por eso queremos unir nuestra pequeña voz de Zapatistas a la voz grande de todos los que luchan por un México nuevo.

Llegamos hasta aquí para gritar, junto con todos, los ya no, que nunca más un México sin nosotros.

Eso queremos, un México donde todos tengamos un lugar digno.

Por eso estamos dispuestos a participar en un gran diálogo nacional con todos.

Un diálogo donde nuestra palabra sea una palabra más en muchas palabras y nuestro corazón sea un corazón más dentro de muchos corazones.

Para este diálogo nacional vamos a caminar mucho y vamos a dar muchos pasos.

Nosotros estamos dispuestos a todo para dar estos pasos.

Pero necesitamos que todos ustedes nos ayuden a caminar a todos los

Zapatistas, así como me ayudaron a mí a caminar hasta aquí.

Hermanos y hermanas mexicanos:

Yo soy la comandante Ramona del Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional.

Soy el primero de muchos pasos de los Zapatistas al Distrito Federal y a todos los lugares de México.

Esperamos que todos ustedes caminen junto a nosotros.

Esta es nuestra palabra, hermanos y hermanas mexicanos.

Gracias.

Desde el Zócalo de la ciudad de México, Distrito Federal

Por el Comité Clandestino Revolucionario Indígena - Comandancia General del Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional.

Comandante Ramona

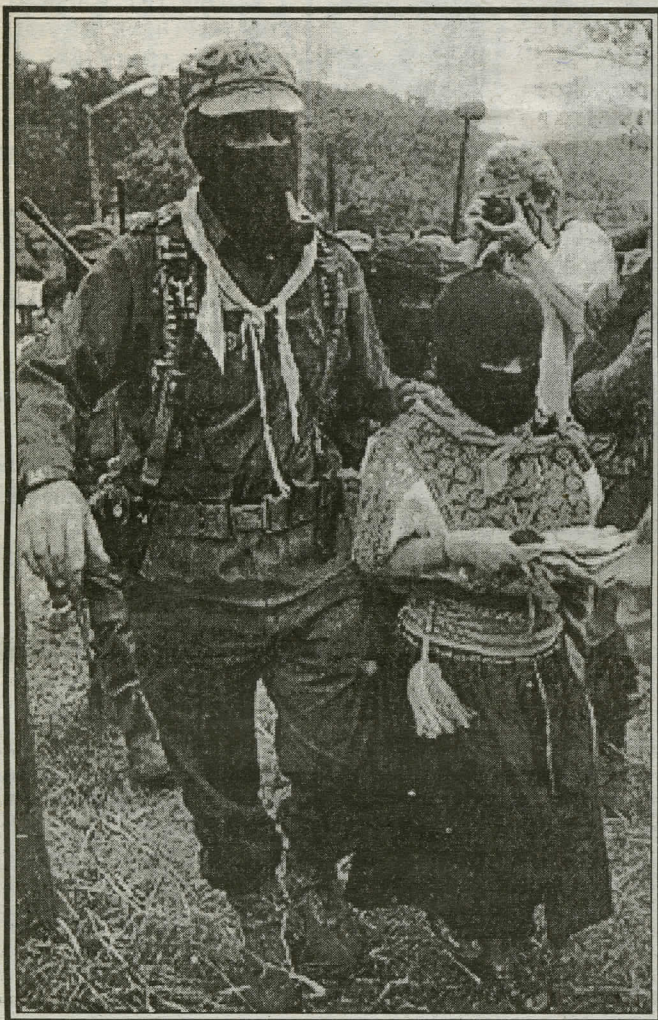
México, octubre de 1996



Comandante Ramona

Comandante Ramona of the EZLN at the National Indigenous Conference:

We Are Open To A National Dialogue



Subcomandante Marcos y Comandante Ramona en Chiapas

Message from the Zapatista Army of National Liberation

October 12, 1996

To the people of México

Brothers and Sisters

Through my voice speaks the voice of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation.

Today we have come here, to the center of our nation that is named México, to give a few words to all Mexicans: that we the Zapatistas want you all to hear.

Our voice of the Zapatistas are barely heard, but our steps have been large and our road has been far and our struggle has entered many hearts.

These hearts that listened were hearts of men, women, children and elders who seek a democratic, just and free nation.

These hearts are the hearts that helped us reach el Zócalo in México City.

These hearts are the hearts that want the same thing the Zapatistas want, its what we all want.

We want a México that acknowledges us as human beings; that respects and recognizes our dignity.

This is why we want to unite our small voice of the Zapatistas to the great voice that struggles for a new México.

We came to make the call out with everyone, that no longer a México without us.

That is what we want, a México where everyone is guaranteed a life with dignity.

That is why we are in favor of a national dialogue with everyone.

A dialogue where our voices make up part of the overall voice of México, and our hearts part of the many hearts.

For this national dialogue we shall walk great distances and take many steps.

We are willing to do what it takes to make these great steps.

But, the Zapatistas need your help to walk that road, just like you helped me with my road here.

Brothers and sisters of México

I am Comandante Ramona from the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN).

I am the first step of many that the Zapatistas will make to the Federal District and every place else in México.

We wait in hopes that all of you

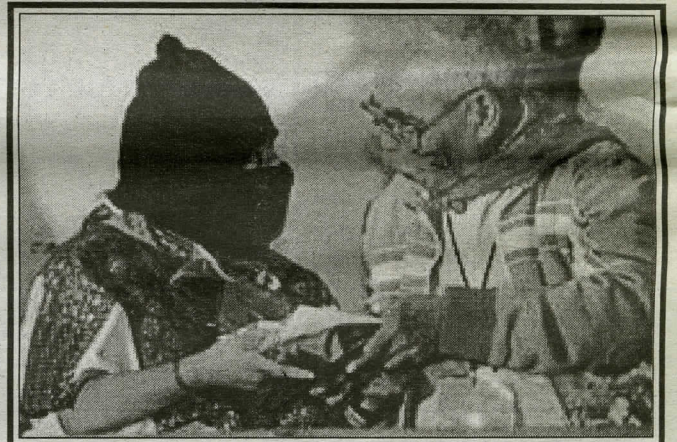
join us on this road.

These are our words, brothers and sisters of México.

Thank you!

From México City
Federal District
On behalf of the Indigenous Revolutionary Clandestine Committee - General Command of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN)

Comandante Ramona
México, October, 1996



Too many of our gente are being locked down by the U.S. colonial judicial/prison system

Join the
**Barrio
Defense
Committee**

The Barrio Defense Committee (BDC) is a barrio organization that is dedicated to the release of José Luis Aviña and other Raza political prisoners. The BDC is made up of families, students and Raza activists in the San José area.

If you are tired of the judicial/prison system and how it treats our gente . . . then join the Barrio Defense Committee. For information call: (408) 223-0938 or write to:

Barrio Defense Committee

P.O. Box 1523

San José, CA 95109

CHICANOS FOR CREATIVE MEDICINE (CCM)

Meetings Bi-Weekly on Wednesdays
6:30 p.m. @ MedSchool
Medical Teaching Facility (MTF) Rm. 273

For info call Angela H. (619) 690-6616



Declaración del Conferencia Indígena, 8-12 de octubre 1996, Ciudad México, D.F.

Nunca Más Un México Sin Nosotros

Los representantes de pueblos y organismos indígenas reunidos en el Congreso Nacional Indígena del 8 al 12 de octubre de 1996 en la Ciudad de México proclamamos solemnemente la siguiente declaración:

CONSIDERANDO la historia de explotación y discriminación que por 504 años hemos sufrido los pueblos indios, a lo largo de los cuales se ha desconocido nuestra capacidad de conducir nuestro destino.

REAFIRMANDO: la continua resistencia indígena que en los últimos veinte años se ha manifestado en el auge de sus movimientos para responder con vigor a esas condiciones y a los múltiples intentos de cooptación gubernamental.

OBSERVANDO: que mientras algunos sectores de la sociedad ofrecen creciente solidaridad a esos movimientos, otros sectores siguen manteniendo actitudes de discriminación y exclusión.

DENUNCIANDO: que la respuesta del gobierno a nuestra legítima movilización ha sido la militarización de casi todas las regiones indígenas y rurales del país, la persecución de organizaciones y dirigentes, el engaño, la mentira y la amenaza prepotente.

DECLARAMOS:

Que honramos hoy, como siempre, a quienes nos hicieron pueblos y nos han permitido mantener contra todo y contra todos, nuestra Libre Determinación. Que honramos a quienes nos enseñaron a seguir siendo lo que somos y a mantener la esperanza de la libertad.

Que en su nombre hablamos hoy para decir a todos nuestros hermanos y hermanas del país que se construyó en

nuestros territorios y se nutrió de nuestras culturas, que venimos a hacer, junto con ellos, una Patria Nueva. Esa patria que nunca ha podido serlo verdaderamente porque quiso existir sin nosotros.

Que estamos levantados. Andamos en pie de lucha. Venimos decididos a todo, hasta la muerte. Pero no traemos tambores de guerra sino banderas de paz. Queremos hermanarnos con todos los hombres y mujeres que al reconocernos, reconocen su propia raíz.

Que no cederemos nuestra autonomía. Al defenderla defenderemos la de todos los barrios, todos los pueblos, todos los grupos y comunidades que quieren también, como nosotros, la libertad de decidir su propio destino, y con ellos haremos el país que no ha podido alcanzar su grandeza. El país que un pequeño grupo voraz sigue hundiendo en la ignominia violencia.

Que por todo esto

EXIGIMOS:

PRIMERO: el reconocimiento jurídico constitucional de nuestra existencia plena como pueblos y de nuestro inalienable derecho a la libre determinación expresado en la autonomía en el marco del Estado Mexicano.

SEGUNDO: el reconocimiento constitucional de nuestros territorios y tierras ancestrales que representan la totalidad de nuestro hábitat en donde reproducimos nuestra existencia material y espiritual como pueblos.

TERCERO: el reconocimiento de nuestros sistemas normativos indígenas en la construcción de un régimen jurídicamente pluralista que armonice las diversas concepciones y prácticas de regulación del orden social que conforman la sociedad

mexicana.

CUARTO: el reconocimiento de nuestras diferencias y nuestra capacidad para gobernarnos con una visión propia en que la autonomía y la democracia se expresan como poder del pueblo.

QUINTO: en general, el reconocimiento de todos nuestros derechos sociales, políticos y culturales para la afirmación, florecimiento y perduración de nuestras comunidades y pueblos.

SEXTO: el cumplimiento inmediato y completo de los Acuerdos de la Mesa 1 sobre Derechos y Cultura Indígena del Diálogo de San Andrés Sakamch'en de los Pobres, Chiapas, que constituye un primer paso ya conquistado por los pueblos indígenas, así como los acuerdos de este Congreso y la inmediata constitución de la Comisión de Verificación y Seguimiento.

SEPTIMO: la desmilitarización de las zonas indígenas del país, el cese al hostigamiento a organizaciones indígenas y sociales y a sus dirigentes, la liberación de los presos políticos y de los indígenas injustamente detenidos, y en particular, de los presuntos zapatistas presos.

PROPONEMOS

I: Participar en la construcción de un nuevo pacto social que se base en el reconocimiento de nuestra pluralidad, la diversidad de nuestras culturas y la riqueza de nuestras diferencias.

II: Avanzar hacia una nueva Constitución que con la efectiva participación de todos y todas recoja un proyecto incluyente y plural.

III: Realizar las reformas de la Constitución,

las leyes y las instituciones existentes, a fin de crear los espacios políticos que encaucen nuestra transición a la democracia y estimulen un auténtico diálogo nacional hasta llegar a un Congreso Constituyente efectivamente democrático.

IV: Guiar nuestra lucha por una voluntad continua e incansable de transformarnos pacíficamente y conquistar día tras día una paz con justicia y dignidad; una paz con democracia y libertad.

V: Intensificar la lucha por la satisfacción de nuestras demandas pendientes, en particular, para el reconocimiento de los niveles regionales de autonomía, las reformas al artículo 27 que garanticen el respeto a la tierra y territorio de los pueblos indígenas, y el reconocimiento del pluralismo jurídico, entre otras.

Para alcanzar estos grandes objetivos, llamamos a todos nuestros hermanos y hermanas indígenas, a todos los pueblos, comunidades y organizaciones, a todo el movimiento indígena nacional, a mantener unidos nuestros corazones para fortalecer la unidad del movimiento indígena nacional y nutrir así de esperanza nuestra lucha y de paz nuestro futuro. Desarrollaremos un programa de lucha, de unidad, de resistencia, de reconstrucción, de transformación de nuestra sociedad. Asimismo, hacemos un llamado fraternal a un Gran Diálogo con la Sociedad Civil para buscar juntos la transformación de México hacia una sociedad más justa, humana y democrática. Hoy decimos:

**Nunca Más Un México Sin Nosotros
Nunca Más Un Indio Contra Su Hermano
Nunca Más Un Pueblo Sin Esperanza**

Proclamada En La Ciudad De México
El 11 De Octubre De 1996.

The Center for U.S.- Mexican Studies
University of California San Diego
will be hosting the following forums
and presentations for fall quarter 1996:

October 23

El Sindicalismo Mexicano Y la Transición Política

(seminar will be conducted in Spanish)

Graciela Bensusán, political scientist, Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales and Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana-Xochimilco

October 30

Borderless Economies and Barricaded Borders: The Paradox of U.S.-Mexican Integration

Peter Andreas, political scientist, Cornell University, and Guest Scholar, Center For U.S.- Mexican Studies.

November 6

The Politics of Immigration: A Comparison of the United States and Germany

Herbert Dittgen, political scientist, Gottingen University, and Guest Scholar, Center for U.S. Mexican Studies.

November 13

Mexican and Dominican State Responses to Transnational Migration

Luiz Guarnizo, sociologist, University of California - Davis, and Guest Scholar, Center for U.S. Mexican Studies.

November 20

Employment and Wages under Economic Liberalization in Mexico

(Dean's Conference Room 107, Social Science Building)
Eduardo Zepeda, economist, Universidad Autónoma de Coahuila

December 4

The Political Economy of Japanese Foreign Investment: Support Mechanisms for Overseas Industrial Expansion

Mireya Solís, political scientist, Harvard University, and Visiting Research Fellow, Center for U.S.- Mexican Studies

All forums are held at the Institute of the Americas Complex, unless noted.
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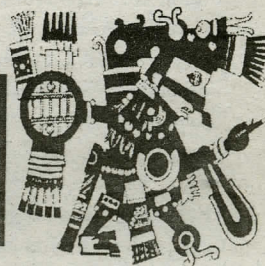
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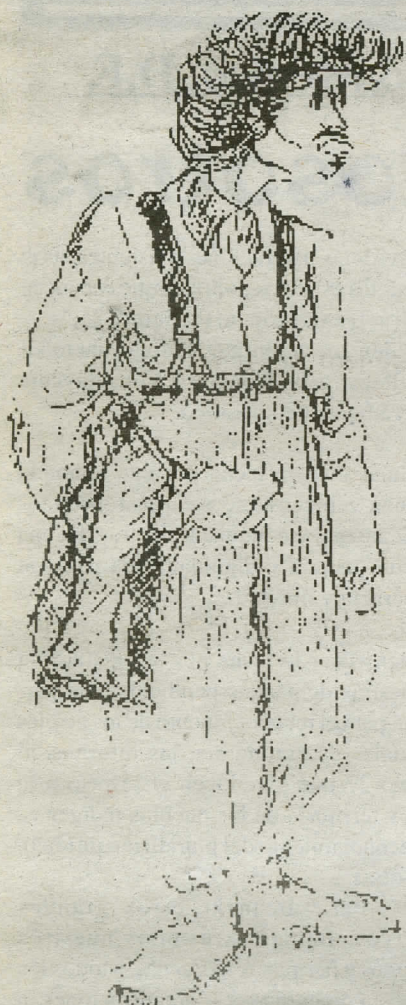
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Arte y Cultura

Cucaracha False Consciousness: Conversation Between Two Bilingual Dead Roaches

por
Olga A.
Garcia

Oye mi 'rachita
y a ti como te mataron?

Uuuu cucita. You don't even want
to know. It hurts just thinking
about it.

Eso que si.
A mi, gracias a Dios, me fumigaron.

Ah the gas chamber.
Pues you were lucky. Por lo menos
estas in one piece. Look at me
tengo la barriga y las antenas
completamente aplastadas.

Si, te ves bien gacho.
Pareces pasa.

Sabes, I didn't even see it coming
was on my way to visit mis primos
cuando me brota un pinche zapato!
Uuu I ran como loca, buscando
that rinconcito, that crack in the wall
or outlet to hide in.
Pero nel esa. Nunca llegue.

Lo peor fue que no morí instantly.
I had to lay there media-muerta
and listen to my assassin
curse me and all my offspring!
*Que se vayan al pinche demonio tu
y tu cria!* Lo crees?! Ni en la hora
de la muerte nos respetan?
Y tu? Moriste pronto?

Pues I died a slow, pero pretty painless death.
Claro, nada compared to the torture you suffered,
pero ya sabes que a estos desgraciados
les encanta fumigar con el Raid.
No duele tanto, pero el olor es horrible
uno ni puede respirar,
es como si uno estuviera tragando veneno.
A mi, el cuerpo y la cabeza se me atarantaron
hasta que callí boca y patas arriba.
La ultima cosa que vi,
fue a La Vieja del departamento 9
looking down at me con una expresión
de puro asco.
Cree que she's seen the last of me.
Pendeja no sabe que las cucarachas
como los gatos, tenemos muchas vidas.
Mañana a la madrugada I will reappear

reincarnated en los cuerpiitos de mis 200 hijos.
Pobres estupidos! Do they really think
they can win this war?

Quien sabe, Cucita. Pero when I get back
I'm moving uptown! I've had it
with these overcrowded run-down
human-infested buildings and projects.
I want to live in the suburbs
donde hay mucho codo room
y menos crimen.

Pues Rachita, I don't know.
Dicen que it gets pretty lonely out there.
It's a different lifestyle.
Alla, they fumigate professionally,
cada cuatro meses.
Dicen que el veneno ni tiene olor.
You don't even smell death coming.

Pues my point exactly, cucita.
Next time I die, I want to do it peacefully.
No more heavy zapatos falling from the sky
I'm tired of being plastered against walls
by monstrous escobas and angry lists.
Y from what I hear, los ricos matan
mucho mas civilized que los pobres.

Artwork from the
Pachuco Series 1977
by José Montoya

Every Corner of Every Barrio

Por
Manuel J.
Vélez

Voy con Pepe!
Are the screams of the vatos
To their rucas every payday.
Como si el Pepe era un Tio
Or a real good friend.

Pepe's is a little bar at the corner
where generations of Raza have gone
To drink away their problemas de
El Jale y
Los pinches biles y
Esos gringos cabrones que no acaban de chingar.

Down at the corner in the barrio
Como en todos los otros corners
de todos los otros barrios
Where La Raza spends their time
And hard earned feria
Watchando las Rucas that fill up the walls
Creating beautiful fantasies
Con la ayuda de un Bud.

"My favorite one es la de los Tecate posters,
ese." dice un guely while he stares longingly at a
young woman standing next to a six foot
longneck. "Esa huerita si 'sta bien buena, esé,
pa' que watchen. "Chale, vato, las mas
chingonas son las Chicas de Bud." dice otro ya
bien pedo. "Yo me chingo a las tres, ese."
"Fuck you, ese, your own ruca won't kiss you, y
ahora quieres estas."

Their own rucas are at home or
Chingandole en los jales,
Trying to meet their quotas of
One thousand jeans per day.
Pero los vatos aren't at Pepe's to remember that.
They want to bitch about their own problemas.

Pepe's
(like every bar in every corner of every barrio)
Has every song ever made from Chente porque
Ese quey si sabe.
And all the vatos se abrazan y se ponen a cantar.

You can really feel the carnalismo
dolor borachera resignation.
Inside Pepe's and
Every bar in
Every corner of
Every Barrio.

Y porque no, quey?
How else am I gonna take care of
Estos pinches problemas que nunca
Se acaban?
Tanto pinche chinga
Cada pinche semana
Por el resto de mi pinche vida.

Why is there a bar como el de Pepe
At every corner of every barrio,
Where generations of Raza se junta
To drink away their problemas?
Why is this the only solution they can see?
Just a temporary one
Lasting till next weekend
Cuando se oye de nuevo
Voy con Pepe!
At every corner of every barrio.



Voz Fronteriza is looking for chingón up-and-coming Raza poets, writers and artists.

Send us your poetry, short stories and artwork and we will publish it on the Arte y Cultura page (we cannot guarantee that all submissions will be published, but we will do our best. Artwork must be no larger than 11" by 14" and cannot be published in color. All work submitted becomes property of Voz Fronteriza and the Chicano Movement, please don't send originals if you want them back).

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