

COMMEMORATING 20 YEARS OF
STRUGGLE FOR LA RAZA

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WAR ON "ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION" = WAR ON MEXICANS

WAR ON "CRIME" = WAR ON MEXICANS

WAR ON "DRUGS" = WAR ON MEXICANS

TOTAL = GENOCIDE



U.S. DECLARES WAR ON MEXICANS!

What side are you on?

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

¡Organizate Raza!

By Brent Beltran

We've seen it coming now for a long time. Since Colón came. Since we kicked the Spaniards out. Since the French. Since 1848, when the Americans stole and occupied our lands. Since the Revolution. We see it today. We see the oppression that exists in Chiapas, in Guerrero, in Puebla, in Mexico. We know who causes this repression. We use titles like neo-colonialists, vende patrias, Tio Tacos. We know who are behind these titles.

We see the oppression that exists in Califas, in Texas, in the Occupied Territories, in Mexico. We know who causes this repression. We use titles like Imperialists, Capitalists, Uncle Sam. We know these also.

La Migra attacks us as though we are dogs. La Chota incarcerates us in pens as though we are pigs. We are prodded into the welfare system as though we are cattle waiting for the slaughter. We are treated like aliens in the land of our ancestors. We are

soon to be denied basic health care, an education (as though we ever got a relevant one), the right to work and earn a living. Yet, who picks the oppressors food?, who cleans the oppressors house? or wipes the asses of the oppressors babies? Mexicanos do.

We are still called wetbacks, spics, greasers, but in these times they are more politically correct, such as: illegal alien, undocumented, hispanic or even latin (as though the language of the vatican has anything to do with us). We have always been called something we aren't, something to make us illegitimate. Illegitimate in our native land.

Why is it that on our own land, the land that we have been on for over a millenia, we are treated as though we are second or third class citizens? Our children are being pushed out of school. Our juventud are being pushed into the penal system or into barrio warfare. The barrios we live in are old, filthy, and run down, many posing

health risks to the community. We are soon to be the majority population here in the Occupied Territories, yet what do we have?

We have no political or economic power. The resources of our mother land are being plundered by multi national capitalists who care more for profit than for human life or the environment. The neo colonialists are getting rich. The PRI is beyond rich. The vendido hispanic politicos that participate in the fraud that is the american political system are getting rich while the masses of the Mexican people are still getting clubbed, chased, thrown out of our own land, pushed out of school, etc., etc.

We know what must be done.

¡Organizate Raza!

Organize Raza. Join an organization. Only through organization can we defend our Raza from attacks. In organization there is strength. And there are many organizations out there that need new gente dedicated to defending the democratic rights

of Mexicanos. Groups such as the Raza Rights Coalition, Mexicano Unidos En Defensa Del Pueblo, The Brown Berets De Aztlán, La Cruzada Por La Justicia, and Unión Del Barrio.

Raza, do not accept this sistema as it exists. As long as greed is the precedent, Mexicanos will be subjugated. We cannot accept subjugation on our land! Throw of your shackles that bind you to this system, fight back. Don't accept the Migra presence in our barrios. If you see La Migra, chase them away, since we are only defending ourselves. If La Chota is harassing or beating someone in your or any barrio, harass or beat one of them, since we are only defending ourselves. And we do have a right to defend ourselves Raza.

La Migra, La Chota, the government and the capitalists fear us Raza. That is why they oppress us so, out of fear. They know they are on stolen land. And they know that we will fight at any cost to get the land back. It is a long, hard, difficult journey to total freedom and liberation, but it is well worth the blood and sweat that it will take to get there.

Remember Raza, the key to fighting the oppression that faces us everyday of our lives is to join an organization. Only by being organized will we have the power to take on the system that is trying to destroy us.

¡Liberacion Exige Organización!

A few words from the editor...

Bottom line, it's all about Mexican Power

To Raza out there of all shapes and sizes:

How does it feel to be part of the most hated population within the current borders of the United States? Yes, there is a lot of hate going around these days - as Mexicanos we feel it every day. No matter what you do, from when you wake up in the morning, at your job or school, and when you come home at the end of the day, all you hear and see is people talking shit about the Raza. On the radio, television, in the gringo congress, in classes, in prisons, and in general conversations - the main topic is anti-Raza bullshit. Prop. 187, the federal crime bill, operation "gatekeeper", operation "hold the line," national I.D. cards, and the list goes on.

On the other hand we have massive demonstrations of Mexican Power - 120,000 marching in Los Angeles, mass high school walk-outs all over Califas, and demonstrations all over Aztlán. The political landscape for Mexicano politics has radically changed since just last year - on both sides of the false border. Mexicanos in the south of our Patria are laying down history in the form of the Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional. True peoples power has been realized in the zones under the control of the EZLN. Here in the occupied territories of Mexico, we are struggling at a level never before seen. We have to understand what is happening, no matter what we do or who we

are, because the present political environment affects all of us.

Most importantly is that we correctly identify what is happening so that we can correctly deal with the situation and develop solutions. What I mean by this is that we have to understand that "racism" is not the problem. Many gente, both honest and dishonest, try to convince us that racism is the problem, and that voting, or some other bullshit like that is the solution. First, racism is not the problem, racism is a psychological hang-up, it is not something concrete but something in the heads of people. If racism is really the problem, then we should just spend all our time trying to convince white people that Mexicanos are not inferior. If racism was the problem then the solution would be to convince racists that we are human beings. Racism is not the issue.

We must analyze and confront the attacks that are coming down from our own perspective. We have to deal with the issue from a Chicano Mexicano framework. When you hear anybody talking about "Illegal immigration" as a problem, how "those illegals" are doing this and that, keep in mind that they are talking about us. They are talking about our families and our history. Let people know this when you hear them talk like that - it gives the whole discussion a human face. Don't let anyone tell you that

there are to sides to this discussion either. There may be two sides, our side that wants freedom, and another side that wants to continue oppressing La Raza. Those are the only two sides. This is how we have to deal with prop. 187, operation "gatekeeper," etc. The real issue them becomes clear to all honest people.

The issue is stolen Mexican land, stolen Mexican labor, and stolen Mexican resources. The enemies of La Raza are la migra, and la chota - which are the armies of the rich gringos. Uncle Sam is our enemy, the U.S. government is our enemy, and they are responsible for the poverty, mis-education, drug infestation, and deadly violence in our communities. We must be able to recognize our enemy in order to fight against him, and the sooner we figure this out the better off we will be. The fight does not end with Prop. 187, the fight does not end until we have won back our stolen land.

This is the purpose of this issue of Voz Fronteriza. The goal of any good newspaper should always be the general betterment of the people who read it. We want to expose the system for what it really is so that we understand clearly where we are today, and where we have to go tomorrow. Bottom line, it's all about Mexican Power.

Harry Barra - Editor

¡SUPPORT LA VOZ!

Voz Fronteriza needs money. To all our rich Raza readership, send us feria, please! The University is cutting more and more of our funding, and we need help desperately. 1995 is our twentieth year in production, and we are planning a big commemoration and we need help to fund it. Por Favor!

VOZ FRONTERIZA



**GUERRILLEROS
DE LA PLUMA**

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CHICANO
PRESS
ASSOCIATION

PROPOSITION 187 AS IT RELATES TO OUR HISTORY AND PRESENT SITUATION

Enslaving, Exterminating, and Scapegoating, Is Nothing New to U.S. History

Reprinted from ¡La Verdad!

As U.S. imperialism approaches its final deathbed, it also finds itself in a losing struggle to hold on to one of its most valuable assets, the labor and resources of nuestra Raza. In a futile effort to forestall the imminent uprisings of Raza and indeed, colonized people worldwide, and to guard the super profits it makes from the exploitation of most of the non-European world, U.S. gringo-imperialism has opted to further the oppression of Mexicans in the occupied territories (lands stolen from Mexico), just as it has recently done to Africans in Haiti and Somalia, and Arabs in Iraq. It is only under this context (the fear of the growing Mexican population

The vicious-racist-fascist attack on a particular group is nothing new to U.S. history. In times of political or economic crisis, the ruling class (capitalists) has always resorted to enslaving, exterminating, or scapegoating, as a means of resolving its contradictions. Some historical examples include the following:

- During the early years of its existence (when the U.S. was still an extension of England, 1600-1700s) it resolved its need for land and cheap labor by murdering the great majority of Indigenous people and occupying their lands, and the enslaving millions of Africans to be used as labor in the plantations and large farms.
- Throughout the 1800s, during the industrial revolution, the U.S. brought millions of Irish, central and eastern Europeans (Slavs, Polacks, Jews, etc.) to work in factories.

During times of economic depression or labor struggles, the capitalist organized so-called "americans" (whites born in America and who had participated in the genocide of Indigenous people and enslavement of Africans) to attack the "immigrants" who they (the ruling class) blamed for the problems inflicting society.

• In the late part of the nineteenth century (1850-90) close to 100,000 Chinese had been brought or immigrated to the U.S. to work on the gold mines, railroads, etc. During times of depression, literally thousand were murdered by mobs of white (most them immigrants who had recently been the targets of discrimination) workers and literally all Chinese were violently forced to work in restaurants or laundries, segregated Chinese (and other Asians) in to sections of town known as "China Towns". In 1882, the "Chinese Exclusion Act" prohibited immigration from China and the San Francisco Board of Education ordered the segregation of all Asians students in the city's schools.

• In early 1900s (1900-1920) as the U.S. became an "imperial power", more Europeans immigrated to occupied America; this time from Italy, Greece, and Russia. The Italians, commonly called "Wops" by other European immigrants, became the most despised white people in the U.S., which kept them out of the mainstream capitalist circles, into neighborhoods known as "Wop Towns", and forcing them to formed their own "illegal" capitalist corporations: the Mafia. It was not until the late 1950s that the Italians, in response to the fear Black and Chicano Power Movements, and the need for "white unity", are finally allowed to "assimilate" into white america.

• During the 1920s, as some historians call the "Palmer Raids" and the "Red Scare", an massive effort was made by the U.S. government (under orders of the ruling class) to stop the organizing of workers and the spread of the Socialist Workers Party and other left organizations. Literally thousands of "immigrants" were deported for union organizing and holding "radical political views". Most of those doing the arrests were the Irish, Polacks, and Jewish police agents, who only a few years earlier were the targets

of "anti-immigrant attacks".

• In the 1930s, due to the "great capitalist crisis" (also known as the Great Depression), more than one third (500,000 or more) of the Raza (it didn't matter where you were born) population living in the United States was forced (rounded up by police, social workers, etc.) to move south of the gringo imposed "border". Just as we witness today, white settlers (who called themselves Americans) complained of "illegal aliens" taking jobs away from them, that Mexicans were a "health threat", committing crimes, and were using up "public assistance", that rightfully belong to "white citizens".

• In 1941, over 100,000 Japanese (mostly U.S. citizens) were forced into concentration camps as part of a "racist payback" for Japan's role in World War II. Referred to as "Japs" by the white population, their imprisonment overjoyed the white farmers in California, who not only no longer had competition (the Japanese were successful vegetable growers), but took over the lands previously in the hands of the Japanese farmers.

• During "Operation Wetback" in 1954, over 1,000,000 Mexicans are rounded up like animals and deported south of the gringo-imposed "border".

• Throughout the 1960s, 70s, and 80s, Raza are deported or attacked by vigilante white-power groups (angry poor white trash, Klan, Nazis, Skin Heads, etc.) whenever they attempt to organize in the work place, stand up for their rights, or are needed as scapegoats for any "problem" facing gringo society. "Operation Intercept", implemented during the Nixon regime (1970s), in which every vehicle crossing the "border" into the occupied territories was stop and searched, and hundreds of thousands of Raza were harassed, detained, and or deported. During the Reagan years, in something called "Operation Jobs", hundreds of high publicity" migra raids took place in "selected" work sites (in San Francisco, Washington D.C., New York, Los Angeles, and other large cities), where thousands of Raza were rounded up and deported, and their jobs given to unemployed "American Citizens"; needless to say, the white working class and uncle toms were delighted by Operation Jobs. It was incidents such as these, that gives "Migra" the reputation as a police force specially designed to "control Mexicans". *(for more information on some to the points raised here, see "Vote No On Prop. 187, pamphlet by ACLU, Occupied America by Acuña, and Unwanted Mexicans by Hoffman)

PROPOSITION 187 COMBINES THE VARIOUS MEANS OF OPPRESSING RAZA INTO A GENERAL PLAN OF ACTION

Proposition 187

is a modernized, synthesized and generalized version of what the U.S. has been doing to Raza for the last 150 years. It draws from the many ways it has oppressed our gente in the past and puts it together in one general plan. This combination of the many ways Raza have been controlled by the INS and other gringo institutions can be seen in the six basic provisions of Proposition:

1) It requires public schools to question the

"immigration status" of all children and report those who don't hold "satisfactory documentation" to the INS (migra).

2) It bars those providing health services (doctors, clinics, hospitals, etc.) to anyone who cannot prove "legal" residence status.

3) Makes it illegal to provide preventive health care to "suspected" undocumented people and those seeking emergency care will be turned in to the Migra.

4) It requires all law enforcement agencies to hand over to the INS anyone not holding satisfactory documentation to proving legal residence status of anyone "suspected" of a crime.

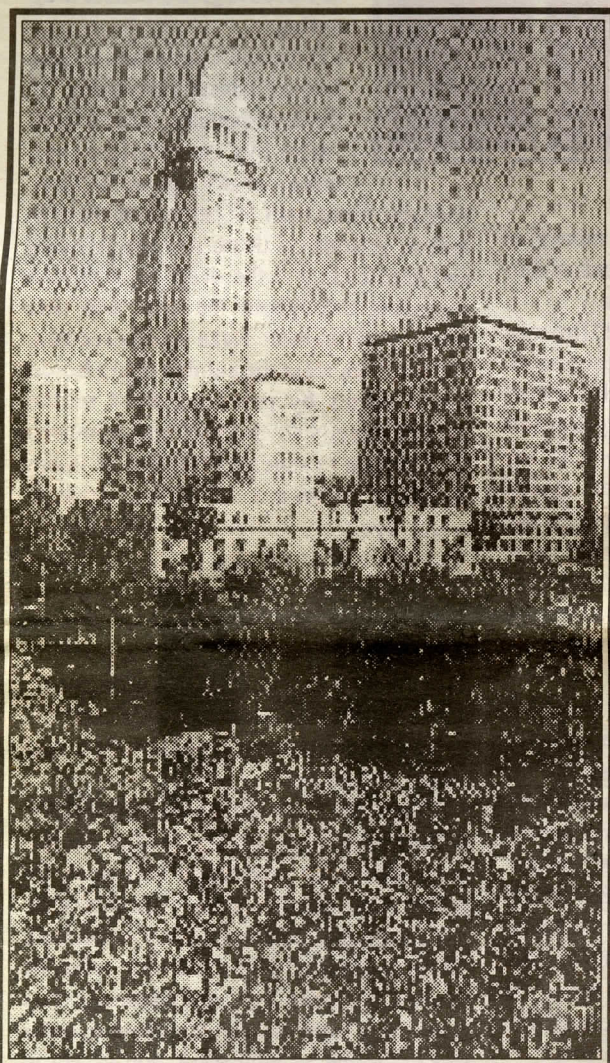
5) Makes it a state felony (duplicating a federal law, thus allowing for more punishment) for anyone to produce or sell forged immigration documents.

6) It bars suspected undocumented people from attending California State Universities and University of California campus.

PROP. 187 MAKES EVERY JOHN DOE WHITE BOY AND WHITE GIRL INTO MIGRA AGENTS

Prop 187 basically turns every teacher, principal, doctor, nurse, police, social workers, government housing worker, or John Doe white boy/girl punk, into Migra or wanna be Migra agents. And turns every Chicano Mexicano into a hunted, harassed, brutalized, criminalized, and despised human being. It also makes a dream (held by most gringos) come true, which is to perform their patriotic duty by turning in and arresting Mexicans. The fact that most whites in a jubilant frenzy (as did during the lynching of Africans in the deep South) signed the petition placing Prop. 187 (over twice as many signatures as needed by law were collect) exposed the profound anti-Mexican racist public opinion of white america. That many Mexicans (and other Raza) also signed the petition, testifies to the ignorance the gringo colonial system has imposed on our gente.

Already, we see "residency status checks" increasing in the educational sys-

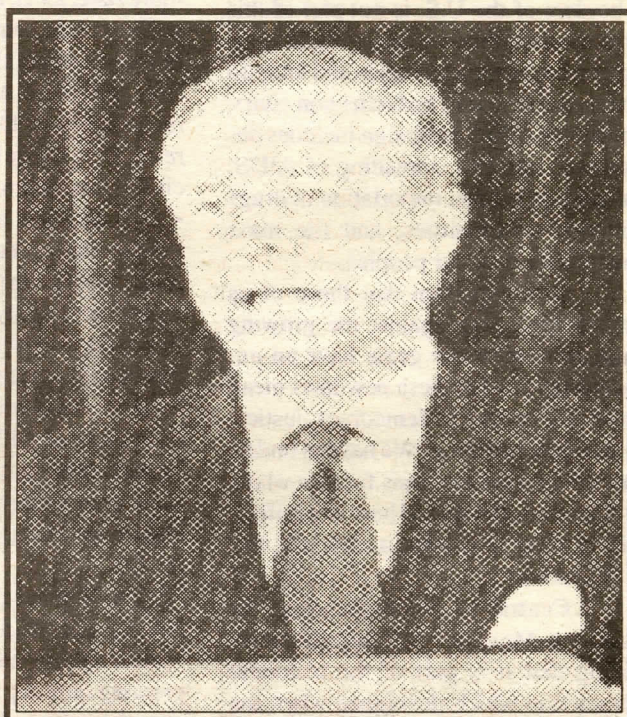


Over 100,000 Raza march in L.A. against the racist Prop 187 initiative.

and struggle of capitalism to survive) can we understand the current anti-Mexicano hysteria, as exemplified by Proposition 187.

Proposition 187, written on the ballot as "Illegal Aliens, Ineligibility for Public Services, Verification and Reporting, Initiative Statute", and known to white racists as "Save Our State" (which really means Save Our Slavery), is part of an overall strategy which includes the Federal Crime Bill, English Only Laws, and so forth, design to buy time for U.S. capitalism-imperialism and to further exploit the Mexicano people. It is a strategy that brings into play not only the police forces (migra, city police, FBI, etc.), but the whole white population (rich, middle class, the workers, and poor white trash), the courts, the media, the schools, the prisons, as well as the neo-colonialists (the vendidos/ hispanics and negro uncle toms). All of these sectors have been organized to wage an all-out war against the Mexicano population (men, women, the elderly, and children).

SOME HISTORICAL EXAMPLES OF THE U.S. PRACTICE OF GENOCIDE, SLAVERY, AND RACIST-SCAPEGOATING



Racist punk ass caveman Pete Wilson, a supporter of Prop 187

tems. Health care and social services are already being denied to Mexicans. The police and the migra increasingly are working together to brutalize and deport our people. While white folk call the migra after we have just cleaned their yard or homes. White people are already preying upon Mexicans at labor camps and taking pot shots at us with their rifles as we walk our land without the police doing a damn thing about it (see

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30.2 Billion Dollar Federal Crime Bill

A Vicious Program to Keep Our Gente Poor, Exploited, and Colonized

Reprinted from ¡La Verdad!

In early September of 1994, William Clinton, president of the illegal settler nation known as the United States, signed into law a 30.2 billion dollar bill called the "Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994." It is a law, that among other things, will put into the streets and along the false U.S./Mexico border over 100,000 police and migra pigs. This bill, along with the "Three Strikes You're Out" law (which went into effect in California earlier this year, and automatically sends someone to prison from 25 years to life if they commit three felonies), are nothing but attempts to keep Raza and other oppressed peoples under martial law and from rising up and winning our liberation. With the support of the neo-colonialist vendidos (A.K.A. - hispanic and black members of congress) this bill was able to pass. These traitors were bought off with the promise that 6 billion dollars of the 30.2 billion would be spent on "prevention programs." These funds will be passed out to the various social services agencies, who will spend most of it on administrative salaries - very little of it reaching the people who need the help.

The Crime Bill is part of the U.S. government's Counter Insurgency Program whose objective is to demoralize and destroy the capacity for our communities to effectively fight for our self-determination. It is a systematic program which also forms part of the "New World Order" where the European population under the leadership of the white bourgeois (the rich ruling class) will become the supervisors and managers of the wealth and the labor of the peoples of the world. The large African and Mexicano population within the borders of the U.S. is not part of this world scheme, thus we see a whole campaign to reduce the population and lock-up Mexicanos, Africans, and other non-European peoples. This campaign includes deportations, murders, spreading of AIDS, disarming of people, importation of drugs into poor communities, and the mass criminalization of our peoples.

It is important that those of us who are struggling against the growing criminalization of our gente have an understanding of what these new laws mean in their relationship to democracy, justice, and self-determination. We have to understand what forms the basis for this whole anti-Mexican climate and how it manifests itself, in order to combat it, defeat it, and win liberation.

Central to comprehending the present anti-Mexicano campaign is understanding that it is part of the historical contradiction which developed when the first Europeans landed, 500 years ago, on what is today called the "Americas." A contradiction based on the profit that the oppressor (gringo-European capitalism) makes out of the misery of the oppressed (Mexicanos, Africans, and other oppressed nations), the oppressor's desire to keep making profits out of our suffering, and our desire to win freedom and justice by any means necessary. It is only within this context - understanding the contradiction between the oppressor and the oppressed - that we can understand the basis for the

violence and terrorizing of Mexicanos by the Texas Rangers in the late 1800s, the establishment of the "Border Patrol" migra pigs in the early 1900s, the mass deportations of Mexicanos during the capitalist crisis (also known as the great depression) of the 1930s, the police-military raids into the barrios of the 1940s (or "Zoot Suit" riots), Operation Wetback of the 1950s, Operation Intercept and Operation Jobs, the construction of the Carter Curtain (sharp steel reinforcement of the "border" fence) of the 1970s, the Guest Worker program (slave labor project) of the early 1980s, and the Crime Bill/"immigrant" bashing of today.

BASIC FEATURES OF THE CRIME BILL AND WHAT THEY MEAN TO LA RAZA

There are ten basic features of the Crime Bill that need to be understood (read, "Locally, race is on for crime bill funds", San Diego Union-Tribune, Sept. 25, 1994):

- 1) It provides \$13.45 billion for 100,000 more state, local, and federal police. These police will be sent to the cities and neighborhoods where the majority of our gente live. Historical experiences and present realities tell us this will lead to more arrests, more police brutality and violation of civil rights, and more Raza sent to prison.
- 2) It includes a federal version of the "Three Strikes You're Out" which is currently in effect in California. It would send those found guilty of three felonies to life in prison if convicted in a federal court. This would send literally thousands of more Raza to prison with the understanding that most arrested will be penny ante addicted "street corner pushers" and rarely the big time drug dealers who import, via airplanes and boats, the drugs that come into the U.S.
- 3) It will spend close to \$10 billion on the construction of new prisons. The prison "correctional system" is already the fastest growing industry in the United States. We presently have a situation where the majority of the prisoners are Raza (including Native Americans) and Africans, while the majority of those making a living out of building and managing the prisons are white (see Las Calles y La Torcida, July-August 1994). It is a multi-billion dollar industry and court system that employs hundreds of thousands of white people (along with a few Raza, many of them vendidos) as judges, lawyers, parole offices, wardens, psychologists, jailers, guards, engineers, construction workers, etc. Even hotels and

restaurants near the prisons make money, as families and friends spend millions of dollars while visiting prison inmates.

- 4) It will ban 19 types of "assault" firearms and scores of others deemed to meet assault-style characteristics. In reality this means that the federal pigs are moving towards making it illegal for our people to have any means of defending ourselves, both against the pigs and racist paramilitary groups like the Nazis, KKK, and dozens of other white supremacist groups. While the government moves to disarm the Mexicano community under the guise of "fighting gang violence," literally hundreds of thousands of members of the bourgeoisie and general red-neck population have stockpiled weapons and have "connections" with the police and the military in case they should ever need more. The ruling class has very cleverly passed these laws by pretending to oppose the outlawing of firearms and have let the "liberal democrats" take on this struggle for them, thus confusing many people as to the real intent of these laws. The disarming of the population is a prerequisite to the consolidation of a dictatorship over our people.

- 5) It provides \$6.9 billion for crime and drug prevention and treatment programs. This provision of the Crime Bill was necessary to win over the neo-colonial sellouts in congress, as it will help sustain the hundreds of social services agencies who do little for people in terms of actually providing services. We understand that whatever does get to the people pacifies them, literally keeping them from recognizing who the enemy is, and thus keeping them from getting involved in the struggle against that enemy. This is why those agencies receiving the funds must keep out of "politics" and any kind of political consciousness raising - while at the same time provide jobs for thousands of poverty pimps who are loyal to the neo-colonial sellouts in congress. In fact, it is this sector of poverty pimps that forms the basis of the political support for sell-outs such as Henry Cisneros (Secretary of Housing and Urban Development), Jesse Jackson (professional presidential candidate and get-out the vote campaigner for the gabacho Democratic Party), and Frank Peña (Secretary of Transportation). This aspect of the counterinsurgency (war against oppressed people), called neo-colonialism (where the ruling class hides behind vendido collaborators), is central to its effectiveness since it confuses and rocks people to sleep. People begin to think everything is fine just because a few brown and black faces are

found in some "high places" (city government, etc.).

- 6) It will impose mandatory automatic drug testing of anybody arrested by the police, making it easy for the pigs to "frame" anyone they feel threatens this capitalist society. Activists will be easily set-up by under cover pigs or fired from their jales for "testing dirty" (positive), such as what came down during the 1960s. It will also further erode the basic laws of privacy and presumption of innocence until proven guilty; where, for example, someone arrested for a traffic ticket could be forced to give blood for drug testing.
- 7) It creates more than 60 new federal crimes punishable by the death penalty. This includes "drive-bys", so-called gang violence, car jackings, and so forth.

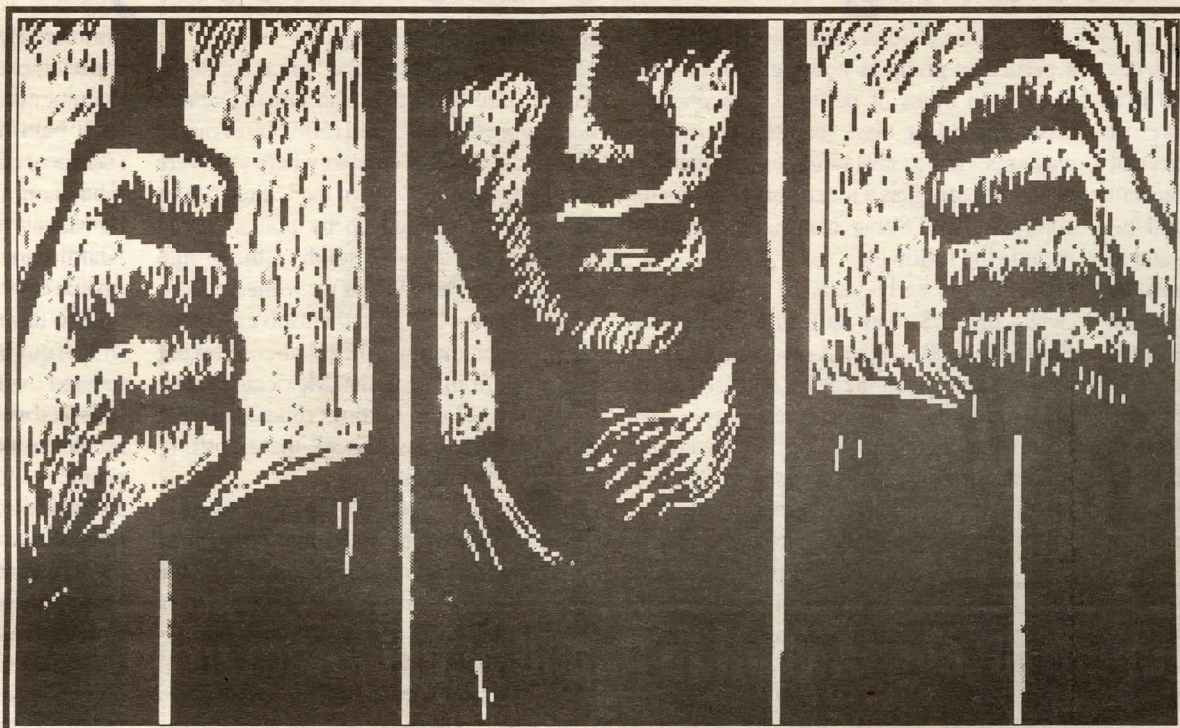
Already, more than 89 percent of those in federal prisons on death row are Africans and Mexicans and the deep racist climate spreading throughout the U.S. will definitely result in more Raza being executed.

- 8) It will increase the number of pig Border Patrol agents by providing \$414 million dollars directly to the INS and reimburse \$1.8 Billion to states for the cost of jailing so-called "illegal aliens." We know that the migra's primary job has been to harass and keep Mexicanos from defending their rights. Thus, more pig migra agents means more harassment and brutalizing of Mexicanos, Centro Americanos, and other Raza. All we have to do is check out "Operation Blockade" in El Paso or "Operation Gatekeeper" in San Diego to see what more migra pigs means to La Raza.

- 9) The Crime Bill will provide some \$200 million to help pay college tuition for students who after graduation will work for police. As Omali Yeshitela (chairman of the African People's Socialist Party) explained, "Who needs this? Not a kid who, when he reaches a certain age, automatically gets everything from his parents. Now in order [for us] to get an education, you've got to work with the pigs (see "Crime Bill Exposes Naked Dictatorship of White Power", Burning Spear, Feb.-Aug. 1994).

- 10) It will ear-mark about \$500 million to provide more "police security" on school campuses, which really means implementing a "police solution" to educational problems facing many Mexicano and African youth. Already, thousands of young Raza get harassed and kicked out of school for associating with "gangs" or wearing "gang" style clothing; while even the most ignorant know that the real gangsters are the rich punks like Clinton and his wife who make millions of dollars out of crooked deals and never get arrested. The reality is that young Raza are fed up with racist education and policies of the schools in occupied America (the U.S.) and within the last three years have organized many walk-outs and protests against this situation. Massive school walk-outs have taken place in San Jose, Orange County (Califas), and most recently, Sept. of 1994, in Denver, Colorado. What the Crime Bill is intended to do is to place more pigs in and around schools with the objective of containing the growing Raza youth demands for a quality and relevant education - demands which are counter to plans the ruling class has for our people: population control and the continuing exploitation of our labor.

Continued on next page.



Federal Crime Bill: A Blatant Attack Against the Mexican and African Communities

IT HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH LAW

But why are these new initiatives, propositions, and laws such as the Crime Bill, being implement at this particular time? Once again Chairman Omali Yeshitela, in an excellent presentation in which he analyzed the Crime Bill (see Burning Spear, Feb.-Aug. 1994) summed it up as:

"It's not like this has just begun. There are habitual offender acts all over this country that existed previously. What is happening now is that it has been codified, made into general law as part of a counterinsurgent attempt to keep the oppressed peoples in this country from rising up and striking out for our freedom...."

"You have a dictatorship existing over the masses of African and Indigenous peoples. It has nothing to do with law."

"Who commits crimes with guns, generally speaking? It's poor folks. The people in power don't have to use the gun. They use computers and pens. They use Congress persons to commit crimes. They have connections."

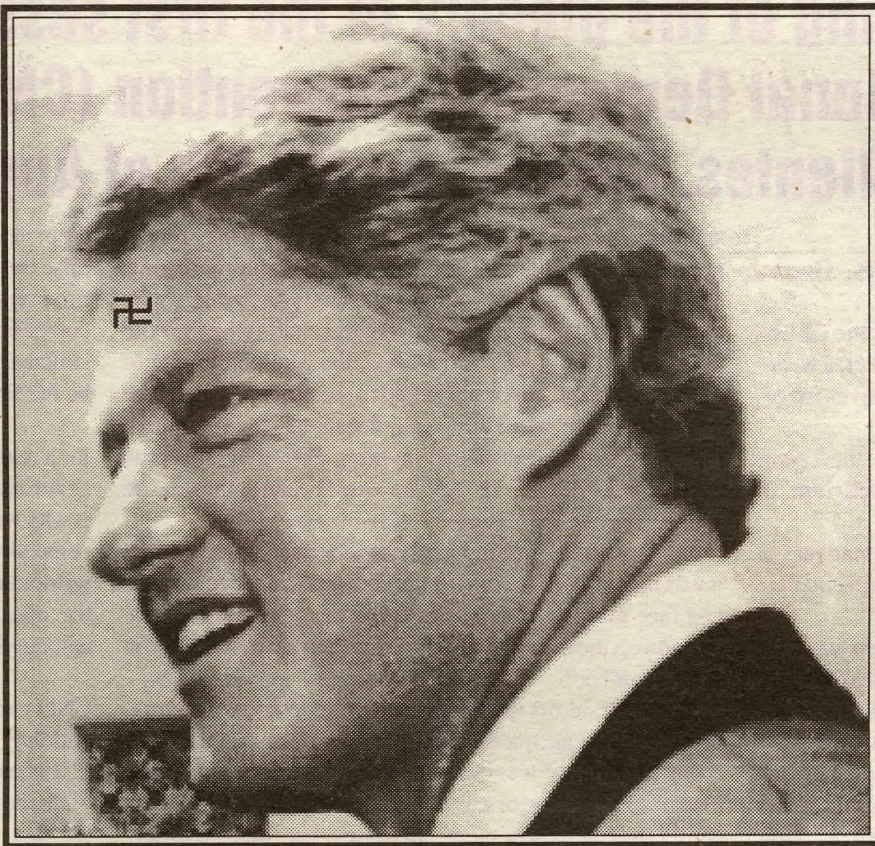
"Generally speaking when somebody has to use a gun to commit a crime, that's really an impoverished person. That's somebody who has no connections, no power or anything at all."

"But you don't find any kind of provisions like that for the ruling class. What is Hillary Clinton, for example facing? You've got people who looted the savings and loan industry of billions of dollars and there is no kind of provision for locking them up. There is no provision for special police for them, nor the creation even of a special organization to hunt down crooks like this. Nowhere will you find anything like that."

Camarada Yeshitela gets to the basis of the Crime Bill when he says:

"One of the things that has to exist for revolution to occur is the inability of the ruling class to rule in the same old way. The ruling class in this country cannot rule in the same old way. It hasn't been able to rule the same old way for a long time [because of the revolutionary movements of the late 1960s and early 70s]. It becomes manifest more and more every day."

"The Crime Bill is further evidence of their inability to rule the same old way." ATTEMPTS BY THE SYSTEMS TO TERRORIZE OUR PEOPLE



Democrat or Republican, it doesn't matter, they are still enemies of La Raza.

If there is anyone with second thoughts about what the Crime Bill really means to our communities, one just has to examine the ongoing police and white vigilante violence against the non-European peoples in the U.S. Here in San Diego (which is generally representative of any area where Raza live), we have just a few examples:

- the vicious police beating (July 1994) of Robert Nuñez which was video taped, then the tape was confiscated by the police and "lost";
- we have the case of Manuel Salazar who was shot on July 11, 1994, and almost killed by San Diego police;
- also on July 11, Martin Garcia was killed by the border patrol, who claim he was in the process of assaulting them;
- also in July, the migra beating of a 17-year old trying to escape back across the "border";
- the Aug. 10, 1994 attack by a group of armed and uniformed gabachos on a labor camp in Oceanside, which left several Raza severely beaten;
- the suit filed on Sept. 28, 1994, against the INS (migra) by a young lady, 27 year-old Haime Flores, who was sexually attacked by a lesbian migra pig who, ac-

cording to news accounts "scratched Flores' genitals while searching her, causing her to bleed and lifted her brassiere exposing Flores' breasts amid the laughter of the male agents" (see the San Diego Union-Tribune, Sept. 29, 1994);

• and the recently implemented (Oct. 1, 1994) "Operation Gatekeeper" where the migra, under the supervision of the vendido hispanic Border Patrol Chief Gustavo De La Viña, is arresting and harassing every Mexican crossing a border put there by U.S. imperialism.

These are just a few examples of attempts by the dogs employed by the system to keep our gente terrorized. Incidents which are not only occurring in San Diego, but also in Fresno, El Paso, Denver, Albuquerque, Phoenix, Tucson, Chicago, San Jose, San Antonio, and Houston - everywhere Raza live.

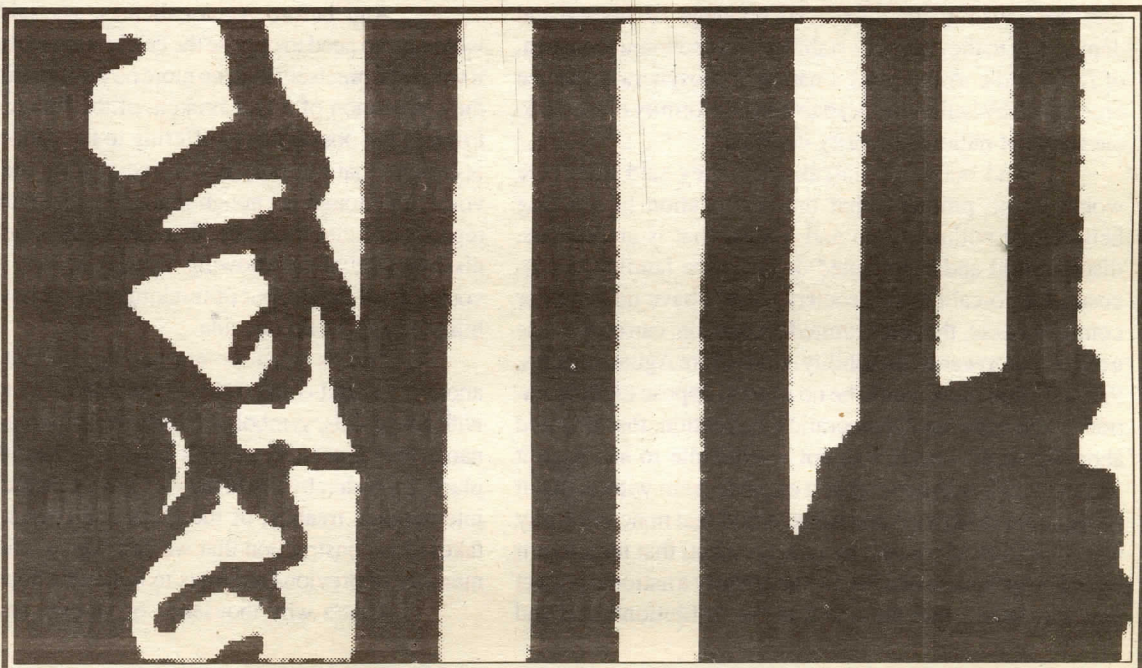
But despite the growing overt hatred and violence being directed against our gente and our movement's inability to get its act together and unite into one powerful revolutionary force, those involved in struggle must not be demoralized and forced to hang-up the gloves. We must understand that the present anti-democratic, anti-Raza, fascist laws being implemented by the ruling class are not signs of strength, but rather signs of desperation, of weakness, of seeing the end of their vicious system of exploitation and terror. They are a response to the

growing fear the ruling class has of our people. The gringo ruling class is terrified by the idea of our gente rising up and getting what rightfully belongs to us; we're talking about our land and its resources. Gabacho capitalism is reading the writing on the wall: Raza will win liberation one way or the other, it is just a matter of time. Now is precisely the time to work harder and struggle harder to defeat the enemy of our people. WE MUST ORGANIZE OUR GENTE AND STRUGGLE UNTIL VICTORY IS WON

As part of Unión del Barrio's work to defeat the Counterinsurgency we continue to organize demonstrations and struggle to build the organizational capacity of our gente. As history has taught, only an organized, conscious, and disciplined people can win their liberation. Therefore in August, in unity with the Brown Berets de Aztlán, we held a picket in front of the San Diego Police headquarters to expose the growing intensity of police brutality. In September, in order to expose the role that the white liberal politicians play in the oppression of our Raza, we held - as part of our work with the Raza Rights Coalition - a picket against gubernatorial candidate Kathleen Brown who was speaking at San Diego State University. Brown has called for the militarization of the border, support of "anti-crime" legislation, the implementation of a "national I.D. card" to more efficiently oppress La Raza, and cut backs in aid to the poor. Also, we continue our participation in the monthly Community Patrols in defense of Raza rights that monitor the police and migra in the Mexican communities of San Diego. We are in the process of organizing the Second Annual National Raza Youth Liberation Conference (to be held in San Bernardino on Nov. 19, 1994), where one of the major objectives will be to expose the role that the vendidos and police play in the oppression of nuestra gente. In January of 1993, we founded the Chicano Mexican Prison Project, to begin to work with those victims of the "legal" aspects of the Counterinsurgency Program and win them over to the liberation struggle. We also continue, through the National Chicano Moratorium Committee, to build national unity of the Movimiento with Raza in Fresno, El Paso, Riverside, Los Angeles, San Jose, Santa Ana, Albuquerque, and so forth.

It is the obligation of all activists and revolutionaries to expose the Crime Bill as an anti-Mexicano, anti-African law. We need to educate all of our gente, the workers, the students, the prisoners, the homeboys and homegirls, as to the political and economic basis for all these laws being passed, organize our gente and struggle until victory is won. We make a call to you to join us in this struggle today.

**¡UNETE A LA LUCHA
PARA LOS
DERECHOS
HUMANOS DEL
PUEBLO MEXICANO!
UNETE A LA
COALICION PRO-
DERECHOS DE LA
RAZA.
LLAME 619/280-
8361**



INFORMATION FROM THE ZAPATISTAS

The following presentation was read by Subcomandante Marcos at the opening of the plenary of the first session of the National Democratic Convention (CND) in Aguascalientes, Chiapas on the 8th of August 1994.

Honorable Democratic Convention.

Democratic Convention Presidency, Delegates, Guests, Observers, Brothers and Sisters.

Through my voice speaks the voice of the EZLN, Aguascalientes, Chiapas, a Headquarters, a hunker, a weapons factory, a military training center, an explosives magazine.

Aguascalientes, Chiapas, Noah's Ark, the Tower of Babel, Fizcarraldo's Jungle Ship, the delirium of neo-zapatism, a pirate ship.

The anachronistic paradox, the tender madness of the ones without a face, the absurdity of a civil movement in dialog with an armed movement.

Aguascalientes, Chiapas, hope in successive steps, hope in the small palms that preside over the stairway, to better reach the sky, a sea snail's hope, which from the jungle calls for air, the hope of those who did not come but are here, the hope that the flowers that in other lands die, may live in this one. Aguascalientes, Chiapas, for the EZLN 28 days of work, 14 hours a day, 600 men-women per hour, 235,200 men-women hours of work in total, 9,800 days of work, 28 years of work, 60,000,000 old pesos, a library, a presidium in the semblance of the bridge of a transatlantic ship, simple benches for 8,000 conventionists, 20 guest hostels, 14 cooking fires, parking for 1,000 vehicles, an arena for assaults.

Aguascalientes, Chiapas, a common effort by civilians and military, a common effort for a change, a peaceful effort by armed people, and before Aguascalientes, they said that it was madness, that no one could, from the limits set by guns and face masks, be successful in convoking an electoral reunion on the eve of the election. And before Aguascalientes, they said that no sensible person would respond to the call of a rebel group, outlaws, of which little or a lot is known, to the light that lit up January, to the obsessive language that tried to recover old and worn words; democracy, liberty, justice. The covered faces, the night passage, the mountains enabled as hope, the lonely indigenous glance that for centuries has pursued our barreling attempt towards modernization, the stubborn rejection of hand-outs to demand the apparently absurd: for everyone everything, for us nothing.

And before Aguascalientes, before Aguascalientes, they said there was little time, that nobody would risk embarking on a project that, like the Tower of Babel, announced its failure from the very place and time in which it was convoked. And before Aguascalientes, they said that fear, the sweet terror that has fed from their very birth the good people of this country, would end up imposing itself, that the evidence and comfort of doing nothing, that of sitting and waiting to observe, that of applauding or booing the actors in this hither comedy that is called mother-land, would reign together with other evidences in the proverbial name of the people of Mexico, civil society.

And before Aguascalientes, they said that the insurmountable differences that fragmented us and pitted us one against the other, would prevent us from turning towards a common point, that the omnipotent State party and the avoidable things that around it take form: presidencialismo, the sacrificial bondage of liberty and democracy to the chains of stability and economic bonanza, of fraud and corruption as a national idiosyncrasy, justice prostituted by handouts, despair and conformity elevated to the status of national security doctrine.

And before Aguascalientes, they said that there would be no problem, that the convocation to a dialog between an outlaw group and a mass that is amorphous, disorganized and fragmented down to the familial microcosm, the so-called civil society, would have no echo nor common cause, that the reunited dispersion, can only cause a dispersion towards immobility. And before Aguascalientes, they said that there would be no need to oppose the celebration of the National Democratic Convention, that it would abort by itself, that it was not worthwhile to sabotage it openly, that it was better that it explode from within, that it be apparent in Mexico and to the world that nonconformity was incapable of coming to an agreement, that therefore it would be incapable of offering the country a national project that was better than the one that the institutionalized and

stabilized revolution had offered us, along with the pride of now having in Mexico 24 forefathers of international money. That's what they were betting on, exactly that, that's why they allowed the convocation to be sent, that's why they did not prevent you from coming here; the foreseen failure of the CND, should not be attributed to the powerful; that it be evident that the weak are weak, because it is evident that they are incapable of being anything else, they are weak because they deserve it, they are weak because they desire it to be so.

And before Aguascalientes, we said that yes, that it was madness, that from the horizon that is opened by guns and face masks, yes it was possible to convoke a national reunion on the eve of the election and be successful, do you need a mirror?

If one sits to lament the painful lessons of history, that prudence allows us today, the constant drumming of doing nothing, of waiting, of despairing, the senseless and tender fury of for everyone everything, for us nothing, would find the ears of others, in those others that are falsely exchanged between us and you.

And before Aguascalientes, we said that there was enough time, that what was missing was shame for being afraid of trying to be better, that the problem with the Tower of Babel was not in the project but in the lack of a good system of ties that bind and the lack of a good translating team. The failure was in the poor attempt, in sitting down to see how the tower was raised, how it stopped and how it crumbled. In sitting down to see how history would give an account, not of the tower, but of those who sat down to wait for its failure.

And before Aguascalientes, we said that fear, that the seductive telTor that is expelled by the cloacas of power, that fed us since our birth, can and should be put aside, not forgotten, not looked over, but simply set aside. That the fear of remaining a spectator be greater than the fear of attempting to look for a common point, something that unites, something that can transform this comedy into history.

And before Aguascalientes, we said that the differences that fragmented us and pitted us one against the other, would not prevent us from turning toward the same point: the avoidable system that castrates, the system of evidences that oppress, of murderous common places. The State party system and the absurdities that within it are invested with value and institutionalized. The hereditary dictatorship, the cornering of a struggle for democracy, liberty and justice, in the arena of the impossible, as a utopia. The electoral mockery elevated to the image of computational alchemy, to the status of national monument, of misery and ignorance as a historical vocation of the dispossessed, democracy washed with the detergent of imports and anti demonstration water cannons. And before Aguascalientes, we said that there was no problem, that the convocation to a dialog between those that are without face and armed and the disburing facelessness of civil society would find common cause, that the reunited dispersion and good dialog could provoke a movement that might finally turn this shameful page in the history of Mexico.

And before Aguascalientes, we said that there would be no need to oppose the celebration of the CND, that it would be precisely that, no more no less than a celebration, the celebration of a fear broken, of the first teetering step towards the possibility of offering to the nation an enough is enough that not only has an indigenous and campesino voice, an enough is enough that adds, that multiplies, that reproduces, that triumphs, that can be the celebration of a discovery: that of knowing ourselves, not now with a vocation for defeat, but of thinking that we have the possibility of victory on our side.

That is what we are betting on, that is why the anonymous and collective will that has as a face a red star with five points, symbol of humanity and struggle, and as a name four letters, symbol of rebellion, has lifted on this place, forgotten by the history of governmental studies, of international treaties, of the maps and routes that money takes, this construction that we call Aguascalientes, in the memory of previous attempts to unite this hope.

That's why thousands of women and men with

their faces covered, for the most part indigenous people, raise this tower, the tower of hope, that's why we set aside, for a time, our guns, our rancor, our pain for our dead, our conviction for war, our armed way, that is why we constructed this place for a gathering that if it is successful it will be the first step to deny us as an alternative.

That is why we raised Aguascalientes, as the seat for a reunion which if it fails will compel us to take up once again and with fire the right of all to a place in history. That is why we invite you, that is why we are happy that you have come all this way, that is why we hope that maturity and wisdom will allow you to discover that the principal enemy, the most powerful, the most terrible, is not here seated among you.

That is why with all due respect, we address the CND to ask in the name of all men and women, of all the children and old people, of all the living and dead of the EZLN, not to heed the words of those who predict the failure of this convention, that you search and find that which unites us, that you speak true words, that you not forget the differences that separate us and that with which greater frequency than desirable pits us one against the other, that you set them aside for a moment, some days, some hours, the minutes sufficient to discover the common enemy. This we ask respectfully, that you not be traitors to your ideals, your principles, your history, don't be traitors and deny each other, we ask you respectfully that you take forth your ideals, your principles, your history, that you be firm, that you be consequent, to say enough is enough to the lies that today govern our history.

The EZLN participates in the CND with 20 delegates, each one with a single vote, we want thus to make two things clear, one is our commitment to the CND, the other is our decision not to impose our point of view, we have also rejected all possibilities of participating in the presidency of the CND, this is the convention for the peaceful search for change, and should in no way be presided by armed people, we are thankful that you give us a place, one more among the rest of you to say our words.

We want to say that if anyone doubts it, we have no misgivings of having taken up arms against the supreme government, we repeat that they left us no alternative, we do not regret taking up arms nor covering our faces, we do not lament our dead, we are proud of them and we're ready to offer more blood and more death if that is the price to achieve a democratic change in Mexico. We want to say that we are unmoved by the accusations that we are priests of martyrdom, that we are warlike, we are not attracted by the calls of sirens and angels to give us access to a world that looks upon us with disapproval and distrust, that disdains the value of our blood and offers fame in exchange for dignity, we are not interested in living as we now do, much has been asked with inquisitive perversity by those who seeks to confirm suppositions regarding what the Zapatistas want to do with the CND, what is it that the Zapatistas hope of this convention, it is asked; some would say, a civil treaty; the eight columns of the national and international press, argue others; a new justification for their waning zeal, say others; a civil endorsement of war, is ventured on the other side; the platform for the resurrection of the forgotten world of the system, they fear in some official party, as they put a price on the official party; a space to enjoy the leadership of a Left without an apparent life, they murmur in the opposition; the endorsement of a defeat, is heard in the conspiracies beyond the grave from where eventually might come the bullet that would attempt to silence us; the platform so that Marcos might negotiate a post in the next administration towards modernity, is deduced in some brilliant column by some brilliant analyst, engaged in opaque political intrigue.

Today, before this CND, the EZLN responds to the question; what do the Zapatistas hope for from the CND? Not a sinister civilian wing that extends war to every corner of the country, not journalistic promotion that reduces the struggle for dignity to a sporadic splash on the front page, not more arguments to adorn our uniform of fire and death, not a soapbox for political calculations, for groups or

Continued on next page

¡QUE VIVAN LOS ZAPATISTAS!

Communiqué from the Clandestine Revolutionary Indigenous Committee General Command of the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN)

October 8, 1994

To the people of Mexico: To the peoples and governments of the world: To the national and international press: Brothers: The Clandestine Revolutionary Indigenous Committee-General Command of the EZLN declares the following:

First: The Federal Army has continued deploying troops in the conflict zone. It has continued its patrols with armored vehicles, entering Zapatista territory. It has continued with its low-flying over flights by combat aircraft. In the last few days, the garrisons in Altamirano, Las Margaritas and Ocosingo have been reinforced with troops and military fortifications. Dozens of armored vehicles have been sent to Tuxtla Gutierrez and to San Cristobal de Las Casas. Low-flying over flights by combat aircraft of the Federal Army continued during the month of September. Day and night, in the municipalities of Las Margaritas and Ocosingo, the constant over flights by aircraft seek to intimidate and provoke an armed clash. During the night of October 7th and the day of October 8th these threatening over flights continued.

Second: The soldiers stationed in the municipal capitals of Ocosingo, Altamirano and Las Margaritas are openly preparing themselves for combat, and amongst the troops there are rumors of an imminent attack.

Third: The recent evictions of occupied lands in the state have been a show of force, and women and children have been beaten, arrested and tortured - peasants whose only crime is not having

land to cultivate. The government has chosen to favor a repression that benefits the powerful instead of a dialogue that would benefit the dispossessed.

Fourth: The peaceful civil demonstrations by our indigenous brothers throughout the Republic have been answered with repression and intolerance. The repression against our indigenous brothers in Guerrero deserves special mention.

Fifth: The organizations of ranchers and businessmen continue with their belligerence, threatening and assaulting those who are seeking a dignified peace in Chiapas. We have proof of the participation of members of the public security forces of the state of Michoacan in the training of the ranchers' "White Guards." The so-called "Civic Fronts" have been reactivated by Mr. Robledo Rincon for the purpose of stopping the peaceful civil mobilizations of the Chiapaneco people against the imposition of Rincon as governor.

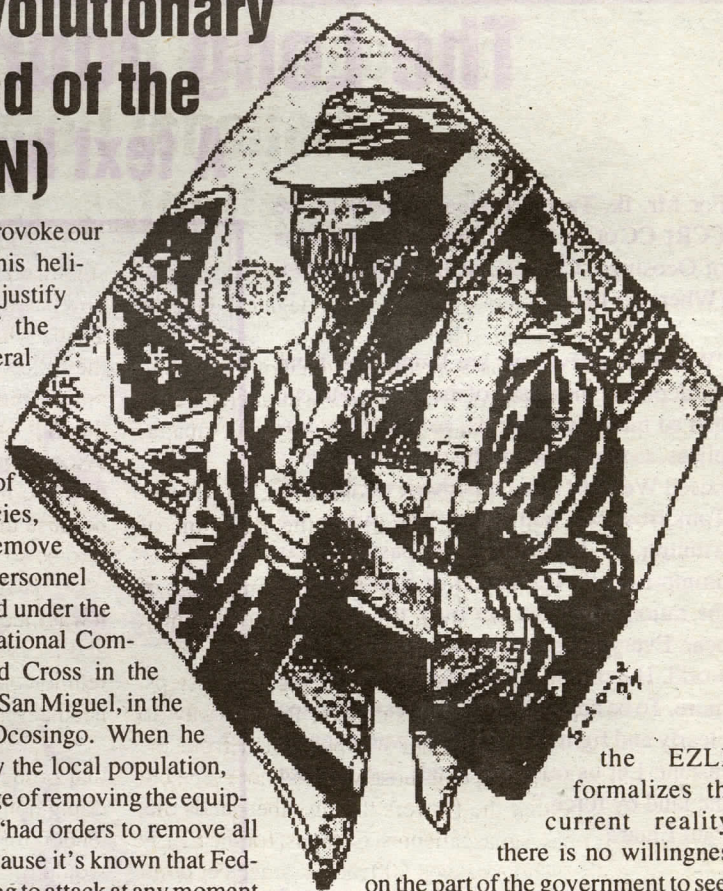
Sixth: The recent political crime perpetrated against the Secretary General of the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI) - a crime whose source should be sought within the government's own ranks is the murderous response to the democratic impulses in the country.

Seventh: The self-proclaimed "Presidential Spokesperson for the Fulfillment of the Peace Accords in Chiapas," sought to provoke our troops by entering Zapatista territory in a helicopter of the IMSS (Instituto Mexicano de Seguro Social) and uselessly trying to encourage a division amongst the Zapatista population with government handouts. Said Spokes-

person sought to provoke our troops to attack his helicopter in order to justify the breaking of the cease-fire by Federal troops.

Eighth: The Ministry of Health, by means of their local agencies, has started to remove equipment and personnel that were stationed under the flag of the International Committee of the Red Cross in the cease-fire zone of San Miguel, in the municipality of Ocosingo. When he was questioned by the local population, the person in charge of removing the equipment said that he "had orders to remove all the equipment because it's known that Federal troops are going to attack at any moment and all the equipment would be lost."

Ninth: Therefore, in order to respond to these provocations, so as not to be an accomplice to the deceit that the Government of Salinas de Gortari is carrying out, so as not to endorse the culture of political crime that characterizes the current government, and in order to reaffirm its commitment to the struggle against fraud and imposition, the Zapatista National Liberation Army has decided to terminate the dialogue with the supreme government. Salinas de Gortari has done everything possible and necessary to suspend the dialogue. Since March, 1994 there hasn't been any willingness on the part of the government to resolve the problem. By terminating the dialogue,



the EZLN formalizes the current reality:

there is no willingness on the part of the government to seek a peaceful solution.

Tenth: Zapatista troops have finished mining all land access to rebel territory and anti-aircraft units have been deployed. We are ready.

Eleventh: While there is no real willingness to dialogue, and until the necessary conditions are met, the EZLN will not resume talks to find a peaceful solution to the conflict.

Freedom! Justice!

Democracy!

Respectfully,

From the mountains of Southeast Mexico. Clandestine Revolutionary Indigenous Committee-General Command of the EZLN. Mexico, October, 1994.

subgroups in search of power, not the doubtful honor of being the historical vanguard of multiple vanguards that we are subjected to, not the pretext for being traitors to ideals and deaths that we take with pride as an inheritance, not as a springboard to reach a desk, an office, in some bureau, in a government, in a country.

Not the designation of an interim government, not the rewriting of a new Constitution, not the formation of a new constitutive body, not the endorsement of a presidential candidate to the presidency of the Republic of pain and conformity, not war.

Yes to the beginning of a construction that is greater than Aguascalientes, the construction of peace with dignity, yes to the beginning of a greater effort than the one that lead to Aguascalientes, the effort toward a democratic change that includes liberty and justice for the majority that has been forgotten.

Yes to the beginning of the end to a long nightmare known by the grotesque name --the History of Mexico, yes to the moment to call all who do not and cannot take the place that some want us to take, the place from where all the opinions emanate, all the routes, all the answers, all the truths, we will not do it. We hope that the CND will provide the opportunity to search and find some one to whom we might present this flag that we found alone and abandoned in the palaces of power, the flag that we snatched with our blood, with our blood which flows from the painful prison of museums, the flag that we cared for day and night, that accompanied us in war and that we want to have in peace, the flag that we now present to this CND, not so that they retain it and dole it out to the rest of the nation, not to supplant probable armed protagonisms, proved civil protagonisms, not to abrogate representativity and somesialismos.

Yes to the struggle so that all Mexicans can call it their own, so that it can again become the National Flag, your flag compañeros.

We hope that this CND, the peaceful and legal organization of a struggle, the struggle for democracy, liberty and justice, the struggle that we found ourselves compelled to take up, armed and with our faces denied. We hope from this CND true words, the words of peace, but not

the words of surrender to a democratic struggle; the word of peace, but not the word that surrenders the struggle for freedom- the word of peace, but not the word of pacifist complicity with injustice.

We hope that this CND has the capacity to understand the right to call itself representative of the feelings of the nation it is not a resolution that will be approved by vote or consensus, but rather something that has yet to be won in the barrios, in the ejidos, in the colonies, in the indigenous communities, in the schools and university, in the factories, in businesses, in the centers of scientific investigation, in the artistic and cultural centers, in all the corners of the country.

We hope from this CND the clarity to realize that it is only a step, the first of many that will be necessary to take even under more adverse conditions than the present ones.

We hope that this CND has the courage to assume the color of hope that many of us in Mexico see in it, including ourselves, that it should demonstrate that the better men and women in this country place their means and strength toward a transformation that is the only possibility of transformation that is the only possibility of survival of these people, the transformation toward a democracy liberty and justice.

We hope that this CND has the maturity to not convert this space into an internal, sterile and castrating settling of accounts.

We hope from this CND, finally a collective call to struggle for that which belongs to us, for that which by rights belongs to the good people, that is simply, our place in history. It is not our time, it is not the hour for arms, we stand aside, but we do not go away. We hope that the horizon is opened and we are no longer necessary, until we are no longer possible, we, the ever present dead, who must die again in order to live. We hope that this CND is an opportunity, the opportunity that was denied us by those that govern this country, the opportunity to return with dignity once having fulfilled our duty of remaining underground.

The opportunity to return again to the silence we hold still, to the night from whence we emerge, to the death that we inhabit, the opportunity of disappearing in the same way we appeared at dawn, without a face, without a future.

The opportunity to return to the bottom of history, to the bottom of the dream, to the bottom of the mountain.

It has been said mistakenly that the Zapatistas have placed a time-limit for the resumption of war, that if on the 21st of August things do not turn out the way the Zapatistas want the war will begin. They lie, to the people of Mexico, nobody, nobody, not even the EZLN, can impose time-limits or give ultimatums. For the EZLN there are no time-limits other than what the civil and peaceful mobilizations determine. To them we are subordinate, to the point of disappearing as an alternative.

The resumption of war will not come from us, there are no Zapatista ultimatums for civil society. We wait, we resist, we are experts at this. Struggle. Struggle without rest. Struggle and defeat the government. Struggle and defeat us. Never will defeat be so sweet, as when in a peaceful transition toward democracy, dignity and justice are victorious.

The Indigenous Clandestine Revolutionary Committee, General Command of the EZLN, has presented you with Aguascalientes, so that you may gather to agree not for immobility; not for sterile skepticism; not the exchange of reproaches and compliments; not as a tribune for personal promotion; not as a pretext for war tourism; not for a fraudulent unconditional pacifism; not for war, but for peace at any price.

Yes, to discuss and agree on a civil, peaceful, popular and national organization in the struggle for freedom and justice. The CCRI-CG of the EZLN, presents you now with the national flag, to remind you what she represents: Motherland, History and Nation, and to commit you to what it should mean: democracy, liberty and justice.

Greetings, fellow conventionists. For you Aguascalientes was raised. For you it was constructed, in the middle of an armed territory, this space for peace with Justice and dignity.

Thank you very much.

Democracy, liberty, justice.

From the mountains of the southeast of Mexico.

Indigenous Clandestine Revolutionary Committee-General Command of the EZLN Mexico, August of 1994.

LA REVOLUCION NO HA TERMINADO

The Long Journey From Despair to Hope

A text by Subcomandante Marcos

For Mr. Ik, Tzeltal prince, founder of the CCRI-CC of the EZLN, helped in the battles of Ocosingo, Chiapas, in January of 1994. (Wherever he is...)

"When He arrives we are living, and from the depths of the Castle of the poor where we had so many just like us, so many accomplices, so many friends the sail of courage is raised. We must raise it without vacillation. Tomorrow we will know why when we triumph. A long chain of passion was unimprisoned. The ration of injustice and the ration of shame are truly too bitter to bear. Everything is not necessary to make a world. Happiness is necessary and nothing more. To be happy it is only necessary to see clearly and fight. We must not wait even an instant: Let us raise our heads. Let us take the land by force."

Paul Eluard

"Mexico: between dreams, nightmares and awakenings"

Chapter 1.- Which speaks of neoliberal chants of 24 mermaids, of reefs of gold, of grounding on sand bars of depression and of other dangers that threaten the pirates on high seas.

THE NATION SPEAKS

They have treated me like a piece of injured land, full of scars. Of wounds that do not heal, from beatings and downfalls. They have treated me like a never ending curse, like a home left in ruins and bitterness.

How heavy is history!

Full am I with traitors and thieves, each humiliation is added and grows, each tribulation accumulates.

The imperial eagle tears at my insides and powerful men divide among themselves my seas and my mountains, my rivers and deserts my valleys and cliffs.

These are my afflictions, large and never ending: the pain of my mangled ground, the pain of my impoverished land, the pain of my betrayed son, the pain of my lost battle...

To this country one may arrive through the Penthouse or through the basement. To Lower Mexico one arrives on foot and crying... in mud. In 1993 we conversed, close to San Quintin, in the town of Ocosingo, with a Guatemalan who was beginning the long and improbable journey, across Mexican lands, to the American Union. To achieve this he had to risk his money, his health, his life and his dignity. He and his family had to traipse from Chiapas all the way to Northern Baja California, navigating through a nightmare of misery and death. We asked him why he was risking everything to go to the United States, and why he didn't just stay and work in one of the Mexican states that he would be crossing in his journey. He answered, laughing facetiously: "I'd have to be crazy to do that. If Guatemala translates to 'bad toilet', you Mexicans are in a 'Worse toilet' then" and he told us the story that was told by those who had made it clear to the northern border of Mexico and had been deported by the Border Patrol: A Mexico quite distant from tourism promotions murderous police, corrupt government functionaries, panhandlers, prices from North America and salaries from Central America, death squads, population living in poverty, despair. A story we already knew. The nightmare that lives in the basement of this country, the nightmare that brought us to our



awakening in January of...

1994:

To Penthouse Mexico...

one arrives by plane. An airport in Mexico City, Monterrey, Guadalajara or Acapulco, is the entrance to an elevator which neither rises nor falls, but rides horizontally across the country of the 24 richest men in the country, the scenes of Mexico of modern times: the government offices where neoliberalism is administered, the business clubs where the national flag becomes more diffused every day, the vacation resorts whose true vocation is to be a mirror of a social class that does not want to see what is below their feet: a long stairway, spiral and labyrinthed, which leads all the way down to the Lower Mexico, Mexico on foot, mud Mexico. Above the blood and clay that live in the basement of this country, the 24 omnipotent are busy counting The \$44,100 millions of dollars, a gift from the Presidential term of these modern times. Penthouse Mexico simply has no time to look down, it is too busy with complicated macroeconomic calculations, exchange of promises, praises and indexes of inflation, interest rates and the percentage, of foreign investment, import-export concessions, lists of assets and resources, scales where the country and dignity have no weight: the public debt guaranteed, long range, has gone from 3,196 millions of dollars in 1970, to 76,257 millions of dollars in 1989. The private, non-guaranteed debt was 2,770 millions of U.S. dollars in 1970 and was up to 3,999 millions of U.S. dollars in 1989. In 1989 the short term public debt reached 10,295 mil-

lions of dollars. By the beginning of the decade of the 90s Mexico owed 95,642 millions of dollars. Each year this country pays off more debt and, however, each year it owes more. The use of International Monetary Fund credits went from 0.00 in 1970 to 5,091 millions of dollars in 1989. The industrial and commercial economic growth takes its toll in the Mexican countryside: in agriculture, in the period of 1965 to 1980, production grew at an average national rate of 3 percent. In the period from 1980 to 1989, only by 1 percent. Meanwhile, in foreign trade, imports speak their complicated language of numbers: grain imports in 1974 were only 2,881 thousand metric tons, and they reached 7,054 thousand in 1984. Of the total, in 1965, only 5 percent of imports were foodstuffs; in 1989 the percent of food imports reached 16 percent. On the other hand in the same period, the percentage of importation of machinery and transportation equipment was reduced (50 percent in 1965, 34 percent in 1989). The ratified exports: of the total, the sale of combustibles and minerals increased from 22 percent in 1965 to 41 percent in 1989. Foreign sales of machinery and transportation equipment increased from 1 percent in 1965 to 24 percent in 1989. The export of products of prime necessity were reduced from 62 percent in 1965 to 14 percent in 1989. (Data: International Bank for Reconstruction and Development The World Bank. July 1991).

Mr. Carlos Salinas de Gortari is, in Penthouse Mexico, The President... but of a stockholders' board. These modern times in

Mexican neopolitics, make public functionaries into something like a species of retail salespeople, and the president of the republic, into the sales manager of a gigantic business: Mexico, Inc. To be a politician in the state party in Mexico, is the best business to be in. A paternal shadow protects the steps of the new generation of Mexican politicians; that of ex-president Miguel Aleman Valdes, "Mr. Amigo". The Neo-elect, Ernesto Zedillo, is repeating the fallacy of the American Dream (poor children who grow up to be rich, that is to say, to be politicians) and the modernistic economic program... which is 48 years old! The smokescreen about the lack of solvency, credit and markets, will again blind the heads of medium to large businesses. The "law of the jungle" from free trade will repeat the dosage: more monopolies, fewer jobs. "To grow", in neoliberal politics means simply "to sell". To practice politics one must practice marketing technology. The "citizen" of Penthouse Mexico will be, sooner or later, named MAN OF THE YEAR by some foreign institution. To achieve this he must follow...

"Instructions to be named Man of the Year"

1. Carefully place a technocratic functionary, a repentant opposer, a businessman for a front, a Union Cowboy a property holder, a builder, an alchemist in computational arts, a "brilliant" intellectual, a television, a radio, and an official party. Set this mixture aside in a jar and label it: "Moderninity".

2. Take an agricultural worker, a peasant with no land, an unemployed person, an industrial worker, a teacher without a school, a dissatisfied housewife, an applicant for housing and services, a touch of honest press, a student, a homosexual, a member of the opposition to the regime. Divide these up as much as possible. Set them aside in a jar and label them: "Anti-Mexico".

3. Take a native Mexican. Separate the crafts and take a picture of her. Put her crafts and the photo in a jar and set aside, labeling it: "Tradition".

4. Put the native Mexican in another jar, set it aside and label it: "Dispensable" One must not forget to disinfect oneself after this last operation.

5. Well, now open a store and hang a huge sign that says: "Mexico 1994-2000 Huge End of the Century Sale"

6. Smile for the camera. Make sure the makeup covers the bags and dark circles under the eyes caused by the nightmare the process has caused. Note: Always have on hand a policeman, a soldier and an airplane ticket out of the country. These items may be necessary at any time.

Penthouse Mexico has no foreign vocation. In order to have a foreign vocation one must have a nationality and the only country and the only country spoken of, with sincerity, on that narrower and narrower top floor, is the country called money. And that country has no patriots, it has only profit and loss indexes. Historical events happen only within the stock markets and the modern heroes up there, are only Good Salesmen. For some reason in the other history (the real one) that top floor, far from expanding, is quickly

¡PATRIA O MUERTE!

contracting. Every time there are fewer able to stay there. Sometimes with delicacy, other times with brutality, the incapable are obligated to descend... by the stairs. The Penthouse elevator of Mexico, whose door opens to the great international airports, neither rises nor falls. To leave the Penthouse one must descend, going further and further down until one gets to...

"To get to Middle Mexico...

One goes by car. It is urban and its image is a carbon copy, which repeats itself in various parts of the country, of Mexico City. An image of concrete which can not deny the contradiction of the coexistence among the extremely rich and the extremely poor. Middle Mexico smells bad. something is rotting there inside at the same time as that the feeling of collectivity is being diluted. Middle Mexico does have a foreign vocation. Something tells it that, to rise to Penthouse Mexico, the road passes through a country that is not this one. In order to 'triumph' in Mexico one must go abroad. It does not necessarily mean to go physically, but to go in history, in goals. This vocation of exile as a synonym to triumph has nothing to do with the physical crossing of a border. There are those who, even in leaving, stay behind. And there are those who, even in staying, leave. Only 3 states of the federation have indexes of margination which are VERY LOW: the Federal District (Mexico City), Nuevo Leon and North Baja California; 10 more are within the LOW margination index: Coahuila, Baja California South, Aguascalientes, Chihuahua, Sonora, Jalisco, Colima, Tamaulipas, Estado de Mexico and Morelos; another 4 have a MEDIUM index of margination: Quintana Roo, Sinaloa, Nayarit and Tlaxcala. Middle Mexico survives in the worst possible way: thinking that it is alive. It has all of the disadvantages of Penthouse Mexico: historical ignorance, cynicism, opportunism and an emptiness that import products can only fill partially or not at all. It has all the disadvantages of Lower Mexico: economic instability, insecurity, bewilderment, sudden loss of hope and, furthermore, misery knocking, on every corner, upon the window of the automobile. Sooner or later, Middle Mexico must get out of the car and get into, if he still has enough left, a taxi, a collective taxi, a subway, a bus terminal, and start the journey down, all the way to...

Lower Mexico...

where one may arrive almost immediately. It cohabits, in permanent conflict, with Middle Mexico. The 17 Mexican states which are found in the indexes labeled MIDDLE, LOW and VERY LOW margination, have half of their inhabitants living in cramped conditions (with more than 2 people per room) and 50 percent of Mexicans who live in the 'middle' states earn less than 2 minimum wages daily, that is, in poverty (in Tlaxcala three quarters of the population lives in poverty). Aguascalientes, Chihuahua, Jalisco, Colima, Tamaulipas, Morelos, Quintana Roo, Sinaloa, and Tlaxcala have a third of the population over 15 years old, not having completed primary school, in Nayarit the percentage is higher than 40 percent. Tlaxcala has a third of its population without sewers nor plumbing. Quintana Roo and Sinaloa has a fourth of its inhabitants living on dirt floors. The states of Durango, Queretaro, Guanajuato, Michoacan, Yucatan, Campeche, Tabasco, Zacatecas and San Luis Potosi have HIGH indexes of margination. Nearly half of their population above the age of 15 have not completed primary school, one third have no plumbing nor sewer, nearly two thirds live in crowded conditions and more than 60 percent earn

less than two minimum wages per day. Lower Mexico does not share, it disputes an urban and rural space, but still, it has its own internal divisionary lines, its borders. Estates, haciendas and grand agricultural firms impose their rural space upon Agrarian Reform parcels and peasant communities. Urban colonies, their names and locations, the services that they have, the manner of speaking of their people, the way they dress, their entertainment, education, everything limits and classifies, trying to put in order, to accommodate the chaos that rules in Mexican cities. It is not necessary to state the level of income, social position and political vocation, it is enough to say in what colony of what city one lives. Within one city there are thousands of cities, fighting, surviving, struggling. Out in the countryside it is the transportation vehicle, the way one dresses and the attention one receives from the bank manager which indicate one's classification. One's position in the countryside of Mexico can be determined by how long it takes a person to be received in the reception areas of the financial or political world. In Lower Mexico the Big House of the Porfirian Hacienda has been replaced by the inner office of the bank, which is how modern times have penetrated rural Mexico. Lower Mexico has a fighter's vocation, it is brave, it is solidary, it is a clan, it is the "hood", it is the gang, the race, the friend, it is the strike, the march and the meeting, it is taking back one's land, it is blocking highways, it is the "I don't believe you!", it is "I won't take it anymore!", it is "No more!". Lower Mexico is the master tradesman, mason, plumber, factory worker, driver, employee, the subway-bus-shared cab student, the street cleaner, truck driver and dialectic, the housewife, small businessman, traveling salesman, farmer, mini and micro entrepreneur, miner, colonizer, peasant, tenant farmer, provincial although living in the Capital, peon, longshoreman in port cities, fisherman and sailor, used clothes dealers, butchers, artisans, it is all the etceteras that one finds on any bus, on any corner, in any given corner of any given place of any Mexico... Lower Mexico, that is. Lower Mexico is the substance of the imprisoned, of the dispossessed, of garnishments, of liens, of layoffs, of evictions, of kidnappings, of torturing, of disappearance of battle, of death. Lower Mexico has absolutely nothing... but it has not yet realized it. Lower Mexico already has overpopulation problems. Lower Mexico is a millionaire, counting its misery, its despair. Lower Mexico shares both urban and rural space, slips and falls, battles and downfalls. Lower Mexico is really far down, so far down that it seems that there is no way to go further down, so far down that one can hardly see that little door that leads to...

Basement Mexico...

One arrives on foot, either barefoot, or with rubber soled huaraches. To arrive one must descend through history and ascend through the indexes of margination. Basement Mexico was first. When Mexico was not yet Mexico, when it was all just beginning, the now Basement Mexico existed, it lived. Basement Mexico is "Indigenous" because Columbus thought, 502 years ago, that the land where he had arrived was India. "Indians" is what the natives of these lands have been called from that time on. Basement Mexico is: Mazahuan, Amuzgan, Tlapanecan, Nahuatlán, Coran, Huichol, Yaqui, Mayan, Tarahumaran, Mixtec, Zapotecan, Chontal, Seri, Triquis, Kumiain, Cucapan, Paipain, Coghimian, Kiliwan, Tequistlatecan, Pame, Chichimecan, Otomi, Mazatecan, Matlatzincan, Ocuiltecan, Popolocan, Ixcatecan, Chocho-popolocan, Cuicatec, Chatino, Chinantec, Huave,

Papagan, Pima, Repehuan, Guarijian, Huastec, Chuj, Jalaltepec, Mixe, Zoquean, Totonacan, Kikapuan, Purepechan, Oodham, Tzotzil, Tzeltal, Tojolabal, Chol, Mam. Basement Mexico is indigenous... however, for the rest of the country it does not count, produce, sell or buy, that is, it does not exist... Review the text of the Free Trade Agreement and you will find that, for this government, the indigenous do not exist. Furthermore, read Addendum 1001.a-1 to the Free Trade Agreement, from the 7th of October, 1992 (yes, just 5 days before the 'festivities' of the 500th Anniversary of the 'Discovery of America'), and you will find that Salinas' government has 'forgotten' to mention, on the list of Federal Government Entities, The National Indigenous Institute. We have been in the mountains a very long time, perhaps the National Indigenous Institute has been privatized, but it is not surprising that, listed as 'government entities' appear such well known organizations as the 'Patronage for Aid to Social Reintegration' or 'Aid for the Commercialization of the Fishing Industry' and the 'Institute for Human Communication Doctor. Andres Bustamante Gurria'. On the other hand, in Canada there is the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Basement Mexico amasses traditions and misery, it possesses the highest indexes of margination and the lowest in nutrition. Of the 32 states, 6 have VERY HIGH index of margination. The 6 have a HIGH percentage of indigenous population: Puebla Veracruz Hidalgo Guerrero Oaxaca Chiapas The stratum in The Mexicos is repeated in the municipalities. On a national level there are 2,403 municipalities. Of these 1,153 have a level of margination considered HIGH or VERY HIGH. 1,118 have MEDIUM and LOW levels of marginality and only 132 municipalities have VERY LOW levels of margination. In the states with high indigenous population: Chiapas of 111 has 94 municipalities HIGH and VERY HIGH levels. Guerrero of 75 has 59. Oaxaca of 570 has 431. Puebla of 217 has 141. Queretaro of 18 has 10. San Luis Potosi of 56 has 33. Veracruz of 207 has 130. Yucatan of 106 has 70. Between mud and blood one lives and dies in Basement Mexico. Hidden but in its foundation, the contempt that Mexico has for this will permit it to organize itself and shake up the entire system. Its charge will be the possibility of freeing itself from it. The line of democracy, liberty and justice for these Mexicans, will be organized and it will explode and shine on...

January of 1994...

when the entire country remembered the existence of the Basement. Thousands of indigenous armed with truth and fire, with shame and dignity, shook the country awake from its sweet dream of modernity. "That is enough!" their voices scream, enough of dreams, enough of nightmares. Ever since steel and evangelists dominated these lands, this voice is condemned to resisting a war of extermination that now incorporates all of the intergalactic technological advances. Satellites, communication equipment and infrared rays keep watch on their every move, locate their rebellions, point to, on military maps, places for the seeding of bombs and death. Tens of thousands of olive green masks are preparing a new and prosperous war. With indigenous blood they want to wash their dignity in serving the powerful... to be accomplices in the unjust delivery of poverty and pain. The indigenous zapatistas paid for their sins with their blood. What sins? The sin of not being satisfied with handouts, the sin of insisting on their demands for democracy, liberty and justice for all Mexico, the sin of their 'every-

thing for everyone, nothing for us'. Those who deny the indigenous Mexican peasant the possibility of understanding the concept of NATION and who obligate him to look to his past (which separates him from the rest of the country) and prohibit him from looking to the future (which unites the Nation and which is the ONLY possibility for survival of the indigenous people) reiterate the division, not of social classes, but (a disguised form of the aforementioned) the division of categories of citizens: The first (governing class), the second (the political parties of the opposition) and the third (all the rest of the citizens). The indigenous would be in the VERY inferior category of 'citizens in formation', the basement of the Mexican nation, the waste pile where one goes every once in a while to look for something that could still be used on the upper floors, or to fix some imperfection that could endanger the stability or balance in the building. Basement Mexico is the most dangerous for the Sale Season that is being organized by Penthouse Mexico. Basement Mexico is the one that has nothing to lose, and the one that has everything to win. Basement Mexico does not give up, has no price, resists... From Basement Mexico a voice arose in August of 1994, a voice that does not speak of war, that does not plan to turn back the clock of history by 502 years, that does not demand vanguard, that does not exclude tribulations. 'Everything for everyone, nothing for us' speaks the language of the millennium. The faceless voice, of the unnameables, became common in the National Democratic Convention. This voice is precisely aimed. It calls Basement Mexico, and it calls Middle Mexico. 'Do not let our blood be wasted. Do not let the death be in vane' say the mountains. Let the word join the separate roads, Let the rebellion also include...

Women: in double dream, double nightmare, double awakening;

If among men the division of The Mexicos to a point is evident, in women it produces new effects which show potentials of submission and rebellion. While in Penthouse Mexico women reiterate their position of being gold plated, like a trinket on the executive desk of the world, the wise and 'efficient' administrator of familial well being (that is, dolling out dinners at McDonalds), and in Middle Mexico the ancient cycle of daughter-girlfriend-wife and/or lovermother, in the Lower and Basement Mexicos the nightmare is doubled in the microcosms where the man dominates and determines. For women in the Lower and Basement Mexicos everything is doubled, (except for respect): referring to women the percentages of illiteracy, of subhuman living conditions, low salaries, of margination, are incremented into a nightmare that the system prefers to ignore or disguise within general indexes that do not show the exploitation of the gender that makes general exploitation possible. But something is beginning not to fit in this double submission, the double nightmare doubles the awakening. Women from Lower and Basement Mexico awaken fighting against the present and against a past that threatens to be their future. The conscience of humanity passes through female conscience, the knowledge of being human implies they know they're women and fight back. They no longer need anyone to speak for them, their word follows the double route of rebellion with its own motor the double motor of rebel women in this... Space for paradoxes...

(To be continued...)

EZLN

20,000 INDIGENOUS PEOPLE MARCH IN CHIAPAS, MEXICO

Reprinted from Worker's World, via the Internet.

Oct. 12 is Indigenous Day. This year it was proudly commemorated through-out the Americas.

The most significant event was a militant march of 20,000 Indigenous people through the streets of San Cristobal de las Casas, Mexico.

They demanded their land and social justice, and denounced the Aug. 21 electoral fraud. Indigenous people and mestizos came from all over the southern state of Chiapas.

At the rally in front of the town's cathedral, Antonio Hernandez, a Tojolabal Maya, read a statement from the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN) announcing its decision to break the ongoing discussions with the Mexican government.

These negotiations had begun three months after the Jan. 1 uprising.

The EZLN declaration read in part: "Listen, brothers and sisters, we are tired of hearing the same, we are tired of waiting for truth to win out over the lies. We have decided to break the dialogue with the bad government.

"Until there is truth in the words of the government, they will find no place in the heart of truthful men and women.

"Today our pain once again seeks a place in your hearts. Our thoughts ask for little: that our search for our lost dignity not be held back; that even just a tiny bit of your heart be Zapatista; that you not surrender; that you resist; that you may continue, in your place and through your own means, struggling always for dignity, against poverty, and that this be harvested in every corner of the country.

"We are the original inhabitants of these lands. Everything was ours before the arrival of arrogance and money. By right everything belongs to us. We never had any problem sharing it with justice and reason.

"We will never accept a government that is not ours. We prefer to die rather than live with the shame of a tyranny deciding our direction and words.

"We will fight, we will die--but this long night will not continue without our light announcing the morning ... for everyone."

CONFRONTATION BREWING

Although the EZLN is made up almost entirely of Indigenous people, the most exploited and abused of Chiapas, its message was strongly for all Mexicans--Indigenous, workers and campesinos.

Hernandez continued: "Our struggle, armed with hope, is not against the mestizo; it is against the race of money. It is not against the color of one's skin, but against the color of money.

"It is not against a foreign language, but against the language of money.

"That is why we are an army of national liberation. We fight for the Indigenous, but not just for them.

"We fight for the campesinos without land, for the farm workers, for the workers in the city, for the humiliated women, for the forgotten old people, for the children without a future, for the unemployed, for the teachers, for the students, for housewives, for all those who are poor today but will have dignity in the future.

"Ours is not the Zapatista Army of Chiapas Liberation, ours is the Zapatista Army of National Liberation--and until there is freedom, democracy and justice in every corner of our nation that is Mexico, we will keep waving the five-pointed red star on the black flag, and the Zapatistas will continue in the Mexican mountains."

Workers World spoke by telephone with the Rev. Pablo Romo, director of the Human Rights Center at the Diocese of San Cristobal de las Casas. Romo said the situation there is critical.

"The military planes haven't stopped flying overhead. And despite the cease-fire, the presence of the Mexican army is growing," he said.

"They are moving into the so-called 'gray zones'--areas like Altamirano and Morelia."

Romo estimated there are now about 40,000 troops in the

area. He explained that the EZLN announced the break of dialogue because none of its demands had been met.

"The EZLN felt that there is no real answer to their demands of political reform, of social and economic issues," Romo said, adding that Bishop Samuel Ruiz recently initiated a call for a new dialogue between the Mexican government and the EZLN. So far there has been no response.

Meanwhile, the Indigenous and campesinos are continuing occupations, sit-downs, road blockades, and land takeovers. "For example, Indigenous communities just took over the city halls of Simojovel and Huitiupan, near Chiapas de Corzo, and the land takeovers are gaining," Romo said.

One of the main issues in Chiapas is the gubernatorial election results. An overwhelming sector of the population is demanding that the government admit opposition candidate Amador Avendano won-and not inaugurate the ruling party's Eduardo Robledo Rincon.

The New York Times reported Oct. 18 that at an EZLN gathering in the Lacandon Jungle on Oct. 15, Subcommander Marcos threatened military action otherwise. Marcos reportedly said: "If Robledo is imposed as governor, there is going to be war here.

"Here means Mexico, not just Chiapas. If they want lead we'll give them lead. We are an army...."

The Oct. 12 demonstration itself provided powerful evidence that the elections did not derail the struggle. The EZLN statement reminded participants: "Today marks 502 years of colonization, exploitation, the subjugation and extermination of our peoples, without seeing yet the light of a new day.

"Long has been our night. They crushed us, they tried to rob us of our territory and resources, of our lands....

"The Indigenous peoples say that the end of silence has arrived. The movement for our claims is profound and comprises millions of Mexicans--Indians and non-Indians....

"The moment has arrived."

Zapatista News

MEXICO CITY, Oct. 16 (UPI) -- Zapatista National Liberation Army rebels said there will be civil war in Mexico if governor-elect Eduardo Robledo Rincon takes office Dec. 8 in the southern state of Chiapas, news reports stated Sunday.

"If they want bullets, we will give them bullets. ... If the Army wants to impose Ecurado Robledo Rincon on us, there will be war. I mean in Mexico, not only in Chiapas," said "Sub-commander Marcos," the spokesman for the rebels.

The ruling Revolutionary Institutional Party, or PRI, responded immediately, saying its candidate, Robledo, will not resign.

The Zapatistas and opposition Party of the Democratic Revolution, or PRD, accuse the PRI of fraud and say their candidate, Amado Avendano Figueroa, was the true winner of the state's elections.

Last week, the rebels broke off peace talks with the government and accused the Army of carrying out maneuvers to provoke them. They said the militia has mined all access roads into their territory.

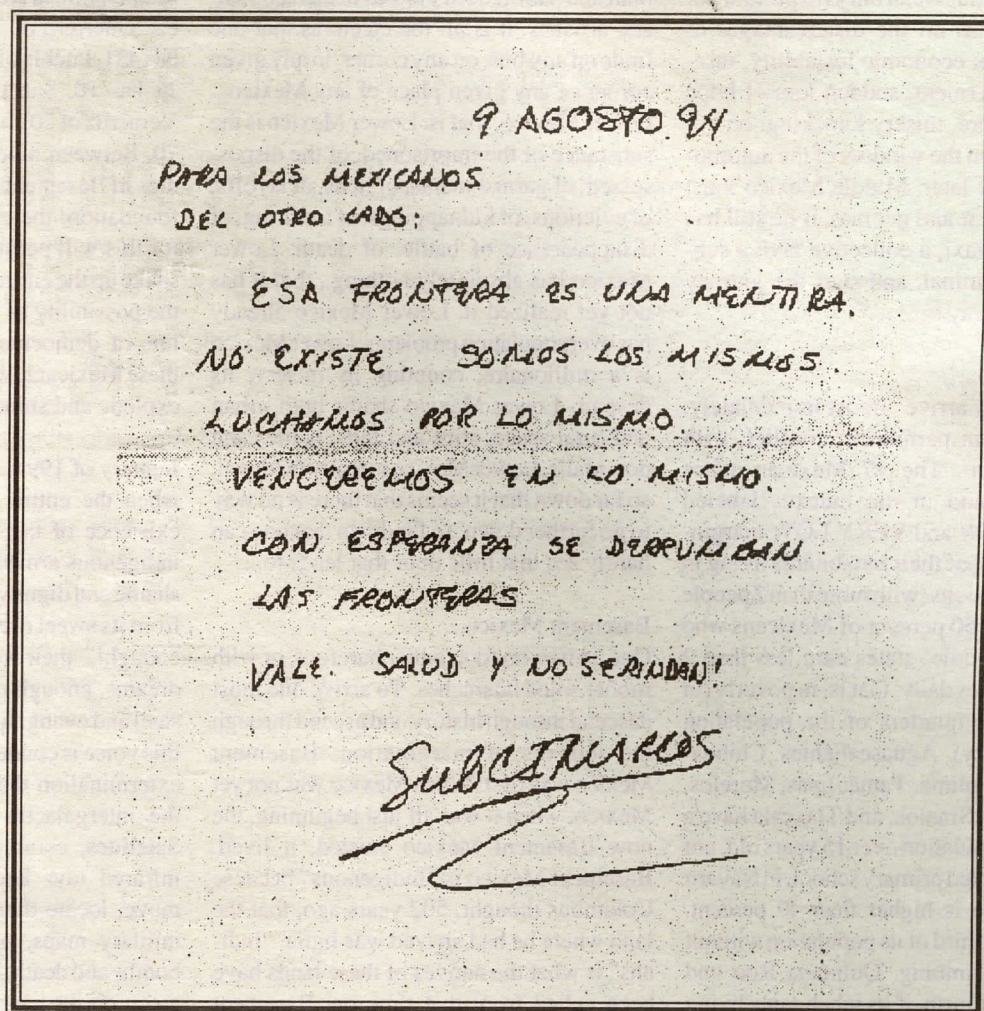
"The Zapatistas cannot answer with a white flag again. We are an army, not a union or social club," Marcos told a caravan of civil organizations carrying 130 tons of aid for the rebels.

The government offered to install five camps so human right workers and others could verify and document the rebels' accusations against the Army. The Zapatistas have not responded to the proposal.

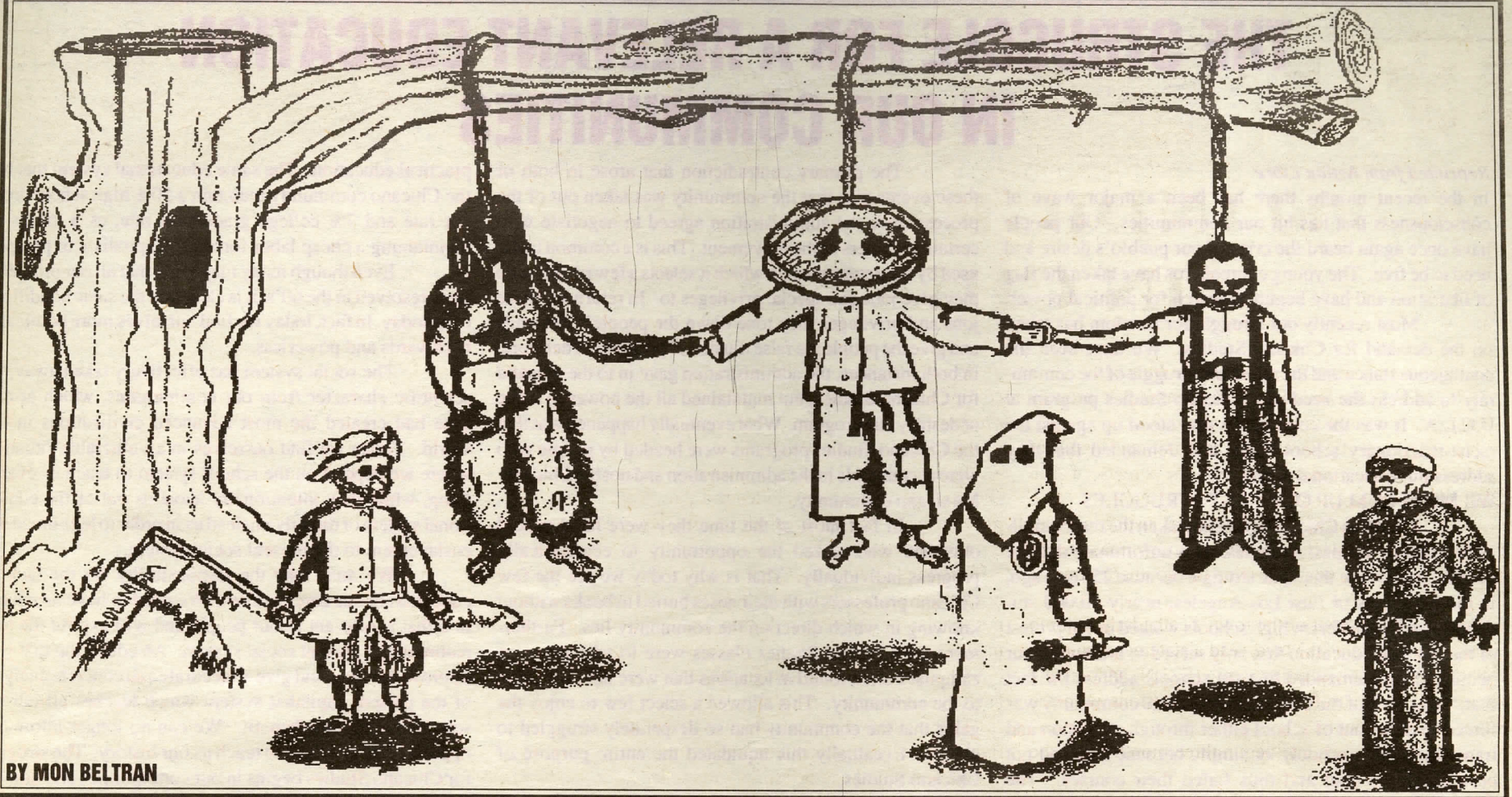
Authorities have also suggested creating a special commission with official and rebel representatives to monitor the cease-fire agreed on since mid-January.

According to the rebels, their people -- some 2,000, many of whom are Indians of Mayan decent -- are surrounded by 50,000 soldiers.

The PRI party leader in Chiapas, Placido Morales, said his party will only accept irregularities recognized by electoral officials.



A message from Subcomandante Marcos, given to the Brown Berets de Aztlán, while at the CND, in Chiapas. Reprinted from La Causa.



THE WAR AGAINST MEXICANS IS ON RAZA. IT'S TIME TO UNITE!

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SOMOS UN PUEBLO - SIN FRONTERAS

THE STRUGGLE FOR A RELEVANT EDUCATION IN OUR COMMUNITIES

Reprinted from Aztlan Libre

In the recent months there has been a major wave of consciousness that has hit our communities. Our people have once again heard the cries of our pueblo's desire and need to be free. The young compañeros have taken the flag of liberation and have begun to search for political power.

Most recently our struggle for freedom has taken on the demand for Chicano Studies. We have seen the courageous stance and the relentless struggle of the community to address the need of a Chicano Studies program at U.C.L.A. It was the community who stood up against the racist-reactionary school board and demanded that they address our educational needs.

WE MUST SUM UP OUR PAST STRUGGLES

Yet we as Chicanos have not taken the responsibility to analyze our past struggles. It is unfortunate that the people had to wage this same struggle because 25 years ago, in the blow-outs of East Los Angeles, nearly 10,000 students from five different high schools walked out in protest of the colonial education that only served to brainwash our people. They demanded that the schools address the fact that, "over 50% of the Chicano high school community was forced to drop-out of school either through expulsion and transfers to other schools, or simply because they had not been taught to read and thus failed their courses. The curriculum was designed to obscure the Chicanos' culture and to condition students to be content with low-skilled jobs" (Rudy Acuña).

Due to the wide support, the blow-outs, like the U.C.L.A. hunger strike, had accomplished a great deal of temporary success. The demands and needs of the people for a relevant education were quickly addressed and temporarily remedied.

THE VENDIDOS BETRAY OUR COMMUNITIES

The primary contradiction that arose in both of these events was that the community was taken out of the process once the administration agreed to negotiate with certain members of the movement. This is a common tactic used by the government in which it selects a few people who they give jobs and special privileges to. In return for these jobs and privileges they tone down the people's demands and give the people the false illusion of progress. Therefore, in both instances, the administration gave in to the demand for Chicano Studies, but maintained all the power to make or destroy this program. What eventually happened was that the Chicano Studies programs were headed by people who were accountable to the administration and not the Chicano/Mexicano community.

In fact most of the time they were hand picked outsiders who seized the opportunity to economically progress individually. That is why today we see the few Chicano professors with their noses buried in books without knowing in which direction the community lies. Furthermore the Chicano Studies classes were to take place on campuses often found in locations that were not accessible to the community. This allowed a select few to enjoy the gains that the community had so desperately struggled to obtain. Eventually this liquidated the entire purpose of Chicano Studies.

WE NEED CHICANO STUDIES ON OUR OWN TERMS

Aztlan Libre is clear that the question of Chicano Studies is one that must be resolved in order for our movement to succeed. We must realize that we can no longer ask or expect the same social system that steals our resources and land to educate our people. We are literally asking the slave master to give us a map to run away from his plantation. It is this same social system that has maintained the Chicano community from achieving any sort of

practical education. The same educational system that has the Chicano community maintain a 50% high school drop-out rate and 7% college graduation rate, as a means of maintaining a cheap labor force for Capitalism to prosper.

Even though many may think that all our problems were resolved in the 60's, it is clear that the same conditions exist today. In fact, today we find ourselves more politically backwards and powerless.

The social system has effectively taken away the scientific character from our communities, which at one time had created the most advanced civilizations in the world. Today we find ourselves in a vulnerable situation where we depend on the school system to teach us everything, while they intentionally leave us out of the educational system or directly mislead us in order to legitimize our enslavement to the present social system.

We must take the responsibility for the lack of education in our communities. We need to have an education that is relevant to our people and will expose the true nature of the present social system. An education that will improve our lives and give an accurate and concrete analysis of the present capitalist system which leaches all our resources for its own benefit. We can no longer allow our oppressors to continue to teach us our history. The struggle for Chicano Studies begins in our communities and homes. It is a struggle that must be waged by our people to regain our self-determination. Our political education begins in humble settings and in sincere publications that expose our true struggle.

Understanding these contradictions, Aztlan Libre has designed Chicano Studies classes in the community of San Bernardino, which will hopefully provide the community with an alternative to the colonial education. (For more information write to Aztlan Libre.)

AZTLAN LIBRE SUPPORT COMMITTEE

Reprinted from Aztlan Libre

Aztlan Libre is a mass organization, whose main political tool is the publication of a working class journal. The main purpose of the Aztlan Libre journal is to expose and heighten the contradictions within the current social system of Capitalism, with the intent of building the national consciousness of Chicano/Mexicano people to wage and/or support a struggle for national liberation from settler colonialism.

Since most of the resources have been stolen from oppressed people for over 500 years, one of the primary setbacks, which is universal for organizations fighting for the genuine interest of oppressed people, is the lack of material resources. It is hard to find money to do political work.

Another setback for the movement has been the lack of participation from the various sectors within our communities: the professional who has too much work, the student who has a test, (or due to the merciless exploitation of oppressed people) the campesina/o for whom it is impossible to participate in the movement on a daily basis.

After much debate and internal struggle by the Aztlan Libre central committee, it was concluded that the best way to solve these contradictions was to create a support committee. The idea for a support committee was influenced by the theoretical work of the African People's Socialist Party, a revolutionary organization fighting for the freedom of African people.

SUPPORT COMMITTEE WORKS UNDER AZTLAN

LIBRE LEADERSHIP

The Aztlan Libre central committee also understood that in order for the support committee to function correctly, it would have to work under the direct leadership of the central committee. The central committee must control the resources because it has to guide the political work of the overall organization. If not, we will have created the same problem of dependency that the White left has established with other organizations. Since the White left controls the resources, they also control the destiny of these organizations. Aztlan Libre understands our struggle to be for the National Liberation of our homeland, but the White left, in most cases, sabotages this struggle for their counter-revolutionary aims, such as Gay rights, feminism, or to save the whales. Raza, we have to be clear that anything that derails our process for freedom is an enemy of our people. Consequently, the basic purpose of the support committee was summed up by Aztlan Libre as follows:

The A.L.S.C. is a committee open to all nationalities who unite with the right of Mexican people to be self-determined. The primary function of the support committee is to retrieve material support that will allow Aztlan Libre to carry out its political objectives. Material support is defined as donating time, money or any other resource needed. The resources will be turned over to Aztlan Libre's leadership who will make the final decision on its use. The support committee will also allow for the participation of a vast majority of our people. It will be open to anyone that wants to join, as long as they unite with the principles set by the

Aztlan Libre central committee.

OFFICERS HAVE BEEN ESTABLISHED

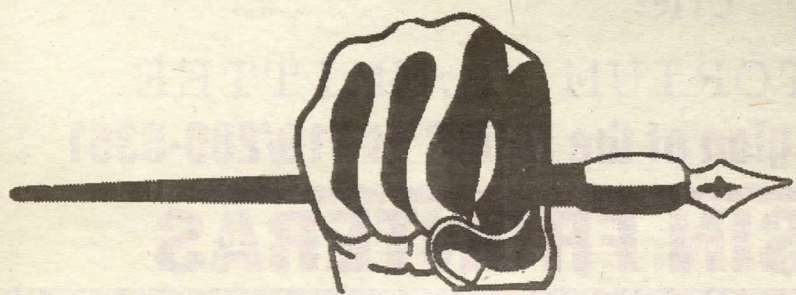
At this time, officers have been established for the support committee and they constitute the core membership. The officers have the responsibility of providing leadership to general membership, running meetings, making sure that the work assigned is carried out, and of tackling logistical/organizational duties as necessary.

The general membership is open to anyone who unites with our principles. This allows for everyone in the community to participate in the struggle. Aztlan Libre understands that not everyone can go to every meeting, but we are firm in our belief that if we are ever to free ourselves from colonialism, then everyone has to support the struggle.

The requirements for a general member are only to contribute \$10.00 per year, for which they will receive an Aztlan Libre support committee membership card, which entitles them to receive the Aztlan Libre Journal, an invitation to all events hosted by Aztlan Libre, and a 10% discount of any items sold by Aztlan Libre. Everyone should become a member of ALSC and join in the fight for Raza rights.

There are a few tasks that the support committee has already taken on to alleviate the problem of limited resources. One is that membership forms have been developed, and this move will undoubtedly bring in needed resources. Another example is the production of our own items to be sold, such as Aztec calendars, key chains and eventually posters, shirts etc.

THE CHICANO PRESS ASSOCIATION



**Join the Chicano Press Association -
La Raza must have a voice that truly
represents the interests of our people.
For more information about the CPA
and when we will be meeting next
please call the number below.**

For More Information call (619)534-3616

UC Out of Control: Chicanos Demand Lawmakers Check Plunder Acuña v. UC; Nothing But the Facts



Raza marching in behalf of Rudy Acuña, in Santa Barbara

Dr. Rodolfo Acuña applied for a position in the Chicano Studies Dept. at the University of California Santa Barbara in December 1990 at the urging of El Congreso students and his wife. After 25 years, Acuña reluctantly agreed to considered moving from Cal State Northridge.

Acuña, a popular choice among students and the community, became the sole candidate of the department. But, unknown to Acuña, an attempted coup of the chair changed the original unanimity. When the vote went up, three professors strongly supported Acuña's appointment and three abstained alleging flaws in the process.

Documents recovered in discovery show that administrators aided and abetted this division. The administration blatantly violated its own procedures, meeting with dissidents, engaging in the backroom governance that has kept Chicano Studies weak and divided.

(Four previous searches were unsuccessful. Members of Chicano Studies rarely agreed on anything. The department, a revolving door, was unable to retain a critical mass of professors to develop a first class program. The result was that it had 3.5 tenured track appointments.)

On June 20, 1991, two students called Dr. Acuña, and told him that they had heard that the administration turned him C1 down. Dr. Acuña then called Vice-Chancellor Gordon Hammes who coldly told him that he could not cut it in the UC.

At Dr. Acuña's request, the administration on July 30th sent him an aggregate summary of the various review committees' findings. Martha Cody-Valdez, the analyst processing the case, called attention to the emotional and angry tone of the reviews to Associate Vice-Chancellor Julius Zelmanowitz who cavalierly dismissed the warnings. Dr. Acuña requested a meeting which UCSB Chancellor Barbara Uehling turned down. Other administrators stonewalled Acuña.

Naively, Dr. Acuña sought to enlist the support of UCLA alumni Regent Ralph Ochoa. According to discovery documents, Ochoa was helping U.C. officials. Ochoa had close ties to U.C. lobbyist Steve Arditti (they often went sailing together) and Vice-President of Governmental Affairs, Bill Baker. Ochoa's firm acted as U.C. bond attorneys,

and served as outside counsel for the UC. (Ochoa had played a similar role at UCLA when students wanted to establish a Chicano studies Department).

On October 3, El Congreso organized a march and rally on the UCSB campus. Discovery documents show that there was extensive police surveillance of Dr., Acuña and two undercover police attended a lecture in Dr. Ramón Favela's class at which Acuña spoke.

In late November Dr. Acuña filed a claim with the California state Dept. of Fair Employment and Housing, and received the right to sue. Three months later Chicanos marched down State Street in Santa Barbara in the largest protest there to date.

In March of 1992, the National Coalition of Universities in the public interest persuaded the Center for Constitutional Rights to take on the case. On September 25, 1992, Dr. Acuña's complaint was filed in Alameda County Superior Court.

In October 1992, the UC removed the case to the federal court, the Northern District, and attempted to get the case dismissed. The state claims were eventually remanded and Dr. Acuña ended up with federal and state cases.

The UC had hired outside counsel, Corbett & Kane. The strategy was clear—to spend Dr. Acuña into the ground. Frank Acuña, Dr. Acuña's son, joined the case as local counsel.

Corbett & Kane moved to change venue: it wanted to get rid of Frank Acuña, an experienced litigator who spent some 200 hours in two months answering motion after motion. The UC did not like the idea of trying the case in Alameda County—too many African Americans, Latinos and progressive whites. More importantly, defendants and their counsel wanted a Simi Valley jury which for them was Santa Barbara. Lastly, the move increased travel time for attorneys, making it a billing Disneyland.

Plaintiff decided not to appeal the change of venue. It was eating up time and money.

In the move to Southern California Frank Acuña became a casualty. In retrospect, the move was the best thing that could have happened. Dr. Acuña's base of support was in Los Angeles and Santa Barbara.

Armando Duran joined as local counsel for the federal case; Moises Vasquez for the state case; and Beth Minsky of the National Coalition assumed a greater role. Their weakness was that they were solo practitioners, so they recruited 10 other attorneys as the ACLU.

Defendants' counsel motion to drop the multiple individual defendants, arguing that Acuña's failure to list them on his claim at the department of Fair Employment and Housing meant they could not be sued. They cited the Valdez case, which held so.

Beth Minsky did a brilliant job, and Santa Barbara Superior Court Judge Ronald Stevens held for plaintiff. The court took judicial notice that DFEH form did not call for the naming of individuals, and DFEH policy prohibited the plaintiff from filling out the application, this was the employment counselors responsibility.

Soon afterwards, Judge Stevens ruled that, although he did not agree with it, the University of Pennsylvania v. EEOC was the law of the land. Judge Stevens ordered the University of California to hand over confidential documents - confidentiality applied in all but discrimination cases.

Over the next year and a half plaintiff's counsel plodded through over 20 depositions. It received confidential reports. Clearly, the UC had not only denied Dr. Acuña employment because of his politics, his race and his age, but it had conspired to do so, intentionally attempting to destroy his reputation.

The referee, appointed to manage discovery, ordered the UC to produce system wide documents, which the UC frustrated by legal maneuvers. The referee failed to control Corbett & Kane and their attempts to intimidate plaintiff and his attorney by spending massive sums of money.

The judge allowed the defendants to subject Dr. Acuña to psychiatric tests and to call dozens of Chicano scholars nationally in an effort to get them to testify against Acuña.

Corbett & Kane also hired an investigator to look through 25 years of student newspaper articles at California State University Northridge to dig up dirt, not only on Dr. Acuña, but on Chicano Studies and the Chicano community on campus.

The UC is now attempting to hire a Chicano attorney to trot out in front of a jury.

In June 1994 Corbett & Kane won a court order for Dr. Acuña to produce his unpublished manuscript, Anything But Mexican, all research notes, and research documents for future publications. Plaintiff did not appeal because it cost too much money and resources.

Meanwhile, Judge Soares has not forced the UC to hand over some 200,000 pages of documents. Plaintiff counsel feels that they have enough to prove their case at the present, but that the unproduced documents will take them way over the top.

In the meantime, Corbett & Kane has stalled mediation, refusing to have anyone with authority present at the sessions, making a settlement almost impossible.

The UC has spent over \$1 million. It knows that an accounting will hurt it's already gilded image. It believes that a trial will divert attention from its flagrant waste of taxpayers' funds. The cost of this case may very well exceed \$7 million which taxpayers' will pay. The irony is that it could have been settled by simple negotiation.

Defense whores: attorneys who obstruct union organizing, affirmative action and justice. Psychiatrist who testify for money for corporate America without any regard for the truth.

PACHANGA DEL NUEVO AÑO

**December 31, 1994
7P.M. to 1A.M.**

Centro Cultural de La Raza

\$50.00 per couple/\$40.00 per person



**Food and Drink
Live music from:
Los Alacranes
and**

Julian Briano y Sus Hermanos

Organized by Unión del Barrio



On The 27th Anniversary of Che's Death

by Brent Beltran

On October 8, 1967 in the jungles of Bolivia, Ernesto Guevara de la Serna was captured by the U.S. Special Forces trained, Bolivian Army. The very next day he is murdered following instructions by the Bolivian government and Washington. On October 15, 1967 on television, Fidel Castro confirms the news of Guevara's death and states, "Those of us who know Ernesto Guevara well- and I say know, because you really can't speak about Ernesto Guevara in the past tense- have had abundant experience with his character and temperament. For as long as we have known him, he has always been characterized by an extraordinary courage, by an absolute contempt for danger, and by a willingness, in every difficult and dangerous moment, to undertake the most difficult and dangerous tasks. That is what he did on many occasions during the course of our struggle." Fidel thus designated October 8th as the Day Of The Heroic Guerrilla. The man known as Che was no longer with us, but his ideals remain- even today.

Che was a true Raza internationalist, Renaissance man. Che the Renaissance man, was a doctor, a teacher, a student, a political philosopher, a Marxist, a guerrilla fighter, he was head of the Department of Industry of the National Institute of Agrarian Reforms, he was president of the National Bank of Cuba, he was a diplomat, and he was a revolutionary who cared more for his Raza, than for himself. As a Raza Internationalist of Argentinean descent he saw the need for all colonized people to throw off the shackles of colonialism and rise up and claim what is rightfully theirs. Che fought imperialism/colonialism wherever he went, starting with Cuba, which eventually led him to fight in solidarity with movements on the African continent, in the Congo, in Tanzania, in Angola. Che's duties as a diplomat took him on various missions all around the world: Eastern Europe, including the U.S.S.R., China, Vietnam and to the United Nations in the U.S. He eventually fought and died in Bolivia, but before he left Bolivia he left a message to the colonized people of the world. In his message to the Tricontinental Conference of Solidarity With the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, Che wrote that we need to create "...two, three, many Vietnams. . ." to stop the advancement of imperialism/colonialism in underdeveloped countries.

October 1994, is the 27th anniversary of the death of Che Guevara. On the 27th anniversary of his death we still find Raza everywhere being attacked in the most vicious of ways. We see the so-called anti-immigrant rhetoric (Prop 187) here in the occupied territories of Aztlan and continued Migra oppression. The ongoing blockade of Cuba. The North American Free Trade Agreement which will expand the colonial slave state in Mexico and cause irreparable harm to the environment. The neo-colonial regimes that exist in virtually every country in Latin America. But, we also see revolution. Almost every country in Latin America has some sort of revolutionary guerrilla movement that seeks an end to U.S. imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. Peru, Colombia, Guatemala, Costa Rica, etc., etc., including the nation closest to the beast itself, Mexico. We, here in the occupied territories, have to support all liberation struggles that are ongoing in Latin America. Until all of Latin America is free, none of us will be free.

Che's ideals are not just ideals, they are a living, breathing entity that encompasses all Raza, from the bottom of Argentina to the occupied territories here in Aztlan. Raza here, have to carry on the ways of Che and the examples that he set. Che saw firsthand the repression that U.S. imperialism/colonialism causes, and he died fighting that. We, here in Occupied Mexico, continue to see the repression that U.S. imperialism/colonialism causes. And as a colonized people under the yoke of U.S. colonialism we know what must be done.

We must organize Raza! If we follow the example that Che set, we will be triumphant in our fight against the colonizer. Only through organization and concrete struggle can we overcome the barriers that U.S. imperialism/colonialism places in our path. In a letter written to his parents, before he left aboard El Granma to Cuba, Che wrote, "If for any reason I can't write again and have the misfortune to lose, look on these lines as my farewell. . . I have gone through life searching for my truth by fits and starts and now. . . I have come full circle. From now on, I wouldn't consider my death a frustration, but like Himket, 'I will take to my grave only the regret of an unfinished song.' " Raza, it's time to finish the song.

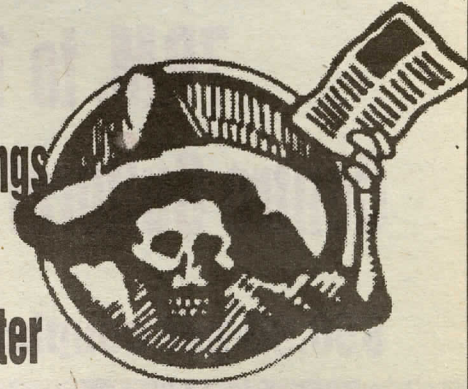
¡Que viva Ernesto "Che" Guevara de la Serna!

TWENTY YEARS OF STRUGGLE FOR VOZ FRONTERIZA!

We are presently mobilizing for an international conference commemorating the Twentieth year of production for Voz Fronteriza, and we need your help in putting together the program for this historical event. Voz Fronteriza has been one of the most consistent and prominent voices of Chicano Mexican Power since its founding. During that time it has not only covered the history of Raza struggle but has created some of its own. Out of Voz Fronteriza came Radio Califas, a Raza run radio program, and Voz T.V., a Raza run T.V. program that aired on Public Access cable television. Recognizing these achievements, we must come together and build for the International Conference commemorating Twenty Years of Struggle for Voz Fronteriza!



For more information call 619/534-3616
To become a part of this mobilization come to our meetings
Wednesday's at 5:30 P.M.. at the Voz Office
Room 211.3 on the second floor of the Old Student Center



Anti-Prop 187 Continued

San Diego Union-Tribune, July, 1994). And a hardly a day goes by, in Los Angeles, San Antonio, Salt Lake City, Sacramento, San Diego, Chicago, Denver, Albuquerque, Phoenix, San Jose, Salinas, Seattle, etc. (where ever Mexicanos live) without the media reporting something negative or stereotypical about "illegal aliens".

We see "Operation Gatekeeper" being launched (in the same fashion as "Operation Hold The Line" in El Paso, Texas) along the San Diego and Tijuana so-called border. The "border" is becoming more militarized than ever with top of the line military technical equipment, increased personnel, and more to come from Janet Reno and Bill Clinton's "Crime Bill".

If we examine as to who is "leading the charge" in pushing forward "Save Our State" initiative, we get an insight as to the political character of Prop. 187 . The most prominent organization backing the slave initiative is FAIR (Federation of Americans for Immigration Reform). Led by two former INS directors, honky wimps Alan Nelson and Harold Ezell, FAIR is made up of mostly racist white nationalists, with a sprinkling of sellout vendidos and uncle toms. One member for example, Peter Nuñez, an hispanic sellout and former Federal District Attorney, and highly regarded by the "hispanic middle class political activists" (the worst cagada in our community) as someone our juventud should emulate, is constantly paraded to the media to counter the charge that FAIR is a racist organization (with punks such as Peter Nuñez, who needs enemies). The "Pioneer Found", established in 1928 by pro-nazi Harry Laughlin, an advocate white racial superiority and control of the non-white population, gave million dollars to FAIR. (see, La Opinión, Sept 10, 1994). Harold Weasel Ezell himself, while "crying" about illegal immigration, this baboso punk lawyer, former migra pig, is busy making millions of dollars as an immigration consultant helping thousands of Korean and Tiawanese businessmen acquire their "documents" so that these merchants can immigrant their families to the United States (see La Opinión, Oct. 13,1994).

But what is the difference between Proposition 187 and the state of siege our people already face on a daily basis? Why would us imperialism bother to put forth such a proposition?

MEXICANOS ARE A THREAT TO GRINGO COLONIALISM

The fact is that Mexicanos (no matter on what side of the "border" they were born) at this moment represent the most potential threat to imperialism and its plan to make the U.S. a nation of mostly white supervisors and managers, and the world a source of cheap labor and natural resources. A large, unassimilated population within its borders is a danger to this U.S. capitalist-imperialist plan. Furthermore, the attempt to keep Mexicans south of the "border" fits well the NAFTA (north american free trade agreement) as workers are needed there to work (at slave wages) on the gringo owned industrial plants. Therefore, U.S. capitalism must wage all its forces (white racists and neo-colonial sellouts) against the oppressed Mexicano masses so that we don't rise up in arms and fight in the interest of our people, for self determination, national liberation and the unification of Mexico.

GRINGOS ARE UP TO THEIR OLD TRICKS

As we explained earlier, Proposition 187 has been introduced during a time when imperialism is in crisis. And while we support all opposition to 187, we must not be fool by the *dirty tricks of gringo colonialism*. In a most clever and complex fashion, we see that the government's counterinsurgency, while on the one hand pushes forward Prop 187, it also attempts to put their neo-colonial petty bourgeoisie lackeys (hispanic elected officials, social service agency directors, etc.) and other elements with the same class interests, at the head of the "anti-Prop 187 movement". Therefore, if Prop. 187 fails to pass, they still have control over the masses to what was sold to them as "their leaders".

For example, on June 28,1994, One Stop Immigration (a government funded agency), California Latino Civil Rights Network, every sell out hispanic politician, and most social agency pimps, with contributions from white liberal ruling class institutions

(newspapers, churches, etc.) organized one of the biggest marches (since the National Chicano Moratorium March of August 29th 1970), with estimates vary from 10,000 to 20, 000 participants (see La Verdad, April-June 1994). On the 16th of Oct., these same hispanics along with some labor unions and other multi-national organizations are organizing another march in opposition to prop 187. Regardless of the outcome of Prop 187, these elements will be paraded as leaders of our communities with an endless stream of television and radio spots and other propaganda tactics. However, these sellouts can't control the will of the Mexican masses and will soon find themselves in deep crisis themselves.

HISPANIC VENDIDOS CARE ONLY ABOUT JOBS AND MONEY FOR THEMSELVES, NOT THE WELL BEING OF THE MASSES OF OUR PUEBLO

The truth is that the colonial system creates the sellout sector, gives them resources (access to newspapers and T.V. advertisement) and money (grants, loans, etc.) and then sets them up as leaders of our movement in order to divert the real aspirations of the people. And if these titeres don't want to cooperate, all the sistema has to do is threaten to cut off their funding. These titeres of gringo colonialism have many Raza fooled into thinking that by acquiring "citizenship" and voting for the democratic party they will gain rights and acceptance within the system.

When in history, we ask the sell outs, have any non-white people won anything of significance by voting? Why are the American Indians (as some call themselves), Africans (Blacks), or Puerto Ricans, who are U.S. citizens, in the same situation, if now worst, than Mexicanos? Why don't these sell out hispanics just come out and say that the reason they want Raza to vote is so that they can be elected and have a job? Or that the reason they want Mexicans to become U.S. citizens is so that they can get some more funding by providing the "citizen classes" required to pass the naturalization exam? They are a parasitic class that lives off the suffering and sweat of our people. What motivates the hispanic vendidos, is jobs and money for themselves, not our people's right to justice, peace, and national liberation.

The strategy of the sell out sector (which includes a sprinkling of wanna be cultural nationalists) means joining with the white left opportunist groups such as Freedom Road-Son (formerly known as the League of Revolutionary Struggle-LRS or Liga), "Resistencia" (an RCP-Revolutionary Communist Party front) and right-wing white nationalists such as Los Angeles County Sheriff Sherman Block, San Diego Union-Tribune, or anyone else who opposes prop 187. This means siding with Kathleen Brown, Bill Clinton, and all those who oppose prop 187, but believe that "illegal immigration" must be dealt with by increasing the border patrol, hiring more police, sending more people to prisons, etc.

IT IS THE OBLIGATION OF REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALISTS TO MAKE OUR GENTE CONSCIOUS OF OUR CLASS AND NATIONAL STRUGGLE

If prop 187 should pass, the Mexican masses will undoubtedly be demoralized, but yet will seek another way out of the deplorable conditions we live in. Through this process, Raza everywhere will become politicized and realize that this system has absolutely nothing for us and there is nothing that it can offer us to make our slavery and suffering a little less inhumane. Raza already are involved in daily "class and national liberation struggle", the problem is that they are not consciousness of this fact. It is the obligation of the those who uphold a revolutionary nationalist line (Unión del Barrio, Brown Berets de Aztlán, Movimiento de Liberación Nacional (MLN), La Raza Unida Party, Mexicanos Unidos en Defensa del Pueblo, Crusade For Justice, National Chicano Moratorium Committee, and some MEChA chapters) to make our gente conscious of this fact (class and national struggle), organize them, and lead them to victory.

On November 5, 1994, Raza Rights Coalition will organized a demonstration at the San Ysidro-Tijuana militarily imposed "border" to protest Prop 187, the Clinton Crime Bill, and to support the struggle of the EZLN. The protest, co-spsored by La Raza Unida Party, Mexicanos Unidos, MLN, Vamos Por La Tierra, NCMC, Brown Berets de Aztlán, and other formations, will be an attempt by progressive nationalist forces to push forth a working class, self-determination, position on the current attacks against our pueblo.

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VOZ FRONTERIZA

Keep up on the news that affects you.
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THE RAZA
RIGHTS
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MAKE A DIFFERENCE IN
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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.
For More Information call
619/280-8361

DESMADRE Y ETCETERA

