

LIBERTACION EXIGE ORGANIZACION

¡LA VERDAD!

UNION DEL BARRIO

JAN - MAR 1994



¡VIVIR POR LA PATRIA O MORIR POR LA LIBERTAD!

**Ejército Zapatista
de Liberación
Nacional**



See page
6 for
analysis on
Chiapas
rebellion...

"Nuestro pueblo sigue muriendo de hambre y de enfermedades curables, sumido en la ignorancia, en el analfabetismo, en la incultura. Y hemos comprendido que, si nosotros no peleamos, nuestros hijos volverán a pasar por lo mismo... La necesidad nos fué juntando y dijimos BASTA. Ya no hay tiempo, ni ánimo de esperar que otros vengán a resolver nuestros problemas. Nos organizamos y hemos decidido EXIGIR LO NUESTRO EMPUÑANDO LAS ARMAS, así como lo han hecho los mejores hijos del pueblo mexicano..."

Quoted from El Despertador Mexicano - official organ of the EZLN

Efforts to build a national movement goes forward... UPDATE ON THE FRENTE NACIONAL PRO-DEFENSA DEL PUEBLO AND THE RAZA WEEK OF RESISTANCE

As we witness increasing attacks against our community by racist politicians (Gov. Wilson, Feinstein, Boxer, etc.), the gringo-bourgeois media, right-wing groups, and violent-racist groups (Klan, skin heads, etc.), the need for a "united front" of progressive Raza organizations becomes an increasingly urgent matter. Since its founding in 1989, the National Chicano Moratorium Committee (NCMC), which has five regional committees in California and one in Tejas, has had as one of its primary objectives the building of a national coalition of progressively active forma-

tions with the organizational capability of defending the rights of our community. In order to bring about this national frente, the NCMC has consistently made efforts to bring people into the NCMC and has worked in many coalition efforts. These efforts have enabled the NCMC to organize the largest mass-mobilizations of progressive and pro-liberation forces since the "Chicano Power Movement" of the late 1960s and 70s. In 1990, the NCMC mobilized over 7,000 persons to join us in commemorating the "20th Anniversary of the Aug. 29th, 1970 Chicano Moratorium March." On October 10, 1992, the NCMC brought together over 4,000 activists to the "500 Years of Raza Resistance March" (the only national Chicano Mexican-led anti-Columbus day action in all the occupied territories). These events were of tremendous significance, not only because they were the most progressive and pro-liberation actions in defense of La Raza, but because the NCMC is completely independent of government and non-Raza organizations. This is a fact that very few organizations "claiming" to be part the Movimiento can claim.

In an effort to build this aforementioned national organization that our movement urgently needs, a recent



Participants of the 4th Raza Unity Conference in Albuquerque, Nuevo Mexico.

unity conference held on March 19, 1994, in Albuquerque, Nuevo Mexico addressed this question. This particular meeting was the latest in a series of conferences that have been organized by NCMC in different parts of Aztlán (occupied Mexico) to discuss the questions of "unity and organization" in our struggle. The conferences, which formally united under the name "Frente Nacional Pro-Defensa del Pueblo, have been held in El Paso, Tejas (Mar. 26, 1993), Phoenix/Tempe, Arizona (Sept. 25, 1993), and San Diego, Califas (Jan. 22, 1994).

Besides discussing fully what is the true meaning of unity and organization, a general understanding that has come out of the conferences is that the "disunity" our movement suffers from is something that was not created by us, but rather something that the U.S. colonial system has forced upon us to keep us from gaining any kind of strength or the ability to fight for our basic rights. The participants of the conferences have also come to the conclusion that the only way to change these condition is to unify our Movimiento around an independent campaign to defend our people on a national level and to unite our organizations under a frente that would have a structure under which all of our work would be coordinated.

included a "National Week of Raza Resistance" around the week of Cinco de Mayo, the gathering of an "International Petition for the Abolition of the Migra and the Demilitarization of the Border," to take on an organized campaign in support of Raza that are in the prisons (colonial concentration camps) and death row, to fight against the racist "English Only" laws, to continue support of the revolutionary struggle in Chiapas and throughout Mexico, to build around the upcoming "25 Commemoration of the Aug. 29th, March," as well as to work on all activities which challenge the colonial oppression of nuestra Raza.

At the conference in Albuquerque, several workshops, panel discussions, and organizing sessions took place to actually implement the objectives developed at the San Diego meeting. These included:

- That all regions and organizations united under the frente, include in their work (forums, demonstrations, etc.) efforts to combat the "English Only" initiatives being pushed by the gringo right-wing and that the Albuquerque-based "Chale Con English Only" committee serve as a communication network;

- That we continue our struggle against the so-

At the third conference (held in San Diego), a "frente structure" was agreed upon. The participants, after looking at the pros and cons of this structure, accepted the frente structure because it allows for the immediate and direct participation of new groups and the broader participation of independent groups (Movimiento de Liberación Nacional, La Raza Unida Party, MEChAs, Unión del Barrio, etc.) with different political lines.

Also, at the San Diego conference, key issues were identified as action oriented projects or mobilization efforts for the new frente to take on. This

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Frente Nacional Pro-Defensa del Pueblo

called "U.S. judicial/penal system" that houses Raza and other political prisoners. That we hold platicas, forums, and rallies as a mechanism to further expose this "arm" of the colonial system that is in the business of building jails, prisons, and youth camps, -that only serve to conquer and divide Raza and other oppressed peoples;

- In regards to the revolutionary struggle led by the Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional (EZLN), that we continue to actively support, unconditionally, the struggle in Mexico for self-determination and true democracy. Regional actions will take place, such a caravan to Mexico, rallies and demonstrations

- Also proposed and accepted, was the establishment of a frente newsletter, TIERRA O MUERTE, to be coordinated by the Chicano Press Association (CPA).

These issues and actions will all be tied to the upcoming "Week of Raza Resistance" that will take place during the week of Cinco de Mayo. Organizations in the frente agreed to coordinate work and to effectively challenge the efforts by the U.S. colonial system and their "hispanic mexican-american" flunkies and agents, to trivialize (through beer festivals, taco sales, etc.) "Cinco de Mayo." Central to this challenge will be to spread historical truth and significance of "5de Mayo," a date that celebrates the Mexican victory of the "Batalla de Puebla"



Week of Resistance workshop at the Unity Conference.

in 1862 against the French imperialist-colonialist forces which had invaded Mexico. The Albuquerque conference

participants voted to call this particular struggle against the falsification of our history, "Este Cinco de Mayo, como en Puebla, todos a la Defensa Nacional."

Even though the "unity process" (effort to build the national frente) has been slow, it has been a consistent, principled, and organized process. This process is

based on the understanding of its organizers, that the only way to win over the masses and effectively combat our oppressors (U.S. imperialism, the most powerful system in the world) is to built an organization guided by logical, proven, and scientific methods. It is a process that demands serious, discipline, and principled work.

In summation, the Albuquerque conference was successful because of the moving forward of the unity process and the commitment demonstrated by those involved. At the same time however, as we have noted in the past, it was obvious that there were groups present at the different levels of political understanding and philosophies, which often complicates or makes unity a little more difficult. Nevertheless, the present structure and development of the "Frente Nacional Pro-Defensa del Pueblo" allows for broad participation of those willing to de-isolate themselves and work in a serious fashion to win the liberation of our Raza.

For more information on the frente, you can write to...



Unión del Barrio members at conference.

Frente Nacional
c/o nat'l secretary
P.O. Box 620095
San Diego, Ca. 92162

MARCHES, MEETINGS, AND SPEECHES ARE NOT ENOUGH...
THE TIME FOR PRINCIPLED AND REVOLUTIONARY UNITY IS NOW!

Join the Frente Nacional Pro-Defensa del Pueblo in continuing the process of building the national organization necessary for winning liberation.

May 28, 1994
San Jose, Califas

FOR MORE INFORMATION CONTACT THE
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A CHICANO PERSPECTIVE OF THE POLITICAL STRUGGLE IN MEXICO: PART VI

In this segment, we will study the end of the Lopez-Portillo presidency, the rise of the Partido Acción Nacional (PAN), the presidency of Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado and the responses to these developments by both the traditional Left and authentic revolutionary organizations. We will also take a closer look at Mexico's economic fall from a country that wanted to be "another France" to the Fourth World. Finally, what the candidacy of Cuauhtemoc Cardenas of 1988 for the presidency meant to the revolutionary struggle on both sides of la frontera falsa.

JOSE LOPEZ PORTILLO LEFT THE PRESIDENCY IN DISGRACE

As we pointed out in Part V of this series, Jose Lopez Portillo left the presidency of Mexico in disgrace in 1982. His schemes to make Mexico "another France" had failed miserably. He had managed to anger the business and industrial sectors of the Mexican ruling class when he nationalized the banks in 1982. Much of the northern ruling class responded by packing their Gucci bags and moving to the United States - albeit in conditions much different from most of our people who are forced across the false border by exploitation and poverty. In this context, the elections of 1982 were of the utmost importance both to the Mexican ruling class and to the United States imperialist machine.

In 1980, Ronald Reagan won the presidency of the United States from Jimmy Carter. Where other presidents - both Democrat and Republican - had understood the necessity of maintaining a "democratic" mask on the PRI, especially to fool the Mexican masses, Reagan was too primitive for thinking at that level. What Reagan wanted was a return to the pre-revolutionary days when Mexico was openly a colony of the U.S. - when gabachos openly controlled the Mexican government. What the Reagan White House and State Department looked for was a Mexican Government that would be openly submissive, much like El Salvador, Guatemala, and Nicaragua. The PRI was much too corrupt, unstable, and unpredictable for the new U.S. tastes. If the U.S. was going to bring Mexico "in line," they would have to create an alternative to the PRI within Mexico. Enter the Partido de Acción Nacional. **"SHAPING MEXICO" - REAGAN'S ALTERNATIVE**

A document put out by the United States in the early eighties titled "Shaping Mexico" laid out very clearly the goals of the U.S. government. The Reagan administration felt the need to promote the idea of a more "democratic" Mexico.

This, they felt could be done by promoting an absolute right-wing alternative to the PRI. This would accomplish more than the illusion of democracy. The PAN could be used as a threat or counterweight if the PRI got out of hand. The U.S. also wanted to urge the Mexican government to relax any remaining restrictions on foreign capital and make the country even more open than it already was to gringo and other foreign businesses. Also, constantly discussed during the Reagan years, was the danger of Mexico being a staging ground for "communist subversion." The militarization of the border was again made a priority to stop this trend. This was the agenda of the Reagan-Bush administrations of the eighties.

It was during this period, due to the efforts of the United States, that the PAN rose to prominence in the

eighties. They began by taking over 10% of the vote in the presidential elections of 1982 and took over the governor ship of Baja California in 1989. This was followed by the governor ship of Chihuahua in 1992 as well as various Senate and Diputado seats nationally. In 1984, the PAN was a guest of honor at the Republican National Convention in Dallas, Texas.

Part of the appeal of the PAN was due to the geographical areas where they concentrated their strength. The PAN has long been strongest in the northern, industrial states where contact with the U.S. and U.S. values is strongest, and where there is a great physical distance from Mexico City and other areas in central Mexico. In fact, states such as Baja California find themselves cut off from the rest of the country and more in kinship with the United States. When the middle and upper class of Baja California and Sonora talk about "pinches chilangos," and how they "produce everything and carry the rest of the country full of huevones on our backs," they are making a plea for the gringos to get closer to them. When Baja California Governor Ernesto Ruffo Appel has taken up the seemingly righteous banner of states' rights and declared that Baja California should be "independent," we must more carefully examine what he means. Ruffo wants independence from any vestige of the Mexican Revolution that is left. He wants the power to align himself more tightly with the United States. The PAN believes in a free market system unchained by revolutionary guarantees to workers and above all, close cooperation with the United States. Among the PAN's longtime backers is California Governor Pete Wilson. Interesting is the total silence of Ruffo and other PAN leaders when Pete Wilson took the offensive against Mexicans in August, 1993 and proposed more militarization of the border and denial of citizenship to children born to undocumented parents. While the steel fence has been erected along the California-Baja California Border, no protest has come from the governor's office.

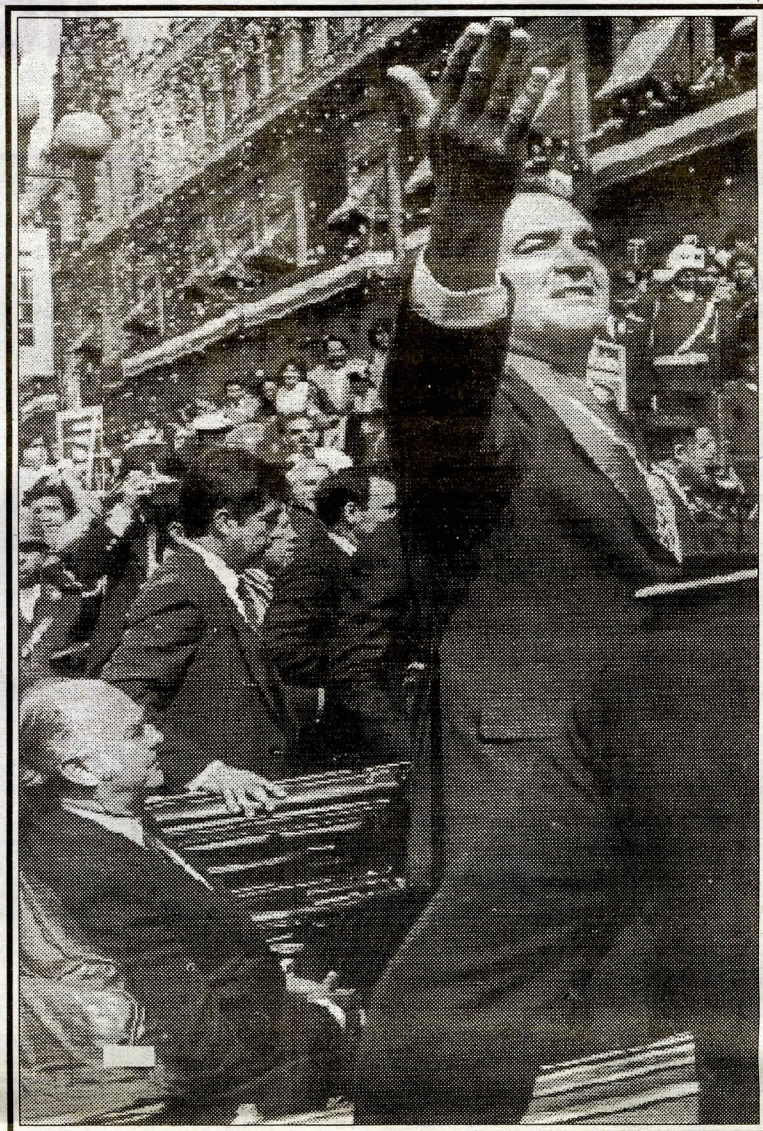


Lopez Portillo, the self-proclaimed radical, was just another lapdog for the U.S.

1982, this and many other factors came into play in a most interesting presidential election.

THE ELECTIONS OF 1982

1982 was a year of cosmetic reform and new trends in Mexican politics. Besides the PAN's strong



Lopez Portillo lost the presidency in disgrace to Miguel de la Madrid.

Another aspect to the PAN's gaining popularity in the 80's was a makeover in its image. Where they had before been seen as the party of the Catholic Church and the elite, the PAN sought a populist appeal in the early 80's. Playing on the corruption, lack of democracy, and economic injustice of the PRI, the PAN gained many converts in the more apolitical northern states. Many have voted for and continue to support the PAN not because of any ideological conviction, but because they market themselves as the alternative. The people are so sick and tired of the PRI that they will do anything to get rid of them. In

showing at the polls, many reforms adopted by the PRI to "open up" the electoral process were adopted. The candidate for the PRI was a startling departure from the norm. Whereas presidential candidates had traditionally come from the secretaria de gobernación, candidate Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado came from the secretaria de presupuesto (budget). He was not an old school rhetorical PRI demagogue, in the style of Lopez Portillo and Echeverria. This economic lawyer was conservative and Harvard-educated. Miguel de la Madrid probably had less loyalty to any of the main precepts of the PRI (cooperation with the Charro Unions, faking socialism in some areas, government control of business, etc.) than any of his predecessors. He was needed to show a departure from the failed policies of Lopez Portillo and a willingness to "clean up" corruption. For this reason, even though he had the presidency completely sowed up, de la Madrid went on an exhausting campaign stumping everywhere. Though his victory that July was all but assured, de la Madrid continued trying to restore confidence in the PRI and deal with the mess Lopez Portillo had made.

Meanwhile on the traditional Left, changes were occurring. The old Mexican Communist Party had merged with other groups (all following the Soviet Line) and formed the Partido Socialista Unido Mexicano and was again running for the presidency. Other left parties running for the presidency and various other offices were the Partido Mexicano de los Trabajadores, Partido Socialista Mexicano, and the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores. Of course, these parties were no match for the PRI machine and polled worse than the PAN. Again, they allowed themselves to be constrained by "legal" struggle and what the system allowed them to do. However, there continued to exist organizations in Mexico that were not constrained by what the system told them they could or could not do.

INDEPENDENT REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS IN MEXICO IN THE 1980'S

In our last segment, we studied different armed revolutionary movements in Mexico in the sixties and seventies and how they differed from the timid line of the established left during that time. It is important to note that

THE POLITICAL STRUGGLE IN MEXICO



The PAN, ultra right wing party, was recreated by the Reagan regime and makes the PRI look like boy-scouts with their overt vendido politics.

through the eighties, some of these movements - notably the PROCUP (Partido Revolucionario Obrero Clandestino Unión del Pueblo) - Partido de los Pobres continued to survive through clandestine struggle. One of the most striking examples of this was the formation in 1983, in the jungles of the southeastern state of Chiapas, of the Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional. This was a movement that would be heard from over 10 years later and would have a lasting impact not only on Raza on both sides of la frontera falsa but on the world revolutionary movement. Most important, the late seventies and eighties saw the advent of campesino, worker, human rights and popular organizations that were independent of the established parties and not tied into the electoral machine. Many of these organizations composed the Movimiento Democrático Independiente.

The MDI was a challenge to both the PRI and the traditional Left. Organizations within this umbrella have been at the forefront of struggle in all areas. In this section, it is necessary to devote a few lines to the Comité Nacional Independiente's human rights work since its foundation in 1978.

The CNI is an organization that defends the human rights de las masas mexicanas and has taken up the work of political prisoners and the disappeared in Mexico. Its annual report on the state of political prisoners provides information on the brutality of the PRI. Also, its work in general is different from other organizations in that they struggle around the political prisoner issue from a liberation perspective, rather than simply a philanthropic human rights perspective. Foremost on the mind of many activists struggling for Chicano Mexicano liberation and the reunification of La Patria Mexicana is the question of whether the MDI and CNI see

us as Mexicanos, and whether they understand our struggle as one based on decolonization. We can honestly say that they have been open to our perspectives in the various activities and pláticas we have held with them. This has been in total contrast to virtually the entire "left" that we have had experiences with, who totally accept the legitimacy of the border, write us off as gringos with Spanish surnames, and even deny that we have a legitimate movement!

This does not mean that the CNI and the MDI do not have their own adversaries. Many from the traditional left have attacked this movement as adventurist, gangsters, violent, and - probably the most serious attack - as government agents. We must say here that the groups and individuals who have launched this whisper campaign have never produced one shred of evidence to back up their wild accusations. Analyzing the situation, those who attack the Movimiento Democrático Independiente in such an irresponsible manner do so because of their fear of revolution and armed struggle. The fact that the Movimiento Democrático Independiente refuses to attack those who engage in the armed liberation struggle and that the CNI, in particular, has heroically defended political prisoners who participate in the armed component of our liberation struggle, is too much to bear for a "Left" that loves to mentally masturbate revolution as long as a real one doesn't come along that may jeopardize their University jobs. The fact that the MDI is not afraid to stand up to Yanqui imperialism and its puppet, the PRI, forces the so-called Left to face its own cowardice and ineffectiveness. There are popular or-

ganizations out there furthering the revolution, raising consciousness, taking on the Charro unions in the cities and the caciques in the campos. This fact exposes those established parties with the word Revolutionary in their name, and does not allow them to hide behind the excuse that "Mexico is not ready for a revolution." These independent forces would be vital in keeping the flame of revolution burning through the Miguel de la Madrid disaster of the eighties.

DE LA MADRID TOOK MEXICO DEEPER INTO AN ECONOMIC HOLE

Miguel de la Madrid presided over Mexico's economic collapse. It was during his presidency that inflation soared, unemployment skyrocketed, and misery continued to mount. By now the Peso, which had begun its downfall in the late seventies was virtually worthless. De la Madrid tried to "control" inflation by using measures of austerity that he said would affect all Mexicans, and not just the poorest sectors. These were empty phrases that the people saw through. Mexico during the 1980s was the land of hopelessness, where a university graduate in agronomic engineering, political science, teaching, or economy could only aspire to cross la frontera falsa under the cover of night, under the threat of la migra, to become a gardener, dishwasher, housekeeper, or field worker. That graduate could also stay south of la frontera falsa and become a taxi driver, street corner flame eater, taco vendor, etc. Why? Because unemployment was careening out of orbit and wages were too low to support a family in any sector of Mexican society. These were the conditions of the PRI's "stable society" of the eighties.

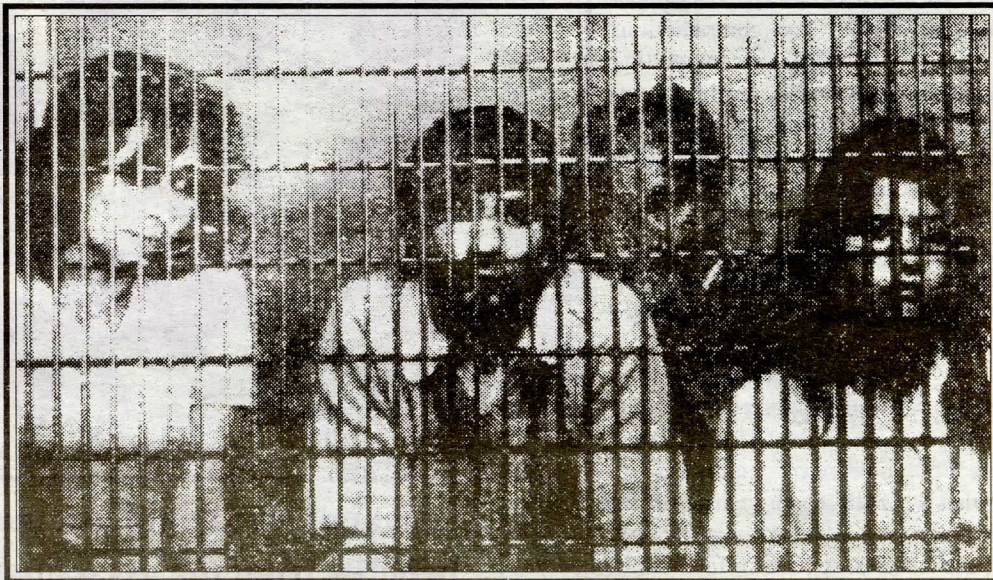
The obvious question asked by everyone, from international political analysts, to professors, to workers and peasants on both sides of la Frontera Falsa was: Whose fault was it? We need to examine the true cause of this collapse, independent

When "critics" of the Mexican government attribute all its problems to mismanagement and corruption, they fail to understand that the PRI is only doing the bidding of Tio Sam.

The same dynamic exists with the PRI's repression and lack of democracy and its systematic attacks on the masses. The weapons it uses are from the United States. The officers are trained in the United States - just as in all Latin American countries except Cuba. The CIA has its largest office outside Washington D.C. in Mexico City. Paramilitary organizations such as the Drug Enforcement Agency have participated in operations in different parts of Mexico for several years. How then is it possible to talk about the tortured, disappeared, repression, massacres and political prisoners without pointing to the role of the United States in manipulating Mexican government? The truth is, that without the massive U.S. support they receive, the traitor PRI government would be torn down immediately by las masas mexicanas who grow more revolutionary by the minute. While those who govern Mexico illegally cannot be absolved of their crimes against our gente, we must understand who is behind these crimes and that the only solution of Mexicanos anywhere in our territorio is to struggle to overturn colonialism, neocolonialism, and world capitalism which is the root of our oppression.

THE PRI STUCK IN REAGAN'S CRAW

Without a doubt, Jose Lopez Portillo, Miguel de la Madrid and the international politics they embraced, stuck in Reagan's craw as they had with no other U.S. president. Picking up where Lopez Portillo had left off, de la Madrid attacked U.S. intervention in Central America, helped found the Contadora Peace Process - a group of Latin American countries who condemned U.S. aggression in Nicaragua. The PRI also continued to foster good relations with Cuba. The Reagan administra-



Members of the PROCUP-PDLP are always scapegoats during Mexico's social struggles.

of personalities and emotionalism.

While it is true that Miguel de la Madrid presided over this period, it is impossible to blame him, or the PRI entirely for this turn of events. As we have emphasized before, the fact is that Mexico is a country with no independent political or economic life outside of the United States and world capitalism. The Mexican budget is controlled by the United States, the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund.

tion responded by raising questions as to the stability of the Mexican government, militarizing the Border, and doing all it could to strengthen the PAN.

THE ELECTIONS OF 1988

The elections of 1988 showed that the PRI was in crisis. In the past, all sectors of the PRI (business, unions, the army, technocrats, intellectuals, etc.) had been able to come to a consensus in election

cont. on pg. 9



Concientización y Liberación

The EZLN and the assassination of Luis Donaldo Colosio

The Revolutionary Situation in Chiapas is Another Front in the Struggle for Mexican Liberation and the Unification of Mexico and Aztlán

• *Concientización y Liberación* is the section of ¡La Verdad! in which we publish our analysis on specific questions facing the struggle for Raza Liberation. We understand that only by bringing clarity to the struggle through criticism and self-criticism will we be able to advance as a movement..

In a previous article on the Chiapas uprising (January 12th 1994, and published in the Jan. 1994 issue of *Voz Fronteriza*), Unión del Barrio summed-up our understanding of the armed struggle being waged by the Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional (EZLN) by providing a historical perspective and pointing out concrete lessons that our movement in the occupied territories (Aztlán) can learn from this particular struggle. Central to our analysis was that the recent uprising was part of a continuous pattern of 500 years of struggle waged by our Raza against the European occupation and colonization of our lands. Furthermore, we highlighted that the character of the EZLN, as they themselves explained in communiqués and declarations, was based on three fundamental principles: 1) the national liberation of Mexico (not limited to any ethnicity or region), 2) the recognition that colonialism and imperialism were the primary enemies of the Mexican nation, and 3) the need for the establishment of a socialist society in Mexico.

We also stated through the printing of a series of articles entitled *A Chicano Perspective On The Political Struggle In Mexico* (which will soon be published in book form) that revolution is the only road open to the Mexican masses and that the days of existence for the neocolonial government were numbered. The contradictions facing this ruling class are getting deeper by the hour. The recent assassination of Luis Donaldo Colosio (March 23, 1994) and the postponement of the "peace process" between the neocolonial Mexican government and the EZLN, only confirm Unión del Barrio's position on the question of liberation for the Mexican people on both sides of the militarily imposed border.

The revolutionary struggle in Chiapas as well as in other parts of the world (Azania (South Africa), Palestine, Philippines, etc.) demonstrates to us that we are living through a massive revolutionary period in human history. The revolutionary struggle in Chiapas, as part of the world-wide struggle being waged against imperialism, is another "front" in the struggle for Mexican national liberation (Aztlán being the other front). The Chiapas uprising has also had tremendous implications nationally and internationally. It has provided us with valuable lessons and has exposed certain concrete realities for the whole world to see, specifically the absence of economic, social and political freedom in Mexico and that revolution is the only road to liberation. To those of us who attempt to scientifically understand the forces that shape human history, the struggle in Chiapas has confirmed the political analysis and theory advanced by Chairman Omali Yeshitela (chairman of the African People's Socialist Party): a perspective which upholds that

the main contradiction facing U.S./European capitalism-imperialism (and its eventual defeat) is found in the struggles of the colonized peoples, and that the only way to resolve these contradictions is through revolutionary movements led by vanguard formations composed of the workers and the poor sectors of the colonized peoples.

The EZLN has blown away the whole position being pushed by so-called "leftists" and academicians - who have argued that "revolution was impossible in Mexico," and who have proposed that revolution is no longer a valid answer to the oppression faced by the majority of the people on the planet. Along with the struggles in Guatemala, Honduras, Peru, Colombia, El Salvador and Nicaragua, the revolutionary movement in Chiapas demonstrates that indeed, revolution in Latin America is not only a reality but necessary for bringing liberation to the masses of the people. In other words, revolution is the "norm" - not the exception in Latin America and the rest of the oppressed world. Furthermore,

and thus represents a weakness in the neocolonial system in particular (that they can't do things as before) and U.S. imperialism in general. The neocolonialists and their bosses, U.S. imperialism, were forced to come to some kind of agreement with the revolutionary leadership of the EZLN.

Looking at the 32 point "peace accord" to which the Mexican government has committed itself exposes the weakness of position they find themselves in. One point in the accord addresses the distribution of lands in Chiapas. This is an outright reversal of the trend of "capitalization" of the Mexican economy and inherently contradicts the so-called North American Free Trade Agreement (or as we call it, the "free slave agreement"). In other words, if the Mexican government fulfills this part of the agreement, it will change the course which Mexico has taken over the last 30 years, and would for all intents and purposes nullify NAFTA. It will initiate more land take over by the poor and raise demands for the nationalization of industry, banks, and so forth.

Another point relates to the "democratization" of the government (true, free elections). This implies the end of the dictatorship (which Sub-Comandante Marcos of the EZLN so correctly called it, see *Proceso*, March 28, 1994) of a handful PRI (Partido Revolucionario Institucional) elements and the possibility of a progressive nationalist government winning the upcoming elections - something that both the neocolonial ruling class and U.S. imperialism is absolutely opposed to. If this occurs, Mexico will once again push for its own national liberation and support the liberation struggles around the world as it has done in the past (1920s, and 1930s).

The reality is that the Mexican government is killing time so that it can come up with a game plan to destroy the Zapatistas and other progressive forces - something the Zapatistas are well aware of. It is here, around this game plan, where we find the real motives behind the assassination of Luis Donaldo Colosio.

Anyone that has followed the political developments in Mexico knows that the Colosio/PRI campaign was in deep trouble. The uprising in Chiapas had taken the national spot light away from Colosio and had created a crisis situation for the dictatorship (the clique that runs the PRI). As a writer to *La Opinión* (Los Angeles-based Spanish language newspaper) explained, no body listened to, or cared about what Colosio had to

say. The candidate of the liberal-progressive PRD (Partido de la Revolución Democrática) Cuauhtemoc Cardenas was by all accounts the most popular among the masses; this unstable political climate had forced the ruling elite of Mexico up against a wall.

Only the PRI could gain from the assassination of Colosio. The EZLN could not afford to lose the support it had from the masses of the Mexican people and the assassination has effectively diverted the attention of the Mexican people. The PRD and Cuauhtemoc Cardenas was already the leading candidate, and therefore had no material gain in the assassination.

The assassination accomplished several things.



As Mexicanos we should ask ourselves, "Who exactly benefits from the assassination of Colosio?"

the struggle in Chiapas has proven to the "so-called" left and wanna-be revolutionaries that the end of socialist governments in Europe does not mean the end of struggle in the colonized world nor the end of revolution and socialism.

Within days of the uprising, we heard that some "accords" had been reached with the Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional (EZLN). As we (those of us involved in struggle) analyze the situation in Chiapas we understand that historically the Mexican government has never negotiated with its opposition. Thus, whatever negotiations that have taken place were forced upon the neocolonialists (by the situation in Chiapas and conditions throughout Mexico)

Unión del Barrio



"Without the people we would die... It will be a long war. We do not believe the promises of President Salinas." Major Salvador EZLN

One, it took the focus of the media (if only temporarily) away from the revolutionary developments in Chiapas. Two, it eliminated a candidate (Colosio) who had no chance of winning without the most fraudulent elections in the history of Mexico - which would lead to uprisings and revolution throughout Mexico and destroy any benefits that U.S. capitalism would have made from the Free Trade Agreement. It has brought some sympathy from the Mexican people (through manipulation of the PRI-controlled media) to the PRI and has created a "martyr" for its organization. It has placed, to some degree, a negative shadow on another rival party, the conservative PAN (Partido de Acción Nacional), since Colosio was killed in Tijuana - "PAN territory." Of tremendous importance to the Movimiento in Aztlán is that - with the help of the gringo-bourgeois media - the puppet government of Mexico is trying to "connect" Mario Aburto Martinez, the person "accused" of doing the shooting (as this publication goes to print, already at least three members of the PRI have been arrested as part of a conspiracy to the crime) with radical groups and gangs in the U.S. occupied territories (see San Diego Union-Tribune, March 27, 1994). There can be no doubt that this represents the setting up of our struggle for repression and police attacks. And finally, as it has already begun to do, it has provided the "cover" (or a diversionary tactic) for a military attack on the EZLN.

The questions for our movement are: 1) What is our relationship to the uprising in Chiapas? and 2) What does the assassination of Colosio mean to our struggle?

As mentioned, we in Unión del Barrio see the revolutionary situation in Chiapas as "another front" in the struggle for Mexican liberation and the unification of Mexico and Aztlán. We do not accept the illegal, military separation of our nation.

Internationally, we see it as part of the world's oppressed nations and peoples struggle against imperialism and world wide capitalism. We also understand, that the best contribution we can make to the EZLN is to organize an effective struggle, here in the belly of the beast, to keep this beast so busy, that it becomes weak and unable to oppress others. We also understand, that this struggle has to include the building of an anti-colonial front with the African People's Socialist Party (APSC), and other international forces.

The assassination of Colosio, as Sub-Comandante Marcos of the EZLN has said, represents an internal struggle within the ruling clique of the PRI. This internal struggle has as its goals the immediate abatement of the electoral crisis in Mexico and the development of a cover to launch a counter offensive against all the progressive and revolutionary forces in Mexico. In other words, the ground has been laid for the establishment of open fascism in Mexico. Whatever the consequences of the Colosio assassination, it is a sign of weakness and crisis on the part of the ruling class that had to murder one of its own.

Whether the armed struggle in Chiapas ends today or not, it has already shown us what needs to be done. It has provided us with the reality of what struggle is all about, and has motivated, activated and mobilized millions of people throughout the world (many international demonstrations and actions in support of the EZLN have and continue to take place). Once again our people are taking things into their own hands as the only road towards justice, freedom and liberation.

For us in the struggle for Chicano Mexican Liberation and the "Aztlán Front" for the liberation of Mexico, the Chiapas uprising has confirmed the need for building a tight and disciplined group capable of organizing the masses around concrete realities and scientific analysis. We stress

this particular point, because there are many within our movement who think that our gente's self-determination can be won through individualistic or liberal-coalition type work; among these activists can be found some opportunists who are not serious about winning liberation and whose work is centered around their own personal agenda. This type of activism must be challenged and weeded out of our movement if we are to win liberation for La Raza.

Within days of the Chiapas uprising, throughout Aztlán literally thousands of people and formations came out to support the EZLN. Some of the manifestations of support have come from elements who are honest but naive. Others are opportunists (who are not for revolutionary change but are opportunistically taking advantage of the popular support of the Zapatista uprising) who have taken a position which calls for a "peaceful agreement" between the neocolonial government of Mexico and the EZLN, instead of calling for unconditional support and total victory for the EZLN.

We also must make it clear - neither we nor anybody else in the occupied territories (Aztlán) at this particular time has "official contact" with the Zapatistas (as the Zapatistas themselves have said). We do have some idea of what is happening in Mexico, how the situation relates to us, and how it relates internationally. We make this point clear because we never claim to be something we are not, unlike some forces who are claiming ties to the EZLN - even to the level of having "video tape interviews" (for example: check out a primitive-fraudulent video tape being circulated by individuals in the Bay Area) with EZLN representatives here on "this side of the border". Our information comes from years of studying, traveling, conversations with relatives, deciphering the bourgeois media and working with Raza south of the gringo-imposed borders.

We have learned that even though the majority of the membership of the EZLN is composed by people indigenous to the Chiapas region, their struggle, as they themselves have said, is for national liberation, socialism and against foreign intervention (imperialism). As we stated in our previous analysis, we have seen how the EZLN has placed "the liberation of all Mexicans" above the liberation of one "particular cultural group or tribe."

We have seen how the EZLN has put out as principle demands the call for bread, housing, medicine, jobs, lands, education, justice, and political self-determination for all Mexicans.

We have seen the unity and equality of men and women in the EZLN. Those involved in the Movimiento here in Aztlán must learn from this example, since it teaches us how the struggle for liberation is one for all Mexicanos. The example of the Zapatistas rejects the separation of men from women, as some bourgeois feminists and wanna be revolutionaries are attempting to do within our movement.

Also of tremendous importance, we have witnessed the tremendous work the EZLN has done around the question of organization. There is no way anyone can organize over 2,000 liberation fighters without an effective, organized, and centralized organization.

We raise these points (and we will continue to raise them) because some confused elements within our movement make the "women's question" the main issue, or "indigenous practices" the main issue, or raise "education" as the only issue, and so forth. It is sickening and infantile how they play up egos, personalities, heroes, messiahs, etc. It is almost criminal how some individuals go around down-playing organization, discipline, science and centralized leadership - all necessary for effective struggle against the highly organized and powerful capitalist pigs.

Unión del Barrio puts forth the position that we, like the EZLN, must unite under a vanguard organization, around an anti-colonial line and according to a people's program as the only road to victory. We cannot be weak about adhering to these scientific principles. We firmly believe that this not only applies to all Mexicanos in Aztlán, but it's the only way for all oppressed people to win their liberation!

As Sub-Comandante Marcos (of the EZLN) summed up in a recent interview, from our own (Mexican) history we have learned our military tactics; from the Sandinistas, not to depend on elections, and from the Frente Farabundo Martí de Liberación Nacional (El Salvador), not to lay down your arms. We must learn from all struggles and apply this knowledge to win true liberation for La Raza. **¡Hasta La Victoria - Siempre!**



March 26th "Cesar E. Chavez Memorial March" Represented the Selling-Out of the Ideals of Cesar Chavez

On Saturday, March 26, 1994, in San Diego, Calif., a local committee under the name of "Cesar Chavez Memorial March Committee" held a march in "honor" of the late Cesar Chavez (founder of the United Farmworkers Union). Invited to participate on the committee and in the memorial march was local racist (Mayor Golding and others) and sell-out politicians (Juan Vargas, George Stevens, and so forth), law enforcement agencies, the U.S. military services (even though Chavez was a pacifist), and vendido opportunists of all types. Unión del Barrio believes that by collaborating with these pigs, opportunists and racist politicians, the organizers of the march have jumped into bed with the very system which is responsible for the oppression of our gente. To add insult to injury, these opportunists have connected themselves and the gringo-racist system to the legacy of Cesar Chavez, a person who was truly committed to bettering the lives of the workers and the poor.

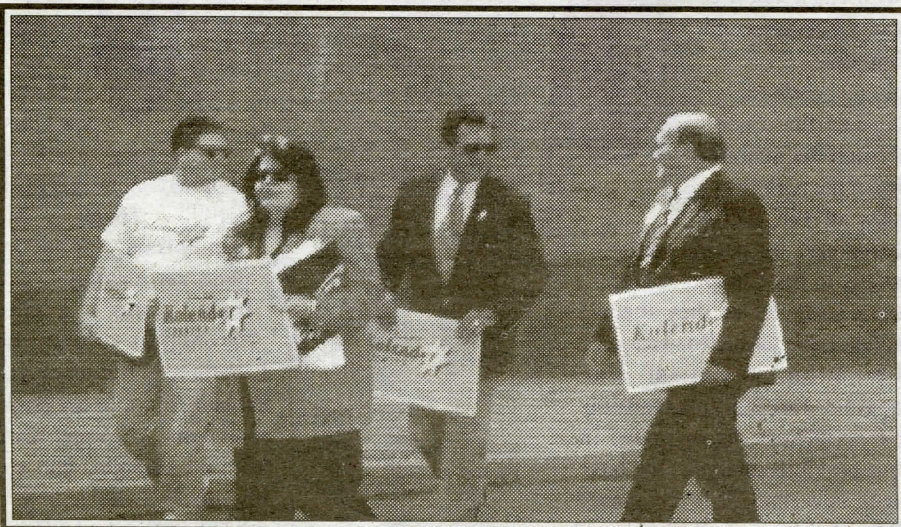
At a pre-march event, held on Wednesday, March 23rd, the "organizers" of the march held a dinner which was sponsored by an "Honorary committee" which included the notoriously anti-Mexican Senators Feinstein and Boxer, Assistance Police Chief George Solamando, and others. Some of the groups actually participating in the march were the Latino Peace Officers Association (who pulled security for the event), the Veterans of Foreign Wars, Mayor Golding, Council persons Juan Vargas and George Stevens, former police chief Kolendar, County Sheriff Jim Roach, and government controlled and funded organizations such as the so-called Chicano Federation and the Barrio Station. As one could see by the gringo press coverage (which inflated the participation to almost twice the number actually participating), the march not only gave the opportunists a platform to portray themselves as advocates of our community, but also an opportunity to campaign for David Valladolid (his election posters and signs could be seen shamelessly everywhere during the march), a former activist who now has fully embraced the politics of the capitalist-racist democratic party.

As a founding member of the Raza Rights Coalition (RRC), Unión del Barrio decided that the most principled way to respect Chavez and his legacy, was to not participate in this anti-worker/liberation event. While we understand that the great majority of those marching were honest Raza who were not aware of the real motives behind the memorial march, we condemned those who claim to be for "Chicano Mexicano Indio liberation," yet do not have a problem walking in the same parade with the police, U.S. military, and white/tio taco representatives of the colonial system.

The following, which was also printed in the RRC's monthly newsletter Pueblo Unido Vol. #1, No. 2 and handed out to some of the participants of the march, is the press statement and open letter that was mailed out to RRC supporters:



What is the contradiction in this picture?



Former San Diego Police Chief using the Memorial March to campaign for Sheriff.

OPEN LETTER TO ALL RAZA ABOUT THE UPCOMING CESAR CHAVEZ MARCH

The Raza Rights Coalition, a coalition consisting of both individuals and organizations, will not be part of THE SELLING OUT OF THE IDEALS AND GOALS OF CESAR CHAVEZ and will not participate in the "Cesar E. Chavez Memorial March" to be held Saturday, March 26, 1994 in San Diego, Califas.

Since the death of Cesar Chavez, an internationally known Chicano Mexicano labor activist and leader, many opportunists have been using his legacy (work and accomplishments) to further their careers and personal agendas. By promoting holidays, schools, and buildings to be named after Cesar Chavez, these opportunists (mostly middle class professionals and social service directors) claim to represent the interests of the Mexicano people, but in reality are actually grand standing and posing as community activists. They do not stand for the true ideals of Cesar Chavez nor the interests of the community.

Cesar Chavez worked most of his life for union jobs, decent wages, better working conditions, improved health services and adequate housing for all poor and working people. Chavez opposed the use of pesticides and other chemicals that caused destruction to human life and our environment. Chavez fought against businesses and politicians who only care about personal profits and dollar bills. Chavez and the United Farm Workers Union opposed NAFTA as a program which would hurt workers on both sides of the false border. He opposed the use of violence, police, sheriffs, and the military as a means of resolving today's socio-economic problems.

Yet, the organizer's of the "Cesar Chavez Memorial March" are inviting the police, the sheriffs, the migra, the military, sell-out opportunists, racist politicians, NAFTA supporters and money hungry business people (the same people who opposed Chavez when he was alive and had him arrested dozens of times) to "honor" the work of Cesar Chavez. We will not support this blatant hypocrisy and selling out of the contributions of Cesar Chavez. We will not march hand in hand with the police, migra, racist politicians, and money hungry professional groups. We call on people who are sincere in their support for Raza self-determination and the ideals and work of Cesar Chavez to refuse participation in this hypocritical display.



Racist Mayor Golding and Neo-Colonialist Vendido discuss how they are going to pimp off of the death of Cesar Chavez.

La Verdad Publications Moves Forward... Towards the Building of a National Raza Liberation Newspaper! **LA VERDAD MUST REPRESENT THE VOICE OF LA RAZA WHEN WE STRUGGLE IN OUR OWN INTERESTS!**



In the June 1989 issue of *¡La Verdad!* we summed up the objectives of La Verdad Publications as a) to serve as a tool for the political education of Unión del Barrio members and supporters. . . ; b) to utilize La Verdad as a tool for winning people over to the revolutionary anti-colonial struggle; c) to promote the necessity of building a truly national Chicano Mexican liberation organization; and d) to inform those presently involved in what is known as the "Chicano Movement" about the work that Unión del Barrio and other revolutionary nationalist formations are doing.

Since 1989, many things have changed. The conditions for struggle in Aztlán and the world in general have advanced incredibly, and in response Unión del Barrio has moved towards becoming a national vanguard organization. With this new orientation of La Unión, La Verdad Publications has also advanced. During its five years of existence, those working on *¡La Verdad!* have gained a tremendous amount of knowledge and experience. Much of this knowledge and experience we owe to our relationship with the African Peoples' Socialist Party, and other political organizations within our movement.

Our hard earned experience and

knowledge has clearly demonstrated for us the necessity for more Raza Liberation literature to hit the calles, barrios, prisons, schools, and work place. Of extreme importance, is that this literature be about the bread and butter issues and realities facing nuestra Raza, this is the reason we have decided to expand La Verdad Publications. La Verdad Publications has as its immediate objectives the continuation of the publishing of *¡La Verdad!* (official organ of Unión del Barrio), *Somos Raza* (a barrio youth magazine), *La Torcida* (Chicano Mexican Prison Project newsletter) and *Pueblo Unido* (the official newsletter of the Raza Rights Coalition). These newspapers and newsletters are central to the heightening of consciousness that is needed to advance the Movimiento.

Given the mounting attacks against, and rampant misinformation about La Raza, our people find ourselves in an emergency situation with regards to the development of an independent Raza press. To deal with this vacuum of information we feel that *¡La Verdad!* must be made into a national newspaper. What makes La Verdad different from existing publications, found within our movement, is that it is a community based, non-government

funded, multi-issue (issues about Raza workers, barrios youth, women, students, and police/migra terror are constantly addressed in *¡La Verdad!*.) newspaper that is directed towards all sectors of our community. It is a publication openly dedicated to bringing about the necessary conditions which will bring self-determination and freedom to the Mexican people. Unión del Barrio realizes, objectively, that the creation of such a paper is absolutely necessary for the advancement of the Movement.

Unión del Barrio acknowledges the important role that the press plays in our liberation struggle. There is no doubt that La Verdad must represent the voice of La Raza when we struggle in our own interests! We have included two parts of our La Verdad Publications six month plan here so as to inform our readers about what is to come in the future of La Verdad Publications...

I. Nature of Project

La Verdad Publications (LVP) will be a liberation oriented publishing house. Central to the consolidation of LVP will be the development of a National Raza Liberation Newspaper. Other work will include the development and marketing (to

include imports) of Raza educational and cultural materials - to included print, audio, and visual products (books, pamphlets, T-shirts, video tapes, cassettes, cards, educational games and posters, etc.). LVP will have as its goal the capacity to involve itself in all aspects of production. This will include design, creative/artistic development, technical, and marketing of products.

LVP will be based in the San Diego, and will market its products nationally and internationally. San Diego's geographical location will facilitate "cross-border" sales and import. Unión del Barrio's power base in San Diego will also be expanded because of the work of LVP.

II. Mission Statement

The goals or primary mission of LVP are four-fold: (1) the consolidation of a National paper; (2) to provide the masses of the Mexican community on both sides of the "border" with educational and cultural products - which will create a sense of unity and cultural pride among both the young and old; (3) products will also serve to raise the social-political consciousness of the Mexican community and thereby, advance its right to self-determination; and (4) it will provide employment of Raza activists and funds for movement organizations.

THE POLITICAL STRUGGLE IN MEXICO

from pg. 5

years and move forward to maintain their control over the people. This year promised to be different.

On the one hand stood the candidate who received the nod or "dedazo" from Miguel de la Madrid. Carlos Salinas de Gortari was an economist technocrat who was educated at Harvard just like de la Madrid. At 38 years old, Salinas was relatively young by PRI standards for the candidacy of the president. Bald, beady-eyed, totally colorless and lacking any kind of charisma, Salinas represented a modernizing faction of the party that wanted more foreign investment and thought that the last vestiges of the revolution (token worker rights, etc.) should be stripped away to make room for the foreign investment that they felt they needed to court - mainly from the United States. As Secretario de Presupuesto (the same position de la Madrid had held), Salinas played a big role in the attempt by the de la Madrid government to expand maquiladoras and relax even more the few token restrictions on foreign investment.

On the other hand stood Cuauhtemoc Cardenas - son of the late president Lazaro Cardenas - former left-leaning governor of Michoacan, and thought by many to be the crown prince of the PRI and the rightful heir to the presidency. Cardenas had been fairly corruption free in Michoacan (by PRI standards) and had pursued pacification of workers and campesinos through pushing programs to help them. Within the PRI he represented greater liberalization of the political process, while sticking to the principles of state control (at least on the surface) of

industry and giving preference to the national bourgeoisie over the foreign bourgeoisie. Many in the traditional Left, demoralized by ineffective struggle, felt that if he was chosen, there would be more democratization and a trend toward the socialism that the revolution had promised, but that had been denied for the past 60 years.

Needless to say, when Salinas de Gortari was awarded the candidacy, Cardenas refused to go quietly into the night. Aided by a variety of Left forces who saw in him their salvation, Cardenas headed the Left Coalition to unseat the PRI. Sadly, many organizations of the traditional Left dissolved their organizations to support the Cardenas campaign - gambling on his possible victory. A victory that never came due to widespread fraud.

In the end, the PRI faced a national challenge as it had never faced before and el pueblo mexicano turned out in record numbers to vote its discontent with the PRI. Interesting here is that in spite of all the U.S. machinations, the PAN only received 12% of the total national vote.

When the results were in, the country was shocked by the official declaration of victory by the PRI. Everyone knew that Salinas had gotten 38% of the vote at most, and that Cardenas received well over 50%. It was a shameful election marred by ballot box stuffing, ballot stealing, and other blatant acts of fraud that made a dirty joke out of the PRI's claim to be honest.

This travesty set off protests throughout Mexico on both sides of la frontera falsa and showed that a new era of struggle had opened up in Mexican poli-

tics. The PRI was no longer invincible.

SALINAS AND CARDENAS AND THEIR CONCEPT OF CHICANOS IN THE '88 CAMPAIGN

We must say here that while Cardenas represented a level of struggle against the PRI and U.S. imperialism, he nonetheless was anything but a revolutionary. Cardenas was about getting his faction of the PRI in power and he opportunistically used the left to accomplish this. He also set out to use the Chicano Mexican Liberation Movement.

Both before and after his candidacy, representatives tried to set up support committees in Aztlán to support the "democratization" of the political process in Mexico. However, they - like the rest of the established left and the PRI itself - do not consider Raza born on this side of la frontera falsa to be Mexican. They do, however, labor under the assumption that we have money to burn and that we have no real struggle up here since everything is fine and the streets are made of gold. Therefore, we should drop everything we are doing and send all resources to the Cardenas campaign. But, we are unable to participate in Mexican political life because, according to Cardenas we are "foreigners." One incident really shows the Cardenas position on the Chicano Mexican Liberation Movement. While speaking in New Mexico, Cardenas was asked by Chicano activist Eduardo Hernandez Chavez if he supported Chicano Mexican liberation. His response was a flat "no."

The Salinas position was basically the same. During the 1988 campaign, he was approached by a group of Raza

organizations led by political gadfly Armando Navarro of Riverside. Most of these organizations were of the Hispanic sellout nature who saw themselves as power brokers. They presented the idea to Salinas that they could work as a pro-Mexican lobby in the U.S. as Jews do for Israel and wanted a direct relationship with his government. Salinas thanked them, but said he could not have direct political relationships with "foreigners."

THE CARDENAS CANDIDACY WAS A STEP FORWARD

Whatever his shortcomings and contradictions, we must say that the Cardenas candidacy of 1988 was positive and did, in its own way, advance the struggle for national liberation. It did this by exposing the farce of democracy in Mexico through the electoral fraud. This made the people more combative and showed the weakness of the PRI. Also, the participation of certain Left organizations forced Cardenas to take some progressive positions that the people wholeheartedly supported, which in itself raised the consciousness de las masas Mexicanas. Finally, it showed the people that the electoral process in Mexico (as in the United States) is a total farce and that other, more creative means must be used to drag power out of the hands of the PRI.

IN THE NEXT SECTION: We will look at the Salinas presidency and its ramifications. We will study the response of authentic organizations to this crisis. We will study the uprising led by the Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional on January 1, 1994. And we will look into the future of Mexico's political structure.

RAZA RIGHTS COALITION CONTINUES TO DEFEND THE CHICANO MEXICANO COMMUNITY AND DEMANDS THE SELF-DETERMINATION OF LA RAZA



**Rally at the Mexican Consulate in support of the EZLN.
January 6, 1994.**

The Raza Rights Coalition (RRC) has been the most active organization in San Diego since its formation in June of 1989. The RRC is an alliance of independent Chicano Mexicano Raza organizations and individuals united to defend the human rights and dignity of our people. Since 1989, the RRC has been working at building unity among Raza all over Aztlán to struggle for the self determination and liberation of the Chicano Mexicano people. There were seven founding organizations of the

following is a synopsis of the work of the RRC from January to March of 1994.

JANUARY

-The RRC began the new year taking actions in support of our brothers and sisters of El Ejercito Zapatista de Liberación Nacional, in Chiapas, Mexico.

• Jan. 6, the RRC with Unión del Barrio, Frente Mixteco/Zapoteco Binacional, and the National Peoples Democratic Uhuru movement held a protest in front of the Mexican Consulate in San Diego in support of the Zapatistas' struggle for National Liberation. Over 80 people participated in this protest that brought local, state and international media attention.

• Jan. 14, Unión del Barrio held an educational forum on the situation in Chiapas, Mexico. The speakers at this forum were Algimiro Morales from the Frente Mixteco/Zapoteco Binacional and Pablo Aceves from Unión del Barrio. The forum was held at Centro Aztlán and over 60 people were in attendance.

• Jan. 17, a contingent of RRC members participated in a M.E.Ch.A. Southern California region sponsored march in San Ysidro to protest the human rights abuses in Chiapas by the Mexican government. There were over 120 participants in the march that started from San Ysidro Park to the "Frontera falsa" and back. The RRC marched under the banner of 500 Years of Raza Resistance.

• Jan. 21, the RRC and Unión del Barrio with coordination of the Movimiento de Liberación Nacional (MLN) held a peaceful demonstration at the San Ysidro Tijuana border in support of the Zapatistas. When we protested the police harassment of one of the RRC's members, an undercover federal agent attacked another member of the coalition. When we responded, Migra pigs came forward and called for backup. Soon a virtual army of pigs came out of the

woodwork to intimidate the demonstration participants (approximately 60 Migra agents, thirty SDPD pigs and several Highway Patrolmen) with nightsticks ready to

attack. The RRC and Unión del Barrio stood their ground until the Migra retreated. The RRC and the Unión will not allow police, migra or anyone else stop us from organizing our gente. The support of the Mexican people crossing to Mexico was overwhelmingly in support of our demonstration and against the migra and pig presence.

That same evening members of Unión del Barrio spoke at a platica on the issue of Chiapas in Orange County. There were over 20 people in attendance including 7 organizations from that area.

• Jan. 22, the RRC with the National Chicano Moratorium Committee hosted the "3rd National Conference on the Question of Unity and Organization" at San Diego Mesa College. The result of the conference was the formation of a Frente Nacional made out of 14 organizations. At this conference it was decided to start up national committees

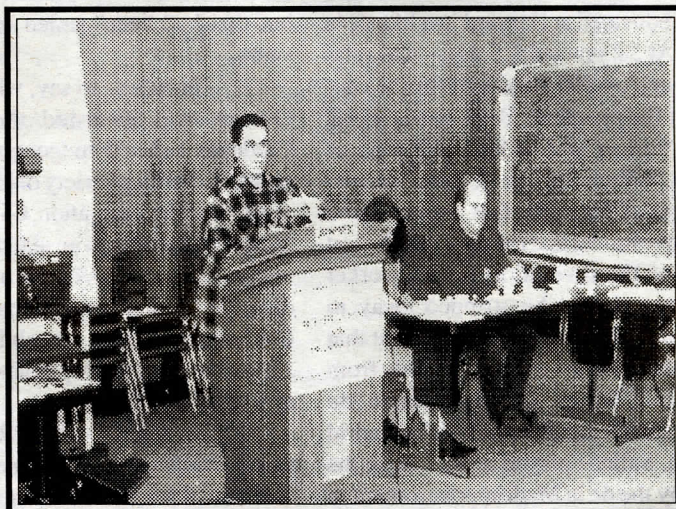


**A community forum on Chiapas at Centro Aztlán.
January 14, 1994.**

and projects regarding our people, such as Raza prisoners, Cinco de Mayo Week of Resistance, language rights, Anti-Migra Campaign and more.

• Jan. 24-30 the RRC distributed over 8,000 copies of the Voz Fronteriza's Zapatistas edition all over San Diego to

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**Harry Barra speaking on behalf of the CPA
at the 3rd Unity Conf.**

• Jan. 29, the RRC organizes a community patrols in San Ysidro with coordination of the distribution of Voz Fronteriza. That same evening the RRC and Unión del Barrio held their first joint fund-raiser of the year. It was held in EL Cajon, CA.

FEBRUARY

• Feb. 1, Unión del Barrio spoke at Grossmont Community College on the question of gangs.

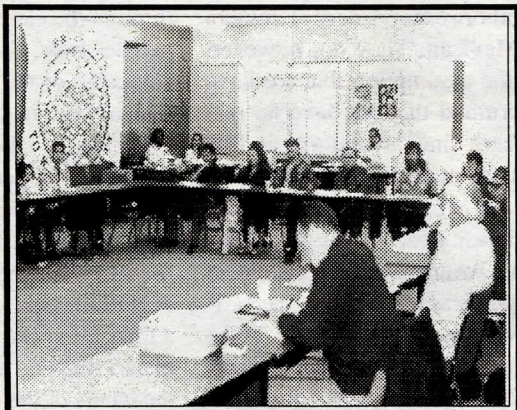
• Feb. 3, Voz Fronteriza organized and the RRC sponsored



**RRC members at MEChA March in support
of EZLN, Jan. 17.**

RRC which were MEChA Mira Costa College, Chile en Lucha, Unión de Trabajadores Agrícolas Fronterizos, Comité Cívico Popular Mixteco, East County Latino Association, La Raza Unida Party, and Unión del Barrio. In 1990, the RRC formally joined the National Chicano Moratorium Committee (NCMC) and became the San Diego Region of the NCMC.

Today, the RRC is still working actively to bring Raza unity. It has participated with the NCMC in the one year process of hosting Raza Unity Conferences all over Aztlán. This past January the RRC hosted the "3rd National Conference on the Question of Unity and Organization" at San Diego Mesa College. The result was the formation of a Frente Nacional made out of 14 organizations. On March 19, 1994, the RRC participated with 24 other organizations on the 4th Unity Conference hosted by



**Third National Conference on the Question of
Unity and Organization, San Diego Mesa
College, Jan. 22.**

Raza Rights Coalition Update



Over Seventy Migra and P.D. pigs riot against Unión and RRC members at Jan. 21st rally at frontera.

an emergency forum to "Defeat the Imperialist Media Blockade" imposed by the mainstream media on the situation in Chiapas, Mexico. It was held at U.C.S.D., there were over 60 participants in the forum. The speakers included Pablo Aceves from the RRC, Steve Lewis a graduate from the History department, and David Myhre from the Center of U.S./Mexican studies.

•Feb. 4, the RRC attends a meeting in Tecate, Mexico regarding the expulsion of 350 Mexican students from Mountain Empire Unified School district. Once again with this we see the continuation of attacks and scapegoating tactics on our people by U.S. government agencies.

• Feb. 5, a member from Unión del Barrio spoke in Fallbrook to Mexicanos Unidos on the issue of the Free Trade Agreement.

That same day the RRC held a Rally/Caravan through San Ysidro to protest not only the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo but also the migra and to call for support for the struggle for National Liberation of the Zapatistas. Even though the media on both sides of the "Frontera Falsa" have stopped their coverage of the struggle in Chiapas, the RRC will continue their support, because we know this is just the beginning of a long struggle.

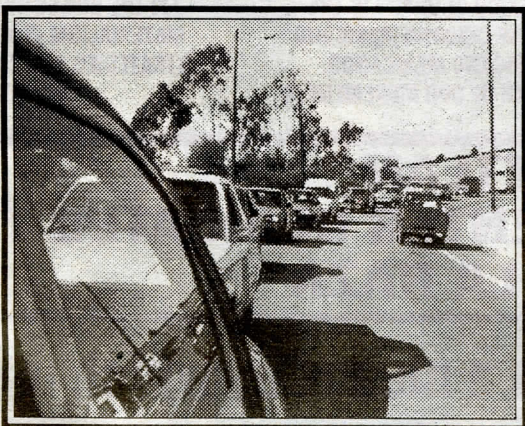
•Feb. 10, Unión del Barrio speaks to the University of California at Riverside M.E.Ch.A. At a forum on the question of National Liberation. Ernesto Bustillos spoke on behalf of Unión del Barrio.

• Feb. 11, the RRC continues its participation in meetings regarding the expulsion of Mexican students in Tecatito. The RRC is working with the Movimiento Pro-educativo para Niños Latinos in Tecate.

•Feb. 12, the RRC holds its annual retreat at Centro Aztlán to discuss present and future projects for the coming year.



RRC member, Cesar Sanchez, at a Jan. 17th march in support of the EZLN.



Feb. 5th Caravana Pro-Defensa del Pueblo through San Ysidro.

Brent Beltran is the Editor and Harry Barra is the copy editor.

• Feb. 19, the RRC, Unión del Barrio and Voz Fronteriza attended the NCMC general meeting in El Paso, Texas. El Paso, Los Angeles, Orange County, & Riverside regions were also present. There was a presentation given by Jorge Salinas of the Comité Nacional Independiente (CNI) regarding the issue of Chiapas.

The RRC, Unión del Barrio and Voz Fronteriza participated in the first Frente Nacional steering committee meeting in El Paso, Texas. Albuquerque, New Mexico, was chosen to host the 4th Unity Conference on March 19, 1994. NPDUM's award banquet was held in Oakland, CA. Kwame Agomou, and Lori Nakamura, members of NPDUM of San Diego received awards. Sabrina Enrique gave a solidarity statement and also accepted an award on behalf of Unión del Barrio.

• Feb. 20, the RRC, Unión del Barrio and Voz Fronteriza members participated in a demonstration sponsored by El Congreso, NCMC El Paso region, in support of the Zapatistas at the El Paso/Juarez Border.

Pablo Aceves from the RRC, spoke at a public forum on the issue of Chiapas in Juarez, Chihuahua, Mexico sponsored by the CNI.

• Feb. 22, RRC members along with Victor Ochoa started the clean up of the Che mural at Chicano Park.

• Feb. 24, the Riverside region of the NCMC held a forum regarding the on going struggle of National Liberation of the EZLN. The speakers were Marco Anguiano from Unión del Barrio and Jorge Salinas from the Comité Nacional Independiente.

•Feb. 27, the RRC held their monthly community patrols in Balboa Park and downtown San Diego. In both places there is an abundance of pigs concentrating their attacks on our people.

In Balboa Park where many Raza go to spend a day in a park, is now saturated with migra whose main purpose is to attack us. The RRC will continue monthly community patrols in our Barrios.

MARCH

• March 12, RRC and Unión del Barrio held a fund-raiser in Linda Vista, San Diego.

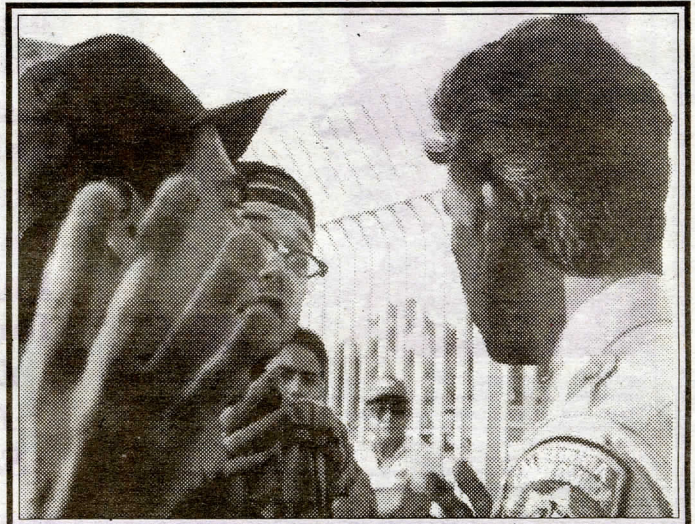
The RRC continues its on going activism in our communities and in the many issues that concern our people and our struggle for self-determination.

During this weekend, the RRC held a rummage sale/fund-raiser in Serra Mesa, San Diego.

It also held a joint car wash/fund-raiser co-sponsored by the National People's Democratic Uhuru Movement (NPDUM) at Euclid and Federal in San Diego.

• Feb. 16, the RRC published and mailed out its first newsletter, *Pueblo Unido*. It will be published on a monthly basis. The *Pueblo Unido* is the official newsletter of the RRC and the Mexican community.

• March 12-13, Judith de los Santos spoke on behalf of Unión del Barrio in Oakland, Califas for the African Peoples' Solidarity Committee's Uhuru Reparations Now Brigade. She spoke on the situation in Chiapas, Mexico and the continuing U.S. counterinsurgency.



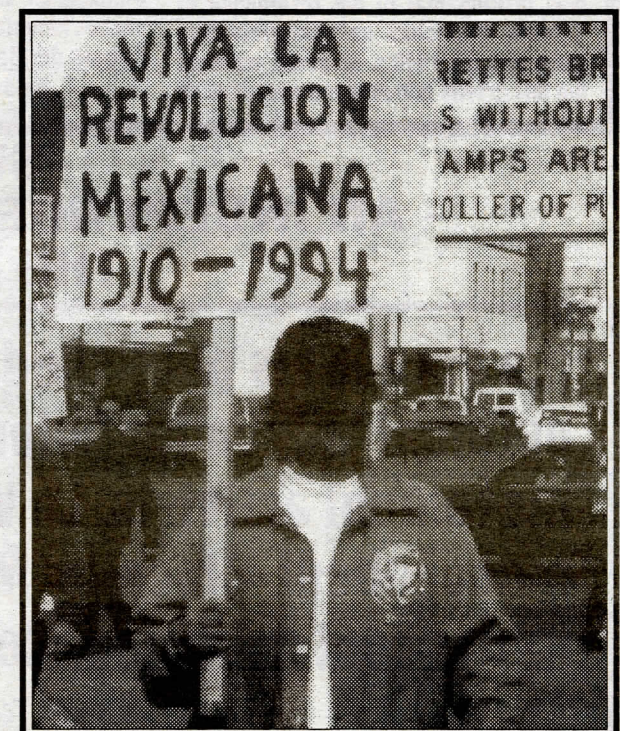
RRC members get up in the face of a highway patrol pig at a Jan. 21st rally at the frontera.

• March 19, the RRC, Unión del Barrio, and Voz Fronteriza attended the 4th Unity Conference in Albuquerque, New Mexico. Chale con English Only hosted the conference at the Barelas Community Center. Eduardo Hernandez and



Pro-EZLN banner flies over frontera falsa at Jan. 21st rally.

Pablo Aceves co-chaired the conference. There were 24 organizations in attendance. The result was the formation of the Frente Nacional Pro Defensa del Pueblo.



Oscar Lozano at picket in support of the EZLN on Feb. 20th at the El Paso/Juarez border.

LIBERACION EXIGE ORGANIZACION

¡LA VERDAD!

UNION DEL BARRIO OCT - DEC 1993



¡TIERRA Y LIBERTAD!

"Enough with reforms! What we hungry people need is entire liberty based on economic independence. Down with the so-called right of private property (capitalism), and as long as this evil right continues to exist, we shall continue under arms." Ricardo Flores Magón - 1919

Ricardo Flores Magón (1873-1922) - Marxist Revolutionist and Internationalist, founder of the Partido Liberal Mexicano and editor of the magazine "Regeneración". He was one of the leaders of the Mexican Revolution and was killed by U.S. colonial agents while imprisoned at Leavenworth Federal Penitentiary on November 21, 1922.

La Verdad Publications, a project of Unión del Barrio, is circulating an excellent collection of Chicano Mexicano Liberation literature. ¡La Verdad!, the newspaper and books such as Chicano Journalism, It's History and It's use as a Weapon for Liberation, Education, Chicano Studies, and Raza Liberation, and Advancing the Chicano Mexicano Movement are available. Also available are pamphlets such as Aztlán Y Cuba: La Misma Lucha and Frontera Falsa

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Raza Rights Coalition meetings are held every first and third Wednesday of the month. Come and get involved... Call 619/280-8361 for more information.

SAN DIEGO REGION OF THE NATIONAL CHICANO MORATORIUM COMMITTEE



The Chicano Mexicano Prison Project was formed to deal with the question of Raza prisoners and to develop a network for the purpose of communicating with pintos and pintas - to plug them into the struggle for Raza Liberation.



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Organizational Overview of Unión del Barrio

Almost since our founding in August, 1981, Unión del Barrio has defined its ideology as Chicano Mexicano Revolutionary Nationalism. Through this ideological base Unión del Barrio has been able to analyze and acknowledge the class question within our gente throughout the hemisphere. We recognize gringo colonialism as the main contradiction and enemy confronting Raza in Aztlán/Occupied Mexico.

The long struggle of Unión del Barrio and other nationalist organizations was instrumental in the resurgence of Chicano Mexicano self-determination politics in the 1990's. However, we must put this growth into proper perspective so

that we may avoid the errors of the last period of struggle (1965 - 1975). One of the principle errors of that period was political practice without theory or clear analysis of the realities of struggle.

We recognize that imperialism is the highest level of capitalism. We recognize that as a colonized people we make up over 90% of the working class and impoverished population of this land. Revolutionary Nationalism is based on the struggle against imperialism and colonialism and is an integral part to liberation movements in Latin America, Africa, Asia and the Middle East. Freedom and self-determination are the goals of Revolutionary Nationalism, and therefore demand an end to yankee imperialism.

Unión del Barrio Eleven Point Program

Unión del Barrio is a pro-

independence Revolutionary Nationalist organization based in San Diego, Calif. Aztlán. We have identified the following eleven points as central to our internal development and political direction; essential to the formulation of a Chicano Mexicano political line, and as a necessary source of practical clarity for organizations involved in the Movimiento for Chicano Mexicano Liberation.

- 1) CHICANO MEXICANO IN AZTLÁN ARE A COLONY OF THE U.S. ILLEGAL SETTLER NATION.
- 2) CHICANO MEXICANOS IN AZTLÁN MUST SELF-DETERMINE THEIR DESTINY.
- 3) AZTLÁN/MEXICO OCUPADO IS THE HOMELAND OF THE CHICANO MEXICANO.
- 4) SOMOS CHICANO MEXICANOS.
- 5) THE CHARACTER OF OUR MOVEMENT IS

- REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALISM.
- 6) CHICANO MEXICANO INTERNATIONALISM IS AN INTEGRAL PART OF OUR MOVEMENT.
 - 7) CONCIENTIZATION 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) THE DIALECTICAL/HISTORICAL MATERIALISM IS KEY TO FORMING STRATEGIES AND TACTICS FOR OUR LIBERATION.

**SUPPORT CENTRO AZTLAN
- AN INDEPENDENT COMMUNITY CENTER DEDICATED TO
THE ADVANCEMENT OF LA RAZA**

¡La Verdad! is published by Unión del Barrio as a means by which to provide political education/information to its membership, supporters, and other movement activists. La Verdad is presently the most widely read completely independent Chicano Mexicano liberation publication and is circulated throughout occupied Mexico (Aztlán) from San Diego to San Antonio, Tejas.

¡La Verdad! is a member of the Chicano Press Association.